Translating Occupy Toronto: Exploring movement network leadership, order and marginalisation across online-offline platforms

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LIST OF ABBREVATIONS

ANT	Actor-Network Theory
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CP24	Cable Pulse 24
D1-9	Delegate Participant Pseudonym
GA	General Assembly
MADD	Mothers Against Drunk Driving
MSM	Mainstream Media
NSAY	Nursing Student Association of York University
NSM	New Social Movement Theory
NY	New York, New York
NYCGA	New York City General Assembly
OCAP	Ontario Coalition Against Poverty
OISE	Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) at the University of Toronto
OFL	Ontario Federation of Labour
ON	Ontario
OPP	Obligatory Passage Point
OPIRG	Ontario Public Interest Research Groups
ORGS	Occupy Research General Survey
OT	Occupy Toronto
OT1-161	Occupier Participant Pseudonym
OTME	Occupy Toronto Market Exchange (Facebook Group Page)
OWS	Occupy Wall Street
POC	People of Colour (working group)
POS	Political Opportunity Structure
PPT	Political Process Theory
RMT	Resource Mobilisation Theory
SA	South Australia
SMI	Social Movement Industry
SMO	Social Movement Organisation
TSX	Toronto Stock Exchange
UK	United Kingdom
WLM	Women's Liberation Movement
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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ABSTRACT

Emerging in September 2011 in New York City, Occupy is a social movement centred on redressing social and economic inequality. By October 15th 2011 Occupy was present in over 82 countries and 951 cities including the financial centre of Canada. In Occupy Toronto, conventions and practices were enacted across mutable online-offline networks to meet movement aims. Resource mobilisation theory and new social movement theory are inadequate to the task of fully examining this fluidity. This is because they typically centre their analytic focus on either the structural capacity of a movement organisation or on the agential construction of a collective identity. This thesis contends that social movements and the actors that comprise them need to be considered more fully in relational terms. This is because social phenomena are a composite of materially heterogeneous entities. This thesis employs actor-network theory (ANT) and its method of translation to explore Occupy Toronto. It evaluates the potential of ANT in providing a fresh account of how occupiers organised and mobilised a social movement network. In its account of the interplay between social movement actors and objects, this thesis draws upon the nexus of ANT and Occupy to develop a nuanced understanding of the role of leadership and the ordering and marginalisation of actors in a social movement.

In order to engage online and offline networked publics for social change, this thesis investigated how occupiers deployed the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page from September 2011 to October 2012. In total, 775 official Occupy Toronto posts and over 4200 occupier posts were collected. A number of secondary sources, such as Occupy research surveys, online interviews and videos were employed. A critical discourse analysis was applied to analyse and interpret the data. The extent to which ANT cannot capture the complexities, successes and/or failures of Occupy Toronto was examined. A relational interpretation of network building is offered through an investigation of how occupiers problematised issues of leadership; developed channelling platforms to structure and stabilise the movement; enrolled additional actors into the movement; and mobilised the movement into different realms.

The contribution that this thesis makes to political sociology is a renewed understanding of how materially heterogeneous entities effect online-offline movement network organisation and mobilisation. By examining how occupiers negotiated a movement's leadership dynamic and how individual and collective fluidity expanded and retracted the boundaries of the network, this thesis addresses social movement action beyond the structure-agency duality. In its analysis of constituent orders this thesis also contributes to criminology as order-ology; it highlights the relationship

between movement network leadership and marginalisation. This thesis finds that the Occupy movement is not easily captured by traditional social movement explanations. This is due to the individualised and blended nature of online-offline networked activism. This thesis adds perspective to an area of research that is currently lacking in descriptive and explanatory potential, the interplay of online and offline social movement networks and how actors figure prominently in the process.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed:_____

Date:_____

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 The Occupy movement

The Occupy movement emerged in New York City in September 2011. By the 'Global Day of Action' on October 15th 2011, it had spread to over 82 countries and 951 cities (Ng & Khan 2012)[1]. The Occupy movement fused online-offline devices and platforms to redress social and economic inequality (Castells 2012; Chomsky 2012). Social movements such as Occupy are generally considered to be vital components of a civil society dedicated to preserving individual and collective rights (Tilly 2004). Occupying an important place in the political-economic realm (Touraine 2002), social movement activity has become part of the repertoire of everyday action (Meyer & Tarrow 1998). According to Snow, Soule and Kriesi (2004, p. 3), participation in social movements is 'one of the principal social forms through which collectivities give voices to their grievances and concerns about the rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others'. In Occupy Toronto, a network of materially heterogeneous entities organised and mobilised to deal with issues of inequality.

1.1 Understanding social movements

Depending on discipline and orientation, scholars have offered different interpretations on social movements. For instance, those who employ resource mobilisation theory (RMT) have placed emphasis on the structural context and availability of resources when accounting for social movement organisation and mobilisation. RMT scholars such as McCarthy and Zald (1977) have indicated that a social movement 'is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of society' (McCarthy & Zald 1977, p. 1217). According to McAdam (1982, p. 37), social movements include 'the rational attempts by excluded groups to mobilize sufficient political leverage to advance collective interests through noninstitutionalized means'. For RMT, analytic focus is placed on the social movement organisation (SMO)—a collective of individuals who align with the aims of a broader social movement—and its ability to leverage important resources from the social structure. Labour and class-based movement organisations are characteristic examples.

New social movement theory (NSM) scholars have asserted that as a result of post-industrialisation, social movement approaches that stress material and economic wellbeing do not adequately capture post-material or cultural movements. New movements are considered different than older

[1] The 'Global Day of Action' was an international show of solidarity for the Occupy Wall Street movement where individuals and groups began occupying public parks and squares; it has also been referred to as: United for #GlobalChange or #GlobalDemocracy' (Suarez & Zameret 2011).

movements such as the labour movement because they are centred on recognition, rather than redistribution (Martin 2001, p. 362; Pichardo 1997). Here, analytic focus is on fragmented and diffused forms of interaction that are accentuated by an identity politics of difference (Martin 2002). New movements are comprised of a 'new middle class' where 'elements of the old middle class' and 'peripheral or "decommodified" groups, such as unemployed workers, students, housewives, and retired persons' are included (Offe 1985, cited in Martin 2015, p. 65). NSM offers insights on how meaning emerges within cultural contexts and challenge symbolic codes within society. However, the extent to which new social movements are 'new' is contestable. This is because 'new' movements share similarities with 'old' movements, particularly in advocating for material or class-based benefits (Calhoun 1993).

della Porta and Diani (2006, p. 20) conceptualise social movements as being 'involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents […] linked by dense informal networks [where actors] share a distinct collective identity'. According to Diani (1992), social movements consist of networks of informal interaction that are expressed by shared beliefs and solidarity. Collective action is taken on conflictual issues and these actions are usually displayed outside the institutional sphere of routine politics (Diani 1992). Social movements differ from organised collective actions because social movement actors 'engage in sustained exchanges of resources in pursuit of common goals' (della Porta & Diani 2006, p. 21). For example, actors may employ collective action such as protest as a central tactic of a social movement to oppose or defend particular values and beliefs (della Porta & Mosca 2007, p. 2). Social movements also operate across both online and offline platforms in order to connect and organise efforts (Bennett & Segerberg 2011; Bennett & Segerberg 2012; Castells 2001; Castells 2012; Juris 2005a; Juris 2005b). The definition of a social movement used in this thesis includes informal networks of online-offline interaction where individuals form solidarity and take individual and collective action that generally transgresses institutionalised 'social roles' and 'norms' and/or 'which attack the structure of a society's class relations' (Melucci 1980, p. 202).

When considering the unfolding of a social movement, Herbert Blumer (1951) offers a typology of the different stages of a social movement life-cycle. For Blumer, the four stages of a social movement include: 'social ferment'; 'popular excitement'; 'formalization'; and 'institutionalization' (Blumer 1951, cited in Christiansen 2009, p. 15; Blumer 1951, cited in della Porta & Diani 2006, p. 150). Adapting Herbert Blumer's typology, Christiansen (2009) suggests that social movements first emerge due to a perceived sense of widespread discontent. Second, by adding meaning to their perceived discontent actors in turn coalesce around it. Third, as the movement develops from the

emergence and coalescence stages, the movement bureaucratises and formalises its organisational structure and strategies. At this point, social movements experience 'higher levels of organisation and coalition-based strategies' (Christiansen 2009, p. 18). Finally, social movements inevitably experience decline, characterised by institutionalisation, repression, co-option, success or failure (Christiansen 2009, pp. 19-22). Christiansen's four stage account provides descriptive and analytic utility when appraising the different stages of a social movement life-cycle.

However, not all social movements necessarily unfold according to the stages listed above. For example, Anknur (2014) found that protesters who took action against the destruction of Istanbul's Gezi Park in 2013 emerged and coalesced around a perceived discontent—the destruction of the park—yet failed to formalise their group's organisational structure. According to Anknur (2014), the omission of the third stage (bureaucratisation) can be attributed to the heterogeneous character of protesters, the failure of protesters to maintain the protest spirit which inspired early actions, and their inability to maintain participation levels once the protests had ended. As a result, 'the movement was unable to establish an infrastructure as a civil society organization or political party that would provide regular access to the political elites and the policy-making process' (Aknur 2014, p. 316). Although Christensen's typology provides a frame through which to analyse the unfolding of a social movement, how a social movement advances (or not) will ultimately be dependent on the resolve of movement participants as well as the political and cultural context. That is, not all social movements unfold in similar ways.

1.2 Social movement transformation

As a result of economic globalisation and increased engagement with Internet and communication technologies such as social media, the way actors organise and mobilise social movements has transformed. This is because the ways in which public-private relations are ordered have changed. According to Castells (2001), social relations are now centred on the individual, instead of embedded in the community or in 'secondary' associations. The effect is a 'privatization of sociability' where connections are individualised and characterised by 'weak ties' (Castells 2001, p. 128). As a result, actors who are involved in social movements can no longer be defined by common beliefs, shared values or by collective identities (Bennett & Segerberg 2012). Rather, social movement participation is a personalised endeavour where actors connect and associate on their own terms (Farro & Lustiger-Thaler 2014).

Attributing the transformation of social relations, such as social movement practices, to technological advancements in the network society, Castells (2005, p. 3) notes that '…it is

associated with the emergence of a new technological paradigm, based in information and communication technologies, that took shape in the 1970s'. According to Giddens, during this late modern age individuals are affected by 'transformations of place […] the intrusion of distance into local activities [and the] centrality of mediated experience' (Giddens 1991, pp. 187-201). Social relations are now characterised by fragmentation (vs. unification), powerlessness (vs. appropriation) and personalisation (vs. commodified experience) (Giddens 1991, pp. 187-201). According to Farro and Lustiger-Thaler (2014, p. 7), such changes can be characterised by an increased role of the individual during a time of neoliberalism; the use of digital technology and new forms of 'horizontal' organising; 'new cultural conflicts around sovereignty and spatiality'; and an emphasis on 'individual rights'. Social movements have become individualised and absent of collective solidarity where once strong organisational bases, such as unions or community groups, served as the primary base for organising and mobilising actors (Bennett 2012; Bennett & Segerberg 2012). As a result of this shift, it is uncertain how actors associate 'in the relative absence of structured or commonly bounded organizations with established norms, targets, demands, and broadly shared values' (Bennett, Segerberg & Walker 2014, p. 234).

Contemporary social movements are mediated by online and offline platforms and defined by individualised rather than collective subjectivities (Bennett 2012; Bennett & Segerberg 2011; Bennett & Segerberg 2012; Bimber, Flanagin & Stohl 2005; Castells 2009; Castells 2012; Farro & Lustiger-Thaler 2014; Juris 2012). According to Bimber, Flanagin and Stohl (2005) informal associations that are networked, highly personalised and mediated by digital technology carry implications for how we understand collective action. Farro and Lustiger-Thaler (2014, pp. 1-2) suggest a need for 'theoretical innovation and revival', where research in the area must 'understand how individuals actually create collective action, as that action is re-constituting individuals who can no longer be solely defined by the collective'. In response to this call, this thesis explores how actors form, enrol and mobilise a particular social movement over online and offline networks. Specifically, it contributes to knowledge by addressing the relational nature of a social movement network and how different actors and devices mediate movement organisation and mobilisation.

1.3 The rise of hybrid movements

Beginning in Seattle during the World Trade Organisation (WTO) ministerial meetings in 1999, the first decade of the twenty-first century witnessed the rise of a diverse set of social movements[2]. Scholars interested in highly individualised, informally networked and online-offline mediated

[2] The Battle of Seattle was not the point of departure from previous social movement forms, as other examples illustrate the use of digital communication technology (i.e., Zapatistas). However, the 1999 'Battle of Seattle' magnified the successful use of digital technology by protesters.

social movements were offered a number of case studies rich in research potential. For example, anti-corporate globalisation protests exemplified informal and dense networks of individual action spread across online and offline platforms (Juris 2005a). By the end of 2011, scholars had witnessed over a decade of mass mobilisations deprived of formal organisation, vertical leadership structures and collective identities[3]. Castells (2012, pp. 221-28) refers to informal, digitally mediated and globally networked social movements that collapse spatial and temporal differences as hybrid social movements. Here, the Internet and social media facilitate the diffusion of hybrid social movements in horizontal and co-operative forms through which an attempt is made to build solidarity around various issues and interests. Actors participating in collective action via hybrid social movements do so by connecting with other individuals through multiple platforms. Hence, hybrid social movements are highly networked across online and offline platforms where actors connect informally in order to voice individual grievances and concerns.

The Occupy Wall Street movement embodied hybrid social movement activity. This is because mutable networks of informal organisation found purchase amongst individuals who protested a number of issues across both online and offline platforms. The individual figured prominently in the Occupy movement as Time magazine went as far as naming 'the protester' person of the year for 2011[4] (see Figure 1 below). In an era where online communication technologies have become an integral part of the action repertoire of actors, understanding how occupiers employed online-offline networks becomes all the more significant. Accounting for social movement practices and conventions in relational terms addresses the weaknesses inherent in traditional social movement approaches mentioned above. This is because social movements have been empirically analysed as either structurally determined or through the agential construction of aligned actors. The Occupy Toronto movement is a suitable place to begin an investigation of the interplay between actors and networks. It offers a space to interrogate the processes of social movement organisation and mobilisation in light of personalised, informally networked and digitally mediated collective action. By exploring Occupy Toronto, this thesis answers the call made by Farro and Lustiger-Thaler (2014) that social movement scholarship attune to how individuals actually create collective action.

1.4 Overview of the Occupy Wall Street movement

The Occupy Wall Street movement (hereinafter Occupy or OWS) began with an occupation of Zuccotti Park in the financial district of New York in late September 2011. Precipitated by the financial crisis of 2008—a global recession that affected international as well as national economic

[3] This is not to say that formal, vertical and collective social movements did not exist, but it does refer to the increasing number of movements that appropriate alternative forms.

[4] This recognition of the protester is not limited to the Occupy movement; it also includes those individuals that comprised the Arab Spring and other social movement actions across Europe.

markets—Occupy raised public awareness on issues of social, political and economic class-based inequality and the influence of banks and corporations on government (Chomsky 2012; Hedges & Sacco 2012). Attention was directed toward resource imbalances between the wealthiest class, those termed by Occupy as the '1%', and 'the 99%' (Lewis 2012).

Figure 1 *Time Magazine's 2011 person of the year (Stengel 2011)*

The four main precursors to Occupy emergence include, first, on February 2nd 2011, the Vancouver-based anti-consumerist magazine Adbusters published an editorial by Kono Matsu asking readers 'what would it take' for individuals to rise in America (Matsu 2011)[5]. The challenge was to build on populist actions occurring across the Middle East, North Africa and Europe in 2010-2011. The editorial piece asked readers to think of the prospects of taking action against Wall Street. On July 13th 2011, using the hashtag #occupywall-street, Adbusters called on individuals to 'flood into lower Manhattan […] and occupy Wall Street for a few months' (Castells 2012, p. 271). Adbusters set the stage for OWS by its call for protest and circulation of online-offline images (Milner 2013). Second, in June and July 2011, New Yorkers witnessed protests directed against former Mayor Michael Bloomberg and the New York City budget. An encampment near New York City Hall, coined 'Bloombergville', was set up in defiance of the proposed budget and austerity measures that would affect public and social service expenditure. According to Bolton et al. (2013, p. 5), the New

[5] The Occupy movement was not limited to the 'global north'. Occupations spanned Latin America, Africa and Asia.

York City General Assembly (NYCGA), which was a managing platform for 'Bloombergville', would later become the main decision-making organ of Occupy. Third, on August 2nd 2011, a group of 'self-selected activists' gathered at Bowling Green park in central Manhattan 'to organize an occupation of Wall Street' (Miller 2012, p. 173). This meeting of 'self-selected activists' set the initial blueprint for what would later become OWS in September 2011. Lastly, these events were preceded by the actions of Mohammed Bouazizi, a Tunisian vegetable street cart vendor whose self-immolation was an act of protest against harassment by local officials (Abouzeid 2011). Bouazizi's actions would galvanise the Arab Spring and subsequent actions across Europe and North America.[6] Indeed, the Arab Spring and groups such as the *Indignados* in Spain, served as precursors to Occupy (see, for example, Castañeda 2012).

Early accounts of Occupy highlighted the movement's use of both offline and online platforms to connect and organise individuals (Castells 2012). The movement collapsed 'the protester/spectator divide' (Lustiger-Thaler 2014, p. 40) enabling offline-offline audiences to communicate and participate with the movement. Its leadership dynamic was suggested to be 'leaderless, yet leader-ful' (Sifry 2011), while horizontal and informal decision-making structures were employed to order the movement (Costanza-Chock 2012). By the 'Global Day of Action' on October 15th 2011—a worldwide event to show solidarity with the Occupy Wall Street movement—Occupy encampments began spreading from New York City across the globe. According to Pickerill and Krinsky (2012), the Occupy movement was significant in the sense that it challenged scholarly understanding of social movements and their employment of: space; the language of occupation; slogans (i.e., We are the 99%); online-offline platforms; prefigurative politics; the refusal to make demands; ritualising protest; and its relationship with public order policing (Pickerill & Krinsky 2012). Although research continues to filter out, there is a lack of insight on the relational organisation and mobilisation of Occupy as a hybrid social movement and Occupy Toronto in particular.

1.4.1 A declaration of occupation

The Occupy Toronto movement was host to one of the largest Occupy encampments in Canada (CBC News 2011b). It offline phase began on October 15th 2011. Near Bay Street in the central business district of Toronto, approximately 3,000 individuals participated in a rally and march on the financial centre of Toronto, with approximately 1,500 occupiers occupying St. James Park (CBC News 2011a). Occupy Toronto remained in St. James Park for the next 40 days and nights

[6] The diffusion of information through social media was paramount during this period in the sharing of information and extending the communicative network of Occupy (Castells 2012). Online platforms such as Facebook enabled occupiers '…to be involved in new political networks without requiring movements to develop a separate communication infrastructure' (Gaby & Caren 2012, p. 372). Circulated protest-related material was used to inspire action and inform public opinion (Graham-Felsen 2011).

until occupiers were evicted by the Toronto City council and police on November 23rd 2011 (CBC News 2011c). Following Occupy Wall Street, Occupy Toronto equipped itself with a General Assembly, a people's kitchen and library as well as multiple committees, working groups and action teams (Rebick 2012). A poll conducted in early November 2011 by Nanos Research found that 58 percent of Canadians had a favourable or somewhat favourable impression of the occupiers; the younger the demographic, the higher the support: 74 percent of people under thirty supported the movement (Rebick 2012). By mid-October 2011, Occupy Toronto had become a centripetal force for Toronto activists interested in connecting with other individuals in the battle against inequality and exploitation of the '99%'(Kohn 2013, p. 100).

1.4.2 Who is an occupier?

The Occupy Research General Survey (ORGS) collected data on the general demographics and characteristics of those who participated in the Occupy movement (Schweidler et al. 2012, p. 69). The survey was conducted from December 7th 2011 to January 7th 2012 and included 5,074 respondents. Data collection predominantly occurred online—it was difficult for researchers to hold face-to-face interviews with occupiers once they were evicted from their encampments. The majority of respondents were from the U.S (85.7%) and completed the survey online (99.3%). More than half of respondents identified as women (52.9%); men represented 43.7% and approximately 1% identified as transgendered. The average age of respondents was 42 years. Those who identified as white represented 80.8% of the sample, while Latino/a (5.3%), Asian/Pacific Islander (5.4%), Native American (5.3%), and African American (2.9%) comprised the rest. Approximately 12.6% of respondents reported that their yearly income was $100,000 or greater; while more than half (54.4%) reported that they earned less than $50,000. Respondents mostly identified as working or lower class (49.2%), while 7.6% indicated that they were unemployed and 17.6% were students. Primary methods of movement involvement consisted of posting on Facebook (74.3%) and holding face-to-face conversations (72.7%). When asked why they participated in the movement, the top three responses were because of 'inequality', 'corporate' and 'corruption'. 'Economic', '(in)justice' and 'greed' were also notable reasons for occupying. As it can be seen, those who encompassed OWS varied in gender, income, work and the reasons for taking part in the movement. The means of participation was spread across online-offline sites, with social media and face-to-face interaction the primary methods of engagement. In this sense, occupiers employed online-offline platforms to organise and mobilise the movement while at the same time these platforms mediated occupier interactions in order to construct the movement as an aggregate of occupiers. Finally, the ORGS data challenges criticisms directed toward the Occupy movement, mainly that the movement was comprised of white males who were educated and employed (Milkman et al. 2013, p. 8). Although

white, educated males may have more often than not held positions of leadership, hence portraying greater involvement, the ORGS data highlights the varied and diverse nature of movement participants.

1.5 The dimensions of the Occupy movement

1.5.1 How was the Occupy movement problematised?

According to Morris and Staggenborg (2004), at the point of movement emergence, certain actors or groups will take on the role of defining the central grievance of a movement. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, traditional social movement theories such as resource mobilisation theory (RMT) consider the issue of defining a movement's central grievance to be decided on by organisational agents, such as pre-existing social movement organisations (SMO) or movement entrepreneurs. Other approaches, such as new social movement theory (NSM), relate the process of defining grievances to be accomplished through different social actions and the alignment of individuals around a collective identity. Both approaches highlight that certain actors will problematise and define the central grievance of a group, whether it is organisationally based or constructed through social interaction. As discussed in Chapter Four, Occupy Toronto did not necessarily co-ordinate activities via formal organisation nor did occupiers share a collective identity. Instead, delegates[7] employed online-offline platforms for occupiers to connect around a particular action frame—a movement slogan—that was broad enough so that any individual can attach their personalised grievance with the larger movement (i.e., 'We are the 99%' or '99%'). According to Bennet and Segerberg (2012, p. 744) action frames 'are inclusive of different personal reasons for contesting a situation that needs to be changed'. Action frames supplant the need for a collective identity in order to interest and organise individuals. Instead of connecting to a rigid collective identity fashioned around notions of solidarity, action frames enable the coming together of a multiplicity of fluid identities (McDonald 2002). With regard to Occupy Toronto, there was reluctance to list one particular grievance or identity above others because the movement attempted to incorporate all equally; each individual concern (grievance) or 'status update' was part of the '99%' controversy (MacPhee 2012, pp. 23-9). During the problematisation of a hybrid movement's formation phase, inquiries into the central controversy and which actors decide the action frame are important questions to consider. Not only does a movement's focus delimit the definition of group grievances but also how the movement will organise and mobilise to relieve different concerns.

[7] The term delegates, as it is applied by this thesis, refers to those actors who took on leadership roles by defining movement controversies, settling disputes and organising and mobilising the movement network across online-offline platforms.

1.5.2 Occupy leadership

Influenced by the traditions of feminist and anarchist movements, the Occupy movement engaged leadership principles of consensus, horizontalism, and direct action—any attempt to establish formal leaders was considered antithetical to the spirit of the movement (Castells 2012; Graeber 2012)[8]. For instance, occupiers had an opportunity to express their opinion on the organising and decision-making of the movement through the General Assembly (Welty, Bolton & Zukowski 2013). The principles of leadership espoused by Occupy have been compared with anarchist values of autonomous leadership, notably concepts such as spontaneity (vs. stability), autonomy (vs. verticality), mutuality (vs. self-interest), affect (vs. objectivity) and embodied network (vs. engaging with networks) (see, for example, Western 2014). However, the extent to which Occupy adhered to these principles is contestable because of actions such as the Occupy debt campaign (Hudson 2012), or when engaging with other protest networks in Egypt (Stanton 2012) and Spain (Castells 2012; Puig 2012). These actions highlight the stable, self-interested and objective activities of some delegates. Poell et al. (2016), challenge the view that hybrid social movements such as the Occupy movement are directed by self-motivated and leaderless forms of association. In their account of the Egyptian revolution during the Arab Spring, the authors argued that leaders did in fact exist in facilitative and connective terms in order to steer the movement toward particular ends.

To illustrate the structural components of movement leadership, RMT asserts that movement outcomes are conditional on the interaction between movement organisations, entrepreneurs and the wider political context. Movement organisations or entrepreneurs will direct the unfolding of a social movement depending on available resources and the ability to exploit them. In this sense, SMOs and entrepreneurs recruit individuals and establish the strategies and tactics for action (Fernandez & McAdam 1988). Emphasis is placed on the formalised and hierarchical nature of social relations. A limitation of this approach is its strict focus on the structures that influence social movement organisation and mobilisation. Individual agency in the decision-making process is omitted for a view of how different structural opportunities and resources influence leadership outcomes.

NSM pays particular attention to the identities of actors when considering movement leadership. Certain actors define the collective identity of a movement and this will influence how a movement engages its members. Collective identity outputs are considered either as a process of movement framing or as a by-product through which outside actors may connect with (Fominaya 2010, pp.

[8]Although the Occupy movement included feminist, anarchist, and socialist principles, among others, as an inclusive hybrid movement its political affiliation remained neutral.

396-7)[9]. As a result, NSM fails to account for how structural conditions influence the leadership dynamic. For example, when applying the idea of collective identity to Occupy, Langman suggests that most occupiers did not share a common identity; rather it was a 'hybridity' of different interests and identities (Langman 2013, p. 11). Morris and Staggenborg (2004, pp. 190-1) argue that researchers must accept that the structural context will influence the leadership dynamic 'by creating opportunities and constraints', however, individuals ultimately maintain the power to 'undermine political and socioeconomic realities that influence the trajectories and outcomes of social movements'. Hence, leadership outcomes rely on the interplay between the political-economic context and the actions of constituents.

Furthermore, because of its focus on the macro and meso level of analysis, in particular social-cultural and organisational processes of collective identity formation, NSM fails to scrutinise leadership at the micro level of individual mobilisation (Gentry 2004). That is, how individualised actors retain the capacity to act when part of a collective. By concentrating on the collective identity of a movement, the structural conditions that enable micro leadership practices are not accounted for. How actors are stabilised and mobilised by different actors and how do individuals exert the capacity to act differently warrants elaboration. With regard to Occupy Toronto, leadership outcomes, whether vertically or horizontally positioned, rely on the interplay between the structural context and individual actions of delegates and occupiers.

Weber highlights three types of leadership that influence how social orders are enacted and legitimated. First, the charismatic leader inspires devotion and legitimacy of a system through their extraordinary personal powers. For charismatic authority, the leader is perceived to hold unique qualities and this sets them apart from the group (McIntosh 1970, p. 902). Mahatma Ghandi and Martin Luther King Jr. are examples of charismatic leaders. Second, the traditional leader relies on the power of obedience rather than charisma to legitimise authority. The power associated with traditional authority is found through the ordering and obligation of members to obey rules (McIntosh 1970, p. 903). In this case, traditional authority is embedded in the rules and commands of leaders who define them. Lastly, the third type of authority is legal (rational) authority. According to Blau (1963, p. 308), legal authority can be defined as a '…formalistic belief in the supremacy of the law whatever its specific content […] in such a system obedience is owed not to a person […] but to a set of impersonal principles'. Regardless of who holds the position of creating

[9]Frames serve as guiding mechanisms to direct the movement (Benford & Snow 2000).

principles, it is the principle itself that leads. The modern state and its bureaucratic form of organisation highlight legal-rational authority[10].

As will be discussed in Chapter Four, the Occupy Toronto movement's leadership dynamic can be characterised as a form of traditional authority in the sense that experienced activists, and those who occupied leading roles in different committees and working groups, ordered the unfolding of the movement network. A charismatic figure did not inspire or order occupiers. Although some accounts suggest that Occupy movement principles were considered primary mechanisms through which the movement was guided (Sifry 2011), there were instances when certain actors took it upon themselves to impose their own version of what was required of the movement. Hence, those who held certain positions as well as those who had experience organising and mobilising social movements held authority over those new to process.

By problematising how delegates ordered the organisation and mobilisation of Occupy Toronto, insights into its leadership dynamic emerge. Although the Occupy movement has been defined as a 'leaderless yet leader-ful' movement (Sifry 2011), according to Gerbaudo, rather than being an outright leaderless movement, some occupiers engaged in 'choreographic' and 'soft' forms of leadership where 'liquid' organising was conducted across online and offline platforms (Gerbaudo 2012, p. 157). In this sense, delegates narrated and facilitated the unfolding of a social movement across fluid spaces that were neither spatially nor temporally bound (Bauman 2000; Law & Singleton 2005). The question of how delegates and occupiers negotiated and deployed the leadership dynamic addresses the actions and structural context of movement leadership and ordering.

1.5.3 Online-offline Occupy platforms

The Occupy movement's online-offline platforms worked to connect occupiers as well as provide a site for interaction. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, online-offline platforms functioned as conduits through which individuals passed in order to gain access to the movement. For instance, offline platforms, such as Occupy encampments, provided a site for occupiers to use and interact with in order to carry out the unfolding of the movement. With regard to the Occupy movement's online platforms, research findings have found that the Occupy movement serviced social media for expressive and recruitment purposes (Costanza-Chock 2012); as a connection device to aggregate autonomous individuals (Juris 2012); and to communicate and organise the movement (Kavada

[10] A notable criticism of Weber's three types of authority is that it neglects the 'structural conditions that give rise to it' (Blau 1963). With regard to hybrid social movement leadership, the larger context through which constituent ordering is accomplished and legitimated is overlooked. This is because the focus is on the qualities of authority rather than the structural conditions through which it is re-produced.

2015). However, greater insight into how occupiers engaged social media, such as Facebook, to structure the movement network across online-offline sites is needed. If social media was an integral aspect of the movement (Skinner 2011), with close to 80% of respondents to the ORGS indicating that they consistently used Facebook, how did delegates employ Facebook to channel occupiers into the collective? If hybrid movements require constant delegate net-work in order to program and reprogram relations (Castells 2009), uncovering how social media was used to organise and mobilise the movement highlights the communication and structuring of occupiers across online-offline sites.

1.5.4 Recruitment into Occupy

During a time when traditional modes of movement recruitment have experienced a loss of influence or capacity (Bennett 2012; Bennett & Segerberg 2011), how occupiers were recruited into the movement is an important concern. As will be discussed in Chapter Six, although delegates aimed to include the '99%', there were some individuals who were marginalised from the movement. For example, while Occupy Toronto welcomed many issues and interests to the movement, it marginalised some groups by '…eliding the racialized nature of inequality in North America…' (Kilibarda 2012, p. 24)[11] and nominally incorporating an account of the legacies of settler colonialsoim (Barker 2012). Since the existence of a social movement is dependent on the number and quality of actors it can enrol, how some occupiers were marginalised from the movement is a significant aspect to consider. Individual differences serve a movement by way of infusing it with an expanded repertoire of action as well as decreasing the chances for low engagement. With an expanded outlook, greater numbers of individuals are offered an opportunity to participate. If a movement excludes certain populations, by limiting its outlook, it will deprive itself of a range of individuals and resources. For instance, Occupy Toronto received criticism for not adequately reconciling differences between those who occupy and those who have experienced occupation. Occupy Toronto was charged with the failure of accommodating the shared history of indigenous struggles against occupation and settler colonialism (Barker 2012), and this influenced the general makeup of the movement network. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, Occupy Toronto attempted to resolve this breakdown by instituting a '(de)occupy' agenda in order to include the voices of those who were marginalised from the movement network. On the other hand, the specificity of actors may assist movement recruitment in the sense that it avoids undermining or weakening a movement's cause. By aligning actors around a single aim a movement mitigates the chances for incoherence or disruption. This is because a single outlook presents an identifiable platform for others to connect with. Hence, exploring how occupiers negotiated movement

[11] There was a concerted effort to include those who were internally marginalised from the movement. For example, the people of colour (POC) working group was established in order to balance the voice of Occupy (Olson 2012).

recruitment as well as the actions and devices used to stabilise relations is important for understanding how delegates populate the ranks of a hybrid movement.

1.5.5 Mobilising occupiers

According to Castells (2012) occupiers blended online and offline platforms in order to mobilise the movement. Offline occupier mobilisations were characterised by different protests and rallies, encampments and General Assemblies (Writers for the 99% 2012). Online, occupiers employed social media such as Facebook and Twitter to connect actors and coordinate activities (Caren & Gaby 2011; Juris 2012). An important element to consider when employing online devices to mobilise hybrid social movements is the extent to which the movement produces issues related to slacktivism. Slacktivism refers to the 'feel-good' sensation experienced by individuals when participating in a movement through online platforms. The notion of slacktivism suggests that by employing online platforms, shallow engagement is offered because of the style of participation (Christensen 2011; Morozov 2009). Because of the 'low-threshold' participation offered by social media (Van Laer & Van Aelst 2010), individuals engage superficially with movements as their actions amount to nothing more than clicks of a mouse in the form of 'likes' on a Facebook page (Chazal & Pocrnic 2016). Slacktivism occurs as actors employ the Internet and social media to advance a particular cause, however the level of support or action required is minimal when compared to offline forms of activism. As will be highlighted in Chapter Seven, the hybrid nature of Occupy Toronto actually contributed to superficial and 'feel-good' forms of activism. Further, social media participation alone may be too weak to sustain a movement without an official offline component. This understanding has implications for the different ways actors organise and mobilise a hybrid movement.

Although existing research does well to outline why occupiers mobilised (Prashad 2012, pp. 15-8), a greater understanding of how internal and external entities mediate and order the mobilisation process is required. This is because different actors will affect the mobilisation potential of a movement. One external group that ordered the mobilisation of Occupy was the public order police (Bolton & Measles 2013). For example, Gillham, Edwards and Noakes (2013), suggested that occupier mobilisation was ordered by a style of public order policing that was focused on risk management and the strategic incapacitation of space. In this case, police worked to incapacitate occupiers prior to, during and after protests in order to limit the risk of disruption while working to re-order different sites. The policing of Occupy mobilisation highlights that social movement outcomes are not only determined by internal actors who mediate the movement network but also by the strategies and tactics employed by state authorities such as the police. This is significant

because the mobilisation potential of Occupy is dependent on how police interact with occupiers. To date, there has been little analysis of how Occupy Toronto mobilisation was internal and externally ordered. Inquiring into the mediation of social movement mobilisation and the role played by the police highlights constituent ordering effects across online-offline sites.

1.6 The problem defined: Researching the Occupy Toronto movement

There is a long-standing debate in the social sciences over the provenance of social phenomenon—which is detailed in Chapter Three. Certain scholars have considered actor involvement in social movements, for instance, to be rationally motivated while embedded in different social structures that seek to exploit movement related resources (McCarthy & Zald 1977). The rational-structural perspective focuses on the roles and relationships held by individuals and groups throughout a social movement organisation (SMO). On the other hand, research has focused on the individual capacity to act when explaining for social movement action. Agential perspectives consider social structures to be by-products of social interaction. Here, individuals are reflexive and make choices based on available opportunities (Jasper 2004). There are those who have attempted to bridge the structure-agency dualism when accounting for social action. For instance, Giddens' (1984) 'duality of structure' is one attempt. It places emphasis on the ability of actors to engage different structures and suggests that actors and their structures should not be analytically separated. In this view, social reality is considered an outcome of the interchange between institutions and individuals. Bourdieu (1984) went as far as suggesting that although the field conditions the game, the habitus nevertheless engages it in a reflexive manner thus creating its own reality. For Bourdieu, actors occupy a position within a field that is '…nothing other than the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties which govern success…' (Bourdieu 1993, p. 30). The habitus, on the other hand, is a '…disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions…' (Bourdieu 1984, p. 170). It is a 'structuring structure' as well as a 'structured structure'. It arranges perceptions and practices while occupying a place within the field. The problem with these approaches, however, is that something is always left out of the analysis; either too much is granted to the causality of social structures or to the individual capacity to act. When accounting for social movement organisation and mobilisation across online-offline sites, required is an approach that accounts and explains for the relational interplay between social movement actors and structures; a view that transcends what Archer (1995) refers to as upward, downward and central conflation.

Bruno Latour (2005b), Michel Callon (1986a) and John Law (1986), along with other theorists such as Annemarie Mol (1999) provide a way to move beyond the duality problem of theorising social

action. They offer actor-network theory (ANT) as an alternative through which to explore and analyse the co-construction of reality. ANT considers reality to be something that is performed, a reality that is relatively 'done' and 'enacted' by a multiplicity of associations (Mol 1999). According to Callon and Law (1997), reality is comprised of materially heterogeneous entities that are human, technical and textual, and only through their interactions is reality generated. Entities enact reality based on their networks of associations; entities can either be networks in themselves or part of other networks. They are considered both individual and collective hybrids while causality is contingent on the relational interplay of multiple elements. The process through which reality is generated is a political endeavour in that entities must select and enact different associations which in turn co-produce different effects. Following Mol (1999), an ANT ontological politics:

> '[S]uggests that the conditions of possibility are not given. That reality does not precede the mundane practices in which we interact with it, but is rather shaped within these practices. So the term politics works to underline this active mode, this process of shaping, and the fact that its character is both open and contested'. (Mol 1999, p. 75)

Hence, the way hybrids (re)configure in different contexts is what makes them political and worthy of study. Following Rodríguez-Giralt (2011), ANT provides a renewed outlook on social movement processes and actions because of its relational interpretation of what constitutes the collective and the actions that comprise it. By employing actor-network theory to explore a social movement, this thesis explores the connections between 'the real, the conditions of possibility we live with, and the political' (Mol 1999, p. 86). ANT moves beyond analysing social movements in structural (Fernandez & McAdam 1988; Jenkins 1983; Zald & Ash 1966) and/or constructionist terms (Habermas 1975; Habermas 1984; Melucci 1980) by exploring and tracing the translation of hybrid associations. This is significant and of value since ANT transcends the individual-collective division that has plagued Euro-American thinking since before the Enlightenment (Callon & Law 1997). What this offers is an understanding of how networks are translated by the associations and practices of multiple entities and the structures that facilitate them. ANT provides a perspective on how social movement reality is co-produced by the interplay between actors and networks. This thesis employs ANT's method of translation to explore Occupy Toronto as well as structure the research process and output.

1.7 The Occupy Toronto actor-network: Thesis rationale

Following research that has begun to question how scholars envision and understand social movements and collective actions (Bennett & Segerberg 2011; Bennett & Segerberg 2012; Bimber,

Flanagin & Stohl 2005; Castells 2012; Farro & Lustiger-Thaler 2014; Juris 2012; Loader 2008), this thesis examines the relational co-production of Occupy Toronto and explores how actors organised and mobilised a movement network across online-offline platforms. It also addresses the interplay between movement actors and networks, which lead to disputes over movement leadership, constituent ordering and marginalisation. Drawing on actor-network theory's (ANT) method of network translation (Latour 2005b, Callon 1986a, Law 1986), the thesis evaluates the potential of ANT for providing a renewed account of how occupiers organised and mobilised an online-offline social movement network.

The aim of this thesis is to provide understanding of how occupiers negotiated the Occupy Toronto leadership dynamic; how individual and collective fluidity expanded and retracted the boundaries of the network; what contributed to internal and external network marginalisation; and how the movement was ordered from within and beyond. This is done to provide social movement and policing research with a perspective through which to explore issues related to social movement leadership, network fluidity, ordering and marginalisation. Because this thesis draws on the methodology and ontology of ANT to critically examine Occupy Toronto, ANT's own contribution to the field is analysed. By exploring these aims this thesis strives to address the reality of hybrid social movement networks and how individuals figure prominently in the process.

1.8 Thesis outline

Chapter Two examines and situates the different approaches that have been used to explain social movement processes and actions. Because the Occupy movement was characterised as employing both online and offline platforms across different sites (Castells 2012), Chapter Two outlines the important role played by Internet and social media technologies. This is done in furtherance of a perspective on the association between online and offline platforms and social movement action. Chapter Two also contains a discussion of protest policing within the context of movement ordering and mobilisation. This is done in the interest of highlighting the relationship between a movement's mobilisation potential and police ordering.

Chapter Three details the theoretical and methodological frame through which Occupy Toronto was explored. Actor-network theory's (ANT) method of translation is defined and compared with a critical realist perspective. This is done in order to discern different approaches that claim to develop an account of social reality beyond the structure-agency duality. To provide perspective on the ANT approach, critical realism is employed to account for individual and collective causality. In accounting for theoretical variation between the two approaches, ANT's own perspective of social

reality is situated. Chapter Three also details the methodological approach applied by this thesis. ANT's method of translation is employed to explore and trace the unfolding of the Occupy Toronto movement network. It consists of the moment of problematisation; the obligatory passage point; interessement and enrolment; and mobilisation.

The method of data collection consisted of exploring and mapping the associations of occupiers on Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page. The rationale for employing the online platform of Occupy Toronto was, first, the research outlook focused on how occupiers engaged (and fused) online-offline platforms in order to organise and mobilise a movement network. By exploring Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page, how a hybrid movement network unfolded across online-offline sites was examined. Second, the Facebook group page offered a wealth of information on delegate and occupier concerns and activity. The Occupy Facebook group page collated online interviews, videos of offline actions, and online discussion threads. This thesis is influenced by prior studies that regard Facebook as a suitable tool to collect data on different social actions and associations (Wilson et al. 2012). Data was collected by 'crawling' the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page from September 2011 to October 2012, collecting every Occupy Toronto post, comment, link, 'share' and 'like'. In total, 775 official Occupy Toronto posts and over 4200 occupier comments were collected. NVivo was used to organise data. Once data collection completed, a critical discourse analysis (CDA) was employed to analyse and interpret data (Fairclough 2001, Fairclough 2003, Meyer 2001, Wodak 2001). As will be discussed in Chapter Three, data was coded until research themes, which were informed by the guiding moments and categories of network translation, reached a point of saturation. Because of the focus of this thesis, and the nature of case study, one platform was employed to travel with occupiers and gain access to other sites when collecting data.

Chapter Four analyses the emergence of Occupy Toronto by employing ANT's first moment of translation: network problematisation. Problematisation refers to the process through which certain actors define and organise the formation of a movement network (Callon 1986a). An account of how Occupy Toronto delegates came to order and define the central controversy of the Occupy Toronto movement is addressed. Further, how delegates and occupiers negotiated the movement's leadership dynamic is examined. This thesis identifies the limitations faced by delegates when problematising hybrid networks and its effect on the leadership dynamic.

Chapter Five explores how actors were channelled into Occupy Toronto. Actor-network theory's notion of obligatory passage point asserts that networks are structured and stabilised by actors who

pass through different conduits—these passage points operate to provide actors with access to the collective (Callon 1986a). This outlook provides understanding of the work done by delegates who order network associations. By accounting for multiple channelling platforms, a view of how online-offline sites fused to organise the movement is provided. The focus of this chapter is on the points of access into the collective, how actors structured the network, and the causes of network marginalisation.

Chapter Six analyses how individuals were recruited into the movement. Attention is directed toward the different actions and devices employed by delegates to interest and enrol individuals. Underscored is the value of certain communicative and strategic actions and devices to recruit constituents. The extent to which delegates were able to recruit certain groups and individuals effectively circumscribed the boundaries and resources of the movement. The chapter also examines those who were not captured by different recruitment practices either as a result of individual inability or refusal to do so.

Chapter Seven evaluates the mobilisation of Occupy Toronto. During the moment of mobilisation, the movement network is transported by different mediators in order to be represented in different domains (Callon 1986a). How different mediators displaced actors, what inscriptions were created and how were they internally and externally ordered is examined. Chapter Seven identifies how network mobilisation is ordered from within and beyond the movement network. The effect of police-protester interaction on the mobilisation potential of Occupy Toronto is addressed. The relative difference between online and offline mobilisation is also highlighted. Chapter Seven ends with a discussion on the limits of relying on one particular mode of mobilisation over the other.

Chapter Eight concludes the examination of the Occupy Toronto movement network. It highlights how Occupy Toronto was organised and mobilised through the process of movement network translation. By doing so, it suggests that far from being leaderless in practice, Occupy Toronto delegates negotiated the movement in traditional leadership terms—where decision-making was consensual and participatory while at the same time centrally located in specific committees and working groups. The individualised nature of movement participation assisted in expanding the fluidity of the collective network however it was channelling platforms that ultimately reified the movement. Occupiers were able to connect other platforms to the movement, but the mutability of the movement was limited by its primary online-offline platforms. When it came to enrolling actors into the network, different communicative and strategic actions and devices were employed. Not only did delegate actions and devices signal traditional authority, they also had the effect of

marginalising those who did not conform to certain enrolment practices. As a result, some groups and actors were marginalised from Occupy Toronto. With regard to mobilising the movement network, delegates ordered the mobilisation of the movement according to specific organisational aims. Furthermore, not only was Occupy Toronto ordered from within, its mobilisation potential was also influenced by external forces such as the public order police. Lastly, although actor-network theory provides a fruitful method in which to explore and trace the Occupy Toronto movement network, several methodological and theoretical limitations inhibit the extent to which it was able to explore and explain for the co-production of Occupy Toronto.

1.9 Conclusion

Emerging in September 2011 in New York City, the Occupy Wall Street movement is a social movement centred on redressing social and economic inequality. In Occupy Toronto, the movement network was enacted across mutable online-offline sites in order to organise and mobilise the movement. This thesis contends that social movements and the actors that comprise them need to be considered more fully in relational terms. This is because social phenomena are a composite of materially heterogeneous entities. This thesis employs actor-network theory (ANT) and its method of translation to explore Occupy Toronto. It evaluates the potential of ANT in providing a fresh account of how occupiers organised and mobilised a social movement network. In its account of the interplay between social movement actors and objects, this thesis draws upon the nexus of ANT and Occupy to develop a nuanced understanding of the role of leadership in horizontal social movement networks, constituent ordering by internal and external forces and the potential for network marginalisation. Its original contribution to knowledge is an understanding of the relational interplay between materially heterogeneous entities and the process through which a social movement network is organised and mobilised across online-offline sites.

As will be elaborated in Chapter Three, ANT provides a theoretical and methodological approach to follow how actors co-produce reality (Latour 2005b); however it has several limitations when considering its application to social movement research. First, ANT's method of translation encourages researchers to trace and describe networks in objective and neutral terms. Here, as long as something can be linked it is considered part of the network. With regard to this thesis, the problem rests with the need to demarcate the boundaries of exploration. In this sense, it was difficult to meet the methodological requirements of ANT. This is because access to the actor-network of Occupy Toronto was limited to its online platform. Further, because ANT methodology requires impartial, symmetrical and the abandonment of a priori assumptions when conducting research (Callon 1986a; Callon & Law 1997; Latour 2005b) it was not possible to maintain an ideal

ANT standard insomuch that research compromises were made in order to access and interpret Occupy Toronto. For instance, the process of interpreting the findings of Occupy Toronto, and the decision-making process involved, highlights the tension between offering an ideal description of actor-networks and the necessity to narrate and critique the translation of a hybrid social movement. Second, ANT avoids employing overarching categories, such as 'social' or 'capitalism' when explaining network causality. This is because 'it refers to something entirely different which is the summing up of interactions through various kinds of devices, inscriptions, forms and formulae, into a very local, very practical, very tiny locus' (Latour 1999b, p. 17). By examining network effects in ANT terms, traditional social movement concepts such as 'identity', 'culture' and 'capital' are omitted from the analysis. This is because, according to ANT, these terms do not adequately explain the realities of actor-networks. In considering this requirement, this thesis approximates ANT methodology to an extent where social movement concerns over identity and culture are included in the analysis.

CHAPTER TWO: SOCIAL MOVEMENT APPROACHES AND ORDERING

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on social movement approaches that have been employed to examine and explain social movement organisation and mobilisation. Because of the online-offline interplay of social movement activity, this chapter will also examine the relationship between social movements and social media, in particular the growing literature on Occupy and social media use. The chapter ends with a discussion on internal and external social movement ordering, in particular, how external forces such as the public order police order social movement mobilisation. The aim of this chapter is to provide an understanding of traditional social movement approaches that have explained social movement organisation and mobilisation and the actors that comprise them. It also seeks to address important social movement terms that will be found throughout this thesis, such as leadership, order and marginalisation.

2.2 Social movements and collective action

As defined in the Chapter One, social movements include informal networks of online-offline interaction where individuals form solidarity and take action that transgresses 'social roles' and 'norms' and/or 'attack the structure of a society's class relations' (Melucci 1980, p. 202). Social movement action is a type of collective action where individuals engage in goal-directed activity; however, it is different from collective action because it involves action beyond institutionalised channels (Snow, Soule & Kriesi 2004). Although social movements have been compared and identified with political parties or religious groups—that revolve around single or multiple issues depending on outlook—social movements differ in that they are not formal organisations, rather '[t]hey are networks which may either include formal organizations or not, depending on shifting circumstance. As a consequence, a single organization, whatever its dominant traits, is not a social movement' (della Porta & Diani 2006, p. 25). Further, social movements may incorporate single-issue interest groups into their networks. For instance, Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) is a single-issue interest group that may associate with a social movement. There are also single-issue social movements that may or may not attach with other groups, organisations or movements. The women's suffrage movement is an example of a single-issue movement. As it relates to this thesis, Occupy Toronto is a social movement that consisted of a network of dense informal relations where participants took action largely outside the normative sphere of social and political life. Occupy Toronto is not a single-issue organisation because it hosted a multiplicity of concerns and identities as well as groups, parties and single-issue organisations within its network (see Chapter Four).

