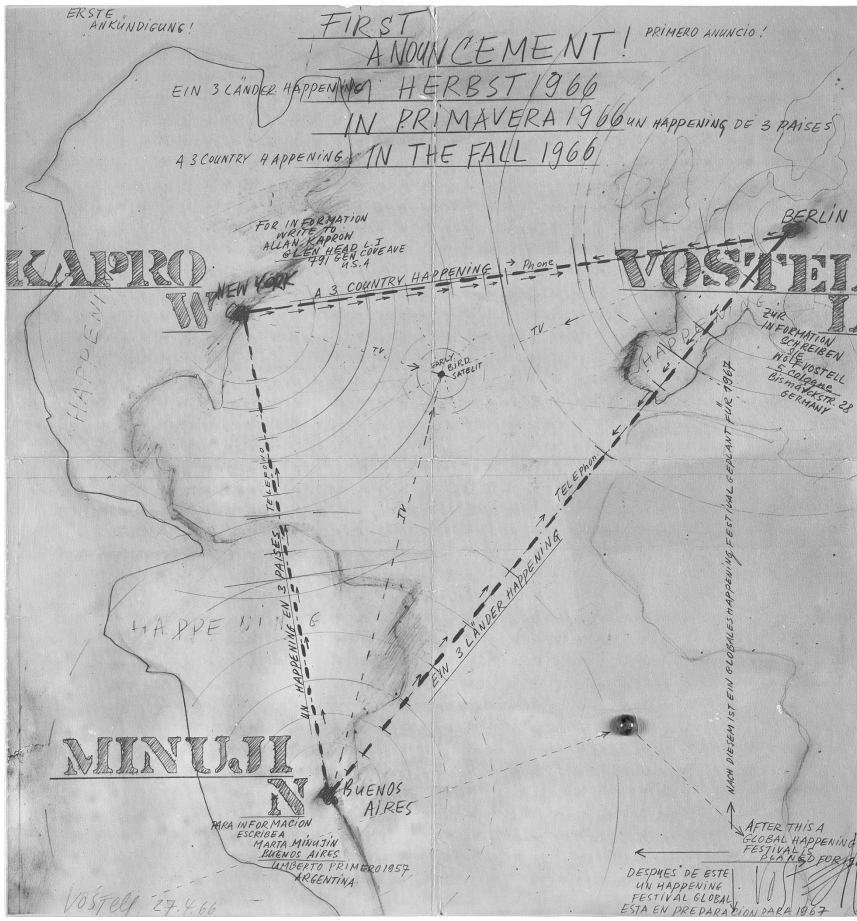
# Introduction: Communication studies

During 1966, the artist Wolf Vostell designed a poster that could be folded into a mail-out, advertising a forthcoming *Three Country Happening* (Figure 0.1). The initiative, planned for autumn 1966, was the brainchild of a triumvirate of artists working in different continents: Marta Minujín in South America, Allan Kaprow in North America, and Wolf Vostell in Europe.[1] Vostell's creation proclaims the proposed Happening's transnational ambitions, overlaying the sketchy outlines of each landmass, as well as that of Africa in the lower right-hand corner, with the stencilled surnames of each artist next to their respective cities of Buenos Aires, New York and Berlin/Cologne. These metropolitan centres are linked by a triangle of dotted lines, rendered in thicker marks with a darker shade of graphite than the contours of the continents. This contrast conveys the impression that the challenges of brute geography are receding in the face of the dematerialised connections facilitated by media technologies, an inference further underscored by the poster's trilingual Spanish, English and German text.

Vostell's annotations identify the triangular dotted line as a telephone link. Another three vectors, each labelled 'TV', surge outward from the cities to converge in the poster's centre at a point representing the Early Bird satellite, suspended above the Atlantic Ocean.[2] As these arrows indicate, the *Three Country Happening* was envisioned as a simultaneous performance in Buenos Aires, New York and Berlin, with the action relayed live on television via satellite. Circles of transmission waves pool around each city like ripples from stones thrown into a pond, spreading over borders and reconfiguring cartographic divisions into a diagram of transnational connectivity. Even though the project did not involve artists working in Africa, the continent's inclusion signals Minujín, Kaprow and Vostell's aspirations (as well as limitations), which, the poster anticipated, would culminate in 1967 with a 'Global Happening Festival'. Their publicity presents the Happening as an art form capable of facilitating international communication, bound up with globalising impulses and, by extension, their examination and analysis.[3]




**0.1** Wolf Vostell, poster for *Three Country Happening*, 1966, reproduced from an original pencil-on-paper design.

Unfortunately, the Global Happening Festival failed to materialise, while *Three Country Happening* was only partially performed. Minujín proved to be the sole artist possessed of the necessary zeal to carry through her part of the plan, indicating the disjunctions and imbalances that fissured the ideal of seamless connection projected by the poster. The resulting performance, *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad* (*Simulaneity in Simultaneity*), is highly instructive regarding the politics of communication as they played out in performance art from the mid-1960s onward. Minujín presented her two-part Happening at the audio-visual theatre belonging to the art centres established by the Torcuato Di Tella Institute (Instituto Torcuato Di Tella) in the 'microcentre' of Buenos Aires. On 13 October 1966, Minujín welcomed approximately sixty

