Occupy Activists, Moved or Not by Secondary Teachers

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Abstract
This article explores whether and how activists who identify with the Occupy movement think of their secondary schooling as influential upon their activism. Testimonies of six activists from two small focus groups reveal a range from those who claimed no such influence to those who saw a significant connection. The diversity among the six was limited: five were male; two identified themselves as mixed-race, and the other four as white; three were younger than twenty-seven. Each individual's account of various influences other than education was unique. When the topic turned to secondary education, though, there were intensified expressions from sadness to anger to irony to delight among the participants. As the findings of this study show, formal education has hindrances and possibilities in fostering change agency for social justice. Increasing the possibilities is the work of critical educators.

Keywords: Occupy movement, Secondary schooling, Testimonies, Critical educators

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Introduction

Why study Occupy activists' influences from secondary teachers? Regardless of the uncertain future of the Occupy movement, it has made history with its two months of widespread demonstrations that continued around the clock until police ended them by force. The historic forces of the global justice movement and the Arab Spring came together during a lingering recession and produced a powerful wave of protest aimed at Wall Street and the neoliberal economic system. Movements throughout US history have accounts that mainly focus on the leaders. The Occupy movement in its horizontal structure, though, provides no leader figure. If scholars and journalists want information directly from individuals in the movement, there are only rank-and-file activists available. These activists have decided to protest not by persuasion from a charismatic leader but rather by some combination of ideas and personal economic hardship. What part did secondary teachers play in uncovering the ideas?

I think back to my own beginnings in activism when, as a young graduate student, I joined in the demonstrations in the mid-1980s to pressure the university to divest from assets connected to South Africa's apartheid regime. At that time, I was about five years out of high school. Looking back now, I can think of three high school teachers who influenced me by challenging me to think critically and to use my imagination. They were not the greatest influence toward my eventual activism, but they were significant. A larger influence came from my family. My father and uncle were able to disagree in many political discussions while continuing to be civil toward each other. They probably were not aware of how much I listened.

Could schools have an atmosphere similar to the one in which my father and his brother were able to talk and listen to each other? What if teachers could model discussions of competing ideas and then allow students to follow suit after researching issues carefully?

The Occupy movement is finding its identity in life after occupations. It has its roots, and it will have its branches. When individuals look at their own roots of activism, some will see secondary teachers. What do they see in those teachers?

Theoretical Framework

The Occupy movement has its ideological origins in its opposition to neoliberal capitalism. It has a structural foundation on anarchist principles of decentralized, non-hierarchical power and consensus-based decision-making. Scholarly work on anarchist educational theory has not proliferated anywhere near to the extent that it has on Marxist educational theory. Haworth's (2012) edited book *Anarchist Pedagogies* is an important new addition. Suissa (2006), who has the only recent work with a comprehensive view of anarchist philosophy and theory as applied to education, provides a strong rationale for bringing anarchist theory out of the shadows of misconception and into the light of contemporary leftist educational discourse with clear distinctions from Marxist and liberal traditions. The massive onset of the Occupy movement confirms that anarchist theory and practice has a role to play in the present and future of the left in the US, and education will be among the social and cultural venues for the ongoing development of leftist identity.

While citing several anarchist theorists, Abraham DeLeon (2008) defines anarchism as follows:

> …a body of political thought that seeks to abolish and challenge rigid hierarchies (like the State), rethink and dismantle capitalist ideological structures, disrupt modes of forced coercion, build a society based on communist aspirations, free people's desires from historically oppressive social norms, and create organic and communal societies based on mutual aid and social justice. (p. 123, parenthesized phrase in original)

DeLeon states that anarchist praxis in education involves more than curriculum and instruction within school walls; it also involves direct action against conservative and neoliberal policies such as high-stakes testing. His conclusions are that advocates of critical pedagogy need to make space for anarchism and that anarchist pedagogues need to create networks in order to advance their visions, goals, and strategies.

