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What is This?

Connective labor and social media: Women's roles in the 'leaderless' Occupy movement

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Abstract

This article draws upon the insights of 75 Occupy activists from Toronto and across the United States interviewed as part of the 3-year study 'Social Media in the Hands of Young Citizens'. This article highlights three major roles adopted by women in the so-called leaderless, horizontally structured Occupy movement – both within the offline, face-to-face General Assembly meetings held during the Occupy encampments and within the online spaces of Facebook pages, Web sites, affinity groups, and working committees. As key participants in the movement, women used social technologies such as Facebook, Twitter, and livestreaming as modes of activist engagement, developing unique roles such as that of the 'Admin' (Social Media Administrator), the 'Documentarian', and the 'Connector'. The women's adoption of these roles illustrates, we argue, the emerging notion of 'connective labor' an extended enactment of Bennett and Segerberg's (2012) notion of 'the logic of connective action', augmenting its logic to reveal the often hidden labor of women in sustaining the networked and affective dimension of social movements. This article highlights the gendered, hybrid, embodied, and material nature of women's connective labor that has supported, and in many ways sustained, the contemporary Occupy movement.

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Keywords

Connective labor, direct action democracy, emotional labor, gender, horizontalism, hybrid social movements, ICTs and social media, Occupy Wall Street, participatory culture, women activists

Introduction

> OWS isn't a protest, it's a process. (Dietz, 2013)

The innovative creativity of contemporary hybrid social movements arises, significantly, from the adaptation of feminist organizing tactics including horizontalism, consensus-based decision making, and the 'logic of connective action' (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012: 748). Yet the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) and broader Occupy Movement (hereafter referred to as 'Occupy') have been dismissed by some as a social outcry, not a social movement, thereby missing in many ways precisely that which is most notable and innovative about it. One primary reason for this misreading is the movement's supposed lack of identifiable goals – a perception that is exacerbated by the 'leaderless', horizontal structure characteristic of this and numerous other contemporary social movements. Yet similar critiques of capitalism, greed, and economic injustice that grounded Occupy are most recently emerging from unexpected sources; in the spring of 2014 author Thomas Piketty's bestselling book *Capital in the 21st Century* offers a new lens on the OWS critiques of capitalism's inherent flaws, including the debilitating myth that meritocracy levels the playing field. This surprise bestseller exemplifies, to some, a crystallization of 'a conversation that America should have ... had a long time time ago' (Moore, 2014), in which 'there are two ways to change a society: from the bottom, and from the top. Occupy Wall Street tried it the first way, and paved the road with populism. Thomas Piketty is going for the second way' (Moore, 2014). Piketty's approach augments the arguments made not only by Occupy activists but by diverse antiglobalization movements kicked off by the 1999 'Battle of Seattle' WTO protests that represent a plurality of analyses against global capitalism.

This same plurality of Occupy messages, and absence of a centralized leadership group to personify the movement, prohibits traditional media commentators from pursuing singular and simplistic sound bytes and defies mainstream conceptions of what counts as politics.

> The persistent media response to Occupy has been the question, 'What does Occupy want?' This question inaugurates the dynamic of gender ventriloquism by suggesting that Occupy, despite its prolific website publication and 24/7 broadcasts, does not know, and has not stated, what it wants. It positions Occupy as not speaking of its desire, and creates a void to be filled. It neatly re-produces Occupy as lacking its own mind or minds, posing the question also evokes Freud's famous question, 'What do women want?' ... Posing this question positions Occupy, like women in some psychoanalytic theory, as not speaking for itself, as needing someone outside, a male expert, to speak for it. In this way the question feminizes Occupy. (Seuffert, 2013: 14)

Just as traditional media have struggled to decipher the actual and clear demands of Occupiers, so has much of the media reporting and scholarly study on Occupy tended to overlook the gender-specific forms of invisible labor that catalyze, fuel, and sustain this and other such social movements. This essay illustrates the significance of gendered practices of what we term 'connective labor' as a sustaining force within Occupy. We render that labor visible by elaborating practices

and concepts that constitute connective labor as a key affective 'glue' which takes material and immaterial forms. To develop the notion of connective labor, we draw on the findings from our funded, 3-year, mixed-methods research project, which included 75 semi-structured interviews with Occupy participants, to illustrate how women continue to access and intervene in the means of production and communication as part of their indispensable, yet largely invisible, organizing and activist leadership in the movement.

Our study of women's roles within Occupy contributes grounded theoretical evidence of what we are calling connective labor to contemporary scholarship. In so doing, our work begins to address an account of the experiences of the individual, a gap previously identified in contemporary political and sociological social movement scholarship.

Methods

The 3-year research study, 'Social Media in the Hands of Young Citizens'[1] investigated the motivations and practices of first time and seasoned activists within the context of current global uprisings and protests. Funded by a Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council grant, our initial work consisted of careful discourse analysis of Occupy-related Web-based content, analyzing Facebook pages, Twitter feeds, and traditional and alternative news coverage. In November 2011, the research began with 50 semi-structured, 30-min interviews on-site with Occupy Toronto camp participants. The following year, we conducted 25 semi-structured interviews with women in 8 cities across North America and 1 woman Occupy leader in Melbourne, Australia. We elected to focus on women in the second phase of interviews in order to address the lack of sustained research on women's contributions with social movements, particularly with respect to social media use.[2] The 25 semi-structured interviews – ranging from one to three hours per interviewee – asked participants to address questions covering topics including their motivations for participating in Occupy, their hopes for the Occupy movement, their social media participation throughout the encampment and postencampment stages of the movement, cross-generational dialogues within the movement, shared texts and philosophies within the movement, and the consciousness raising practices they witnessed throughout their involvement of Occupy.

Through our in-depth research with women participants from nine Occupy sites/cities[3] (including, in some cases, second, follow-up interviews with interviewees), we observed the emergence of new models of 'hybrid' activist organizing. Specifically, we identified three key roles or sets of practices in our interviewees' accounts of their participation in the movement. As we will argue, these roles, which we've named with the umbrella terms of Connector, Documentarian, and Admin (Social Media Administrator), are evidence of the largely invisible digital, immaterial, and affective labor performed by women participants in Occupy and other contemporary social movements, a body of work which we term connective labor.

We begin by briefly contextualizing our emphasis on women's roles within the Occupy movement by drawing on connections articulated by some scholars between Occupy and second-wave feminist organizing practices and histories. Here, we also elaborate on the historical roots of horizontalism that characterize contemporary social movements understood as leaderless movements. In the next section, we detail the emergent forms of digital and social media activist practices taken up by our interviewees and argue why their unique practices can be grouped together to form portraits of new and important organizing roles within Occupy and other movements. In the Conclusion section, we assert the significance of connective labor by bringing it into conversation

with three key concepts that structure current scholarly discussion on social movements, by extending and indeed revisioning each area of thought.