Marta Minujín, *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad* (*Simultaneity in Simultaneity*), 13 and 24 October 1966, Happening at the Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, Buenos Aires. **0.2**

people – mainly journalists and celebrities, but also academics, a novelist and the psychoanalyst Enrique Pichon-Rivière – into a futuristic environment.[4] Television sets crowded the space, each positioned in front of a seat awaiting a viewer (Figure 0.2). The bristling antennae, combined with those belonging to an equal number of radios placed beside the monitors, looked to one attendee like a space-age forest of metallic bamboo.[5] Minujín orchestrated proceedings wearing an eye-catching gold boiler suit, which transformed her into an astronaut-like figure.[6] After entering, guests were 'photographed and filmed prolifically, from the front and from the side', and subjected to audio interviews regarding their thoughts on proceedings.[7] Nearly two weeks later, on 24 October, the subjects of this intensive documentation were invited back to the same room, whereupon they were bombarded with the images and recordings. Participants could review themselves 'moving, standing up, sitting' on the television monitors and slides projected around the room, and listen to recordings of their voices.[8] In contrast to the improvisation that characterised Happenings presented by artists such as Kaprow in New York during the early 1960s, Minujín created a laboratory-like setting in which people could scrutinise their comportment through mass media technologies.

During the second evening of *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad*, the *Invasión instantánea* (*Instantaneous Invasion*) occurred. After the audience had viewed their mediatised simulacra, they were instructed to tune into the Canal 13

television programme *Universidad del aire* (*University of the Air*). Ensconced in their compartmentalised television booths, participants watched a ten-minute broadcast, the soundtrack for which consisted of a text read by Minujín that also played over Radio Libertad and Radio Municipal, which attendees were instructed to tune into.[9] It contained images of Happenings by Vostell and Kaprow, supposedly occurring live and transmitted by satellite link. Footage followed of people undergoing the *Invasión instantánea*, which showed them at home watching television, before receiving a telephone call and a telegram delivered to their door. While these vignettes were prerecorded, they provided an analogue for a process occurring in real time. In his account of the piece, Michael Kirby reported that Minujín worked with researchers at the University of Buenos Aires to identify 500 people who owned a television and a telephone.[10] As they watched the broadcast, these viewers received a call instructing them to look at their environment, and 100 of them were also sent a telegram telling them that they were a creator.[11] Through this elaborate procedure, Minujín attempted to extend the sensitisation to media communications trialled at the Di Tella Institute over a much wider area.

*Simultaneidad en simultaneidad* reads most immediately as a direct manifestation of Marshall McLuhan's paean to the global interconnectivity facilitated by communication technologies in *Understanding Media* (1964). The notes for Minujín's broadcast declared: 'all these images and messages bring the world close to you, these mass media widen your environment's frontiers … You "are" those [*sic*] news; without you they could not exist. Therefore your body's physiology has extended – somehow – throughout the world.'[12] Minujín reflected that the observation of the media was generally passive, but based on a fundamental paradox whereby the experience of viewing television or listening to the radio in 'the context of the home', surrounded by the accoutrements of 'personal life', was transformed by 'the temporary irruption of the collective into this private context'.[13] *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad* explored the possibilities for collectivity through the mass media, contrasting attempts to control behaviour within Argentina by the military Government that had assumed power in a coup during June that year, as well as binary models of centre–periphery artistic relations.[14]

The *Three Country Happening* poster seeks to erase geographic distance, and in this respect speaks to the Argentine avant-garde's fervently internationalising ambitions during the 1960s, in which both Minujín and the Di Tella Institute played key roles. Yet Minujín's Happening did not entirely deliver the vision of uninhibited immediacy conjured by Vostell's poster. Unable to establish the live television broadcast between Buenos Aires, Berlin and New York, Minujín had also prefilmed the 'simultaneous' footage of Happenings by Kaprow and Vostell. Even a phone call that Kaprow tried to put through went awry; it later transpired that a friend had stepped into the breach when Kaprow could not connect.[15] While these ruptures were

unforeseen, *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad*'s overarching dynamic, despite its title, was one less of unbroken continuity than of recursive reflection. The work encouraged audience members to look *back* at themselves, with self-scrutiny enabled through time delays and the interpolation of mediation, while its information overload deliberately risked disorienting participants. Although indebted to McLuhan, communication in *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad* was not necessarily assumed to be straightforwardly instantaneous, but was treated as vulnerable to misunderstandings and power imbalances. Minujín's Happening attended to entropy, noise, negative feedback and miscommunication in a way that reflects the originary cybernetic thinking of Norbert Wiener, which McLuhan popularised but diluted.[16]

*Simultaneidad en simultaneidad* encapsulates the concerns at the heart of this book. The performance generated a sociological survey of its participants that encouraged media literacy, experimenting with the potential for communication technologies to enable relations that, rather than following established patterns of behaviour, might enable individuals to break with routines and initiate new connections. It demonstrates how by 1966 the Happening was profoundly international, rather than the exclusively New York-based phenomenon it might have seemed on its appearance in the late 1950s, as artists forged a transnational network of heterogeneous, interdisciplinary performances. While the Happening's obsolescence was rapidly and routinely proclaimed, this book shows how many practitioners continued to work with, but also to contest and contradict, the structures it bequeathed. Figures such as Kaprow, Minujín, Carolee Schneemann and Lea Lublin reflexively retooled the premises of the Happenings during the mid-1960s and into the 1970s, drawing in different but interconnected ways on contemporaneous sociological and psychological studies of communication, and contributing their own alternative visions of interpersonal exchange to this discourse.

