



MAX 21°C  
MIN 14°C

Fine, morning and evening cloud. Fresh northerly.

*"The new Government has a job to do. It is in no-one's interests for it to be diverted by politics."*

Dominion Post Editorial 28/11/2011

# Your Struggle Is Our Struggle: Lockout and Occupation



By Ian Anderson

On the 15th of October 2011, comrades in around 1500 cities rallied together on a global day of action inspired by Occupy Wall Street, resisting corporate greed. Four days later on the 19th of October, local corporation ANZCO locked out 111 union members at its CMP plant in Marton, demanding that they accept pay cuts of 20-30% before returning to work. The lockout and the occupation have each lasted nearly two months, and bonds of solidarity are forming.

ANZCO embodies the disparity in power and wealth which occupiers seek to redress. The company posts turnover of over \$1.3bn. Sir Graeme Harrison, Chairman of the Board, was recently knighted and lives comfortably on Oriental Parade. All of this wealth is pro-

duced at plants such as CMP Rangitikei, by the workers currently under threat.

ANZCO is jointly owned by local capitalists and overseas investors. Its tactic of cutting wages to stay competitive is typical of recent trends; real wages in New Zealand have declined 25% over the past 3 decades. Many workers at CMP Rangitikei raise families, and can't afford to have their wages cut by 30% in a period of rising prices.

However ANZCO is not just attempting to cut costs, they are also attempting to undermine our collective power. Before issuing the lockout notice, the company individually contacted many workers and offered them individual (rather than collective) con-

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## Occupy vs Police Repression

By Richard Setmour  
*leninology.blogspot.com*

Francis Fox Piven conceives of "disruptive power" as that form of usually implicit power that people have as a result of the interdependencies that social organization gives rise to:

"All societies organize social life through networks of specialized and interdependent activities, and the more complex the society, the more elaborate these interdependent relations. Networks of cooperation and interdependence inevitably give rise to contention, to conflict, as people bound together by social life try to use each other to

further their often distinctive interests and outlooks. And the networks of interdependence that bind people together also generate widespread power capacities to act on these distinctive interests and outlooks. Agricultural workers depend on landowners, but landowners also depend on agricultural workers, just as industrial capitalists depend on workers, the prince depends in some measure on the urban crowd, merchants depend on customers, husbands depend on wives, masters depend on slaves, landlords depend on tenants, and governing elites

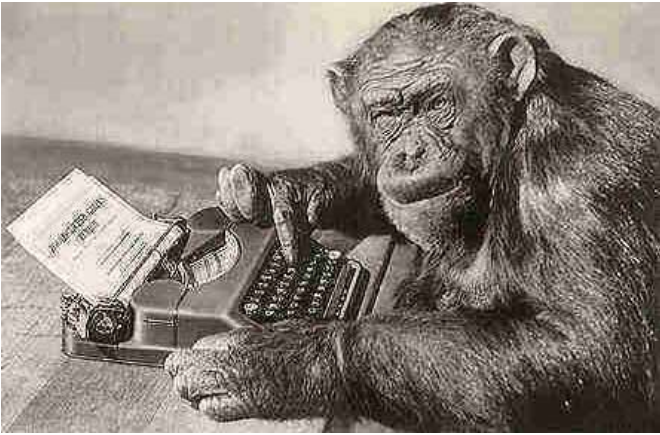
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**Support Occupy Wellington: Donations Needed**

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## Adam asks questions:



## *What do you think about the Occupy Movement?*

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"I think it's pretty cool because it engages many people that weren't engaged in politics or thinking about politics before, it also brings forward issues around who controls what. There will always be people in opposition who have never seen anything like this before and find it easy to ignore."

Seamus Brady



"I guess I agree with it broadly... But it's not being specific enough to have a real impact. But that might be what it's supposed to do; because then it is general. It just depends what they need to do. Maybe if they put their time into more specific things they'd make more gains."

Shona



"I haven't heard anything about it... Something to do with the economy?"

Jeremy



"The biggest problem is the huge amount of pollution in the world. Governments aren't really doing a good job, me and some friends went up to Tauranga to help with the clean up where they failed to achieve much at all. We need something better."

Steph Loffley

## I Want You (Occupy's So Heavy)

Occupy is on the verge of hitting fifty days of occupation at Civic Square. We have established the Occupation, although to date 140km/hr winds have been much more difficult to deal with than council or the police.