2.2.1 The social psychological perspective

One of the foundational contributions to an understanding of how social movements form and organise comes from a social psychological perspective. Gustave Le Bon's (1896) study of the popular mind explored the transformation process of the individual to a collective. For Le Bon (1896), the process of conversion starts with the individual and culminates in a crowd mentality:

> 'Whoever be the individuals that compose it, however like or unlike be their mode of life, their occupations, their character, or their intelligence, the fact that they have been transformed into a crowd puts them in possession of a sort of collective mind which makes them feel, think, and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them would feel, think, and act were he in a state of isolation. There are certain ideas and feelings which do not come into being, or do not transform themselves into acts except in the case of individuals forming a crowd. The psychological crowd is a provisional being formed of heterogeneous elements, which for a moment are combined, exactly as the cells which constitute a living body form by their reunion a new being which displays characteristics very different from those possessed by each of the cells singly'. (Le Bon 1896, p. 4)

For Le Bon, the collective mind is comprised and defined by the individuals that constitute it. The notion of individuals relinquishing their own mind for that of a collective speaks to the transformation of heterogeneous individuals to a homologous entity. During the process of crowd formation, the collective mind of the group takes over and as a result individual capacity is 'weakened' (Le Bon 1896, p. 6). Now part of the collective, the individual capitulates to the mind of the crowd and 'descends several rungs in the ladder of civilisation' (Le Bon 1896, p. 8). Consequently, the individual befits a mindless presence among the collective mind. Individual enrolment into the collective is reflected in:

> 'The disappearance of the conscious personality, the predominance of the unconscious personality, the turning by means of suggestion and contagion of feelings and ideas in an identical direction, [and] the tendency to immediately transform the suggested ideas into acts […] He is no longer himself, but has become an automaton who has ceased to be guided by his will'. (Le Bon 1896, p. 8)

Further, the social psychological perspective considers the extent of individual agency during the formative stages of social movement organisation. First, formation is not dependent on known subjects—isolated and scattered individuals join crowds. Second, feelings, a sense of purpose, and accepted notions of behaviour spread through the crowd and this contagion conditions individual behaviour. This point is reflected in the emergence of norms that dictate action. Third, when the individual is in their isolated state they will act rationally, however, when part of the crowd they are 'hypnotized', resorting to irrational, illogical and impulsive thoughts and actions. In this sense, individuals are influenced by the spirit of the crowd and this effect has a hypnotic quality to it—Le Bon's notion of contagion. Lastly, and most importantly, the individual is subservient to the crowd, or put another way, the individual is subordinate to the collective will over the course of

involvement. Therefore, as individuals merge their personal differences when forming a collective, individual rationality is lost at the expense of the crowd. This understanding of collective behaviour has received criticism, notably that actors are rational, calculated and self-interested entities. For example, collective actors partake in calculated actions and do not necessarily lose their rational capacity to act when participating in a group (Olson 1965). Hence, individuals create meaning and a sense of identity while participating in collective action and this feature should not be lost to the larger crowd. Social movement research has moved on from the idea that individuals surrender their will at the behest of the group. Nevertheless, Le Bon's social psychological perspective is useful for it provides an initial account of the processes through which individuals convert into a collective.

2.2.2 The symbolic interactionist perspective

Turner and Killian (1987) move on from Le Bon's idea of the popular mind and propose the emergent norm theory (ENT). For them, crowds are not mindless entities overseen by impulsive emotions but coherent and rational entities that are affected by group norms. ENT departs from previous thinking that considered crowd behaviour as irrational. For Locher (2002), ENT emphasises that collective action is a result of a situation where actors are 'confused' or 'don't know what to do'. As a result, actors will 'look around to see what other people are doing'. If group behaviour does not receive a 'negative reaction', actors will engage in that behaviour and 'through the process of circular reinforcement, new group norms emerge'. Lastly, 'because most people conform to the norms of the social surroundings most of the time, they will follow the group's new, emergent norms' (Locher 2002, pp. 24-5).

ENT asserts that collective action manifests when the predictability of social order fails to direct everyday actions[12]. As a result of this failure, actors move beyond conventional processes and arrangements to find solutions or new norms to follow. This is because:

> 'Social life usually operates smoothly but conditions sometimes arise where the standard norms do not apply. New norms emerge in these situations. People follow these *emergent norms* just as they usually follow social norms throughout their day (Locher 2002, p. 25, emphasis in original).

Here, the routine activities of everyday life are disrupted and new norms emerge to signal an alternative course of action. Once established, actors follow emergent norms because the practice of

[12] Turner and Killian (1987, p.36) assert that social order is conditional on the 'recurrent, patterned actions which members of a group take for granted in their relationships with each other'. The social order is comprised of three elements: the normative order, which consists of the values, beliefs and norms that society holds dear; the social structure, which is comprised of the social relationships and roles that individuals occupy; and a communication system, where information flows to each individual signalling the breakdown of norms and the formation of emergent norms (Locher 2002).

norm following has been internalised by way of individual schema. Novel norms are first tested and after successive approximations accepted. Leaders or 'keynoters' will influence the crowd by encouraging particular emergent norms (Turner & Killian 1987). As a result, the enacted social order will direct the rational participant through the process of circular reinforcement. Thus, an ENT perspective explains the occurrence of a confusion event where individuals are without knowledge or lack normative insight, and how a group proceeds to create alternative norms.

ENT provides an understanding of collective action as it relates to the social ordering of different groups. However, some unanswered questions remain. For instance, what resources do individuals bring with them to either stabilise or disrupt novel forms of order? How can crowd conformity establish itself beyond simply following the actions of others? That is, what practices and mechanisms condition circular reinforcement? If some individuals are immune from the accountability standards of the crowd, what does this suggest of the reflective potential of the group? Although the notion of social order formation does provide insight into how norms influence collective actors, greater attention on the resources and opportunities (to offer and accept emergent norms) used in the construction of group order is required[13].

2.2.3 The economic perspective

In the *Logic of Collective Action*, Mancur Olson (1965) moves away from the view that collective action is an irrational endeavour. Olson (1965) asserts that actors involved in different forms of collective action are rational and self-interested actors who participate in a variety of groups for collective goods. In this light, 'crowd members act as classic utility maximisers, seeking, as normal, to increase benefits over costs to the individual self but under conditions of altered contingencies' (Reicher 2001, p. 191).

Olson distinguishes between different types of groups. For Olson (1965), small groups are better off in providing the collective good to its members than latent groups because:

> 'In some small groups each of the members, or at least one of them, will find that his personal gain from having the collective good exceeds the total cost of providing some amount of that collective good' (Olson 1965, pp. 33-4).

Within smaller groups, members are better served by receiving the collective good even if it requires them to compensate the full cost of procuring it—the collective good will outweigh the

[13] Although ENT addresses the socialisation process of a collective, without expanding its scale it relies primarily on an analysis of the micro logics of the crowd (Reicher 2001). Consequently an ENT account of collective action is left at the individual level neglecting higher order processes and mechanisms.

cost of acquiring that good. Similar to 'strong ties' found in social networks (Granovetter 1973; Granovetter 1983), smaller groups are more or less comprised by a dense alignment of interests and their strength lies in the configuration of these interests for obtaining collective goods. Additionally, smaller groups characterised by a robust alignment have fewer members in their ranks. As a result, the amount of collective good that is distributed is higher. Members not only have an acute interest to obtain the collective good but the proportion received is much higher.

Large groups, on the other hand, have a latent capacity for action and must provide incentives in the form of collective and non-collective goods to maintain their support base[14]. This is because for large groups it is difficult to mobilise members since the amount of collective good received, which is correlated with a motivation to participate, will differ. Olson explains that latent groups require selective incentives to maintain group participation. Further, the individual involved in large groups will, '…enjoy any improvements brought about by others whether or not he has worked in support of his organization' (Olson 1965, p. 16). The 'free rider' dilemma manifests as members believe they can gain an advantage, or collective good, without the need for full participation. The 'free rider' problem signals the predicament that most groups of considerable size find themselves in. Hence, Olson's economic perspective of collective action can be explained as 'the sum of strategic decisions by individuals, who could only be induced to join a group effort through incentives or sanctions' (Edelman 2001, pp. 287-8). The individual motivation to act will dictate the amount of effort paid by participants, but more importantly for latent groups individual participation is linked with the structural capacity to incentivise participation.

Understanding collective action as a form of economic calculus is differentiated from collective action characterised as emotional, irrational, and brutish. The economic approach to collective action expands the scale of analysis to account for how certain actors entice individual participation through different incentives. However, it neglects an account of collective action that is irrational or completed without incentives. For example, why some actors continue to participate in a group when the effort required exceeds the collective good received. Nevertheless, it addresses how certain actors incentivise participation in different group sizes.

2.2.4 Resource mobilisation theory

Originally developed in the United States as a response to perceived limitations in collective behaviour and crowd theorisations, resource mobilization theory (RMT) focuses on the capacity of

[14] They are latent because their 'potential power can be realized or mobilized only with the aid of selective incentives' (Olson 1965, pp. 49-51).

social movements to mobilise resources (such as funds, equipment and the media), in order to seize (political) opportunities for its members. By concentrating on the social movement organisation (SMO), RMT theorists shift attention away from actors who are mobilised as a result of strain, deprivation or other irrational mob effects (Kitts 2000, p. 241). RMT examines collective action as an outcome of structural exploitation rather than as a result of individual or psychological effects. According to McCarthy and Zald (1977, p. 1213), RMT 'deals in general terms with the dynamics and tactics of social movement growth, decline, and change'. It does so by emphasising that the success or failure of collective action is contingent on the landscape in which SMOs operate and the ability of actors and organisations to exploit resources.

Analytic attention is directed toward the SMO and how it enables or constrains movement actions (Staggenborg 2011, pp. 17-8). Although this approach does share undertones with classical Marxism, such as the view of grassroots struggle vis-a-vis institutional change, it develops a formulation of collective action beyond classist or statist terms. RMT seeks to explore the processes and mechanisms that enable or inhibit the distribution of resources in different contexts (see, for review, Martin 2015). Jenkins states that the central concern of RMT is directed toward 'the link between collective interests and the pooling of resources' (Jenkins 1983, p. 549). Following Olson's (1965) economic perspective, RMT is primarily concerned with the structure of collective action, the rationality of organisations and entrepreneurs, and the channelling of resources. According to Jenkins (1983) RMT contends:

> '(1) movement actions are rational, adaptive responses to the costs and rewards of different lines of action; (2) the basic goals of movements are defined by conflicts of interest built into institutionalized power relations; (3) the grievances generated by such conflicts are sufficiently ubiquitous that the formation and mobilization of movements depend on changes in resources, group organization, and opportunities for collective action; (4) centralized, formally structured movement organizations are more typical of modem social movements and more effective at mobilizing resources and mounting sustained challenges than decentralized, informal movement structures; and (5) the success of movements is largely determined by strategic factors and the political processes in which they become enmeshed'. (Jenkins 1983, p. 528)

Thus, RMT attends to the rationality of actors and groups, different structural opportunities, and the resources required to overcome barriers. The RMT approach to collective action is considerably different than that of Le Bon's social psychological perspective in that emphasis is placed on the structural opportunities of movements rather than on the individual-collective mind.

Particularly relevant to a study of social movements is how particular actors organise and mobilise movement organisations. For RMT, agents such as SMOs and entrepreneurs are central in this

process. This is because they are the ones who translate grievances into action (McCarthy & Zald 1977). Agents define issues, settle controversies and organise the distribution of resources (Staggenborg 2011, p. 18). In this sense, members who are rational maximizers in Olson's terms align with movement agents because of the perceived collective good received and the incentive to participate—movement organisations rely on mutual support and incentives to maintain movement loyalty (Zald & Ash 1966). Thus, agents elicit leadership through a type of organisational and bureaucratic structure through which the ordering and direction of the collective organisation is mobilised.

For RMT, the SMO serves as an organisational unit for a social movement. The SMO is a 'complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals' (McCarthy & Zald 1977, p. 1218). A social movement may be comprised of a number of SMOs that are aligned with its goals. SMOs serve as a conduit for the larger social movement while at the same time offering valuable resources such a movement related knowledge, money and members. For instance, movement organisations and entrepreneurs take on the task of recruiting individuals into the movement in order to develop the resource base. This is accomplished by exploiting organisational ties with individuals who share a common interest with the movement. For scholars such as McAdam and Paulsen (1993), the causal factors that entice participation are:

> '(1) the occurrence of a specific recruiting attempt, (2) the conceptualization of a tentative linkage between movement participation and identity, (3) support for that linkage from persons who normally serve to sustain the identity in question, and (4) the absence of strong opposition from others on whom other salient identities depend'. (McAdam & Paulsen 1993, p. 647)

Movement organisations will 'pull' actors into the movement depending on structural availability or 'push' actors based on ideological identification (McAdam 1986). This process is contingent on the opportunities provided by the organisation (such as incentives) and the context through which it occurs. For some individuals the SMO operates as the formal path to participation.

When considering the recruitment of individuals into a SMO, empirical research has demonstrated that depending on level of ideological commitment, bloc recruitment may work best for aligned individuals, while tailored approaches are most effective for nonaligned individuals (Fernandez & McAdam 1988; McAdam & Paulsen 1993). This is because those who are already aligned with an existing organisation may merge with another organisation through bloc recruitment techniques. If an isolated individual joins an organisation it will be through their particular relationship with the

organisation or a social tie that is already connected to an existing organisation. According to McAdam (1986):

> 'An intense ideological identification with the values of the campaign acts to "push" the individual in the direction of participation while a prior history of activism and integration into supportive networks acts as the structural "pull" that encourages the individual to make good on his strongly held beliefs'. (McAdam 1986, pp. 87-8)

Thus, from a RMT perspective, both structural relationships and micro-social predispositions assist in the recruitment of actors.

Now part of a SMO, the question is how will individuals mobilise? How do resources translate into actionable outcomes? RMT adheres to the view that the mobilisation of resources will depend on the capacity of movement agents to exploit structural opportunities. Bifurcating from RMT because of its lack of emphasis on the structural impact of the political opportunity context on social movement mobilisation, the political process or political opportunity structure approach (POS)[15] regards the mobilisation of resources as contingent on the political environment, the dynamics of the indigenous organisation, cognition of members (McAdam 1982) and historical precedent (Kitschelt 1986). The POS approach seeks to fill the void left by RMT by bringing the state and political context back into the analysis. According to Meyer (2004, p. 127), POS 'arose as a corrective, explicitly concerned with predicting variance in the periodicity, content, and outcomes of activist efforts over time across different institutional contexts'. For Tarrow (1994), individuals participate in social movements '…in response to political opportunities and then, through collective action, create new ones' (Tarrow 1994, cited in Goodwin & Jasper 1999, p. 30). According to Kriesi (2004), the POS approach is comprised of three main arrangements: structures, configurations of power, and interaction contexts. Open or closed structures suggest the relative opportunity for mobilisation, while the configuration of power indicates the alignment of actors within the political milieu. The interaction context is where 'mechanisms [link] structures and configurations to agency and action, and it is at this level that the strategies of the social movements and their opponents come into view' (Kriesi 2004, p. 77).

Taken together, the POS approach embraces an account of the mechanisms—structure (opportunity), action (indigenous organisation), and cognition (individual subjectivity)—involved in the mobilisation of a movement organisation. The mobilisation of resources occurs through

[15] The political opportunity structure approach has also been referred to as the political process theory (PPT) (Goodwin & Jasper 1999).

formal opportunity structures, such a voting, petition writing or permit protected protest. Political opportunities, the form and degree of organisation, and member subjectivities will influence collective action outcomes (McAdam 1982; Tarrow 2010). Because of its emphasis on the structural context of opportunities, the POS approach has received criticism, namely, that agency and culture are left out of the analysis. According to Goodwin and Jasper (1999, p. 29), '[p]rocess theorists tend to wash the meaning and fluidity out of strategy, agency, and culture so that they will look more like structures'. POS scholars have attempted to bring back agency and culture into the analysis through concepts such as 'mobilizing structures' and 'framing', however, much of culture and agency is conflated with the structural opportunity context (Goodwin & Jasper 1999, p. 29). Further, when considering the issue of agency and leadership, by placing emphasis on external structure and opportunities, individual action within movement organisations is overlooked. Although RMT includes an account of agency in the mobilisation of resources, it too tends to obscure the work and location of marginal actors because of its focus on organisational and structural dynamics. As a result, how actors order or marginalise other actors is passed over.

Collective action frames are another central concept in the repertoire of RMT scholars. Collective action frames are fashioned by movement leaders in order to define the movement as well as direct the action of members. Framing processes include the labour intensive task of creating meaning to guide individuals and groups in their everyday actions. Benford and Snow (2000, p. 613) express that framing involves 'the struggle over the production of mobilizing and [counter-mobilizing] ideas and meanings'. What framing theory highlights is the way actors 'construct their self-presentations so as to draw support from others' (Oliver & Johnston 2000, p. 37). Framing processes add an understanding that collective action involves much more than exploiting or leveraging resources and opportunities. Rather, collective action requires a steady supply of ideas and ways of knowing that are relevant to the movement. Information is framed by leaders in a particular way and circulated to achieve certain goals. According to Benford and Snow (2000), collective action frames serve a diagnostic, prognostic and mobilisation (motivational) function. Here, movement leaders articulate frames to punctuate a crisis, deliver a potential remedy or course of action, and call on others to take action. Frames are not static constructs. They are constantly contested by members as new frames replace initial frames. This iterative process characterises the fluidity of frame alignment and the work that must be completed by leaders to order actors. It also highlights how frames operate to inspire and direct the actions of members when individual agency is lacking because of the individual reliance on the movement organisation.

Frame theory is not without criticism. For Oliver and Johnston (2000, p. 37), the central problem of frame theory is that it neglects to highlight 'the relation between frames and the much older, more political concept of ideology, and the concomitant tendency of many researchers to use "frame" uncritically as a synonym for ideology'. By transforming certain ideological outlooks into frames, it risks 'obscuring the depth and complexity of the belief systems underlying these views' (Oliver & Johnston 2000, p. 38). By reducing frames to ideology, the self-conscious process of constructing meaning and action is neglected—individual agency is supplanted by the structural capacity to influence action. Further, frame and ideology are separate constructs that influence and affect social action differently; how multiple ideologies connect with a single frame is neglected when both concepts are employed synonymously. Frames serve to define and direct action while ideology underpins the values and ideals held by actors and group. Hence, by shaping and guiding action, frames address individual agency while at the same time the socialisation of individual action. For the purpose of this thesis, the relevance of framing processes can be found in the delineation of grievances—how actors define and structure the path for collective action.

Although RMT offers perspective on the dynamics of social movement organisation and mobilisation, it nevertheless has its weaknesses. Notably, RMT is charged with the error of normalising collective action by collapsing conventional action with those considered outside the normative realm. According to Piven and Cloward (1991, p. 435), '…in the course of examining the institutional continuities between permissible and prohibited modes of collective action, [RMT scholars] often allow this distinction to disappear'. As a result, by focusing solely on the organisation and its deployment of resources, RMT neglects why actors participate in collective action in the first place. Focus on the structural context tends to overlook the agency of actors who channel and create access to resources and opportunities. Further, an account of the cultural and symbolic dimension of collective action is also absent (Canel 1992). This is because analytic focus is on the movement organisation and how actors incentivise participation. Additionally, RMT employs a restrictive and even deterministic view of actor rationality and instrumentality. It assumes that action is an outcome of individual decision-making based on a cost-benefit analysis. What is left out of the analysis is the potential for actors to participate in different forms of collective action as a result of irrational motivations—linking back to Piven and Cloward (1991), member differences are standardised in this case. RMT is also limited when explaining the passage from grievance to collective action because of its focus on the mobilisation of resources rather than on the development of grievance into action. In this vein, by emphasising structural arrangements and strategic actions, RMT fails to account for the contrast between current movements and those that preceded them (Buechler 1995). Without embedding different modes of engagement, prior

forms of collective action are either omitted or lost. As a result, new collective actions are analytically separated from previous ones.

2.2.5 New social movement theory

Emerging from Continental Europe during the same period as resource mobilization theory, new social movement theory (NSM) advances a post- or non-materiality grounded in the construction of cultural and symbolic meaning. It departs from industrial and Marxist interpretations of class and labour based collective action to capture new forms of collective action that have materialised during a period of post-industrialisation and late capitalism. Here 'new' issues of identity and interest supplant 'old' labour and class concerns. New social movements are culturally entwined, symbolically relevant and constituted by multiple grievances and identities. For NSM scholars, '[c]ontemporary movements operate as signs, in the sense that they translate their actions into symbolic challenges to the dominant codes' (Melucci 1989, p. 12); they 'are characterized by their particular relationship with political systems and with the traditional forms of representation' (Melucci 1996, p. 113). Generally speaking, if RMT is concerned with the 'how' of collective action, NSM identifies the 'why'. NSM shifts analytic focus from traditional issues of labour and class politics to the construction of quality of life meanings and life style identities.

New social movements are represented by identities and grievances rather than by structural position or their ability to mobilise resources. New social movements:

> 'Rely on a range of networks and informal, participatory structures rather than on mostly centralized organizations; they are concerns with the cultural as well as the political sphere; they appeal to many diverse participants as opposed to a limited number of constituents motivated largely be economic interest; they involve the construction of collective identities; and they focus on a broad range of values related to quality of life'. (Buechler 2011, pp. 159-62, cited in Staggenborg 2011, p. 24)

According to Klandermans (1986), new social movement actors can be fragmented into two collectives:

> 'Groups that are affected by the results of industrial modernization. These are primarily groups that have gotten behind as a result of marginalization processes: youths, women, the elderly, and groups that threaten to be disqualified by automation. Groups that have a specific sensitivity to the problems resulting from modernization processes. These are groups whose material needs are satisfied, and who are increasingly confronted with the negative results of economic growth in the competition for positional goods; groups working in the service sector whose profession makes them particularly sensitive to post-materialist values and vulnerable to the negative results of industrial development; and the post-war generation, which grew up under favorable material circumstances'. (Klandermans 1986, p. 24)

Following Melucci's (1989) notion of submerged networks[16], Nash (2010, p. 113) suggests that social movements actually materialise '…infrequently as publicly visible phenomena in comparison with their existence in the practices of a largely part-time and flouting membership in which they are formed and gain and maintain strength'. In this sense, actors find themselves in '…fluid networks that can erupt into collective action from time to time' (Staggenborg 2011, p. 25). Further, '[a]s relationships are formed within submerged networks of new social movements and new collective identities are constructed, activists produce new cultural models and symbolic challenges' (Staggenborg 2011, p. 26). For Habermas, such challenges emerge as a result of a 'legitimation crisis' (Habermas 1975)[17] and are located at the point of interaction between the system and lifeworld. Following Habermas (1975), and the systems approach:

> 'Crises arise when the structure of a social system allows fewer possibilities for problem solving than are necessary to the continued existence of the system. In this sense, crisis are seen as persistent disturbances of *system integration* […] Thus, only when members of a society experience structural alterations as critical for continued existence and feel their social identify threatened can we speak of crises'. (Habermas 1975, pp. 2-3, emphasis in original)

According to Habermas, the system is characterised by the array of elements that it selects and orders. The system operates through administrative and bureaucratic logics and instrumentalises relations through diverse media such as money and policy (Edgar 2006, pp. 145-6). The lifeworld, on the other hand, is the 'stock of skills, competences and knowledge that ordinary members of society use, in order to negotiate their way through everyday life, [...] and ultimately to create and maintain social relationships' (Edgar 2006, pp. 89-91). Collective action is the attempt to safeguard the lifeworld from system colonisation. In this sense, social movements:

> 'Develop as a result of the intrusion by the state and the market into areas of private life. New social movements develop from the tension between system integration (i.e. the steering mechanisms of a society) and social integration (i.e. forces of socialization, meaning-production, and value-formation) and are, according to Habermas, defensive reactions of individuals and groups hoping to protect, defend, or recreate endangered lifestyles. New social movements form at the intersection of the larger social and political system and people's lived experiences'. (Canel 1992)

Communicative and strategic actions are another set of terms advanced by Habermas that are relevant to an understanding of how actors negotiate their lifeworld. According to Habermas, '…an interaction can succeed only if those involved arrive at a consensus among themselves, a consensus that depends on yes/no responses to claims…' (Habermas 1984, p. 106). Through

[16] Submerged networks suggest that social movement associations continue to endure even when out of public view (Melucci 1989).

[17] For Habermas (1975) a legitimation crisis refers to a deterioration of public confidence in system administration, where the system fails to maintain adequate levels of loyalty and trust (Habermas 1975, pp. 46-9).

communicative interaction, actors must derive a sense of *verstehen* [understanding]. This understanding is imperative to the lifeworld of actors since it serves as the 'ontological condition of human society as it is produced and reproduced by its members' (Habermas 1984, p. 107). Communicative action is a process of forming and preserving associations between actors based on mutual and consensual communication. Speakers and receivers are not treated as ends in themselves as each is given an opportunity to validate claims. On the other hand, strategic action is the process by which actors treat others as ends rather than as 'fellow human beings' (Edgar 2006, pp. 144-5). Actors employ strategic actions to instrumentally achieve goals—often times by manipulating others. Strategic action is different than instrumental action in the sense that the former requires two or more actors, while the latter is an act that manipulates different objects located in the physical world. Habermas asserts that the practices of state leaders can be characterised as strategic actions because the need for order replaces the need for communicative understanding of societal values (Habermas 1970). Strategic actions are taken to complete different tasks which are not based on arriving at an understanding.

Another key term of NSM is Habermas' notion of the public sphere. As a result of a legitimation crisis, or the need for communicative action, social movements attempt to preserve the lifeworld from system penetration. Counter actions, defined as an attempt to gain back lifeworld meaning and freedom are animated through communicative action. This animation is possible because '…language is characterized as a universal medium (along with work and domination) in which the social life of the human species unfolds' (Habermas 1975, p. xiii). Communicative acts operate in a *bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit* (bourgeois public sphere) where speech acts and validity claims underlie rational argumentation. Habermas views the struggles of actors as one that attempts to appropriate cultural production from dominant institutions. The actions of symbolic-cultural contestation are processed and defined through communicative acts that take place in the public sphere. This space is invaluable for the efforts of those attempting to preserve the lifeworld because it serves as the fertile ground for deliberation and reflection.

Closely related to the construction and communication of meaning is the idea of collective identity. Collective identity has been employed to 'fill in the gaps' of structural, rational-choice and state-centered explanations (Fominaya 2010, p. 393). Much work on collective identity has come from NSM research where class-based relations ceased to adequately explain for movements of the 1960's and 1970's. For Melucci (1989), a collective identity is a reciprocal process where individuals create a common 'we'. Polletta and Jasper place emphasis on the 'fluid' and 'relational' aspects of collective identity formation. For these authors, a collective identity:

> ‘Describes imagined as well as concrete communities […] It channels words and actions, enabling some claims and deeds but delegitimating others. It provides categories by which individuals divide up and make sense of the social world’. (Polletta & Jasper 2001, p. 298)

Collective identity is a process and a product of social interaction. As a process, actors and groups redefine old templates while creating new ones. This process links diverse constituents while eschewing others—it is inclusive as well as exclusive. As a product, collective identity acts as a reference point for outsiders and insiders. Analogous to collective action framing, collective identities serve as a referent to measure and define a group. Fominaya (2010) distinguishes between the process and product of collective identity:

> ‘While both are legitimate uses of the term, they refer to two different things, not to two elements of the same thing. That is, the “product” definition, collective identity as something people outside the movement recognize and respond to (whether they are antagonists or sympathizers or even potential members) is fundamentally different from the ‘process’ definition that addresses an intra-movement phenomenon; however, much that collective identity is shaped in relation to the field or context in which the movement exists. The “product” definition refers more to a perception of shared attributes, goals and interests (something that can be felt by movement insiders but also by those outside the movement), whereas the ‘process’ definition is more concerned with shared meanings, experiences and reciprocal emotional ties as experienced by movement actors themselves through their interaction with each other. The “product: understanding refers to a sort of “shorthand” reference point for insiders and outsiders that encapsulates key movement frames, issues, tactics, identities, ideologies and orientations’. (Fominaya 2010, p. 367)

Collective identity, both as ‘shared meanings’ or ‘movement goods’, presents itself as an essential requirement for movements as well as a fiction of movements. Jasper and McGarry (2015, p. 5) assert that collective identity ‘can be useful as a strong, unquestioned label for a group, but it is also a fiction that, in other circumstances, can be deconstructed’. This paradox is most evident when actors consider group based collective identities to be misleading, constraining or a misrepresentation of individual reality. In this vein, identities are subjective creations unique to the individual or group and any attempt to reify them reinforces authoritative power. Lastly, and importantly, aligning with a collective identity need not be a requirement for hybrid social movement action. Actors can participate in an action if they believe in the aim of a movement yet do not support the identity of the group. Here, personalised politics is most evident. The significance of a personalised politics for an understanding of collective identity is that it includes rather than is in conflict with interest movements, instrumental and strategic decision-making practices or formal politics (Polletta & Jasper 2001, pp. 298-9). This is because personalised politics connect with a broader action frame rather than having to accept a collective identity in order to participate in a movement (Bennett & Segerberg 2012). In this case, individual involvement is a

personalised and subjective affair rather than '…acting out one's role as a member of a group or association' (McDonald 2002, p. 116). Here, it is 'fluidarity' that characterises the multiplicity of individual associations and connections as opposed to collective identify as a form of solidarity (McDonald 2002).

Although the NSM approach provides valuable insight on why movements emerge and assemble, it nevertheless has garnered criticism particularly from those who consider it to lack an emphasis on how organisational and structural elements produce collective action or on how micro-mobilisations are influenced by leadership structures (Gentry 2004). Further, while new movement configurations are highlighted, particularly informal and participatory forms of organisation, NSM fails to comprehensively account for the structural opportunities and context of movement mobilisation. In this case, agency is highlighted through the construction of a collective identity, while different structures such as micro leadership arrangements are absent (Gentry 2004). Additionally, new movements may not be as 'new' as presented. The 'homogenization' thesis of collective action suggests that contemporary movements include both 'old' and 'new' grievances that are grounded in labour, class, gender, culture, ethnicity and political concerns (Eggert & Giugni 2012). The blending of recognition and redistribution aligns with Fraser's (1995) claim that to understand oppression and the social groups that contest it, needed is an account that '…identifies and defends only those versions of the politics of difference that coherently synergize with the politics of redistribution' (Fraser 1995, p. 167). Through a 'bipartite schema', Fraser (1995, p. 176) argues that some oppressions such as marginalisation are rooted in the political economy while other forms can be a result of cultural dynamics. Thus, instead of distinguishing between old and new concerns, social movement research should include both as reasons that affect movement organisation and mobilisation. This would also provide a measure of how different concerns are valued and ordered as well as the source of marginalisation.

2.3 Social movements and online media

Traditional approaches that sought to explain social movement organisation and mobilisation developed during a time when research assumptions were limited to particular sets of events and technology. It was not until the latter half of the twentieth-century that the action repertoires of protesters changed. In accordance with Oloffson (1988), the legacies of the labour movement, found in RMT and political NSM theorisations, eroded in a time of late-modern societies; contemporary social movements that employ online technologies are 'the natural and self-evident successors' of labour movement means and modalities (Olofsson 1988, p. 16). Social movements are now highly personalised, connective and digitally mediated (Bennet & Segerberg 2012). Social movement

research has begun to examine the relationship between digital online technology, such as the Internet and social media, and collective action (Bennett 2012; Bennett & Segerberg 2012; Bimber, Flanagin & Stohl 2005; Castells 2001; Castells 2009; Castells 2012; Gere 2008; Juris 2005a; Juris 2005b; Juris 2012; Van Aelst & Walgrave 2002; van Dijck 2013; Van Laer & Van Aelst 2010). Although research considering online-offline effects on collective action occurred prior to the turn of the century—for example, studies that explored the Zapatistas—it was not until the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) meetings in Seattle that research on the online action repertoires of protesters began to assume a larger role. Indeed, the 1999 WTO 'Battle of Seattle' is considered exemplary for the uptake of online technology by activists (Kahn & Kellner 2004).

2.3.1 The Internet, social media and collective action

The Internet consists of the 'worldwide interconnection of individual networks operated by government, industry, academia, and private parties' (Internet World Stats 2016). The Internet hosts web based platforms that facilitate the linking of individuals and groups who communicative and share content. The Internet is the infrastructure that links computers, individuals, servers, cables, and other digital-technical elements in a network. Social media refers to 'Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 technology which allows the creation and exchange of user-generated content' (Kaplan & Haenlein 2010, cited in van Dijck 2013, p. 4); it consists of 'a number of online tools that facilitate the creation and sharing of highly interactive and user-generated content' (Gunitsky 2015, p. 44; Xenos, Vromen & Loader 2014, p. 152). As opposed to Web 1.0 qualities, characterised as 'read-only' content, Web 2.0 media is collective, mutable, participatory, and user generated (Birdsall 2007). When applied to an examination of social movement and collective action, actors employ Web 2.0 social media to connect, communicate and collaborate with other users. For example, social network sites (SNS) such as Facebook '…promote interpersonal contact, whether between individuals or groups; they forge personal, professional, or geographical connections and encourage weak ties' (van Dijck 2013, p. 8). By participating via social media (Facebook), actors are fragmented and individualised from traditional collective bases because social media relies on the individual user, their content and social networks.

According to Shirky (2008), online connectivity has increased the ability of individuals and groups to organise themselves and vocalise their concerns. Speaking to the potential of internet activism, Dahlberg highlights the democratic 'two-way, relatively low cost, semi-decentralized, and trans-national communication through which government and corporate power may (in principle) be bypassed and rational-critical deliberation fostered' (Dahlberg 2007, p. 50). For example, during the

1999 WTO protests in Seattle, activists strategically integrated online technology with offline spaces in order to extend communication on geopolitical issues to a global audience (Bradshaw 2013). The use of the Internet by activists may lend itself as a valuable instrument for 'radical democracy':

> 'First, the Internet provides communication spaces for members of groups associated with marginalized discourses to develop counter-publics [...] Second, the Internet's interactivity and reach assists politically diverse and geographically dispersed counter-publics in finding shared points of identity and forming counter-public networks and coalitions (or articulations) of radical discourses, leading to the development of more powerful oppositional discourses […] Third, the Internet supports online and offline counter-public contestation of dominant discourses, and hence the contestation of the deliberations of the mainstream public sphere'. (Dahlberg 2007, p. 56)

According to della Porta and Mosca (2005) what has changed and made Internet use different and more important than before is:

> 'Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) – in particular, the Internet – gives social movements the possibility of spreading uncensored messages, and of attempting to influence mass media. […] Indeed, CMC differs from the traditional media in that it favours 'disintermediation': movements present themselves directly to the general public with low costs especially facilitating resource-poor actors'. (della Porta & Mosca 2005, p. 166)

Today, most social movements include some form of engagement with social media such as Facebook and Twitter to connect, organise and mobilise individuals. It is no longer a question of whether or not activists will employ online technology but to what extent. Thus, the Internet and social media has become a mainstay in the repertoire of activists who communicate and interact across online-offline terrains.

The increase of online tools in the action repertoires of protesters toward the end of the twentieth century and first decade of the twenty-first was facilitated by greater access to the Internet along with associated developments in Web 2.0 based applications. For instance, in March 2000, there were approximately 304 million Internet users worldwide. This figure represented approximately 5.0% of the world population. Comparatively, by June 2010, there were roughly 1,966 million Internet users, representing 28.7% of the world population (Internet World Stats 2016). In North America, 108.1 million Internet users were recorded in 2000; by 2010 the number of registered users increased to 266.2 million (The Royal Blog 2010). Internet use has exponentially increased during the first decade of the twenty-first century and this trend will likely continue. For example, as of November 2015, there were approximately 313,867,363 million Internet users in North America accounting for 87.9% of the population—a 190.4% growth in use since 2000 (Internet

World Stats 2016). With the distribution of Internet access increasing, more individuals are engaging social media platforms such as Facebook in their everyday affairs. According to a Pew research poll on social media use from 2005-2015, '65% of adults now use social networking sites-a nearly tenfold jump in the past decade' (Perrin et al. 2015). Of all adults who are most likely to use social media, 18-29 year olds represent the largest group (78%). With regard to Facebook, as of March 2012 there were approximately 835 million registered users worldwide, serving as the largest social networking site in the United States and Europe (van Dijck 2013, p. 45). In the first quarter of 2013, the United States and Canada had approximately 139 million daily Facebook users (Internet World Stats 2016). According to Castells (2012), this increase in use is best exemplified by the 'rise of mass self-communication':

> 'It is mass communication because it processes messages from many to many, with the potential of reaching a multiplicity of receivers, and of connecting to endless networks that transmit digitized information around the neighbourhood or around the world. it is self-communication because the production of the message is autonomously decided by the sender, the designation of the receiver is self-directed and the retrieval of messages from the networks of communication is self-selected […] Mass self-communication provides the technological platform for the construction of the autonomy of the social order, be it individual or collective, vis-à-vis the institutions of society'. (Castells 2012, pp. 6-7)

Internet and social media use is increasing over time, and this has implications for how individuals engage in social movement activity. One reason is because a 'digital divide' between users continues to exist where 'Internet users are younger, more highly educated and richer than non-users, and more likely to be men than women, and more likely to live in cities' (Fenton 2016, p. 351). Here, the character of online activism may be defined by a relatively small population. Another reason is that as social movements incorporate online technology, the nature of activism will continue to transform. This will affect not only the social relationships between users, but also the extent to which activism is able to challenge for social change.

Since the turn of the century, actors involved in contentious politics participate by reading, writing and publishing content on social media. Social networking sites such as Facebook encourage users to create, upload and connect with users and their online material. For example, photos taken at a protest are uploaded on a Facebook group page for other group members to view, question and mobilise around. Facebook comment threads are examples of the interactive process of user generated content. Indeed, with the rise of Web 2.0 and social networking sites such as Facebook, individuals are provided with 'more opportunities for mobilization through their capacity to support the widespread diffusion of (political) information across diverse networks of individuals'

(Theocharis & Lowe 2016, p. 1467). Access to and familiarity with online technology has become an important resource for organising and mobilizing a social movement.

As older social movements relied on face-to-face contact and the circulation of print media and leaflets to communicate, new forms of social movement participation employ online technologies such as social media to curate, circulate and promulgate information. However, one form of communication has not displaced the other as '[c]ontemporary forms of protest seem to combine "old-fashioned" technologies […] with high-tech mobile tools of communication' (van de Donk et al. 2004, p. 1). While social media has become a central figure in the action repertoire of contemporary activists, it is important to note that platforms such as Facebook do not determine network activities. In avoiding accounts of technological determinism, social media does not govern action, rather platforms and social practices are mutually constitutive (Petray 2011; Tsaliki 2010; van Dijck 2013, p. 6).

2.3.2 Social media characteristics

Van Laer and Van Aelst (2010) provide a typology of online action repertoires. The authors suggest that digitally mediated collective action can be regarded as either Internet supported or Internet based. Internet supported refers to actions that are supported by Internet and social media technology—for example when organising a meeting or calling for a protest. Internet based is contingent on the Internet to function—for example alternative media sites such as Independent Media. Van Laer and Van Aelst (2010) suggest that whether Internet supported or based, actors who employ social media will have to overcome low- or high- threshold barriers to complete their actions. For example, online petition signing is regarded as Internet based, low-threshold activism; the destruction of offline property and sit-ins are examples of Internet supported, high-threshold activism. The difference lies in the cost of activism (Van Laer & Van Aelst 2010, p. 1149). Bimber, Flanagin and Stohl (2005) suggest that features of social media use more or less entail lower costs to participation (low-threshold), enable bottom-up organising rather than traditional top-down organising (individually supported and based) and provide novel spaces for collective action (via social media platforms).

In addition to the low-cost, bottom-up features of social media, Bennett and Segerberg (2012) suggest that new communication technologies such as social media have created a distinct form of collective action that is directed by a 'logic of connective action'. This logic emphasises the personalised nature of those who participate in social movement networks where actors individually connect with one another to form larger networks of contestation. Because social networks such as

these foster 'weak ties' (Granovetter 1973; Granovetter 1983), individuals are able to extend the scale and scope of their interaction beyond that offered by formal or friendship groups. These networks are self-organising, informal networks that require 'little or no organizational coordination', where individuals have access to 'multi-layered social technologies' and information is 'shared over social networks'. Collective actors 'shun involvement of existing formal organizations' while 'communication content centres on emergent inclusive personal action frames' (Bennett & Segerberg 2012, p. 756). The individual motivation to participate is satisfied by the attainment of goods through individual rather than group processes; this more or less does away with the 'free-rider' problem. According to Bennett (2012), the way actors associate in connective action occurs via a personalised action frame:

> 'An ethos of diversity and inclusiveness defined by tolerance for different viewpoints and even different issues linked across loosely bounded political networks. The rise of crowd-sourced inclusive *personal action frames* (e.g., "We are the 99%") that lower the barriers to identification. These easily personalized frames contrast with more conventional collective action frames (e.g., "Eat the rich") that may require more socialization and brokerage to propagate in large numbers. Participation is importantly channelled through often dense social networks over which people can share their own stories and concerns—the pervasive use of social technology enables individuals to become important catalysts of collective action processes as they activate their own social networks'. (Bennett 2012, pp. 21-2, emphasis in original)

As discussed in Chapter One, a personal action frame signifies the banner under which actors connect their individualised politics. Political action becomes an act of engaging with individual lifestyles and grievances beyond that of collective issues (Farro & Lustiger-Thaler 2014). Further, the requirement for a social movement to organise and mobilise actors around a collective identity, as NSM suggests, is mitigated by the logic of connective action. This is because group association is based on individual interests rather than on a common identity. Social media assists this process by amplifying the individual capacity to organise and vocalise concerns (Shirky 2008; van Dijck 2013). In this case, 'the Internet offers people a chance to [self] organize and unite in much more sophisticated and powerful ways…' (Postmes & Brunsting 2002, pp. 295-6). Indeed, what is observed is that 'a socially isolating medium can reinforce social utility' (Brunsting & Postmes 2002, p. 528) and this process is strengthened by a logic that values the connective capacity of self-organising individuals. With regard to how collective action is ordered by social media, authors such as Poell et al. (2016) suggest that traditional leadership is replaced by a connective leadership arrangement that includes 'inviting, connecting, steering, and stimulating, rather than directing, commanding, and proclaiming' (Poell et al. 2016, p. 1009). Movement leaders are required to employ social media to connect actors with a central action frame and distribute information on movement related activities to maintain coherence and participation. This is accomplished by

leveraging the communicative and organising capacity of social media. Users will decide whether or not to participate with a cause based on their relative identification with an action frame, while the question of how to participate is influenced by communicated information.

2.3.3 Social media use and collective action participation

Boulianne's (2015) meta-analysis of social media use and collective action participation highlights social media's role as an information provider and tool for organising social networks. For example, Facebook and Twitter are typical platforms through which users gather information and organise different actions (Boulianne 2015, p. 524). Garrett (2006) asserts that social media enables quick access to information while users 'tailor how he/she encounters content' (Garrett 2006, p. 207). Depending on need, social media is flexible enough to offer multiple applications (van Dijck 2013). Hence, social media can be employed by activists as a tool to create, gather and transfer information in a way to organise and mobilise actors.

Another view of social media use focuses on the role of social media in creating opportunities for political participation and engagement. Research in this area has more or less found that 'the relationship between social media use and participation is clearly positive' (Boulianne 2015, p. 529), and that 'social media may be helping to soften traditional patterns of political inequality' (Xenos, Vromen & Loader 2014, p. 152). However, questions remain as to the strength and significance of these reported relationships. For example, Theocharis and Lowe (2016) report that social media use during the 2011 protests in Greece actually signalled a decline in political participation. Further, the extent to which a 'softening' of political inequality has occurred is debatable since the digital divide continues to exist in countries like Canada (Sciadas 2002). Individuals are still marginalised from the benefits of Internet and social media applications because of a lack of access to different platforms and/or insight on how to use the Internet and social media.

Social media also provides state authorities with a tool to repress dissent. For example, Pearce (2015) found that social media offers an inexpensive means for authoritarian regimes to subtly harass, repress or co-opt oppositional groups. According to Pearce (2015), 'despite the optimism demonstrated by policy-makers and human rights advocates […] social media make social control easier, calling into question the assumption that the Internet can bring democracy' (Pearce 2015, p. 1169). Gunitsky (2015) adds that social media use by state authorities actually enhances their authoritative capacity. This is achieved by employing social media as a tool to pre-empt (content) and co-opt (message) counter movements. As a result, social media can reinforce the control and

regulatory power of authorities because of its pre-emptive capacity to frame media content and because of the opportunity to co-opt and deflect the message of oppositional groups.

The disposition of individuals who employ social media to participate in collective action is also of interest. This is because participation via social media has been said to suffer from 'slacktivism'. According to Morozov (2009), slacktivism describes:

> '[F]eel-good online activism that has zero political or social impact. It gives those who participate in "slacktivism" campaigns an illusion of having a meaningful impact on the world without demanding anything more than joining a Facebook group'. (Morozov 2009, np)

The problem with slacktivism is that it is considered to be weaker than traditional (offline) forms of political participation. Here, users participate in (online) collective action by the click of a mouse. Christensen (2011) attributes this shallow commitment to a 'feel good' activism culture. This type of activism confirms positive subjective feelings associated with individual (online) participation, however lacks the opportunity for creating social change (Chazal & Pocrnic 2016). However, Christensen (2012, p. 18) reminds scholars to be cautious when ascribing failures to a slacktivist ethos because Internet activism in itself does not necessarily harm democratic engagement; it is a combination of technology and the individual motivation to participate.

What has changed in the action repertories of activists since the turn of the century is the pace and sites through which disparate voices connect, communicate, and participate. Loader (2008) suggests that when attributing the effects of collective action to social media, scholars should understand that what is now being witnessed is not a new form of social movement directed by social media; rather social media simply provides old movements with new tools (Loader 2008). Hence, social media blurs the boundaries of online-offline action while at the same time is inseparable from it (Castells 2012; Kavada 2015). Research must be sensitive to this hybridisation when examining social movement and collective action and the multiple ways of enacting it.

2.3.4 Social media and the Occupy movement

Research investigating the relationship between social media use and the Occupy movement has only begun to surface. There is interest in the topic and with more time additional findings will be established. From what is available a couple of preliminary trends may be offered. First, in line with previous literature, social media was employed by the Occupy movement in order to disseminate information among its members and the public. Second, overlapping with the diffusion of movement related information, social media was used by occupiers to organise and mobilise constituents across online-offline sites. Hence, the Occupy movement utilised the Internet and

social media to spread its message, inform occupiers of different events, and organise working groups and other social actions (Balkind 2013).

With regard to the first trend, social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, operated as communication and information devices for the movement. In this case, social media assisted in expanding public awareness of the movement. The communication of information also served a secondary function; it assisted in establishing an in-group identity. According to Kavada (2015), an outcome of social media use was that it served the function of 'identization', a process by which actors began to construct a collective identity from the information that was circulating. The informational role social media played operated as a mechanism for establishing the identity of Occupy, while platforms such as Facebook were 'important in the process of creating the collective' (Kavada 2015, p. 884). However, as discussed above, the necessity of establishing a collective identity may not be as significant to the organisation of a movement network because of the individualised nature of connective action (Bennett & Segerberg 2012). This questions the extent to which social media actually served an 'identization' function. Hence, when understanding actor engagement with social media, focus should be placed on the actors who engage it (Skinner 2011, p. 5).

The second trend highlights that social media was used by Occupy as an organising and mobilising instrument. According to Kavada (2015), social media was employed to recruit members via different platforms. For example, during the beginning months of the movement it was not uncommon to see Occupy Facebook administrators post times and dates of meetings and actions for others to join in. For Kavada (2015, p. 878), social networking platforms operated as 'unofficial membership databases' through which Occupy Facebook administers could further target and draw members who have 'liked' the group. Bennett, Segerberg and Walker (2014, pp. 233-4) attribute this process of network organising as a practice of 'stitching'. That is, actors 'stich' together the network and its members via social media. Bennett, Segerberg and Walker (2014) suggest that network stitching technologies include:

> 'Production: This category of mechanisms involves creating and publicizing (sharing) various kinds of resources within an action network; Curation: mechanisms [that] entails the preservation, maintenance, and sorting of digital assets created in the production process; and Dynamic integration: This category of mechanisms enables contact, transmission, and switching among different actors, networks, platforms, and technologies'. (Bennett, Segerberg & Walker 2014, pp. 239-40)

Actors must constantly work to 'stich' the network in order to achieve some semblance of operational structure and coherence. Following Juris (2012), the rationale that underpins this process of connection can be explained by the 'logic of aggregation'. Individual social media use 'generates particular patterns of social and political interaction that involve the viral flow of information and subsequent aggregations of large numbers of individuals in concrete physical places' (Juris 2012, p. 266). Building off of the notion of connective action, the aggregating function, or stitching of the network, requires the coming together of 'actors qua individuals' (Juris 2012, p. 266). However, with regard to the Occupy movement, what is needed from an account that examines social media use and the aggregation of offline and online sites is an understanding of how occupiers actually ordered the network beyond manipulating informational flow. That is, what mechanisms were needed to structure the movement network? How did occupiers blend the offline with the online in order to stabilise? As social media will continue to play a vital role in different social movement processes, greater understanding of how this occurs and what it entails is needed.

2.4 The ordering of collective actors

Internal and external actors order social movement organisation and mobilisation across online-offline sites in different ways. Internal movement ordering refers to the process through which certain actors define collective grievances, set the course for collective action, organise relations and mediate mobilisation outcomes. Internally, certain actors will employ strategies and tactics to produce and stabilise collective order while at the same time limit disruption (see Chapter Four). External forces, such as the police order police, order a social movement by challenging mobilisation outcomes and representations (see Chapter Seven). By engaging in actions beyond institutionalised channels, social movements are met by police who attempt to re-order public disruptions. The way the police order social movements will influence a movement's mobilisation potential and the extent of movement marginalisation. This is important for criminologists interested in the relationship between dissent, order and marginalisation. This is because the strategies and tactics applied to order social disruptions such as crime could also be used against movement mobilisation efforts. Equally, strategies and tactics applied to the policing of protest will normalise across quotidian crime policing efforts. Further, the sites of protester-police interaction also highlight the degree to which values of freedom of speech, assembly and association are endorsed. A movement's mobilisation potential will depend on the policing style—it is here where certain actors and groups experience marginalisation. The next section will address a criminological understanding of order as it relates to dissent. The final two sections will outline internal and external ordering as it will be applied to this thesis.

2.4.1 Criminology as 'order-ology'

According to Shearing (1989), the discipline of criminology has always been attentive to the process of ordering. Whether the object of inquiry is crime, private policing or state regulation, 'order-ology' encompasses crime and criminality as elements of a wider analysis. This is because criminology has always been about social order—problems of crime are essentially problems of order. For Shearing (1989), that criminology is concerned with ordering processes and products is to accept the world as materially and symbolically constituted while constantly changing. This perspective shifts focus from crime as the central object of inquiry to the activity of social ordering—the way of doing things and the struggles that surround it (Shearing 1989, p. 174). Criminology as 'order-ology' does not displace crime from criminology; rather it provides a fractured view of ordering process, one that is contingent on the relational interplay of different elements (Shearing 1990). Research that is located past the borders of 'crime-ology' adds to the theoretical and empirical enterprise of crime and criminality research by addressing the relationship between the process and product of ordering.

Dissent and crime have generally been separated in social movement and policing research. This is because scholars approach their object of inquiry according to discipline specific standards. As a result, the dissent-crime dichotomy has had the effect of neglecting the ordering relationship between the two (Oliver 2008). For instance, the strategies and tactics employed by the public order police to stifle crime often create a legacy for wider social ordering applications that may influence dissent—the repression of crime can have the effect of reducing future political mobilisations (Oliver 2008). This is because ordering strategies and tactics are often normalised and passed on to subsequent sites (Wood 2014). By investigating how a social movement is internally and externally ordered, a movement's mobilisation potential (the degree it can be represented in other sites) and the extent to which it is marginalised is explored. By transcending the dissent-crime separation an account is provided that takes into consideration how entities and the structures that facilitate them respond to the ordering of a movement network from within and beyond.

2.4.2 The internal ordering of a social movement network

During the process of emergence and organisation, certain actors will appear to define and order a movement network. This is done to establish the movement's main controversy, membership base and what is expected of different actors. Resource mobilisation theory (RMT) provides an account of how movement organisations and entrepreneurs order resources (i.e., constituents). This is accomplished by incentivising collective behaviour. Although an account of how actors order movement organisation and mobilisation is offered, RMT nevertheless '…neglects agency in its treatment of mobilizing structures' (Morris & Staggenborg 2004, pp. 173-4). This is because of its

focus on the structural context and incentives that affect the unfolding of a movement network. Hence, RMT provides an account of the internal ordering of a social movement network, however, the extent to which constituents affect the ordering process is overlooked.