## The Happenings are dead – long live the Happenings!

By the time Minujín, Kaprow and Vostell were planning their transcontinental performance, reports of the Happening's demise were widespread. It seemed to many artists and commentators by the mid-1960s that the energy powering the form was ebbing away, and that it had become irrevocably commoditised.[17] These were the suspicions harboured by artists experimenting with the mass media in Buenos Aires who coalesced around the writer and theorist Oscar Masotta, including the members of *Arte de los medios de comunicación de masas* (Art of the Mass Media).[18] Masotta travelled to New York at the end of 1965, staying into spring 1966 (and returning again in 1967), where he conducted fieldwork assisted by guides including the critic Lawrence Alloway, and the art historian and museum director Alan Solomon.[19] Masotta's aims were investigative and critical. He wanted to assess the relevance for the Argentine avant-garde

of Pop art and Happenings, both terms that had entered the country as a result of strong internationalising impulses, and that were predominantly associated with the USA.[20] The first issue of the glossy magazine *Primera plana* in 1962 had carried an article on Happenings, which it described as 'a strange form of theatre in New York' and attributed almost entirely to Claes Oldenburg. Significantly, it presented the Happening as an extremely 'pessimistic' art form that offered a subversively 'depressing' vision of US society, appreciated by intellectuals for the mixture of 'disgust, sarcasm, sadism and love of destruction' it offered up for their delectation.[21] On returning to Buenos Aires in 1966, Masotta co-organised a conference and series of Happenings, but he and his collaborators found that, four years after *Primera plana*'s assessment, the more they researched, 'the more the impression grew that the possibilities – the ideas – had been exhausted'.[22] Rather than create an 'original' Happening, they decided to reperform works by Kirby, Oldenburg and Schneemann, guided by Kirby's 1965 book *Happenings: An Illustrated Anthology*.[23] Their conclusion: that the next logical step for the Happening was its dissolution into the communications media with which it had become inextricably intertwined.[24]

Earlier that year in an article for the March 1966 issue of *Artforum*, Kaprow defended the Happening against charges that it was outmoded and passé. As evidence, he pointed to the widespread adoption of the Happening – a term he had coined in 1958 and first used as the title of a performance the following year with *18 Happenings in 6 Parts* – by artists across the world: 'Happenings have been spreading around the globe like some chronic virus, cunningly avoiding the familiar places and occurring where they are least expected.'[25] Kaprow had already asserted in a 1965 lecture that 'Happenings are an international phenomenon', which had effloresced 'all over Europe/Japan/Argentina/on the East & West coasts here'.[26] Such statements were undeniably self-promoting, given Kaprow's status as the so-called 'father' of the Happening, a problematically gendered identification that moreover reductively anchored the form in the USA.[27] Although accounts of the Happenings have often focused on New York, artists had established a wide web of performance networks by the middle of the decade, as Kaprow himself was well aware.[28]

Kaprow's consciousness of internationalising dynamics permeates his 1966 book *Assemblage, Environments and Happenings*, which contained images of performances by the Gutai group.[29] In her study of the Gutai's own determined internationalism, Ming Tiampo suggests that Kaprow's inclusion of the Japanese artists should be viewed not necessarily as 'an act of appropriation', but rather as 'an attempt to enlarge the narrative of art history beyond the Greco-Roman and Hebraic traditions'.[30] Overlapping with the dispersed events by artists associated with Fluxus, often facilitated through the global reach of the mail system, Kaprow's engagement with performance in Japan and Argentina acknowledges the inherent relationality of the Happening, and

its imbrication with the cultural phenomena fuelling transnational exchange, notably communications technologies and ever-more rapid, accessible travel.[31] Growing cross-cultural collaboration fostered enthusiasm for sociological and psychological models of studying interpersonal relations, as artists working together at short notice for festivals and events sought ways to grapple with the power dynamics of these encounters.

Despite Kaprow's protestations about the Happening's adaptability, by 1966 the shared consciousness of contemporaneous experiments among artists working in different countries had prompted interrogation, critique and fresh developments.[32] Although the Argentina-born critic Marta Traba, who worked in Colombia for much of the 1960s, dismissed Happenings in Argentina as nothing more than a 'provincial circus' on the periphery of US-dominated international activity, practitioners productively claimed space in this field, while challenging the structures they encountered.[33] Tellingly, it was as Kaprow published his article that Masotta was winding up his New York research. In pronouncing their disenchantment with the Happening, the Argentine artists cited Kaprow's *Artforum* essay as a misreading of their situation.[34] As Masotta put it in his 1967 lecture 'After Pop, We Dematerialize', they discovered 'something within the Happening that allowed us to glimpse the possibility of its own negation'.[35] Their critique resisted co-option into a globalised, homogenising narrative of the Happening's success written from a US perspective.[36]