The Occupation has raised a number of points. The reality of the 99%/1% relationship represented in the ANZCO, CMP, Marton meatworkers lockout, covered in this issue as a front page article as well as the Pomare Occupation in Lower Hutt over the demolition of state houses and privatisation of the land they used to rest on. As well as the cornucopia of ideas and perspectives floating about the various Occupations.

The question now is 'How do we grow?' It is clear from the thousands of people who have stopped to talk at Civic Square in Wellington and the tens of thousands of people who have read the Occupied Dominion Post or engaged in the various media portals facebook, twitter etc. that this Occupation is a bigger thing than a small grassy corner in central Wellington.

Is Occupation primarily a physical thing or is it primarily a network? This is a point that has come out of the ongoing discussion through the short-history of Occupy Wellington. If the Occupation is a physical thing then it is tied to its physical location. We move from being flexible and proactive to being a fixed and reactive movement.

There is a combined and uneven development within the Occupy Movement worldwide. Combined in the sense that it is a global movement, and uneven in the sense that it

is a local movement, with local characteristics and particularities. We have taken a method and practice lifted from the American movement and placed it, effectively unchanged in New Zealand. That was an appropriate step initially, testing the water where it hadn't been disturbed before and the results have fully justified the decision to occupy. Yet now we need to make this movement a New Zealand movement. A local part of a global movement.

Because the reality is that we don't have a Federal Reserve to get rid of and although facts and commentary on the situation in Britain and the US is important and interesting, the situation there is different from the situation here. We are focusing on commentary and analysis on the situation and composition of the 99% in New Zealand. Because the world wide crisis that swept the world three years ago has not gone away, toxic debts have been taken over from the private sector by the various states affected by the collapse. In New Zealand

though, the crisis has its own peculiarities. We have unemployment of 6.6% or 157,000 people<sup>1</sup> as opposed to 9% or 13.9 million in the US<sup>2</sup>. Even those figures need to be treated with some skepticism. Interest.co.nz estimate that \$8,652,700,000 is at risk, much of which will be lost to a possible 205,925 investors. The difference between New Zealand and the US in this situation is the clear demarcation of dodgy investments from safe investments. There are a whole bunch of reasons behind this situation going the way it did. In the US, everything sunk because it could not be pulled apart. In New Zealand, there has been what the economist Joseph Schumpeter described as "creative destruction"<sup>3</sup> or the wholesale destruction of a huge layer of retirement savings, a huge swath of poor people's futures. All of which has silently passed by, with the people responsible paying back little and generally getting home detention. If it is raised, shoulders are shrugged and discussion amongst the chat-

tering classes moves on to less uncomfortable discussions.

If this is the best we can expect, a perennial gale of creative destruction, blowing through the lives of billions of people, then we need a global occupation more than ever. Count us in!

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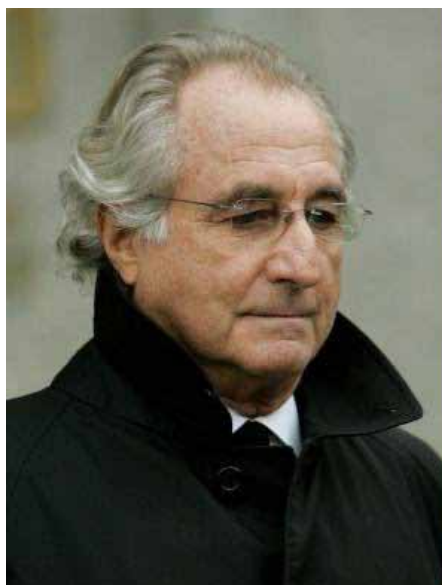
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*Alastair and Joel*



Bernie Madoff - Total fraud 64.5 Billion dollars



Allan Hubbard - Total fraud 1 billion + dollars

This is not about good or bad people, it is about the 99% and the 1%

tracts, in exchange for keeping their jobs. This is an attempt to smash the Meat Workers Union itself. However the dispute plays out, it will send an important signal to organized labour, to protest movements, and to the 1%. We cannot afford to let them take our collective power, to pick us off.

With its un-unionised workforce, ANZCO-CMP Rangitikei runs below capacity. Action on the picket line seeks to disrupt production, to hurt the bottom line.

The Meat Workers Union called for its first national day of action on November the 17th, nearly a month into the lockout, with comrades packing into buses and vans across the country to join the picket line. The Meat Workers' Union itself mobilized unionists from regions as far flung as Gore, while other organizations sent delegations in solidarity. Occupy Wellington sent around 15 on a midnight bus funded by the Council of Trade Unions, aiming to arrive before the first scab trucks.