Contextualizing women's invisible labor in social movements

It is difficult to miss the irony that at a time when women are increasingly adopting distinctive and potent leadership roles within contemporary social movement organizational structures, a commitment to horizontalism and an ethos of leaderless movements renders any identification of leaders unwelcome. However, particularly in movements that have a 'prefigurative dimension' (Epstein, 2002) such as the Occupy movement, there are long-standing and significant ties to feminist values and histories, against which we situate our analysis of women's roles in this section.[4]

First, the often invisible labor of women in Occupy can be situated in relation to a relatively small body of literature addressing women's roles in other social movements. Occupy was distinctively shaped by the values and visions of members (both men and women) who identified as anarchist or even anarcha-feminists. *Quiet Rumours: An Anarcha-Feminist Reader* (Star, 2012) provides important historical and contemporary accounts of the histories and practices of women and anarchism within different social movements including second-wave feminism.[5] Analyses of women's labor in social movements don't always use the lens of 'feminism', as with the globally diverse practices and ideas of anarcha-feminism, which reflect long histories beyond the scope of this essay in relation to women's labor and roles in social movements. *Quiet Rumours* (2012) provides several key points tying feminist histories to anarchist movements. The first version of this book (in the 1970s) 'spoke to the important overlap at the intersections of anarchism and the women's liberation movement, an overlap that would, over time, begin to form itself into what we now call anarcha-feminism' (Star, 2012: 6), characterized in the 2002 second edition by two renowned essays regarding some of the very kinds of collective processes engaged in contemporary social movements: Jo Freeman's 'The Tyranny of Structurelessness' (1972) and Cathy Levine's 'The Tyranny of Tyranny' (1975).

> Though these texts that grew out of the women's liberation movement are in some ways contradictory to anarchist principles and practice, [editor at time] Dark Star argued that the women's movement had provided an important and concrete glimpse into the revolutionary politics of equality that ultimately defines the anarchist vision of society' (2012: 7). By the 2012 3rd edition, the AK Press Collective writes: 'What does it mean to talk about feminism in a social and political context that has begun – finally – to question the logic of the gender binary? (2012: 7)

Addressing the same early connections between feminist practices and social movements, historian Barbara Epstein (2002) details the ways in which the nonviolent direct action networks of antinuclear work in the San Francisco Bay Area in the early 1980s included processes and values drawn directly from feminist organizing such as the importance of community, a strict attention to process, a commitment to consensus decision making and an informal leadership style. As Epstein notes, the consensus process was also known as 'feminist process' (2002: 339). Women's leadership in social movements is equally evident in the histories of the Greenham Commons protest camp in the United Kingdom during the 1980s. As Sasha Roseneil (2000: 35) describes:

> Greenham was also formed in a conflictual relationship to aspects of the social movements of the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s. Many Greenham women had been involved in these movements (particularly the peace movement, the environmental movement, and the student movement) and had found

that they were marginalized and assigned secondary roles. Others had been part of the 'counter culture' and had experienced life in communal houses and alternative communities where they found they were still expected to fulfill traditional women's roles. Anger at this fuelled the determination to make and keep Greenham women-only and anti-hierarchical. (Roseneil, 2000)

The question of women's roles (and gender more broadly) on the ground in the Occupy movement and in popular news media presents a useful backdrop for our more particular exploration of women's roles and practices with social and digital media in Occupy. Most popular media reports remain focused on internal issues, such as sexual harassment at the camps, despite the myriad other nuanced questions about gender that are still to be posed. Since Occupy's emergence, however, two contemporary scholars have acknowledged important connections between Occupy practices and the values, practices, and ethos of second-wave feminism. Governmental political scientist Sidney Tarrow (2011) states without hesitation that Occupy closely mirrors second wave of feminism in its refusal to adopt singular goals or limiting hierarchical structures:[6]

If Occupy Wall Street resembles any movement in recent American history, it would actually be the so-called new women's movement of the 1970s. When that struggle emerged in the wake of the civil rights movement, it shocked conservatives and befuddled liberals. They first saw the activists as a bunch of bra-burning anarchists; the second considered them unladylike, or, well-meaning liberals gone off the reservation. Although the leaders of the new women's movement had policies they wanted on the agenda, their foremost demand was for recognition of, and credit for, the gendered reality of everyday life. Likewise, when the Occupy Wall Street activists attack Wall Street, it is not capitalism as such they are targeting, but a system of economic relations that has lost its way and failed to serve the public. (Tarrow, 2011)

Activist and writer David Graeber (2013) also notes the key role of feminism as a precursor to the form of direct democracy, which Occupy embraced:

The direct democratic process adopted by Occupy Wall Street has deep roots in American radical history. It was widely employed in the civil rights movement and by the Students for a Democratic Society. But its current form has developed from within movements like feminism and even spiritual traditions (both Quaker and Native American) as much as from within anarchism itself. (Graeber, 2013: 23)

Key similarities between Occupy and second-wave feminisms include the following: (a) organizational structure (Occupy is committed to being a leaderless movement built on horizontalism and consensus decision making); (b) a commitment to process (how one undertakes the practice and materialization of the envisioned change matters as much as the goal); and (c) the use of consciousness raising as a practice for 'unlearning' dominant or hegemonic values and ideologies in order to create space for envisioning and materializing alternative world-making. These procedural overlaps are apparent through the enactment of the following in Occupy: (a) consciousness-raising practices; (b) Feminist General Assemblies; (c) consensus-based decision making; (d) emphasis on inclusivity; and (e) shared leadership.

As journalist and blogger Stephanie Rogers (2011) describes, Occupy was catalyzed precisely by the unique intersection of online/offline hybrid organizing and the 'personal as political' ethos popularized by second-wave feminism:

Occupy Wall Street wouldn't exist without the fast-as-hell sharing of information over Twitter, personal e-mail exchanges among both participants and skeptics, blogs such as We Are the 99% (a site that showcases photos of people from all over the world sharing personal stories of economic struggle), Facebook (where pages for new feminist groups devoted to Occupy camps crop up daily) and YouTube

footage that captures precisely how personal struggle translates into collective[7] political action. (Rogers, 2011: n.p.)

However, despite these scholars' acknowledgment of second-wave feminism as a historical influence on contemporary social movements such as Occupy, recognition of women's roles in both historical and contemporary social movements continues to be sidelined and underresearched both in the academy and in the activist spheres in which women work. As Bhattacharjya et al. (2013: 278) argue in their recent essay on feminism and social justice movements, 'Even when women are active participants in social mobilization, this does not necessarily guarantee that women's rights and gender justice are priority areas for movements' (Bhattacharjya et al., 2013). As one of our interview questions probed, 'Do you see gender issues discussed/addressed as part of the goals or philosophy of Occupy – for example, women's rights as human rights, feminism, patriarchy, or other such vocabulary?' Across the board, each participant replied in the negative. Further, a common refrain was that gender was never raised as a concern central to questions of economic justice or equality – whether in discussions about childcare for Occupy mothers or within conversations regarding visions of a better world and economic policies.

It is in regard to this persistent lack of recognition for women's roles, motivations, and practices within broader social movements, both historically and currently, that our research focuses on and develops the concept of women's connective labor as the affective glue helping hold the Occupy movement together.