The situation was, however, more complicated than an unambiguous rebuttal on the part of the Argentine practitioners. The reperformance of US Happenings, *Sobre Happenings* (*On Happenings*), occurred at the Di Tella's art centres as part of the *Acerca (de): 'Happenings'* (*About: 'Happenings'*) programme of performances and lectures in November 1966.[37] Originally scheduled for the summer, it was derailed by General Juan Carlos Onganía's military coup that June. Fearing persecution, Masotta temporarily abandoned his plans; it also felt 'a bit embarrassing' to be making Happenings at such a moment.[38] However, he subsequently recanted. By the time Masotta published a group collection of essays on the Happenings in 1967, he had discovered oppositional qualities to them, in the teeth of attacks from left and right. The nature of this oppositionality is indicated by Masotta's assertion that, 'it would be difficult to speak of Kaprow, or even of [Roy] Lichtenstein, with the language of Heidegger. The sociological material of the Happening surely calls for a sociological language.'[39] Analysing *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad*, the sociologist Eliseo Verón comparably identified the material of the Happening as 'social action as a system', which, he averred, it was not possible to say of other genres, even theatre.[40] This echoed Masotta's sense that the Happening itself operated sociologically as well as constituting a subject for sociological scrutiny, indicating its potential for political engagement.[41]

The view from Argentina offers an alternative slant on the Happening's position in histories of art, which trace a retreat from the interaction it occasioned between the late 1950s and the mid-1960s into the body-oriented practices of the 1970s, until participation was 're-discovered' in social and relational art of the 1990s and 2000s.[42] However, the mid-1960s did not see the smooth codification and categorisation of performance art. Rather, artists during the late 1960s and the 1970s continued to adapt and critique the discoveries of the early Happenings, developing unique modes of performance enmeshed with the study of interpersonal and intrapersonal communication.

## Interpersonal relations and the counterculture

Immediate critical responses to works such as Kaprow's *Spring Happening* (1961) and Oldenburg's 1962 performances at *The Store* (1961–62) in New York contextualised them as outgrowths of Dada and Surrealism. This lineage was suggested by the chaotic, violent treatment of the audience, and what the critic Jill Johnston described as their 'mad and vicious' atmosphere.[43] Performers and audiences alike were plunged into disorientating environments filled with junk assemblages and detritus, in which unexpected, unpredictable events occurred. For Susan Sontag, who attended several New York Happenings, they commonly consisted of 'an asymmetrical network of surprises, without climax or consummation', which, like the experiments of the interwar European avant-garde, manifested 'the alogic of dreams rather than the logic of most art'.[44] By contrast, the performances that emerged in the wake of these inchoate, messy and improvisational works were almost scientifically structured, and structural in their vision.[45] They responded to, and interrogated, ideas and methodologies drawn from the vibrant discourse of communication studies, as it galvanised multiple disciplines after the Second World War, including sociology, anthropology, mathematics and engineering, psychology, psychiatry and antipsychiatry, as well as revisionist approaches to psychoanalysis.

Equally, as early as 1961 Johnston perceptively noted with regard to Happenings that 'a concern with communication must have played a part in the formative period, and now that concern, or the results at least, assume special importance'.[46] The centrality of this concern reflected the growth of communications theory in sociology and psychology during the postwar period, particularly in the USA.[47] The *New York Times* observed in 1961 that the realm of the sociologists had 'grown mushroom-like', as government and managerial enterprises increasingly relied on sociologists and psychologists to execute domestic and international programmes.[48] Kristin Ross provocatively posits that, by the 1960s, America's biggest export was not actually Coca Cola or any of the country's other iconic commodities, but rather 'the

supremacy of the social sciences'.[49] This conjures the discipline's dominance of the postwar period's intellectual import and export routes, as well as its significant connections with US imperialism. In Latin America, sociology and psychology underwent dramatic disciplinary and institutional expansion in the late 1950s and 1960s, especially in Argentina, where they were bound up with developmentalist and modernising agendas.[50] In Europe, particularly France, sociology had older roots in ethnography and anthropology, but there was widespread fear that technocratic US-style sociology was gaining the upper hand, even as thinkers such as Henri Lefebvre undertook trenchant critiques of contemporary life.[51]

The fascination with the problems of communication among artists and critics was closely connected to the demise of medium-specificity, together with the turn away from formalist analysis toward conceptual approaches that could account for art's social and political ramifications, and articulate its relational position within what the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has influentially termed the 'field of cultural production'.[52] But while communications theory provided important reference points for many artists, and for critics attempting to comprehend the heterogeneity of artistic forms in the 1960s and 1970s, the social sciences were also subjected to sustained questioning. This mirrored concerns that sociology and psychology had become enslaved to Cold War technocracy, following their governmental and military embrace during the Second World War. In 1959, C. Wright Mills claimed that the social sciences had become corrupted by and complicit with repressive power structures.[53] Similarly, Irving Louis Horowitz warned that it would be impossible for sociology to remain impartial as it became ever more embroiled in business agendas.[54]

