

In the Space Between Bodies Women Artists and Occupy LA

Sue Bell Yank

The Occupy movement was born soon after my daughter. When people began setting up camp in front of City Hall in Los Angeles in the later summer and fall of 2011, I was recovering from major surgery, sleepless, with a newborn. A people's protest, spurred by the reverberating consequences of the worldwide financial crisis and embracing issues as diverse as banking practices, corporate irresponsibility, lack of healthcare, and broken political systems, Occupy rooted itself bodily in public spaces across the nation. Diverse and difficult to conceptualize in a media sound bite or two, my removal from its physical space exacerbated the mixed and confusing messages I was receiving.

Yet something about this phenomenon happening in cities across the nation seemed beyond protest, it was an active practice of direct democracy on a scale not seen in my lifetime, a brave seizing of public land, a leaderless people's movement with real momentum, and I couldn't tear myself away. Unable to directly participate in the Occupy Movement's General Assemblies or the physical occupation itself, I learned of several artist friends of mine (through Facebook and an email listserv encompassing a much larger group of cultural workers

under the loose affiliation, AAAAAA) who were organizing actions down at Occupy and directly participating to various degrees. AAAAAA were Los Angeles-based cultural workers and it was instigated by artists Nancy Popp, Robby Herbst and Mathew Timmons. The group met twice in person, and organized a series of actions and performances via a Facebook group and email listserv. Its primary purpose during summer and fall of 2011 was to explore actionable ways for artists to work in solidarity with Occupy at Los Angeles City Hall.

The inception of the Occupy LAAAAA interviews on my essay blog¹ was due directly to my hunger to vicariously experience the sweep of Occupy, and to support the movement in the best way I could, which was to document and archive what was happening through the eyes of artists and thinkers I know. I ended up interviewing 10 artists over a period of two months, from 6 November 2011 to 6 January 2012. During this time, the encampment at City Hall reached a peak in numbers, additional encampments had appeared in cities all over the world, and in the space of a couple of weeks were systematically raided and dismantled. In many areas of the world, these raids turned violent and oppressive,

instances of brutality and assault proliferated, and the Occupy movement dispersed but did not entirely disappear. These interviews also explored how these artists employed different forms of “*social practice*”, a broad term for contemporary art practice that relies on participation, interaction, and engagement as core to the production of the work, which often happens collaboratively, with the artist(s) acting as facilitator(s). Often, social practice connotes an overt commitment to addressing social or environmental injustices and the concerns of marginalized communities. This is, however, a fluid term that many still disagree about defining, and gets easily mixed in with other terms like relational aesthetics, new genre public art, public practice, socially-engaged art practice and dialogical art practice, among others.²

In the interviews, I asked artists about their experiences with Occupy itself, particularly their participation in the direct democracy and consensus-driven process of the General Assemblies. I was interested in getting the perspective of people on the ground, rather than the media-filtered commentary that was often bewildered by the dispersed, leaderless polyphony of the movement and its lack of specific demands. I then asked about how respondents negotiated their own roles as artists within a larger activist context, how they interfaced with the site, performance tactics they used (as most worked in primarily performative ways), and finally, their thoughts about the arts affinity group AAAAAA to which they all were connected.

Though my questions remained consistent across interviews, the context of the shifting environment as reflected in their responses dramatically highlighted connections between artists. The most palpable thread existed in the responses of five women I interviewed, relating their varied perceptions of embodied experience in Occupy. Though Emily Lacy, Elana Mann, Anna Mayer, Janet Owen Driggs, and Nancy Popp are diverse practitioners with rigorous individual and collaborative artistic practices, they each spoke eloquently about the implications of power leveraged forcefully or willingly on the body; their own bodies, the bodies of their fellows, and the collective body of the movement. The organizing center of Occupy stemmed from its physical embodiment, its collection of bodies in space performing actions in solidarity. Unsurprisingly, all of these women artists have performative practices, at least in part, and were very concerned about the relationships of body to space and body to body. This concern is echoed in a piece by Judith Butler from September 2011 called ‘Bodies