Over the day around 200 joined the picket line. Aware of the union's power in numbers, ANZCO-CMP called off processing. Picketers from around the country celebrated this halt in production with chants of "Who's Got The Power?" and "Stand Up, Fight Back." Occupy Wellington and Christchurch passed motions of unreserved support. Soon an Occupy Marton (of one

tent, then nine...) was up and running.

However, the company clearly intended to catch up later, when the busloads of comrades departed. Although the Occupy Wellington crew continued to carpool to Marton, delivering supplies of food, coffee and bodies for the picket line – it became necessary to take things a step further.

The next nationwide day of action targets McDonalds, a major customer of ANZCO. Unite Union, which represents fast-food workers, has sent a mass email to its members informing them of this action. The Meat Workers Union is demanding that McDonalds cease buying its paddies from ANZCO, pointing out how consumer action forced them to buy free range eggs. Rallies from Invercargill to Whangarei will demand that consumers boycott McDonalds, and in some cases may shut the stores down. We must show our collective power.

As we develop strategies to challenge ANZCO, to smash the lockout, we must also support the locked out workers directly. Supporters will hold fundraising events for the duration of the lockout. Anyone who wants to make a donation can find account details below. If just one locked out worker decides they can't survive the picket line, that this pay cut is better than nothing, that's a loss for the whole 99%.

in the modern state depend on the acquiescence if not the approval of enfranchised publics.

"Unlike wealth and force, which are concentrated at the top of social hierarchies, the leverage inherent in interdependencies is potentially widespread, especially in a densely interconnected society where the division of labor is far advanced. This leverage can in principle be activated by all parties to social relations, and it can also be activated from below, by the withdrawal of contributions to social cooperation by people at the lower end of hierarchical social relations. I call the activation of interdependent power disruption, and I think protest movements are significant because they mobilize disruptive power." (Frances Fox Piven, *Challenging Authority: How Ordinary People Change America*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2006, p. 20)

This analysis is consistent with many theoretical perspectives, and the concept of disruptive power certainly has an affinity with the marxist conception of class capacities, or more broadly, structural capacities. It follows from this that disruptive power is not a particular tactic. Disruptive power may be violent, depending on the context of the struggle that activates it, but it is not necessarily so. It may be noisy, or carnivalesque - but again, not necessarily. The presumption in social movement literature is, says Piven, against violence and in favour of spectacle; but this dual presumption is based on a misunderstanding of protest movements, conceiving them as essentially a form of communication intended to win the support of wider audiences, whereas this is not always the case. In fact, the

exercise of disruptive power is mainly about leverage.

We understand the sheepishness about speaking of violence in social movements. It is not a comforting or politically sympathetic thought that popular violence has been productive; that without it, unjust systems would not have been overturned. Yet, aside from the fact that the automatic assumption against violence is actually an assumption against popular violence, the intriguing thing is how easily it shades into an assumption against disruption as such. For example, following a recent direct action at UC Berkeley, the Chancellor complained:<sup>1</sup> "It is unfortunate that some protesters chose to obstruct the police by linking arms and forming a human chain to prevent the police from gaining access to the tents. This is not non-violent civil disobedience." In fact, linking arms and obstructing police is precisely an example of non-violent civil disobedience. If there was a textbook, this would be in it. The elite arbiters of protest ethics, who are always assuring us of our right to peaceful protest, conveniently forget what "civil disobedience" actually is. At the same time, what is often truly regrettable about what is called violence (usually small scale property damage) is its tactical implications. Sure, there is a moral case against anticapitalist protesters spraypainting graffiti or breaking windows. One could certainly apply similar standards retrospectively to striking miners and steelworkers who made US history in frequently violent struggles that went well beyond property damage. However, as someone once said, every morality presupposes a sociology, and in this case the moral argument

**These Workers and their families need \$25,000 a week to get by. Every donation counts! Occupy Wellington is doing what it can to help make a difference, so can you...**

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implies the point of view of the ruling class. The point of the exercise of disruptive power is not to empathise with the ruling class, but to gain leverage over the ruling class. This brings us to the next point.