The concept of interpersonal communication emerged as a key area of study during the 1930s and 1940s in the work of Harry Stack Sullivan. Sullivan died in 1949, but his lectures on the interpersonal theory of psychiatry were published posthumously in 1953, and propounded the 'absolutely necessary convergence' of social psychology and psychiatry as 'the study of interpersonal interaction'.[55] Although influenced by Freudian psychoanalysis, Sullivan was convinced that psychology needed to move away from a focus on interiority, which he deemed ultimately unknowable, and instead to address interpersonal situations through participant-observation. Sullivan's emphasis on the interpersonal as the site where socialisation played out, and where problems of anxiety and disorder could be most efficaciously addressed, had a significant impact on sociology and psychology. In 1951, the psychiatrist Jurgen Ruesch and anthropologist-turned-psychologist Gregory Bateson published their coauthored book *Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry*. It asserted that communication offered 'the only scientific model which enables us to explain physical, intrapersonal, interpersonal, and cultural aspects of events

within one system'.[56] Communication was 'the link which connects psychiatry with all other sciences'.[57]

This fervent belief in the transdisciplinary potential of communication as both a vital subject of sociological and psychological study, and a tool for interpersonal analysis in its own right, developed in tandem with cybernetics, itself conceived of as an interdisciplinary discourse.[58] Pioneered by the mathematician Norbert Wiener, cybernetics (from the Greek word for 'steersman') is the science of information, communication and control.[59] It emerged through Wiener's work on anti-aircraft guns at MIT during the Second World War, as he sought to devise responsive systems that could target enemy planes more efficiently. Wiener conceptualised machines as reflexive entities, comparable to – and integrated with – organic bodies, deploying this premise to pursue the ever-more efficient operation of systems through streamlined feedback between machine and environment. This model bound the notion of effective communication to the application of control, as the title of Wiener's 1948 book *Cybernetics; or, Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine* explicitly signalled. In his 1950 follow-up, *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society*, written to make cybernetic precepts more accessible to a general audience, Wiener elaborated: 'to live effectively is to live with adequate information. Thus, communication and control belong to the essence of man's inner life, even as they belong to his life in society'.[60] Andrew Pickering recounts how the spectre of control has formed one of the major stumbling blocks in the wider cultural take-up of cybernetics. He argues that this is a misreading of the discourse, which ignores its 'nonmodern ontology' and 'performative understanding of the brain, mind and self'.[61] However, Wiener's writings clearly envision self-reflexive feedback primarily as a 'method of controlling a system by reinserting into it the results of its past performance'.[62] While figures such as Ruesch and Bateson were inspired by the cybernetic focus on communication, they moved away from its formative emphasis on control to advocate for the variegated, unpredictable nature of social and psychological networks. The Happening, this book proposes, was intimately involved in this exploration of communication beyond control as it played out across disciplines and geographies.

The dissemination and adaptation of cybernetics occurred in the first instance through the conferences held between 1946 and 1953 funded by the Macy Foundation, which gathered together mathematicians, sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists – including Bateson and Margaret Mead – to explore the wider possibilities of Wiener's ideas.[63] During these discussions, defining communication, and the related concept of information, emerged as chief concerns. For Wiener, communication hinged on 'the notion of the message', understood as a 'continuous sequence of measurable events distributed in time', liable to contamination by 'extraneous disturbances'.[64]

Comparably, in the influential model put forward by the mathematician Claude Shannon, effective communication was predicated on the transmission and reception of a message, envisaged as a segment of information distinct from background 'noise'.[65] N. Katherine Hayles assesses how this binary division of communication into intelligible signal versus redundant interference resulted in a restrictive archetype for interaction that prioritised information over interpretation. The separation between signal and noise 'had a conservative bias that privileges stasis over change', and 'implied that change was deviation and that deviation should be corrected'.[66] As Peter Galison observes in his study of the relationship between cybernetics and the military context from which it emerged, 'Wiener thought it obvious that suppressing noise and conveying information should be the central electronic mission.'[67] While this made sense when training anti-aircraft fire, for some of Wiener's interlocutors it seemed less readily applicable to the nuances and subtleties involved in interpersonal communication. Alternative theories of communication embraced change and considered the communicative aspects of noise, while thinkers such as Bateson emphasised the importance of environments and ecosystems in communication.[68]

The emergence of second-order cybernetics emphasised networked relationality rather than closed-circuit feedback and homeostasis, as in the 1960s and 1970s many sociologists and psychologists increasingly questioned the discourse's initial premises.[69] While influenced by cybernetic notions of feedback and interconnection, the anthropologist and inventor of kinesics (the study of body-motion communication), Ray L. Birdwhistell, stressed that: 'a human being is not a black box with one orifice for emitting a chunk of stuff called *communication* and another for receiving it … Communication is not simply the sum of the bits of information which pass between two people in a given period of time' (italics in original).[70] Illustrating this argument, Birdwhistell cited the example of a communication system devised by Paul Revere during the American Revolution, showing how an ostensibly 'clean informational model' can rapidly become rife with confusions and uncertainties.[71] Revere's communication system was famously based on the premise that one watchtower light would signal that the British were invading by land, and two by sea. Raising a series of possible queries and qualifications, Birdwhistell argues that this alarm system is too inflexible and limited to be relied on:

> This is an exceedingly simple model of one phase of the communication process. It is intended only to direct attention to certain problems of communicational analysis. Yet, if we use even this simple example and imagine it multiplied astronomically, we gain some insight into the task faced by a child in becoming a sane member of his society.[72]

Birdwhistell's purpose is twofold: firstly, to contend that communication is not only, or even primarily, verbal, but is fundamentally conditioned by bodily gestures that have physical and psychological effects; and, secondly, to show that communication cannot be simply defined as the transmission of stable units of information, preformed into messages, but is what happens *during* transmission, and is actively moulded through that process.[73]