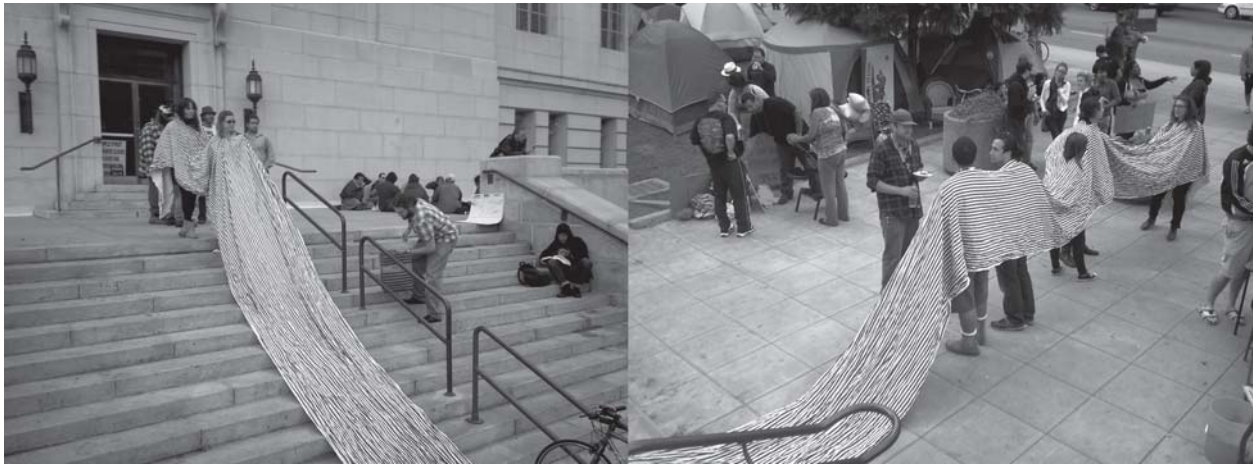
Performative reading of Judith Butler’s speech ‘Bodies in Alliance and the Politics of the Street’ with Nancy Popp, Mathew Timmons, Anna Mayer, and other occupiers. October 2011

in Alliance and the Politics of the Street’ which influenced the work of several of these artists at the time. Butler argues for the collective force of assembled bodies in producing public space, thus reconfiguring the supports necessary for speech and action. She writes, **‘bodies in their plurality lay claim to the public, find and produce the public through seizing and reconfiguring the matter of material environments; at the same time, those material environments are part of the action, and they themselves act when they become the support for action.’**³

Nancy Popp, a Los Angeles-based artist who was part of the New York, LA, and Buenos Aires Occupations, describes the ways bodies act upon space and power and are acted upon in her practice in very similar terms to Butler:

‘I’m interested in performative actions that create a ripple effect in the minds and bodies of those who experience them or participate in them. Public space and social context have been part of my work for over ten years now; I tend to create interventionist gestures that are simple, but expand into multiple challenges to established structures or hierarchies by the way they take up or occupy public space. So the work functions as a singularly-bodied occupation of multiple sites, of myself and of the space and context being occupied.’⁴

Nancy organized a performative reading of Butler’s ‘Bodies in Alliance and the Politics of the Street’ with collaborators Mathew Timmons and Anna Mayer that took place in October of 2011. A simple action, with male and female bodies in a tight circle, reading this speech-turned-essay through a megaphone on the contested site of Occupy



CamLab Study for Durational Performance (Occupy LA), 2011 Three-hour live performance with 60 feet of fabric 'At the entrance to City Hall, CamLab stood at both ends of the fabric expanse, inviting passers-by to cut their own head holes and occupy it with us. While we stood together, many different kinds of conversations materialized, from the private and personal to impromptu televised interviews'.