With regard to new social movement theory (NSM), ordering movement emergence and organisation is an informal and decentralised process where the collective identity of a group produces a common 'we' for actors to coalesce around (Melucci 1989). However, in an attempt to remain informal and without central leaders, new social movements face problems. For example, the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) in the United States in the late 1960s experienced difficulty when attempting to organise a collective around decentralised and informal leadership structures (Hanisch 2001). In an effort to overcome limitations associated with horizontal arrangements, some activists attempted to impose formal structures. However, members were met with internal resistance '…that contributed greatly to radical feminism's inability to unite, fight and survive' (Hanisch 2001, p. 77). Here, a 'tyranny of structurelessness' (Freeman 1972) affected the extent to which the collective was able to act on key issues. As a result, instead of being articulated through formal structures, ordering mechanisms were expressed through informal configurations (Hanisch 2001). Thus, whether formally or informally based, social movement emergence and organisation relies on certain actors and structures to order the movement network. The mobility and efficacy of constituents will differ depending on whether a movement is hierarchically or horizontally structured. NSM overlooks some of the formal elements involved in ordering process as well as how micro-ordering is accomplished (Gentry 2004).

Part of the process of ordering a social movement requires establishing the pathway to the collective. How certain actors structure the conduits through which others gain access to a collective movement network is an important aspect to consider. Traditional social movement approaches such as RMT and the political opportunity structure (POS) have focused on the resources and political opportunities available, respectively (Martin 2015) or on the collective frame (Benford & Snow 2000) used to organise and structure actors. NSM, on the other hand, highlights organisation as a process where individuals coalesce in a public sphere to communicate and order collective outcomes (Habermas 1975). For instance, communication techniques such as narration and/or storytelling found within the public sphere assist movement organisers with the ordering of collective actors along certain pathways (Benford 2002). This is because they serve to delimit and measure behaviour against established rules, policies and platforms. Although these approaches address the relationships and elements that affect movement ordering, insight is needed on how different actors and platforms serve as conduits to channel participation while at the same time

structure the movement network. It is here where the relational interplay between actors and their networks becomes evident. This is because as actors take action, they at the same time structure the field of participation.

With regard to ordering the recruitment of actors into a movement network, according to Klandermans and Oegema (1987), the success of movement mobilisation relies on the extent to which it has access to and can exploit its recruitment network. Different strategies and tactics are employed by movement leaders to influence the recruitment of actors through various networks (Klandermans & Oegema 1987, p. 520). For McAdam (1986), factors that 'pull' individuals into a movement rely on structural links, such as social networks, while factors such as ideological identification or socialisation 'push' the individual into collective action. In this case, context specific causes affect the recruitment of actors. On the other hand, movement leaders will communicate a collective identity for actors to connect with or strategically employ different methods to coerce or induce participation. According to NSM, the ordering of movement recruitment is contingent on the application of different social actions to communicate or instrumentalise individual involvement (Habermas 1984; 1987). As discussed in Chapter One, Occupy Toronto was an informal network of individualised concerns where pre-existing push or pull factors may have been absent. Further, although different social actions were employed (see Chapter Six) the ordering of Occupy Toronto recruitment relied on individual identification with an action frame rather than a common collective identity to pull participants into the movement network. Hence, a deeper exploration of the strategies and tactics used by certain actors to order movement recruitment is required; one that accounts for the exploitation of online-offline recruitment channels and how different actions and devices stabilise associations.

The actors and objects that mediate associations will affect the extent to which a movement is able to order its mobilisation potential. According to RMT, movement organisations and entrepreneurs are central in this process. This is because different organisational leaders, whether located at the national, regional or local level, actively work to maintain and facilitative group mobilisation processes (McCarthy & Wolfson 1996). Without the authority of leaders, established via organisational structures, movements find it difficult to translate resources into different outcomes. However, when investigating the relational unfolding of a movement network, greater emphasis should be placed on how 'actors qua individuals' (Juris 2012, p. 266) come to mobilise movement representations into different sites. This is because any actor may mobilise movement outcomes. In this sense, individual and collective mobilisation occurs via an array of mediators that facilitate the transportation of the movement network (see Chapter Seven). When looking at the internal ordering

of movement mobilisation, it is important to account for how different actors, and the mediators that they employ, mediate and represent a movement across online-offline platforms.

2.4.3 The external ordering of a social movement network

The public order police will influence the mobilisation potential of a social movement network. This is because, depending on their role, they will enforce public order ordinances, suppress transgressive populations in an attempt to maintain order, pre-empt future order disruptions through preventive policing efforts, and when needed provide social and emergency services (see, for example, Bayley 1996; Waddington 1999). Hence, a social movement's mobilisation potential is not only conditional on internal ordering conventions and practices but also the extent to which external forces order protester mobility (representations) and the sites of protest.

The public order police have deployed different methods and devices to order social movements. Up until the 1970s the public order policing style was considered to be one of escalated force. The escalated force model was 'brutal', 'repressive', 'diffused', 'reactive', 'confrontational', and 'rigid' (della Porta & Fillieule 2004, p. 218; della Porta & Reiter 1998, p. 4). It was characteristic of a 'hard' style of public order policing—rights were neglected and protesters were usually not given permission to protest. There was little tolerance for unknown or radical protesters (transgressive protesters). Here 'peaceful rallies and polite picketing' where favoured over 'civil rights' or 'unfamiliar forms of protest' (McPhail, Schweingruber & McCarthy 1998, p. 52). Further, the level of communication between protesters and police was relatively non-existent as police generally refused to negotiate with protesters. The manner in which police employed the mechanism of arrest was frequent while force was also regularly employed (McPhail, Schweingruber & McCarthy 1998, p. 53). Under the escalated force model, public order police worked to limit, disrupt and suffocate protest mobilisation before it had a chance to develop.

Developing from the escalated force approach, the negotiated management model came to serve as the standard public order policing style up until the late 1990s. Negotiated management aspired to liaise with protesters who were keen to share information and co-operate with police (Waddington 2007, p. 192). Negotiated management attempted to mitigate public disruption by communicating with individuals and groups prior to and during mobilisation. In contrast to escalated force, the negotiated management approach emphasised the 'underenforcement of the law'; 'the search to negotiate' (with protesters); and the 'large scale collection of information' (della Porta & Reiter 1998, p. 6). If escalated force was the 'hard' response to protest mobilisation, then negotiated management was its 'soft' alternative. Indeed, negotiated management was 'lenient', 'tolerant',

'selective', 'legal', 'preventative', 'consensual', and 'flexible' in its approach to dealing with known and transgressive protesters (della Porta & Fillieule 2004, p. 218). The rights of protesters were respected and police tolerated certain amounts of disruption. The mechanism of arrest was used 'as a last resort' and when used it was 'selectively' applied (McPhail, Schweingruber & McCarthy 1998, p. 53). With regard to force, police seldom used it while negotiation was preferred.

Toward the end of the twentieth-century and into the first decade of the twenty-first, the public order policing approach shifted once again. Two main reasons affected this transformation. First, because of developments in the action repertoire of protesters, public order police could not negotiate or ensure site security. The fallout of the 1999 WTO ministerial meetings in Seattle is a case in point. Second, post 9/11 security procedures placed greater emphasis on limiting societal risks through pre-emptive action and the widespread collection of information. Public order policing in the beginning of the twenty-first century blended elements of escalated force and negotiated management while orienting to issues of security and risk, information and intelligence, and the control of space. The intelligent control model of public order policing is one approach through which to understand this process. For de Lint and Hall (2009), public ordering is directed toward the prevention of threats, information control, and networks of security to deal with transient and recurrent protest mobilisations. Here, police employ a number of blended responses when dealing with known and transgressive actors: liaison strategies, the requirement to self-police, force, surveillance, and intelligence collection and distribution. Intelligent control is considered as 'a hybrid of liaison strategies and intelligence-based coercion resulting in an overall approach that is measured, flexible, targeted and stage managed' (de Lint & Hall 2009, p. 275). Intelligence control acknowledges the consensual aspects of negotiated or liaison policing as well as the coercive and constraining effects of intelligence-led and paramilitary policing.

More recently, the strategic incapacitation approach to public order policing builds on aspects of escalated force, negotiated management and intelligence control. Strategic incapacitation operates on the assumption that police evaluate order disruptions through actuarial risk judgements (assessment and management) as well as through a frame of spatial distribution (site control) and incapacitation (social control). Strategic incapacitation is built on ideas found in new penology and risk theory as applied to public order policing (Gillham 2011; Gillham, Edwards & Noakes 2013; Gillham & Noakes 2007; Noakes & Gillham 2006). Here, intelligence on disruptive populations is gathered to strategically incapacitate potential risks by pre-emptively sanitising protest sites of harm. According to Gillham (2011), under the strategic incapacitation approach:

> ‘Police decide in advance with no input from protest planners where demonstrations will be allowed and divide public and private spaces into three types of securitized zones. Hard zones are areas where targets of protest gather and are off limits to everyone without proper credentials and security clearance. Free-speech zones are areas where police decide in advance to allow legal protest to occur and are increasingly located far away from the targets of protest like a political convention. Soft zones are public spaces usually adjacent to hard zones where First Amendment rights are temporarily curtailed. These are the spaces where police and protesters are most likely to clash’. (Gillham 2011, p. 646)

As it can be seen, since the turn of the century police have relied on intelligence (and the control of it) and spatial re-distribution to (re)order social movement mobilisation. Rights are granted as long as protesters follow police prescriptions. The line that separates acceptable and out-of-bounds behaviour is fluid with police adjusting the contours as mobilisations unfold. Communication between police and protesters are unilateral in the sense that police demarcate protest options. Further, the police will attempt to define or identify a movement leader so that communication (and co-option) may be achieved. Because some movements such as Occupy refuse to list a central leader, the police will find it difficult to liaise with or be responsive to movements and their goals. As a result, the police will rely on ‘hard’ or intelligence led responses to counter deficiencies. Additionally, arrest and force are used selectively not so much to deter or punish protesters but to order protesters. Hence, police-protester ‘relations have become more adversarial with greatly diminished trust, cooperation and communication’ (Gillham, Edwards & Noakes 2013, p. 98). What is observed by the application of intelligence control and strategic incapacitation to the policing of protest mobilisation is that the ordering process is reflective of a paramilitary policing style focused on information gathering and spatial control.

With regard to this thesis, how external forces order a social movement and the actors that comprise it is an important issue to consider. This is because it speaks to how movements order themselves in light of outside pressures. Also, liberal democratic values such as free speech, assembly, and association are defined through protester-police interaction. Hence, the ordering of social movement mobilisation by external forces will affect the mobilisation potential of a movement and the extent to which it is marginalised. For example, if rights are protected, disruptions are tolerated and communication is persistent, it is reasonable to assume that a social movement will continue to exploit opportunities. However, if the response by police is coercive, diffused and indifferent, social movements will find it difficult to mobilise constituents. How protesters engage with and are ordered by police is significant when attempting to understand the unfolding of a social movement network and the strategies and tactics of protesters. It also highlights how ordering is normalised across sites. As will be discussed in Chapter Seven and Eight, a problem with employing actor-network theory (ANT) to investigate the external ordering of Occupy Toronto is that some actor-

networks are omitted from the analysis. This is because of the nature of the case study undertaken and analytic outlook. Here, the gaze of external forces such as the public order police is difficult to discern since there is a divide that is not easily overcome. In this sense, it is challenging to account for the controversies, concerns and entities that comprise the public order policing response. This is because, as Waddington (1999, pp. 127-133) notes, as police officers work to shield the gaze of bureaucracy from internal rule breaking, it follows that external insight into the practices of police will be limited. Nevertheless, how external forces such as the police ordered Occupy Toronto mobilisation will be examined.

2.5 Conclusion

Social movement organisation and mobilisation, along with the dimensions of collective action leadership, order and marginalisation, have been explored and interpreted in different ways. The divergence in outlooks relate to variances in epistemological and ontological orientations. Resource mobilisation theory (RMT) considers social movement organisation and mobilisation to be a result of a central grievance defined by a core group of actors located in a movement organisation. Leaders and members are rational maximizers who incentivise participation. Social movement organisations (SMO) are considered professional groups in the sense that actors, who may be paid, work to channel resources for exploiting opportunities in different societal structures. Here, central actors through different structural processes complete the ordering of actors. Movement mobilisation occurs as opportunities open up in the social-political field. The extent to which individuals participate in collective action is dependent on the structural context and availability of movement resources. A structural understanding of collective action offers a view of the organisational dynamics that affect different movement processes; however it neglects a view of the agency of actors and the role played by culture on individual decision-making.

New social movement theory (NSM), on the other hand, highlights actor organisation as centred on post-material and cultural concerns. This is because 'old' movements, such as the labour movement, do not reflect contemporary movements. Hence, collective action is a result of symbolic conflicts rather than grounded in economic or labour interests—however, the extent to which new movements are actually 'new' has been challenged (Calhoun 1993). NSM explains group organisation and mobilisation as a consequence of concerns inherent in post-industrial society. Actors organise around the re-production of social and cultural life. Here, a collective identity is constructed to unite individuals. Mobilisation outcomes are conditional on informal and horizontal leadership structures; however, there is a lack of structural insight on the micro-mobilisation

process (Gentry 2004). NSM identifies why actors participate in collective action but fails to address the structural or organisational arrangement of individuals vis-à-vis social structures.

Social movement ordering and marginalisation by external forces such as the public order police refers to the extent to which social movement actors mobilise and represent a movement network in different sites. For example, if the protest policing style is one that is centred on control and incapacitation, regardless if protesters are known, their mobilisation potential will be constrained. The extent to which public order police order and marginalise public disruptions is contingent on the policing style and political context.

Recently, social movement research has placed greater emphasis on the individualised and connective enterprise of collective action (Bennett & Segerberg 2011; Bennett & Segerberg 2012; Farro & Lustiger-Thaler 2014). Collective action is considered to be an outcome of online-offline network interaction. The blending of social media with offline sites aggregates informal networks of diverse individuals (Juris 2012). With regard to the role of leadership, ordering occurs in diffuse and facilitative ways while marginalisation is a concern of access to online-offline platforms and content. Further, individuals who participate in collective action mainly through online platforms are considered to lack a level of intensity and commitment when compared to offline counterparts. This is because online platforms offer low-risk and low-threshold forms of activism. In order to avoid accounts of technological determinism, research must be sensitive to the view that individual motivation along with the method used will affect collective action outcomes.

What is drawn from the above analysis, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three, is that an account of contemporary social movement organisation and mobilisation that seeks to understand the fluid and relational interplay of actors across online-offline sites must develop beyond structural or agential perspectives. This is because actors, objects and networks co-produce social movement reality and this has implications for the organisation and mobilisation of heterogeneous entities. The manner in which a social movement network is able to achieve desired ends will depend on the action and context of actors and movement networks. Thus, by exploring how actors organise and mobilise a social movement network across online-offline sites, as well as the role played by individuals in this process, a better understanding of the interplay between networks and actors beyond social dualities is provided.

CHAPTER THREE: ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY AND THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed traditional approaches used to examine social movements and collective action. The relationship between social media and social movement participation was highlighted. The significance of constituent ordering on a movement's mobilisation potential by internal and external entities was also distinguished. The purpose of this chapter is to foreground the theoretical and methodological approach that will guide this thesis. Actor-network theory (ANT) and the method of translation are reviewed. An ANT methodology locates the unfolding of an actor-network in the moments of: problematisation; obligatory passage point, interessement and enrolment; and mobilisation. This chapter will discuss the application of ANT in prior social movement research as well as address its shortcomings. This chapter ends with a discussion on the methods employed by this thesis as well as ethical considerations.

3.1 The causality of action

From Durkheim to Merton, social phenomenon such as a social movement has been understood through a structured order specifying the functional nature of entity relations. The structural view of causality attributes outcomes to the influence of external forces. Here, structures that affect action are generated as a result of the repeated interaction between different patterns of social behaviour. Social movement outcomes, then, are contingent on the structural context. This account of causality has been criticised for performing downward conflation or engaging in methodological collectivism or structural determinism (Archer 1995). In this sense, social movement effects are affected and constrained by social structures. Attributing outcomes to social structures is problematic because it neglects an individual's ability to act and create meaning that cannot be ascribed to a structural position alone.

Following social interactionists such as Mead and Simmel, social action is dependent on the aggregation of actors who create meaning through interaction and communication. Here, outcomes are not attributed to structural properties rather individual motivation and behaviour. Research that employs an individual-centred view of social reality has been charged with committing upward conflation or methodological individualism (Archer 1995). The issue with attributing social reality generation to individual action is that structural effects are downplayed when discerning the causality of social action.

Research attempts that to move beyond structural or agential accounts attribute social reality outcomes to a combination of both processes. Giddens' (1984) understanding of structuration attempts to bridge the structure-agency divide. For Giddens (1984), the duality of structure offers insight on the ontology of social phenomenon by identifying the transaction between different forms and processes that re-produce at points of interaction. However, the problem with this approach is its tendency of central conflation, where structural properties and agential practices are combined and in turn obfuscated (Kort & Gharbi 2013). According to Archer (2003), the duality of structure eschews the notion that '…objectivity and subjectivity refer to two causal powers that are irreducibly different in kind and make relatively autonomous contributions to social outcomes' (Archer 2003, pp. 1-2). In this sense, both structure and agency are to be separated and given consideration in the determination of social reality production.

For Archer (1995; 2003) and other critical realists such as Elder-Vass (2010), a problem with central conflation is that it confounds properties that can separately be attributed to structures or individuals. This is because both structures and individuals hold different causal properties (King 2010). For the critical realist, social reality and the understanding of it must be grounded not in systems of belief or individual action, but in the exchange of the two. In this sense, reality is comprised of three different levels—the real, actual, and empirical (Elder-Vass 2010). The distinction between the three speaks to the belief that phenomenon, such as crime or collective action, emerges as a result of enduring conditions. Underlying arrangements and processes not only influence events but exist independently from them. The structures and mechanisms that influence outcomes continue to endure even though they are not captured nor accounted for by the causality of things (Collier 1994). Bhaskar (1978) reflects on this stratification:

> 'Events must occur independently of the experiences in which they are apprehended. Structures and mechanisms then are real and distinct from the patterns of events that they generate; just as events are real and distinct from the experiences in which they are apprehended. Mechanisms, events and experiences thus constitute three overlapping domains of reality, viz. the domains of the *real*, the *actual*, and the *empirical*'. (Bhaskar 1978, p. 56, cited in Elder-Vass 2004, p. 2, emphasis in original)

Although offering an understanding of the overlapping and enduring nature of social reality, critical realism has received criticism. For Magill (1994), the idea that research must move past 'constant conjunctions'[18] in an effort to capture ontology—as Bhaskar insists—fails to account for quotidian aspects of social life. In this sense, there are 'constant conjunctions' that occur all the time and 'no

[18] Constant conjunctions, as proposed by Hume, refer to the cause and effect relationship where only through repeated experiences—constant conjunctions—can causation be attributed.

universal ontology can resolve specific ontological problems within particular sciences or social sciences' (Magill 1994, pp. 115-21). Sceptics challenge the avoidance of constant conjunctions on the grounds that research that attempts to get past the empirical is meaningless. This is because researchers are still able to account for an independent reality, as critical realists would suggest, but refrain from falling into the trap of deducing conjunctions away that cannot be found in reality, that is, outside the laboratory. By analytically separating structure and agency an understanding of the co-production of events and experiences is limited.

3.2 Actor-network theory

Rather than considering phenomenon as structurally determined, individually contingent or a conflation of the two, actor-network theory (ANT) suggests that materially heterogeneous entities co-produce reality. This is because there is no independent reality that exists, only those outcomes that are enacted by the interplay of various entities or 'quasi-objects' (Latour 1993). As a response to weaknesses inherent in relativism and constructionism[19], ANT is concerned with how subjects, objects, technologies and discourse simultaneously co-create reality. According to Crawford (2005, p. 1):

> 'ANT privileges neither natural (realism) nor cultural (social constructivism) accounts of scientific production, asserting instead that science is a process of heterogeneous engineering in which the social, technical, conceptual, and textual are puzzled together (or juxtaposed) and transformed (or translated)'.

ANT attempts to overcome dichotomous theorising that considers reality as 'singular', 'independent', 'anterior', 'definite' and 'out-there' (Law 2004, pp. 23-7). With regard to a social movement actor-network, ANT offers a relational account of (social) reality co-production where outcomes are attributed to actor-network enactments rather than structural or agential causes alone. This is because, according to Law (2009), ANT is a material-semiotic approach that assumes reality can only be understood within the enactments in which it is fashioned. Actor-network realties, in this case, are understood in the context of mechanisms, processes and properties that unfold network associations. Because the actor-network is a heterogeneous assembly of (im)material entities, attributing meaning to certain elements or outcomes is a 'precarious' endeavour as only actors and their enactments constitute meaning-making (Law 2009). Developing on ANT's material semeiotic approach and its application to Occupy Toronto, the composition and meaning-making found throughout the movement network is addressed by focusing on what is employed by different

[19] Latour (1993, p. 113) notes that 'absolute relativism, like its enemy brother rationalism, forgets that measuring instruments have to be set up. By ignoring the work of instrumentation, by conflating science with nature, one can no longer understand anything about the notion of commensurability itself'.

entities to organise and mobilise network associations and how do different entity actions and devices signify net-work within Occupy Toronto.

ANT positions itself beyond the orthodox split between assumptions of nature and society, namely that facts are to be found in the external world by scientists. This is because the natural and social worlds act 'as a continuously generated effect of the webs of relations within which they are located' (Law 2009, p. 141). According to Law (1992, p. 381), 'the social world is nothing other than patterned networks of heterogeneous materials'. Couldry (2008, p. 93) suggests that research should attempt to '…explain social order not through an essentialized notion of the social but through the networks of connections among human agents, technologies, and objects'. This is because grand theorising conceals the very nature of the object and does not explain much of what is actually at work (Callon et al. 1983; Latour 2005b). Analytic emphasis is placed on the connections and associations of actor-network hybrids. Thus, an ANT account of reality production:

> 'Describes the enactment of materially and discursively heterogeneous relations that produce and reshuffle all kinds of actors including objects, subjects, human beings, machines, animals, "nature", ideas, organizations, inequalities, scales and sizes, and geographical arrangements'. (Law 2009, p. 141)

Hence, hybrids indicate the status given to actor-networks that associate actors, objects and texts while displacing relations across time and space, where separation between signifier and signified is collapsed (Latour 1996b). More than a blend of online-offline platforms (Castells 2012), ANT hybrids constantly evolve and reshape themselves based on the entities they inherit. They are at the same time individual and collective. ANT offers an approach to explore how hybrids are enacted, which cannot be reduced to structural or agential effects.

For Law (2004, p. 9), the ANT method provides an account that illustrates the impossibility of 'definite and limited sets of processes'. ANT departs from structuralist and constructionist approaches by exploring actor-network realities as a relational outcome. Actor-networks—the objects and worlds that comprise them—are always 'more than one and less than many' (Law 2002a, pp. 193-5). ANT explores how different actor-networks, such as an organisation, a laptop, or a city train line, unfold through a process of translation and become 'black-boxed' —a black box refers to an actor-network that has become stabilised and is defined by its inputs and outputs. Black-boxes are considered 'unproblematic' and 'certain' until they are opened up (Latour 1987, pp. 2-3). When considering a social movement as a movement (actor-)network, ANT suggests that heterogeneous entities create and structure movement network associations. ANT asserts that an

understanding of how actors organise and mobilise a movement network, for instance, can only be ascertained after it has unfolded. This is because movement networks are relational outcomes, contingent on the interactions of different entities. Notions of power are understood as a network effect rather than 'a set of causes' (Law 1992, p. 387). ANT provides an understanding of 'the stabilization and reproduction of some interactions at the behest of others, the construction and maintenance of network centres and peripheries, and the establishment of hegemony' (Crawford 2005, p. 1). Hence, the power of an actor is expressed as an outcome once the network has been translated. When compared to traditional social movement approaches discussed in Chapter Two, rather than considering individual and collective relationships as structurally determined or enacted by actors in a reciprocal manner, such as resource mobilisation theory and new social movement theory would suggest, respectively, ANT proposes that members who constitute a social movement are actor-network hybrids; they are both participants and the structures through which a social movement network materialises.

3.2.1 Actors as actants

Actants are actors and networks in their own right. To be considered an actant it must mediate relations in a network (Latour 1994). But how are actants different from actors in a network? According to Harris (2005, pp. 166-7), an actor who has the capacity to act will comprehend its task and subsequent goal 'through a technical intermediary'. The term actant, however, signifies 'a symmetry between human and nonhuman agents; since both are subject to translation; both are actants within the context of techniques' (Harris 2005, pp. 166-7). Crawford (2005, p. 1) suggests that actants can be 'considered foundationally indeterminate, with no a priori substance or essence, and it is via the networks in which they associate that actants derive their nature.' Latour (1996a, p. 373) notes that actant is a 'semiotic definition' of an actor and that an actant is 'something that acts or to which activity is granted by others'.

The concept implies that it can include any entity 'provided it is granted to be the source of an action' (Latour 1996a, p. 373). As a source of action, it is a virtual being that is enacted via online-offline mediations throughout a movement network. An actant, then, displaces space, is independent of others but also relies upon others as a consequence of translation. By employing the concept of actant to an investigation of social movement organisation and mobilisation, researchers are urged to move beyond the causality dilemma discussed above '…and examine the techniques of representation, association, and combination through which actions are distributed and embodied by various kinds of materials' (Shiga 2007, p. 47). By considering those who comprise a movement network as actants, human (actor, group) and nonhuman (tents, placards, masks) entities are

explored in impartial and symmetrical terms[20]. Actants reconceptualise the understanding of social movement actors by requiring researchers to explore actors, objects and their sociotechnical effects in similar language. For instance, protesters and their placards are expressed in equal terms when describing the movement network and the mechanisms underlying individual and collective activity.

ANT differentiates from other social theories that locate agency in the actor or organisation. This is because ANT assumes a 'minimalist' account of agency. According to Sayes (2013, p. 8), 'it is minimal because it catches every entity that makes or promotes a difference in another entity or in a network'. By considering actors as actants, ANT avoids methodological or technical determinism. This is because the concept refers to the relationality of entities that simultaneously create reality. Action is not attributed to the causal properties of an actor rather to the interplay between structures, actors and the mechanisms that maintain the network. According to Latour (1996b, p. 237) '…one can never reduce or dissolve an actor into a field of forces, or into a structure. One can only share in the action, distribute it with other actants'. The concept of actant provides a deeper understanding of how different elements interact to co-produce network effects. For instance, social movement actants include entrepreneurs, social media, action frames and collective identities. Instead of attributing movement network outcomes to the actions of an organisation or collective identity, each is examined in equal terms as an effect of the movement network.

3.2.2 Actor-networks

As discussed below, the concept of social networks, particularly in social movement research, tends to assume a physical structure that differs in organisational form from that of a market or hierarchy (see, for example, Diani 2003). According to ANT, a network is not simply a configuration of links or nodes in static or stable patterns. Neither is it a metaphor to explain spatial proximity between entities. ANT's network (actor-network) addresses subject-object hybrid ontology (Callon 1999, p. 185). Conceptually, an actor-network not only signals the self-direction of actants but also the translation of a network. An actor-network is the association of different relations as well as an instrument for co-ordinating and distributing actions. Social researchers who wish to explore actant networks must be aware of the connections, constituent bits and contingent nature of fragmented entities. Network in this sense is a method of exploration as well as a process of enactment. This is because the actions of actants are traceable by network materialisation.

[20] As discussed in the Chapter One, this thesis employs the term delegate to refer to those actants that order and carry out network tasks. The term delegate, as applied by this thesis, acknowledges that leadership is distributed amongst actors within the network. By classifying primary spokespersons as delegates who assign tasks and represent their part of the network, leadership is located throughout different mediators.

Actor-networks are flat and horizontal structures that continuously unfold in a rhizomatic fashion (Latour 1996a). Actor-networks are not mechanical structures—they are instrumentally networked and expressively networking. This is because of the continual re-distribution of attributes throughout the network—actants associate with other actants through a series of deployments. Networks are defined by what they consist of '…what it needs to subsist through a complex ecology of tributaries, allies, accomplices, and helpers' (Latour 2011, p. 799). Following Cressman (2009), an actor-network provides an opportunity to appraise networks as 'heterogeneous associations' and recognise that networks are enacted and performed 'instead of attempting to provide a snapshot of a network based on inputs and outputs' (Cressman 2009, p. 12). When defined as an actor-network, social movements are nothing more than the elements that associate during the process of translation. That is, by examining a social movement as an actor-network, its controversies, structures, devices and representations are made visible as well as the relationships and connections that constitute it. This is because they are deconstructed and reconstructed according to the entities that generate network effects in the first instance (Latour 2005a).

3.2.3 Objects

There are different ways of expressing and distinguishing actor-network objects (see, for example, Law & Singleton 2005, p. 147). The first type of object is the regional or Euclidean object. This object holds footing in three-dimensional Cartesian space. It occupies a specified place, is a stable object and is transportable. This type of object is an immutable mobile. It is an object that manipulates spatial relations with the prerequisite of maintaining its constant totality. The immutable mobile maintains its constant totality in two primary ways, '[o]n the one hand, it does so in physical or geographical space. On the other, it holds its shape in some relational and possibly functional manner…' (Latour, cited in Law & Singleton 2005, p. 335). The immutable mobile represents the nature of regional and networked space and the types of objects that inhabit it.

It takes effort to maintain the configuration of immutable mobiles and other types of objects located in actor-networks. This is because terms of reference and connectivity need to be re-negotiated and net-worked in order to maintain network order and stability. When applied to an understanding of social movement networks, such as Occupy Toronto, immutable mobiles can be seen to order the organisation and mobilisation of a movement. For instance, delegate rules and policies are immutable mobiles. This is because they define movement related action and membership. Similar to Benford's (2002) notion of narration and storytelling, its content generally stays the same as it travels throughout the movement network—they communicate group standards in the unfolding

process. They maintain their totality while being deployed across online-offline sites. Further, immutable mobiles can also marginalise those who do not abide by the rules and policies of delegates—immutable mobiles demarcate movement network boundaries. Tents, smartphones and placards can be considered as immutable mobiles in that they are objects (actants) that mediate relations as well as stabilise the network. They remain the same as they travel throughout and affect the movement network.

The fluid object sharpens analytic insight by highlighting that not all objects are immutably mobile. Fluid objects capture what is missed by the regional and networked object. Fluid objects make gradual adaptations through the margins of temporal and spatial effects. They flow across time and space and delicately transform themselves without completely losing their essence. For example, de Laet and Mol (2000) investigate the Zimbabwe bush pump and the ways in which it is enacted across different contexts. The authors highlight that the bush pump is characterised as the site of invisible work that is beyond the scope or imagination of the original script of the pump (de Laet & Mol 2000). Adjustments are made and the pump changes shape due to necessity, breakdown or convenience and this is not always seen or considered. For the mutable mobile, '…associations or forms of attachment shift and move, but they do so in a way that also allows the performance of continuity' (Law & Mol 2001, p. 614). For de Laet and Mol (2000), the bush pump demonstrates its fluidity by shape-shifting across space however it is able to maintain its primary function of providing water to users. The bush pump is a fluid object because it is able to account for its own transformation (mutability), and is 'flexible' enough to adapt (mobility) to shifting circumstances (de Laet & Mol 2000, p. 252).

When considering mutable mobiles in the context of Occupy Toronto, the 'Occupy' signifier is a fluid object in that it is a 'thing' (Latour 2005a) that is comprised of materially and discursively heterogeneous relations (Law 2009) and adapts to the needs of occupeirs throughout the movement network. This is because 'Occupy' is able to transcend time and space as well as provide multiple meanings. 'Occupy' maintains a sense of continuity by providing connection (communication etc.) and identification with the movement. For instance, while occupiers employed the 'Occupy' banner as it suited them, 'Occupy' continued to reference a movement of the '99%' (see Chapter Four). Fluid objects are flexible enough to alter their original structure while retaining their original purpose.

The last type of object to consider is the fire object. The fire object is a complex object that maintains its stability and coherence by the very fact that it is discontinuous. More specifically, a

fire object is an assemblage of simultaneous presences and absences (Law & Mol 2001). The fire object can be envisaged as a star-like or even spoke-like pattern whereby a singular present and multiple absences exist. The nature of its presences, along with its simultaneous absences is what defines the object. As Law and Singleton (2005) note:

> 'We cannot understand objects unless we also think of them as sets of present dynamics generated in, and generative of, realities that are necessarily absent […] fires are energetic and transformative, and depend on difference—for instance between (absent) fuel or cinders and (present) flame. Fire objects, then, depend upon otherness, and that otherness is generative'. (Law & Singleton 2005, pp. 343-4)

A fire object provides multiple perspectives on multiple objects. This outlook is not plural—pluralism suggests a variety of insights on a single object—but one produced in multiple realities based on a diverse assemblage of relations. For scholars such as Law and Mol (2001), the main attributes of fire objects are:

> 'Continuity as an effect of discontinuity; continuity as the presence and the absence of Otherness; and (for particular cases) continuity as an effect of a star-like patter in this simultaneous absence and presence […] to say that there is a fire topology is to say that there are stable shapes created in patterns of relations of conjoined alterity'. (Law & Mol 2001, p. 616)

Law and Singleton (2005) suggest that how a fire object is enacted will differ depending on the network in which it is located. For example, the object alcohol liver disease will be interpreted differently by the family of a hospitalised relative, the psychologist who is tasked with creating an educational program to reduce excessive alcohol intake, or for the lab technician who will dissect the liver for further analysis. Hence, each presence signals multiple absences.

When related to the unfolding of the Occupy Toronto movement network, the online Facebook group page and offline St. James Park platform can be considered as fire objects. With regard to the latter, this is because the park was enacted and defined differently by those who were there as well as those who were absent. For some, the park was a space to meet and organise other like-minded individuals. For others, the park was a mechanism for civil disobedience. For external audiences such as the public order police, the park epitomised the presence of transgression and disruption that required re-ordering. The fire object provides ANT with a tool to account for multiple enactments and definitions of reality. It highlights difference as well as those left on the periphery of a network. For an ANT investigation of objects, '…the job is to explore the strategies which generate—and are in turn generated by—its object-ness, the syntaxes or the discourses which hold it in place' (Law 2002b, p. 93). This is because movement network objects are more than structured or commonly constructed understandings; they affect and signify the multiplicity of network realties.

3.3 Actor-network translation

Actor-network translation refers to the displacement of any actor-network across time and space. Here, associated entities exert energy to unfold the actor-network '…according to their different projects (Latour 1986, p. 267-268). The process of translation occurs 'during which the identity of actors, the possibility of interaction and the margins of manoeuvre are negotiated and delimited' (Callon 1986a, p. 203). It identifies relations between 'people, technology and society' (Walton 2013, p. 771) and 'is the mechanism by which the social and natural worlds progressively take form' (Callon 1986a, p. 224). Following Law (1992), translation is 'a verb which implies transformation and the possibility of equivalence […] it is contingent, local and variable' (Law 1992, pp. 386-7). According to Callon et al. (1983, p. 193):

> 'Translation stands for all the mechanisms and strategies through which an actor—whoever he may be—identifies other actors or elements and places them in relation to one another. Each actor builds a universe around him which is a complex and changing network of varied elements that he tries to link together and make dependent upon himself'.

Hence, the method of translation is employed by researchers to trace how actors organise networks, stabilise relations and carry out different functions (see Figure 2 below). This includes following the actors who define actor-network controversies, deploy the ordering strategy, facilitate the channelling of other actors into the actor-network, engage different actions and devices to interest, enrol and stabilise entities and their associations, and represent the array of entity relations in other realms.

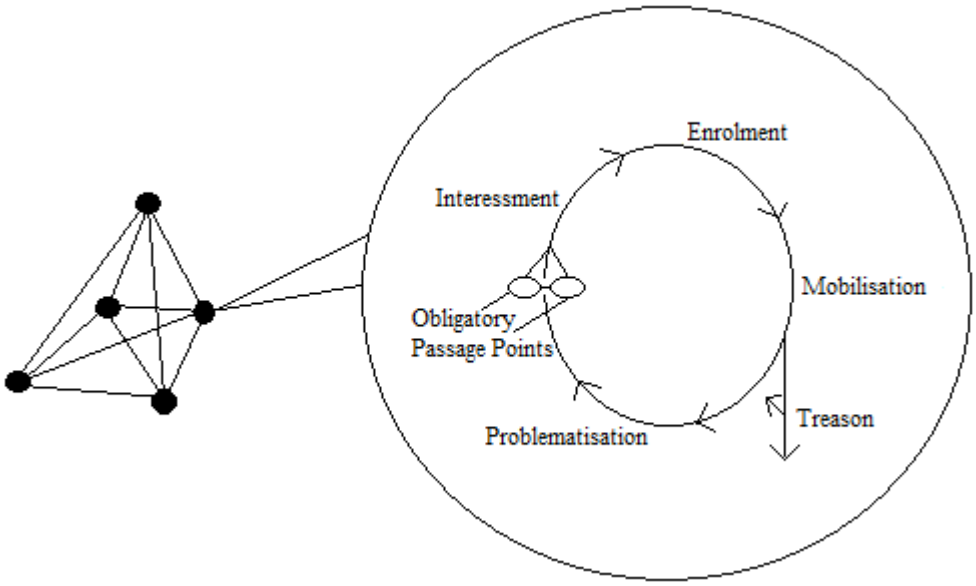


Figure 2 *The translation of an actor-network*

3.3.1 The principles of translation

The three principles informing translation are: agnosticism, which refers to the idea that impartiality exists between actors engaged in controversy. In this sense, the researcher is impartial when considering 'the scientific and technological arguments used by the protagonists of the controversy', and refrains from limiting or 'censoring' entities from communicating their experiences in the translation process (Callon 1986a, p. 200). Second, the principle of generalized symmetry refers to the commitment to explain conflicting viewpoints in the same terms. According to Callon (1986a, p. 200):

> 'The goal is not only to explain conflicting viewpoints and arguments in a scientific or technological controversy in the same terms. We know that the ingredients of controversies are a mixture of considerations concerning both Society and Nature. For this reason we require the observer to use a single repertoire when they are described. The vocabulary chosen for these descriptions and explanations can be left to the discretion of the observer. He [cannot] simply repeat the analysis suggested by the actors he is studying'.

The third principle is free association, the abandonment of all a priori distinctions between nature and the social. According to Callon (1986a), this requires the researcher to:

> 'Consider that the repertoire of categories which he uses, the entities which are mobilized, and the relationships between these are all topics for actors' discussions. Instead of imposing a pre-established grid of analysis upon these, the observer follows the actors in order to identify the manner in which these define and associate the different elements by which they build and explain their world, whether it be social or natural'. (Callon 1986a, pp. 200-1)

The principles underlying the method of translation enable actors to define their own position within the research process. According to Latour (2005b, p. 41), '[i]n many ways, ANT is simply an attempt to allow the members of contemporary society to have as much leeway in defining themselves as that offered by ethnographers'. Law and Urry (2005) make explicit, 'social inquiry and its method are productive: they [help to] make social realities and social worlds. They do not simply describe the world as it is, but also enact it' (Law & Urry 2005, p. 390-1). The understanding that social reality is simultaneously co-produced enables the researcher, or as Latour (2005b) denotes the 'associologist', to map the terrain of circulating associations while taking stock of their place in the actor-network. This form of methodology takes into account the partial nature of the researcher. ANT accepts the fact that any account of reality is contingent on the awareness of the researcher's own positionality within the network. Hence, actor-networks are formed by different entities, yet it is the researcher who mobilises the actor-network into other sites.

3.3.2 The moments of translation

The first moment of the method translation is problematisation. During this stage, delegates problematise controversies and matters of concern at which point other actors are defined and identified. Controversy and associated matters of concern 'allow the social world to be established […] they are what the social is made out of' (Latour 2005b, p. 25). Following Venturini (2010) controversies:

> 'Are situations where actors disagree (or better, agree on their disagreement). The notion of disagreement is to be taken in the widest sense: controversies begin when actors discover that they cannot ignore each other and controversies end when actors manage to work out a solid compromise to live together. Anything between these two extremes can be called a controversy'. (Venturini 2010, p. 261)

Controversies are 'all the manifestations by which the representativity of the spokesman is questioned, discussed, negotiated, rejected, etc.' (Callon 1986a, p. 219). Controversies 'feed off' the uncertainties of groups, actors, objects and concerns (Latour 2004) and to understand them researchers must travel with actant controversies. As Latour (2005b, p. 23, emphasis in original) suggests, '…the best solution is to trace connections *between* the controversies themselves rather than try to decide how to settle any given controversy'. Matters of concern, on the other hand, are the points of contention that are (re)constructed to delimit the spaces of controversy. According to Latour (2005b, p. 114), matters of concern are 'interesting agencies' that are not simply objects by 'gatherings'. Matters of concern are the issues, objects and things that are deployed by actors. They are multiple and as such open to interpretation. Ripley, Thuen and Velikov (2009, p. 6) suggest that matters of concern '…gather context(s) into themselves, disputing both the possibility and the efficacy of indisputability'.

The moment of problematisation departs from new social movement's (NSM) understanding of why actors participate in a movement network. By obscuring or omitting certain controversies located in new movements (Calhoun 1993), NSM fails to address the multiplicity of issues and concerns that reflect contemporary collective action (Pichardo 1997). As discussed, ANT's method of translation requires impartiality between actors involved in controversies as well as an abandonment of a priori assumptions of those who it studies. ANT does not marginalise actors or movements when deciding on sites to explore. Hence, a post-material or collective identity, central to new movement organisation and mobilisation, becomes an effect only after the movement has been traced.

Further, as actors begin to form around a controversy, delegates take on a leadership role in order to steer the unfolding of the network. Through the process of problematisation, delegates establish the ordering strategy, define network identities and make explicit what is required from actors. Delegates connect and define associations relative to the emergent controversy. The problematisation of a movement network requires insight on micro leadership arrangements within the movement, something that NSM overlooks (Gentry 2004). This is because of NSM's focus on the association between the role of the economic structure and culture and how they contribute to 'issues of identity and personal behaviour' that are expressed through social movements and collective action (Pichardo 1997, p. 411). The central methodological point made during the problematisation phase is for researchers to follow the controversies and concerns of actors who establish the network program. This is done by exploring what actors want and are to do, what is the ordering strategy and how are associations defined and established.

With regard to the study of Occupy Toronto, by examining the central controversy and who problematised the movement network, an account of leadership as well as constituent ordering is addressed. Because not all actors take on a leadership role, those actors who are left out and marginalised from the movement network are also highlighted. The view that leadership is negotiated through dispersed associations contrasts with other social movement approaches. For instance, resource mobilisation theory (RMT) locates leadership and ordering in movement organisations or entrepreneurs. These agents are considered to set the boundaries of a movement (McAdam 1986). As discussed in Chapter Two, RMT considers leadership to be a quality of central agents facilitated by the structural context. Further, when considering the political opportunity structure (POS) account of leadership, Morris (2000) highlights that by focusing on external opportunities and structures, the POS approach '…overemphasizes external agency while failing to explore agency-generating factors within challenging groups' (Morris 2000, p. 451). Hence, greater attention on the internal leadership dynamic of a movement network is required. Instead of attributing the role of leadership to the organisation, entrepreneur or beyond the movement network, this thesis considers those actants that mediate associations in the network as leadership figures: one or many who act to explain or define the controversy; who facilitate others to act as a result of the controversy; and who represent the formed network in either a supportive or transgressive role. Actants may occupy many delegate positions but never less than one.

Associated with the process of problematisation is the concept of the obligatory passage point (OPP). Delegates who problematise concerns are not finished with their task of ordering the network. The tapering off of concerns obliges actors to come together on a particular agenda. The

OPP serves as an intermediary between all relations in the network; it reifies the action program and how actors are to connect with the network. The OPP structures the network by channelling actors through particular pathways; it 'is the point of access into this collective action' (Walton 2013, p. 772). Accepting that through participation actors enact and structure the network overcomes traditional social movement insights that explain movement structuring as a result of resources and opportunities (Edwards & McCarthy 2004)[21] Further, although Habermas (1975) offers the public sphere as a site of communicative understanding, where members interact and decide on the actions and relations of the group, it excludes an account of how outcomes are generated by the co-production of actors and network associations. How a movement network structures and negotiates its relations is important to consider. In this case, the methodological task is to explore how OPPs channel actor relations. This is done by examining the platforms that connect and structure actors in the movement network. Recognising that movement networks employ different OPPs adds value to an understanding of how actors employ multiple networks, both online and offline, to associate and stabilise relations.

This thesis employs the OPP as a methodological instrument to explore the channelling of actors through different platforms[22]. As it will be discussed in Chapter Five, two primary channelling platforms assisted in directing and elaborating the Occupy Toronto movement network: its offline platform at St. James Park and its online platform on Facebook. Both of these sites channelled actors into the large Occupy Toronto movement—actors had to gain entry into the movement by either passing through one or both sites. The concept of OPP also acknowledges the fact that some actors will not be channelled and as a result will be marginalised from the movement network. This is because not all actors have access to channelling platforms or the capability to connect with them; some actors will refuse to accept certain channels. Thus, OPPs provide a view of the fluid process of network structuring as well as how actors are marginalised from the network.

After the problematisation process has been completed and the path to the collective established, the interessement of actors occurs. Interessement is regarded as 'the group of actions by which an entity attempts to impose and stabilize the identity of the other actors it defines through its problematization' (Callon 1986a, pp. 207-8). Interessement is the process by which delegates attempt to convert actors into the actor-network 'by choosing from a spectrum of methods that

[21] For example, Edwards and McCarthy (2004) highlight that 'once in existence, SMOs, like all organizations, can be thought of as more or less routinized bundles of "ways of doing things"'. The common patterns of these institutionalized practices come to include preferred repertoire of exchange relationships and means of resource access, and importantly shape the extent and form of the mobilization of material resources and activism within any social movement' (Edwards & McCarthy 2004, p. 136).

[22] The terms obligatory passage point and channelling platforms are used interchangeably.

ranges from seduction to pure violence by way of simple bargaining' (Callon 1986b; p. 26). Delegates employ a number of actions and devices in order to achieve their objective. Thus, to 'interest other actors is to build devices which can be placed between [delegates] and all other entities who want to define their identities otherwise' (Callon 1986a, p. 208). If interessement is to be worthwhile it will endorse network legitimacy by imposing, stabilising, and maintaining network identifications and definitions. Analogous to NSM's understanding of social actions, interessement actions and devices are both communicative and strategic in nature. Delegates work to either communicate the movement network to constituents or observers, or strategically instrumentalise relations in order to build network ranks. The extent to which interessement actions and devices are communicative or strategic is a question that requires further investigation. This is because depending on the nature of the relationship between delegate interessement and potential constituents, the movement network may enjoy greater levels of participation or suffer from a lack of enrolment.

Tied to the moment of interessement is network enrolment. Enrolment suggests that interessement has achieved its purpose. To refer to enrolment is to understand 'the group of multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks that accompany the interessements and enable them to succeed' (Callon 1986a, p. 211). The enrolment of entities into the network is nothing more than the successful attachment of the interessement by actors. Network enrolment is achieved when entities accept delegate mediations. If constituents challenge network mediations, delegates act to settle issues by implementing additional meditators. For example, if a social movement is accused of diverging from its original aim—by departing from the philosophy of non-violent action—delegates must respond by re-aligning members to the original position of non-violence or exclude those who consider non-violent commitments as inconvenient or misplaced. In other circumstances, those who hold the original attitude of non-violence will be asked to withdraw from the network as the network itself has transformed as a result of new problematisations, channelling platforms and mediating devices. Essentially, delegates must always net-work the network by aligning and re-aligning identities and definitions. The methodological task for the researcher is to account for all of the actions and devices used to mediate associations. Further, the task also requires an account of how the network is stabilised and whether or not delegate mediations are considered legitimate—by the successful enrolment of individuals.

The final moment of translation is mobilisation. During movement network mobilisation the speakers of the group and the elements that they represent are presented. Mobilisation occurs as 'a series of intermediations and equivalences are put into place which lead to the designation of the

spokesman [delegate]' (Callon 1986a; p. 216). Delegates deliver the opinions and expressions of the network into other realms—whether through protest actions, discussion forums, conferences, or encampments. Mobilisation refers to the point when delegates have reduced the network of actors to a few component parts in order to communicate their aims and goals to external audiences (Fox 2000). Hence, mobilisation refers to the transportation or displacement of actants (members, resources, objects etc.) into other sites. When comparing the moment of mobilisation to traditional social movement approaches mentioned in Chapter Two, ANT adds a qualifier, that mobilised outcomes (inscriptions) speak for or are representative of the network. Thus, mobilisation includes more than tracing the movements of an organisation or its members. An account of what is represented, omitted, and how it is ordered is required. The methodological task for the researcher is to define and follow the representations of the movement network. This is done by accounting for who speaks for the movement, what methods are used to displace voices, and what inscriptions are created and how are they ordered.

In the case of Occupy Toronto, network inscriptions include the number of actors at a protest or the content found on Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page. Here, actors represent the network in other sites. Mobilisation inscriptions are ordered by internal and external entities. For example, at the point of interaction, Occupy Toronto representations can be accepted or challenged by the public order police. Depending on the policing style, protesters can either continue to mobilise network representations into other sites or face the possibility of marginalisation. The marginalisation of protesters is accomplished by challenging movement inscriptions or removing inscriptions from public view. For instance, police may prevent protesters from reaching a protest site or disrupt Internet access/servers in order to limit online communication—as was the case in Egypt during the Arab Spring (Castells 2012, pp. 61-6). The policing style will reflect the extent to which the movement network and its inscriptions are accepted. As discussed in Chapter Two, how inscriptions are ordered will influence the mobilisation potential of a movement network—police respond to protester inscriptions differently, depending on the nature of those involved (i.e., differences between labour strikes and transgressive actors).

Lastly, during the moment of mobilisation—and generally throughout the other moments of translation—the opportunity for treason (network destabilisation) is present. Treason refers to the capacity of an entity to act differently. For instance, if the central controversy fails to satisfy actor needs, or if obligatory passage points are inaccessible, or if the interessement device is ineffective in achieving enrolment, actors will withdraw from the network. This understanding speaks to the process through which network marginalisation occurs—because certain actors cannot attach to the

collective or are passed over altogether. It also highlights the constant net-work that delegates must undertake in order to maintain and stabilise the movement network. Without constant re-alignment the movement network will cease to exist. The methodological task is to trace the instances where movement network withdrawal or marginalisation occurs. This is done by accounting for the actions taken by actors to separate from the network.

In order to explore and examine the unfolding of Occupy Toronto across online-offline platforms, this thesis employs ANT's conception of network translation, primarily following the work of Callon (1986a), Latour (2005b) and Law (2004). This is done to understand social movements as relational effects, in particular how a hybrid movement network organised, stabilised and mobilised associations across online-offline platforms. It attempts to deal with social phenomenon by applying a methodology that explores and traces the 'messy' entities that are part of an actor-network hinterland (Law 2004). It provides a glimpse of the relationality of a movement network and offers an analytic intervention in the unfolding process. Different ANT interpretations, in particular Callon's take on translation, do not diverge but rather build off and converge on one another to support ANT explorations and descriptions. For instance, like Latour (1996a; 1999; 2005b), Callon offers a flattened ontology to address the arrangements, properties and processes found throughout different actor-networks, whether expressed as institutions, organisations or affinity groups. Law and Singleton (2005) and de Laet and Mol (2000) bolster ANT's conceptualisation of objects by specifying object relationships and their potential fluidity—with regard to mobility and structure—within the actor-network. Knorr Cetina (1997) builds on the notion of objects by discerning 'objectualization', an object-centred approach to explain social phenomenon as a mediate outcome of object relationships. Shiga (2007) develops on the concept of OPPs and the multiple instances in which they can be found throughout the stabilisation of an actor-network. As discussed above, the advantages of ANT and its method of translation is that it is amenable to additional insights. This is because ANT is a fluid approach that welcomes supplementary tools in its repertoire for explaining different actors-object realties.