In her landmark study of the relationship between art and time in the 1960s, Pamela M. Lee traces the pervasive influence of the distinct but intersecting discourses of cybernetics and Ludwig von Bertalanffy's general system theory on creative practice during this decade, emphasising the extent to which what might now seem a somewhat obscure set of references then formed a common currency.[74] Thanks to this widespread interest in systems theory and cybernetics, of which the writings of the artist and critic Jack Burnham provide a particularly prominent example, a situation emerged whereby the 'very problem of communication in general and a problem of communicating history as a system in particular' became fundamental issues for practitioners and audiences.[75] For Birdwhistell, like Bateson and Ruesch, communication could not be neatly divided into primary and secondary channels, with the latter dismissed as mere noise. Such a position, Birdwhistell worried, could all too easily mutate from one 'that describes certain behavior as redundant' to one that would define such behaviour as '*only* redundant' (italics in original).[76] Rejecting a clear split between information and interference, Birdwhistell approached interpersonal communication as a process of constant adaption and adjustment, characterised by fine gradations of meaning and sense, directly linked to the specific contexts in which it occurred. The merging of cybernetics with sociology and psychology in ways that revised and reoriented its founding concepts of communication, messages, information and feedback, shaped the work of many artists exploring performance, as well as prompting questioning and contestation.

It moreover influenced distinctly countercultural models of interaction that challenged academic sociology and psychology, a shift encapsulated by the transformation of Timothy Leary from Harvard psychologist to countercultural guru. The 1957 study that made Leary's academic name was concerned with the definition of personality through the analysis of interpersonal relations, combining Sullivan's earlier emphasis on collective interaction with the work of Karen Horney on character formation.[77] The traces of these concerns can be detected – albeit radically altered – in Leary's subsequent experimentation with psilocybin and LSD, which redirected the study of interpersonal relations into the exploration of expanded consciousness. The counterculture in turn provided inspiration for artists who considered the problem of communication to be less one of information transmission than a question of the intersection between embodied relationality and psychological states.[78]

In his 1969 study of the counterculture, Theodore Roszak charted the coexistence of behavioural and experiential social analysis along 'a continuum of thought and experience'. This spanned 'the New Left sociology of [C. Wright] Mills, the Freudian Marxism of Herbert Marcuse, the Gestalt-therapy anarchism of Paul Goodman … the Zen-based psychotherapy of Alan Watts, and finally Timothy Leary's impenetrably occult narcissism'. 'As we move along the continuum', Roszak observed, 'we find sociology giving way steadily to psychology, political collectivities yielding to the person, conscious and articulate behavior falling away before the forces of the non-intellective deep'.[79] One of the moments at which Roszak identified these ostensibly very different perspectives converging was the 1967 Congress on the Dialectics of Liberation, addressed in Chapter 3, which united proponents of antipsychiatry such as R. D. Laing and David Cooper with Bateson and Marcuse. Leary had observed in *Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality* that the motivation behind the social scientific obsession with communication was a clear if complex one: prediction.[80] In parallel with Leary's dramatic renunciation of prognostication and control, during the 1960s and 1970s artists sought to explore interactive behaviours, but resisted the predictive ethos with which they were deployed by official apparatuses, exposing their blind spots, particularly with regard to embodied experience and its conditioning through constructs of class, ableism, sexuality, race and gender.

The term counterculture is commonly held to have first been coined in a 1960 article entitled 'Contraculture and Subculture' by the sociologist J. Milton Yinger. Although 'contraculture' eventually became 'counterculture', his formulation remains instructive. Yinger was protesting against the inordinate number of situations that were described as 'subcultural' in sociology. He recommended that one of these trends should be distinguished by an entirely different construct, suggesting that 'the creation of a series of inverse or counter values (opposed to those of the surrounding society) in [the] face of serious frustration or conflict' should henceforth be referred to as 'contraculture'.[81] For all the counterculture's oppositionality, however, scholars such as Fred Turner have shown how it embraced cybernetic tenets of communication, particularly the vision 'of a world built not around vertical hierarchies and top-down flows of power, but around looping circuits of energy and information'.[82] This indicates the contradictions involved in the Happening's transformation into a mechanism of communications analysis. Even as artists attempted to develop new models of interaction, the very tools they used to do so alerted them to their entanglement in structures of technocratic control. Much sociological and psychological material in the 1950s and 1960s treated the white, American, middle-class, heteronormative family as its primary locus, and the departure point for the identification of ostensible norms. As the 1960s progressed into the 1970s, the limitations of this model became subject to pressure and

questioning, particularly as a result of the emergence of civil rights followed by the gay and women's liberation movements, which challenged the ingrained biases of perceived objectivity. The artists in this book complicated contemporaneous debates about communication dominated by the social sciences, while also inevitably at times falling prisoner to their constraints.