Disruptive power is distributed widely, but that doesn't mean it is easy to actualise. Piven cites six difficulties that obstruct this: first is the problem of getting people to recognise the relation of interdependence that endows them with disruptive power; the second difficulty is that the exercise of disruptive power requires people to break rules, defying institutional mechanisms that enshrine the cooperative (if fundamentally exploitative and oppressive) relations that sustain daily life, with the resulting risk of repression; third, this disruptive power has to be coordinated across many different groups and individuals who contribute to the reproduction of the dominant social relations, in order to be effective - "the classical problem of solidarity"; fourth, the people exercising disruptive power are enmeshed in a network of relations with multiple others who may attempt to restrain this disruption (church, family, etc); fifth, those involved have to find ways to endure the suspension of the normal cooperative relations that allow them to effectively reproduce themselves in their normal condition - strikers need to eat, occupiers need tents, etc.; and finally, those engaging in disruption have to consider the threat of exit by those from whom they have withdrawn cooperation - the rich taking off with their capital, partners leaving relationships, etc. The means to overcome these obstacles "are not solved anew with each challenge", but rather enter the "language of resistance", and "become a repertoire" (pp. 21-

32)

This will do as an interpretive grid for understanding what the Occupy movements in the US are going through at this moment. Their challenges are all comprehensible as those arising from the exercise of disruptive power: how to attack the dominant ideology, coordinate heterogeneous groups, sustain their own 'rule-breaking' and support others in their 'rule-breaking', and resist repression. It is through the prism of the latter question that I want to assess the current state of the Occupy movement in the US. The recent wave of renewed police assaults, some of them apparently coordinated<sup>2</sup> across eighteen cities by both Democratic and Republican administrations, has been severe. From pepper-spraying the elderly<sup>3</sup> to macing students<sup>4</sup>, the intention has been to physically atomise these collective enterprises. It is tempting to say that such an over-reaction indicates the degree of apprehension on the part of the ruling class. In fact, however, apprehension has been far more apparent in their hesitations, retreats and fumbling attempts at co-optation, than in the resort to brutality. The latter is their default: far from being a panic reaction, it is how the US ruling class does business. As far as cops are concerned, it is "fairly standard police procedure"<sup>5</sup>. Their reliance on such methods may in fact reflect an underlying lack of concern, an insouciance, a feeling that this movement is a nuisance, but ultimately a brittle, shallow affair. To deviate from such methods would show that state planners are concerned that this is a movement which cannot be managed by escalating the costs of participation.

For the sake of argument, anyway, let me assume that the police actions in Portland, Seattle, Oakland, New York, UC Davis, and elsewhere, all reflect a consensus among ruling elites that a sufficient show of force will produce a collapse in confidence among the occupiers, deter their supporters, disorganise their alliances and leave them reduced to a hardcore of easily contained and potentially vilified activists. The timing would support this, as city managers would expect winter to start thinning the numbers anyway. A disorienting attack, a forcible shutdown, before the occupiers have had the chance to fully conceive and implement strategies for managing the cold months ahead, would

be tactically intelligible in this context. Yet, although the police offensives have had some of the sought effects, forcing the occupiers onto the back foot, depriving many of them of their secured bedrock, they have nonetheless failed<sup>6</sup> to thwart the momentum.<sup>7</sup> The scale of the mobilisation in New York last Thursday, where an estimated 32,000<sup>8</sup> people took part in a day of action to shut down parts of the city, followed an ostensible victory on the part of city authorities three days earlier. This was when the police attacked the camp<sup>9</sup> at 2am, and the mayor obtained a court ruling denying occupiers the right to camp in Liberty Square - though the

*CONT P:6*

## Occupation Profile:

### *Ian*

Ian is currently rushing to the Council of Trade Unions office to sort out placards for Saturday, a national day of action against the ANZCO-CMP lockout.

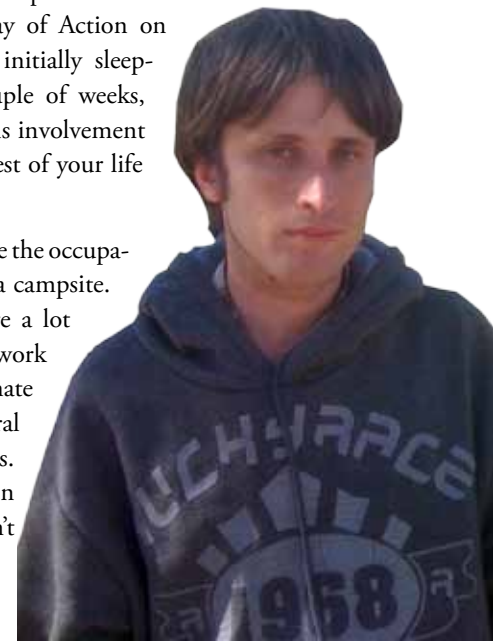
A committed socialist, Ian says he's in it for the politics. He's been involved in running workshops, in hospitality, on the Safer Spaces team, more recently writing for the Occupied Dominion Post and lockout support - helping organize a midnight bus trip to the picket line. He'd like to see a fluid and outward-focused approach to occupation, with roving short-term occupations on 'symbolic' sites such as parliament grounds.