Another educational front critically important to the Occupy movement is multicultural education. The horizontal structure of the movement guards against white males using their unearned privileges to jockey for leadership. At the same time, though, this structure has given way to a perceived *de facto* hierarchy in which white privilege is evident. Emahunn Raheem Ali Campbell (2011), in his article titled "A Critique of the Occupy Movement from a Black Occupier," writes, "If one is to call it a movement, particularly if one looks at its numbers, it is without question a *white-led movement* that primarily deals with concerns of *white middle-class youths* (Campbell's emphases)" (p. 44). Campbell highlights the example of white college students in the movement calling for student debt cancelation and failing to notice or care how "black people are twice as likely to visit a jail or prison cell than a college classroom" (p. 44). Campbell asserts, correctly in my opinion, that the Occupy movement will not be sustainable if there is not a concerted effort to dismantle the white privilege from within its own ranks. Multicultural education will need to intensify its focus on white privilege if it is to contribute toward a more inclusive, equity-driven movement for all among the 99 percent. A growing body of literature on white privilege and the annual White Privilege Conferences held since 1999 are positive signs, but the Occupy movement shows that challenges still lie ahead. For starters, more of the works of leading scholars of white privilege need to become required readings in teacher education courses (MacIntosh, 1988; Tatum, 2003; Howard, 2006).

Methods

This work is a case study. I read various documentations of the Occupy movement and observed and participated in events, including planned meetings and demonstrations. I interviewed activists in two focus groups, primarily to find connections they made between their secondary schooling and their current activism.

I chose to employ a qualitative case study because I want to capture narrative patterns from multiple sources within a bounded system in a specific period and a specific place (Creswell, 1998). The period in which I gathered data was May 2012 to February 2013. This was a critical time for the Occupy movement as it attempted

to solidify a transition from occupying physical spaces in parks to occupying spaces in day-to-day political discourse in a sustained manner. The place in this study is New York City, where the Occupy movement had its epicenter during the two-month occupation of Zuccotti Park from September 17 to November 15, 2011. All of my observations and focus groups took place in New York City.

Data Sources and Evidence

I have studied documents and observed events to educate myself on the central goals and strategies of the movement. I have not been able to read every kind of writing that has emerged, but I have perused samples among declarations, newsletters, blogs, articles, and books. I could never attend every kind of event, but I hoped to observe a few planning meetings and a few larger and smaller demonstrations. On a couple of occasions, I went to an announced meeting that ended up not happening. The online events calendar for Occupy Wall Street (OWS) announced at some point in the fall that it was making efforts to remove ongoing postings for groups that were no longer meeting. As of November 25, 2012, the online calendar showed that in New York City alone there were 91 Occupy-affiliated "working groups" (Occupy Wall Street New York City General Assembly, 2012). I tried to contact the People of Color working group (249 reported members) and the Anti-Racist Allies (44 reported members) via email, but I received a reply from neither. I also was unable to make a contact with Occupy the Hood, which, according to its Facebook page (Occupy the Hood NY, 2013) as of this writing, has a mission "…to get POC [people of color] more involved in the Occupy movement." The most recent post on that Facebook site is from more than two months ago – March 12, 2013. In the end, I had notes from only one large demonstration – May Day at Union Square. I also had notes from only one meeting in July, 2012, of a group calling itself Occu-Evolve.

My original plan for interviews met with a couple changes. I had planned to hold individual interviews of activists in the age group of 18 to 29 in order to increase the likelihood that secondary teachers whom they named as influential might still be teaching; finding and interviewing such teachers was in the original plan. I later decided to drop this age restriction and adjusted my invitation letter to indicate that I would interview adults of any age. As the summer of 2012 ended, I did not have a single call from an activist wanting to participate. I decided to try conducting small focus groups. On October 22, I went to the historic Trinity Church at Broadway and Wall Street, where a group of about a dozen activists was demonstrating day and night on the sidewalk. I simultaneously interviewed two who were sitting together. Colder weather put an end to that gathering when I checked again in mid-autumn, and I set my sights on conducting a presentation and a focus group at an activist bookstore called Bluestocking. This event occurred on February 12, 2013, and four activists stayed after my presentation on a history of activism from teachers in order to participate in the focus group.

I ended with only six testimonies from two focus groups, but I am satisfied that there is a core of rich data. The two small focus groups of Occupy activists have provided information regarding the extent to which secondary schooling made a difference toward individuals' activism. I began each focus group by noting each individual's age, sex, and self-identified ethnicity, race, or nationality. I asked each participant to explain how or whether she/he was an activist before the Occupy

movement. I then asked each to explain why and how she/he had been involved in Occupy. Without mentioning education, I asked each individual to describe the various influences toward her/his activism. If a person did not mention secondary schooling, I then asked why that was not a source. If a person did mention it, I asked for details.