Horizontalism. First, it is important to outline and contextualize the concept of horizontalism as defined by women in the Occupy movement (Gray and Lopez, 2014), as it is partly this organizational structure that allowed the unique organizing and activist roles detailed in the subsequent section. Contemporary scholar Marina Sitrin (2012) defines horizontalism in contemporary social movements thusly:

Horizontalidad, horizontality, and horizontalism are words that encapsulate the ideas upon which many of the social relationships and political interactions in the new global movements are grounded – from Spain to Greece, and now most recently here in the US Occupy movement.[8]

Horizontalidad is a social relationship that implies, as its name suggests, a flat plane upon which to communicate. *Horizontalidad* necessarily implies the use of direct democracy and the striving for consensus, processes in which attempts are made so that everyone is heard and new relationships are created. *Horizontalidad* is a new way of relating, based in affective politics and against all the implications of 'isms'. It is a dynamic social relationship. It is not an ideology or political program that must be met so as to create a new society or new idea. It is a break with these sorts of vertical ways of organizing and relating, and a break that is an opening.[9]

Horizontal social movements demonstrate a renewed desire for direct and participatory democracy. As one of our participants stated, inclusion in this type of process radically altered her conception of democracy:

I think if people would experience that process, they would understand that we don't need this representative bullsh – that we have going on because they don't represent us. Pelosi, Boxer, Feinstein, they're millionaires. They have nothing in common with me. I know they don't represent me. . . . After having Occupy, I don't need anyone to represent me. I'm capable of making a decision on my own. (Mariah, Occupy Oakland)

In addition to second-wave feminism, horizontalism has other roots and lineages as well. Some identify the Argentinian context as the first instance of popular identification and use of the term in 2003. Most uses of horizontalism reflect movements whose values are fundamentally rooted in a mistrust of traditional authorities as well as in hierarchies, seen as absolutely corrupting.

> While I have translated it as horizontalism, it is more of an antiism. Horizontalism is not an ideology, but more of a social relationship, a way of being and relating. It comes from a new practice in Argentina, a practice that as of yet we do not have in the English language ... not yet anyway.[10]

> ... I believe that part of the impulse towards *horizontalidad* was related to ... this inability to trust officials, this feeling that all leaders that existed were corrupt by the mere fact of being leaders. Regardless of who held whatever formal position, inevitably he/she was corrupt, had abandoned you, and was totally separate from your problems and necessities.....[11]

The increasingly widespread practices of horizontalism and hybridity are the participatory cultural foundation of new social movements. They are key to the logic of connective action, the theoretical precursor to our notion of connective labor. Sitrin's description of how participants around the world describe their experience of horizontalism as a practice resonates clearly and directly with the experience of feminist processes we outlined earlier.

To participate in any of the assemblies taking place throughout the United States, and in many places around the globe, means to stand or sit in a circle, with a handful of facilitators, and speak and listen in turn, usually with general guidelines and principles of unity, and then together attempt to reach consensus – meaning to reach a general agreement that all can feel satisfied with, but that is not necessarily perfect, on whatever issue is raised, all the while doing so through the process of active listening. If one were to ask a participant about this process, which I have done countless times, she would most likely explain the need to listen to one another, perhaps she might use the language of democracy – something like direct, real, or participatory democracy – or maybe she would say that we do not have a society in which people can really participate, so that is what we are trying to do here, in this space and with this assembly.[12]

One can readily see how the dialogue-based, process-oriented ethos requires what we term connective labor: How indeed does one help create the conditions necessary for these kinds of inclusive, lateral, nonhierarchical 'learning' or even 'consciousness-raising' public spaces? While Sitrin's (2012) definition describes face-to-face (F2F), copresent experiences of horizontalism, the social movements under discussion are of course hybrid, thus including both the F2F and the computer-mediated communication. In the subsequent section, we evidence the significance of three particular social/digital media roles played by women in the hybrid spaces of Occupy, which ensure that horizontalism as a shared ethos and culture of values is re-created through computer-mediated communication processes, web-based communities and spaces.

Connective labor and three unique roles of women in contemporary social movements

In this section, we illustrate the embodied ways in which the connective labor of Occupy is gendered and hybrid, while frequently invisible. We outline the three major roles we have identified to reference the practices and subpractices initiated and carried out by the women participants in our study. Then, on the basis of our research, we suggest that these practices might offer a new model for conceptualizing what it means to engage in hybrid, participatory democracy, paying particular attention to how this engagement represents immaterial and affective work.

It is important to situate our identification of the women's roles[13] within an emerging discourse of the 'practice turn' in media theory (Bräuchler and Postill, 2010; Couldry, 2010), rethinking the three roles as specialized practices and the tasks essential to each role as subpractices so as to 'gain a firmer grounding in the import of women's contributions to the movement' (Postill, 2010: 11), or what John Postill describes as, 'Practice theory is a body of work about the work of the body' (2010: 11). From our interviews with women Occupiers in 2012 and 2013, a new model emerged for conceptualizing social media's organizational and consciousness-raising capacities, evident in the ways these participants use, but also share, these digital tools:

> Yeah, I specifically started the Occupy Orange Facebook page, so that I personally could put out to the issues that were my passion, and then I also am an admin on the Occupy Orange County page, which I share with about five other people. . . . What's important to me is that anybody reading or interested in the issues will have access to those issues and the information about it. . . . There are hundreds, at least in Orange County, who have spent a lot of time and who care, even the simple thing of Facebook reading a post, sharing a post to their friends. It doesn't seem like much, but all of sudden there it is in the news and there it is being counted . . . it is the power of the people that are speaking. (Adrienne, Occupy Orange County)

It is important to note that of course the roles often overlap; one participant may be fulfilling all three roles in various capacities. However, there are also important distinctions: Admins (Administrators) organize and publicize the efforts of their Occupy Movement city/site; Documentarians archive and author; Connectors share, mobilize, reach out, and network. After first outlining each role and the subpractices crucial to each role's performance, we will analyze and reflect on the participant's adoption of these roles as evidence of connective labor.

Role one: the Admin (strategizing, metrics, and curating). One of the most explicitly discussed roles in our interviews was that of the Admin. Admins are those who use online social tools such as Twitter or Facebook to organize and publicize the effort of their local Occupy site. As the following participant quotes demonstrate, Adminning is a new way of performing leadership by taking responsibility for the logistics of information dissemination.

> I think a normal day in social media is just . . . a lot of strategy. I like to have fun. That's the most important thing. I'm like, 'Okay. How do I get people to read this?' That's the first thought that I have. There's a lot of great content, a lot of important news. (Karla, Occupy Los Angeles (LA))

Karla is a young activist with former journalism experience. She was politicized in her university days but considers Occupy her first major activist experience. Karla took on 'adminning' as her self-proclaimed position in Occupy LA, describing it as a full-time job. In sharing her expertise around the crucial subpractices of strategizing, curating, and dealing with online metrics and analytics, Karla offers us a nuanced example of connective labor.