Ian was inspired by the Occupy Wall Street movement which he sees as a challenge to "late capitalist violence."

He first attended the Day of Action on October 15th, but after initially sleeping at Occupy for a couple of weeks, he's had to step back in his involvement "cause you can't put the rest of your life on pause."

He says it's important to see the occupation as a movement, not a campsite.

"When I was staying here a lot of people with full-time work and families would donate food, or organize general assemblies and workshops. You can have an occupation without tents, but you can't have one without people."



city could not stop protesters from actually gathering there. The evictions demanded a bigger response from the occupiers and their periphery of active support, and Thursday provided it. Liberty Square is still occupied every day; it is still a meeting place, a pedagogical forum, and a launch pad for further action. So, the initiative remains in the hands of the protesters; not the state.

There are a number of reasons for this. First, this is a movement that is still in its upswing. A full-frontal attack on a movement which is still growing, and still popular, can be a dangerous mistake to make. The problem for the authorities is that such an assault isn't a technical operation but a political wager. As technically proficient as a repressive manoeuvre may be, the political effects aren't easily calculable: the same tactic that kills a movement today may consolidate it tomorrow. Second, as the statement<sup>10</sup> from Occupy Wall Street following the eviction notes, the movement is serious. This seems nebulous, moralising even, but it has a precise political meaning: most of those joining the movement fully expected repression, and were mentally prepared for it. There are arguments that the police are just blue collar workers who should be on the side of the 99% - though, when former NYPD police captain Ray Lewis asserts<sup>11</sup> that his ex-colleagues are "workers for the 1%" and "mercenaries for Wall Street", one can safely say that such arguments are losing traction. But the occupation in Wall Street came to national prominence following a particularly brutal NYPD assault. It is a simple but reasonable inference that those who joined OWS and embarked on similar projects after this, knew that repression was a risk. So, the

movement is far less brittle in this respect than its opponents perhaps estimated.

Third, as a former head of the CBI has pointed out,<sup>12</sup> the ideology of free market capitalism has lost a significant part of its material basis: it cannot as easily claim to be more efficient than rival forms of organisation, or deliver greater prosperity for the majority over the long run. The increasing sympathy for socialism<sup>13</sup> and communism<sup>14</sup> among Americans has something to do with this disintegration of capitalist ideology. There is enormous sympathy for this left-populist movement, and those deemed complicit in its repression run the risk of being publicly shamed<sup>15</sup> and of losing allies<sup>16</sup> rapidly. Fourth, and relatedly, the repressive response from the ruling class may be coordinated and bipartisan, but it is far from unanimous. Some elements of the ruling class have preferred to try and co-opt the movement rather than simply attack it. This is most visible in the liberal segments of the capitalist media. From the very early days, it was obvious that the New York Times and perhaps also MSNBC favoured co-option rather than simple coercion. The fear of the banking industry, as their professional lobbyists<sup>17</sup> have summarised it, is that this strategic fracturing of US ruling class opinion may be disadvantageous to their position. As they are not their own best advocates, they require public advocates - and the fear is that politicians under pressure to respond to such a movement will consider it imprudent to publicly defend financial capital. But the more the repressive option fails, the more the emphasis will fall on co-option. Finally, the occupiers have worked hard to build alliances with groups who already

know how to wield disruptive power and have their own sets of repertoires. The response to the first attempted assault on Occupy Wall Street was based on an alliance with unions; the response to the first assault on Occupy Oakland, a city-wide 'general strike', was based on an alliance with the unions too. Of course, one must be wary of what Glenn Greenwald<sup>18</sup> detects is an effort by pro-Obama union leaders to direct the movement into the Democratic fold. And solidarity work has taken other forms, such as the attempt to obstruct foreclosures. But there is a genuine convergence of inter-

ests between organised labor and the heterogenous groups assembled at OWS - whether debt-shackled students, workers, the unemployed, or dissident former soldiers. The union leadership knows it, especially after the defeat of the union-bashers in Ohio. The alliance between these groups has to be negotiated and constructed. But the material basis for it, which the slogan 'we are the 99%' communicates, is a shared class interest. This shared interest, at a time of sharpening class antagonisms, is making solidarity easier to achieve, and is laying the basis for a new Left.