Data Collection Challenges

As of this writing, a year and a half has passed since the occupation of Zuccotti Park met with forced removal. In recent months, there has been very little press about what remains of the Occupy movement. On September 18, 2012, the New York Times (Moynihan, 2012) reported on the demonstration marking the one-year anniversary of OWS with the title "185 Arrested on Occupy Wall St. Anniversary." The report focuses on clashes between protesters and police while providing only a few lines to focus on one activist's spoken words. The accompanying two-minute video clip includes efforts by police to suppress all photography. The Times has run a few brief reports on Occupy Sandy, the network of Occupy activists that began organizing relief efforts through its social media immediately after Hurricane Sandy.

The post-Zuccotti phase of the Occupy movement in New York City had a grand moment with the May Day celebration on May 1, 2012 at Union Square. I was present as a tenor for the New York City Labor Chorus, which performed a brief set on the stage. The chorus followed performances by Tom Morello and the Occupy Guitarmy, Das Racist, and a hip-hop deejay that had a crowd of young people dancing. It was an incredible experience from the stage to hear this lively beat and to see the dancing crowd before our set began. Signs with themes from the Occupy movement were ubiquitous. There was a soaring euphoria shared by activists of all ages on that warm, sunny afternoon.

I was certain after that day that I would have an easy time finding activists willing to participate as interviewees in my study. I was in for a surprise. As my early summer teaching ended in early July, I embraced the few weeks I would have to concentrate on research instead of teaching and service. The OWS online events calendar announced a meeting of the Vision & Goals Working Group on July 5 from 5:30 to 7:00 PM in the Atrium, a large, open indoor gathering place with shops, food, tables and chairs at 60 Wall Street. I went to find no group sitting together. I tried another event listed for July 25 from 4:30 to 7:00 PM for the Organization Working Group at 666 Broadway in the office space of the Center for Constitutional Rights. I sat in a waiting room for several minutes until a young man came and told me that the meetings for that group ended after numbers had dwindled. He told me of a working group that he knew would still be meeting, though. It was called Occu-Evolve, and its meetings were Friday evenings in none other than Zuccotti Park.

I went to the Occu-Evolve meeting on the evening of July 27 and joined a group of about 20 people – diverse in age, gender, and race – in the middle section of the park on an unusually cool evening for summer. An energetic African American man, around age 40, facilitated the meeting. He announced that New York City currently had seven OWS general assemblies and that three had mission statements. Someone suggested that the group take time for introductions, and everyone agreed.

A few of the younger attendees held up hands and waved fingers to show approval – a custom adopted by OWS general assemblies in their meetings. When it was my turn to introduce myself, I gave my name, my occupation as assistant professor of teacher education at SUNY Empire State College, and a quick announcement that I was a scholar in solidarity and that I would pass around copies of my invitation letter for interviews in my study. I stayed for the entire meeting, listening and taking notes. There was time for "report-backs" on recent events. Then a white, male CUNY faculty member, approximately age 40, gave a talk for about 15 minutes on police brutality and the need for mass direct action. Next, there was a long period for open discussion on the main topic, which was how the OWS movement might consider activity in elections in addition to direct actions. In attendance was George Martínez, a Puerto Rican man in his thirties in the midst of running for US congress in New York's 7th congressional district who went on to win less than three percent of the vote. Martínez spoke of his allegiance to OWS and the organization Bum Rush the Vote. Another organizer for the latter, an African American man also in his thirties, announced a community organization meeting for registering voters. He also declared that he would run for city council. An Asian woman in her 40s spoke about voter repression, and there was some group discussion on whether to support Democrats or third-party candidates. About half of the group, mostly younger people, disappeared during this lengthy discussion. A white woman in her 20s who did stay had been recording the entire meeting with a small video camera. She told everyone that she had moved from Cincinnati to join the occupation at Zuccotti Park, and she gave her name and invited people to find her and the video link on Facebook. When the meeting was winding down, she suggested that everyone close with a song. Nobody knew a song to suggest, and finally there was an agreement to end with a rhythmic chant, repeating the word "unity" a few times. I left a couple minutes later without anyone expressing interest in an interview. I hoped that someone might contact me later from the information on my invitation letter, but that never happened.