LA, surrounded by tents and other bodies, this powerful moment resonated uniquely in that space. In addition to this, Anna Mayer, a performance artist who maintains a solo practice as well as an ongoing collaboration with Jemima Wyman as CamLab, created actions that in her words 'aestheticized the experience in such a way that it makes protesting bodies more visible.'⁵ She and Jemima Wyman stretched a sixty-foot long length of optical fabric between their bodies and invited passers-by to cut a head hole and occupy it with them. Anna describes the underlying concerns of this performance:

This was about mapping the space between our bodies and others', making all of us more visible to people walking or driving by. These are ideas that we work with in our practice already, so to take it to OLA [Occupy Los Angeles] felt fairly seamless. The fabric was a conversation piece for the people in and around it to start talking. I'm interested in the issues of embodiment and implication, as well as playing with established rhetorical strategies and enacting more than one voice. These issues are all day-to-day concerns at OLA.'⁶

In drawing conceptual and material connections between body, space, material and societal support in the context of what Judith Butler terms a 'time of interval...time of the popular will, not a single will, not a unitary will' but rather these 'anarchist moments', these artists grapple with their roles in contemporary public assembly. Butler poses a key challenge: 'To rethink the space of appearance in order to understand the power and effect of public demonstrations for our time, we will need to understand the bodily

dimensions of action, what the body requires, and what the body can do, especially when we must think about bodies together, what holds them there, their conditions of persistence and of power.'⁷

Each of these artists expresses a complicated relationship to Occupy – contradictory hopes and fears, great optimism balanced by critique. They each were thrilled by their own physical embodiment at Occupy and the enactment of that space, but increasingly bodily and emotionally threatened by the overwhelming leveraging of state power through raids and forced eviction. Through their work, they explored the body as at once a passive vessel and active agent, utilizing the potential presented by the People's Microphone, allowing oneself to feel a deep empathy by literally placing the words of others in one's own mouth. The People's Microphone, also known as the Human Microphone, is a technique used at large public assemblies to deliver speech to a large group of people without the use of amplified sound (which often requires permits, and the use of which was heavily restricted in New York City during the Occupy Wall Street movement). The person who wishes to speak says 'mic check' and when the people around them respond, the speaker may talk. Those around them repeat the words of the speaker, allowing the whole gathering to eventually hear the speaker's message. These artists also investigated how scores (written, distributable instructions for performance or action) could act as manifesto, propaganda, historical record, and collective action, by being acted upon but also determining action. They



Left: ARLA Listening Performance, Occupy LA site, 11 November 2011.
Right: ARLA Ear Strengthening Performance, Occupy LA site, 11 November 2011. Photos: Courtesy of Carol Cheh.

experimented with notions of collectivity and distributed intelligence, and embraced the polyphony of voices in Occupy with a deep intercultural awareness.

This article attempts to map the connections between these raw interviews into several interconnected vignettes, drawing threads between the activist practices of these artists at the Occupy site, their thoughts about the embodiment and their optimism and fire balanced with their deep questioning, especially when their presence at the site was threatened.

Human Microphones

Elana Mann is an artist who works collaboratively with other artists and in collectives of many different scales on performative events and artistic actions. In her interview, she eloquently addressed communication or its lack — from the **‘empathetic power’** of the human microphone and prolonged dialogue of the General Assembly to the voices of those who felt disenfranchised and alienated from the movement. The performance collective ARLA which she founded in Spring of 2011 with filmmaker Vera Brunner-Sung, choreographer Kristen Smiarowski, and musician Juliana Snapper, conducted listening activities and performances at the Occupy LA site as a method through which to investigate these communication practices and to interface with the protests in both solidarity and criticism. As described by Elana, **‘the collective utilizes the listening strategies developed by the composer Pauline Oliveros, techniques of Jungian psychology and the history of social practice as a jumping off point to create new visual and performance art.’** Oliveros’ influence is significant as she developed techniques of **‘sonic awareness’** and **‘deep**

listening’, in particular, as **‘a way of listening in every possible way to everything possible to hear no matter what you are doing.’**⁸ ARLA’s first major action at the site was on 11 November 2011, which started with a listening parade thorough the downtown LA protest site, during which they held up large papier-mache ears and protest signs with ears on them. Juliana Snapper later described her take on this experience: **‘The simple physical presence of people carrying large papier-mache ears was met with a kind of hungry recognition - recognition of what it meant that we were holding the symbols (giant ears) and a sense of relaxation where we carried them (easy eye contact, curiosity).’**⁹ ARLA then performed Pauline Oliveros’ sonic meditation *Teach yourself to fly* (1974) and then a composition written by Juliana Snapper and Elana Mann entitled *People’s Microphony* (2011). Mann and her collaborators hosted a dialogue about listening at Occupy and the role of sound in activism.¹⁰