3.4 Actor-network theory and social movement research

ANT employs a material semiotic approach to explore and account for the unfolding of social reality through relational networks of action. This perspective shares similarities with other social movement frameworks that employ networks to analyse social movements and collective action. Krinsky and Crossley (2014) argue that one of the strengths of examining social movements as a social network is that it '…invites the observer to look below the official stories and representations that movements and their activists make and discover hidden dynamics and relations…' (Krinsky &

Crossley 2014, pp. 1-2). Diani (2003) suggests that by employing networks, researchers are able to '…assess the social location of specific actors as well as to identify general structural patterns from a relational perspective'. This typically takes the form of accounting for the social ties found throughout a network of associated actors, their degree of network centralisation, and the relative brokerage function of each node. Further, the concept of social network enables a view of the 'social mechanisms' that are 'relevant to the spread of social movement activity; among them, recruitment, framing, tactical adaptation of action repertoires, and of course networking' (Diani 2003, p. 4). Social network scholars tend to employ social network analysis (SNA) in order to empirically account for entities (nodes) and their relationships with such factors. In this sense, by employing the concept of social network to investigate social movements and collective action, the positions and roles of actors located throughout the network structure are identified as well as the underlying mechanisms and properties affecting network relations.

The social network perspective shares some features with ANT when accounting for social movement and collective action phenomenon, namely that actors and objects (nodes) along with their associations (links) connect and distribute different mechanisms and properties throughout the unfolding of social reality. Both approaches highlight the meso-level of social reality and its relationship with the macro and micro ordering of things. The difference between ANT and a social network perspective rests with its analytic starting point. ANT ascribes to the notion that social reality is a property of the relational unfolding of different actor-networks that ebb and flow depending on the connections and interests of hybrid actors. This outlook resonates with the social network perspective, for instance, when examining the coming together of actors to contest grievances and/or communicate a collective identity (Passy 2003). However, ANT moves beyond a structural view of network organisation in order to suggest that social phenomenon such as collective action is a hybridised affair where actors are both the cause and effect of network enactments. As the social network perspective attempts to bridge the gap between structuralist and rationalist insights, while bringing '...meanings and culture back into the explanation of individual participation' (Passy 2003, pp. 22-3), ANT argues that concepts such as culture or the social are created or given meaning only after the relational unfolding of the actor-network has taken place. Hence, both perspectives define social movement phenomenon in a language of networks, however, the difference rests with the unit of analysis—social network analysis begins with the organisational structure of the movement while ANT seeks to overcome dualist thinking by deferring to the relational unfolding of the actant.

The novelty of this thesis is its application of the method of translation to explore how Occupy Toronto organised and mobilised its movement network across online-offline sites. Existing research that has applied actor-network theory to an investigation of social movements has examined them as an actor-network; explored the agency of human and nonhuman entities engaged in collective action; and applied ANT's method of translation to trace actors and objects found throughout a network. Although existing research on the relationship between ANT and social movements provides valuable insights on the relational character of networks and actors, additional research is required on how movement networks organise and mobilise across online-offline sites. This is because existing research has focused on conceptualising social movements beyond the structure-agency duality and/or on the agency and politics of nonhuman entities. Additional insight on the process and application of the method of translation to examine the unfolding of an online-offline movement network is required.

Rodríguez-Giralt (2011) applies ANT to analyse the Doñana environmental disaster and protests in Spain (1998-2002). By viewing social action as embedded in and an enactment of actor-networks, Rodríguez-Giralt (2011, p.15) explains that social movements are indeed 'heterogeneous and relational' entities while social movement action is an 'emergent effect and interactive result of "hybrid collectives"'. By employing ANT to study how protesters challenged an environmental disaster in Spain, Rodríguez-Giralt (2011) redefines the association between subject (collective action) and object (disaster):

> '[W]e are looking at a singular assemblage of very different and completely heterogeneous elements or entities. An actor-network, or something like it, is that which remains between actors and networks. In other words, it is something irreducible to the condition of being an actor and yet neither is it a network. As such, only the wide range actions carried out and taken together as a bundle explain what is happening, how conflicts are framed, how identities are shaped and how agency is distributed or clarified'. (Rodríguez-Giralt 2011, p. 29)

In this instance, Rodríguez-Giralt provides a clear understanding of the mobilisation of an actor-network involved in challenging how an environmental disaster was framed. The author offers novel insights on how social movement networks are contingent on humans, animals and technology to expand the reach and language of an environmental disaster.

With regard to the agency of social movement objects, Feigenbaum (2014) asserts that nonhuman entities found at different protest sites, such as tents or tear gas, are not simply objects that fill in the landscape. Rather, they are communicative objects that express different political sentiments. By

employing ANT to trace the political agency of objects across 50 Occupy camps, Feigenbaum (2014) notes:

> 'On their surface, they often act as signboards, affixed with banners and posters, or painted, stencilled, and drawn on. Slogans about the economy, greed, inequality, and capitalism were scattered across Occupy encampments, while messages drawing attention to issues of race and class, offered both external communication and internal critique faced back at the movement'. (Feigenbaum 2014, p. 18)

In this sense, based on the orientation of the encampment and their placement within it, objects communicated and signalled the politics of each camp. The value added by ANT is its ability to account for how different objects mediate political communication. Bolton and Measles (2013, p.166) suggest that ANT provides 'an account of the ways in which the human and material interact with each other to produce networks of meaning, power, and action that are simultaneously social, discursive, and physical'. Bolton and Measles explore the policing of the New York Occupy movement and highlight how public order police deployed different objects to communicate a particular politics and power dynamic. When considering the police use of the FX- 7 barricade to control occupier mobility, the authors note that the erection of the barricade was done through a network of human (private police), nonhuman (FX-7 barricade) and inhuman (Brookfield Properties) entities. Together, these entities served to order the movement. For example, the erection of the FX-7 barricades 'enabled police, banks, and real estate companies to seal off and dominate space with fewer human bodies' (Bolton & Measles 2013, p. 172). The FX-7 barricade not only worked to limit the mobility of occupiers, it also communicated the politics and power of policing—where a partnership between police, banks and private companies worked to limit the mobilisation of occupiers.

Further, Heeks and Seo-Zindy (2013), employ ANT to account for the role played by information and communication technologies (ICT) in a social movement. According to Heeks and Seo-Zindy (2013):

> 'ANT firstly sees ICTs as playing an actor's role; attributing interests, identity, agency to ICTs […] this has allowed a treatment of ICTs that differs from accounts of social movements […] In which the technology sits not categorically above, below or separate from human actors but alongside them with conceptual equivalence. And in which ICTs are not just devices a social movement uses and interacts with, but an actor that can explain its own agenda and reasons for associating or not associating with the movement'. (Heeks&Seo-Zindy 2013, pp. 21-2)

The authors suggest that ICT agency not only helps social movements to complete different tasks, they can also fail or betray them (network destabilisation). For instance, due to its diversity and

fluctuation, ICTs can work against social movements by providing support for authoritative regimes. Similar to insights proposed by (Gunitsky 2015), ICTs can undermine social movements by '…refusing access to the protesters, disseminating false information, even helping to identify protesters' (Heeks & Seo-Zindy 2013, p. 22)[23]. Thus, research that employs ANT to examine the agency of objects offers an account of the positioning and interaction of objects across sites of protest as well as the effect they have on different entities.

When applying ANT to trace the mobility and actions of actor-objects, Holifield (2009, p. 639) suggests that the ANT method provides value by paying 'attention to the forms and standards that make it possible to circulate new associations of entities, to generalize social order, and to situate actions within a social context'. This is possible because ANT follows the process through which entities unfold actor-network associations. For example, by employing ANT to trace an urban social movement in Barcelona, Marrero-Guillamón (2013, p. 404) argues that ANT is a useful method through which to transform '…objects of study into performative, relational entanglements or effects'. Routledge, Cumbers and Nativel (2007, p. 2587) employed ANT to trace how grassrooting vectors (delegates) 'work to intervene in the work of translation by which networks are formed and developed, acting to further the process of communication, information sharing and interaction within grassroots communities'. According to Routledge, Cumbers and Nativel (2007), ANT affords an approach through which to account for different 'grassrooting vectors' who assist in the stabilisation and mobilisation of a movement network. Thus, ANT offers a useful method to explore how certain movements unfold across different terrains as well as how entities mediate this process.

As can be seen, ANT reconceptualises social movements and the actors and objects that comprise them. This is done via ANT's method of translation and by offering an account of movement networks beyond structural and constructivist explanations. ANT takes into consideration the material semiotics of heterogeneous associations and the mechanisms and processes that enable the unfolding of hybrid movement networks. By doing so, ANT explores the organisation and mobilisation of a movement network by tracing fluid and ephemeral entities that connect individual realities within the movement network.

3.5 Criticisms on the actor-network theory and method

First, because of its emphasis and refusal to separate subject-object hybrids, ANT has been said to obscure the causal actions of humans. Second, because the method of translation requires researchers to trace and describe network association, ANT has been criticised for failing to offer an

[23] Similar to issues associated with 'slacktivism' (Christensen 2011; Morozov 2009), ICTs offer quick yet 'shallow' support as a 'distancing' occurs that constrains the depth and scope of participation (Heeks&Seo-Zindy 2013).

interpretive account of the phenomenon under investigation. As a result, ANT provides an approach that compels the reader to ascribe meaning. Third, by following those who co-produce actor-networks, ANT's focus is restricted to net-centric actors at the expense of those located on the periphery. Here, ANT is charged with maintaining alterity distinctions. The following section will discuss each shortcoming as well as how this thesis sought to overcome or accommodate them.

3.5.1 Actor-network theory's subject-object dichotomy

Critics have challenged ANT's anti-polarity position and its (in)ability to overcome dualist ways of thinking. For instance, Bloor (1999) suggests that ANT does not provide much to an analysis of social reality. This is because:

> 'Only by sustaining the distinction between subject and object, and by driving a wedge between nature itself and the descriptions of it provided by the knowing subject, can we highlight the problematic character of those descriptions' (Bloor 1999, p. 94).

Bloor submits that ANT and more so Latour complicate or blur the two elements of analysis: 'the subject-object schema and the game of assigning the proportion of influence by nature and by society. He runs them together when, really, they are separable and typically separate' (Bloor 1999, p. 110). Further, ANT's non-dualism is said to look a lot like naturalism or realism and not epistemological relativism or relational materiality (Collins & Yearley 1992). In this case, the problem with ANT is that it grants agency to nonhuman objects and proposes that all entities be regarded as equal. Whittle and Spicer (2008) suggest that:

> 'Few fisherman would be likely to attribute agency to scallops […] few scientists would agree that their knowledge claims are relative […] and few financial analysts would be likely to claim that computer systems create the price of equities…' (Whittle & Spicer 2008, p. 617).

As a result, ANT runs the risk of ignoring or discounting the unique ethos of human subjects by driving a wedge between the subject and object. In response to this criticism, Latour (1999a) asserts:

> 'Those who drive wedges to produce problematic connections have no business judging the work of those who follow the connections established by scientists and engineers along what they—and not philosophers—see as problematic. The former destroy the data that the latter keep intact for scrutiny. They cut it in the middle, we protect it against deterioration'. (Latour 1999a, p. 122)

Following Latour, this thesis recognises the subject-object relationship as mutually constituted, where the subject is as much a part of the object as the object affects the subject. In order to provide a relational account of Occupy Toronto, this thesis will follow hybrids as they unfold throughout a movement-network.

3.5.2 The exploratory and descriptive nature of actor-network theory

Actor-network theory (ANT) has also been criticised for offering nothing more than a lens through which to view reality. According to Cordella and Shaikh (2006), ANT does not express its own form of ontology when exploring subject-object agency. It fails to be reflexive and as a result strains its own ability to provide an adequate understanding of social phenomenon. Because ANT views reality as a materialisation of effects that are generated between actants, Cordella and Shaikh (2006) suggest that the problem with ANT is found within its very own nature—one is obligated to describe accounts without allowing actants to speak. This is considered to constrain the ontology of the actant without adding any significant interpretive contribution. The authors conclude by proposing that 'actor network theory has thus become more of a method for data collection and analysis…' (Cordella & Shaikh 2006, p. 4). Hence, ANT is charged as being amoral and lacking any real critical perspective (Walsham 1997). This is because ANT places the burden of critique on the reader. What is left is an apolitical, isolationist and reflective-less description of actants (Saldanha 2003). In this vein, ANT is in jeopardy of turning into a form of positivism since the research output is '…a series of deductive tests that confirm or refute the four-stage model of translation, as opposed to being a process of inductive theory generation…' (Whittle & Spicer 2008, p. 618). As a result, ANT is criticised as offering nothing more than a method to trace associations (Cresswell et al. 2010). In order to remain objective and neutral and overcome the interpretive shortcoming espoused by Cordella and Shaikh (2006), this thesis will approximate the ANT ideal to an extent where interpretation of Occupy Toronto and ANT is offered. This is because the aim of this thesis is to explore and critique how ANT explains for the unfolding (translation) of Occupy Toronto across online-offline sites as well as the role of actants and objects in the ordering and marginalisation of a movement network. In addressing this criticism, this thesis will travel with ANT until a need for interpretation and reflection is required.

3.5.3 Actor-network theory's net-centric gaze

Actor-network theory (ANT) has also been criticised for being net-centric in its accounting of hybrids. ANT descriptions are considered to be striated, that is, ordered along status quo power structures. As a result, ANT does not provide an 'exodus' for its constituents, instead acting as a form of 'monadology' (Lee & Brown 1994). In this case, ANT fails to provide any meaningful analysis of social structure where certain groups and actors are located (Walsham 1997). Hence, ANT descriptions reflect a 'politics and society that is implicitly conservative, an account that attends to the needs and machinations of the powerful as if they were all that mattered' (Winner 1993, p. 369). More specifically, descriptions are considered to eschew stories of marginal actants. ANT is accused of effacing 'invisible work that keeps the objects and the empires that it studies in shape, gives them their form, keeps their networks of relations stable' (Star 1991, cited in Law &

Singleton 2005, p. 337). The researcher ultimately obscures the nature (and power) of interactions that they are said to uncover. Anything located at the periphery is overlooked. However, once a non-centric move is made a 'very different network is discovered' (Star 1991, p. 29). The criticism is that ANT provides descriptions of the political order as '…an order which is warlike, competitive, and biased toward the point of view of the victors (or the management)' (Star 1991, p. 33). This line of reasoning criticises ANT for not including complete descriptions of 'Otherness' while at the same time avoiding critique of dominant power structures. The claim is that ANT 'risks the production of yet another ahistorical grand narrative and the reproduction of the concomitant right to speak for all' (Lee & Brown 1994, p. 774). As a result, ANT '…amounts to a foreclosure on all alternative descriptions of the world through the assertion of total democracy and complete ontological monadism' (Lee & Brown 1994, p. 781). Because this thesis follows the actors that organised and mobilised Occupy Toronto and due to the nature of the case study and access to Occupy Toronto, there were some actor-networks that were not included in the analysis. As discussed in Chapter Eight, future research may wish to begin exploration with those who either failed or refused to connect with the movement network.

3.6 The method of Occupy Toronto exploration

Data was collected from Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page (Occupy Toronto Market Exchange) from September 2011 to October 2012[24]. Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page was selected because it served as the primary online platform for occupiers to engage and communicate movement related issues and needs[25]. It also operated as a conduit to provide access to other online-offline material on Occupy Toronto members, relationships, activities and content. The value of Facebook for social science data collection is that it provides researchers with a social networking platform to collect valuable information on social actions and associations (Wilson, Gosling & Graham 2012). The platform operates as an online database for exploring network connections, friend lists, location identifiers, and other user generated content such as commentaries, videos and pictures (Baker 2013; Greene et al. 2010). Minimal resources are required to access and explore Facebook. With regard to Occupy Toronto, the Facebook group page provided information on every aspect of the Occupy Toronto movement. This is because it connected occupiers to the site as well as linked other platforms and groups to it. For example, daily proceedings at St. James Park,

[24] Reflecting on the application of Facebook, Baker (2013) notes that 'Facebook is a dynamic online social community; users befriend each other, which gives mutual access to each other's profile pages, photos, videos, interests, groups and friends'. Facebook offers a number of networking services, such as 'instant chat; messaging; public posting areas […] and sharing, for example photos/videos/events/songs/ websites, all of which facilitate social networking and relationship maintenance' (Baker 2013, p. 133).

[25] Twitter, YouTube and Flickr were also employed by occupiers to communicate, organise and mobilise the movement. However, with over 16,000 member 'likes', the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page was considered the primary online platform for the movement.

General Assembly meeting minutes, committee notes and individual ideas and opinions were uploaded and posted to Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page. It curated information allowing for an exploration of the controversies, concerns, meanings and identities of Occupy Toronto.

Data collection began with the advent of Occupy Toronto's online group page—Occupy Toronto formally joined Facebook on September 22nd 2011. Data collection ended in October 2012. It was believed that the first 13 months of the movement reflected a suitable timeline for collecting information on Occupy Toronto organisation, stabilisation and mobilisation. Data was collected by retrieving all delegate and occupier posts, comments, links and other embedded content (pictures, audio etc.) from the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page. Because official Occupy Toronto posts could only be uploaded by delegates, occupier posts were captured via comment threads. For example, delegates would upload an official post signifying the time and date of a protest, while occupiers had the chance to respond by 'commenting' on the post (see Figure 3 below). The content of each delegate post, including the number of times it was 'liked', 'shared' and 'commented' on by occupiers was collected.

Facebook content data was transferred to a MS Word document while the number of monthly posts, 'likes', 'shares' and 'comments' were tabulated in a corresponding Excel spreadsheet in order to quantify data. By the end of data collection, 13 MS Word documents and Excel spreadsheets contained all Occupy Toronto Facebook data. In total, 775 official Occupy Toronto delegate Facebook posts and over 4200 occupier Facebook comments were collected. A number of secondary sources that were embedded through delegate and occupier posts and comments, such as Occupy research surveys, online interviews, news articles and videos were also included in the analysis.

Figure 3 *An example of an Occupy Toronto delegate post with occupier comments*

In order to overcome actor-network theory (ANT) methodological limitations mentioned above, primarily ANT's inability to offer a lens through which to interpret social phenomenon, a critical discourse analysis (CDA) was employed to analyse the data (Fairclough 2001; Fairclough 2003; Meyer 2001; Wodak 2001). This was done in order to interpret how actors organised and mobilised the Occupy Toronto movement network. When applied with the method of translation, CDA facilitates an interpretive approach to data examination. This is because it requires researchers to accept a semiotic account of a problem (controversy); the network, practices and associations in which it is located; the relationships between actors, objects and the network in which the problem is dealt with; and how entities overcame or accommodated barriers when addressing the problem (Fairclough 2003, pp. 209-10). Hence, CDA offers the method of translation an interpretive lens through which to evaluate and analyse discursive data.

After data was collected, the first step in the interpretive process was to contextualise the data. This required signalling where the data was produced (online or offline) and by whom (delegates, occupier or other sources). Second, data was coded by examining enduring processes, patterns, and themes (Fairclough 2003). Codes that developed during this step are referred to as '…substantive codes, because they codify the substance of the data, and often use the very words used by the actors themselves' (Stern 1980, p. 21). Third, each post and comment was examined as they related to the unfolding of the movement network. Here, movement network concerns as related to controversy were analysed. Fourth, data was interpreted and meaning was applied to the translation process of the Occupy Toronto movement network (Fairclough 2003). The steps taken were done in order to examine and interpret the data and to provide an account of the unfolding of Occupy Toronto across online-offline networks. It also enabled a view of the extent to which ANT was able to capture movement network translation.

NVivo was used to organise and code data. Derived codes were grouped into different categories that reflect ANT's moment of network translation. From these categories the primary themes of leadership, constituent ordering and marginalisation emerged. These categories were used to structure the discussion in each chapter (see Table 1 below). The categories reflect the translation process of the Occupy Toronto movement network while the themes address the conventions and practices of movement network leadership, ordering and marginalisation.

Moments	Problematisation	Obligatory Passage Point	Interessement and Enrolment	Mobilisation and Treason (network destabilisation)
Categories	Leading actors	Point of access into the collective	Delegates actions (awareness and challenge)	Movement network speakers
	Controversy and matters of concern	Online/offline channelling platforms	Delegate devices (awareness and challenge)	Displacement vehicles and devices
	Participant definitions and identifications	Online/offline association	Communication and instrumentalisation	Network mediators
	Movement strategy/agenda	Action repertoires	Legitimacy and enrolment	Movement inscriptions
	Movement network ordering	Strategies and tactics (delegates and occupier)	Multilateral negotiations and trials of strength	External counter-mobilisation
	Movement network simplification and juxtaposition	Network indispensability	Occupier strategies and tactics	Movement network attrition and separation

Primary themes		
Leadership	Constituent ordering	Marginalisation

Table 1 *The moments of translation, associated ANT categories and Occupy Toronto themes*

3.6.1 Ethical considerations

Two primary ethical concerns were addressed when employing Facebook as a site of exploration: how to gain access to Facebook data and how to represent data. Both concerns revolved around the notion of whether data collection 'might expose protesters and their supporters to potential harm' (Reilly & Trevisan 2015, p. 3). The question of harm relates to whether or not it was ethical to collect online information on individuals without consent and how to represent data without signalling the identity of participants. With regard to informed consent, because Facebook is a public platform where anyone can join and browse content, and because it was difficult to obtain consent from all members of the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page, this thesis did not seek informed consent from participants, rather it focused on reducing the chances of exposing participations to harm by ensuring participant anonymity. One way this was done was by coding

occupier data with a pseudonym (for example, 'Jessy' was coded as OT1; 'Sam' was coded as OT2 and so on). Delegate posts were coded with a 'D' (for example 'Casey' was D1; 'Sidney' was D2 and so on). This was done in order to remove participant signifiers. If delegates did not sign off an official Occupy Toronto post with their name, then these posts were coded with 'D0'.

A second step taken to reduce harm and safeguard participant anonymity was by ensuring that direct quotes could not be accessed through Internet search engines. In this case, a 'medium-cloaked' approach (Kozinets 2010; Reilly & Trevisan 2015) was used to selectively apply quotes and paraphrase content. Kozinets (2010) distinguishes between uncloaked, minimum cloaked, medium cloaked and maximum cloaked approaches when reporting online data. In the most basic sense, uncloaked refers to using 'the online pseudonym or real name of the research participant in the research report' (Kozinets 2010, p. 154). In this case, little is done to disguise participant identity or quotes. For the minimum cloaked approach, 'the actual name of the online community or other group is given. Online pseudonyms, names, and other means of identifying the person are altered' (Kozinets 2010, p. 154). With regard to the medium cloaked approach participant pseudonyms are given a research pseudonym while direct quotes that can be found via Internet search engines are paraphrased. Lastly, the maximum cloaked approach, according to Kozinets (2010), is when:

> '[T]the online community and its site are not named. All names, pseudonyms, and other identifying details are altered. There are no direct verbatim quotes used if a search engine could link those quotations to the individuals' original postings'. (Kozinets 2010, p. 155).

With regard to this thesis, direct quotes were displayed as long as they could not be located by an Internet search engine. If quotes were accessible then selective quote paraphrasing was completed. Content data that was intended for public audiences—such as movement proposals, meeting times and dates, or linked mainstream or alternative news articles—were not paraphrased. This was because publicly communicated content such as meeting times and dates was intended for public audiences and the risk of harm was considered low. Occupier comments found in discussion threads, although publically available, were considered private and removed of participant signifiers. Thus, in order to reduce potential harm, participant identifiers were removed as well as the ability to find and match verbatim quotes via Internet search engines.

3.7 Conclusion

Actor-network theory's (ANT) method of translation explores how actors problematise the web of relations that constitute their network; what channelling platforms are used by actors to connect with the collective; what devices and actions mediate the interessement and enrolment process; and

how do mobilisation outcomes represent entities. Translation is a practice of tracing networks and actors and '…understood in terms of the translator, the translated, and the translation medium' (Crawford 2005, p. 2). ANT requires researchers to 'follow the actors' (Latour 2005b, p. 12) and trace the controversies, uncertainties and connections between them.

Following ANT, the approach taken to investigate the Occupy Toronto movement network was agnostic in the sense that it involved moving 'toward and away' Occupy Toronto (Latour 1981, p. 210). As discussed, universalised concepts such as institutions and the social used to explain social phenomenon fail to provide a suitable set of explanatory assumptions and/or omit the intricate and complex associations that constitute social realities (Latour 1996a; 2005b). Grand theorisations and terms often overlook or confound the (micro)physics of social relations. This is because they are unable to provide an account of social reality that includes variances in scale. Since the aim of the thesis was to explore the relational ontology of Occupy Toronto across different levels, each entity was explored as it translated its own place within the movement network. By doing so, preconceived beliefs as to why and how individuals participate in social movements—typically witnessed by resource mobilisation theory (RMT) and new social movement theory (NSM)—were suspended in order to provide actors with the space to enact their own network accounts. Additionally, the analysis of Occupy Toronto in the proceeding chapters was explained in symmetrical terms; this was because network elements and properties were flattened in order to describe the scale, range and importance of associations in terms that do no privilege one element over the other (see, for example, Latour 1996a). Hence, a delegate and placard both in controversy were considered equally part of the network, defined only by their association to and enactment of Occupy Toronto. Maintaining an agnostic account while explaining Occupy Toronto in symmetrical terms is buttressed by ANT's third principle of free association. That is, I limited as much as possible any prior assumptions I had of Occupy Toronto in order to generate space for occupiers to illustrate their own experiences with the movement network. By adhering to ANT's three principles of translation and how they relate to the production of descriptive accounts, I was able to enliven Occupy Toronto hybrids as well as the significance of ANT for understanding an online-offline movement network.

Finally, by applying ANT's principles and method of translation with a critical discourse analysis (CDA), this thesis traced the unfolding of a movement network over different spatial and temporal points. It also provided an opportunity for critical reflection. This is because CDA, in association with ANT's methodology, requires the researcher to foreground their own positionality within the analysis. As Sheehan (2012) explains, ANT methodology addresses the fact that researcher and

actors under investigation are '…simultaneously situated in multiple networks of varying scales' and as a result '…the personal and interpersonal scales do not exist in isolation from other social scales or in a traditional nested hierarchy of interconnectedness and significance' (Sheehan 2011, p. 337). Hence, critical reflection enables the researcher's own practice and thinking to be questioned. Following Ruming (2009, p.452):

> '[ANT] research findings are the product of networks created by the researcher through, first, the objectives and framing of a research project and, second, the methods used to create and follow the research network'.

In this sense, the researcher, research method and the network of actants influence each other in fluid terms. As a result, they co-create an account of movement network translation.

Employing Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page as a site of data collection enabled a view of how entities organised, stabilised and mobilised a social movement network over online-offline realms. Thirteen months of occupier interaction on Facebook was traced. Through their daily activities the actors of Occupy Toronto directed the research. As Facebook supplied valuable information on the actions and association of participants, occupier and delegate outputs provided a convenient and serviceable way to explore and examine the associations and mediations of Occupy Toronto. This is because Facebook served as a database for online as well as offline activity. The consolidation of multiple texts in this respect becomes part of a larger network of meaning and understanding through which the effects of participating in Occupy Toronto was understood.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PROBLEMATISATION OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT: EXPLORING THE CONTROVERSY AND DELEGATES OF OCCUPY TORONTO

4.0 Introduction

This chapter applies actor network theory's (ANT) moment of network problematisation in order to examine the formation and organisation of Occupy Toronto. ANT's method of translation informs the problematisation of Occupy Toronto. By problematising Occupy Toronto, the controversy and delegates that served to order the movement network are addressed. The purpose of this chapter is to explore how certain actors facilitate the connection of diverse individuals and the value of looking at movement formation and organisation as an exercise of problematisation.

As discussed in Chapter Three, controversy and matters of concern signal the orientation of a movement network. Concerns are individual expressions and experiences of grievance that comprise a controversy. An action frame is the banner under which the orientation of the movement is communicated and identified (Bennett & Segerberg 2012). When individuals organise a hybrid social movement, they connect not as a homogenous assemblage but as a collection of multiple concerns. Individuals attach concerns via frame identification in order to respond to controversy.

The formation and organisation of a movement network is also affected by its leadership style. Leaders delimit and drive controversy, define what actors are to do and order the movement network. This chapter will explore the extent to which Toronto occupiers acted as their own delegates while forming the movement network. Lastly, after the controversy and leadership style have been outlined, the simplification of the movement network is made visible. The simplification of a movement draws coherence from the alliance of actors over a controversy. By tracing controversies a view of how a movement network was problematised and simplified is presented. The following discussion is structured by ANT's method of translation and the categories of problematisation.

4.1 Controversy and matters of concern

As discussed in Chapter Three, controversy is necessary for network formation. This is because it serves as a catalyst for action by requiring actors to participate in defining grievances and uncertainties. Controversy signals who is involved in the problematisation process and what is at stake. Controversy includes matters of concern—individual concerns code the larger controversy. Misa (1992) notes:

> '[T]here is nothing in principle that cannot be disputed, negotiated, or reinterpreted—in short, become the subject of a controversy […] closure occurs if a controversy ends not when a neat solution emerges but when a social group perceives that the problem is solved'. (Misa 1992, pp. 109-10)

The idea of controversy and concern are similar to that of new social movement theory's (NSM) understanding of legitimation crisis. For Habermas (1975), a crisis occurs as a result of problems generated by the system—when steering mechanisms fail to direct everyday life—and affect the lifeworld of actors. Accordingly, collective action takes place between the lifeworld and system, in an attempt to limit system penetration or resolve further 'confusion and disarray' (Habermas 1975, p. 24). For instance, a crisis of the political economy results in a withdrawal of people from normative structures as individuals appropriate alternate spaces for developing new insights and meaning (Langman 2013). Controversy and legitimation crisis overlap—notably in the account of crisis declaration. However, controversy involves more than signalling a crisis. It includes the organisation and positioning of multiple entities for future action. The significance of controversy is that it includes all struggles as well as the structural opportunities afforded to actors, something NSM omits. Hence, controversy identifies a chain of concerns that link the network while at the same time stimulate individuals to act on their concerns.

4.2 The controversy of Occupy Toronto

Toronto occupiers defined their central controversy as an expression of inequality[26]. The Occupy movement's characterisation of inequality has been elaborated elsewhere (Krugman & Wells 2012, p. 9; van Gelder & YES Magazine 2011, p. 1; Writers for the 99% 2012, p. 5). According to Chomsky (2012):

> 'There is quite a range of people from many walks of life and many concerns involved in the Occupy movement. There are some general things that bring them together, but of course they all have specific concerns as well. Primarily, I think this should be regarded as a response, the first major response, in fact, to about thirty years of a really quite bitter class war that has led to social, economic and political arrangements in which the system of democracy has been shredded'. (Chomsky 2012, pp. 53-4)

For Occupy Toronto, the controversy of inequality was attributed to the practices and conventions of neoliberal capitalism. Occupiers felt that inequality was a result of the outsourcing of jobs, a liberalised trade market and the implementation of austerity based programs. This strand of controversy was associated with material effects (OT9, OT13, OT138). Occupy Toronto's controversy of inequality also reflected post-material and cultural issues. For instance, concerns were related to the corporate influence on government, state encroachment on individual and group

[26] Experienced inequality was expressed through social, economic, cultural and political relations.

rights and the lack of tolerance or awareness for multicultural and environment related issues (OT11, OT16). It was evident from the inequality comment thread on Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page that occupiers were divided in their specific outlook on what constituted Occupy Toronto's central controversy of inequality.

4.2.1The material versus cultural controversy

Inequality as a material effect was attributed to the practices of neoliberal capitalism. In a Marxist sense, the controversy of Occupy Toronto was directed toward the existing structure of capital accumulation and the means of labour production. According to Taylor (2013), Occupy 'problematiz[ed] economic inequality and the neoliberal discourse that legitimated it, and reintroduced the words 'class' and 'capitalism' back into political debate' (Taylor 2013, p. 730). For occupiers who held this outlook, the aim of the movement was to reform or reject the capitalist economic order. For example, OT14 stated:

> 'Capitalism was never meant to create the greatest amount of wealth for the greatest amount of people […] it was always meant to usurp the people of their natural wealth and power, and siphon it into the hands of a handicapped and psychopathic elite'.

OT9 commented that the capital logic was about greed and 'it is enough for us to stand against greed to have a meaningful and hopefully very productive protest and struggle'. OT13 added:

> 'I love how people who argue that a particular system or convention cannot be changed because "it has always been that way" […] So sit there confident that capitalism will always be around to tell you the exploitation of your fellow man is ok and we'll see you up against the wall, pal'.

According to OT138, '…the system is just plain broken. Capitalism can work, but there needs to be explicit and inviolable limitations, regulations and checks and balances'. D2 went as far as identifying the '1%ers', such as former Toronto mayor Rob Ford and 'his big business buddies', as the culprits of material inequality. For D0, 'the issue, in a nutshell, is capitalism'; and Occupy Toronto should be focused on challenging 'new forms of global capitalism' (OT10). OT158 revealed, 'I make less than half of what I used to make 20 years ago for the same job […] No wonder I am so much poorer today…'. As demonstrated by occupier comments on the issue of inequality, there was a group who felt that the Occupy Toronto controversy should be attributed to a material critique of neoliberal capitalism.

However, not all occupiers agreed with the idea that the central controversy of Occupy Toronto was related to material conditions of inequality. Other occupiers felt that cultural concerns better reflected the controversy of inequality. For these occupiers, indignation was expressed through a

cultural critique of neoliberal capitalism. It was believed that if society simply 'fixed democracy' then 'the 99% will naturally get what we want on all these issues through a real democratic process' (OT16). Occupiers who advocated for cultural concerns did not necessarily see material loss as the issue. Rather the focus was related to social justice, gender and sexual equality as well as ethnic, Indigenous and First Nations and individual and group rights. The cultural aspect of controversy included the destruction of 'natural resources' (OT11); the oppressive 'crime Bill C-10' (OT56; OT58); 'private prisons' and 'electoral reform' (OT57); 'student debt' (OT11); and 'corporate' operations (OT59). For these occupiers, it was felt that if the movement focused attention on addressing cultural issues, occupiers could resolve the controversy of inequality.

The controversy and matters of concern theme expressed a critique of both the material and cultural dimension of neoliberal capitalism. This theme follows recent scholarship that suggests that social movements have not abandoned one strand of issue allocation for the other (Eggert & Giugni 2012). In this sense, Occupy Toronto controversy was evaluated in class terms related to labour, capital and politics as well as in non-class terms focused on cultural issues of identity, quality of life and lifestyle. Both strands of controversy highlighted Occupy Toronto as an amalgam of 'old' (material) and 'new' (cultural) concerns. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Occupy Toronto reflected a multiplicity of issues that together framed the controversy of inequality.

4.2.2 The revolutionary versus incremental change approach to controversy

When considering the actions that may address the controversy of inequality, occupier solutions were as distinct as the controversy itself. A central theme depicted in Occupy Toronto Facebook comments was that occupiers considered systemic upheaval (i.e., revolution) as the best option for confronting the controversy of inequality. However, when occupiers were more or less challenged with adversity in their daily struggles, they turned to advocating for incremental changes. Although many occupiers wanted to create effective and sustained change throughout society, the way in which delegates and occupiers organised the movement network actually constrained it within existing social institutions and structures.

Several occupiers felt that to combat controversy revolutionary change was the solution. OT17 supported this position:

> 'The idea that the primary problem is that 1% hold the economy hostage misses that if you put every one of the 1% into a hole tomorrow, the system would still persist. By blaming the 1% it simply becomes scapegoating, a way to avoid thinking what it would take to revolutionize the system'.

Building on this line of thinking, OT18 commented, 'you may only want mild reforms but many recognize that there are very little fundamental changes to the domination of the '99%' by the '1%' that can actually be accomplished'. OT19 added, '[w]e want the world to stop. The game, no matter who created it, or is playing it, needs to change. I don't want beacons of capitalistic success; I want equality...' OT20 alluded to the idea that reform would not be enough as it was simply 'tinkering with a dysfunctional system'. OT20 added, 'changes will be made to [the system], and we'll find ourselves in the same situation.' Speaking to the weakness of incremental change based measures, OT21 believed that, '[r]eform measures have never worked in the past and they will never work in the future'. As these examples suggest, there was a contingent of occupiers who believed that total systemic change was needed in order to combat inequality; it was a matter of confronting existing societal arrangements to produce alternative conventions and practices.

Although occupiers articulated a revolutionary sentiment, when a predicament arose occupiers were quick to offer incremental changes as possible solutions. For example, Occupy Gardens was an Occupy Toronto initiative with a goal of community development and food security. The initiative reflected a 'growing collective of gardeners plotting to plant and tend food gardens all over the city, sharing the produce with all who are hungry' (D0). An Occupy garden was planted in Queen's Park in downtown Toronto and was tended to for almost five months when in September 2012, the City of Toronto uprooted the garden. The uprooting of the garden received a strong reaction from occupiers. The action taken by city officials inspired a high volume of discussion and debate on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page. The uprooting of the garden Facebook thread received 161 likes, 175 comments, 793 shares and 369 share posts. These numbers were the highest for any Occupy Toronto Facebook thread in September 2012. Many of the posts expressed confusion and a sense of betrayal. For instance, one occupier stated: 'I just don't understand why they allowed it to grow for 5 months [and] then when it's ready to benefit people destroy it…' (OT24).

When discussing the uprooting of the garden, many occupiers suggested that an incremental change approach would have been the most suitable option when planning the garden or taking similar actions. For instance, occupiers commented on the Occupy gardens Facebook thread that collective action was best served by acting within the system instead of outside of it. Some occupiers felt that the group should have procured lawful permission from city officials before radically planting seeds in a public park:

> ‘In situations like these, you cannot buck the system, you use it to your advantage, people in power, people with authority are not going to like these guerrilla gardens […] there is a waiting list [to seed and develop city gardens] then lobby all levels of government to open up more land for use’. (OT26)

OT25 commented, ‘antagonizing the authorities [will not] win you favours, work the local and provincial governments to establish sanctioned spaces and you’ll likely get further’. OT100 noted, ‘like all movements in recent history, we need to push forward and expect modest gains’. Others were more direct in their criticism, ‘do any of you get the point that the land does not belong to you? It is not your property, you may not do with it as you see fit…’ (OT27). OT29 indicated, ‘I’m afraid any sympathy I might have had disappeared when I got to the part where they had used the land without permission’. OT28 added:

> ‘Moral of the story - you can’t just go in and take land without a person’s permit and do a "good" thing which would exclude you from obeying the law. Being a Robin Hood doesn't qualify you to break the law and not get punished’.

Occupier displeasure with the Occupy Gardens initiative was rooted in the understanding that, whether intentionally or not, occupiers had reproduced the colonial project of land appropriation without a proprietary right to do so. Ironically, this was the same issue that Occupy Toronto challenged the Canadian colonial state on (see below). Occupier comments revealed a tension between setting up a garden without city approval and acting within the law. Although civil disobedience was a tactic of the Occupy movement, green civil disobedience in the form of guerrilla gardening was challenged on the merits of land ownership versus public use.

What the Occupy Gardens initiative illustrates is that although the revolutionary actions of occupiers were seeded with good intentions, when coming in contact with state pressure advocacy shifted to seeking change within the state system. The significance of this example demonstrates the difficulty of defining how the central controversy of a movement network will be addressed. Because Occupy Toronto was comprised of a diverse set of often conflicting viewpoints, it was difficult to satisfy the desires of all occupiers within the network. Hence, controversies arose within controversies. When occupiers did not agree with the direction set out by delegates they were marginalised from the movement because of their opposing opinion. For example, occupiers who advocated for employing violent tactics during protests were asked by delegates not to participate in Occupy Toronto actions because, ‘we do not condone condescending tones, aggressive language, or aggressive confrontations. Anyone who commits an act of violence is not to be considered part of the “Occupy” movements’ (D0). What was witnessed during the Occupy

Gardens initiative was that some occupiers wanted to create change outside the state while others believed that incremental changes would better serve the Occupy Toronto movement. In the end, the incremental change strategy prevailed because occupiers were either unable to create alternative paradigms or unwilling to do so. However, delegates were not able to resolve the issue of revolution versus incremental change; it was a constant point of contention found throughout other Occupy Toronto actions and events.

4.2.3 In the face of controversy there will be concerns not demands!

Occupy Toronto unified multiple concerns and these comprised the overarching controversy of inequality. As a result, the Occupy Toronto movement did not issue a formal set of demands. According to D0 and D5, this was because there was not one demand to be made over others; making demands was antithetical to the consensual and participatory process of Occupy Toronto; and a specific set of demands ran the risk of limiting the movement. Occupy Toronto was not interested in issuing demands that could be met, co-opted or challenged. Some occupiers felt that if Occupy Toronto listed a specific set of demands, such as a political party would, another group would simply counter or co-opt the movement (OT23, OT161). Having demands, it was felt, 'is the end of [Occupy Toronto] because you either agree with the demands or fight against them' (OT21). In this sense, occupiers defined the movement through their concerns rather than demands as Occupy Toronto was focused on connecting individual experiences and concerns (OT122).

Tracing the formation and organisation of a movement network via the problematisation of controversy differs from traditional social movement approaches. Resource mobilisation theory (RMT) omits a view of the unique expressions of why collective action materialises while overlooking network relations that exist outside the formal organisation, such as those individuals who participate in a movement but are not considered formal members of a social movement organisation (Piven & Cloward 1991). As a result, participant concerns are either lost or assimilated into the movement organisation. New social movement theory (NSM), on the other hand, fails to account for working class struggles or those not located on left (Pichardo 1997). As a result, some actors and concerns are precluded from comprising a movement's controversy. Hence, a circumscribed account of network concerns neglects the multiple and conflicting individualities that comprise a hybrid movement network.

Actor-network theory (ANT) departs from a RMT and NSM account of network formation and organisation by considering all entities involved in a hybrid movement network in neutral terms. As

discussed in Chapter Three, ANT's principle of agnosticism requires an impartial view of actors involved in controversy. This requires tracing all actor concerns that connect with the movement network in equal terms. As expressed through the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page, occupier concerns that fit the controversy of inequality resonated with either material or cultural interests. Hence, controversy lends support to a multiplicity of voices. For example, by tracing the problematisation of controversy, each occupier concern was given an opportunity to comprise the movement and this was evidenced by the broad and conflicting nature of occupier concerns. OT7 completed the point of multiplicity and difference:

> 'The openness of [Occupy Toronto] is its strength; it should tackle everything and everyone. It is about discussion, awareness, thinking, being patient and not forcing demands or solutions that only fit into the neoliberal order of society. This is about adding other perspectives, new voices, different angles of thought'.

By enabling each occupier concern to comprise the mosaic of Occupy Toronto an account of why actors coalesced to form a movement network was highlighted. Because Occupy Toronto promoted difference and inclusion, it was a network of excess and conflict. It encompassed many different identities and concerns that at times did not align (material vs. cultural) or were in competition with one another (revolution vs. incremental change). In this case, delegates had to net-work the network to ensure order and stabilisation (see Chapter Six). Delegates attempted to ensure network continuity by aligning individual concerns with the overall objective of Occupy Toronto and by balancing the individual cost to participation with the output or benefit presented by the network (see, for example, Melucci 1996, pp. 333-35). Relating back to ANT, it provides a method through which to explore and account for what a movement network incorporates as well as how some form of continuity is established (i.e., the controversy of inequality). Hence, by refusing to list a particular set of demands, disparate individuals joined together as part of a broader network to challenge their version of controversy while delegates worked to maintain network coherence.

4.2.4 Participant identifications and the '99%' action frame

Stronzake (2012, p. 118) notes that 'the act of changing the world also transforms the human who is working for change'. As actors participate in collective action they create and affirm their own individuality while also accepting individual differences in order to inspire social change. An action frame serves as a signpost for actors to attach their differences. An action frame is simple and inclusive by design so that more individuals can connect with the movement. As discussed Chapter Two, personalised action frames offer individuals an informal and flexible means to join movements because of the relative ease that individuals have in appropriating the overall message. Action frames serve as the personalisable frame through which actors connect to a movement

network while maintaining their own self-concept and reason for participating (Bennett 2012). An action frame is not a collective identity since it does not require participants to assimilate. It is not a collective action frame in the RMT sense because it does not purpose a particular outlook to follow. Rather, it simply serves as a point of connection. Action frames relate to ANT's moment of problematisation through the process of movement identification. Through an action frame, occupiers are identified and connect their concerns with the movement network.

The view of connecting a multiplicity of individual concerns to one movement network also sits in contrast to social movement approaches that suggest that connection is completed by formal organisations or entrepreneurs (McCarthy & Zald 1977) or because of a crisis (Habermas 1975). For instance, Occupy Toronto did not require individuals to agree on a single cause for participation—as a formal social movement organisation (SMO) would—nor did it demand that individuals form a collective identity around a particular crisis. Rather, delegates facilitated the connection of personalised concerns with a generalised action frame. The value of connecting via an action frame was that participants did not have to conform to a formal movement organisation, nor did they need to share a common identity. Instead, the movement network accommodated a diversity of concerns. In this case, action frames that link concerns with a controversy are broader than a SMO outlook and more inclusive than a collective identity. Hence, how occupiers identified with an action frame is an important aspect to consider when understanding the formation and organisation a movement network.

The data collected from Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page highlighted that the 'We are the 99%' and the '99%' action frame enabled the connection of a variety of concerns with the Occupy Toronto controversy. For example, the '99%' identification 'encompasses the middle class as well as the working class, small business and the like […] it's meant to imply nearly everyone, hence the 99%' (D2). D0 posted, 'regardless of status or work, we are the 99%'. OT42 commented, 'the people I see around me, police, homeless, families, they are all the 99% [and] it's a very unifying and empowering perspective'. For many, the strength of Occupy Toronto was found in its openness and simplicity, 'Occupy Toronto should tackle everything and everyone' (OT7); 'I think it's more about the 99% of the world, not just Toronto or Canada' (OT45). OT47 suggested that 'when the 1% have the government and financial institutions rigged to turn us into serfs […] damn right the 99% have the right and a responsibility finally to oppose them'. OT43 concluded this point:

> ‘The thing that brought citizens, unions, artists, musicians, Tibetans, Indigenous peoples, Muslims, Christians, socialists, communists, libertarians, anarchists, and all the others and their supports to St. James Park was because we had one common enemy. And we agreed it was the 1% richest’.

The ‘99%’ identification was inclusive in the sense that it facilitated the connection of a multiplicity of individuals who each held their own reason for participating in the movement. This is because it was straightforward and uncomplicated. Anyone could accept that they were part of the ‘99%’. As a result of its simplicity, the ‘99%’ action frame was an accessible connection point for individuals to attach their concerns with the larger controversy of inequality.

However, not all occupiers agreed with the ‘99%’ action frame. Some occupiers suggested that it did not apply to a Canadian context because ‘1% of Canada [does not] control the vast majority of its wealth’ (OT44). OT14 commented, ‘the 1% vs. 99% dichotomy is ridiculous. We are all pawns in this great headless horse of a system…’. Whether or not one believed in the ‘1% versus 99%’ distinction, OT46 noted, ‘people need to remember that when we include 99% of the people, we will not always agree with each other’s idea. Let’s say that we will however at least listen’. OT34 added, ‘my views do not represent your views. Your views do not represent mine. Both our views are represented together as a whole part of this’. OT36 commented, ‘…leaving [individual concerns] out of occupy […] would be a mistake, both strategically and morally’. D1 reminded occupiers that, ‘[each person] has just as much a right to be part of Occupy as anyone else’. The significance of the ‘99%’ identification was that it provided ‘…the individualization of issues and gives us our strength’ (OT8). Although there were some who did not accept the ‘99%’ perspective, this was nominal when considering that actors were nevertheless connected to Occupy Toronto through discussion and interaction. As long as communication existed on a particular matter of concern, the movement and its discourse was re-produced. Occupy Toronto data suggested that when ‘99%’ of the population is included in a movement not everyone will agree on issues or movement practices. To reiterate OT34’s point, no matter the content, individual views were considered to represent the larger whole.

The ‘99%’ identification came to represent the movement. Occupier comments highlighted that the movement was ‘a means [to] invit[e] the public to be part of a discussion on what our collective grievances with the system are…’ (OT36). This was done by indicating that every personalised concern was to be reflected in the movement. For OT36, the process of identification and connection signalled Occupy Toronto as something more than a movement focused on a single set of concerns; rather, it was ‘…an information campaign’ for people to ‘wake up’ and become conscious of their surroundings especially if people wanted to ‘get any closer to unity and action’.

OT36 added, 'the struggle is by necessity on many fronts and so multiple focuses seem appropriate'. Indeed, each occupier carried with them their own reason for participating in the movement and together they comprised the '99%' identifier. For instance, the police, who were seen as reinforcing the power of the '1%', were deemed parts of the '99%' (D0). OT157 posted:

> 'The police may be the 99% in the sense that they are trying to make a living and don't have any say in the way the economy operates [however] while our fight should not be against individual officers, we need to make sure that we don't forget the institutional role the police play'.

The '99%' identification enabled occupiers to connect and participate in the movement network even though individual concerns were not resolved. The '99%' identification signified that differences would exist in Occupy Toronto. This is important because delegates did not attempt to reconcile differences; they only worked to manage them in order to ensure movement organisation, stabilisation and mobilisation. If a movement ceased to exploit concerns Occupy Toronto would have been 'black-boxed' (Latour 1987), which was similar to listing a single set of demands. As discussed in Chapter Three, an actor-network becomes black-boxed when the internal complexity of the network is left unquestioned, representing the final product of an intricate process. At the point of being black-boxed, networks are accepted and solidified[27]. Hence, to examine how actors formed a movement network in the midst of a multiplicity of concerns requires an account of how it negotiated its leadership style and the way in which it was ordered. To overcome network disruption, certain actors were required to maintain balance between competing insights and values.

4.3 The delegates of Occupy Toronto

What distinguished the Occupy Toronto leadership style from more traditional forms, for instance the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL), is that it claimed to operate without strong entrepreneurs or leaders[28]. For example, D0 commented on the issue of leadership, '[t]he [Occupy Toronto] movement has no leaders […] It's kind of [a] participatory democracy that doesn't work for you unless you're involved'. This understanding of leadership style was endorsed by other occupiers, 'one of my favourite aspects of this movement is the lack of a person being the figurehead. This is not about one person or a couple, this is about everyone' (OT33). Other occupiers added, 'this movement has no leaders […] please understand this […] it's a democratic egalitarian movement' (OT34); 'it is broad-based and governed by its participants' (OT35). OT40 indicated, 'people can speak on their own behalf, occupy is a support mechanism. We help voices get heard [as] best we can'. Reflecting on this putative arrangement, D1 noted, 'OT is a movement of free association so

[27] However, all black-boxes are open to challenge and as a result additional controversies may arise (Latour 1987).
[28] The Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) is a formal organisation that represents 54 unions and over one million workers. It is hierarchically structured, with a president, executive vice-president and secretary-treasurer.

there is no "official" occupy anything'. For most occupiers, the real danger was for 'any one or five people becoming seen as or seeing themselves as the organizers/leaders of the movement' (OT31). D2 added:

> 'If you don't feel that this node of the occupy movement represents you, then start your own. But you don't have a right to tell me that you represent my voice without my vote anymore that I can represent your voice without your vote'.