In September I attended to a meeting of the New York Collective of Radical Educators (NYCoRE), a group composed mainly of K-12 teachers in the New York City public schools. The main attraction for the meeting was a simulcast video of two teachers in Chicago who had been involved in the recent strike. I had been to a couple of NYCoRE's general meetings in the Spring, when one of the breakout groups was involved with OWS while focusing on the anti-democratic mayoral control of the New York City public schools. The OWS group was not continuing in the fall, but NYCoRE's core leadership group approved my invitation letter for an announcement, which I voiced to all attendees. When the meeting ended, I was able to give one letter to a young man who asked me for it. I never received a call. I thought that teachers of NYCoRE would be eager to participate in my study, but then I remembered how busy I had been as a high school teacher in the St. Paul Public Schools, especially as a new school year was starting.

After all of these disappointments, I finally had some success with the two small focus groups mentioned above. Why had it been so difficult to find activists who would be glad to take 20 minutes for an interview about what influenced their activism? Perhaps, unlike the media stereotypes given for OWS activists, they were busy people with demanding or multiple jobs. Perhaps they did not trust me as scholar, and that would be understandable. Zinn (1990) wrote that educators and writers mostly are among the guards of the establishment while the masses are the

prisoners. He foresaw an important number of the Occupy movement, which he did not live to see, writing that "great change with little violence…is possible because the more of the 99 percent that begin to see themselves as sharing needs, the more the guards and the prisoners see their common interest, the more the Establishment becomes isolated, ineffectual" (p. 582). Building that kind of unity in a movement takes a great deal of time and effort, and any hesitation by activists in trusting academic scholars like me is completely understandable.

Findings from Focus Groups

With only six participants from two small focus groups, I certainly cannot make sweeping generalizations about all activists of the Occupy movement. This is only one case study, and I hope that others will conduct similar studies. The advantage of having only six participants is that I can remember each one fairly well. I remember their facial expressions as though I had spoken with them a week ago. This kind of memory is not possible when one is working with transcripts from large numbers of participants.

My focus is on what each participant mentioned about influential secondary teachers. Only two were unable to recall an influential teacher, and both expressed skepticism whether any school as an institution could generate a source of change among its personnel. The other four were happy to remember at least one inspiring teacher.

Two Demonstrators

On the evening of Monday, October 22, 2012, there was an autumn chill in the air of lower Manhattan. At 8:00 PM, I left my weekly rehearsal with the New York City Labor Chorus at the headquarters of the United Federation of Teachers, the union representing teachers in the New York City public schools. A couple blocks to the north, on the sidewalk in front of Trinity Church at Broadway and Wall Street, there were about a dozen activists, some of whom appeared to be camping out for the night. I stopped to ask a man and woman sitting together whether they would be willing to participate in an interview together, and they agreed without hesitation. They were sitting on the sidewalk with some cardboard and other materials for insulation, and I sat there on the sidewalk with them, bringing out my smartphone for its voice recorder. I told them to feel free to give me only a pseudonym. The woman, age 34, identified herself as Occupy Kat. The man, age 50, gave his name as Apollo. When asked to identify themselves in terms of race, ethnicity, and/or nationality, Kat, with light complexion and long brown hair, stated "Californian" with Kickapoo and mixed European roots. Apollo, tall and slender with mixed-race complexion, identified his heritages as Greek, Black, and Native American.

Kat arrived in New York City about 36 hours after the police cleared the occupation at Zuccotti Park. She came for psychology training and stayed for further graduate studies. She spoke of a high school social studies teacher who influenced her.

> Through him we did Model United Nations, and it was always interesting. You had to be the country you were assigned even if you didn't agree with that country. It was always kind of cool to see how involved the kids would get,

> representing the countries they were [and] had no idea what it was four months earlier. (Occupy Kat, personal communication, October 22, 2012)

Kat recalled with a laugh an unexpected episode in which students representing a Muslim country delayed a debate by taking time for ritual prayers. The teacher graciously accepted the interruption. She also spoke of a negative influence from a high school drama teacher who did not allow her to perform a Shakespeare monologue for a male role. Kat noted that this experience led her on a path to becoming a feminist. Kat's contrast between the two teachers is quite telling. One was open-minded and flexible while allowing students four months to gain a deep understand of a nation. The other had a narrow view of gender regarding who could perform what role. Teachers can never know with certainty how influential they might be in positive or negative ways, but their students often remember. Kat also mentioned that a junior high school teacher led an advocacy group, which allowed students to participate in decisions made in the school district and in city hall. This is learning democracy while doing it.