> Strategizing. I focus on what we put and when. . . . Like rush hour, between 8:00 and 9:30 am, that's the highest traffic we have. So, I always think if there's some really good thing . . . leave it for 8:00 am. . . . I say that at noontime, people go to lunch. . . . So, I'm like, 'Okay. People are going to be reading during this time. So, I want to give them something that . . . goes well with their food, right?' . . . Usually political humor or critical thinking pieces could be, you know, (good) for that time. (Karla, Occupy LA)

Karla's effective Admin strategizing requires strategic and knowledgeable tailoring of her online content to the offline daily habits of commuters, an example of hybrid organizing that

characterizes Occupy label. It is clear from her quote that Karla draws on her journalism background for her Admin work, as did a handful of other Admins we spoke to. During her interview she made it clear that an ability to target content for particular times of the day was crucial to successful adminning in a large site like LA.

> We have 56,000 followers on our Facebook page. There's people who come regularly. We have people from all over the world. Our biggest range of people coming in, reading our page, is between 25 and 30-something. . . . I noticed that the bracket of young kids . . . had 0.13%, just young kids. I'm like, hey . . . we should be targeting this end. (Karla, Occupy LA)

Karla also provided valuable insight into how some Admins use metrics and statistical information generated by social media platforms such as Facebook to target their content appropriately. She learned this skill from another Admin and used it to measure and leverage data from the Facebook page which she was in charge of. This helped her understand how to bring certain groups onto the page, and consequently, into the movement.

> I call everyone to see what's goin' on, and I'm like, 'If anyone knows anything . . . send us information. If you have an article, send it to us' . . . I just pick and choose what I think is best. Sometimes we focus on certain things, like . . . the fiscal cliff, we spent a whole entire day, one day, (and) dedicated most articles to that. 'Cause we wanted people to understand. (Karla, Occupy LA)

As Karla describes, a core task of the Admins use metrics and statistical through and curating the vast amount of information circulating online related to the movement. She highlights how this aspect of the role is important in serving the needs of others and facilitating their understanding of the rapid progress of events in and around Occupy.

Her detailed accounts of and reflections on her Admin work centered around the need to assess what people's needs are, how best to reach them, what kinds of learning people would be open to and when. These reflections point to her own connective labor within and beyond her local Occupation. Equally important is her mentorship work – another form of connective labor – encouraging those who do have knowledge and skills to contribute in their own voices, as opposed to reposting content from somewhere else:

> We don't want to be saying what everybody else is saying. We just want to make our own content . . . a lot of times we just shared content, you know, from all the alternative media. But I encourage a lot of our admins, 'Let's write our own pieces. Let's do our own thing'.

On the question of learning and mentoring, Karla volunteered on several occasions an acknowledgment of her debt to a Facebook comrade, fellow journalist, and Admin, who mentored her in this work. This is an example of the all-too-rare cross-generational alliances found in Occupy.

Role two: the Documentarian (informing, witnessing, and archiving). The second role, or set of practices, described by the women Occupiers we interviewed is that of the Documentarian. Participants who described themselves as Documentarians expressed a sense of individual responsibility not only to fellow Occupiers but also to the general public. This sense of responsibility is related to access; since they had access to the kind of new technologies that allow them to document the live events of the movement, they felt sharing this information is an expression of civic responsibility:

> Anybody can tell you in this movement I am kinda crazy with the camera because I document every-
> thing and I put it up regularly. . . . And that's something that became really important . . . it's like tell-
> ing people what you're doing and also sharing that it is being done. . . . Images actually are a lot more
> effective than (words). People can see that something's happening and it catalyzes them in a different
> way than having to read about it. (Mariah, Occupy Santa Ana).

Mariah is a doctor of philosophy student who loved seeing theory put into practice when she began participating in Occupy Santa Ana. She was a first-time social media user and was not the only participant who described teaching herself to use new technologies in an attempt to support the movement as a Documentarian. This can also be found in comments from Dina (Occupy LA) and others:

> In January, I started livestreaming. I probably would have launched it sooner if I knew I could have.
> Because I had looked into it but . . . it seemed like it was expensive . . . it seemed out of my reach, and
> that maybe it was too technologically advanced. But then (from) watching livestream, I realized that
> some of the streamers were using Ustream with android phones. I learned by watching how to do live
> streaming. . . . Now, I am working with different Occupy news (platforms). I am working with OWS
> week and Occupy Public Access TV in New York. (Dina, Occupy LA)

With this comment, Dina exemplifies the do-it-yourself (DIY) spirit of many women Occupiers who took it upon themselves to learn new technologies, efforts particularly significant in relation-ship to women's historically prohibited access to the means of production and circulation (Epstein, 1988: 35). Interviewees who identified as Documentarians described several important tasks that structured their participation in the movement. These subpractices can be grouped together as wit-nessing, archiving, and informing.

Witnessing was mentioned as one of the most crucial subpractices of the Documentarian within our interviews. This was an especially important task when it came to the extremely fraught encounters with law enforcement experienced by many occupations.

> You could see how LAPD was (saying) 'Okay, you guys stay here, oh okay, you go there' and they
> were . . . just kind of doing this ballet orchestration of (the media). But two blocks away they're beat-
> ing people and the media wasn't allowed to go over there and see that. And then when they shot the guy
> in the tree house, the media didn't show that. But the live streamers, (like) Medina . . . she livestreamed
> it, shooting the guys in the tree house. (Dina, Occupy LA)

Dina's comments stress the great responsibility these Documentarians felt for capturing the events happening 'on the ground' and sharing them as widely as possible. Such comments illustrate the view that their lived experience in the movement constitutes a truth not reported (or reportable) in mainstream media. Karla describes this poignantly in discussing Dina's value to their Occupy site as a livestreamer:

> Only us that actually went through it and saw it, that actually were there, understand what happened,
> and that's why we make sure that we have our own people . . . taking pictures (or) live streaming. PB
> has become our soul . . . her footage is worth a lot. (Karla, Occupy LA)

In this way, the subpractice of witnessing must be seen as an important aspect of Doc-umentarians' connective labor, another way of taking individual responsibility for the collective good.

Archiving. Documenting local events on behalf of the occupation through collecting information on social media platforms like Facebook was described by several participants as an archival and ultimately educational practice. Leanne describes the responsibility she felt toward preserving what others had witnessed as part of Occupy's legacy:

> I have a Documentarian mind-set and I feel very passionate about keeping our history and not losing it the way that it is so often lost – not skipping generations and then suddenly rediscovering great stuff. So I guess in my own work, I've done a lot of work with history and research and ... paying attention to women's work and to the history of actual feminism and activism, people agitating. (Leanne, Occupy San Francisco)

Here, she indicates why capturing what is witnessed is so important to present and future generations. By archiving material online, the information becomes readily accessible and is able to be shared, and eventually personalized, across many different social media platforms. Most importantly, Leanne articulates an acute awareness of the historical moment in which Occupy arose and the connective labor that she feels must be employed to maintain its relationship with previous activist legacies.[14]

Lastly, informing was described as a crucial subcategory of the Documentarian's role.