Her interest in these provisional modes of communications expands to the movement as a whole, which, she argues eloquently, is improvising a new relationship of protest and resistance to our interconnected and globalized society. In the interview we made in 2011, she told me:-

Our main question is: How can we facilitate tuning into each other’s voices and bodies in an active way, rather than a passive one? On the topic of listening, Juliana writes, “Churchill spoke of the courage it takes to sit down and listen as even more precious than the courage it takes to get up and speak. Any protest is necessarily focused on techniques for being heard and understood, but we have fewer tools, a more impoverished language for how to listen.” ARLA wanted to

bring the alternative techniques and ideas of listening to Occupy LA that we have been developing since our group began. Although none of the ARLA members are currently occupying the space, we had been there off and on and around our other life commitments. While at Occupy, we had noticed both the challenges and the potentials for listening at the City Hall and the GA. We were also aware of the remarkable speaking/listening techniques that are happening in the Occupy movement as a whole (including the human microphone). We have our ears turned to DisOccupy and UnPermitted LA, which are groups that include voices who feel very marginalized by the Occupy LA protest. Communication problems (which are all too common) sometimes plague our own AAAAAA group as well. Since ARLA believes active listening can break through communication impasses, we felt that our work could positively impact Occupy LA and a broader culture that tunes out certain voices and bodies in general.

Also, both Juliana and I have been completely inspired by the empathetic power of the human microphone and also the problems of putting someone else's words in your mouth and through your body. So we wanted to both add to the environment of dialog that was happening at Occupy and also play/interrogate the structure of the human microphone and its embodied force.¹¹

Elana's description here of the communicative body, and ARLA's understanding of that body as both passive and active in its performative actions, begins to unpack the implication of that body in protest, parade, and the embodied force of the People's Microphone. By implicating the collective body in the expression of the individual voice, the individual body can become the vessel for a collective consciousness.

Scores

The use of scores is a long-standing artistic method of combining the collective and the individual, of binding ideas and performative action across time and across contexts. Alison Knowles offers a good, concise definition of scores on her website: **'Event Scores involve simple actions, ideas, and objects from everyday life recontextualized as performance. Event Scores are texts that can be seen as proposal pieces or instructions for actions. The idea of the score suggests musicality. Like a musical score, Event Scores can be realized by artists other than the original creator and are open to variation and interpretation.'**¹²

For these artists, scores allowed for communal and shared creation, as well as the easy distribution of ideas across space and time. Ideal for protest situations, the score can function as both text and impetus to action. Performance is embedded in it, anticipating the bodily, and perhaps more powerfully, the relational enactment of ideas. Returning to Judith Butler, the score may be a mechanism through which to move performatively from the space of the public to the space of politics, a proposition in response to her question, **'How do we understand this acting together that opens up time and space outside and against the temporality and established architecture of the regime, one that lays claim to materiality, leans into its supports, draws from its supports, in order to rework their functions?'**¹³

In the interviews the use of scores came up repeatedly but in different ways. Nancy Popp addressed the use of scores in her practice and across physical sites, arguing that: **'Scores can be shared, re-interpreted, distributed. It's a way to say to someone else, OK – now you try it. Make it for yourself. Make yourself. It's a communal form of creating. Scores seem natural allies for occupying. Each iteration is different, unpredictable- and that's part of its strength. This is very similar to the Occupations springing up around the country – each is unique and manifests unique strengths and flaws.'**¹⁴