Apollo was living in Las Vegas in the months leading to OWS, and he stated that he knew that the movement was coming. He moved to New York City to work on screenplays and short films while also devoting much of his time to the Zuccotti Park occupation and its outreach efforts. He spoke of a variety of influences during his youth from films to the founding fathers to his activist mother. He gleamed with a smile when speaking of how one teacher in particular and all in general, nuns in his Catholic high school in Newark, affected him: "She actually, and all the other nuns actually, inspired me always to do my best. They all saw a lot more potential than even I was aware of" (Apollo, personal communication, October 22, 2012). This defies the stereotype of the stern, browbeating teacher-nun, and it affirms the value of a teacher who sets high expectations and provides caring support.

Four Presentation Attendees

February 12, 2013 was a typically cold and breezy winter night on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, the location of the Bluestocking bookstore and activist center. My presentation titled "Educators and the Occupy Movement" had been on the events calendar for a few weeks, but only four people attended. Of those four, three stayed for the focus group to follow. As that was underway, another person arrived late and joined in. All four who stayed were white males, and each self-identified as white. I will discuss each person's testimony one at a time in alphabetical order of the names or pseudonyms given.

Eric was a slender, pensive young man of age twenty-five. Raised in New Jersey near New York City, he spent years of his young adulthood in western North Carolina. He had recently moved to New York City from North Carolina but not in time for the Zuccotti Park occupation. He had risen to leadership roles in the growing farm-to-table and slow food movements, and he commented on how OWS made many followers of the movements in North Carolina pay attention to bigger global issues. He spoke of three teachers who were influential during his high school years in New Jersey. One was a history teacher who was "totally down with Zinn." This teacher helped Eric win a scholarship that allowed him to leave school and earn credits while working on a farm in a sustainable agriculture project. The two other

teachers were hosting the environmental club and coaching the Frisbee team. They were young, and Eric admired them for their knowledge of punk music – and not only the mainstream punk. Eric struck me as a quiet, confident activist who knew that he had found his niche in the activist world of environmental sustainability. As he spoke of the teachers who influenced him, it was clear that he was grateful for the way they touched his life.

Josh did not state his age, but he appeared to be quite young. He said that he had dropped out of college, but he looked like he could be just out of high school. He was "from around here" and had slept at Zuccotti Park during October while also participating in marches. During my presentation, he often showed expressions of doubt. He raised the question whether a public school system could ever be a force for change. I replied that this was a truly important question, and I welcomed any thoughts from him and the others. We all generally agreed that schools were conservative as institutions but that there could be pockets of alternative thought in some settings. During the focus group, Josh did not have anything to say about any teacher influencing him. Here are excerpts:

> I've always been pretty angry at things, and I hated high school and I hated college and I left both. And that was probably really important to me, and I read a lot on my own…I started reading political science books and theoretical books mostly to prove my teachers wrong so that I could just argue with them. I guess, I don't know, I read like Kropotkin, Bakunin because I wanted to, like, fuck with my civics teacher. (Josh, personal communication, February 12, 2013)

Josh clearly was an intelligent and thoughtful 'angry young man' who was eager to learn but not in a stifling school setting. He was reading classic anarchist theory on his own and likely had become an expert despite not having completed a college degree. Apparently, not a single teacher encouraged him to keep developing his alternative thinking, so he left school and continued working on his own independent education. He was the one in the group with the fewest words to say, but he exuded confidence and focus.