> I definitely use Twitter and Facebook. . . . In Occupy, I was definitely using it to let other people know what was going on if I was at an action or something. Sometimes I might live tweet about the event. Sometimes I just might tweet about certain things that happened at the event after the fact. . . . I do that in general with whatever I'm involved in. (Shawna, OWS)

This subpractice of witnessing by the Documentarian is characterized by the feeling of personal responsibility to educate others and update one's network on unfolding events. Most participants reported keeping their personal social media accounts when tweeting and posting about Occupy events or information instead of creating another, more anonymous account from which to report. This is a small yet significant example of the way in which Occupiers blur the boundaries between the social and political as a contemporary hybrid social movement.

As evidenced above, documenting, through the specifically articulated subpractices of witnessing, archiving, and informing, became an educational position within the movement. This connective labor was not undertaken lightly, but with an acute awareness of one's responsibility to support others' learning and participation. It was not about forcing people to adhere to one message or ideology about the movement but simply supporting viewers of and participants in the movement by allowing them to watch what was going on and decide for themselves what it represented.

Role three: the Connector (alerting, rereporting, and reaching out). Perhaps most notable, yet least visible is the immaterial labor taken on by participants who described themselves as 'Connectors'. As noted, Connectors may also be Admins or Documentarians in their own right but are those who also feel a responsibility for building and maintaining community.

Connectors enact their roles in many forms, ranging from creating groups and using the 'friend' function on Facebook, to spreading information about events through word of mouth in their embodied communities. The many tasks and responsibilities Connectors described as essential to their roles within the movement can be grouped under the subpractices of alerting, re-reporting, and reaching out.

In the following quote, Dahlia describes the subpractice of 'alerting' that can be both promotional and protective:

> There was also a celly [cellphone] network ... it (was) basically a network where anyone who would use a specific key word ... so basically the text would go to everyone within that network. And so people would promote events that way ... or let's say you were at an event and there (were) cops there or there were arrests going on, you would promote that occurrence through that cell network as well. (DV, OWS)

This creative method of alerting others of events and news exemplifies the way that Connectors utilize digital technology to its fullest capacities. As with the Admin's key task of curating, alerting may also be seen as a method of directing others' attention to what one feels is important – an attempt to cut through the deluge of information about the movement and flag specific items for one's networks.

Rereporting. In a similarly curatorial vein, Connectors seek to make important information known by heightening its importance through the echoing functions of various social media platforms. Participant LH summarizes this crucial subpractice as 'rereporting' – using Twitter to promote eyewitness accounts and Occupiers' own news as an alternative to insufficient or misleading traditional media.

> I was doing that extreme information feed, six live feeds open at once, reading all the Twitters, reading several hash tags at once, and just watching them refresh and refresh and trying to figure out what was happening ... I was re-reporting it in a slightly condensed (way) ... giving more of an update and overview with links so that people could hook into that story and know what was happening. (LH, Occupy San Francisco)

LH brings forward the DIY ethos of self-publication and citizen journalism that infuses her connective labor; she participates by rereporting because she feels the need to help others 'connect' or 'plug in' to specific stories and events which she feels are important.

Reaching Out. In the role of the Connector, one recognizes the familiar, gendered element of networking and community care perhaps most starkly. The Occupiers interviewed felt it important to keep their networked community of contacts and friends connected to the movement. Connectors also spoke about the responsibility they felt to broaden their networks within the movement, often 'friending' or 'following' as many people as possible to enable their social media networks to enlarge and multiply.

Although under a more traditional lens it would be hard to identify following as an activist practice, some participants identified their initial, digitally forged connections and friendships within the movement as the motivating force behind their further involvement, as is evidenced by this quote from EZ.

> Well actually just connecting, first in the very beginning, connecting with other people that actually felt the same way as me, that were having the same thoughts, was such a relief, you know? ... There's all kinds of (Facebook pages), so I just 'liked' as many pages as possible just (to) continually connect with new groups that I found, I mean global equality, Occupy I mean can't even think of all of them, there's so many. (EZ, Occupy Santa Barbara)

The hybrid, horizontal nature of Occupy reveals following and friending as network building are powerful practices for the new information economy. Participant DD articulates the need for creativity in the subpractice of 'reaching out' by Connectors, making connections differently to

serve the needs of diverse populations. Here DD demonstrates this capacity, given the large homeless population in Santa Cruz, and issues of access to technology.

> I did do a lot of the Twitter feed as far as information goes and online linking and information in general. And I tried to do so in several places because there is a huge technology gap. I asked people 'well have you seen this link?' and they said 'no' and then 'where can I see it?'.
>
> So I said 'ok well I'll put it up on Twitter'
>
> '– I don't use Twitter'.
>
> And then I'm like 'okay, I'll put it up on Facebook'
>
> '– well, I don't use Facebook'.
>
> 'Ok then I'll e-mail it to you'.
>
> '– well, I don't have an e-mail'!

(laughing) You know, so, there's that gap of trying to get it to different people and sometimes that even means just writing it down on a piece of paper and them looking it up on like the local library.

Reaching out is perhaps the central subpractice of the role of Connector; these women serve as a node through whom connections to the movement are made. Of the various aspects of roles we have emphasized in this section, reaching out most explicitly illustrates the connective or 'affective labor' (Boler 1999; Hardt, 2013; Hochschild, 1983), this essay makes visible, yet each role, defined by its specific subpractices, describes the immaterial, connective labor[22] in greater detail.

Situating the historical and conceptual genealogies of connective labor

In the previous section, we briefly outlined three roles, The Admin, Documentarian, and Connector, which we have used to name and give voice to various sets of unique organizing practices described to us by the activist women we interviewed. By highlighting these roles, or sets of practices, we aim to develop what we are terming connective labor – a body of un(der)-acknowledged, often immaterial work being carried out by women to support and sustain contemporary social movements such as Occupy. In this section, we will explore the links between connective labor and three other key concepts in contemporary social movement scholarship: the concept of immaterial and affective labor, the concept of hybridity and the participatory social movement culture it feeds, and the logic of connective action (vs. collective action). Our aim is to highlight the importance and usefulness of connective labor as a *conceptual extension of* and *intervention within* each of these key areas.

Connective labor as extension of affective, immaterial, and digital labor. A deeper appreciation of the work required to sustain hybridity is gained by understanding the expanding inquiries into digital, immaterial, and affective labor. Even debates surrounding 'social media versus human' as primary agent within recent uprisings and movements, necessarily gesture toward questions of digital and immaterial labor, such as 'What does the work look like?' and 'Who are the bodies of the connective labor behind something (as viral as) a social movement like Occupy?' When we speak of Facebook and Twitter as used by social movements, there are important yet only infrequently raised questions about the human, emotional, and immaterial labor that provides users with a sense of connection on these platforms. This connective labor does not appear from nowhere; it is a primary modality of labor within hybrid and horizontal contexts. To narrow the focus of our

discussion of this burgeoning field, we will draw out aspects of digital, immaterial, and affective labor that help amplify connective labor, which, in turn animates hybrid social movements and communities.