Elana Mann, by contrast, spoke about the longitudinal power of scores as a living social and historical document that is physically re-iterated, re-interpreted, and imbued with new meaning over time. **'I think that the power of scores for ARLA is both historical and social: we can evoke scores of Pauline Oliveros, or Jungian psychology games that are historical and improvise our own interpretations to imbue them with contemporary meaning. We are drawing wisdom of the past into the present moment. Also, the scores we write can act as instructions, manifestos, and propaganda all in one. This seems very fitting to a protest environment, where Xeroxed sheets of papers with scores printed on them can be easily dispersed, read, and performed by anyone.'**¹⁵

Anna Mayer embraced the accessibility of the score and its ability to travel in the liminal spaces between bodies: **'Scores have the potential to be enacted by anyone, so that way of working probably feels inclusive and/or accessible. It isn't about presenting a fully-realized spectacle that puts an audience in the automatic position of viewer. With a score at hand there is always the possibility of the viewer performing, too. Conceptually I think scores are perfect in**



Emily Lacy performing at the Occupy Bailraiser event at Machine Project in Echo Park, December 4, 2011.

Emily Lacy at the November 17, 2011 Occupy march in Los Angeles. Photos: courtesy Emily Lacy

Sign at Los Angeles occupation, 2011.

Photo: courtesy Matias Viegener.



the context of OLA because they're about the imagined or proposed, which is a lot of what protest is about for me. That said, I think the more materially-engaged works or actions that have happened and are happening are also very effective in their more invested strategies.¹⁶

Janet Owen Driggs, writer, curator, artist, and member of the two-person collaboration Owen Driggs with Matthew Owen Driggs, has a more critical and art historical reading of the notion of “scores” in an activist context, drawing attention to the fine line between directions to take part and didactic instructions about how to participate.

‘There are complicated things going on here I think – or at least things clashing in my brain in response to your question. Is the word “score” being used to describe directions for participation in political action? If so, why call it a score rather than, say, “directions” or “instructions”? Because the word “instructions” suggests a more authoritarian position than the word “score” perhaps? Or because a “score” is not only something of an invitation to play, it also invokes the cultural provenance and attendant authority of venerable performing art ancestors?’

More importantly, Owen Driggs sees the score as straddling the space between individual artistic authorship and collaboration, which is an oppositional reality that all of these artists have had to navigate in their activist work.

‘If this is a simultaneous reach for authority and avoidance of authoritarianism, then I think the artists concerned have found an interesting way to navigate some difficult waters. Waters in which, though the individual Author is apparently dissolving, authoring still has value. The performance of scores occurs to me as a way to swim

back and forth between the roles of author and collaborator. And even between the islands I’m going to barbarously shorthand here as the “white cube” – a place where individual abstracted revelations of interiority and/or inherency are valued – and the public realm, where art has traditionally been a vehicle for narrative or rhetorical information and meaning is created collectively.’

This navigation of the author and the collective mirrors that of the individual and the alliance, both extremely present concerns in the day-to-day of Occupy. If a political restructuring is enacted in space and on the level of the everyday, what better strategy than the event score, that abstracts and codifies everyday movement into a politicized interaction that belongs to the collective body?

Contested Space

In the midst of these interviews, starting in mid-November and continuing through the end of the month, coordinated evictions from occupied public space swept cities across the nation, instances of police brutality multiplied, and the Occupy movement faced a crossroads. Naomi Wolf’s shocking article in *The Guardian* (25 November 2011)¹⁷ about the Occupy crackdown that month described a conspiratorial reaction from the state that revealed a need to quash the threatening power of protesting bodies in space. Nancy Popp identified this crackdown in terms of **‘patriarchal dominance in the public sphere, and the use of violence as a degenerative tool by unjust powers that will erode them from within.’**¹⁸ Popp was reacting not only to these violent acts in relation to US occupations, but also to simultaneous violent assaults in revolutionary Egypt. She wrote

about seeing Mona Eltahaway in conversation with Gloria Steinem at the Hammer Museum that fall,¹⁹ discussing her physical and sexual assault at the hands of riot police in Tahrir Square in the context of the revolution: **‘Steinem expanded on the oft-quoted Mies van der Rohe phrase “God is in the details” by reminding us “The Goddess is in connections.” Connections are powerful motivators and instigators. Part of what is driving this swell of occupations is making those connections in a society that fosters disconnection and compartmentalization.’**²⁰