Mark arrived just as the focus group was starting, and he gladly joined in. At age 39 and balding, he was visibly older than the rest. He was in academia, living in Germany and visiting New York City. When I asked him how he would identify himself in terms of race, ethnicity, and/or nationality, he replied that he "would be classified as white" and that he was "beyond nations." He was an organizer in California before OWS started, and he spoke of the excitement that he shared with others when it became clear that the movement was imminent. He gave me the name and school of a history teacher who engaged his thinking while he was in an upper-middle-class suburban high school north of New York City. Mark described himself as a Reagan admirer with some interest in his parents' anarchism at that time, and this teacher "seemed to be a pretty straight-of-the-line Marxist." He spoke of his interactions with her and of her indirect influence:

> I used to spar with her a lot. I traveled to the Soviet Union not really with her inspiring at all but with the history that she had in mind. And so, I'm always

> like, "What the…how did she win the commitment that it took for her to be teaching at this school?" (Mark, personal communication, February 12, 2013)

Mark's testimony speaks to the possibilities that exist when a teacher gains enough trust with students to create a community in which students and teacher feel safe to disclose their points of view, even when controversial. I phoned the school, hoping to find that this teacher was still there and willing to talk with me, but the secretary could not find any information on her. Given Mark's age, it is likely that this teacher retired years ago.

Skeet, age 26, often had a look of frustration or sadness during the whole event. He grew up in Florida and had lived recently in Boston. He shared that he became involved in the early "euphoric" stages of the Occupy movement but then lost interest when it became "tedious." During the question-answer time that followed my presentation, he joined with Josh in expressing doubt that the education system could ever produce change. During the focus group session, he could not think of a single inspiring secondary teacher. He was "kicked out" of a Catholic high school at one point. He did speak somewhat favorably of one college instructor who let him write an essay in response to reading the *Communist Manifesto* on his own, but he added that he would not have done such writing on his own without it satisfying an assignment. Influences on his activism came from a sister who had worked in the Peace Corps and Unicef, music, and a bookstore much like the one we were sitting in. When I asked all four participants in the end whether there was anything more that they wanted to add, Skeet replied with intensified emotion:

> High school really sucked a lot. The only part of it that was really fun was to be an asshole to everybody. So, I guess it would have been really cool to have a cool secondary high school teacher then, somebody that, like, recognized that, too. But, man, I would never wish that upon somebody. If you know how much high school sucks, then I don't know why anyone can end up teaching in it. Like, I feel bad for those teachers you were just talking about in Jersey [speaking to Eric]. Like, it's got to be soul crushing to be in high school more than four years. Because it almost was soul crushing in just four years. But I don't know; it could've just been my school, probably not though, but…. (Skeet, personal communication, February 12, 2013)

I could sense Skeet's tension the whole evening, and he needed to have that final word. While Josh expressed anger and confidence, Skeet had a general look and sound of sadness. Skeet tolerated school by playing the role of class clown, but that never was enough to counter a soul-crushing, dehumanizing school experience. Perhaps Skeet is a late bloomer who will find inspiration and hope in an education, formal or not, that he has yet to find. The Occupy movement did not sustain his hope, and there are probably many like him who lost interest after the movement's initial euphoria faded. I cannot help but wonder how an understanding and nurturing critical teacher might have helped to turn the tide for Skeet in his attitude and outlook.

Conclusions

The Occupy movement, though apparently fading, has made an impact on national and global politics. The media could not ignore the staying power of activists who camped together in parks while communicating their visions of

alternatives to neoliberal capitalism. Many sources among commercial media clearly have had an agenda to present the movement with information that is superficial, disparaging, or both. Many sources among independent media have worked with severely limited resources to counter such coverage. There is a need for scholarly works to demystify the movement, and this study will join with others to serve toward that end.

Schools serve a dual purpose if indeed they are aiming to prepare students to participate in democracy. On one hand, they socialize students to be prepared to contribute to society as it is. On the other, they prepare students to become agents of change in order to participate meaningfully in an ever-evolving democracy. If authorities suppress the latter, there will be critical teachers who find ways to circumvent the overt or covert suppression. Some of these teachers will have a role in inspiring and preparing at least some students to become activists for progressive or radical causes. As this study's findings indicate, this certainly has happened to varying extents for some activists in the Occupy movement.

As critical pedagogues work within a globalized world, we cannot ignore the power, and abuses of power, of neoliberalism. We must analyze how neoliberalism is far from being democratic, sustainable, and humane. When we find it to be far from those ideals, then we need to become scholars willing to take on an activist edge in our work. My study has set out to neither sugarcoat nor hypercriticize the Occupy movement. It provides one scholar's view of the activists and their testimonies on influences from secondary educators. My hope is that this study will be a worthy contribution among many more from other critical scholars to explore the connections between pedagogy and activism in current and future social movements. Our troubled world is in dire need of this.

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