## (Anti)social performances

In one of the first critical reassessments of the Happening from the 1990s, Johanna Drucker observed that its material, even in the form's most aggressive early manifestations, constituted '*relations among individuals*' (italics in original).[83] Judith F. Rodenbeck's rich study of the connections between Kaprow's Happenings and their wider sociocultural context expands on Drucker's insight to argue that the Happenings 'provided a strong and canny critique of contemporary sociality'.[84] Shannon Jackson, meanwhile, argues that the ' "performative turn" ' in contemporary art results from a 'fundamental interest in the nature of sociality'.[85] This, Jackson proposes, has fostered artistic analyses of various social systems, including but not limited to 'our relation to the environment, kinship, labor, public infrastructure, and social welfare'.[86] Communication in art has perhaps been most thoroughly theorised in relation to socially engaged practice of the 1990s and 2000s, from formulations of 'relationality' as a medium, to the role of conversation and dialogue in participatory projects.[87] What remains to be fully grasped, however, is the extent and intricacy of the relationship among performance art, sociology and psychology in the postwar period, together with the ways in which artists examined the politics of existing social systems in designing their own experimental interpersonal models.

Art historians have begun to elucidate the impact of sociological thinking about social interaction and feedback on the development of performance, but the emphasis has been predominantly on the Happenings toward the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s, rather than on the more explicitly structural and semiological projects of the late 1960s and the 1970s. In his study of Kaprow's early works, Philip Ursprung demonstrates how Erving Goffman's writings on self-presentation informed the artist's understanding of everyday interaction as inherently theatrical, composed of performative interactions between subjects.[88] Performance art's challenge to the denial of individual bodily autonomy posed by behaviourism has also proven a productive area of study.[89] Exemplified by the work of B. F. Skinner, who claimed that 'a scientific analysis of behavior must … assume that a person's behavior is controlled by his genetic and environmental histories rather than by the person himself as an initiating, creative agent', behaviourism was part of the wider pushback in psychology against psychoanalysis, which cybernetics contributed to.[90] Its

deterministic approach to human relations, however, attracted strong criticism. Equally, the relevance of Bateson's writing for art practice in the 1960s and 1970s has generated significant insights, while art-historical engagement with cybernetics has grown steadily.[91] These interventions build on a wider body of literature that has tackled the influence of sociology as a source material for Abstract Expressionism, Pop art and assemblage.[92]

What is distinct about the performative engagements with communication theory addressed in this book is the way in which the resulting works actively sought to contribute to – and offer alternatives to – the sociological and psychological study of verbal and nonverbal interrelation, together with their questioning of observational authority.[93] In 1977, Kaprow coauthored a proposal entitled 'The Use of Art Performance as a Model for Personal and Social Awareness' to unite artists, psychologists, educationalists, communications specialists and videographers into psychosocial research teams. It argues that performance art enables self-reflexive scrutiny, declaring that the 'development of a number of participatory models' by artists, despite having only been considered 'as art', in actuality have 'a much wider applicability in the social and behavioral sciences, as well as industry, government, and education.'[94] Invoking Goffman and Birdwhistell, the proposal claims that 'consciousness … is the goal; consciousness of what has escaped notice', arguing that artists 'may offer something distinctly valuable, not specifically as art, but as rich layers of metaphors that appeal to consciousness better than social conventions on the one hand or abstract analysis on the other' (emphasis in original).[95] *Beyond the Happening* tests such claims, while excavating the journeys Kaprow and others took to reach this point.[96]

Performance art's encounter with communication studies was born of the rapid proliferation of communications technologies, which saw practitioners consistently engaging with processes of visualisation, mediation and mediatisation. This marked a development from the initial association of the Happenings with ephemerality and nonreproducibility, framed as an attack on the spectacular images of commodity culture. Nonetheless, the integration of photography, video and documentation with performance grew steadily as the 1960s progressed. Building on the arguments elaborated by Amelia Jones and Philip Auslander that the live event does not necessarily take precedence over performance documentation, and that documentation might itself be invested with performative capacities, scholars have started examining how artists have long experimented with the geographic and temporal avenues of dissemination opened up by reproduction.[97] *Beyond the Happening* contributes to these recuperations of performance mediation, addressing the conceptual and theoretical approaches to imaging employed by artists that remain overlooked even in accounts sensitive to the networked status of performance ephemera.

The analytical mode of reperformance devised by Masotta and his circle in Buenos Aires was one solution to the impasse that opened up as the dynamism of the early Happenings faded. The transnational connectivity of *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad* was another. The following chapters consider the trails blazed by Kaprow and Minujín, as well as by Schneemann and Lublin, as they created works in Latin America, Europe and North America. Their paths crossed on occasion: as well as Minujín and Kaprow's attempted collaboration in 1966, Schneemann reperformed a Happening by Kaprow in 1965, and all three featured in an index of the artists in the Archiv Sohm, with which Harald Szeemann worked when preparing his 1970 survey exhibition *Happening & Fluxus*.[98] Schneemann and Minujín became friends during the latter's time in New York; Schneemann showed her films as part of Minujín's 1973 environment *200 Mattresses* (*The Soft Gallery*) in Washington, DC; and they corresponded into the 1980s. Lublin, Minujín and Kaprow all featured in exhibitions during the 1970s organised by the Buenos Aires-based Centro de Arte y Comunicación (Centre for Art and Communication; CAYC). However, the affinities among their ideas rather than the literal connections between their works are the focus here.