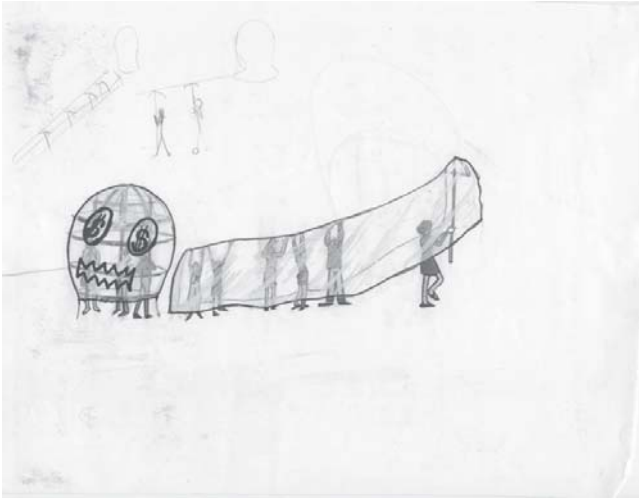
Though we cannot conflate the Occupy movements and the Egyptian Revolution, the drastic and public interconnection of bodies in space is nevertheless where political change is produced. As Judith Butler writes, **‘Freedom does not come from me or from you; it can and does happen as a relation between us, or indeed, among us.’**²¹ Brutality and violence on behalf of the state is a reaction to the performance of this relation through bodies acting together in public, which attempts to rend that collectivity and isolate bodies. In her analysis of Hannah Arendt’s *The Human Condition*, Butler poses that **‘no human can be human alone, and no human can be human without acting in concert with others and on conditions of equality.’**²² Violence forces the performing public body back into the private, and this operation of power allocates how and when the body may appear, which undermines our very humanity, our **“right to have rights.”**²³

One of the connective strategies that supported the all-important relational space between bodies in these protests is music, which plays an enormous role at any public demonstration. Emily Lacy is a Los Angeles-based musician, performer, and sound artist whose work with music and performance creates resonating layers of sound that infused several Occupy solidarity events in the city. She used megaphones that looped and played back sounds/ words, creating layered soundscapes that, in her words, **‘facilitate unity and harmony among people and ideas.’**²⁴ Since connection between groups and individuals is such a resonant concern for her as an artist, the raid of the Occupy LA encampment deeply affected her thoughts and feelings about the movement. Below she describes both her intellectual thoughts about the movement as well as her embedded bodily emotions, with little separation. For her the raids disrupted and silenced the 24-hour continuous performance and protest potential which the tents themselves embodied.

Witnessing the raid at Occupy LA²⁵ was really educational for me as a citizen of this world. I thought a lot about the power of ideas, and the danger an idea can take on when it stands for something that’s viewed as radical, or highly political in nature. In this case, as in many others, we are talking physically about camping tents. Fucking camping tents! But the tents are a symbol for this kind of call for justice, the tents are a symbol for a movement that is saying the current system must be confronted for what it is: corrupt, broken, suspicious. The tents we’re saying we will not let these things go unnoticed, we will sleep outside until we fix this. Imagine if the tents were doves, symbols of the peace movement. Imagine if you saw 1400 riot police moving into slash and destroy living things. What I saw that night when the police came in and established their position was incredible, it was a shift in power, and thus in ideas. The physical removal of people and things changed the power dynamic and thus the dialogue, and in that way it felt like a kind of spiritual violence. Even though they didn’t use tear gas, it was still violent. Because they took the park away (legal or not) they changed the current exchange of symbols. They took away a statement. They took away a dangerous idea. I saw something removed and extracted that night and it felt so terrifying. I had never felt so physically like the enemy before. These sites are being treated as crime scenes and that is very alienating. I will never forget some of the things I saw that night. It’s not the same as watching something on TV, there is a danger and a violence that exists in the flesh I can’t describe otherwise.