Occupiers believed that Occupy Toronto was comprised of autonomous actors who interacted together to co-produce a movement network (D0, D2, D5, D8, OT18, OT33, OT36, OT43, OT149). By applying ANT's moment of problematisation, it becomes evident that delegates and occupiers were part of the heterogeneous engineering of the movement and this in turn was demonstrated by their accounts of 'having no leaders' (D0) and 'free association' (D1). In practice, however, there were actors who delegated tasks or led discussions more than others. Although each participant was considered a leader unto himself or herself, not all actors worked to delegate the movement. As discussed in Chapter One, delegates are movement network leaders who delineate controversy, establish the movement's agenda, represent the movement across online-offline sites and negotiate the leadership dynamic. Occupiers are participants in the organisation and mobilisation of the movement. All delegates are occupiers but not all occupiers are delegates. Occupiers took on the role of delegate when leading different committees and working groups or by representing the movement in different sites. The agency of delegates was expressed through different sociotechnical hybrids that enabled the ordering of the movement. Movement ordering refers to the process through which delegates define collective grievances, set the course for collective action or settle movement disputes. Ordering was accomplished through delegate actions and devices that were located online-offline. According to OT62, some of the work of Occupy Toronto delegates included assessing the climate of the occupation during different activities, maintaining civility between members, and employing de-escalation techniques when required. If an occupier was a delegate—either as part of a working group or a participant in a protest event—they were required to facilitate and represent the movement network to other occupiers and audiences.

4.3.1 Delegate leadership

Delegate leadership was expressed through the process of facilitating and leading discussions at General Assembly meetings, organising committee activities such as weekend training sessions, and by censoring offensive content on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page (see Chapter Five). There were some occupiers who felt that some delegates operated beyond the horizontal principles espoused by the movement:

> 'There have been leaders of Occupy Toronto from the beginning controlling things, the leaders met with the church, the leaders met with unions, the leaders brought forth the court case [Pfizer]; was that all formed and agreed at consensus? No it wasn't […] what we are talking about is a controlled group of facilitators' (OT37).

The fear that there may be an inner circle of leaders that dictated the course of the movement boiled over into frustrations in February 2012 over the banning of a particular individual from Occupy Toronto. According to a statement released by the Occupy Toronto Marshal committee[29]:

> 'We hereby impose a ban on OT137 from participating in our meetings and propose the General Assembly also ban OT137. We feel the accounts [of OT137's transgressions] are credible and as a result OT137 poses a threat to the safety of our fellow occupiers, our marshals, and the wider Occupy Toronto'.

The Marshal committee received considerable criticism from fellow occupiers over the banning of an occupier. In light of such criticisms, the Marshal committee offered space for OT137 to challenge its decision. D1 posted, 'Marshals have an important proposal and have issued a call-out for anyone who can please come to the GA tonight […] Hope to see you there!'

When arriving at the General Assembly, some occupiers and members of the Marshall committee obstructed OT137 from entering the building. This limited OT137's ability to hear and challenge the accusations made against them. After concluding the General Assembly, OT137 was excommunicated from the movement. More on this in Chapter Seven, for now it is important to note that the decision to excommunicate OT137 was arrived at by a select few within the General Assembly and this deviated from Occupy Toronto's principles of consensus based decision-making. After the event, many occupiers took to the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page to express their indignation:

> 'I am shocked that Occupy would pull something like this. This was nothing less than an old fashioned lynch mob and any decisions that were made should be null and void if you want to keep any sort of credibility for the Occupy Toronto movement.' (OT38)

OT23 commented, '[b]ig step in the right direction [Occupy Toronto], having someone assaulted last night for trying to attend a General Assembly when they were discussing them'. OT38 and OT126 added, respectively:

[29] The Marshal committee consisted of a group of delegates who worked to ensure security and safety in the Occupy Toronto movement. This was done by enforcing Occupy Toronto rules, de-escalating disruptive situations and monitoring potential risks—more on the different committees and working groups in Chapter Seven.

> '[OT137] was not given an opportunity to address the accusations […] when [OT137] tried [they were] cut off and told that they were going back inside to the meeting, I watched the video. [OT137] asked for quantification of the accusations but was not given any; so far I have not seen any proof about any of the serious accusations made against [OT137]. If they exist please post them for all to see as is only fair'.

> 'My point is let people have their opinions, who cares what they say, it's all about open discussion, and not immature finger pointing, the opinions of "leaders" of the Occupy movement are not god's commandments […] I'm more disappointed in the leadership/moderators here'.

Although many occupiers felt that delegates came to a decision on OT137 without group consensus, there were other occupiers who agreed with the actions of delegates, 'I'm personally comfortable knowing that all those present made an effort to ensure it wasn't a lynch mob, even debating for hours how to go about dealing with [OT137]' (D5). D1 commented, 'so grateful for and proud of my Occupy TO family! We still have a long way to go, but we took a big step in the right direction last night'. The banning of OT137 illustrated that far from being an outright leaderless movement based on consensus and participatory democracy, there were instances when delegates mobilised the movement network without adhering to the principles of Occupy Toronto. This was exemplified by the fact that an outcome was reached regarding OT137 via a non-consensus based process.

In problematising the Occupy Toronto leadership dynamic, the way delegates ordered the movement network was seen to be a controversy of the movement. This is because some occupiers believed that movement leadership was to be a consensual and participatory process. However, other occupiers felt that delegates took on the task of ordering the movement network without full or proper input from the wider movement (OT23). Facebook comments on the theme of OT137's excommunication suggested that there were delegates who ordered the movement without achieving consensus on matters related to the movement. As the example of OT137 demonstrated, the Marshal committee decided to evict an occupier from Occupy Toronto even though there were a number of occupiers who believed that delegates did not have the right to do so.

Through voting in General Assemblies, occupiers believed that each member had equal input in the direction of the movement (see Chapter Five). However, it was ultimately delegates who ordered the movement. For example, if occupiers did not follow the delegate implemented code of conduct on Facebook they faced the possibility of censorship or exclusion. This style of leadership was similar to Weber's account of traditional leadership. As discussed in Chapter One, traditional leadership relies on the power of obedience rather than charisma. The authority that traditional leaders enjoy is contingent on the obligation of members to obey rules (McIntosh 1970). With regard to Occupy Toronto, leadership was exercised through the rules and obligations set forth by

delegates. The ability to promulgate rules was embedded in the specific position that delegates found themselves in—whether part of the Marshall, Facebook administrator or Outreach committees. Depending on their position in the network, certain actors exerted more authority than others. Hence, the controversy of leadership was not easily resolved as occupiers continually challenged delegate prescriptions.

The Occupy Toronto outlook on leadership is also akin to Poell et al. (2016) account of leadership in hybrid social movements. Here, leadership is a facilitative and connective process where certain actors establish how a movement will unfold (Poell et al. 2016). With regard to Occupy Toronto, delegates worked to connect individuals with the movement but the way in which this was facilitated depended on the rules and obligations set forth by delegates. Delegate positioning in different committees provided an opportunity to delimit the movement network. For example, delegates who were part of the Facebook administrator committee defined what acceptable content on Facebook was. Those that facilitated the General Assembly ordered the speakers and topics for discussion. Those part of the Marshal committee identified what was a risk to the movement. By applying ANT to the study of movement network problematisation and leadership, it was evident that the form of delegate leadership was traditional in the sense that occupiers were encouraged to follow the rules and obligations of delegates, while delegates facilitated the attachment of occupiers to the network. Thus, although it has been perceived that the form of Occupy leadership was distributed throughout the movement network in a horizontal fashion (Sifry 2011), there were instances when delegates commanded and ordered particular actions in a vertical process.

4.3.2 The ordering of occupiers

During movement formation and organisation individuals who delegated the online communication network initially ordered Occupy Toronto. The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page served as a delegate device to order Occupy Toronto by disseminating movement related information to occupiers. For example, when the International Commission of Sol, in Madrid, Spain called for a 'Global Day of Action' on October 15th 2011, delegates took to Facebook to define how Occupy Toronto would show solidarity and begin their offline occupation of St. James Park (see Chapter Five). According to D9, 'first it was the Facebook call, and then it was the call to the initial meetings. Those meetings ended up setting the tone for how Occupy Toronto would proceed'.

Leading up to the October 15th action, D0 posted on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page Occupy Toronto's itinerary:

> 'Tomorrow morning at 10:00 AM we will rally at King St. and Bay St. to make our voices heard. We will then mobilize and march to our Occupation Zone which will be announced at the Rallying Point. If you cannot make it to the initial rally, please stay in contact with someone there, or stay connected to Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, or our Livestream'.

On October 15th 2011 occupiers gathered in the downtown core of Toronto to march on the Toronto Stock Exchange (TSX) and later settle at the occupation site. The 'First Three Day Schedule' was posted by delegates on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page:

> 'The first three days are what will dictate the scheduling for the rest of this event. That being said it is crucial that within these first three days we are using these scheduled slots for General Assembly to put together the most intellectual individuals to construct our future as Occupy Toronto. We will not march until the TSX is open and in business on Monday, which gives us the weekend to have the group on slow boil while we determine the best course of action.' (D0)

The 'First Three Day Schedule' listed a number of materials that delegates asked participants to bring with them to the occupation: laptops and cameras, power bars and extension cables, generators, blankets and pillows, dried goods and water sources. Initial events listed by delegates included: General Assemblies as well as a proposed march on Sunday the 16th. What the posting of the 'First Three Day Schedule' provided was an agenda for the movement. Hence, delegates ordered occupiers by employing online devices to define and delimit the offline formation and organisation of Occupy Toronto. Delegates took action to negotiate occupier concerns, such as when and why the movement began on a Saturday[30], and establish the rules of how the movement would conduct itself in public settings. For instance, delegate devices of non-violence and (de)occupy were established as guides to direct the actions of occupiers and the Occupy Toronto movement network.

4.3.3 Non-violence and (de)occupy

Two main delegate ordering devices, or immutable mobiles, were employed to influence the actions of occupiers. These were the ordering devices of non-violence and (de)occupy. From the outset, delegates established non-violence as a central strategy of the Occupy Toronto movement[31]. Posted on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page:

[30] The approach taken by delegates followed that of Occupy Wall Street in New York (OWS): 'they [OWS] started on a Saturday for the same reason, to build momentum and perhaps to get a feel for what it's like before the day of protest begins' (OT48).

[31] A non-violent approach was adopted by the Occupy movement (OccupyWallSt 2011; Occupy Wall Street 2011.

> ‘The “Occupy” movement (as well as Occupy Toronto) have a commitment of non-violence. As participants of the occupy movement, we adhere to this principle. We have gathered in order to engage in non-violent civil disobedience and building solidarity based on mutual: respect, acceptance, and love. We have peacefully assembled here, as is our right. We do not condone: condescending tones, aggressive language, or aggressive confrontations. Anyone who commits an act of violence is not to be considered part of the “Occupy” movements. We welcome all, who, in good faith, petition for a redress of grievances through non-violence. We provide a forum for peaceful assembly of individual to engage in participatory debate and democracy. We are attempting to become a community. An example to the rest of society, of the type of community we wish to create for ourselves as well as others […] we do not instigate violence, nor participate in violence when instigated against us. We will remain peaceful, and be an example of non-violence so that others can learn how to remain peaceful against oppression’. (D0)

Delegate comments on the Facebook group page indicated that, ‘anyone who is thinking about becoming violent at these protests can forget about attending. You will be singled out, and you will be (rightfully) disciplined. You do not represent us’ (D0). D4 commented, ‘there will be mechanisms […] to ensure no one stimulates violence’. Another post read:

> ‘If we conduct ourselves properly, the cops won't be an issue. Remember, every time that they use pepper spray, or batons, or zip ties on someone innocent they lose ground in the eyes of the public’ (D0).

OT51 added, ‘this group is not a violent group. We do not associate with nor do we condone any violence’. Of those occupiers who accepted the non-violent approach, OT50 highlighted, ‘one solitary act of resistance is all the mainstream Canadian media needs to label the entire movement as violent’.

However, all occupiers did not accept the non-violent approach. For example, OT52 questioned:

> ‘If the police get violent should the people just take it? The people should back each other up and defend against aggression initiated by the police thugs. Don't you think we the people should have some backbone? There are more of us than them. I think they would get the message not to be abusive with us if we stand up to them instead of being punching bags’.

OT54 asked, ‘[i]f someone punches you in the face and you block the punch or hit them back—is that violence or self-defense?’. For OT53, ‘[h]ow about the state violence that people face daily in our marginalized communities by the police or by racist/classist government/corporate policies? People have the right to resist, plain and simple’. OT43 tried to find a middle ground:

> ‘It doesn't matter how you conduct yourselves, if the police get orders to act to intimidate you or clear everyone out they will come in violently and get the job done and have unlimited resources to do so […] I believe your chances of success [when dealing with police] is live coverage […] They know that their vulnerability is the cameras and they will be the targets’.

Dissenting comments on the non-violence Facebook thread revealed that delegates faced internal controversy when ordering the movement toward a non-violent approach. For some occupiers, violence was considered a useful and necessary tactic in their action repertoire. Delegates attempted to settle the controversy by suggesting that a non-violent approach was 'the only way to gain public support' (D0). Delegates felt that any form of violence would alienate potential supporters and reduce the movement's standing with the community (D0). It was feared that if violence did erupt, the mainstream media would portray exaggerated caricatures of occupiers who were violent, disorganised and posed a risk to society (D2). Further, violent acts committed by occupiers were deemed insignificant when considering the coercive response of state and policing authorities. This was especially so considering that the experiences of the police handling of the 2010 Toronto G20 were still in the minds of occupiers[32]. As it can be seen, the controversy of non-violence was not easily resolved—delegates had to continually take action to settle disputes over the type of action that was to be taken during different events. Throughout the course of the first year of the movement, delegates repeatedly reminded occupiers that the strategy of non-violence would inform Occupy Toronto conduct and occupier-police interaction.

By disciplining those who participated in violent or transgressive acts delegate actions actually served to perpetuate violence. This is because delegates ordered a particular style of activism and if it was not accepted occupiers were confronted with the possibility of exclusion. The possibility of being excluded from the movement had the effect of marginalising those who believed that violence was a suitable tactic to employ. By holding occupiers accountable to internally created rules and obligations, delegates re-produced structures of domination that Occupy Toronto was trying to resist.

The second ordering device of delegates consisted of committing the movement to a '(de)occupy' outlook (see Appendix). Influenced by the New York City occupation, the (de)occupy initiative acknowledged Canada's record of colonialism and sought to avoid replicating similar acts when conducting Occupy Toronto actions. It was a device to order a particular way of doing Occupy Toronto. Posted on the Facebook group page:

[32] The 2010 Toronto G20 witnessed approximately 1,118 arrests made over the span of the event, the largest mass asserts in Canadian history. Only 32 of those arrested were convicted.

> ‘Following the rich tradition of Indigenous people and people of colour who have fought for self-determination; decolonizing “Occupy” Toronto means aspiring to win struggles for liberation by placing Indigenous people, people of colour, people with disabilities, psychiatric survivors, homeless people, low income or working class people, immigrants, gender non-conforming persons, women, and queers at the centre of our collective struggle […] Further, we commit to respecting the lands upon which we organize in our thoughts, planning and messaging others’. (D0)

The (de)occupy initiative served to guide Occupy Toronto when creating proposals or take action. According to OT61 the initiative was an attempt to realise:

> ‘How can we promote community and cooperation, and how can we begin to offer changes that shift our misguided consciousness? Only from a new way of thinking will we begin to believe in a different way of living. If we do not believe, nothing will change. I think this document works to focus on foundational values that underline many of the inequalities we experience whether intentional or not’.

Although the (de)occupy device served to rectify the omission of indigenous struggles by highlighting the need to embed such struggle in the discourse of Occupy Toronto, there were some who felt that the sentiment did not go far enough to ameliorate tensions. For example, OT165 criticised Occupy Toronto for not fully understanding the impact of colonialism on indigenous and First Nations peoples in Canada nor the significance of fighting for individual and collective rights against state ‘abusers’. OT165 charged Occupy Toronto with not going far enough to include such accounts in the discourse of the movement network.

Non-violence and (de)occupy are two examples of how delegates employed different devices to order the movement. With regard to the (de)occupy device, it required individuals to acknowledge the colonial history of the Canadian state. In particular, it recognised that Occupy Toronto was occupying already occupied lands while an attempt was made to avoid re-producing colonial effects (OT149). As for the non-violent device, delegates believed that violence would only reinforce coercive policing practices and the silencing of dissent. Importantly, it was felt that non-violence was the best method to achieve community support. The implementation of the non-violence and (de)occupy devices prescribed a particular view and course for the movement. Delegate ordering was accomplished through such devices. As there were some occupiers who did not agree with delegate devices, particularity with the non-violent approach, these occupiers were either censored or told that they could begin their own strand of Occupy that included violent tactics (D2). This means that Occupy Toronto was an inclusive network to the extent that occupiers followed delegate prescriptions. For instance, if transgressions did occur, delegates marginalised disruptive occupiers because their actions ‘did not reflect the movement network’ (D0). Consequently, a contradiction was found in the inclusive sentiment of Occupy Toronto.

Delegates employed the '99%' identifier to include as many members as possible; as a result of diversity and difference of opinion, occupiers did not agree on movement related concerns or outlooks. Delegates facilitated difference but when it became disruptive delegates employed different devices to manage and stabilise the network; if occupiers did not accept delegate devices than they were excluded from the movement. Hence, instead of being an inclusive and open movement, the movement network was ordered by the actions and devices of delegates.

4.4 Simplifying the formation and organisation of Occupy Toronto

During the formation and organisation of Occupy Toronto, delegates worked to simplify a multifaceted phenomenon in order for individuals to associate and join the movement. The most significant simplification made by delegates was to juxtapose the '99%' identification with the controversy of inequality. By linking the central controversy with the '99%' it provided occupiers personalised access to Occupy Toronto. Individuals without any prior experience or activist history were able to connect with the Occupy Toronto movement.

The connection of a multiplicity of concerns provided the movement network with a sense of legitimacy. By surrounding itself with different activists, groups and organisations, Occupy Toronto came to be regarded as a hub for activism in Toronto (OT149). For instance, the Nursing Student Association at York University (NSAY), the Rock The Vote group, and Street Medic Team all came forward to support Occupy Toronto. Furthermore, Occupy Toronto participated in a number of projects with the University of Toronto and Ryerson student unions, Stop the Cuts, the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP), Greenpeace and Idle No More. Occupy Toronto also worked co-operatively with Food Not Bombs, OPIRG Toronto, and Rhythms of Resistance. Occupy Toronto also held a flash mob with the Steelworkers' union and advocated for the Six Nations 'march for peace, respect and friendship' (D0). Occupy Toronto delegates were in constant discussion with other Occupy groups such as Occupy London ON, Occupy Ottawa ON, Occupy New York City NY, Occupy London UK and Occupy Adelaide SA. By simplifying the controversy of the movement and connecting it with other activists and groups, delegates legitimated Occupy Toronto as a social movement hub within the community.

Occupy Toronto delegates simplified its leadership dynamic as one of traditional authority. Although access to Occupy Toronto was broad, individuals had to accept certain delegate actions and devices before connecting with the movement. For instance, with the implementation of the non-violence and (de)occupy devices, occupiers had to accept delegate prescriptions or face the possibility of being excluded from the movement network (i.e., OT137). Here, the rules and

obligations promulgated by delegates set the course for action. For example, if actors wanted to engage in violent actions against state authorities or if movement activities were conducted without taking into account a (de)colonisation frame, then delegates worked to discipline that part of the network. As a result, some individuals and groups were excluded from the movement network. Marginalisation occurred if occupiers refused to accept the actions and devices of delegates. Thus, Occupy Toronto relied on delegates to order the movement network. OT114 highlighted this aspect when commenting on Facebook the need for delegates to 'set something up' and 'organise' Occupy Toronto events and action.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined the initial translation of the Occupy Toronto movement network. By problematising Occupy Toronto formation and organisation, it explored how individual concerns connected with Occupy Toronto's central controversy and how delegates ordered occupiers and the movement network. The act of associating concerns with a movement network reflects the personalised and connective nature of hybrid social movements (Bennett 2012; Bennett & Segerberg 2012; Castells 2012). In adhering to ANT's principle of agnosticism, the controversy of Occupy Toronto provided a suitable starting point to trace the dimensions of individual participation and the relations between entities. When it came to addressing issues of inequality, other controversies were presented. For instance, occupiers were divided over whether or not it was best to engage in revolutionary actions to mitigate experiences of inequality or would incremental changes within the system work best. Facebook comments on the Occupy garden thread highlighted this tension. It can be seen that Occupy Toronto delegates aimed to create sites for daily activities within the boundaries of the system.

With regard to the identification of Occupy Toronto, occupiers connected via the '99%' action frame. The '99%' identifier worked to highlight who was welcomed in the movement. It was a descriptive account that enabled the widespread enlistment of potential constituents (see Chapter Six). Although controversies existed over the main outlook of Occupy Toronto (material versus cultural), the '99%' identifier was broad enough so that anyone could join. When contrasted with new social movement theory (NSM) and its account of collective action formation, a sense of collective identity did not figure prominently in the examination of Occupy Toronto formation and organisation. This is because occupiers joined the movement by maintaining their own individuality via the '99%' identifier. Hence, occupiers were not required to harmonise or incorporate a common outlook; however, delegates did play a role in standardising a particular course of action. Nevertheless, a collective identity outlook limits the explanatory potential of

why individuals formed and organised a movement network because hybrid movements do not rely on common identities or traditional collective organisations such as churches or labour unions.

Occupy Toronto experienced internal controversy on the issue of leadership. Those who held specific leadership positions were reminded that Occupy Toronto was to be a 'leaderless' movement (D8, D0, OT34). However, as the banning of OT137 demonstrated, the Occupy Toronto leadership dynamic was not necessarily leaderless nor was it autonomous. Rather, it was articulated as a form of traditional authority, in the Weberian sense, where leadership was embedded in the rules and obligations set forth by delegates. The controversy of leadership was a point of contention throughout the course of the movement. For example, the non-violence ordering device was continually challenged by occupiers (OT157). By employing different ordering devices, delegates effectively defined the movement network and those who could participate in it. What this means is that even 'leaderless' and/or horizontally structured movements such as Occupy Toronto will require a contingent of leaders who order the unfolding of network associations.

The Occupy Toronto perspective of delegate leadership and ordering differs from traditional social movement approaches such as resource mobilisation theory (RMT), where central movement organisations or entrepreneurs order movement related issues and tasks. In the case of Occupy Toronto, delegate positions were horizontally diffused throughout the network via different committees and working groups. In theory, each committee or group was to report to the General Assembly (D2, D8, OT18, OT114), however in practice, outcomes were usually decided on within particular committees or working groups. Because Occupy Toronto was not a formal organisation with a specified agenda, RMT cannot explain how decentralised actors come to order a movement network. A centred perspective of organisational leadership does not capture the dispersed power of different committees and working groups. However, the extent to which the method of translation (along with the moment of problematisation) accounts for periphery actors in the leadership dynamic is questionable. As discussed in Chapter Six, this is because the methodological focus of translation is on how delegates organise, stabilise and mobilise a movement network. Hence, those located on the fringes of a movement network may be overlooked.

By employing actor-network theory's (ANT) method of translation and the moment of problematisation, how delegates ordered movement network formation and organisation was addressed. This was done by investigating the controversy and concerns of occupiers, the network

identifier, the delegates who defined the ordering strategy and the simplification of movement associations. Although occupiers connected individualised concerns as it benefited them, delegates nevertheless ordered the formation and organisation of Occupy Toronto according to committee or working group standards. Hence, with renewed attention on the individual in collective action research (Farro & Lustiger-Thaler 2014a) the method of problematisation supports the exploration and identification of the unique properties of individuals in the process of movement network formation and organisation.

ANT's moment of problematisation reconceptualises social movement research interested in movement network formation and organisation by suggesting that controversy and delegates are significant contributors to the leadership potential and ordering function of a movement network. As discussed, in becoming Occupy Toronto, occupiers connected with the controversy and ordering devices of delegates which were applied across online-offline platforms. ANT addresses leadership and ordering by highlighting the negotiated and contested nature of hybrids—how the movement network was deployed based on the interaction of different platforms, actions and devices. The extent to which such resources influenced the unfolding of the movement network could be expanded by taking into account additional sites, however, as previously noted the research focus was delineated by the delegate use of the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page and St. James Park. By exploring additional platforms, other mechanisms and processes that affect the problematisation of a movement network could be identified.

CHAPTER FIVE: SETTING THE COLLECTIVE PATH: EXAMINING THE OBLIGATORY PASSAGE POINTS OF OCCUPY TORONTO

5.0 Introduction

Further to the discussion on movement formation and organisation in Chapter Four, this chapter extends the analysis of the translation Occupy Toronto by examining how actors gained access to the movement network. Delegate and occupier data suggests two primary platforms were leveraged. The first was located online through the Occupy Toronto Market Exchange Facebook group page while the second was located offline at St. James Park. Actor-network theory's (ANT) concept of obligatory passage point was employed to explore how delegates ordered the flow of occupiers into these two sites. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how two obligatory passage points organised and structured Occupy Toronto. By doing so, an account of the process through which individuals entered the movement network is addressed.

Space is an important element to consider when examining contentious action. This is because space is made and re-made through entity interactions. Indeed a 'spatial politics' did influence the Occupy movement—whether it was zoning Zuccotti Park and occupier activities (Bolton, Froese & Jeffrey 2013) or through police-protester contact (Gillham, Edwards & Noakes 2013). The spaces of the Occupy movement highlight the interplay and unfolding of different actor and object relations. However, this chapter will not delve into a discussion of a politics of space[33]. Rather, it will explore how actors passed into collective action while fusing online and offline platforms.

The online-offline platforms of Occupy Toronto are obligatory passage points (OPP) in that they require actors to pass through them in order to access the collective. These platforms are sites where actors communicate and structure the movement network. In this chapter, OPPs are compared with new social movement theory's (NSM) public sphere and communicative action. This is done to provide an analysis of the structuring potential of OPPs. By identifying how OPPs structured the movement network, value is added to an understanding of the organisational process of hybrid social movements and the ordering done by delegates. Further, although OPPs provide an approach to explore the channelling of actors into different platforms, it is limited in its ability to account for those who failed or refused to connect with a movement network. As will be discussed, OPPs focus on the net-work of delegates and as a result neglect the actions of those located on the fringes of a movement network. This chapter is structured according to the

[33] See Hammond (2013) for a discussion of Occupy and its relationship with different spaces.

categories of the obligatory passage point which reflect the translation of movement network channels and platforms.

5.1 Collective identity and organisation

With regard to the organisation of a movement network, new social movement theory (NSM) proposes that actors converge in public spheres to communicate and construct shared meaning. As a result, a collective identity is formed that serves to organise relations. As discussed in Chapter Two, a collective identity provides actors with an understanding of their social circumstances. It signifies what will and will not be part of the collective. A collective identity serves to organise individuals along a common theme in order to challenge collective concerns that impact everyday experiences. Collective identities can be formed by actors who interact in different public spheres while employing communicative actions. They are organised in public spheres through the social interaction of individuals who share similar concerns and desires for change.

5.1.1 Public sphere

New social movement theory (NSM) highlights the public sphere as a site for the assembling of actors. According to Habermas (1989), the public sphere is:

> '[C]onceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labour. The medium of the political confrontation was peculiar and without historical precedent: people's public use of their reason'. (Habermas 1989, p. 27)

As discussed in Chapter Two, the public sphere is a site where individuals aggregate in order to communicative different issues that affect their lifeworld. Through communicative exchange actors organise potential actions to remedy individual and group concerns. For Habermas, communicative action, as a result of a legitimation crisis[34], attempts to preserve the lifeworld from system penetration. Counter actions, defined as an attempt to gain back lifeworld meaning, are animated through communicative action. These sites of communication are invaluable for the efforts of those attempting to preserve their lifeworld from colonisation[35] because it serves as the fertile ground for organisation and reflection.

[34] As discussed in Chapter Two, a legitimation crisis is when confidence in the administrative system or societal institutions breakdown (Habermas 1975).

[35] Lifeworld colonisation refers to 'the process by which individual freedom is undermined in more complex societies, as large-scale social processes become increasingly autonomous and restrict the actions of those who are subject to them' (Edgar 2006, pp. 17-21).

5.1.2 Communicative action

Within the public sphere, speech acts and validity claims that underlie communicative action are taken. Individuals communicate a social action (utterances) while listeners are able to challenge the speaker on different grounds[36]. Habermas (1987) asserts that the aim of communicative action is to reach an understanding between participants as well as manage individual identities and aims (social integration and socialisation). Edgar (2006, pp. 21-3) adds that communicative action transports information to audience members, information that includes individual attitudes and beliefs which in the process could create relationships between actors. According to Habermas (1984, p. 106), 'an interaction can succeed only if those involved arrive at a consensus among themselves, a consensus that depends on yes/no responses to claims…'. Actors must derive a sense of *verstehen* [understanding] through communicative exchange. This understanding is imperative to the lifeworld of actors since it serves as the 'ontological condition of human society as it is produced and reproduced by its members' (Habermas 1984, p. 107). Communicative action can be referred to as the process of forming and preserving associations between actors based on mutual and consensual communication. This process of meaningful interaction seeks to establish a shared set of understanding between participants. Speakers and audience members are not treated as ends in themselves as each is given an opportunity to validate claims.

Relating the NSM approach to Occupy Toronto, a problem with understanding group organisation as an effort of collective identity formation is that actors do not necessarily need to align with a collective identity in order to participate in collective action. As discussed in Chapter Four, actors can participate in a movement network even if they do not support the collective identity of the group. Here, personalised politics is most evident. The significance of personalised politics when compared with collective identity is that it is inclusive of different identities and interests; this is because actors connect to a movement network via a central controversy and action frame. Hybrid social movements such as Occupy Toronto encourage rather than limit personalised concerns when connecting with the broader movement.

Further, a NSM account of movement-network organisation suggests that actors will form in a public space over a controversial issue and through communicative action they will unify around a common identity in order to alleviate a problem. Consolidating actors is important as actors engage one another across multiple public spheres in order to communicative a shared understanding of social reality. Although why actors organise is addressed, how certain actors

[36] According to Edgar (2006, p. 163-166), the speaker and their communication is subjected to claims over their 'right' or 'authority' to speak on the matter; the 'truth' or 'facts' of the communication; the 'truthfulness', 'intent' or 'sincerity' of the speaker; and the 'meaningfulness' or shared meaning of the communication.

order the properties of these structures are left out of the explanation (Gentry 2004). For example, an account of public sphere does not include the channelling (or structuring) of actors into the wider collective. These are important elements to consider when addressing how movement networks organise across multiple online-offline sites. Thus, public sphere and communicative action provide insight into the activities of a node in the network but more reflection is needed on the conduits that provide access to the node while at the same time structure its position.

5.2 The obligatory passage point

Delegates are not done with their task of organisation once the controversy and concerns of a movement network has been problematised. The next step in the translation of a movement network is for delegates to organise and stabilise the network. At this point, delegates are faced with the question of how to connect and structure actors. According to Callon (1986a, p. 205-6), this can be accomplished only once 'the answer to the question' is found, and when actors understand that 'their alliance around this question can benefit each of them'. The question for delegates was how to organise Occupy Toronto to form a collective. As modern activism is enacted across online and offline sites (Castells 2012), delegates recognised that they required multiple platforms through which to combine occupiers. Just as the Zapatistas required a strong Internet presence for supporters to connect with—in addition to their offline manifestation—it was essential for delegates to establish an online-offline passageway for occupiers[37].

An obligatory passage point (OPP) operates as a conduit to connect actors with a movement network. Actors travel through the point of access (the channel) into the new domain of association (platform). During the structuring process (when platforms are operationalised) actors communicate and pass along information relevant to the movement (relationships, identities, resources etc.). The movement network may consist of one or many OPPs depending on network requirements (Kromidha 2013; Shiga 2007). OPPs provide a more nuanced account of the organising process of a movement network because of its focus on the structural and agential interplay of elements. The structural dimension refers to the pathway through which actors pass and the network that is prescribed. The agential element signifies that which is prescribed can also be negotiated. What this means is that although delegates outlined the passage points of Occupy Toronto, occupiers were able to accept, decline, and moderate the channels. The communication of accepted paths raises attention to the fluid and flexible process of movement organising.

[37] This is not to say that Occupy Toronto or the Occupy movement adopted the organising framework of the Zapatistas. Rather, it acknowledges that similar to the Zapatistas, Occupy Toronto employed both online and offline platforms to network actors.

Platforms signal the structuring and communicative process that occurs after controversy has been problematised but before enrolment or mobilisation occurs. The concept of obligatory passage point (OPP) suggests that not only do platforms provide a passage into the collective but they also structure the network. Although delegates prescribe these sites, it is occupiers who negotiate whether or not they wish to attach with the movement network. OPPs highlight how delegates order network organisation as well as how marginalisation may result because of a lack of attachment. A limit of the OPP method is that once the actor is marginalised from the network, it becomes difficult to follow or trace their path. In this case, additional actor-networks must be brought into the analysis to account for the mobility of the marginalised actor. As discussed in Chapter Eight, a limit of actor-network theory (ANT) and of this thesis is the absence of an account of actors who did not attach to the Occupy Toronto movement network. Nevertheless, by exploring the interaction between delegates, occupiers and OPPs, a view of how a movement network is co-produced is offered.

5.3 The online obligatory passage point: The Occupy Toronto Market Exchange Facebook group page

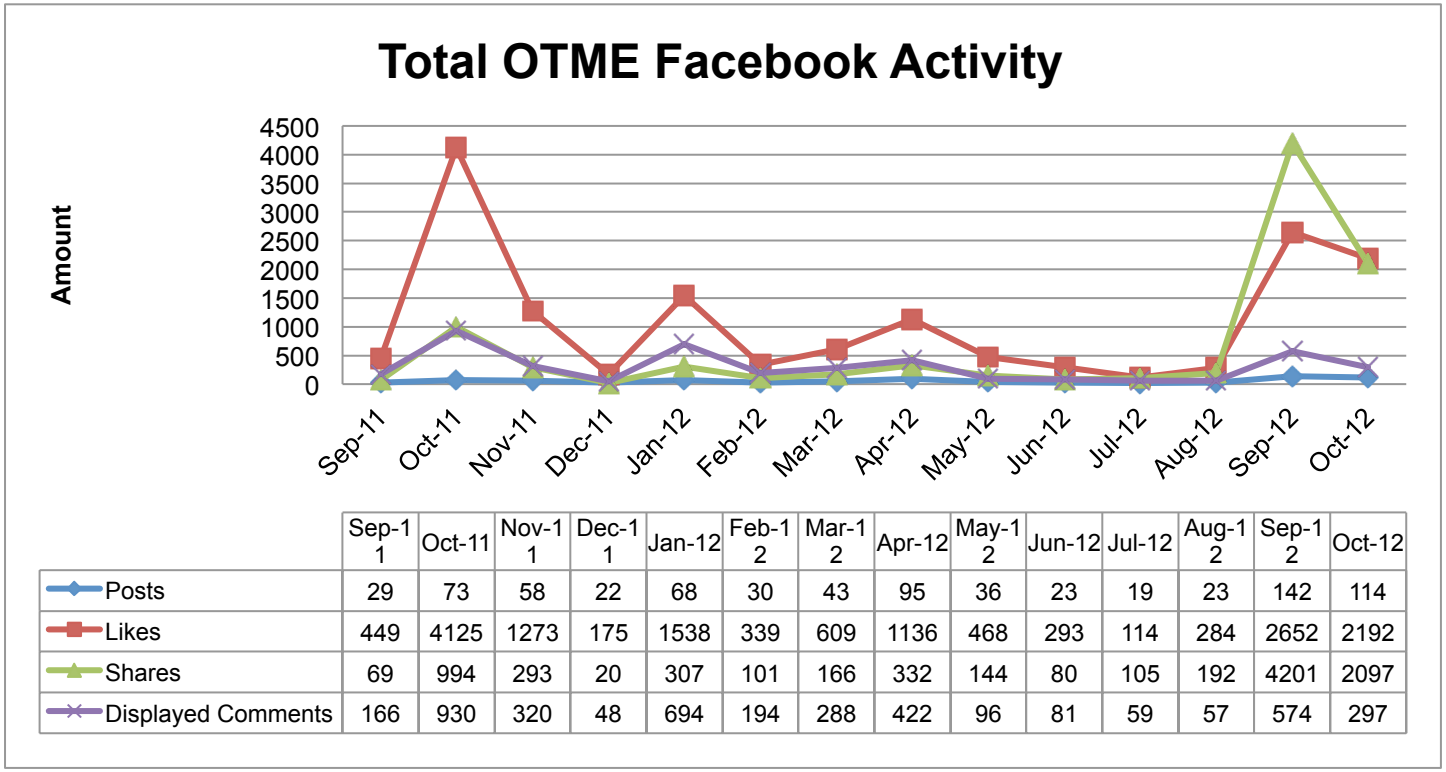
With developments in Internet and social media technology, digital activism has increased to a point where it can be seen at almost every collective action mobilisation. Indeed, the 1999 World Trade Organisation (WTO) meetings in Seattle (Eagleton-Pierce 2001); anti-globalisation protests in Prague 2000 and Barcelona 2002 (Juris 2008); anti-G8 protests in Genoa 2001 (Juris 2005b); and G20 protests in Toronto 2010 (Hussey & LeClerc 2011; Poell & Borra 2011) are examples of social media use along with more traditional methods such as offline protest. As was seen in Tunis and Egypt during the Arab Spring and in Spain (Castells 2012), Occupy Toronto delegates leveraged the Internet and social media in order to organise the Occupy Toronto movement network. For example, in addition to the Occupy Toronto Market Exchange Facebook group page (herein after Occupy Toronto Facebook group page, Facebook group page or OTME), Occupy Toronto had a website (occupyto.org), Twitter account (@OccupyToronto), and YouTube page (occupytorontotv). This is not to say that the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page received more online traffic than occupyto.org, but the daily activities of delegates and occupiers on Facebook signify its prominence within the movement.

The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page emerged on September 22nd 2011. The original intention of the page, according to D4, was to educate others on 'the fractional reserve system' and 'Bank of Canada's involvement within it'. However, the group page became more than an information device on Canadian banking practices. The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page was employed by delegates and occupiers 'to spread word about Occupy Toronto events and actions, and as a way to

mass invite the thousands of people who want to stay in the loop!' (D0). OT43 defined the Facebook group page as an online access point for occupiers, '[the Facebook group page] is to have those important updates and events where everyone can see them'. For OT79, the sentiment was that 'the Internet is a really amazing tool and we should be striving to utilize it as much as possible'. In this sense, delegates employed Facebook and other social media platforms (Twitter, YouTube, Tumblr etc.) to connect and communicate the Occupy Toronto movement network with other occupiers and the public. By the October 15th 2011 'United for Global Democracy' event, the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page had approximately 10,000 member 'likes'. At the end of data collection in October 2012, the group page had accrued over 16,000 member 'likes' (see Table 2 below and Figure 4 on the following page).

Table 2 *OTME monthly 'posts', 'likes', 'shares' and 'comments' from September 2011-October2012*

Month	Total delegate posts	Total likes	Total shares	Total occupiers comments
September 2011	29	449	69	166
October 2011	73	4125	994	930
November 2011	58	1273	293	320
December 2011	22	175	20	48
January 2012	68	1538	307	694
February 2012	30	339	101	194
March 2012	43	609	166	288
April 2012	95	1136	332	422
May 2012	36	468	144	96
June 2012	23	293	80	81
July 2012	19	114	105	59
August 2012	23	284	192	57
September 2012	142	2652	4201	574
October 2012	114	2192	2097	297



	Sep-11	Oct-11	Nov-11	Dec-11	Jan-12	Feb-12	Mar-12	Apr-12	May-12	Jun-12	Jul-12	Aug-12	Sep-12	Oct-12
Posts	29	73	58	22	68	30	43	95	36	23	19	23	142	114
Likes	449	4125	1273	175	1538	339	609	1136	468	293	114	284	2652	2192
Shares	69	994	293	20	307	101	166	332	144	80	105	192	4201	2097
Displayed Comments	166	930	320	48	694	194	288	422	96	81	59	57	574	297

Figure 4 *Graph of OTME monthly 'posts', 'likes', 'shares' and 'comments' from September 2011-October2012*

The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page was an important conduit for the movement because it represented the 'voice of the protest' (OT96) where 'every opinion and voice can be communicated' (D4). Delegate and occupier comments suggested that the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page connected and organised a multiplicity of voices. For example, D1 commented that as part Occupy Toronto, 'you do not have to get wet in the park to help here. You have Facebook friends. You can participate by spreading the message'. Other examples include delegate posts that served to organise different events: 'Calling all occupiers: opportunity to get involved [in the] General Assembly to plan a march on Ottawa for September!' (D0). This feature of online social movement activity signals the importance of social media for organising actors and groups (Bennett 2012; Bode 2012; Harlow 2011; Poell et al. 2016; Tsaliki 2010). However, delegate use of a corporate platform to organise occupiers did not go unnoticed. OT119 felt it was odd that Occupy Toronto employed Facebook or Google to advance the messages of Occupy Toronto. This was because they were seen as contributing to the problem of corporate influence on governmental decision-making. Delegates and occupiers responded that Occupy Toronto was using 'easily accessible' platforms that should not be considered problematic (OT120). Nevertheless, the significance of attaching to the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page was that it enabled a chance for occupiers to voice their message and connect with other occupiers.

By using Facebook to communicate Occupy Toronto, occupiers aligned with or challenged what delegates and other users presented. Through the communicative function of the platform the values of the movement were negotiated and forged. For instance, occupiers displayed their approval with a particular event through positive feedback on comment threads or by indicating that they would attend. If delegates posted information on how the movement should engage the community, other occupiers could respond with their own opinion on the matter. Hence, the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page served as a platform through which occupiers could express their concern or support for Occupy Toronto. This had the effect of requiring occupiers to constantly log on to view the group page—it positioned the platform as a central passage point of the movement network. It also structured the online aspect of the movement by indicating which platform was to be used to associate with occupiers. For the reason that the Facebook group page was used to channel actors it also worked to outline the boundaries of online action. This is significant in the sense that occupiers were enabled (and constrained) by the online features that Facebook offered[38].

[38] For an account of the limiting properties of Facebook see Van Dijck (2013).

5.3.1 Translating the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page

When translating the Occupy Toronto movement network, the online obligatory passage point (OPP) operated as an intermediary device that connected component parts to the network whole. This process of intake and alignment was made possible by the platform itself. This is because it reduced occupier connections to the most basic form where each link was channelled through to the platform. For authors such as Callon and Latour (1981, p. 293), 'through the interplay of equivalences, hitherto scattered elements can be incorporated into a whole, and thus help to stabilize other elements'. Hence, the stabilisation of the network was made possible by delegates who established the online pathway to gain access to the movement network. However, some occupiers required alternative platforms in order to associate with the movement. If Facebook did not offer a specific application to fit occupiers needs, other social media platforms were linked with the Facebook group page. For example, occupiers made available General Assembly meeting minutes by employing Google Hangouts. This is because Facebook did not provide the specific tools required for the task. Once meeting minutes were compiled via the Goggle Hangouts application, they were then posted (linked) on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page. Thus, Facebook was flexible enough to offer the opportunity to link and upload other social media material to the platform.

The online obligatory passage point accommodated multiple viewpoints. This is because it did not discriminate between who could connect or post information on the Facebook group page. Occupiers were as diverse as the networks that they employed (see Chapter Four) and as a result delegates worked to provide access to those who wanted to participate in the movement. Making the Facebook group page open to the public enabled this desire. Further, delegates attempted to ensure that occupiers who did connect with the movement had access to Occupy Toronto related information. For example, when D0 posted information on the October 15th action: 'Just a reminder that our First General Assembly will be held this evening at 6pm in Breczy Park…'; delegates were making certain that information was disseminated to anyone who wanted to participate.

The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page was used as a conduit to gain access to a much larger collective. Aligning occupiers through the Facebook group page platform and connecting them with other occupiers accomplished this. The connecting element offered by the OPP was its primary feature. By structuring the Occupy Toronto movement network to include an online mode of participation, delegates unified occupiers who would otherwise not have had a chance to participate. For example, those who resided elsewhere but were interested in Occupy Toronto could log on to Facebook, find the group page and communicate with fellow occupiers. For instance, it was not

uncommon for comment threads to include occupier comments from London ON, New York NY, or London UK. The connective feature of the online OPP also operated as a cross-fertilisation device where occupiers shared experiences and anecdotes with other encampments and occupiers.

How well the online segment of Occupy Toronto translated marginalised voices into the movement network was a significant concern for delegates. Because Occupy Toronto considered itself to be inclusive, integrating all potential occupiers into the movement was important. By not connecting with the OPP, individuals were not afforded the online space to invest in the movement. Occupy Toronto delegates strived to represent all who wanted to join the '99%'; however, the price of admission to the movement was to be paid by gaining access through its platforms. One way or another, individuals who considered themselves part of the Occupy Toronto movement network had to connect via the OPP (or link to the OPP via associated social media platforms). Although Occupy Toronto strived to be inclusive, there were experiences of marginalisation. This is because some occupiers did not have the means or desire to use the OPP. With regard to the online OPP, a digital divide existed where some individuals did not have access to a computer or the Internet. Other factors supporting the divide included a lack of awareness or understanding with social media technology or a reluctance to engage with the technology. Without access to the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page occupiers had to rely on gaining information through the offline OPP or by word of mouth (see below). With regard to word of mouth communication, because occupiers were receiving information from other occupiers who at some point accessed information from one of the OPPs, these individuals were considered to be indirectly connected with the OPPs. This is because the translation of a movement network includes all actors connected regardless of their proximity to the OPP.

5.4 Ordering the online obligatory passage point

When addressing obligatory passage points (OPP) an important element to consider is how delegates ordered actors through specific conduits. By ordering access points, delegates demarcated the boundaries of the network as well as who was able to participate. By doing so, delegates established themselves as primary gatekeepers of the movement network. The net-work by delegates assisted the translation of actors into the movement network by offering access; it also established the rules and policies by which to travel. This last point is significant because it circumscribed the path to collective action. Hence, delegates employed OPPs to channel individuals into different movement related platforms as well as structure the movement network.

5.4.1 Occupy Toronto Facebook group page policy

As discussed in Chapter Four, the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page served as a communication device for delegates to share information on the movement as well as inform occupiers of upcoming events. With a diverse set of occupiers engaging in discussion on Facebook there was concern over the standard of content that was featured on the Facebook group page. Delegates and some occupiers felt that better moderation of the group page was required because some comments were offensive in nature. A 'safe-space' policy, similar to the non-violence and (de)occupy immutable mobiles, was implemented by delegates after a General Assembly meeting in January 2012:

> 'We just had a changeover in policy regarding the moderation of this board (vs the non-moderation that was taking place before) at the last (Wednesday) meeting at the outreach committee. Whatever past experience may have been, those of us who are now admins on this page are taking moderation seriously from now on. This needs to be a place where anyone can engage in civil discourse without feeling attacked. I don't know if people realize the number of people who have left the movement because of personal attacks against them, or don't post on the board anymore because they can't handle the negativity. Or the numbers of people who see the drama on this board and just turn around and leave, not wanting to get involved. This isn't inclusive and it's not acceptable'. (D2)

D0 added that due to the changeover in policy, 'the Outreach committee is taking on the active admin and moderation of the Facebook Page, as well as a general communications role in Occupy Toronto'. If anyone was unsure of the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page policy or where to find it, D5 reminded online users:

> 'This page has a policy, you can find it under the "About" section. It's not much, all we ask for is that you treat others with dignity. Respect and not insult or harass, or engage in racist, sexist, homophobic attacks. We're fair, we give warning and let you know what the policy is before banning you. Is that censorship? No. Censorship is what governments do. Banning is our form of protest, banning is censure. We censure racism, we censure sexism, homophobia, etc. Additionally, it's possible to have conversations about all these while respecting the page policy, therefore it's not even remotely censorship and does not impact open discussion'.

The safe-space policy focused on eradicating 'hateful comments, calls for people to die, and misogynist comments' (D0). In one such instance of policy enforcement:

> D2: 'Please don't make personal attacks. Keep debates focused on the issues, don't personalize them'.
>
> OT102: 'I know what I'm doing, I'm sorry if you don't like it but you should just let it be for now. I guess you have been absent from other debates with OT103'.
>
> D2: 'I have not. But the personal attacks on this board have gone on for long enough, and at this point we are going to start enforcing a policy. Personal attacks are a ban-able offense. You, OT104, OT103 [and] whoever. If conversations get personal, offending persons will be banned. And I'm not going to enforce that rule for some and not for others. It wouldn't be fair'.

The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page safe-space policy served as an ordering device for delegates. It was deployed when occupier content was considered to breach a particular standard. The threshold was established by Outreach committee delegates along with the General Assembly. Delegates employed the safe-space policy to warn or ban occupiers from the group page. Notable was the inconsistency through which the safe-space device was applied. This was because delegates did not monitor all posts and relied on reported breaches by occupiers. The consistency through which the safe-space policy was applied was questioned by occupiers (OT23, OT38).

The task of identifying what constituted a breach of decorum on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page was laden with internal friction. Occupier's comments revealed a lack of agreement over what constituted a ban; most questioned the consistency by which delegates applied the device. For example, OT38 highlighted that there was a sense of selectiveness when delegates identified violators:

> 'As I have posted before this page does not apply your safe spaces policy consistently as evidenced by others not being banned for calling people morons and worse or threatening violence but you will ban somebody for calling you dumb, if you are not part of the core group who posts on the page you will be subjected to abuse that is not addressed by the admins if you dare to post an opinion that is valid but is not the opinion of the core group'.

D5 responded to the accusation:

> 'If there are people calling others morons or worse or especially threatening violence against another person, then we will warn or ban. We try to be consistent about that. Bottom line, we encourage dissenting viewpoints, perspectives and open discussion, provided it's respectful and follows the page policy of not engaging in threats or homophobic, racist, sexist attacks and/or personal insults'.

The above examples highlight the contentious process of upholding the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page safe-space policy. It also shows how ordering was a fluctuating process. There were occupiers who felt that delegates unfairly treated some occupiers. OT125 commented, 'the governments that Occupy is protesting against allow the movement more freedom of speech than it would seem Occupy's organisers allow!' Delegates claimed that they tried to enforce the policy as uniformly as possible and when challenges did arise they attempted to mediate disruptions. The use of the safe-space policy indicated that delegates did in fact order occupiers through different devices and this had the effect of marginalising some occupiers from the movement.

Delegates also ordered the content of the Facebook group page. For example, the safe-space policy was used to censor content that was deemed to be improper. Further, only delegates had access to

the uploading of official Occupy Toronto content on Facebook. If occupiers wanted to post something it had to be done by commenting on threads linked to delegate posts. This was because delegates had closed the opportunity for occupiers to upload official Occupy Toronto content. Delegates explained that by closing off official posts from the public, it would 'better aid in the distribution of information and announcements' (D0). Hence, only delegates were provided the opportunity to upload official Occupy Toronto posts on the Facebook group page. What this means is that delegates controlled the flow of official Occupy Toronto information and defined the discourse that was to reflect the movement network.