In 1983, Arlie Hochschild published her renowned sociological study of emotional work required by women attendants in the airline industry. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* develops a conceptual vocabulary surrounding questions of emotional labor. Hochschild defines emotional labor as 'the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display' (1983: 7) and explains that emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value and uses *emotion work* and emotional management as synonymous terms.

Despite the enduring importance of Hochschild's (1983) work on emotional labor, her Marxist analysis was not mentioned by most of the other work that followed around affective, immaterial, and eventually digital labor. In his 1999 essay 'Affective Labor', Michael Hardt notes 'The increasingly extensive use of computers has tended progressively to redefine laboring practices and relations (along with, indeed, all social practices and relations)' (1999: 8).[15] Hardt continues:

> This second face of immaterial labor, its affective face, extends beyond the model of intelligence and communication defined by the computer. Affective labor is better understood by beginning from what feminist analyses of women's work have called 'labor in the bodily mode'.... What affective labor produces are social networks, forms of community, biopower. (http://www.generation-online.org/p/fp_affectivelabor.htm)

Thus, though Hardt (1999) addresses – unlike many of his peers within the arena of political theory – the gendered aspects of affective labor, Hochschild's groundbreaking scholarship on emotional labor and emotional work goes unmentioned, rendering invisible another crucial gendered history of scholarly labor as well as earlier instantiations of women's 'emotional labor'.

In the edited volume *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*, Maurizio Lazzarato outlines the similar notion of 'immaterial labor' in ways that continue to be widely taken up and used today. Lazzarato argued that immaterial labor involves a series of activities that are not normally recognized as 'work' – in other words, the kinds of activities involved in defining and fixing cultural and artistic standards, fashions, tastes, consumer norms, and, more strategically, 'public opinion' (Terranova, 2000; Lazzarato, 1996: 1). The concept of immaterial labor resonates directly with Hochschild's analysis of emotional labor and the commodification of human feeling within the airline industry. Lazzarato's discussion does not address the important specificities of gendered roles in the globalized economic market fueled by immaterial labor. However, analysis of gender is crucial to his claim that 'The concept of immaterial labor presupposes and results in an enlargement of productive cooperation that even includes the production and reproduction of communication and hence its most important contents: subjectivity' (Lazzarato, 1996: 7).

Further, Paolo Virno (2003) extends Lazzarato's description of the changing nature of labor within the information economy and offers an additionally useful framing in our context of political and activist labor.

> According to a long tradition of thought, the realm of political action can be penned fairly precisely by two boundaries. The first relates to labor, to its taciturn and instrumental character, to that automatism that makes of it a repetitive and predictable process. The second relates to pure thought, to the solitary and nonappearing quality of its activity. Political action is unlike labor in that its sphere of intervention is social relations, not natural materials. It modifies the context within which it is inscribed, rather than

creates new objects to fill it. Unlike intellectual reflection, action is public, geared to exteriorization, to contingency, to the hustle and bustle of the multitude. This is what the long tradition teaches us. *But we cannot necessarily go along with this definition any longer. The customary frontiers separating Intellect, Work, and Action (or, if you prefer, theory, poesis, and praxis) have given way, and everywhere we see the signs of incursions and crossovers.* (emphasis added, Virno, 2003)

This change in what counts as political action is highly significant for understanding today's hybrid environment for evolving social movements and for our own concept of connective labor. According to Virno (2003), 'action' may be distinguished as public and embodied; 'political' as potentially the intellectual or strategic interventions that inform the action. But as he points out, the two domains can be viewed as increasingly co-constructed.[16]

In this section, we have shown how affective and immaterial labor provide an important geneaology[18] for connective labor; next, we show what connective labor contributes to a deeper understanding of the kinds of practices engaged to sustain hybrid and horizontal networks, communities, and processes.

For example, connective labor simultaneously allows us to draw attention to myriad forms of individuals' immaterial work that takes place 'under the radar' but also to the collectively built friendships and networks that have the ability to sustain and strengthen the movement. As one of our participants describes below, the social media networks and the digital information and communication technologies created the hybrid conditions for connective labor:

> ... but when the movement started I just started adding people and within, I remember, in 9 days I had like 900 new friends when this movement started and it's people from all over the world. So, to me, what I saw in terms of the mobilization over the Internet was fascinating and how everybody started sharing what was really going on in places, and how it has google translate right there, and I could read articles from everywhere in the world. People were sending stuff about what was happening in their city and it was the most worldwide news that was present and what's happening in some city in Hamburg, Germany, and what's happening in somewhere, I have a friend, what's his, Emir, who's in Algeria. And getting stuff and being able to translate everything right there it's just amazing to me and I would never have, I would never have done that, or I never would have jumped into it if the Occupy movement hadn't suddenly catalyzed that ... (MS)

Even more fundamentally, we suggest that connective labor is a tangible outcome of the participatory culture of hybrid social movements, as we discuss in the following section.

Connective labor as an outcome of the participatory culture of hybrid social movements. The explosion of recent social protests, revolutions, and movements around the world has reignited important debates regarding the democratic uses of the internet, leading to numerous 'frequently asked questions' including the persistent (though arguably misleading, if not simply moot) question about whether recent social uprisings are a result of social media *or* human agency and courage. As Merlyna Lim (2013) writes, 'It is misleading to frame the Arab revolts exclusively as either a social media revolution or a people's revolution, as people and social media are not detached from one another' (Lim, 2012: 232). According to Lim, not only does this question presume an either/or answer, it misses the indubitable reality that we are increasingly living in a hybrid world, both technological and human. Andrew Chadwick (2007: 283) echoes this argument:

> New organizational forms are emerging that exist only in hybrid form and that could not function in the ways that they do without the Internet and the complex spatial and temporal interactions it facilitates.... Moreover, I suggest that fast 'repertoire switches', spatially – between online and offline realms, and temporally – within and between campaigns, are emerging characteristics of contemporary political mobilization.

Drawing on Lim and Chadwick, that the question is not *whether* social media plays a significant role in large-scale organizational forms (such as protests), but *how* media are used to propel these movements. The latter is a question our research directly drew upon. As we discovered, the hybrid networks developed out of a connection between human creativity and the affordances of social media are the structures upon which Occupy relied heavily. These hybrid structures combined extensive web-based interactions with encampments and old-fashioned crowds-in-the-streets activity.