We must bear witness to the churning of ideas and dialogue, and be willing to see in person when a great shift of power or space is set to be contested. Responding to a photograph or video footage will not do the trick. It’s not the same as witnessing injustice firsthand. Shifting the experience of the movement and the protests back into the physical body, from the realm of ideas, is a different experience altogether. It’s a different reality because you fear for your life in a different way. You fear for the implications of your physical body. Maybe what I saw challenged my view of the relation of the body to ideas. We must witness that, I believe, if we are willing to succeed in this.²⁶

These acts of eviction were unequivocally acts of violence against not only individual bodies, but against a collective idea that existed only in its relation to a newly produced space. To forcibly remove the bodies from the public sphere was to cause the death of that sphere.



Janet Owen Driggs Sketch for *Octopy* puppet (2011). Courtesy of Artist. *Octopus cake* (2011) Photo : Courtesy Janet Owen Driggs.

Distributed Intelligence

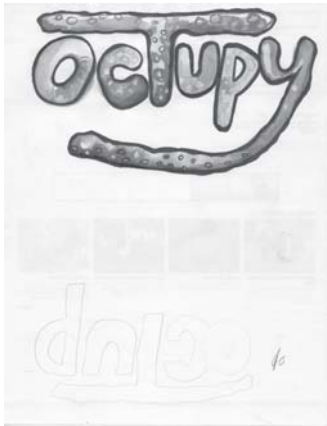
Yet because this idea was collective and the movement leaderless, tied to space and interconnection rather than a singular figure, its resilience and possibility remains.

Janet Owen Driggs and a large group of collaborators did several performances at Occupy LA and other sites with a giant octopus puppet built from refuse that was operated by twenty people. Accompanying this performance were several events and discussions. The Octopus had many historical, social, and biological points of resonance as a symbol – from the tentacular grip of corporate America (a reference to the Southern Pacific Railroad and the contentious history of land use struggles in Los Angeles) to the “*agitprop*”²⁷ process of performing in public space as a means to reconfigure relations in that space. Perhaps most resonant with the power of Occupy is the octopus as a symbol of emergent, distributed intelligence as it applies to a re-structured, horizontal society. Here Marina Sitrin’s definition of horizontalism as a ‘**democratic communication on a level plane (that) involves – or at least intentionally strives towards – non-hierarchical and anti-authoritarian creation rather than reaction**’ was important.²⁸ As Janet describes: ‘**scientists speculate that these creatures, which have over “half of their 500 million neurons. . . in the arms themselves,” may have “a collaborative, cooperative, but distributed mind.” This seems a really rich model/metaphor by which to think about the kind of non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian organization and relationships that the occupations aim for.**’²⁹

The Octopus metaphor underscores the kind of raw social-emotional intelligence produced by bodies in space with other bodies, performing actions in solidarity. As Butler

describes, selectively quoting the work of Hannah Arendt, ‘**the “true” space then lies “between the people” which means that as much as any action takes place somewhere located, it also establishes a space that belongs properly to the alliance itself. After raids and evictions, a remnant of this space persisted. It was in that space that the architecture of society itself was reorganized, and in that space “what some would call “horizontal relations” among the protestors formed easily and methodically” – not only in speech and action, but in the everyday actions of caring for the beds on pavement, the makeshift medical stations and bathrooms, the places where people ate, and the places where people were exposed to violence from the outside. These actions were all political in the simple sense that they were breaking down a conventional distinction between public and private in order to establish relations of equality; in this sense, they were incorporating into the very social form of resistance the principles for which they were struggling for on the street.**’³⁰ Janet Owen Driggs describes some of these dynamics at Occupy LA’s General Assembly:

The General Assembly (GA) can be both frustrating and tedious. But any process that challenges the verticality of authoritarian, politics-as-usual – anything that challenges the ingrained habits of monvocality – is bound to feel polyphonous. The power dynamics of capitalism determine contemporary social relations. –Non-hierarchical and non-authoritarian relationships will not come about until those dynamics change. Horizontalism does not defer social change to a later date; instead participants create the future in their present social relationships. It is both a goal and a tool by which to approach the goal.³¹



Janet Owen Driggs
Octopy drawing(2011)
 Courtesy of Artist.