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## Safer Spaces in the Occupy Together Movement

By Ian Anderson &  
Stacey Nylund

“How can we be together in a unity that is not simplistic, that is not oppressive, that is rather complex and emancipatory?”

Angela Davis,  
*Occupy Wall Street*

By occupying spaces in the middle of major cities, we all take risks. We’ve seen the women maced on Wall Street, the mounted division charging in on Occupy Melbourne; we’re aware that eviction is a possibility, relieved when it’s averted; these are necessary risks to make our statement.

But there are other risks associated with this movement, internal rather than external threats. Reports of rape in Cleveland and Glasgow circulate online. Occupiers in Wellington debate how to react to the presence of fascists in the city, and potentially at the occupation itself. It’s become increasingly obvious that by including those who behave oppressively, we automatically exclude others.

This de facto exclusion, particularly of women and those on the trans\* spectrum, limits the development of Occupy politics. A recent post on the Occupy Patriarchy blog highlighted the familiar frustration of wanting to deal with the ‘big issues,’ but having to deal with safety concerns in order to participate at all:

If I had my druthers, I would be writing about the importance of feminist principles in the developing Occupy movement, about how comprehensively addressing economic injustice necessitates addressing issues like unequal pay, childcare access, unpaid work, etc... But what has become all too clear from a



*Angela Davis speaks at Occupy Oakland*

number of reports since the Occupy movement began and from the many people we have heard from since starting Occupy Patriarchy last week is that before we can address those issues, we need to feel that we can safely participate in Occupy.

This follows from wider power structures within the 99%, requiring a conscious approach. Those belonging to one or more marginalised groups are more likely to experience violence, limiting their ability to participate in public life. To counter this many organisations take their cue from the women’s liberation movement, by developing “safer spaces” policies which make participation less of a danger - through consciousness-raising workshops, policies on dealing with harassment (sexual or otherwise), or in the last event, exclusion of those behaving oppressively; this exclusion is not necessarily an attack on those excluded. Safer spaces are difficult to establish and easy to undermine.

The Occupy movement has

specific aspects that make safer spaces particularly hard to establish. The allegiance with the dispossessed, freely available food and shelter, and inclusive fluctuating membership structure is a double-edged sword; in reality, many Occupations attract problems beyond their capacity to deal with.

One commentator has referred to “the other 1% – the most marginalised, the most affected and the most excluded.” Another stated of Occupy Wall Street, “You wouldn’t see somebody at the General Assembly smoking a joint. But at the back they’re smoking crystal meth.” Occupiers in Adelaide report a homeless man wandering the camp-ground with a taser. The reality is that we can’t be too utopian about ‘building a new society in the shell of the old.’ While it is important to support people, sometimes that means recognising that we don’t have the resources, or knowledge, to provide specialised assistance - in fact, it’s irresponsible to pretend we can.

It’s also important to recognise that anti-social behaviour runs throughout every class, that those with social power have greater room to behave destructively. Some insist that bringing up issues of safety or oppression is divisive, that the 99% is homogeneous and horizontal, when in reality the hierarchies of class society go well beyond the divide between the richest 1% and “the rest.” As long-time communist Angela Davis observed in a speech at Occupy Wall Street, false unity can be deeply oppressive and simplistic. To really liberate ourselves as members of the 99%, we have to recognise that each of us is coming from different experiences of oppression; we have to create a space to articulate complex and challenging ideas. In the long term this complexity will help, not hinder the movement.

**For more information:**

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**FOLLOW THE OCCUPATION** - We're present on a number of media

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**Occupation Profile:**

*Ruby*

It is a beautiful sunny day down at the occupation at Civic Square, Wellington. On the over bridge I have the pleasure of sitting down to interview one of the core members of Occupy Wellington, whose inspiring and diligent contributions have been integral to the success of the group.

Ruby is 21 years old . She is studying Political Science, Environmental Studies and Anthropology. She has a strong conviction that the suffering we have in the world today is unnecessary as we have the technology and resources available to create an environment that fosters community, collaboration and a positive future for all. She believes that our priorities need to change towards greater care and respect for the environment, for our communities and for ourselves.



At Occupy Wellington Ruby has been busy focalising Actions. In this role she has been helping organise the Free University initiative, direct actions, for the People's Forum and The Real Free Trade Market. She says that this has been one of the most challenging yet rewarding experiences of her life and feels lucky to be a part of it. "As I watch things develop, on a local level and also on the global scale I am becoming more and more convinced that the time for change has come."



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