As a result of limiting who could post official Occupy Toronto content, delegates who oversaw the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page received criticism over the perceived legitimacy of the page to speak on behalf of others. Criticism was directed toward whether or not delegates properly expressed the opinions of occupiers. For instance, a repeated issue presented by occupiers was that delegates should always sign off official Facebook posts with their own name. If posted information needed further clarification, the larger group had the opportunity to hold accountable the delegate who uploaded the post. This was requested to ensure transparency. OT156 commented that if delegates placed their names at the end of posts it would 'increase accountability' because anything posted by the Occupy Toronto Facebook profile reflects the whole movement. OT32 added, 'anything posted by [delegates] on the account will automatically gain a lot more merit than individual comments'. OT78 noted, 'it is essential the Occupy pages remain neutral until decisions are made in assembly. There's nothing wrong with using your personal account to voice opinions'. There were some occupiers who feared that by simply posting a comment without identifying the delegate who posted it, observers would not make a distinction between Occupy Toronto the movement and the delegate who posted the information[39]. For example, a delegate posted a message regarding Remembrance Day (Figure 5 below):

[39] All delegate posts were to be endorsed by the related committee. However, there were instances when delegates posted information without the committee's knowledge.

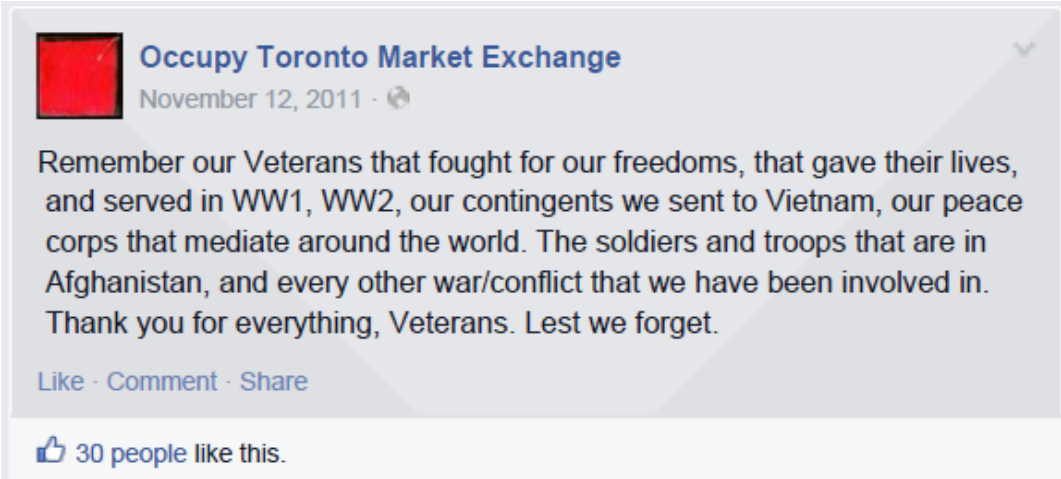


Figure 5 *The OTME 'Remember our Veterans' comment thread*

The response by OT101 (see Figure 6 below), highlighted the importance for delegates to sign off Occupy Toronto posts with their own name:

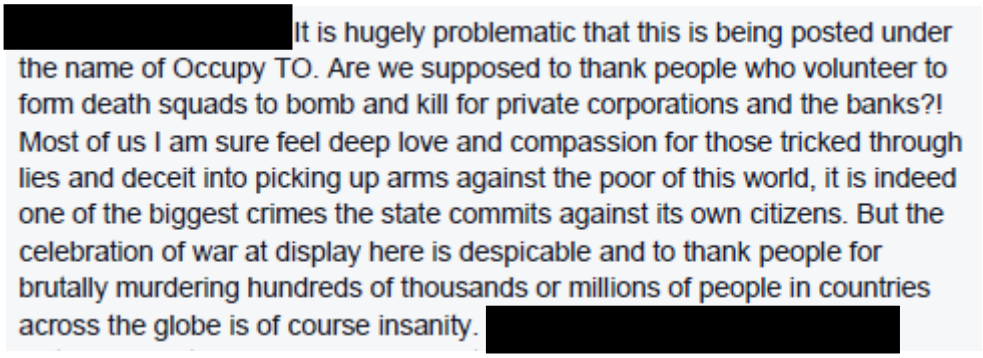


Figure 6 *OT101's response to the 'Remember our Veterans' Facebook post*

Although there were 30 occupiers who 'liked' the 'Remember our Veterans' post there were others who did not agree with the content. According to OT18, the solution was simple, 'people should not have to scrutinize what communication is representing the movement and what is representing your personal opinion. To avoid conflation simply use your own personal profile'. The reason for distinguishing between individual and group perspectives could not be more significant since 'using [Occupy Toronto] as an organizing tool [it] elevates "Occupy Toronto" and all its related pages and accounts as an official representation of the Occupy Toronto movement…' (OT18). Occupiers felt that only posts that communicated what the movement was about and other logistical information should be displayed on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page. Personal posts that were not agreed on at General Assembly meetings or within committees should not be uploaded.

As the above examples suggest, Occupy Toronto delegates experienced difficulty when ordering actors and content through the Facebook group page. Although delegates did attempt to mitigate such criticisms by signing off with their names, official posts did not always have a delegate name attached to it. For example, in October 2012 delegates uploaded a total of 114 posts; of these posts, only 72 had delegate signifiers. According to OT37, because delegates employed 'fake names' and did not 'source' uploaded content while remaining 'anonymous', delegates were unaccountable to the wider movement network. Hence, occupiers were frustrated over the double standard applied by delegates when ordering the movement's online channelling platform. The lack of signing off delegate posts vis-à-vis the censoring of occupier comments was a point of contention throughout the unfolding of the movement.

5.4.2 Alterity distinctions

The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page was open to anyone who wanted to join. As a result, there were some individuals who posted on comment threads only to 'troll' the online group. Internet trolls were defined by occupiers as those who mocked or reduced the movement network. The resolve of trolls was to create conflict or disharmony among the online group[40]. For example, when D0 posted a request for occupiers to assist with the Occupy Toronto yurt, OT107 responded by trolling the group page:

> D0: 'We require occupiers to assist with the movement of the Occupy Toronto yurt. The Action will take place tomorrow. Please let us know if you can help'.
>
> OT106: 'Which Yurt?'.
>
> OT107: 'Aren't you people employed? Or at least looking […] how do you unlike a group?'.
>
> OT108: 'You know; I don't understand the people who go to various Occupy sites just to troll with the usual "occupy a job" crap. Perhaps they need something useful to do, but it would be nice to have meaningful interaction without their useless input'.
>
> OT107: 'I probably make more money than you do and I'm laid off right now. Maybe you should try getting an occupation, or at least looking'.

Occupiers considered trolls as outsiders who offered little if any value to the movement. OT111 commented:

> 'Many people have left this page because of people like [OT107] who insist they have the right to participate but in fact they want us to give them the right to disrupt, then cry censorship when their disruption becomes such that there can be no reasonable discourse between members on this page'.

[40] Some delegates and occupiers believed that the police masqueraded as trolls to incite violence, surveil and/or co-opt the movement (OT23, D5).

In an attempt to remind occupiers that the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page valued all perspectives and that not everyone who offered a dissenting view was indeed a troll, D2 posted:

> 'People who are outspoken, post a lot, and are critical of the movement aren't necessarily trolls. They're just, well, outspoken. There's nothing wrong with that. We don't have to like each other, but we do have to try to get along. Sometimes that's not going to happen, and sometimes things get heated, but that's ok'.

The creation of an alterity distinction served two main purposes. First, it ordered the contours of the Occupy Toronto movement network by signalling what was acceptable and out-of-bounds; second, it omitted the actions of trolls in order to strengthen the ranks of the movement. Rhetoric condemning internet trolls, referring to them as 'bullies' or 'aggressive' (D1), served as a device to highlight what would and would not be tolerated. Along with the safe-space policy device, it also provided delegates with an inordinate amount of power to silence those who were perceived to disrupt the movement. Ironically, this deviated from the inclusive character of the movement.

Even though some participants believed that banning individuals was a necessary condition for organising a multitude of individuals via digital networks, others continued to distrust the policies and procedures of delegates. Disapproval was directed toward the 'exclusive delegate assembly' that was considered to be outside the realm of the group (OT23). There were also calls that delegate tactics resembled an extension of the security state, the very actors whom Occupy Toronto sought to challenge (OT125). Conversely, the response by delegates indicated that all group decisions were made and accepted by consensus at General Assemblies. Indeed, delegates did not consider these tactics to be coercive or controlling since individuals were 'consenting' through their participation in the platform (D2). Some occupiers believed that the tactics of the self-appointed censorship committee were used as a mechanism of control; delegates held steady to the refrain that:

> 'All I can say is that we've tried our best to minimize the use of bans, while at the same time remov[e] those who really just came on here to cause trouble and create an unsafe space. The result is much better now than it was a couple of months ago, while at the same time, very few people have actually been banned'. (D0)

It is clear from occupier Facebook comments that although Occupy Toronto delegates attempted to ensure an inclusive and open movement, their actions were perceived by some as marginalising (OT125, OT38). The safe-space policy was an attempt to mitigate the marginalisation of occupiers while providing a guideline for interaction. However, the safe-space policy worked to exclude rather than include occupiers. Without an alternative group to connect with, some occupiers were left with little choice but to connect with the online channelling platform or leave the movement

altogether.

5.5 The online repertoire of Occupy Toronto

Delegates used Facebook to promote events and distribute information related to Occupy Toronto. Occupiers linked other Internet and social media applications to the Facebook group page. For example, delegates and occupiers constantly posted Livestreaming links on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page for occupiers who could not attend General Assemblies or other meetings. Livestreaming is an online application that allows users to live broadcast actions over the Internet. Delegates and occupiers also posted Twitter 'tweets' on Facebook for users to view. Other digital technologies linked with Occupy Toronto included: laptops and webcams, mobile phones, mobile routers, recording devices, software and hardware, Wi-Fi-sticks, servers, iPod, tablets, email accounts, Goggle Hangouts, blogs, and alternative media sites. This list is not exhaustive; it highlights the technological dimensions of the Occupy Toronto online repertoire.

The Facebook obligatory passage point (OPP) not only directed occupiers into the collective by signalling the platform through which the online component of Occupy Toronto was channelled, it also came to reflect the conventions and practices of its users. The benefits of Facebook were found in how it provided delegates and occupiers the opportunity to link, attach, share, post, re-post, and join groups. As long as occupiers were connected with the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page, they had access to Occupy Toronto. The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page, as an OPP, highlighted how occupiers passed into the online collective as well as the net-work done by delegates. The methodological limits of the OPP were that those who were marginalised from the movement network were not accounted for because they no longer mediated Occupy Toronto relations. Further, by focusing on the net-work of delegates and those who attached to the OPP, a net-centric gaze of Occupy Toronto was offered. As a result, the OPP reinforced the notion that actor-network theory tends to neglect the stories of those located on the periphery of the network (Star 1991).

5.6 The offline obligatory passage point: St. James Park

St. James Park is located at the intersection of King St and Jarvis St to the South-East and Adelaide St and Church St to the North-West (see Figure 7 below). On October 15th 2011, and for the next 40 days and nights, St. James Park served as the offline site for the Occupy Toronto occupation. In this section, the way in which St. James Park was organised as an offline obligatory passage point is addressed. As the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page set the online path, St. James Park signified the offline passage point into the collective.

Figure 7 *Overview of St. James Park (Flack 2011)*

As discussed in Chapter Four, the October 15th 2011 'United for Global Democracy' event inspired the offline formation of Occupy Toronto. For OT112, the October 15th 2011 event was a sign that the Occupy protests had finally come to Canada and 'now was the time to show them that we care enough too'. Participant estimates for the 'United for Global Democracy' event placed the number of those who marched on the financial district of Toronto at approximately '6000' people; while '3000' people would later attend one of the first meetings at St. James Park (D0). Leading up to the October 15th 2011 action—as with the online passage point—the main question faced by delegates was how to organise an offline movement network.

5.6.1 Translating St. James Park

The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page represented the first phase of channelling occupiers through a selected passage point. In October 2011, the second phase of movement organisation began. D0 posted on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page, '[f]ollowing in the footsteps of what has been happening on Wall Street and other cities […] Occupy Toronto will descend on the Financial District on Saturday, October 15th 2001.' On the eve of October 15th 2011, D0 posted:

> 'Tomorrow morning at 10:00am we will rally at King St. and Bay St. to make our voices heard. We will than mobilize and march to our Occupation Zone which will be announced at the Rallying Point. If you cannot make it to the initial rally, please stay in contact with someone there, or stay connected to Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, or our Livestream'.

The St. James Park obligatory passage point was facilitated by two primary devices. The first being the actions of delegates that served to organise the site for other occupiers to join; the second was reflected in the transfer of information. Both devices were used to translate actors into the offline collective platform.

5.7 Ordering the offline obligatory passage point

It was decided by Occupy Toronto delegates, along with other local organisations and groups that St. James Park would serve as the offline Occupy Toronto occupation site. Delegate enabled meetings, workshops and conferences prior to October 15th 2011 facilitated this outcome. For example, it was an organisational General Assembly in another park—Berczy Park—that assisted in setting the offline site for the movement. D8 posted a call on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page in late September 2011:

> 'I would like to propose a General Assembly at Berczy Park tomorrow evening. While I understand some of you cannot attend, it is vital that we meet to have an open discussion about our needs as a movement and our next steps. If you think this is a good idea, inform me, if you have opposition to this, let your voice be heard. Thank you'.

Delegates, occupiers and those curious came to Berczy Park in order to plan the beginning of the Occupy Toronto occupation. D0 posted, '[t]onight we will be focusing on development and deployment of OccupyTO! Everyone is welcome!'. St. James Park was selected by delegates because of its location near the Toronto Stock Exchange (D0). Many delegates who were active on Facebook also assisted in establishing St. James Park as the offline passage point. As delegates took action to organise and plan St. James Park, they leveraged Facebook as an information device to communicate with other occupiers. Hence, the actions and devices of delegates served to order how individuals would connect with other occupiers and the larger movement.

5.7.1 Defining offline translation

St. James Park was initially translated into being when delegates posted on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page:

> 'With only one day away, many of you are probably wondering where we are headed and what the plan is! Well here you go! We plan to rally at King St. and Bay St. at 10:00am. At 10:30 we will [make an] announcement about the location of the Occupation Zone. This is done to aid us in preventing police and municipal interference'. (D0)

As numbers swelled in the financial core of Toronto on October 15th 2011, protestors and activists started to march toward St. James Park, the confirmed occupation zone. Toward the end of the first

day of the occupation of St. James Park, OT6 commented, 'when I left about an hour ago I'd say there were still over 5000 people in the park. It was packed […] I'd say there are about 100 tents'.

Similar to the online platform, the park was defined by delegates as a site of inclusivity. It also was a space where occupiers could voice their concerns. D0 posted on the St. James Park Facebook comment thread, 'I can't ensure that you participate but if you do your voice will be heard'. OT177 commented, 'right now, what we need is for people to come together, and establish a voice to counterbalance the one we have identified as the root of our political troubles'. D2 added:

> 'Our goal is to respect the voices of the marginalized, among others, so that everyone has an equal voice, unlike in our existing society, where people who are marginalized don't have a voice…'

OT118 observed that the park included 'lots of people, from all walks of life'; while OT114 revealed, 'the vibe [at St. James Park] was so peaceful [...] passionately expressive, and inclusive and positive'. The park was imagined by occupiers as an alternative to the matters of concern that originally stimulated movement emergence: inclusive (not elitist); horizontally structured (not vertically based); consensus and participatory based (not representative); and ruled by the '99%' (OT26, OT43, OT114). Just as it was seen with the Facebook group page, St. James Park mediated occupier associations.

In translating the offline obligatory passage point (OPP) of Occupy Toronto, delegates attempted to ensure that all occupiers were welcomed at St. James Park. Delegates defined the park as a site that accepted concerns in equal terms. Delegates translated the park in order to avoid marginalisation—St. James Park was a platform for any and all occupiers to connect with. OT43 commented that St. James Park allowed occupiers to communicate without 'worrying of the repercussion'. OT149 added that the park was a manifestation of the 'networking potential' of different individuals who 'typically would not associate'.

As with the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page, St. James Park was ordered and defined by delegates who occupied different positions within committees, working groups and the General Assembly. For example, when discussing their time in St. James Park, OT23 noted that delegates were 'selective' when preparing who could speak during General Assemblies and when asked why certain actions were planned delegates refused to address the question. It was believed that delegates dictated the course of the movement network in both online and offline spaces (OT32). As with the online platform, some occupiers felt marginalised from St. James Park either because

delegates refused to provide entry into the park or because occupiers did not have access to it because of mobility issues. Nevertheless, delegates worked to establish St. James Park as the primary offline access point by ordering it as a conduit through which to connect with Occupy Toronto.

5.7.2 Actionable information

Without the dissemination of actionable information, delegates found it difficult to connect occupiers with St. James Park. More than an account of reaching communicative understanding between delegates and occupiers, actionable information provided an awareness of the actions and events of Occupy Toronto as well as the type of response required from occupiers. For instance, delegates could not organise Occupy Toronto without informing occupiers of the times, locations or materials needed for different events (see below). Initially, the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page served this purpose; after October 15th 2011, St. James Park complemented the online platform in distributing actionable information. For example, committee meetings and General Assemblies at St. James Park served to inform occupiers of upcoming events as well as what would be expected from them. For example, delegates informed occupiers that Occupy Toronto would protest the City of Toronto 2012 budget and that they should bring with them any material that may help block the passage of the budget (D0, D2).

It was at St. James Park where the online fused with the offline realm. This was accomplished by the flow of information across both sites. For instance, without the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page there would have been a limited amount of actionable information on the physical occupation of St. James Park prior to the October 15th 2011 event. Information pertaining to the 'United for Global Democracy' event and the 'Three Day Schedule' were posted on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page prior to the offline occupation. As an example of the interplay between online-offline sites, OT115 commented on the Facebook group page while attending St. James Park, 'I will be collecting information for news and press releases in the next few days, keep an eye out, I want as many people as possible to give their input!'. The sentiment of OT115 makes it clear that there was a strong need for online and offline interfacing as well as establishing a constant flow of information. This interfacing came to define the boundary of the Occupy Toronto movement network.

5.8 The offline repertoire of Occupy Toronto

Similar to the online platform, the offline repertoire of entities was comprised by a mix of ideological orientations and movement related objects. Ideological orientations that were expressed by occupiers and objects in the park included anarchists, socialists, communists, environmentalists, indigenous, libertarian, agnostic, anti-colonial, anti-corporate and free-market insights. Movement

orientations were inscribed on Occupy Toronto placards, clothing and tents, among other objects. Speaking to the multiplicity of perspectives, OT121 stated:

> 'Occupy isn't one ideology, but most of the members and organizers are social democrats, communists and anarchists. In fact, Toronto's Occupy camp was very socialist/anarchist in nature, from the free sharing of food, tools, labour etc. to the consensus run assemblies. Obviously we are pro-equality'.

OT36 added:

> 'Not all Occupiers are anarchists, we have many ideas, there isn't a theoretical unity [let alone tactical!] so we can't just say 'let's focus on x'. For liberals x might be something very reformist, like the Robin Hood tax, for socialists x is working class control, some want total freedom of human migration, some want indigenous issues to be the main focus'.

OT123 concluded this point when stating:

> 'I think the part about creating inclusive and welcoming "political structures and community events" (for example the occupation of St. James' Park) is the most important thing. After all, I take the key principle of OT to have always been that we refuse to impose ways of seeing the world on people, and we refuse to represent people […] It seems to me that OT is an experience for people who want to move past their own stories and into a more common social awareness that is awakening and who want and need a public place to meet and speak'.

The above examples highlight that the St. James Park platform provided a means to express a diversity of occupier outlooks. Along with the online platform, St. James Park offered a site to negotiate what the movement consisted of. Delegates in different committees, working groups and the General Assembly facilitated this negotiation. Offering a platform for occupiers to participate in the movement served the interest of Occupy Toronto for the reason that it held the movement together—delegates accepted a range of interests and identities in the park and this strengthened the movement's outlook. This is because occupiers wanted a movement that reflected their own personalised interests and by doing so occupiers felt more invested in the movement.

The objects that were part of the offline repertoire included any material that was present in the park. This opens the possibility for essentially any object to be part of Occupy Toronto action repertoire (Latour 2005a). Observed objects at the park included: tents, cardboard posters, lights, cables, generators, cloths, blankets, wooden pallets, and so on. Park objects served to express a particular politics—by the way placards were arranged or where the General Assembly was conducted—and defined the park narrative. Following authors such as Bolton, Froese and Jeffrey (2013) and Feigenbaum (2014), the structural design and placement of objects within a camp highlights how activism is negotiated and expressed by occupiers. The objects that populated

Occupy Toronto were not simply passive artefacts that comprised the movement network's backdrop. They were active participants in the expression of the movement. The objects of St. James Park and the Facebook group page signified the affairs, history and boundary of Occupy Toronto. What is unique in this sense is that obligatory passage points (OPP) did not require occupiers to conform to a single collective identity nor sacrifice certain objects when participating in a public sphere. Instead, they incorporated occupier orientations and their collective networks as part of the Occupy Toronto movement network. Hence, OPPs channelled occupiers into aggregate platforms as well as the objects that sustained them.

5.9 Conclusion

Accepting that a network includes several overlapping passage points is not unique (Kromidha 2013; Shiga 2007). Understanding social movement organisation as a process of channelling provides insight into how actors structure, communicate and connect a movement network across different online-offline platforms. There is a need for recognising this process as an effort of network which is accomplished by delegates. This is because individualised relations require delegates to establish a point of access to a collective. Instead of limiting analytic focus on the agential production of a collective identity and its effect on the participation of individuals in collective action (Morris & Staggenborg 2004, p. 180), OPPs include multiple sites of access into the analysis that are both structuring and communicating. As a result, a deeper understanding of the entities and their arrangement within a movement network is provided. Considering network organisation as a process of co-production addresses the interplay between actors and their environment. It also emphasises the unique role individuals play in the creation of movement networks.

Occupier Facebook comments and delegate posts highlighted that Occupy Toronto encompassed both online and offline connection points. Two main conduits worked to connect all others; these were the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page and St. James Park. These two obligatory passage points (OPP) channelled occupiers across sites as well as operated as a platform for social intercourse. Delegates structured occupier travel by communicating Occupy Toronto actions as well as deploying different policies. As much as these channels were prescriptive, they were also open to discussion. If occupiers were not comfortable during the channelling process, occupiers negotiated with delegates through different committees, working groups and the General Assembly. Hence, the communicative aspect of OPPs facilitated the collective expression of occupiers.

Communicative action is a significant property of OPPS. This is because these sites facilitated discussion and debate over the dispensing of Occupy Toronto, while communicated content

established the boundaries and expectations of delegates and the movement network. As Habermas referred to the salon and coffee houses as public spheres, it was the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page and St. James Park that took on this communicative role. The distinction between the public sphere and OPP is that the former organises the collective in the pursuance of affecting political action outside the group; while the latter labours to organise the collective within the group. Both express the importance of social interaction and communication; the public sphere is underlined by a humanist perception in that what is communicated will affect the lifeworld-system dynamic, while OPPs include a post-humanist account that takes into consideration not only the actors but also the objects involved in the communication process. As demonstrated by their comments on the Facebook group page, the intention of delegates was to organise and structure a movement network of actors and objects. Although drafting action plans to challenge different social institutions were part of the role taken by different committees and working groups, they came after the organisation of the movement network.

Another difference between the public sphere and the OPP is that not all actors are indeed rational when communicating or participating in collective action[41]. Following authors such as Rienstra and Hook (2006), ideal communication expects too much from individuals who communicate in public spheres because individuals do not necessarily share the same capacity for engagement. Further, with a focus on communicative action, little is suggested on the structuring of the network. OPPs, on the other hand, do not require an account of rational speech acts when tracing the enrolment of actors into different platforms. Instead, channels oblige entities to the decisions of delegates. In this sense, delegate connective communication—in the form of conduits, rules and networked platforms—operate to co-develop entities and their networks. While OPPs find resonance with Habermas' idea of communicative action and public sphere, they include more than a notion of rational communication. This is because they embrace the structures through which occupiers are enlisted and the delegates who facilitate the organisational process.

As delegates attempted to organise and develop the Occupy Toronto movement network, it was the OPPs that mediated occupier relations. This is what made the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page and St. James Park indispensable platforms to the Occupy Toronto movement network. Without channelling platforms the communication potential of the movement network was limited while occupiers had fewer connective options at their disposal. The methodological shortcomings of

[41] This understanding has also plagued approaches that view collective action as a result of an economic calculus (Olson 1965). This is because actors may participate in collective action when their share of the collective good received fails to match the effort made to obtain that good.

OPPs were that by tracing the net-work of delegates, a net-centric gaze of movement network organisation was offered. Here, the trajectory of those not connected to channelling platforms was neglected. This is significant considering that movements rely on participants to maintain their ranks. Understanding why some actors do not connect with a movement network is as important as knowing who did. Failing to address those actors who were not part of Occupy Toronto leaves the movement open to destabilisation (see Chapter Seven). This is because future delegate actions are limited to the extent that techniques are not adjusted to capture additional or excluded actors[42]. Nevertheless, what the concept of OPP offers to an analysis of movement network translation is an understanding of how actors align through successive stages of movement organisation; what the key conduits for action are; and how the fusion of individual and structural elements is mediated[43]. Thus, OPPs offer a pragmatic approach to tracing the organisation and structuring of a movement network.

[42] Another limitation of this thesis is its inability to account for how Occupy Toronto delegates may have converted the movement network, through different OPPs, into a political party. Although, delegates did not attempt to transition the movement network into a political party, future research that traces how actors translate movements into formal institutions (Kriesi 2015) may employ OPPs to examine how different channels are ordered and the platforms involved in the process.

[43] Hence flattening the agency-structure dichotomy and alleviating the epistemological dilemma that has plagued social scientific analysis (Latour 2005b, Law 2004).

CHAPTER SIX: THE STABILISATION OF OCCUPY TORONTO: IDENTIFYING MOVEMENT NETWORK INTERESSEMENT AND ENROLMENT

6.0 Introduction

After Occupy Toronto delegates have problematised the movement network and established its channelling pathways, the next moment of translation requires the interesting and enrolling of occupiers. In this chapter, actor-network theory's (ANT) method of interessement and enrolment are employed to examine the process through which delegates recruited occupiers in the Occupy Toronto movement network. In this sense, delegates deploy an array of online and offline devices in order to 'impose and stabilize' actors and the network (Callon 1986a, pp. 206-11). Interessement and enrolment processes are compared with traditional social movement literature, in particular resource mobilisation theory's (RMT) notion of recruitment and new social movement theory's (NSM) account of social actions. This is done in order to contextualise the initiatives taken by Occupy Toronto delegates as well as evaluate ANT's method of interessement and enrolment. Investigating how network recruitment and stabilisation is achieved provides insight into the labour intensive task of aggregating and aligning a multiplicity of associations.

6.1 Social movement recruitment

When considering the topic of social movement recruitment, resource mobilisation theory (RMT) has focused on the work of social movement agents (organisations and entrepreneurs) in recruiting individuals to a social movement (Jenkins 1983). In this sense, social movement agents recruit from social movement organisations (SMO) that operate within a social movement industry (SMI)—pre-existing organisations are enrolled into the larger social movement. As discussed in Chapter Two, movement enrolment that operates as a process of 'bloc recruitment' is most effective for movements that focus on exploiting pre-existing groups (Oberschall 1973). Those not part of an existing organisation require tailored approaches that fit specific context needs. Through the recruitment process, movement agents provide incentives, cost-reducing mechanisms and other 'career' benefits to influence participation (McCarthy & Zald 1977, p. 1216). Media communication is also drawn on as a resource to reach isolated or non-connected individuals that are not part of existing SMOs. Here, SMOs and entrepreneurs attempt to influence participation via frame alignment (Benford & Snow 2000). Ultimately, recruitment agents enrol actors based on certain 'push' or 'pull' factors (McAdam 1986). According to McAdam (1986), there are three different 'midwives' that facilitate movement recruitment. First, organisations can either pull actors in through their association with pre-existing organisations, or act as the base site for recruitment practices (i.e., bloc recruitment). Second, individual agents galvanise participation via 'personal

contact' with other individuals. Lastly, when considering high-risk/cost activism, the movement itself can enlist actors '…out of a cyclical process of activism and deepening personal and ideological commitment to the movement' (McAdam 1986, pp. 76-7). Taken together, because movements operate within overlapping 'multi-organisation fields' (Fernandez & McAdam 1988), recruitment is achieved by using different techniques that are contingent on the availability of resources. The organisational approach to recruitment places emphasis on the mobilisation of movement resources and the incentives or cost-reducing mechanisms that aid in the process of increasing individual involvement (McCarthy & Zald 1977). In this sense, how actors are mobilised and the incentives that are afforded are identified.

The new social movement (NSM) approach to movement recruitment is centred on cultural symbolic control and the production of meaning (Buechler 1995). In this sense, movement leaders work to enlist actors by communicating a shared collective identity or employing different social actions. For example, movement leaders will either communicate a collective identity for individuals to connect with or strategically use different methods to coerce and/or induce participation (Edgar 2006, pp. 144-5). In both cases, the aim is to recruit and align social relations. What NSM offers to an account of movement recruitment is the understanding that it is achieved through a process of group construction rather than structurally determined by a movement organisation.

6.1.2 The application of communicative and strategic social actions

Habermas (1984; 1987) suggests that rational actors will communicate with one another in order to reach agreement on communal issues or that some actors will strategically act to direct the comportment of others to achieve their purpose. Both actions are social actions as they involve social interaction. With regard to the rational communication of actors, Kihlsrtöm and Israel (2002, p. 210) highlight that communicative action '…rests on the conviction that one person has the possibility to criticise the offer of the other by taking a "yes" or "no" position'. The intention of the communicative act is to reach an understanding between actors. In this case, one actor will promulgate an issue, direction or command for action while the receiving actor is provided the space to either accept or decline the content of the communicative act. Questions relating to the authority, truth, intent and meaningfulness of the communicative act will influence the decision of the receiving actor.

Strategic action occurs when an individual or group employs communication in an instrumental fashion to influence the recipient toward a particular course of action. Essentially, 'strategic action

is oriented to success (what might be called an ulterior motive) rather than to understanding' (Greenhalgh, Robb & Scambler 2006, p. 1171). Actors rely on strategic action when they can '…consider the other person purely in terms of his or her more or less predictable responses to certain stimuli' (Edgar 2006, pp. 17-21). Social movement leaders, for instance, will treat other actors strategically by considering them as a means to an end rather than interact with them in order to come to an understanding. The significance of communicative and strategic action for movement recruitment is that the actions and devices of movement leaders can be expressed as either one or the other depending on the source of action.

Although the above approaches provide a view of either the structural configuration of individuals within a movement or on the processes of group construction and understanding, they fail to explain movement enrolment as a co-productive process. In this case, approaches that perpetuate structural-agential dualisms limit their explanatory outlook by appraising individual recruitment as structurally determined or socially constructed. By employing actor-network theory's (ANT) method of interessement and enrolment, attention is directed toward the actors and devices that net-work movement recruitment. An ANT approach to movement network recruitment highlights that individual participation is a relational effect of the co-constitutive interplay between movement networks and actors. This chapter will employ ANT's moment of interessement and enrolment to trace the recruitment of actors into Occupy Toronto. The discussion will be structured by the method of interessement and enrolment and its related categories. Although ANT provides value by highlighting the actions and devices of delegates who interest and enrol occupiers into a movement network, it has limitations. Similar to the shortcomings expressed in Chapter Five, the method of interessement and enrolment does not provide an account of those actors who fail to accept delegate actions and devices and are marginalised in the process. This is because of the net-centric gaze of the method of interessement and enrolment and ANT more generally. As a result, some actors are 'Othered' from the actions and devices of delegates and the movement network.

6.2 The interessement and enrolment of actors into a movement network

During the interessement and enrolment phase of movement network translation, delegates impose the identifications and definitions set during the moment of problematisation in order to achieve network enrolment. According to Callon (1986a, p.208):

> 'To interest other actors is to build devices which can be placed between them and all other entities who want to define their identities otherwise. A interests B by cutting or weakening all the links between B and the invisible (or at times quite visible) group of other entities C, D, E, etc. who may want to link themselves to B'.

Delegates deploy a battery of interessement devices to stabilise network participation; the devices that may be deployed are indefinite as long as they work to enrol entities in the network. The ensuing operation of translation is enrolment:

> 'Why speak of enrolment? In using this term, we are not resorting to a functionalist or culturalist sociology which defines society as an entity made up of roles and holders of roles. Enrolment does not imply, nor does it exclude, pre-established roles. It designates the device by which a set of interrelated roles is defined and attributed to actors who accept them. Interessement achieves enrolment if it is successful'. (Callon 1986a, p. 211)

Simply put, enrolment is defined by the success of interessement devices to attach entities to the network. It addresses the relative translation of actors and their networks into specified roles within the movement network.

The range of interessement actions and devices found in the repertoire of delegates varies from practices of seduction and inducement to violence and bargaining (Callon 1986a). With regard to the Occupy Toronto movement network, interessement actions are conceptualised as the activities of delegates that either make aware or challenge actors to join the movement network. Awareness actions include the delegate use of communication to gather support and participation. For example, Occupy Toronto Facebook group page posts not only served to express a collective identification, they also operated to make community members aware of what Occupy Toronto consisted of. Challenge actions attract individuals in a movement by providing opportunities for action. For instance, delegates not only communicated a controversy to the wider community (i.e., awareness action) but required individuals to participate in different events (i.e., challenge actions). Whenever community members needed further information on the terms of enrolment, additional awareness and challenge actions were deployed. This included communicating supplementary information or providing further opportunities for participation. Both awareness and challenge actions are communicative and strategic.

Delegate interessement actions require a connection point with potential constituents. Interessement devices provide the needed link. As with interessement actions, devices may be communicative or strategic in nature. The difference is that interessement actions refer to the steps taken by delegates to enrol actors while devices attach occupiers to the movement network. For example, with the growth of social media use delegates linked movement related updates to online platforms. Devices such as Facebook and Twitter work well to facilitate the attachment of occupiers with movement

related events[44]. However, it is ultimately up to the recipient to find and accept the device. The point is that as interessement actions make aware or challenge individuals, interessement devices act as intermediaries that attach potential members to different movement network platforms. Interessement actions and devices account for the process through which delegates encourage actors into co-ordinated action. They derive their analytic strength by explaining how recruitment efforts find expression through the interplay of structural capacities (devices) and agential relations (actions).

6.3 The interessement actions and devices of Occupy Toronto delegates

Two primary themes emerged from the Occupy Toronto Facebook data set that reflect the actions of delegates to interest and enrol actors. The first was the action of awareness theme. This consisted of delegate communications on movement related actions and events. The second was the action of challenge theme. Here, delegates took action to challenge actors to take part in Occupy Toronto related activities. The awareness and challenge action themes were facilitated by different devices (see below). Awareness and challenge actions were both communicative and strategic social actions as they offered an opportunity for negotiation and understanding while at the same time instrumentalising movement relations. Interessement actions created awareness and challenged individuals to participate in Occupy Toronto.

6.3.1 Awareness actions

Delegate awareness actions served the purpose of communicating Occupy Toronto. This was done through platforms such as Facebook and St. James Park. On Facebook, delegates and occupiers made aware to others what the Occupy Toronto movement was about. For example, 'Occupy is an opportunity to talk about the issues concerning us […] it does not have one message' (OT36). OT3 added, 'we are a community of varied individuals brought together out of concern for our society, our world, and each other'. Leading up to the October 15th 2011 occupation of St. James Park, delegates asked occupiers via the Facebook group page to 'keep getting the word out. Share this page with your friends! Start conversations with strangers! Let them know this isn't just a small fringe group, it represents us all!' (D0). Delegates and occupiers promoted the Occupy Toronto occupation of St. James Park by asking members to 'wake up' their friends (OT51), and 'share' and 'like' Occupy Toronto (OT140). At St. James Park, delegates met with mainstream media correspondents to inform the public on why Occupy Toronto had emerged and what made it relevant to the community. According to OT141, who was interviewed by one mainstream

[44] Traditional (non-Web 2.0) digital devices such as listserv mailing lists assist delegates with the linking of occupiers to a movement. By employing the listserv device, delegates circulate emails on organising or planning activities. One problem with the listserv application is that only those on the list can receive information; occupiers who are not linked with the application will not receive movement related information.

media outlet, the reason why they participated in Occupy Toronto was to 'fight' for their child's future because 'there are so many problems out there that need to be fixed'. As these examples suggest, delegates and occupiers took online-offline action to communicate an understanding of the issues facing the movement. The aim of awareness actions was to spread the message of Occupy Toronto as well as to interest community members to join the cause, whether for individual benefit or for the benefit of others.

Delegates also conducted awareness actions to evoke sympathy and support from potential constituents. For example, during the first few months of the St. James Park occupation, delegates utilised the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page to request donations from the public, 'if you're coming down tomorrow […] please fork 20 baking potatoes […] they make excellent hand and pocket warmers as well as providing much needed nourishment' (D0). Other awareness actions for support included:

> 'Gas for our generator is currently costing approximately $45 a day. Your support and donations have made it possible for us to report while occupying. Please continue to show your support'. (D0)

> 'Looking for kitchens in the area for food prep. If you live nearby and can offer your kitchen for 2 hours a day for people from the Food Committee to come and prepare soup etc. Even better if Food Committee could drop off ingredients with a large pen and recipe and locals could make pots and soup themselves to be picked up by Food Committee! We're feeding the homeless too!'. (D0)

Some delegates felt that by making others aware of Occupy Toronto, it would translate into increased participation either in the form of active members or material support (D2). If one did not align with the Occupy Toronto controversy and action frame (see Chapter Four), then 'helping those who are trying to change the system on your behalf' (D0) was considered to be reason enough to support the movement.

6.3.2 Challenge actions

If awareness actions did not interest participation, delegates challenged individuals to take action on controversial issues[45]. An example was when delegates challenged occupiers and fellow Torontonians to protest former Toronto mayor Rob Ford and the 2012 City of Toronto council budget. It was felt by delegates that by connecting everyday issues (Toronto budget) with the movement's main controversy (inequality) more individuals would participate (D0). Occupy Toronto promoted the challenge event on its Facebook group page, '[a]ll out on Jan 17th against

[45] This strategy is akin to the Invisible Children's campaign against Joseph Kony. The Kony 2012 campaign inspired individuals and groups around the world to take action against Joseph Kony and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Invisible Children put out a challenge to 'make Joseph Kony famous' by circulating his image and story throughout social media platforms (Chazal & Pocrnic 2016).

Rob Ford's austerity agenda! If we don't mobilize a massive show of opposition, it's going to be harder to do it in the future' (D2). OT1 commented on the need to participate in the event, 'democracy is not a spectator sport (at least it shouldn't be). Victories are won in increments, and Occupy is at the forefront of a societal shift that defies injustice'. OT2 added, 'we must unite in a positive [and] peaceful way in order to make change'. The Occupy the Budget 2012 was part of a larger Occupy Toronto event of re-occupying City Hall, a planned three day occupation to promote and ignite Occupy Toronto after the 2012 'winter slumber' (D2). Taken together, delegates challenged occupiers to protest the 'austerity budget' and participate in the movement's re-emergence after its 'winter slumber'.

Not all challenge events required individuals to take direct action against city or state officials. By expanding the scope of challenge events delegates sought broader forms of participation in the movement. For example, delegates challenged those who wanted to participate in non-direct forms of action to join Occupy Toronto seminars ('Occupy Talks'), conferences ('activist assembly') and weekend long events that educated participants on activist related techniques ('activist training weekend'). For instance, the activist training weekend's main purpose encouraged participants to 'expand and improve upon the abilities of those of us who are active in Occupy TO and those that plan to be active in the spring'. (D0)

Another example of a challenge event required occupier participation in General Assemblies. The act of assigning the General Assembly as an invitation to contribute to the movement as well as a site to administer it empowered participation. This was because the General Assembly offered individuals a site to invest in and direct Occupy Toronto. In this case, occupiers felt that they had the opportunity to create their own micro-movement (OT143). This signalled the relational character that the movement espoused—actors who wanted to participate were given the opportunity while at the same time through their participation they influenced the content and structure of the movement network. Essentially, by participating in General Assemblies, delegates challenged occupiers to net-work the network[46]. As discussed in Chapter Five, delegates structured the movement network through different platforms, however occupiers had the opportunity to accept, negotiate or decline participation. By doing so the movement came to reflect the actors who co-produced it.

[46] Another example includes the challenge actions of the Occupy Toronto Outreach committee. The Outreach committee challenged occupiers to participate in 'Inreach' and 'Outreach' actions; the former sought to bring individuals and organisations into the movement while the latter attempted to deliver the movement to sites beyond the park (D0).

In addition to making others aware or challenging them to participate, delegate awareness and challenge actions served a secondary purpose. They also worked to stabilise the enrolled movement network. With regard to awareness actions, additional information and feedback was used to strengthen network connections or settle disruptions. This was done in order to simplify the movement network. Delegates believed that without an adequate amount of information distributed throughout the network, movement dissent may occur (D0). Hence, delegates posted daily information on the Facebook group page as well as engaged in Facebook comment threads to discuss and define the movement with occupiers. Further, with a constant flow of challenge actions (upcoming actions and events) delegates believed that occupiers would continue to participate in the movement (D5). By regularly making aware the movement and providing a number of opportunities for participation, delegates worked to attract and stabilise occupiers in the movement network. The application of interessement actions can be considered as a continual process of network reinforcement (see below).

6.3.3 Interessement devices

Interessement devices refer to the links or attachments delegates deployed to connect actors with the movement network. For example, 'call-outs' and 'updates' on different actions and events worked to make aware and challenge occupiers to participate in Occupy Toronto. Interessement devices operated as intermediaries to communicate with or instrumentalise occupiers. Interessement devices were delivered online through the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page and offline through St. James Park[47]. By employing multiple interessement devices via different media, delegates expanded the prospect of enticing (by linking) a greater number of individuals to participate in Occupy Toronto. For example, calls for protest on the Facebook group page were usually linked with other social media platforms such as Twitter and Instagram as well as made during face-to-face communication at St. James Park.

Interessement devices complemented interessement actions of awareness and challenge. Depending on the particular source of action, interessement awareness devices included: call-outs; notice board; delegate requests; discussion threads; General Assembly and spreading the word. Interessement challenge devices encompassed: rally and protest; education and training; General Assembly; and spreading the word. Some devices were located across both online-offline platforms and operated as both awareness and challenge devices (i.e., spreading the word). As with interessement actions, interessement devices had both a communicative and strategic

[47] The focus here is on the devices expressed through the two primary obligatory passage points. This is because of the frequency of its use when compared to other platforms.

purpose; the distinction between action and device was that the latter was used as an intermediary to link actors with the movement network.

Delegate posts on Facebook highlighted that the update device was regularly used to inform occupiers and potential members of group activities. Some delegates believed that a benefit of the update device was that it 'connected and kept occupiers in the loop on movement related information and events' (D0, D1). For example, linked via the Facebook group page were calendar updates from the Occupy Toronto website on upcoming General Assemblies, committee meetings and events. By keeping occupiers updated on a variety of Occupy Toronto actions, delegates believed that more individuals would be interested to participate. Another awareness device employed by delegates was the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page. In this case, the Facebook group page operated as an online notice board. The notice board function of the Facebook group page assisted in attaching individuals to movement related activities and issues. For example, when some occupiers wanted to travel to the New York City occupation, D0 posted, 'if you're heading to #S17 you can use this carpool link to help find a ride'. Here, delegates used the notice board device to post information on Occupy Toronto resources and/or actions. Updates and the notice board made visible where, when and how individuals could participate in different events.

The interessement device of challenge was used by delegates to link individuals to different opportunities offered by Occupy Toronto. For example, delegates constantly challenged occupiers to meet and interact with other occupiers at St. James Park and/or on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page. In one particular Facebook thread themed 'camping versus occupying', delegates and occupiers asked others to spend time at the park because the park was a 'a microcosm of Torontonian society' (OT 143, OT144) and people should 'spend some time at the occupation and talk with people' (OT145); this will help 'build relationships' and the 'changes' that Occupy Toronto wants (D0). At the very least, if individuals could not attend the offline occupation, delegates and occupiers challenged actors to participate through the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page, 'you don't have to get wet in the park to help here. You have Facebook friends. You can participate just by spreading the message!' (OT132).

Delegates employed the interessement device of spreading the word as both an awareness and challenge device. Speaking to the latter, delegates challenged constituents to promote upcoming events such as the May Day rally and the subsequent 24 hour reoccupation, 'Spread the word!' noted D2, '[a]fter the May Day rally, we are reoccupying'. When delegates asked occupiers to

spread the word on police brutality on striking Walmart workers in Elwood, Illinois, they effectively challenged occupiers to distribute information as well as become aware of police tactics, 'let's help support these fine Walmart workers, the media is doing a great job keeping this out of the news, so please join their page and share with friends!' (D7). OT95 highlighted the dual features of awareness and challenge devices (i.e., spreading the word), 'news that can be spread out (even in Europe) is valuable, so please, yes, help us find some interesting links to spread'. These few examples suggest how delegates and occupiers utilised awareness and challenge devices to entice participation in Occupy Toronto. The devices of interessement found expression through both online and offline Occupy Toronto sites and worked to link occupiers by informing them on movement related information or by challenging them to take action in different events. The devices were strategic and communicative in the sense that they worked to order occupier activity and/or provide an understanding of Occupy Toronto.

Devices continued to operate as long as occupiers accepted them. Not all interessement actions or devices were taken up by occupiers. When considering the interessement device of call-outs and updates during Occupy Toronto's re-occupation in May 2012, some occupiers became relatively vexed with delegates for failing to provide additional updates on the planned event. For example, when delegates posted a call-out on the Facebook group page: 'Occupy Toronto May Day 24-hour Reoccupation!' (D0); OT4 and OT133 asked, respectively, 'why keep [the re-occupation site] a secret?'; 'why 24 hours?'. D0 responded, 'the rallying point isn't a secret [its] so we are not blocked out by barricades before we even get there'. D2 added, 'why 24 hours? So that we can keep it strategic rather than camping in a park for a month instead of engaging in political struggle'. The above examples illustrate occupier frustration with the absence of information on Occupy Toronto events; this was amplified when directives were given without offering the contextual chain of information that supported outcomes. In response to criticism, delegates continually acknowledged that General Assembly meeting minutes and Facebook group page threads were accessible to all occupiers as points of reference (D5).

With the St. James Park and social media information cycle constantly turning over, information flow via interessement devices served the purpose of stabilising the network. That is, occupiers aligned their behaviour according to Occupy Toronto related information. Analogous to Turner and Killian's (1987) notion of circular reinforcement, information flow entrenched occupiers further within the movement network—the constant flow of information more or less had the effect of eliminating questions of dissent. Delegates worked to place devices between actors and the network in order to mitigate competing interests or uncertainty. With a battery of information

devices supporting delegates, it was difficult for occupiers to challenge what was inscribed in the network. This was because delegates could reinforce their devices (and network strength) by employing additional information. What the flow of delegate information suggested is that depending on the jurisdiction (i.e., Action committee, Outreach committee, Facebook moderators etc.), information travelled from the centre of each node as a centripetal force to attract occupiers. This force ultimately established the normative boundary of the movement since what was made aware or challenged set the agenda for the movement network. However, occupiers did not simply accept all interessement devices; rather they challenged delegates to justify their rationale (see below). Thus, there were some occupiers who were left out of the movement network because of their refusal or failure to accept the interessement actions and devices of delegates. Accounting for the actors who were not stabilised in the movement network is difficult because the focus of interessement and enrolment is on delegate actions and devices and those who did attach to Occupy Toronto.

6.4 The group of multilateral negotiations

Not all actions and devices employed by delegates were accepted by occupiers. Similar to the work done during the problematisation of a movement network (see Chapter Four), delegates had to conduct multilateral negotiations with occupiers to order and settle disruptions and for them to successfully enrol in the Occupy Toronto movement network. If definitions and identifications were not made coherent, occupiers found it difficult to attach to the network.

6.4.1 Multilateral negotiation and settling disruptions

Based on data derived from the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page, delegates deployed the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page as well as the General Assembly (and other committees and working groups) to negotiate and settle disruptions. As discussed in Chapter Four, delegates presented Occupy Toronto as open and inclusive, when disruptions threaten the stability of the movement network delegates net-worked to settle them. For example, when Occupy Toronto first materialised offline in the financial district of Toronto, questions relating to how to organise Occupy Toronto emerged. OT134 asked, 'why are we occupying Toronto on a Saturday? There's no trading on Bay Street […] to my understanding wouldn't that make protesting on a Saturday somewhat pointless?' OT49 commented, 'I thought the point of starting on a Saturday was to build momentum. It gives the occupation a chance to get in, set up, and settle…'. Another occupier compared the October 15th 2011 action with the way Occupy New York City organised its action, '[t]his is exactly what they did at Occupy Wall Street […] to build momentum and perhaps also to get a feel for what it's like before the day of protest begins' (OT48). As occupiers negotiated the merits of starting the occupation on a Saturday, D0 commented, 'I hope [these]

replie[s] are sufficient, and again if you come out to the General Assembly tonight, we will be able to discuss this further!' The organisation of Occupy Toronto during its October 15th action depicts the instances when additional information was offered by delegates and occupiers to overcome discrepancies. It also highlights how differences were generally settled through discussion across both online and offline sites. By providing a rationalisation for decisions, delegates presented a unified and complete account of Occupy Toronto. Information appealing to precedent (what other Occupy groups did) and authority (what we do) served to simplify the Occupy Toronto message and settle disruptions.

Another illustration of how Occupy Toronto delegates negotiated and ordered the movement was when delegates imposed an alternative General Assembly platform. For example, posted on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page in March 2012:

> 'As many of you are aware, persistent issues with the current General Assembly process have resulted in many individuals and groups feeling ineffectual and/or unsafe and thus unwilling and/or unable to discuss and organize in that environment. As a response to these ongoing problems, some members of Occupy Toronto have decided to try something new […] We are very excited to invite you as we as any and all people who will be respectful of the space to come out and join us for the first new General Assembly'. (DO)

The deployment of an alternative General Assembly supports the idea that delegates employed different devices to settle disruptions within the movement network. When devices failed to incorporate or attract occupiers because of 'persistent issues', alternative devices were engaged. As can be observed, delegates continually worked to overcome ambiguities that would have otherwise jeopardised movement network enrolment. Hence, by employing different interessement devices, delegates ordered the stabilisation of occupier and network associations.

6.5 The stabilisation of the Occupy Toronto movement network: Interessement as communicative and strategic action

Once interessement actions and devices were deployed and multilateral negotiations performed, delegates turned to stabilising the network. The process taken to stabilise occupiers within the movement involved two primary methods. Both find resonance with Habermas' (1984; 1987) account of communicative and strategic action[48]. As discussed above, communicative and strategic actions involve multiple people and are thus social actions in form. Strategic action is distinguished from communicative action because it occurs when actors treat others 'as if they were objects, rather than as fellow human beings with who agreement and mutual understanding

[48] Habermas identified four types of social action: teleological action (where strategic action is a subgroup); normatively regulated action; dramaturgical action; and communicative action (Bolton 2005). As it relates to the interessement and enrolment of Occupy Toronto, communicative and strategic actions are addressed.

should be achieved' (Edgar 2006, pp. 144-5). For Schaefer et al. (2013, p.1), strategic actions are carried out by actors who operate 'strategically' in order to 'achieve' their own goal, while communicative action 'is oriented toward mutual conflict resolution through compromise'. With regard to Occupy Toronto, delegates employed communicative or strategic actions to interest and enrol occupiers.