The contemporary assembly of bodies in space requires duration to enact the relations that define the principles of an imagined future and contest the legitimacy of now. That future became very present in Occupy, and was played out in space, in real time. Though no longer corporeal, its potential remains latent, just below the surface, in that liminality between each of us.

Susan Bell Yank is Assistant Director, Academic Programs, Hammer Museum, UCLA.

Notes

1. My essay blog which focuses on social practice in contemporary art can be found at <http://suebelllyank.com>
2. Writers who address this work directly include Claire Bishop, Pablo Helguera, Grant Kester, and Shannon Jackson, among others.
3. Judith Butler 'Bodies in Alliance and the Politics of the Street' *Transversal* (Occupy and Assemble issue), (October 2011) <http://eicpp.net/transversal/1011/butler/en> [accessed May 13, 2013]
4. Nancy Popp interviewed by Sue Bell Yank 'Social Practice: writings about the social in contemporary art' (28 November 2011). <http://suebelllyank.com/2011/11/28/occupy-la-artists-in-solidarity-nancy-popp-edition/>
5. Anna Mayer interviewed by Sue Bell Yank 'Social Practice: writings about the social in contemporary art' (10 November 2011). <http://suebelllyank.com/2011/11/10/occupy-la-artists-in-solidarity-anna-mayer-edition/>
6. Mayer interview (2011)
7. Butler 'Bodies in Alliance' (2011)
8. Pauline Oliveros is an American accordionist and composer, who was a central figure in the development of post-war experimental music. She was a founding member and director of the San Francisco Tape Music Center in the 1960s, founded her Deep Listening Band and wrote the *n.paradoxa* Vol.32

Sonic Meditations composition series. www.paulineoliveros.us/about.html

9. Elana Mann, interview by Sue Bell Yank 'Social Practice: writings about the social in contemporary art' (19 November 2011) <http://suebelllyank.com/2011/11/19/occupy-la-artists-in-solidarity-elana-mann-edition/>
10. For a more thorough description of the work of ARLA at Occupy LA, see www.elanamann.com/writing/radical-receptivities
11. Mann interview (2011)
12. Quote from www.aknowles.com/eventscore.html. Such "event scores" were popularized by the Fluxus group of musicians, artists, and composers in the 1960s, and used by artists like Allan Kaprow, Yoko Ono, and George Brecht.
13. Butler 'Bodies in Alliance' (2011)
14. Popp interview (2011)
15. Mann interview (2011)
16. Mayer interview (2011)
17. Naomi Wolf 'The shocking truth about the crackdown on Occupy' *The Guardian* (25 November 2011) www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cifamerica/2011/nov/25/shocking-truth-about-crackdown-occupy
18. Popp interview (2011)
19. Mona Eltahaway & Gloria Steinem 'Hammer Conversations' series, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles (25 October 2011) http://hammer.ucla.edu/programs/detail/program_id/1007
20. Popp interview (2011)
21. Butler 'Bodies in Alliance' (2011)
22. Butler 'Bodies in Alliance' (2011)
23. Butler 'Bodies in Alliance' (2011)
24. Emily Lacy interviewed by Sue Bell Yank 'Social Practice: writings about the social in contemporary art' (16 December 2011) <http://suebelllyank.com/2011/12/16/occupy-la-artists-in-solidarity-emily-lacy-edition/>
25. For a breakdown of the Occupy LA raid and police activity, see http://blogs.laweekly.com/informer/2011/11/occupy_la_raid_lapd.php
26. Lacy interview (2011)
27. A combination of the words "agitation" and "propaganda."
28. Marina Sitrin *Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina* (AK Press, 2006)
29. Alvin Powell 'Thinking Like an Octopus' *Harvard Gazette* (21 October 2010) <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2010/10/thinking-like-an-octopus/>
30. Butler 'Bodies in Alliance' (2011)
31. Janet Owen Driggs interview (2011). Janet writes more about embodied experience and Marina Sitrin in a piece called 'Something More Than Just Survival' *Proboscis* with Jules Rochielle Sievert, available at the Diffusion Library here: <http://diffusion.org.uk/?p=2561>