> According to Chadwick's early analyses, hybrid social movements increasingly eschew hierarchy, and depend upon mass mobilization to achieve their aims because they have usually been excluded from participation in mainstream channels or because they have deliberately sought to work outside the system to avoid cooption. Typically, participants in social movements have encouraged methods of organization and decision making that are self-consciously nonhierarchical, consensual, and participatory. (2007: 274)

Hybrid social movements (Castells, 2012) are fuelled by the ubiquitous and myriad practices engaging digital and mobile information and communications or what has been termed 'participatory culture'. Participatory cultures are characterized by (a) low barriers to participation; (b) strong support for sharing; (c) the presence of informal mentorship; (d) a general sense among members that their contributions matter; and (e) a concern and care for the participation of others. These are cultures best summarized in the phrase, 'Not everyone must participate, but everyone must believe that if they participate it will be valued'.[18] As is highlighted by much of the scholarship in this journal, participatory cultures continue to rapidly proliferate and evolve within hybrid social movements (Carpentier et al., 2013; Jenkins and Carpentier, 2013; van Dijk, 2012). In hybrid social movements, engagement of participants are defined not only by how many protests one attends, or strictly by one's online mobilization but in how one's practice flows between both realms, resulting in productive outcomes.

Connective labor contributes to scholarship on hybrid social movements and participatory cultures, a direct response to Bruce Bimber et al. (2005) call for an increased emphasis within social movement writing on 'what people are doing, how they are relating to one another, what opportunities have (been) afforded them' and an examination of what organization and structure best fit their experience and support collective action (2005: 39).

Due to participatory culture's emphasis on sharing, collaborating, and remixing, it becomes increasingly difficult to delineate where one's labor begins and ends. For this reason, connective labor provides a useful concept for describing, identifying, and even tracking new modalities of immaterial, network sustenance. As we work to understand contemporary manifestations of participatory culture, our contribution of connective labor provides, for example, a way to track hybrid labor from person to person (node to node) without devaluing the overall web that this labor creates and sustains.

Connective labor as embodied, gendered 'revisioning' of the logic of connective action. In social movement theory, 'collective action' has for decades been accepted as the primary form of organizing within

social movements (Lim, 2013). However, as we examine redefined practices and modalities of hybrid organizational structures, we recognize a radical shift in engagement logic, a turn from *collective* to *connective* action. As Bennett and Segerberg (2012: 751) explain:

> One of the most interesting developments of our times (is) how fragmented, individualized populations that are hard to reach and even harder to induce to share personally transforming collective identities somehow find ways to mobilize protest networks from Wall Street to Madrid to Cairo. When people who seek more personalized paths to concerted action are familiar with practices of social networking in everyday life, and when they have access to technologies from mobile phones to computers, they are already familiar with a different logic of organization: the logic of connective action.

This shift that Bennett and Segerberg call attention to resonates widely with other political thinkers also seeking to understand how large-scale organizational structures of movements are changing in the wake of digital communications (Bimber et al., 2005; Karpf, 2011).

The logic of connective action necessitates accounting for individual action within the pursuit of collective goals. To do this, Bennett and Segerberg employ the notion of 'Personal Action Frames' (2012), the stories, messages, and memes which individuals use to connect their personal experiences with the larger frameworks of a social movement. This concept describes how individuals relate to their politics. Under Bennett and Segerberg's logic of connective action, taking public action or contributing to a common good becomes an act of personal expression, validated when one's ideas are shared or amplified by others.

Lim (2013) also acknowledges the use of these personalized frames in her study of digital activism arguing that they help 'translate local contentious politics into nationwide uprisings' (Lim, 2013: 926; Snow et al., 1896: 464). Occupy's 'We are the 99%' – arguably one of the most powerful memes of the century – is significant in its inclusivity, allowing a broad and inclusive diversity of individuals to interpret and identify with the idea of the 99%. (Compare this to the sound byte 'Eat the Rich', arguably a similar notion but one requiring much greater shared ideology).

However, Bennett and Segerberg (2012) stress that personal action frames do not spread automatically. People have to show each other how to adapt, shape, and share themes in different contexts. Only in this way can new social media technologies become organizational mechanisms in which movements such as Occupy emerge by maximizing individual engagement. For example, one participant proposed that it is 'possible to occupy anything', emphasizing the logic of connective action, and demonstrating how the '99%' concept is broad enough to allow personal identification in a plethora of forms.

The differentiation between collective and connective action lays the groundwork for a better understanding the role of individual practices and the connective networks that structure contemporary hybrid social movements. This emphasis, in turn, raises questions about the subjectivity, motivations, and constitution of these individuals who enact agency within larger political movements (Bimber et al., 2005; della Porta and Diani 2006).

The notion of women's connective labor becomes useful here as an explanatory frame. Connective labor contributes a gendered illustration of the individual connective action that Bennett and Segerberg argue binds current social movements together. The connective labor practices we outlined in the roles section represent gendered manifestations of embodied labor, which not only puts 'faces' to that sweeping referent 'Facebook' but illustrates how the 'movement' is held together in hybrid spaces through connective, horizontally structured labor. Increasingly, this connective labor is constituted by the invisible, affective work of women with tools once off-limits to them within social movements: the means of production and communication.

The broadening demand for a richer account of the individual can be seen in the increasing use of concepts like 'DIY' (Gauntlett, 2011; Ratto and Boler, 2014) or 'networked individualism' (Rainie and Wellman, 2012) to address the changing formation of public and counterpublic spheres in relation to ICTs and sites of inquiry ranging from e-governance to participatory direct democracy to surveillance. To these concepts, we add the new context-specific concept of connective labor to account not only for the individual but for the individually enacted affective, connective, immaterial, and gendered work that forms and sustains participation networks within contemporary, horizontal, and hybrid social movements.

Conclusion

Speaking of the powerful experience of working with a national network of Occupy sites called 'InterOccupy', one participant told us, 'we're just learning the possibilities of building out this network, just leveraging the tools that we have while also building new ones'. Significantly for the power of connective labor, she recognizes that these 'new tools' are 'really only limited by our capacity to imagine what communication should look like' (JD).

The notion of 'connective' allows easy adaptation of 'collective' to more aptly describe the experience of computer-mediated, Web-based exchange. The Web-based activities described by these participants are best described as connective. These include creating dialogue, learning and seeking information, finding and sharing information and ideas, building community and connection, filming, editing and uploading, streaming, and making media. The experience of marching from New York's Occupy Camp at Zuccotti Park to Times Square en masse is a collective experience, an embodied perception of the 'we' that constitutes these publics, counterpublics, overlapping communities, and individuals. Yet an equivalent amount of labor is reflected in the work of the Admin, Connector, and Documentarian.

The three emergent roles performed by women Occupiers embody a DIY ethos. In short, they bear witness to a shift in which activism is morphing into a postcapitalist reconfiguration of liberal individualism. Within this new configuration, the social bleeds into the political, providing inroads for those who don't claim the explicitly political identity of activist to nevertheless participate. More broadly, the nature of participatory democracy is undergoing fundamental change (Boler, 2008; Ratto and Boler, 2014).

The more we engaged with women about their reasons for engaging in activism, the more apparent became the diversity of reasons, motivations, strategies, aims, and hopes. Yet while we opened the essay noting the failures of traditional media to capture nuance, complexity, duration, context, it is also true that horizontalism in the global hybrid context of peer-to-peer 'putting stuff out there' culture, reflects a collective individualism that can mobilize, coalesce, and manifest. 'Peer to peer is the ideology of the new cognitive working class', writes Bauwens (2012). The actions on the ground in which Occupy worked more effectively and directly to help during Hurricane Sandy than did state-operated disaster relief reveals the power of the ties and the connective labor that established networks to materialize bodies. Today in San Francisco, Occupy Bernal continues to work with at-risk homeowners and banks to save people from foreclosed homes, and similarly in Occupy LA there are ongoing occupations of homes to be foreclosed in the east of the city.