6.5.1 Communicative delegate actions (awareness and challenge)

Online and offline platforms enabled occupiers to communicate and make aware beliefs and opinions related to Occupy Toronto. For example, the Facebook group page discussion thread device served the purpose of facilitating communicative action with some specific threads reaching over a 100 sub-comments: the Occupy garden thread had over 170 Facebook comments while shared via Facebook profiles over 790 times; in September 2012, when discussing the 1973 American backed Pinochet regime, the comment thread received only 19 comments however it was shared among Facebook users over 567 times. The correspondence between occupiers and delegates on different matters fostered communicative action. This furthered the unfolding of Occupy Toronto because by engaging in collective discussion the awareness of what the movement network represented re-produced the associations and discourse that fashioned it. Hence, the collective sentiment of each thread put forward a view of how the Occupy Toronto movement felt about different matters.

Delegates employed communicative actions in order to galvanise participation in the movement. For instance, the Occupy Toronto Social Media working group posted on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page a poll to help settle concerns over whether or not the group page should limit posting privileges to delegates only. The poll question read, 'should we close down public posts to better aid in the distribution of information and announcements?'. The poll asked occupiers what they thought was the best approach to serve the communicative function of the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page. After the votes were tallied via the Facebook polling device, most occupiers replied 'No'; while some suggested 'We can try it' or 'Yes'[49]. Another poll posted by delegates asked, 'when dealing with posts, at what point should action be taken to ensure respect is always upheld?'. In descending order the responses were: 'verbal abuse'; 'personal attacks'; 'harassment'; 'transparency'; 'oppressive language'; 'as a working group admins should build consensus on this and then be transparent'; 'unrelated posts'; 'nothing'; 'ignore it'; 'a violent revolution'; 'trolling'; 'exercise your right to remain silent'; 'complaining'; 'swearing'; 'their profile picture'. In this case, verbal abuse, personal attacks, harassment and

[49] As discussed in Chapter Three, delegate posts were the only posts featured on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page—occupiers had to upload their posts through comment threads.

transparency were considered adequate reasons to take action against transgressive occupiers. What the use of the Facebook poll function indicated was that delegates attempted to engage occupiers in a process of communicative action to reach mutual understanding on issues relevant to the movement. If delegates could not negotiate with occupiers within discussion threads or the General Assembly, polls were considered an efficient way to communicate the decision-making process of the movement (D1).

6.5.2 Strategic delegate actions (awareness and challenge)

Not all delegate or occupier actions were communicative in nature. Delegates employed strategic actions to induce actors to participate in the movement network. Strategic actions focused on the ends themselves rather than on reaching mutual understanding between occupiers. Strategic challenge actions included the October 15th 2011 'Occupation'; the November 2011 'OT Austerity Rally'; the December 2011 'Occupy the Climate! Save the Planet! Day of action'; the January 2012 'Rally against Rob Ford's austerity agenda'; the February 2012 'Flash mob' initiative; or the March 2012 'Rally against voter suppression by Robo-Calls'. Here, delegates challenged individuals to act in order to achieve particular ends. This was done by incentivising participation. In this case, delegates defined participation as an act that would provide individual goods. For instance, by participating in the January 2012 'Rally against Rob Ford's austerity agenda' delegates framed the action as one that if successful, Torontonians would experience an increase in material resources (welfare benefits, social service funding etc.) because of the successful block of the austerity budget proposal (D0).

Another example of the application of strategic action included the moderating of the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page and the potential banning of an occupier. For instance, in February 2012, there were concerns over OT23's continued sharing of information with OT137—the occupier who was formally asked to leave the Occupy Toronto movement based on allegations of violence, harassment and behaviour that did not reflect the values of Occupy Toronto (see Chapter Four). To clarify the stance of delegates, D0 posted that OT23:

> 'Shared a post with OT137 on [their] personal page after having been clearly warned on this page that any further sharing of harassment related information with a harasser would result in you being banned. [OT23] is also on warning tonight for racist and ableist language and for threatening Schrodinger's cat. The warnings are over, you will be banned'.

Many occupiers were polarised over the potential banning of OT23. There were some who felt that delegates were extending their reach beyond the authority given to them as members of a committee, 'just who the hell do you think you are? Please tell me you're not monitoring

participants' personal accounts to say what they can and can't do' (OT127). OT124 commented, '[n]eat! From idealism to witch-hunts in less than six months!'. OT128 expressed that the action taken against OT23 '[was] f*@#%$! b*#%@&*$; they ban anyone who disagrees even creators of the page […] and people who have been admins from the beginning'. OT129 made it known that because of the proposed ban of OT23, 'this page has lost my support'. OT125 posted, '…you can say what you want about Occupy but if it isn't what they want, you can't say it to those who they don't want you to say it to'. Some occupiers touched on the fact that delegates should strive to promote inclusivity rather than exclusion:

> 'My point is let people have their opinions, who cares what they say, it's all about open discussion, and not immature fingerprinting, the opinions of the "leaders" of the occupy movement are not god's commandments […] I'm not defending OT23, they might not [be] someone I agree with, I'm more disappointed in the leadership/moderators here'. (OT126)

There were some who defended the action of delegates over the potential banning of OT23. For instance, OT130 noted, 'this is no witch-hunt. There is a problem with an obvious saboteur who has moved [to Toronto]. OT137's helpers, whether aware or naive, do have to be limited'. OT131 added, 'what's wrong with banning people for racist comments? OT23's last comment was totally offensive'. OT43 posted, 'when someone is banned it is not for what they are saying it's for the invasion of someone else's safe space to speak freely'. In an attempt to clarify concerns, D5 commented:

> 'I think the word "surveil" is being misused here. Anyone who is friends with OT23 can "surveil" their page and "surveil" their activity. It's not wrong to, because OT23 is consenting to their activity being seen. Now, the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page has an established policy against harassment (see the info section), and the goal of that policy is to promote a safe space for everyone to share and communicate. The marshal committee has established, verified and corroborated that a certain person […] is harassing a whole bunch of people in a lot of different ways, threatening their personal lives, calling their families, employers, publicly lynching them, etc. […] This "surveillance" issue is just a way to distract from the real issue, which is OT23 helping someone do something wrong to others…'.

After discussion on the Facebook group page and at various meetings, on behalf of the Outreach committee, D2 posted:

> 'Hey everyone. The outreach committee discussed this and decided to reinstate OT23, as well as one (or two) others deleted because of suspicion of being [allies] of OT23.The logic being that A) accounts should not be banned just on suspicion of being someone else. That is pretty straightforward. B) Some tolerance needs to exist for discussions getting heated and spiralling out of control. Our goal is not to ban people for getting angry; our goal is to create a safe space where specifically abusive and aggressive people are banned so that people can actually have discussions'.

OT23 immediately replied to the reinstatement post:

> 'I want to make it very clear that I'm not a troll, nor am I a paid provocateur. What I am is a single [parent] that slings beer and food for a living to get by. I am also a person that likes to hold people accountable for their actions. It's not that hard to see that and you guys that accuse me of being a paid provocateur are amateurs when it comes to investigating anything. You can look at my Facebook and see my life in pictures. You can reply and rebuke anything I have said because I leave comments open to everyone on my wall (it's that transparency and accountability thing - if I hold others to it, you bet I'll hold myself to it. We call that integrity)'.

The above illustration reveals how some occupiers felt about the strategic actions taken by delegates in order to order and stabilise movement associations. Although delegate actions received criticism, the intention of delegates was to formalise a set of associations through which actors could draw a sense of coherence (i.e., the safe-space policy). In this sense, communicative and strategic actions worked alongside one another. For instance, when delegates attempted to strategically ban OT23 from the movement, it was only after communication and negotiation with other occupiers that OT23's potential ban was lifted. On the other hand, occupiers were able to strategically employ Facebook to call on others to support OT23's continued membership. By making aware and challenging other occupiers on the actions of delegates, occupiers were able to rally enough support to overturn the potential ban of OT23. What this means is that delegates and occupiers used interessement awareness and challenge actions to communicate, instrumentalise and stabilise the Occupy Toronto movement network.

6.5.3 Network maintenance

Dialogue between delegates and occupiers highlighted that when delegates took strategic action based on their own understanding of what Occupy Toronto was and should be occupiers were quick to remind them that any decision had to be arrived at through a communicative process underscored by consensus. The potential banning of OT23 signifies that although delegates attempted to delimit the movement by strategically employing the Outreach committee to ban a member of the group, occupiers themselves employed the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page in an instrumental fashion to mount a challenge against OT23's potential ban. When delegates were not seen to invoke communicative action, occupiers were quick to challenge outcomes. The illustration of OT23's potential ban indicated that interessement actions and devices can be conveyed as either communicative or strategic depending on application. Indeed, delegates and occupiers employed different actions and devices to settle disruptions and co-produce the maintenance of the movement network.

6.6 The parameters of interessement and enrolment

As previously mentioned, resource mobilisation theory (RMT) does well to explain how actors are recruited in a movement organisation. However, because of its focus on structural processes and resources, an account of why actors who are located outside the organisational sphere enrol into a movement is overlooked. Although 'push' and 'pull' factors play a role (McAdam 1986), additional insight on periphery actors is required. Further, when accounting for enrolment in hybrid movement networks such as Occupy Toronto, RMT experiences difficulty when explaining how actors come together without strong organisational links. As addressed in Chapter Four, occupiers formed Occupy Toronto not by the efforts of an organisation but by a central controversy and action frame. With regard to Occupy Toronto, because of its informal nature, instead of acting as recruiting agents, delegates simply facilitated movement interessement and enrolment via awareness and challenge actions and devices. Delegates felt that the movement itself, as a platform to 'stand up' against inequality (D0), would be incentive enough to participate. With this perspective, delegates simply worked to spread the message of what Occupy Toronto was.

6.6.1 The importance of communicative and strategic actions and devices

Communicative action between actors is directed toward arriving at a common understanding; strategic action instrumentalises relations for specific ends (Habermas 1984; 1987). When applied to an account of Occupy Toronto, communicative and strategic action was observed through delegate actions and devices that interested, enrolled and stabilised the movement network. The social action perspective of new social movement theory (NSM) complements actor-network theory's (ANT) understanding of network interessement and enrolment. Whether making the public aware of what Occupy Toronto was or by challenging individuals to take part in the October 15th 2011 action, delegates communicated and instrumentalised different aspects of the movement network. The actions and devices of delegates helped occupiers attach as well as define and delimit the contours of the movement network.

In addition to being communicative and strategic, ANT's conception of interessement and enrolment develops beyond an account of social action to include the trials of strength delegates must overcome to settle network disruptions. An example of this was when delegates had to re-revaluate their potential ban of OT23 due to occupier opposition. As occupiers employed the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page to voice their dissent, delegates were forced to negotiate with occupiers. The difference between social actions and interessement and enrolment is that the former attributes outcomes to the better argument while the latter acknowledges that ideal-rational communication may not be feasible. Although it can be argued that social actions includes an

account of divergences which can be settled by claims to 'principled morality' (Habermas 1996) or by rational political will-formation where norms are bargained and negotiated upon (Huttunen & Heikkinen 1998), it nevertheless omits an account of non-ideal communication where the better argument does not always prevail. Further, social actions do not explain the process through which actors and networks bind one another. That is, an account of the co-constitutive interplay of enrolled entities. For instance, entities were brought into the movement network by the actions and devices that captured them while at the same time binding the network through recruitment practices. The point of departure for the moment of interessement and enrolment (network communication and instrumentalisation) is that it also includes an account of how entities (both actors and objects) overcome trials of strength in order to settle network disruptions. In this case, ANT's moment of interessement and enrolment includes a humanist aspect (communication) while at the same time developing an account of post-humanist entity relations (actor and object hybrids). The moment of interessement and enrolment addressed the fact that different actions and devices became ordering mechanisms that were part of the movement network. Delegates and occupiers demonstrated this through the unfolding of Occupy Toronto relative to the operationalisation of interessement and enrolment.

6.6.2 Where is the 'Other'?

Although the moment of interessement and enrolment provided an understanding of the conditions through which delegates negotiated or strategised outcomes with occupiers, it omitted actors located on the periphery of the network that either failed or refused to take up delegate actions and/or devices. Analogous to limitations experienced by resource mobilisation theory (RMT), actor network theory (ANT) fails to properly account for those outside the gaze of delegates (Star 1991). What this means is that by focusing on how net-centric actors translate a movement network, occupiers located on the periphery are either captured by the network and expressed in the same terms as delegates or omitted from the analysis because of their inability or refusal to accept delegate actions and devices. In this sense, when discussing the interessement and enrolment potential of delegates, ANT does little to account for the imbalanced power relationship of those involved in other networks (Whittle & Spicer 2008). As Star (1991) outlined, when the analytic focus shifts beyond the delegate a different set of network relations is realised.

When examining the interessement of Occupy Toronto, successful enrolment was predicated on the effective uptake of delegate actions and devices. Those who failed to accept them were considered outside the network. Who was marginalised from the movement network and how this occurred is an important factor to consider because it is these actors and groups who defined the edges of a

movement as well as the success of enrolment. Yet, this says nothing of those who wanted to participate but did not have access or the means to. For a group that was said to be representative of the '99%', not everyone fit the Occupy model (Berman 2013; Campbell 2011). Thus, when examining the actors and groups that found expression via Occupy Toronto, it is just as important to locate those that did not. A limitation of the moment of interessement and enrolment, and indeed of this thesis, is that the reasons explaining why certain actors did not attach to the movement network is unaccounted for. This is because the research focus was on those that did enrol and the actions taken to stabilise and order the movement network.

6.6.3 Actor-network theory and social movement recruitment

By the end of data collection in October 2012, the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page had received over 16,000 group page 'likes'. This number represents those individuals who logged on to Facebook, came across the Occupy Toronto group page and 'liked' the group. However, this number does not capture all of the individuals who interacted with the online platform—some participated without 'liking' the group page. To put it in perspective, the New York City Occupy Wall Street Facebook group page had over 790,000 'likes'; Occupy Sydney had over 6,000 'likes'; while Occupy London UK had over 127,000 'likes'. As these numbers reflect online enrolment, offline participation varied relative to the event in question. For example, during the 'United for Global Democracy' action in Toronto, D0 indicated that approximately '6000' individuals participated in the march while an estimated '3000' people attended Occupy Toronto's 'first' meeting. OT6 commented when leaving the park on the first day of the occupation that approximately '5000 people' were still in the park while 'about 100 tents' were spread across St. James Park. Toronto based mainstream media outlets suggested a more modest number, with the National Post reporting the number of occupiers between 2,000-3,000 (O'Toole 2011); the Star and the Globe and Mail reported approximately 2,000 occupiers, respectively (Tapper 2011; Mackrael, Kane & Mills 2011). During the May Day 2011 event, D0 indicated that approximately '2000-3000' people marched with the group while 'about 500 people marched to re-occupy'. The Toronto mainstream media outlet CP24, placed the number of activists involved in the May Day event at approximately 1,000 (Benitah & Johnston 2012)[50].

Because of the fluidity of movement participation, it was difficult to account for each actor that comprised the Occupy Toronto movement network. One reason was because occupiers exemplified their allegiance in different ways. For example, some occupiers participated by

[50] In Chapter Seven, an account of how different internal and external sources ordered the representations of Occupy Toronto is discussed. For now, it is important to know that depending on the source of action Occupy Toronto was represented in different ways.

attending St. James Park while others interacted mostly through online platforms. Occupiers did not share the same method of engagement or level of motivation—the configuration of Occupy Toronto was as varied as the occupiers that comprised it. It can be inferred by the enrolment numbers listed above that the online platform over time enjoyed greater amounts of participation than the offline site. This may be because the online platform was easier to connect with as long as one had access to the Internet and Facebook. Further, the lack of offline participation could be a result of the fact that it was much harder for delegates to entice occupiers to participate in the movement after occupiers were evicted from St. James Park in November 2012 (see Chapter Seven). The value offered by online platforms for recruitment is that they provide for movement network connection, organisation and communication. With regard to Occupy Toronto, without an offline site, online platforms became even more important for the recruitment of occupiers and the stabilisation of the movement network.

6.7 Conclusion

Actor-network theory's (ANT) conceptualisation of recruitment addresses how actors and networks co-produce a movement network. This was highlighted by examining the interessement actions and devices employed by delegates. Delegate actions either made potential constituents aware or challenged them to participate in the movement network. Devices of call-outs, notice board, and spreading the word, to list a few, are some examples of how occupiers attached to the movement network.

Delegate interessement actions and devices were grounded in communicative or strategic ends. For example, delegates sought to achieve mutual understanding between participations in order for the movement to stabilise associations. One benefit of the communicative function was that the network came to represent those who participated in it and this in turn served to strengthen the commitment of occupiers to the movement network—if Occupy Toronto was personalisable, occupiers had even more incentive to participate in it because they directed movement outcomes (i.e., General Assembly voting). On the other hand, delegates strategically ordered the movement based on specific ideas of what it meant to be part of the movement network. Strategic devices facilitated the unfolding of the movement network by allowing for the quick turnover of directives—it was virtually impossible to involve the larger group on every Occupy Toronto based decision. There were times when occupiers challenged delegate actions and devices, yet this only served to reinforce the communicative and strategic nature of the network.

In the end, when comparing the moments of interessement and enrolment against previous social

movement recruitment explanations, other than providing a fresh description of how delegates employed different actions and devices to negotiate and settle disruptions, ANT explains as much as NSM's notion of social action. This is because both approaches address the communicative and strategic potential of delegates. The difference lies in ANTs focus on the individualised connection of actors, which may be irrational, and the structuring of the movement network. What this means is that ANT highlighted how each occupier connection must be net-worked in order to enrol. Further, ANT suffers similar limitations as resource mobilisation theory (RMT) in that by tracing the work of delegates, periphery actors are omitted from analysis. Moving forward, it would be sensible to begin an account of movement recruitment by following those that do not participate in a movement. This would provide perspective on the reasons why some actors fail or refuse to enrol. It would also be fruitful to examine the genealogy of delegate actions and devices in order to discern why some actors connect with a movement network while others do not. By doing so, communicative and strategic actions and devices can be situated historically while new forms are identified.

CHAPTER SEVEN: INSCRIBING COLLECTIVE ACTION: TRACING THE MOBILISATION OF THE OCCUPY TORONTO MOVEMENT NETWORK

7.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the process through which actors mobilised a movement network across online-offline platforms and how mobilised outcomes were ordered by internal and external entities. The aim of this chapter is to reveal the mobilisation potential of a movement network through an exploration of Occupy Toronto. Actor-network theory's (ANT) moment of network mobilisation is applied to trace the mobilisation of different segments of the movement network, the vehicles used to mediate and displace voices and the inscriptions made. How delegates and external entities, such as the public order police, ordered movement representations is explored. Factors contributing to the destabilisation of Occupy Toronto are also outlined. This chapter ends with a discussion of the implications of network mobilisation for social movement research and the value-added by ANT's moment of mobilisation.

7.1 Mobilising movement network resources

As discussed in Chapter Two, resource mobilisation theory (RMT) concerns itself with how movements mobilise resources in order to meet movement aims. It considers movement actors to be rational and self-interested maximizers (see, for example, Martin 2015, pp. 35-40) who mobilise resources in different structural contexts. Accordingly, actors who participate in collective action bring with them resources—both material and immaterial—and these resources are used to exploit institutional opportunities. The organisation, management and exploitation of resources are important factors for explaining how social movement organisations (SMO) mobilise.

RMT considers the SMO and its entrepreneurs as prominent figures in the mobilisation process. This is because SMOs operate in formal and professional settings through which resources are competed for (McCarthy & Zald 2002). When applying this outlook to Occupy Toronto, it was argued in Chapter Four that because delegates occupied roles within decentralised committees and groups, the ordering of resources was dispersed horizontally throughout the movement network instead of being centrally located. As a result, the extent to which formal organisations or entrepreneurs were present in Occupy Toronto matter less than a strong action frame and controversy when mobilising resources (i.e., occupiers).

7.1.1 Connective mobilisation

The connective logic of collective action tracks a shift in protest techniques and configurations—from dependence on strong group membership in civic and political organisations to highly

digitised and personalised networks. The connective action perspective is premised on the aggregation of individualised concerns to mobilise a collective. Communicative and shared action between constituents serves to lubricate the flow of meaning and action. This outlook differs from accounts that regard movement mobilisation as a result of a formal movement organisation where central coordination is required.

Connective action offers an understanding of the individual role played by actors when mobilising collective action. In this sense, actors mobilise relations via personalised connections that are mutable, flexible and dispersed across social networks. For Bennett and Segerberg (2012), connective action involves individual connectivity through horizontal networks that require little coordination because of the individualised and informal nature of social relations. Although Bennett and Segerberg (2012) illustrate how movement actors connect and mobilise via online and offline sites, the logic of connective action fails to account for the interplay between face-to-face and digital interaction; that is, the different ways actors actually engage the network for collective action purposes. This chapter builds on accounts that address how movement network mobilisation is co-produced through the connective interplay between online-offline platforms. This is done by providing an understanding of how hybrids net-work the mobilisation of a movement network.

7.1.2 Heterogeneous networks of hybrid relations

In Chapter Three, actor-network theory's (ANT) method of network translation was outlined. Individual reality was addressed as an outcome of the co-production of heterogeneous networks of hybrid relations that are enacted over temporal and spatial locations and include material and immaterial objects (Callon & Law 1997). Individuals were defined as actants in the sense that they are individual and collective as well as the source of action (Latour 2005b). This conception of the actor fits well with social movement studies that employ the logic of connective action for explaining network actions such as movement mobilisation. This is because ANT takes into consideration 'all things' that connect and order an actor-network (Latour 2005a). Hence a connective hybrid refers to entities that are both individual-collective and located across online-offline platforms. Where connective theory fails, ANT sets itself apart; this is because it promotes an actor ontology that is enacted not only by connections but by various associations that mediate relations. Rather than considering reality in dualistic terms as a result of the emergent features of individual action or due to circulating structures, reality is co-productive by the enactments of relatively positioned entities. Actors create networks while at the same time are networks in themselves.

Turning to the question of how are movement networks mobilised, ANT asserts that as actors enact their realities other actors 'speak' for them by representing them through different mobilisation processes. Specifically, 'speakers' displace the chains of (inter)mediaries into other realms thus representing a movement network. According to Callon (1986a, p. 216):

'These chains of intermediaries which result in a sole and ultimate spokesman can be described as the progressive mobilization of actors who render the following propositions credible and indisputable by forming alliances and acting as a unit of force'.

Hence, as actors establish themselves as the primary spokespersons (delegates) of a movement network they also represent constituent voices. This is done by displacing voices via network mediators that carry entities to a point of inscription (i.e., different network outcomes). In this sense, '[t]o mobilize, as the word indicates, is to render entities mobile which were not so beforehand' (Callon 1986a, p. 216). What acts of refusal are made by entities that lead to network destabilisation is important to consider since it is at this point where movement networks cease to exist. This understanding of movement network mobilisation highlights the links of (inter)mediaries that co-produce a speaker and their network.

7.2 The mobilisation of Occupy Toronto

Occupiers were channelled into the Occupy Toronto movement network via different obligatory passage points—whether offline through St. James Park or online through Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page. The multiple and overlapping platforms of Occupy Toronto assisted in the mobilisation of occupiers in everyday movement activities—groups, committees and the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page operated as specific sites that helped mobilise the movement. For example, the Outreach committee worked to encourage involvement in the movement as well as bring the movement to areas outside of St. James Park (D0). Actors who were not part of a specific group or committee had the ability to mobilise the network by participating in General Assemblies. The belief was that 'everyone had a vote on matters, an equal say on how the movement operated' (D2). The individualised nature of General Assembly participation generated a check and balance for Occupy Toronto affairs. For instance, requiring full consensus to pass group proposals made it difficult for other groups to co-opt, homogenise, or dominate the movement. Thus, delegates, occupiers, committees and other mediators comprised the mobilisation potential of Occupy Toronto.

7.2.1 Committees, General Assemblies and the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page

One way delegates and occupiers mobilised the Occupy Toronto movement network was through participation in different committees. Table 3 (below) highlights the main committees and groups of

Occupy Toronto and their respective roles. As it can be seen, different committees and groups comprised the Occupy Toronto movement network and these were expressed through offline and online platforms. For example, the Occupy Toronto Outreach committee regularly posted call-outs and updates on the Facebook group page so that occupiers could join in offline meetings and/or events. As discussed in Chapter Five, the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page was used by delegates and committees to communicate times and dates of different Occupy Toronto activities. Hence, committees served the purpose of mobilising occupiers into different sites—this was done by offering an opportunity to participate in the generation of the mobilisation process (i.e., Outreach committee) or by connecting individuals to upcoming actions (i.e., May Day 2012).

Although committees discussed the possible ways for the movement to unfold, it was occupiers who ultimately mobilised Occupy Toronto. Each committee had its own autonomy in agenda setting—as seen in Chapter Four, some committees and delegates acted without group consensus or knowledge—however, all proposals were communicated and deliberated on by occupiers during the General Assembly. According to OT11, working groups and committees dealt with specific Occupy Toronto issues and tasks while offering 'suggestions and focus points for [the] General Assembly'. Because General Assembly ratification required full consensus, committees were proscribed from dictating outcomes. In this sense, occupiers operated as part of the collective while at the same time as their own speaker. This provided life to a movement of multiple voices. When discussing how movement outcomes were to be generated, OT63 commented that each occupier was 'individually responsible' for the direction of the movement and 'did not require permission' to act while in the movement network. Although the Occupy Toronto movement did have general guidelines, such as the policy of non-violence, it nevertheless was a fluid aggregate of self-determining individuals. D2 underscored this point:

> 'There may be no patent on Occupy, but it's important to be clear who you represent. You can do whatever you want […] To insist that any individual has the right to speak for all of Occupy Toronto, then you are insisting that any individual can dictate to the rest of the people what they believe'.

Table 3 *The committees and working groups of Occupy Toronto*

Committees and Working groups	Role
Action Committee	Planned Occupy Toronto events and actions (direct actions).
Facilitation Committee	Set GA agenda; kept GA order; ensured occupiers had a voice at GAs.
Finance Committee	Maintained incoming and outgoing movement finances (donations etc.); kept log of all transactions and expenses; open to public scrutiny.
Food	Ensured that occupiers (when at the park) were provided/offered food; responsible for preparing daily meals and interacting with the offsite kitchen.
Inter-Committee	Provided internal communications/support by overseeing inter-committee relations.
Legal	Volunteers who offered legal assistance to occupiers.
Logistics	Ensured that other committees had the resources required to conduct their business; helped delegate tasks.
Marshals Committee	Marshals worked to maintain security and safety at the park and during specific actions.
Media Committee	Spoke with reporters at St. James Park; supervised external communications through e-mail, social media, and corporate/independent media relations; liaised with the street team, web team and live-stream.
Medical	Ensured the safety and care of fellow activists during Occupy Toronto actions; enabled others to do the same through training and information.
Outreach Committee	Encouraged involvement in the Occupy Toronto movement through 'Inreach' and 'Outreach' endeavours.
Web Development	Dealt with technical/digital needs; did not deal with content.

Representing the movement was an act of participation and occupiers engaged the Occupy Toronto network according to their own desires. The understanding that occupiers were their own leaders differs considerably from previous social movement formulations such as resource mobilisation theory. In particular, that a movement organisation will dictate the mobilisation of resources and members (Fernandez & McAdam 1988; McAdam 1986). The presence of Occupy Toronto challenges the actor-organisation dichotomy. What is revealed here is a mixture of individually collective occupiers who connected with the movement network in order to mobilise it according to their own preference. Although delegates were instrumental in the ordering and stabilisation of the movement network, it was occupier representations that reflected the mobilisation of Occupy Toronto. However, the mobilisation of a vast network of actors is not always a straightforward process. The extent to which there were differences impacted the mobilisation potential of Occupy Toronto and ultimately its stabilisation (see below).

7.2.2 Network conflicts

As discussed in Chapter Six, settling disruptions was an important task for delegates in order to stabilise the movement network. Further, by exploring how different conflicts were settled, a view of how delegate and occupier enactments led to the unfolding of the movement network into other sites was provided. For example, a point of contention for Occupy Toronto delegates and occupiers was the relative quorum needed during General Assembly meetings (the threshold needed to pass a proposal). The conflict was over whether or not the General Assembly required a minimum number of individuals to be present in order to ratify proposals—ratified proposals began the movement network mobilisation process. Discussions on the subject of quorum took place in General Assemblies over a number of months.

During the December 12th 2011 General Assembly, OT64 commented on the topic of quorum setting, 'if there were less than 30 people at a GA, then it was agreed no proposals could be passed'. OT65 noted that by implementing quorum at 30 it would make it difficult 'for people to further their own agendas'. OT66 recommended that occupiers follow Robert's Rules of Order in order to justify the 30 person threshold[51]. On the other hand, some occupiers believed that a lower quorum would leave the movement better off because it would allow a smaller number of individuals to ratify proposals. For the night of December 12th 2011, it was agreed by occupiers in attendance that the quorum needed to pass proposals at General Assemblies would be set at 30 (D0). OT67 added that with larger numbers at General Assemblies, Occupy Toronto could always 'increase this minimum threshold for quorum'. The process of coming together on an agreement over a perceived conflict highlights how actors co-operatively directed the unfolding of the movement network. In this case, occupiers had the ability to voice their acceptance or block of the proposed quorum modification.

On December 19th 2011, the issue of quorum setting was once again brought to a General Assembly, this time delegates wanted to lower quorum to 25 because General Assembly delegates were finding it difficult to meet the minimum number of 30 participants in order to pass proposals. The proposal to lower quorum to 25 was blocked by other occupiers because it was thought that 'low quorum weakened democracy' (OT36, OT51). It was reiterated that a minimum quorum was established to 'help us come to decisions that represent the movement […] it is set at 30 in observance of average General Assembly turnout' (D0). One occupier in attendance asked, 'what happens if the numbers don't go up?' (OT160). The response from a delegate was, 'then we don't

[51] Robert's Rules of Order is a guide for conducting meetings and making collective decisions, where 5 precent of a group's membership must be in attendance to meet quorum (McConnell 2001).

represent anyone and should not be making decisions' (DO). After a long process of negotiation and debate, on January 16th 2012 the 26 quorum threshold was passed. This signalled a change in the Occupy Toronto standard of decision-making where a lower number of required attendees at General Assembly meetings meant that it would be easier to mobilise proposals and subsequent actions. For OT67, the process of amending the quorum signified the inner conflicts of the group and the process of working together, 'I think this was a really great process of a proposal being worked through over time in order to come to something that everyone could come to agreement on'. According to D0, '[the proposal] went through a really good process. We really came together and compromised'[52].

The General Assembly quorum illustration highlights that rather than avoiding conflicts, occupiers and delegates actively engaged in them in order to mobilise the movement into new domains. For Occupy Toronto, group conflict worked to stimulate mobilisation. This is because some occupiers felt that they had a stake in the outcome of Occupy Toronto and by engaging in conflict they were able to steer the mobilisation of the movement network (OT160). Mobilisation outcomes were as variable as the elements that comprised it. The overcoming of network conflicts illustrated that each occupier had incentive to affect movement mobilisation based on what they believed was necessary (i.e., the potential ban of OT23).

7.2.3 Managing large scale group mobilisation

The approach taken to mobilise a collective of individualised relations required delegates to constantly provide occupiers with updates and feedback on events and actions or a site to mobilise movement related outcomes. For example, General Assemblies offered occupiers a place to accept or contest proposals that were decisive to movement network mobilisation. Occupiers had a vested interest in seeing this process through because General Assembly outcomes established what the movement would mobilise around. General Assemblies operated as a vehicle for mobilising occupiers while at the same time as a device to order movement outcomes.

The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page was also serviced by delegates to order the mobilisation of the movement network. For instance, D0 continuously posted hyperlinks on the group's Facebook group page to direct occupiers to specific social media sites (i.e., Livestream) or offline events (i.e., the activist training weekend). Occupiers responded in their own particular way by participating or not in events. Examples include managing the mobilisation of occupiers through

[52] In March 2012, a proposal was made to reduce full consensus to a 90 percent super majority. After deliberation, a second General Assembly, the Cloud Gardens GA, was created in conjunction with the larger Occupy Toronto General Assembly.

daily updates and call-outs—whether in the form of General Assembly attendance, planning sessions or for the need to revitalise the Outreach committee (D0). The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page served to increase individual mobility as well as manage the movement network. Occupiers did indeed represent themselves while participating in collective action and delegates worked to facilitate individual mobilisation by providing updates and feedback on different mobilisations. Similar to interessement and enrolment devices, delegates communicated and instrumentalised network mobilisation in order to transport the movement network.

By considering network mobilisation as contingent upon the actors who co-produced it enables an understanding of how informal and aggregate elements transport network associations. Occupy Toronto rules and policies established by delegates in different committees and groups did play a role in configuring action, however occupiers revised the codes that constituted the movement network through their own contribution in it. This is because occupiers participated on their own terms (i.e., in General Assemblies). The vehicles used to displace and mediate voices are important to consider because they affected the ordering and management of mobilised outcomes.

7.3 The vehicles of displacement

In order to mobilise, actors required vehicles of transportation. The modes of travel that mediated relations revealed the dimensions of the Occupy Toronto movement network. Two primary means of travel were employed by occupiers. These were the vehicles of social media and the Internet and the General Assembly. How these vehicles mediated end results is important to consider for it is these mediators that lubricated the mobilisation of Occupy Toronto.

7.3.1 Social Media and the Internet

Social media and the Internet were used to mobilise the Occupy Toronto network[53]. Not only did Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page manage relations (see Chapter Four), it also facilitated the mobilisation of actors from online to offline sites. For example, D0 posted on Facebook a call-out for an offline action in October 2012:

> 'In the wake of the terrible destruction of the People's Pea Garden we will converge on Monday October 1st to tell folks at City Hall that no garden is illegal and to demonstrate for the right to food. Join us at 12 noon on Monday! We are planting a free community food garden in front of City Hall – bring as much or as little soil as you can, it all adds up'.

Further, social media and the Internet were also used as a mobilisation vehicle to uploaded pictures from offline sites to the Facebook group page. For instance, D0 uploaded a picture of the

[53] Social media has also been used to mobilise the Invisible Children's Kony 2012 campaign (Chazal & Pocrnic 2016); segments of the Arab Spring (Poell et al. 2016) and Spain's Indignados (Castells 2012), among others.

destruction of the Occupy garden in Queen's Park along with a request to participate in a rally in front of Toronto City Hall as a response to the uprooting of the garden (see Figure 8 below):

Figure 8 *Delegate upload of the destruction of the Occupy garden in Queen's Park*

In addition to using social media and the Internet to mobilise from online to offline and offline to online sites, occupiers also used it to mobilise Occupy Toronto from online to online platforms. For example, in response to the uprooting of the Occupy garden, some occupiers employed the Internet to transport occupier opinions to those considered responsible for the destruction of the garden. For example, OT71 directly emailed the City of Toronto Parks Director Richard Rubbens:

> 'Dear Mr. Rubbens,
> Apparently you've had all of the Peas Garden plants removed from Queens Park: did you throw them in the garbage? Why not turn them over to the soup kitchens of your metropolis? If you threw the vegetables out, it looks like a fit of Directorial pique. The poor exist you know, and fresh produce isn't often on their menu.
>
> Sincerely, OT71,
> A Big Vegetable Booster'

Social media and the Internet were employed to mobilise Occupy Toronto, first, by passing along information on prospective mobilisation opportunities, and second, by offering a conduit to mobilise into other realms. In the case of Occupy Toronto, mobilisation occurred via 'many-to-many' links rather than through the traditional one-to-many format characteristic of centralised and

formal organisations[54]. By connecting with the network and employing different platforms, occupiers mobilised their part of the movement network as it suited them. Occupiers mobilised their connection point to represent their participation in the Occupy Toronto movement network.

The influence of mainstream media (MSM) frames on public opinion has long been recognised (Becker 1967; Benford & Snow 2000). For instance, media frames typically operate to prefigure events, sites or people for public consumption (Cavanagh & Dennis 2012). This aspect of MSM was not lost on Occupy Toronto mobilisation efforts. For example, during the first months of the occupation of St. James Park, it was perceived by some occupiers that MSM news stories often times neglected or ignored the 'message' of the group or characterised occupiers as deviant or unorganised, 'can you see the media slant' said D0, 'our representatives got a solid 15 seconds of conversation time, mentioning drumming, and bands, but we all know it's going to be more than that!'. OT75 added, 'it's amazing how thoroughly the mainstream media is ignoring all of the protests against banks imposed austerity'. For OT76, there are 'mass protests worldwide [and they are] not being reported by the "lame-stream" media'. OT74 commented:

> 'I've been watching coverage of occupies across the USA and the media seems to seek out the violent, stoned, or otherwise innocently ignorant participants in hopes of conveying this movement as nothing more than a bunch of silly kids who want a free ride'.

In this sense, because of the perceived failure of MSM frames to properly depict the Occupy movement, delegates and occupiers mobilised social media to provide alternative accounts of the movement, 'if it weren't for Facebook' asserted OT73, 'who would know about actions except the folks that attend them?'. Alternative news article links were posted on the Facebook group page in order to provide what was considered more reliable news on Occupy Toronto and other movements (DO). Indeed, social media provided a means for informing and mobilising occupiers beyond what was offered by the MSM. Although the MSM did report on Occupy Toronto activities, it nevertheless was perceived to skew toward traditional frames that reinforced pro-establishment or anti-Occupy narratives.

7.3.2 General Assemblies

General Assemblies operated as one of the principle vehicles for mobilising Occupy Toronto. By participating in General Assemblies, occupiers were not only interested to the site—signalling

[54] The 'one-to-many' form of mediated communication is characteristic of mass communication where a central distributor communicates with its audience. The recipient is considered to passively consume communicated information. However, as discussed in Chapter Two, with the rise of web 2.0 social media, modern forms of communication (and mobilisation) are considered to be 'one-to-one' or 'many-to-many' where users have the ability to transform and modify content (Livingstone 2004).

mobilisation in itself—but decided on future movement related actions. For example, how Occupy Toronto would participate in events—from May Day to the Autumn Jam—was discussed in General Assemblies. Hence, the General Assembly contributed to the mobilisation of Occupy Toronto via its ability to aggregate occupiers in order to decide on and take movement related action.

The embodiment of General Assembly mobilisation was ultimately manifested in Occupy Toronto direct actions. For example, the December 2011 Occupy Toronto potluck and toy drive at Nathan Phillips Square was communicated in General Assemblies. In June 2012, the participation of Occupy Toronto in the City of Toronto's pride march was discussed during a Cloud Gardens' General Assembly. In September 2012, brainstorming for the Autumn Jam, a celebration of the harvest of the Occupy Toronto garden was worked on through a number of General Assemblies. Thus, whether it was the 2012 Budget or the May Day 2012 protests, Occupy Toronto direct actions were the end result of a mobilisation process that started with General Assembly discussions which involved delegates, occupiers, committees and working groups. Hence, General Assemblies served as a site to collate and transport the voices of Occupy Toronto.

7.3.3 A series of mediations

Transportation does not happen without some form of mediation; something is always lost or gained in the process[55]. According to Latour (2005b, p. 39), mediators 'transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry'. Mediators helped mobilise the movement network while at the same time signify its nature; without mediators the network failed to exist. Everything included in the Occupy Toronto movement network was considered a mediator. This is because they signified the content and structure of Occupy Toronto and the associated meanings of delegates, occupiers and the public. From tents to online pictures, mediators had the task of net-working the parameters of the Occupy Toronto movement as well as mobilising representations into other sites. The circulation of mediators ordered the boundaries of the movement network. This is important to consider since the mobilisation potential of Occupy Toronto was located in the meanings that were reproduced, which carry implications for what it was capable of achieving.

[55] According to actor-network theory there are two ways in which objects carry meaning, either through intermediaries or mediators. The former translates actors without distortion while the latter affects the output enough that it cannot be considered as its input (Latour 2005b).

D0's posted call-out on Occupy Toronto's Facebook page, asking for assistance during the first few days of the St. James encampment, is a good example of how mediators mobilised and signified the network:

> 'Gas for our generator is currently costing approximately $45 a day. Your support and donations have made it possible for us to report while occupying. Please continue to show your support. Those who are not attending and wish to show support for the entire Occupy Movement, hang a white flag that says Occupy Together on your balcony, porch, car, anywhere it can be seen that you stand in solidarity remotely'.

As can be seen, the passage is filled with a number of mediators. First, Occupy Toronto mobilised their physical need, from St. James Park to an online audience, and this was mediated by the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page. The content of the call-out reached a wider audience but the daily tasks of operating it was left at the offline site: how the generator was acquired, who operated it, where petrol was procured from and where the generator resided were all absent from the call-out. The association made between generator and audience members was simple, 'if you supported the movement then you should continue to donate; your contributions will help us run the generator' (D0). Second, the fuel needed to operate the generator is also a mediator in that it translated the energy of the generator into power for other devices (such as computers, mobile phones, and other electronics). Here, the value of fuel was manifested in the mobilising of actors and devices—the more mediators that were stimulated by it, the greater the possibility for other mobilisations to occur.

Lastly, if one could not donate funds, occupiers were asked to 'show support' by placing a white flag with the inscription 'Occupy Together' on balconies, porches and cars (D0). The act was meant to signal a show of solidarity with the movement. However, mobilised outcomes (Occupy Together) simplified the breadth and scope of the movement network. To what extent did individuals support the movement beyond producing signage? Are all flag bears equally motivated or were some more interested in the movement than others? These questions highlight the variable features of mediators. This is because mediators unfold a movement network depending on their own place within it. For some, hanging a flag suggested a show of support, for others, it signified active participation.

As occupiers were mobilised through different mediations, their associations with mediators signalled their place within the network—their position relative to others was revealed by the mediators that were employed. Other occupiers within the network were able to challenge mediated mobilisation outcomes. This resulted in a need for mediators to be justified prior to being accepted

as suitable transportation devices. For example, when Occupy Oakland announced a callout on social media platforms for a united North American mobilisation on May 1st 2012, Occupy Toronto indicated on its Facebook group page that they would support them. However, much debate over Occupy Toronto's support for the Occupy Oakland initiative ensued:

> 'In the call-out for the solidarity rally last night you stated "Occupy Toronto stands with the peaceful protesters of Occupy Oakland who have been suffering police violence and repression". Did the GA approve this statement? Was there an outreach or action meeting where this statement was approved? Such statements must come from the Occupy Toronto General Assembly'. (OT78)

OT78's comment on the 'support Occupy Oakland' comment thread addressed how a movement's mobilisation outcome may be challenged. In this case, questioning the authenticity of D0's call-out by inquiring into the General Assembly decision-making process, OT78 challenged the delegate chain of mediators that lead to the mobilisation of supporting Occupy Oakland. As delegates deployed the network via mediators, other occupiers were able to contest the mediators that supported delegate mobilisation. The questioning of delegate actions not only tested the validity and legitimacy of claims made but signalled what was at stake in the mobilisation process. Latour (1987) compares this process of verification to 'travelling upstream' and opening up 'black-boxes'. As highlighted, delegates mobilised the network via mediators, while at the same time occupiers were able to 'open up' and challenge them based on their own mobilisation process—alternative mediators were used to challenge Occupy Toronto mobilisation outcomes.

Accepting the idea that mediators facilitated the mobility of a social movement over successive iterations provides an analytic advantage over previous social movement approaches. By tracing mediators and their effects, a sense of the combination of elements that produced movement outcomes (inscriptions) was provided. Resource mobilisation theory (RMT) accounts for the process of mobilisation as an outcome of the exploitation of resources by a social movement organisation (SMO). If successful, they will increase the number of members in a movement as well as the stock of resources available for exploitation. In this case, different technologies are used to achieve particular aims. For example, protest technologies include the range of activities mobilised at sites of contest whether they be peaceful, legal and/or illegal activities (McCarthy & Zald 2002, p. 537). Technologies of protest mobilisation provide insight into where resources are drawn from; however, little is explained by RMT in the production of mobilisation. Thinking about mobilisation as a perpetual process of mediation improves understanding of the interplay between movement network elements and their effects. It is one thing to suggest that the supply of movement labour will affect the mobilisation outcome of a movement organisation; it is another thing to suggest that the mediators that facilitate labour in itself require justification and acceptance by the actor

providing it before any mobilisation process can occur. By tracing the mobilisation of network relations, the ambit of entities that mediate the process of justification is revealed.

7.4 The inscriptions of Occupy Toronto

As mediators transported the Occupy Toronto movement network, different occupiers inscribed mobility outcomes across offline-online sites. With reference to movement inscriptions, Law (2004) defines inscription devices as:

> 'A system (often including, though not reducible to, a machine) for producing inscriptions, or traces, out of materials that take other forms […] For instance, an inscription device might start out with rats. These would be sacrificed to produce extracts which would be placed in small test tubes. Then those test tubes would be placed in a machine, for instance a radiation detector, which would convert them into an array of figures or inscriptions on a sheet of paper. These inscriptions would be said – or assumed – to have a direct relation to 'the original substance'. (Law 2004, p. 20)

Inscriptions are the end points of a mobilisation process that represent the movement network across different sites. They are also the beginning point of contact for sceptics. The vantage point depends on whether the actor is travelling upstream or downstream to open up or close off uncertainties. In this sense, it is important to understand how movement network inscriptions are inscribed and how certain groups attempt to order them. Based on the process of inscription and ordering, representations are either maintained or distorted.

7.4.1 Occupy May Day 2012

The May Day 2012 action was mobilised by Occupy Toronto and other Toronto groups such as No One is Illegal, the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP), Stop the Cuts, and the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL), to name a few. Taking stock of the field, D0 posted on Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page:

> 'On International Workers Day, the May 1st Movement, join us and dozens of community groups in the city for a rally and march. Everyone who really supports this movement, and wants to see a big rally on May Day, go to the event page and invite as many friends as you can'.

The dynamics involved in the mobilisation of May Day is lost or blurred when simply considering what was inscribed on Facebook, in the mainstream media (MSM), or at protest sites such as Nathan Phillips Square. The negotiation and planning between groups, the objects enrolled and the different platforms used are 'black-boxed' when mobilisation inscriptions become representations. Further, inscriptions are ordered (challenged) by the intentions of the receiving actor (mediator). For instance, the MSM ordered the inscriptions of the May Day event differently than Occupy Toronto delegates and occupiers. The Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) reported, '[i]n

Toronto, members of the Occupy movement held a rally at Nathan Phillips Square at 11 a.m. Attendance was sparse and about two dozen people performed street theatre' (CBC News 2012e). The Toronto Star, another Toronto based MSM outlet, had the number of protesters at 1,000 (Li 2012). However, most accounts on Occupy Toronto's Facebook group page contradicted MSM reporting, highlighting that between '2,000 to 3,000' individuals participated in the day's events (D0). What these few examples suggest is that depending on the mediator (receiving actor), different inscriptions are produced that in turn represent the movement network in a particular way.

With regard to mobilising May Day 2012, the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page mobilised inscriptions by curating posts and comments. For instance, Facebook was utilised to mark event locations, times, number of protesters and the objects that were present:

'For today's event there will be a 2:00pm Occupy Gardens Potluck, Queens Park, South Side; 4:00pm Mass Rally at Nathan Phillips Square; 6:00pm March and Cultural Event at Alexandra Park; 9:00pm ReOccupation of Simcoe Park; and 11:00pm Sunrise Film Screenings'. (D0)

The inscriptions of May Day 2012 served as a point of reference for the movement and public. Hence, inscriptions not only offered a point of reference to the 'original substance' (Law 2004), they also ordered the narrative of the movement network. This was seen by the difference in MSM and Occupy Toronto reporting of May Day attendance.

How inscriptions were ordered and by whom is an important aspect to consider. This is because what is prescribed will serve as a reference point for future actions. For example, protest mobilisations (inscriptions) are open to challenge by the public order police. The public order police response to protest provides a glimpse into how perceived transgressions are ordered; either at the point of inscription or when referenced by other actors. With regard to circulating references, inscriptions from previous events influence subsequent operational efforts. Further, police communication with the community, typically done through the MSM or via their own social media platforms (Twitter and Facebook), inscribe protesters and their actions in particular ways (Rosie & Gorringe 2009). Hence, police work to order protest inscriptions at the site of contest as well as the event narrative for public audiences (see below).

7.4.2 Occupy the budget

In association with other organisations and groups such as Stop the Cuts and Respect Toronto, Occupy Toronto planned a rally and re-encampment of City Hall during the Toronto City budget in January 2012. The motivation to mobilise action against the budget was attributed to possible

funding cuts to 'core city services' (D0). Delegates and occupiers mediated the mobilisation process by communicating the event and offering resources for mobilisation. For example, OT153 commented on the 'Occupy the budget' thread, 'there has been a bus arranged in the west end to attend this evenings rally [email if you want to be picked-up]'. Other occupiers asked for assistance, 'please help friends! Does anyone have a tent and/or sleeping bag(s) that you will lend for Occupy the budget?!' The day before the planned action D0 posted:

> 'Are you ready to occupy the budget? Tomorrow at noon we will begin to set up our tents in Nathan Phillips Square! Please bundle up like never before and bring mats/ cardboard to act as insulation from the cold concrete underneath your sleeping bag! We will greatly appreciate any donations to keep our occupiers warm and well-fed! See you tomorrow!'.

The Occupy Toronto Facebook group page, as well as General Assembly meetings, organised the mobilisation of the Occupy Toronto budget action. The culmination of tents and occupiers at Nathan Phillips Square served as inscriptions that reflected the mobilisation process. For example, according to MSM reports, the number of protesters who attended the rally included 'more than 100 demonstrators' (Hopper & Annable 2012), where 'several hundred people gathered' (CBC NEWS 2012d). Occupy Toronto, along with alternative media, suggested that the number of protesters was approximately 2,000 people (Saunders 2012). As it can be seen, occupier inscriptions and their representations were ordered differently depending on the receiving mediator. With regard to how inscriptions were represented and ordered, at both the May Day 2012 and Occupy the Budget events, MSM downplayed the number of mobilised occupiers. Following Rosie and Gorringe (2009), MSM will typically inscribe protesters in a negative light while providing positive frames toward the police and order keeping. Omitted is an account of the cause for protest as well as the actors that comprised it. It is only after the event has concluded that favourable inscriptions of the protesters will be presented (Rosie & Gorringe 2009). However, by this point the protests have concluded and the chance to identify with or support protesters has passed.

The way public order police interacted with the inscriptions of Occupy Toronto during the budget protests provides an illustration of how Occupy Toronto mobilisation was externally ordered. As discussed in Chapter Two, current public order policing strives to strategically incapacitate protesters before public disruptions occur. This is done by gathering and using intelligence on protesters, less-than-lethal tactics and demarcating sites of protest. The current public order policing approach of intelligence and spatial control was observed during the Occupy Toronto budget rally. For example, there were reports on the Facebook group page that police had used pepper-spray on protesters (D0). OT20 posted, 'I personally saw someone get treated for pepper spray […] The

police seemed to pick some of the more aggressive protesters, as well as those not directly involved…'. The next day, OT155 commented on the 'post-occupy the budget' thread:

> 'So last night I attended the Budget cuts rally at City Hall, taking pictures [for alternative media], and got pepper sprayed after trying to get a shot of a cop (who was pepper spraying people in the crowd). I was a good 8-10 feet away from him, and wasn't doing anything to warrant the attack. I'm going to be heading to 52 division to register a formal complaint'.

Another tactic utilised by police to order the budget protest was to control the movement of Occupy Toronto and protester inscriptions (i.e., occupiers and their representations). In this case, police employed no-go zones to proscribe protester mobilisation. For instance, during the budget rally, police used barricades and officers to cordon and delimit spatial access to the site. Most occupiers were prevented from entering the building where discussion on the budget was held, and those already inside where prevented from exiting. As OT153 highlighted:

> 'When I originally entered the building with my family in tow-we were able to do so freely. I opened my purse in case the security officer felt I had something concerning in there, but he didn't take any notice of us. It was the same with everyone else entering at that time. The lobby and hallways were not crowded; people were able to move easily/freely. There was nothing to suggest acts of civil disobedience. In fact, people were using a soft whisper when talking amongst their groups. When we were informed that there was a police barricade-people quickly moved towards the doors to see what was happening and offer their support. We witnessed the back-end of the brutality, as there was nothing but a couple of pieces of glass between us and the police who had formed a blockade across the front of city hall. It all seemed out of place and insane from where we sat. I have been to many rallies, meetings, St. James park gatherings/ eviction days etc. and have yet to see anything like this. It was difficult for any of us inside to understand what the hell was going on because people clearly just wanted to enter the building to do as we were doing. It wasn't an unusual new wave of people trying to "storm" the building. It was the same bunch that I left behind when I entered the building. The same passionate, frustrated, peaceful bunch that were there when I arrived […] We narrowly escape through a bunch of locked hallways and out a back door before the building was officially "locked down" thanks to the plain clothed man who had the authority to do so. As we were leaving, there were many officers rushing around the back of the building, so we knew that a lockdown was about to happen and we were able to get out of there just in time'.

As delegate prescriptions were challenged by occupiers at different moments throughout the translation of the movement network, so too were protest actions by public order police. Indeed, Occupy Toronto inscriptions not only experienced a varied and unpredictable journey to a point of manifestation but once present they also faced challenge by those who required justification for their existence (i.e., MSM and Toronto City police). As realties are co-constructed by inscriptions (Law 2004, p. 21), the policing of the budget protest was one element that comprised the Occupy Toronto budget protest actor-network. The understanding of the interplay between those who represented inscriptions and those who ordered them addresses how mobilisation outcomes are a process of continual presences. For example, once the mobilisation of occupiers at the budget was ordered by police practices (i.e., less-than-lethal force, spatial control), a small group of occupiers

began a march to the 52nd Toronto police service department in order to protest the arresting of four individuals at the budget protest. With the subsequent march to the 52nd division, the ensuing mobilisation of the movement network produced further inscriptions and ordering effects. Hence, inscriptions offer a way for identifying mobility processes and outcomes. In the case of Occupy Toronto, what was realised was that mediators produced a range of outcomes. Although not part of the present research, by exploring additional sets of mediators found throughout other actor-networks that were associated with Occupy Toronto (i.e., the 52nd Toronto police service department actor-network), would provide a broader account Occupy Toronto's mobility potential as well as the external ordering mechanisms present across different platforms. In any event, what the notion of mediators for movement network mobilisation suggests is that ends are not given; rather it is the interplay of mediators that lead to unpredictable inscriptions and representations.

7.5 Network destabilisation

To fully address the relevance of actor-network theory's (ANT) moment of mobilisation, this section evaluates ANT's notion of 'treason'—when actors refuse to net-work the network. According to Callon (1986a, p. 220), '[n]ot only does the state of beliefs fluctuate with a controversy but the identity and characteristics of the implicated actors change as well'. As the connection and stabilisation of actors fluctuate, delegates must enlist further actions and devices to re-align the network (see Chapter Six). If delegates fail to maintain network associations, occupiers may begin to 'betray' and destabilise the network by their withdrawal from it (Callon 1986b). This phase of the mobilisation process is important when considering the destabilisation of collective action. For Occupy Toronto, the destabilisation of the movement network was facilitated by the mechanisms of difference of opinion and loss of relevance. Because delegates had to rely on the online platform to organise and mobilise occupiers once they were evicted from St. James Park, network destabilisation was also facilitated by a 'slacktivist' culture.

7.5.1 The mechanism of difference of opinion

One of the main points of difference experienced by the Occupy Toronto movement was its refusal to list a specific set of demands. As discussed in Chapter Four, one reason not to produce a list of demands was because it offered the potential to capture more allies (D0). However, by not doing so it alienated some individuals from the movement network. For instance, many occupiers felt that without a specific set of demands the movement was nothing more than an incoherent collective of individuals 'that lacked focused' (OT159). This inevitability led to the refusal by some occupiers to continue with the movement. For example, OT84 commented:

> ‘The problem is, as is typically the case with "movements" like this, that you're trying to protest an omnibus cause. Pick one thing and stick to it. If you're going to protest the fractional reserve system, then focus on that and don't muddy up your point with other things. Additionally, your cause is already dead in the water because you've simply said "we're going to 'occupy' something". So what? What exactly are you "occupying" and why?’.

OT85 took exception of the lack of a unified direction and the perceived ineffectiveness of occupiers at St. James Park:

> ‘You are camping! The majority of St. James Park is doing nothing; you're sitting in your tents and smoking f@#%*&! weed. Every time I walk through the camp all I smell is weed. There's alcohol on the grounds. Your marches are sparse and meandering pointless nonsense. If I'm not feeling very supportive of your tent city, I can't imagine who could still be’.

OT94 felt that by including a diversity of individual concerns, Occupy Toronto’s membership would decline:

> ‘Your job is to gain public understanding and attract a multitude of members who will aid you in your cause to the point of becoming a player in the political field (note the Quebec students). When you adopt numerous other causes, you alienate many of your own members and weaken your cause’.

The above examples highlight that some occupiers felt that the movement was ‘weakening its cause’ by including too much difference (OT94). When movement differences became too onerous to accept, some occupiers refused to participate in the movement (OT23). In this case, movements fail to translate because network mediators fail to transport entities. One way this was evidenced in Occupy Toronto was when delegates failed to temper disruptions because of disagreements between occupiers. When delegates were unsuccessful in settling issues and when the effort that was required for the re-alignment of the network was absent, the collective ceased mobilising that part of the network (i.e., issuing a list of demands). On the other hand, when differences did exist and energy was spent on stabilising variances—by employing additional mediators—the network avoided deterioration (i.e., safe-space policy).

7.5.2 The mechanism of loss of relevance

Another factor that led to the destabilisation of Occupy Toronto was when the movement experienced a perceived loss of relevance. Without a sense of relevance, occupiers found it difficult to continue and/or maintain their attachment with the movement network. For example, the eviction of occupiers from St. James Park and the concomitant loss of Occupy Toronto’s offline platform led some occupiers to feel that Occupy Toronto had lost its significance and standing in the Occupy Toronto community (OT87). Without its central offline platform, Occupy Toronto was left with only its social media platforms to interest and mobilise network associations. Delegates and occupiers attempted to overcome this shortcoming by holding General Assemblies and other events

at Ryerson University; the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) at the University of Toronto; Nathan Phillips Square; and local coffee shops such as Tim Hortons. Although these ad-hoc sites served the interests of Occupy Toronto, without a central offline site to meet face-to-face it was difficult to project a level of consistency. For OT87, the loss of St. James Park meant that there were, 'not many people attending the General Assembly; things look worse than before because we do not have a community like before'. D0 commented, 'the reality is we're not at St. James Park anymore; the General Assembly worked when we were there, we need to evolve'. Another occupier noted, 'it's hard to have 30 [people] now show up at GAs, but in October at the park we had a rotation of 1000' (OT160). Without an offline site to welcome individuals, it became difficult for delegates to demonstrate movement network relevance (D2). This outlook follows Graeber's analysis of the factors that led to the belief that Occupy New York City and its General Assembly was 'collapsing':

> '[M]aintaining a public space like Zuccotti Park was full of problems and by the end many organizers actually said they were a bit relieved that they no longer had to spend all their time worrying about the equivalent of zoning issues, and could start concentrating on planning direct actions and real political campaigns. They soon discovered that without a single center, one where anyone interested in the movement knew they could go at any time to get involved, express support, or just find out what was happening, this became much more difficult to do'. (Graeber 2013, p. 137)

Once occupiers were evicted from St. James Park, social media became all the more vital for delegates to offset the imbalance of losing its offline site. Social media was leveraged in order to disseminate information, maintain movement network interest and display movement relevance. However, as time went on, delegates found it difficult to translate actors beyond the online realm. Without a designated space for face-to-face interaction fewer occupiers participated in Occupy Toronto actions, and in turn, lower numbers of occupiers were mobilised. Network attrition as a loss of relevance speaks to the need of having a central offline space for collective action as well as the weaknesses of relying on social media alone to overcome a loss of message or relevance.

7.5.3 The slacktivism of Occupy Toronto

Slacktivism is a term used to denote 'low-risk' and 'low-cost' activism via social media (Van Laer & Van Aelst 2010). Following Morozov (2009), slacktivism elicits a feeling of accomplishment and self-gratification when clicking a 'like' button on Facebook or sharing a campaign status update on social media. Here, slacktivism provides a feel good and superficial embrace of activism. Because ANT is focused on tracing personalised enactments, its moment of mobilisation accounts for why some actors may not engage in collective action beyond nominal efforts. This is because ANT traces the interests, desires and performances of each entity relative to other entities within the movement network. With regard to Occupy Toronto, slacktivism was evidenced when occupiers

offered support and solidarity through social media (receiving a sense of self-gratification) without actually having to join in General Assemblies or other direct actions. These occupiers felt that social media participation was enough to satisfy their own desire for activism (D0). For example, instead of participating in direct actions, occupiers displayed their support by 'liking' and 'sharing' messages via social media. In January 2012, when occupiers were told by city officials to remove their tents from Toronto City Hall, occupiers who were not present commented on Facebook, 'keep up the good work' (OT89); 'stay safe' (OT90); 'sending love and protective energy, wish I could be down there with you' (OT91); 'What's happening?' (OT92). The 'removal of tents from City Hall' thread revealed that social media was helpful in the sense that it enabled communicative action between occupiers; however it failed to stimulate participation in offline contexts. The relative number of occupiers who were part of the tent event was far smaller than the number of occupiers providing support via Facebook. Similar to delegate efforts in the interessement and enrolment of actors (Chapter Six), the circulation of actions and devices were not enough to stimulate non-superficial forms of participation and this had the effect of limiting or destabilising segments of the Occupy Toronto movement network. Further, without the St. James Park platform to maintain coherence or aggregate individuals, some occupiers were not interested in overcoming a difference of opinion or loss of relevance. Instead, occupiers simply posted online content in order to satisfy their desire for activism.

When occupiers commented, shared or 'liked' content on Facebook, their actions reinforced superficial and low-threshold behaviour. The practice and content of communication served to express user opinions and support for the movement rather than develop deeper forms of engagement. In this sense, occupiers circumvented the difficult and dangerous aspects associated with offline movement mobilisation (i.e., challenging police oppression or occupying St. James Park). This is not to say that all activism has to be dangerous or challenging, nor does all social media activism result in superficial forms of participation. However, in order to stop the eviction of occupiers from St. James Park, more than a 'like' or 'share' on a Facebook group page was needed. What is required is a convergence of both online and offline actions in an attempt to bolster movement network mobilisation. What was seen is that during the moment of movement network mobilisation (and treason), Occupy Toronto and its Facebook group page enabled slacktivism. This was because of its relaxed and informal mode of engagement, coupled with the logic of individualised connective action. In this case, some occupiers worked to communicate their Facebook profile rather than contribute to Occupy Toronto in ways that would have sustained the movement. Following Tsaliki (2010), who investigated the role of social media during the 2008 wildfire protests in Greece, social media and associated technologies played a role in the

mobilisation process of a movement (protest), however there was a need for online and offline convergence in order to sustain movement mobilisation.

Because of the slacktivist disposition exemplified by some occupiers, the effort required to mobilise the network beyond the park was simply not there. Although social media served to aggregate entities, without an offline site to induce participation mobilisation ceased to reach its potential. As a result, the fragility of hybrid social movements was realised—deprived of an offline site, occupiers easily refused to mobilise due to a lack of mediators. When occupiers showed up in numbers to contest former Mayor Rob Ford's austerity budget in 2012, OT62 highlighted the online-offline dialectic:

> 'I guess lately, the only right I've taken back is the right to make an actual attempt at challenging the status quo. That and the right to be more that an Internet activist who spends their time shooting down other people's ideas and telling people they need to get with the apathetic and cowardly program. Nice use of brain: telling other people they will never make a difference. Tonight you can lay head to pillow knowing you are doing good for the world'.

The slacktivist disposition did reach Occupy Toronto. However, by converging online and offline platforms, occupiers mobilised the Occupy Toronto movement network beyond feel good or superficial inscriptions. The hybrid actions of occupiers during the 2012 Toronto budget are just one example. However, by not engaging matters beyond the online platform certain types of change were simply not possible and as a result that part of the network ceased to mediate occupier relations.

7.6 Conclusion

Actor-network theory's (ANT) moment of network mobilisation offers insight into individual movement mobility where leading organisations or entrepreneurs are absent. This is because attention is directed on the mediators that converge at different times in order to mobilise the movement network. With regard to Occupy Toronto, the moment of mobilisation traced how occupiers inscribed hybrid networks through the interplay of mediators. Movement network mobilisation addressed the process of movement net-work, where movement mobilisation was contingent on the actors that facilitated it. An ANT account of mobilisation provides social movement theory with an understanding of how delegates and occupiers employed mediators to mobilise the movement network, how inscriptions that represented the movement network were

ordered and how certain factors contributed to network destabilisation. Further, social media will assist the mobilisation process; however, it alone cannot sustain action efforts[56].

Although ANT provides an approach through which to account for the mobilisation of a movement network, it too has its limitations. For example, ANT considers reality to be a relational outcome between multiple interacting associations that perpetually generate effects. Nothing exists beyond the network of associations that comprise it. However, a central criticism of ANT is that it fails to attribute agency to those entities not central to the research outlook (Collins & Yearley 1992). Similar to the limitations discussed in Chapter Six, in considering Occupy Toronto mobilisation effects, some entities that were involved in the process were omitted from the analysis. This was because attention was paid to particular sets of actors over others. Similar to Star's (1991) observations, depending on the research outlook, ANT has the tendency to neglect those located on the network fringe. This is because of its focus on the central actors who speak for others. As a result, certain entities are marginalised from the analysis. Understandably, how mediators affect different actors is important to consider. For instance, by exploring the public order policing actor-network in response to the budget protests would have highlighted the controversies, actors and objects involved in the external ordering of Occupy Toronto inscriptions. By delimiting the exploration to those delegates and occupiers who participated in the mobilisation of the movement network, this thesis does not attempt to take away from the significance of other entities and mediators located on the periphery or external to Occupy Toronto. Rather it is to suggest that the current focus could be expanded to examine the chains of mediators employed by different entities in alternative yet associated movement networks.

[56] The increase in slacktivism may be a characteristic feature of modern connective activism that is premised on informal and individualised efforts. This is because without a central (or vertical) organisational base or an attractive collective identity, individuals may not feel the need to participate beyond displaying their support via online platforms.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS ON A HYBRID MOVEMENT NETWORK

8.0 Introduction

Through the fusion of online-offline sites, a social movement offers a platform to voice and take action on individual and group grievances. Traditionally seen as a collective effort, recent scholarship on the subject has suggested social movement activity as relatively more individualised (Farro & Lustiger-Thaler 2014). In an era where traditional forms of organisation have given way to personalised modes of engagement (Bennett & Segerberg 2011; 2012), there is an urgent need for research to address how and by what means individuals organise and mobilise a collective. This is necessary because social movements are important vehicles for the protection of individual and group rights (Tilly 2004), and understanding how individuals employ a network of heterogeneous entities to defend against intrusions becomes all the more important.

Prior approaches that describe social movement organisation and mobilisation attribute outcomes to either the organisational and structural context or the collective identify and social actions of a group that seeks to re-appropriate cultural codes and symbolic meaning. These approaches re-produce a particular understanding of social movement ontology, one that neglects the hybrid nature of social movement reality. The contribution that this thesis makes to knowledge is an understanding of the relational interplay between materially heterogeneous entities and the process through which a social movement network was organised and mobilised across online-offline sites. This understanding is important because social movements and the entities that comprise them co-produce social movement reality. The following discussion addresses how actors negotiate and order a movement network and the process through which some individuals are excluded. It highlights the value and limitation of employing a relational understanding of a hybrid social movement as well as recommendations for future research.

The key premise of this thesis is that as a result of globalised connectivity and increased engagement with social media technologies, the way actors organise and mobilise social movements has changed. In light of this, the aggregation of ‘actors qua individuals’ figures prominently in the process (Juris 2012, p. 266). An understanding of how social movements are co-produced is required to address the composite of actors, objects and discourse that together structure and enact movement network realities. Actor-network theory (ANT) was employed to explore the mutable and multiple character of a hybrid social movement network. It provided value by offering a method through which to trace the organisation and mobilisation of a movement network across online-offline sites as well as a perspective on the entities that comprised network associations.

Limitations of ANT affect the extent to which it was able to provide a sufficient account of social movement action and the actors that comprised it. In particular, ANT's belief that the researcher must remain impartial and disconnected is problematic. First, the researcher is part of the very network they are studying, and second, an objective and neutral recording of network associations leaves the researcher without space for interpretation. Lastly, by circumventing categorical terms such as 'culture', ANT diverges from traditional social movement approaches, which renders it difficult to identify perspective variances. Thus, this thesis approximates the ANT ideal in that social movement approaches can be compared and interpretation of movement network translation is provided.

By employing a case study approach, this thesis explored how a hybrid social movement organised and mobilised across online-offline platforms and whether ANT provided a sufficient theoretical and methodological understanding of the unfolding of a movement network. In the following sections, findings on social movement translation (section 8.2); the contribution to social movement and policing research (section 8.3); future recommendations (8.4); and limitations (8.5) are discussed.

8.1 Empirical findings

The main findings of this thesis were outlined within the respective chapters that dealt with movement network problematisation (Chapter Four); obligatory passage points (Chapter Five); interessement and enrolment (Chapter Six); and mobilisation (Chapter Seven). Here, empirical findings will be integrated and synthesised in relation to the thesis outlook and research aims.

8.1.1 Occupy Toronto leadership

The concerns that connected individuals with Occupy Toronto were concentrated on material redistribution and cultural recognition. For some occupiers, the lack of material support and distribution of resources underscored their participation. On the other hand, some occupiers felt that post-material concerns related to identity and cultural recognition were sufficient reasons for taking part in the movement. In the case of Occupy Toronto, both material and post-material concerns bolstered the controversy of inequality. By defining the movement's central controversy as one of inequality, delegates attempted to amass a greater number of participants while at the same time signalling their role as movement leaders. In leading the movement, delegates justified the controversy by suggesting that in one form or the other inequality was the root cause of all other concerns.

In order to connect a diverse group of concerns to the controversy of inequality, delegates deployed an action frame for occupiers to attach with. The '99%' action frame served to unify occupiers across social networks in an informal way. Delegates felt that by defining the movement as one that included the '99%', it prevented the discouragement of individuals from participating. Delegates believed that the '99%' action frame was broad enough to capture the 'fluidarity' of individuals, where actions were expressed as a 'public experience of self' (McDonald 2002, pp. 124-25). The '99%' action frame supplanted the need for a collective identity as occupiers enacted their own interpretation of controversy while connecting with the '99%' action frame. The establishment of the controversy and action frame highlights how a movement vanguard will by result occupy a leading position during the formative stages of movement network organisation.

Occupy Toronto required multiple pathways in order to channel occupiers into the movement network—delegates structured the flow of occupiers via the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page and St. James Park. These two platforms were the primary conduits through which occupiers gained access to the collective. They operated to connect as well as organise occupier associations. Thus, delegate leadership was dependent on the extent to which it was able to order the structuring of the movement network by its capacity to define and delimit the channels through which occupiers passed through to different platforms.

Through the interessement and enrolment of occupiers, delegates accomplished movement network recruitment. Delegate interessement actions made aware and challenged occupiers to take part in the movement network. For example, the interessement action of awareness raised the profile of Occupy Toronto while making aware opportunities to support and/or participate in the movement. Because the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page was open to the public, delegates posted information on different opportunities. The intention was to make aware movement actions and events. The interessement action of challenge is similar to actions of awareness in that information was communicated on Occupy Toronto related activities. However, challenge actions pressured occupiers and the public to join in Occupy Toronto events by suggesting that participation would provide individual and group benefits. For example, delegates challenged participation in the Occupy Toronto budget 2012 protest against former mayor Rob Ford and the City of Toronto council. Delegates expressed that a protest victory would increase the chances of lessening the impact of budget imposed austerity measures while providing social and economic support to Torontonians.

Delegate interessement devices worked to link occupiers with the actions and challenges of the movement network. Delegate Facebook updates and the General Assembly connected occupiers with the movement network by mediating awareness and challenge actions. For example, the General Assembly was not only a communicative space for delegates to make aware or challenge occupiers to act; it also linked occupiers with different actions. Further, in offering a link through which occupiers could participate, delegates also encouraged occupiers to shape and develop the movement based on their own preference. Thus, as long as occupiers passed through the online-offline obligatory passage point, they could accept, challenge or present interessement actions and devices. This effectively provided occupiers with an opportunity to influence the structure of the network. Occupier recommendations became policy after discussion and acceptance by other occupiers and delegates.

Occupy Toronto leadership was performed by delegates. Delegates defined the outlook of the movement as well as how occupiers would participate via online-offline sites. This was done by establishing policy and rules via different committees and the General Assembly. For example, the 'safe-space', '(de)occupy' and 'non-violence' policies of Occupy Toronto were shaped and enacted by delegates via committees and General Assemblies. The leadership dynamic of Occupy Toronto is analogous to Weber's understanding of traditional authority. Occupiers were obliged to follow the rules of delegates that were legitimated by different committees. Although occupiers were able to challenge given directives through the use of the Facebook group page or General Assemblies, delegates ultimately had the final say when ordering the movement network. Occupy Toronto leadership was consolidated in horizontal nodes, located in committees that mediated network organisation and mobilisation. The movement network required constant (re)ordering and this was accomplished by the delegate deployment of mediators.

8.1.2 Ordering Occupy Toronto

Delegates first ordered the Occupy Toronto movement by prescribing the controversy and action frame. By communicating via Facebook the movement outlook, delegates ordered the initial stages of network organisation. Policies and rules served to order and regulate movement associations. If an occupier contravened, delegates had the authority to discipline and correct transgression. This was because of the authority conferred to them by their position within the movement network. The banning of OT137 highlighted how delegates ordered occupiers within the movement network.

The channelling of occupiers into different platforms underscored how delegates ordered and structured the Occupy Toronto movement network across online-offline platforms. Delegates

organised the flow of occupiers through the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page and St. James Park. This was done by communicating how occupiers would gain access. Akin to Benford's (2002) account of narration and storytelling, delegates communicated the values and events of Occupy Toronto through online-offline platforms in order to maintain control of the movement network. For example, daily delegate posts on the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page served the purpose of instructing how occupier mobility would be performed. Delegates informed occupiers of Occupy Toronto events as well as what was required of them. By doing so, delegates attempted to order from within the movement network what was acceptable behaviour. If occupiers disobeyed established standards, delegates employed different devices to restore the flow of occupiers. If the obligatory passage point was not able to accommodate movement network disruptions, alternative sites (mediators) were incorporated (linked). For example, the Occupy Toronto website was used to schedule and manage meetings and activities—a service that Facebook was deprived of. To maintain the flow of occupiers via Facebook, delegates linked the Occupy Toronto web address to the Facebook group page to re-order the platform as one of its primary sites. Hence, the ordering of the movement network was a flexible and fluid process where delegates employed different strategies and devices to maintain movement network structure and stabilisation. Any entity was at the same time structured by and part of the movement network.

Once occupiers were enrolled in the Occupy Toronto movement network, delegates had to maintain network coherence. This was done by negotiating and settling disruptions that may have jeopardised movement network stabilisation. By employing different actions and devices, delegates insulated or closed off network conflicts. If delegate actions and devices were challenged, delegates employed additional actions and devices to reinforce their position. For example, by employing the Marshal committee, the group of delegate allies grew to provide an inviolable defense against occupier attacks—as was the case when justifying the banning of OT137. By insulating delegate authority, the chance for movement network destabilisation was minimised.

In line with Habermas' (1984; 1987) notion of social actions, the actions and devices employed by delegates to order interessement and enrolment were communicative and strategic to the extent that they offered a chance for negotiation and debate over movement related issues or were instrumentally employed to stabilise occupier relations. For example, with the delegate proposal to ban OT23, occupiers strategically employed the Facebook group page to block the ban. This was done by asking other occupiers to voice their displeasure with the actions of delegates. Occupiers noted that if OT23 could be evicted, so too could other occupiers. As a result of occupier feedback, delegates provided communicative space to discuss the potential ban. Thus, interessement and

enrolment actions and devices were employed by delegates to order the movement while at the same time were open to challenge and use by occupiers.

The process of ordering Occupy Toronto mobilisation was done by delegates and occupiers who represented the movement network in different domains. Occupy Toronto was transported (represented) by a number of actions, signs and texts. How and where Occupy Toronto was depicted illustrated its mobilisation potential. The marshalling of mobilisation was carried out by different delegates, occupiers and committees—such as the Outreach committee and the General Assembly. Committees offered a means of mobility by operating as a vehicle for mobilising the movement network. As an element of the network structure, occupiers deployed the movement network as well as represented it in different domains. For example, the May Day 2012 event was deliberated on in different committees and General Assemblies, yet it was the individual actions of occupiers that animated the mobilisation of the movement network.

Devices such as the General Assembly mediated occupier relations and movement outcomes. Mediators lubricated the flow of occupiers while at the same time circumscribed action. If an offline protest was a mobilised outcome—a representation of Occupy Toronto—then the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page and Occupy Toronto's policy of non-violence were mediators that ordered the representations of the movement network. In this sense, the Facebook group page provided information on the logistics of protest while the non-violence policy defined how occupiers would represent themselves. Mediators assisted movement network mobilisation by brokering sites and defining the process through which the movement network could mobilise.

Mobilised outcomes were inscribed via actions, signs and texts. Inscriptions signified the chain of mediators that produced Occupy Toronto mobilisation effects. Inscriptions could either be accepted or challenged depending on the point of view of the observer. Protest numbers, arrests, and mainstream and alternative media portrayals represented inscriptions. Inscriptions were ordered from within the movement by delegates who prescribed particular representations (i.e., non-violent protest); as well as externally, for instance by the public order police. For example, Occupy Toronto protest inscriptions could either be accepted or challenged by the public order police. If police consented and accommodated Occupy Toronto protest, then inscriptions were unobstructed. If inscriptions were perceived as transgressive or disruptive, police worked to re-order protest inscriptions. This was done by strategically incapacitating movement network mobility (Gillham, Edwards & Noakes 2013) or by communicating a counter-narrative that devalued or obfuscated the reasons for protest (Rosie & Gorringe 2009). In effect, movement inscriptions were black-boxes

that could be opened and challenged. If they were, occupiers had to substantiate their representations. This resulted in the constant deployment of additional mediators in order to reinforce Occupy Toronto inscriptions. If inscriptions failed to withstand different challenges, alternative mediators were required.

8.1.3 Occupy Toronto marginalisation

If individuals wanted to participate in the movement, it was compulsory that they passed through either one of the primary obligatory passage points. One way or another, each occupier was connected via St. James Park or the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page. This is because each platform was connected with every other node in the movement network. By requiring occupiers to pass through these two platforms, they served to structure the relations of occupiers as well as the Occupy Toronto movement network.

In addition to structuring the movement, obligatory passage points ordered the movement network. By the deployment of communicative (daily posts) and strategic (policy) actions and devices, those who did not accept delegate platforms or were unable to, were excluded from the movement network. This had the effect of defining what an occupier was as well as marginalising others because of a lack of access or unwillingness to appropriate platforms. Further, because the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page and St. James Park were public sites, there were some individuals who used this opportunity to undermine or 'troll' the movement. Delegates countered the subversive actions of trolls by exposing them as examples of what would not be tolerated. Essentially, delegates created alterity distinctions in order to strengthen the resolve and identity of Occupy Toronto. While espousing values of individuality and independence, delegates at the same time required occupiers to conform to a particular order. This double standard led to a form of cognitive dissonance where some occupiers became frustrated with the actions of delegates and withdrew from the movement.

Elements affecting Occupy Toronto immobility, or alternatively movement network destabilisation, were a difference of opinion and/or loss of relevance. When occupiers challenged movement network representations, such as what the central demand of Occupy Toronto was, and when delegates were unable to incorporate additional mediators in order to settle a difference of opinion, some occupiers refused to participate or continue with the movement. Although network differences were important features that connected diverse occupiers, they also managed to destabilise network associations. This is because the burden of maintaining network relations became too arduous. Delegates simply could not inject enough mediators to stabilise network associations.

With regard to network failure as a result of a loss of relevance, when delegate actions and devices were unable to maintain network interest, links between occupiers and the network began to deteriorate. For example, when the offline platform failed to connect occupiers as a result of occupier eviction from St. James Park, delegates placed greater emphasis on the online platform to stabilise network relations. However, if delegate communications were unable to maintain the attention or commitment of occupiers, different segments of the movement network ceased operating. Similar to network destabilisation as a result of a difference of opinion, without appropriate mediators, occupiers withdrew from the movement network. In cases of difference of opinion and loss of relevance, delegate communications and strategies were not enough to secure participation. Without mediators to buttress the rules and obligations of delegates, occupier links with the movement network weakened. The task of stabilising the movement network became prohibitive. For the reasons that delegate actions and devices failed to align or interest occupiers, movement network marginalisation (alignment failure) and destabilisation (network conflicts) ensued.

Another element that influenced movement network destabilisation and marginalisation was Occupy Toronto's slacktivist ethos. For example, after the eviction of occupiers from St. James Park, delegates focused attention on the online platform to organise and mobilise occupiers. The reliance on the online platform was not so much a choice made by delegates, but a condition for movement survival. Without St. James Park, delegates were left with few options on how to channel occupiers and communicate the movement. However, by shifting to the online realm, superficial and shallow forms of activism began to increase. This is because online activism requires little effort or involvement from activists whose aim is to communicate or support a movement network. As a result of online participation, individuals experience a 'feel-good' sensation (Morozov 2009) at the expense of participating in a substantive way. The extent occupiers contributed to or involved themselves in different offline actions was nominal. As was seen over the course of a year, not only did the number of occupiers at offline actions diminish but online participation via the Facebook group page also decreased. Hence, the destabilisation of Occupy Toronto (and the marginalisation of occupiers) was expedited by the movement's reliance on online platforms to organise and mobilise the network.

8.2 Theoretical implications: Contributions to social movement and policing research

This thesis applied actor-network theory (ANT) in order to explore Occupy Toronto organisation and mobilisation across online-offline platforms. By employing ANT's method of translation this

thesis addressed how materially heterogeneous entities relationally co-produced a movement network. ANT offers a sufficient analysis of movement network problematisation; channelling; enrolment and mobilisation as it relates to online-offline hybrids. It is argued that a relational interpretation of actors, objects and discourse that figured in the unfolding of Occupy Toronto leadership, ordering and marginalisation provides a multidimensional understanding of social movement network organisation and mobilisation. Further, ANT reconceptualises social movement notions of leadership, by suggesting that hybrid movement networks are organised around decentred forms of leadership where entities resist prior attempts at categorisation or explanation. It also suggests that (im)material entities mediate the movement network to accomplish the ordering of associations and mobilisation of representations. In line with this, marginalisation is refined to include those who either refuse to accept movement network actions and devices or those whom the movement network fails to satisfy or include.

The case for a relational approach to an examination of social movement organisation and mobilisation is that by emphasising either structural or agential interpretations, traditional social movement approaches neglect some nuances of a hybrid social movement. An ANT exploration highlights the heterogeneous and relational character of actors, objects and discourse that co-produce social movement reality. By doing so it attempts to move beyond the structure-agency duality that has plagued social scientific research (Law & Callon 1997). In this sense, social reality is conditional on the associations and interactions of different entities connected to a network. The social movement is an actor and a network and cannot be reduced to either. It unfolds according to those that associate with it and by its effect on entities that sustain it: '…only the wide range actions carried out and taken together as a bundle explain what is happening…' (Rodríguez-Giralt 2011, p. 29). By tracing the translation of a social movement actor-network, how actors and structures co-produce hybrid realities was discerned.

By employing actor-network theory to an understanding of social movement organisation, the leaders of a movement network are made visible, while the process of constituent ordering is identified. The moment of problematisation suggests that movement network leadership and ordering are done in co-productive terms where actors comprise and at the same time deploy networks. The moment of problematisation highlights the interplay between online-offline sites as well as the blending of material and post-material issues. By problematising a social movement's mode of organisation and addressing the fact that all individuals are social movements in themselves, modern social movements are identified as hybrid networks (Castells 2012) that include both 'old' and 'new' social movement concerns (Eggert & Giugni 2012; Martin 2001, pp. 369-70).

The case for problematisation maintains that individuals who make possible a movement network are the primary unit of analysis (Farro & Lustiger-Thaler 2014). This follows the understanding that social movements have become individualised (Bennet & Segerberg 2012) where individuals aggregate to act collectively (Juris 2012).

The structuring of actors in a hybrid social movement requires a channel through which individuals must pass as well as a site where the flow of entities can associate. The platforms of interaction are co-constituted by occupier and network interaction and serve to structure the unfolding of the movement network. It is argued that an account of obligatory passage point develops beyond an understanding of platforms as public spheres that are host to communicative acts (Habermas 1975). For instance, by employing different actions, devices and platforms, delegates arrange and re-produce network effects. This is done by organising the conduits and the boundaries of the movement network. However, occupiers are able to steer the unfolding of the movement by engaging delegates in negotiation and debate. If recognised, occupier proposals are incorporated and become devices through which to mediate the translation of the movement network. Marginalisation occurs as a result of access or acceptance failures; platforms are either elusive or repudiated. Hence, obligatory passage points are communicative platforms while at the same time structure and define the set of relations that constitute the site of interaction.

A social constructionist perspective to movement recruitment suggests that the collective identity of a movement communicates and instrumentalises the induction of individuals through a common frame (Canel 1992; Melucci 1989). As the recruitment process requires different actions and devices to entice individuals, it is argued that ANT's moment of interessement and enrolment addresses the delegate net-work that is completed in order to communicate and instrumentalise network participation. The interessement and enrolment of individuals in a movement network highlights this process, yet the extent to which ANT's account of movement network recruitment extends beyond communicative and strategic action is limited. This is because the moment of interessement and enrolment is nothing more than a communicative and strategic process of recruitment. However, it does account for those who participate without engaging in rational social actions.

Understanding the mobilisation potential of a movement network as contingent on the extent to which mediators are able to galvanise the network highlights the interplay between movement network entities and the sites where inscriptions are made. This is because inscriptions signify the relationship between the actor-network and the mediators that lubricate the flow of movement

network representations—mobilisation is an act of representation (Callon 1986a). Similar to the leveraging of resources by movement organisations and entrepreneurs, mediators expand the field of mobilisation by including any actor, object or discourse in the movement network repertoire. The representation of movement inscriptions is a fluid and mutable process because entities mediate and displace the network. More than a process of exploiting resources by movement organisation and entrepreneurs, mobilisation is an effect of the chain of mediators that transport movement inscriptions. Hence, single entities mediate and mobilise the representations of a movement network into other sites.

Once mediators activate the mobilisation process, outcomes are inscribed in different sites. Whether it is offline protest or an online conference call, mobilised inscriptions are received (and represented) by actors. It is argued by this thesis that by conceptualising mobilisation as a process facilitated by mediators, where outputs are inscribed and represented in different sites, the variable yet dependent nature of social movement mobilisation is highlighted. Inscriptions are reliant on the actors and networks that distribute them as well as their acceptance by receivers. If network outputs are challenged, opened up or ordered in alternative ways, the intention and image of inscriptions are transformed or made invisible. For example, the public order police will re-order transgressive inscriptions to fit them in line with police representations. Following Gillham, Edwards and Noakes (2013), police regulate the mobility of occupiers and spaces of protest by incapacitating the extent to which they can unfold. In this sense, police order policing challenges Occupy Toronto inscriptions and the chain of mediators that represent mobilisation. When inscriptions become polarising, for instance when occupiers engage in violent acts or in the destruction of property, police open up and contest outcomes. This in turn will affect a movement's mobilisation potential by incapacitating the mediators that produce inscriptions and by defining representations in alternative (policing) terms.

The implication is that although mobilisation inscriptions are challenged and/or incapacitated at the point of representation, by replacing failed mediators with alternative ones new mobilisation opportunities are provided—this works for both occupiers and the police. For example, when the Toronto City council and police issued an eviction order on November 15th 2011 to occupiers to leave St. James Park, occupiers challenged the eviction inscription on the grounds that the order violated occupiers' rights of freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. The court granted an injunction on the eviction order until a final decision was made. On November 23rd 2011, Ontario Superior Court Judge David Brown upheld the eviction order, citing a Toronto City bylaw that prohibited overnight camping and the use of tents and structures in parks. What this example

illustrates is that the Toronto City council and police had to inject additional mediators (bylaw) in order to produce new mobilisation outcomes (the eviction of occupiers). In this case, the occupier mediator of rights was challenged while the bylaw mediator satisfied the representation (mobilisation) of the Toronto City council and police. This suggests that mobilisation is a process that includes multiple mediators that are interchangeable depending on the source of action. Instead of being dependent on strong organisational features and available resources (McCarthy & Zald 1977), movement network mobilisation is facilitated by individual actor-networks and the mediators that sustain them.

To conclude this section, ANT provides a fresh theoretical perspective on hybrid movement networks that is more suited for contemporary forms of collective action. It moves beyond structural and constructionist approaches to suggest a relational materiality. It accounts for the causal properties of human/nonhuman entities involved in heterogeneous engineering. This is because of its focus on the sociotechnical roles and relationships enacted by different hybrids. Methodologically, ANT offers a suitable toolkit for tracing the unfolding of a movement network while allowing entities to speak for themselves—as previously mentioned ANT is agnostic to the extent that actors and objects detail their own enactments. Although criticised for being apolitical (Saldanha 2013), ANT enables political accounts by taking into consideration the reasons, practices, and ideas for action and how different associations are enacted. As Mol (1999, p.86) notes, ANT provides an ontological politics because it explores 'the real, the conditions of possibility we live with, and the political'. ANT facilitates a political account by enabling entities to locate their own politics in the unfolding of a movement network while explaining outcomes in symmetrical terms without a priori assumptions. For example, as explained in Chapter Four, the process through which the central controversy of Occupy Toronto was established required consideration of each occupier's individual politics and the significance of not listing one movement demand over another.

ANT moves beyond traditional social movement accounts of leadership, ordering and marginalisation that suggest leadership as a vertical process where ordering is conducted by those located at the top of an organisation (RMT), or where leadership is conducted by focal actors who construct and circulate content in order to command the collective (NSM). Through the problematisation of Occupy Toronto, ANT was able to demonstrate that leadership was a distributed resource found throughout a horizontal movement network (i.e., General Assembly, committees, working groups), yet there were instances when delegates organised the movement based on their own variable interests. At the same time, however, delegate interests were open to

challenge by occupiers because of the latter's ability to infuse decision-making processes with their own mediators. Through the moments of the obligatory passage point and interessement and enrolment, ANT was able to account for the channelling platforms, and the actions and devices employed by delegates and occupiers to structure and order the movement network. In doing so, it also traced those who were marginalised from Occupy Toronto. By exploring the mobilisation of Occupy Toronto, ANT's notion of mediators, inscriptions and representations addressed its mobility potential as well as the internal and external ordering of entities. Lastly, by following entities through the process of translation, ANT accounted for the scale, structure and content of entity associations relative to other entities in the movement network.

8.3 Limitations on actor-network theory and method to analyse Occupy Toronto

This thesis examined the relationality of a movement network and explored how online-offline platforms facilitated the translation of Occupy Toronto. As an outcome, this thesis is subject to several limitations that require consideration. One limitation of this thesis is its specific focus on one case study. Because Occupy Toronto was the site of an in-depth exploration, findings are not generalisable. This is because it is unknown whether or not findings are representative of other hybrid social movements. However, it is more than possible to generalise the theoretical and methodological contribution of actor-network theory as well as leadership, ordering and marginalisation themes. Additionally, because Occupy Toronto was part of the broader Occupy movement, it is difficult to replicate the context through which occupiers organised and mobilised a hybrid social movement. Further, due to the nature of case study exploration and because of problems associated with the research method, the researcher's own bias influenced the method of investigation. Although steps were taken to address this limitation (Fairclough 2001; 2003), such as coding data in a systematic and substantive manner (Stern 1980), because this thesis was a qualitative analysis of Occupy Toronto, there was opportunity for the researcher's own bias to influence data interpretation.

A second limitation of this thesis was its application of ANT's methodology. This limitation was procedural rather than distinctive of the thesis. In this sense, ANT's method of translation requires the researcher to trace and describe actor-network associations in neutral and objective terms (Callon 1986b). The path taken by the researcher is not pre-determined; research outputs are descriptive accounts of the exploration process while interpretation is avoided. The problem for this thesis was, first, the need to delineate the boundaries of the actor-network. This was because access to the site was narrowed to the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page—other platforms that could have been explored include Occupy Toronto's Twitter and Nathan Phillip Square platforms. As a

result, the extent to which the thesis was able to remain agnostic was limited. The thesis explored the traces of participant activity as it related to the employment of the Occupy Toronto Facebook group page. Hence, the hybridisation of the subject was limited by the research parameters as well as their own enactments throughout the specific movement network platform. With further resources, such as time and access to additional sites, a broader account could be gained. This is not to understate, however, the importance of this hybridisation as it offers an opportunity to track the traces of participants through very specific modalities. Second, because ANT methodology requires an exploratory and descriptive account of social reality, the opportunity for interpretation is withheld. To address this limitation, this thesis drifted from the ANT ideal in order to provide an analysis of Occupy Toronto organisation and mobilisation and ANT's method of translation. The ideal ANT standard was approximated until there was a need to critique and narrate the intersection of Occupy Toronto and ANT. Thus, ANT's research method was compromised to the extent that a selection was made on the sites of exploration and research findings were interpreted to demonstrate an understanding of Occupy Toronto and ANT.

A third limitation was with respect to ANT's methodological refusal to employ social categories to explain network effects. In this case, it was difficult to preserve and remain true to ANT's ideal standard when attempting to understand how traditional social movement concepts such as 'collective identity' figure in the translation of a movement network. In accounting for this limitation, the application of traditional social movement concepts were suspended until ANT's own conceptual repertoire either failed to account for different effects or when the intention was to discern frame variances. For example, by comparing new social movement theory's (NSM) understanding of social actions with the moment of interessement and enrolment, the notion of communicative and strategic actions and devices were central elements found throughout both approaches.

A fourth limitation of this thesis was that by employing ANT's methodology, actors located on the fringes of the movement network were marginalised. For example, by employing ANT's concept of obligatory passage point, actors who refused or failed to accept movement network platforms were overlooked. Why some actors did not attach to channelling platforms was something ANT had difficulty explaining. This limitation could not be addressed because the research method focused on how central actors, such as delegates, translated the movement network. As a result of the methodological focus, some actors were 'Othered' from the analysis (see, for example, Star 1991).

Although the limitations mentioned above impacted the thesis in different ways, the contribution to knowledge that this thesis makes is its understanding of how actors relationally organise and mobilise a hybrid social movement across online-offline platforms as well as its application of the ANT method to trace the co-production of actors and their networks. It also provides a platform to address the leadership of actors while ordering network associations and why some individuals are marginalised from a movement network. The significance of this thesis is its renewed consideration of the interplay between actors and networks when unfolding a social movement network. This thesis builds on similar research that has investigated social movements as actor-networks (Marrero-Guillamón 2013; Rodríguez-Giralt 2011; Routledge et al. 2007) however, by applying the method of translation to explore the organisation and mobilisation of a movement network as well as the individuals who figured prominently in the process, this thesis develops an understanding of hybrid social movement ontology as well as a method through which to explore movement network realities. This thesis supports social movement research that addresses the fluid and hybrid nature of modern social movements as well as public order policing research that investigates constituent order (re)production; primarily, the idea that social order is defined and managed through the interaction of police-protester networks.

8.4 Recommendations for future research

This thesis examined the relational character of a hybrid movement network. Attention was focused on the re-production of leadership, order and marginalisation through the organisation and mobilisation process across online-offline sites. The following recommendations offer areas of future research that may assist understanding the context and ontology of a hybrid movement network.

Inclusion of additional sources of information: Include additional actor-networks (sources of information) that interact with the movement network under investigation. This would provide greater context and understanding of how supplementary actor-networks affect movement network outcomes. For example, access to the City of Toronto police actor-network would expand insight on the entities and controversies that comprised it as well as the context through which police-occupier interaction took place.

Inclusion of marginalised actors and groups: Account for those who were marginalised by beginning research exploration at the periphery of a movement network. This would help identify why and how some actors are not included or captured by the actions and devices of movement leaders. By tracing the associations and mediators of marginalised actors, a better sense as to why

they failed or refused to connect with the movement network can be offered. Also by starting the investigation at the fringes of a movement network, a leader-centric outlook is replaced by multiple perspectives (Star 1991).

Identification of the causal differences within online (and offline) sites: Future studies may wish to investigate how different platforms within the online sphere, for instance, interact and affect each other when delivering movement related services. For example, although the application of Facebook on movement network mobilisation and organisation was explored, further research could investigate how Twitter, Flickr and Instagram are employed by actors to assist the unfolding of a movement network. By doing so, how different platforms negotiate what they will provide while at the same time correct other platform insufficiencies can be examined.

Examination of the ebb and flow of movement network materialisation: By employing a longitudinal analysis, research investigations can examine how movement networks cycle in and out of public life. Following Melucci's (1989) notion of submerged networks, how movement networks continue to associate members in order to exploit opportunities would provide fruitful insights on the actions and devices of different actors who sustain movement networks overtime.

Exploration of the variations between hybrid social movements: Although delegate leadership, ordering and network marginalisation were primary themes observed throughout the translation of Occupy Toronto, not all hybrid social movements negotiate and enact leadership or constituent ordering in similar ways. For example, when examining differences between Occupy Los Angeles and Occupy Amsterdam, Uitermark and Nicholls (2012) highlight that group variations can be attributed to the entrenchment of Occupy within different networks and the outlook of each encampment. For instance, because Occupy Los Angeles was 'embedded in a local activist milieu' and projected itself to a wider activist environment, network connections and ordering actions went beyond the local encampment; while on the other hand, Occupy Amsterdam 'consisted in large part of people without such networks and dispositions' and as a result tended to focus on the connections and ordering activities within the encampment (Uitermark & Nicholls 2012, pp. 300-1). Thus, a cross-sectional analysis of a population of hybrid movements, such as Occupy Los Angeles, Amsterdam, New York and Toronto, would provide greater understanding of the variables that produce leadership, ordering and marginalisation effects and the direction or outlook of each movement network. It would also highlight the successes and failures of hybrid movement network organisation and mobilisation in different contexts.

8.5 Hybrid movement networks

This thesis set out to explore the relationship between actors and networks. The aim was to understand how individuals negotiated movement network leadership, enacted constituent ordering and were marginalised from online-offline platforms. Despite the fact that traditional social movement approaches have investigated the structural capacity of a movement organisation or the agential production of social actions and a collective identity, this thesis suggests that hybrid social movements need to be explored in relational terms. This is because multiplicities of heterogeneous entities co-produce movement network realities. The contribution to knowledge that this thesis makes is an understanding that individuals relationally unfold a movement network through a series of translations. An approach that considers causality as co-constitutive is able to transcend social theory dualisms. It also provides a view of reality as fluid, multiple and mutable.

Hybrid social movements, such as Occupy Toronto, require further investigation because modern activism is characterised as an individualised affair that unfolds across online and offline sites. Why individuals participate and how do movement networks organise and mobilise are important questions. The significance of this thesis is its exploratory account of how a hybrid social movement unfolded across online-offline platforms and how individuals figured prominently in the process. Further, how individuals mediated network relations while comprising the structures that facilitated them was highlighted. Lastly, the process through which network leadership, order and marginalisation was managed and re-produced was addressed.

This research is important in that it illustrates the unfolding of the Occupy Toronto movement network as an individualised endeavour centred on issues of redistribution and recognition. This thesis contributes to social movement and public order policing research by addressing the relational character of heterogeneous social movement entities and how internal and external forces ordered them. As Occupy Toronto delegates and occupiers took on the challenge of envisioning and enacting progressive alternatives to social and economic inequality, this thesis is an inscription of the dedication, imagination and practicality of Occupy Toronto translation. This research is essential because it assists social movement scholars interested in exploring the unfolding of a hybrid social movement across online-offline networks, and it provides a theoretical and methodological frame through which to explore and understand this process. Further, this research assists public order policing scholarship by addressing the mutable form through which order production is enacted. By highlighting constituent ordering as a process of challenging inscriptions, where mediators enable mobilisation initiatives, policing research may attune to the specific representations that are contested instead of relying on general categories such as order or control to

explain police-protester interaction. In this sense, an account of what exactly is being ordered across different sites is addressed.

APPENDIX

(de)Occupy

On April 2, 2012 Occupy Toronto's Monday night New General Assembly passed a proposal to adopt a statement and principles on Decolonization. Please find below the Proposal that passed with the amendments made as proposed at the General Assembly. Thank you and congratulations on a very fruitful and productive GA!

April 2nd, 2012

Proposal

For the Monday GA to adopt the following statement and principles on decolonization as a framework for organizing our work through the new GA. Propose that we adopt these principles as a working statement, recognizing we need to seek input from our allies in the city to help build this living document.

Decolonizing 'Occupy' Toronto

Following the rich tradition of Indigenous people and people of colour who have fought for self-determination, decolonizing 'Occupy' Toronto means aspiring to win struggles for liberation by placing Indigenous people, people of color, people with disabilities, psychiatric survivors, homeless people, low income or working class people, immigrants, gender non-conforming persons, women, and queers at the center of our collective struggle. In addition, we commit to creating political structures and community events that welcome Toronto's residents, 47% of whom are people of color. Further, we commit to respecting the lands upon which we organize in our thoughts, planning and messaging to others. We will acknowledge the lands we stand upon before meetings, GA's and/or public events.

As a place of unity, we adopt the following statements as part of a living document upon which we base our struggle against the 1%, corporate greed, colonialism and the exploitation of Mother Earth.

1) We acknowledge that Canada is a colonial and capitalist country, a country of settlers, built upon the land of Indigenous nations;

2) We acknowledge that systemic racism exists in Canada, where Indigenous people and people of colour are disproportionately jailed and impoverished by policies – deliberate or not – that are enforced and enacted by the Canadian State;

3) We demand that the colonial government of Canada honor all treaties signed with all Indigenous nations whose lands are now collectively referred to as "Canada" and that the government respect the right of Indigenous nations to self-determination, with or without Treaty signatures.

4) We recognize that oppression and colonization are systemic, they are a product of histories and contexts that go far beyond individuals and their specific histories;

5) We recognize that oppression and colonization are structural, in that it is not just the hurt feelings of individuals affected but rather the daily grind of lack of housing, of policing, of joblessness, of immense material impacts;

6) We recognize that oppression and colonization are intersectional – that is there isn't a hierarchy of oppression that any one individual feels but complex structural and systemic inequities that affect an individual and peoples differently;

7) We seek decolonization through transformative processes, rather than through the attainment of reforms;

8) We recognize that people are individually traumatized differently, be it through intergenerational trauma or direct experience and require different supports in terms of healing and transformation;

9) We believe that, for us, decolonizing our communities and ourselves requires a collective effort rooted in compassion, wisdom, humility and collective consciousness.

10) We will take direction from impacted communities when organizing around issues that impact those communities directly and respect the sovereign right and knowledge of the individual nations on Turtle Island.

http://www.occupyto.org/2012/04/statement-and-principles-on-decolonization-passes-at-new-ga/

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