As we have evidenced here, much of what is either unobserved or dismissed in the Occupy movement is the pivotal work of women in the three key roles articulated as connective labor. These roles reveal forms of participation (if not technically 'leadership') that preserve the horizontal and nonhierarchical nature of the movement as a core value. Nonetheless, cumulatively,

these roles constitute a coherent labor structure in this so-called leaderless movement. While such practices resist the singular and simplistic platform commentators crave, they also outline an exciting new approach to the logic of connective action. Through grounded theory, we have explored women's hybrid activist practices to open conceptual space for identifying and articulating new modalities of politics, suggesting that *connective labor*, the crucial ingredient for successful, hybrid social movements, might offer a new theoretic in the discourse of social movement theory.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. The interviewees selected for this study were recruited in three ways: (a) attending General Assembly meetings and following up with women who were clearly active participants in the 'leaderless' movement; (2) contacting potential interviewees through Web presence, particularly Facebook and who thus held a consistent presence online and created a large volume of online content; and (3) snowball sampling. We interviewed, transcribed, and conducted three layers of coding, employing Atlas.ti qualitative data research software to analyze the content of interviews to come to these findings. We have engaged these multiple data in rigorous and multiple ways in order to listen closely for emergent ideas and practices described.

2. By no means does our focus on the immaterial, connective labor required for these roles engaging social and digital media eschew the significant material and physical labor within protest camps that these women Occupiers also took on and recounted to us. For rich discussions of the role of protest camps, see Feigenbaum et al. (2013). Our participants spent much time pursuing more visible and equally important forms of embodied activism (ranging from running services of food, medical help, clothing, donations, etc. at the Occupy Camps to facilitating General Assembly meetings to organizing and participating in street protests and other direct actions as well as catalyzing the Hurricane Sandy relief efforts and the antiforeclosure initiatives of Occupy LA in the form of Forts (setting up 'camp' in a family home slated for foreclosure and working with legal assistance, policies, and banks to preserve people's homes; see Michel Bauwens Thesis on Digital Labor, http://blog.p2pfoundation.net/book-of-the-day-digital-labor/2012/11/18).

3. San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, Orange County, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne.

4. It is also worth noting the key distinction between scholarly discourses about gendered dimensions of activism, and the actual histories of women's participation and leadership with social movements, which may or may not have been documented and/or analyzed (see Roseneil, 2000 for more discourse on equality and antihierarchy.)

5. Original reader was by D Star in 2002 but since then, an expanded edition has been put together by Dark Star Collective (ed) with contributions from R Dunbar-Ortiz, P Kornegger, J Freeman, E Goldman, V de Cleyre, M Creando, and R Zora in 2012.

6. As Epstein (1993: 188) notes, some feminists seek to avoid developing a politics with hard rhetorical stances, emphasizing instead concepts like self-determination rather than those captured in phrases like 'Smash the state'.

7. Of course, as per our outline of Bennett and Segerberg's concept of the logic of connective action above, we might here replace 'collective' with 'connective' political action (See also Bennett, 2012).

8. For further reading, see Marina Sitrin Everyday Revolutions: Horizontalism and Autonomy in Argentina (Zed Press 2012), and Sitrin, ed., Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina (AK Press, 2006b).

9. Retrieved April 9, 2014, from http://www.possible-futures.org/author/sitrin/

10. See Sitrin M (ed) (2006b). The author also has her own Web site where discussion questions are posted (Sitrin, 2006a). For more, see http://marinasitrin.com/?page_id=108

11. See *Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina* by Marina Sitrin (2006b). Discussion questions retrieved from author's Web site http://marinasitrin.com/?page_id=108

12. Retrieved from http://www.possible-futures.org/2012/01/09/horizontalism-and-territory/#sthash. PnbwolBC.dpuf by Sitrin M (2012).

13. This typology of participants is similar to that used by Brian Davenport (2011). His roles 'the maven, the connector, and the salesman', which he argues are necessary in order for a social movement to be successful, do overlap with ours somewhat. However, our roles/descriptors are inspired by the terminology we heard our interviewees using to describe their own personal experiences rather than the broader archetypal forms often referenced in theoretical and scholarly argument in the absence of grounded research.

14. Notably, like Documentarians, Connectors also described self-skilling in social media to gain control over the means of information sharing, enabling them to sidestep controlled forms of communication and activist participation.

15. Robert Reich calls this type of immaterial labor 'symbolic-analytical services' – tasks that involve 'problem solving, problem identifying, and strategic brokering activities'. This type of labor claims the highest value and thus Reich identifies it as the key to competition in the new global economy. He recognizes, however, that the growth of these knowledge-based jobs of creative symbol manipulation implies a corresponding growth of low-value and low-skill jobs of routine symbol manipulation, such as data entry and word processing. Here begins to emerge a fundamental division of labor within the realm of immaterial processes. He continues, 'The model of the computer, however, can account for only one face of the communicational and immaterial labor involved in the production of services. The other face of immaterial labor is the affective labor of human contact and interaction. This is the aspect of immaterial labor that economists such as Reich are less likely to talk about but that seems to me the more important aspect, the binding element. Health services, for example, rely centrally on caring and affective labor, and the entertainment industry and the various culture industries are likewise focused on the creation and manipulation of affects. To one degree or another, this affective labor plays a certain role throughout the service industries, from fast-food servers to providers of financial services, embedded in the moments of human interaction and communication. This labor is immaterial, even if it is corporeal and affective, in the sense that its products are intangible: a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion – even a sense of connectedness or community' (Reich quoted in Hardt M (1999).

16. This new set of unpredictable variants, of rhizomatic threads of collective and connective energies, reflects the complex environment of hybrid social movements. Yet the actual, material labor that takes place enabling these grand events called such things as 'Occupy Wall Street' reveal in fact embodied persons teaching themselves and others these 'master's tools' in order to further shared visions for a better world. See Reich quoted in Hardt (1999).

17. Digital labor is an emerging area of study within digital and media studies and saw a watershed moment in 2006 with an international conference titled 'The Internet as Playground and Factory', organized by Trebor Scholz (2012) at the New School in New York. This event brought together an international group of Internet and media scholars who also bring diverse theoretical lenses through sharing background overall in critical theory and political economy of media. See also his recent edited book, *Digital Labor: the Internet as Playground and Factory*, NY: Routledge, 2013.

18. Henry Jenkins thinks that it's also important to focus on technology access, and the participation gap that extends across experiences, knowledge, skills, and mentorship. Underlying the discussion of participatory politics are struggles over democracy and inequality. Available at http://civic.mit.edu/blog/schock/henry-jenkins-participatory-culture-politics-and-learning written by Constanza-Chock in 2012.

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