By the mid-to-late 1960s, Kaprow was questioning his practice and pushing the Happening in unprecedented directions, combining it with radical pedagogy. Despite his oft-cited ambivalence toward mediation, Kaprow started incorporating the act of taking photographs into the structure of his works, as a way of generating sociological knowledge and facilitating cultural interaction. *Beyond the Happening*'s first chapter explores how sociological writings on education and nonverbal communication, together with conceptual art experiments in photography, informed the performances Kaprow designed between 1968 and 1969 as part of a pedagogic project in Berkeley with the educator Herbert R. Kohl. In these works, Kaprow explored the politics of the image within communication, examining its role in intrapersonal and interpersonal subject formation.

Chapter 2 returns to Minujín's work, tracing her increasingly countercultural approach to communication after *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad*. It begins by analysing Minujín's two other sociological media Happenings of the late 1960s – *Circuit (Super Heterodyne)* (1967) and *Minucode* (1968) – before turning to her performances of the early 1970s in New York and Washington, DC. Together, these comprise an extended study of sociability, which addressed the vagaries of cultural capital under the pressures of Cold War soft diplomacy, as well as the experiences of exile and alienation. Minujín capitalised on the popularity of sociology and psychology in the USA and Argentina, while subverting these disciplines' coercive dynamics by inciting improvisatory relations between participants, resulting in a search for transcendence and communality, even if an admittedly compromised one.

The third chapter focuses on Carolee Schneemann, who, like Minujín and Kaprow, played a vital role in the development of performance art beyond the Happening. Schneemann's 'Kinetic Theatre', which concentrated on the dynamics of group collaboration and sensitisation, evolved in dialectical relation to contemporary psychotherapeutic models. Despite embracing interrelation, Schneemann's collective performances diverge from the feedback operations of cybernetic psychology and antipsychiatry. This became especially pronounced during her 1967 Happening in London at the Congress on the Dialectics of Liberation, but was present from early performances such as *Labyrinth* (1960) and *Newspaper Event* (1963). The chapter's conclusion argues that, although Schneemann stopped making group work in 1970, the subversion of sociology and psychology pioneered in her collaborative performances became an important feminist tool.

Chapter 4 extends this focus on the feminist politics of communication in relation to the work of Lea Lublin. Lublin grew up in Argentina before relocating to France during the 1950s; in the 1960s and 1970s, she exhibited in Latin America and Europe. Amid the protests, strikes and occupations of May 1968, Lublin installed herself with her baby in the Musée d'art moderne de la Ville de Paris. This action sparked multiple projects that sought to denaturalise received social processes, images and ideologies, particularly the concretisation of communicative habits and gestures. These encompass Lublin's participatory environmental installations in Argentina and Chile from the late 1960s into the early 1970s, and her increasingly feminist-oriented work in France. Lublin's studies of social and artistic communication parallel those of the Collectif d'art sociologique (Sociological Art Collective) in France, and were incorporated into the cybernetic and systems frameworks for performance and conceptual art devised by CAYC. Yet Lublin's commitment to questioning received social processes ultimately differed significantly from both enterprises, because of its fusion of materialist and psychoanalytic feminist concerns.

In his 1966 article, Kaprow laid out ground rules for what did and did not constitute a Happening. These included his oft-repeated mantra that the 'line between the Happening and daily life' should be 'kept as fluid and perhaps indistinct as possible'; the conviction that the materials used should be everyday items; and the stipulation that 'the composition of all materials, actions, images, and their times and spaces, should be undertaken in as artless, and … practical, a way as possible'.[99] Happenings were 'unrehearsed', 'once-only' events; the only evidence would be 'the stories they multiply', together with 'the printed scenarios and occasional photographs of works that shall have passed on forever'.[100] The following chapters show how, in the ensuing years, Kaprow and others stretched these parameters to breaking point, as they studied physical and psychological communication ever more obsessively.

## Notes

1 In 1964 Kaprow and Vostell presented a joint lecture entitled 'The Art of the Happening' at the Cricket Theater, New York, followed by a performance of Vostell's violent Happening *You* at King's Point, Long Island. Allan Kaprow and Wolf Vostell, 'The Art of the Happening,' 19 April 1964, Box 70, Folder 3, Allan Kaprow Papers (980063), Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Kaprow met Minujín when she travelled to New York in 1965–66. Kaprow conveyed his professional excitement about the connection in a letter to the French critic Pierre Restany, an important conduit between the artists in this book: 'with Marta Minujín and Wolf Vostell I'm also planning a 3-country collaborative Happening – but you probably know about this. I'm also working on another collaboration here for August. An artist at last!!!' Allan Kaprow, letter to Pierre Restany, 22 June 1966, PREST THE PER 002 (1/8), Fonds Pierre Restany, INHA-Collection Archives de la critique d'art, Rennes.

2 The first Telstar satellite was launched in July 1962, enabling live transatlantic televisual broadcast. Its promise was synchronicity; on the occasion of the first live broadcast from the UK to the USA, the American CBS network proclaimed that the satellite was ushering in 'an era in which television will span oceans and continents to bring back images and sounds of distant events *at the very time they are taking place*' (italics in original). CBS Television Network advertisement, 'It Was Only Eight Minutes Long …', *The Times* (21 July 1962): 5. The Early Bird Intelsat satellite was launched in 1965, and in 1967 it realised the vision entertained by Kaprow, Minujín and Vostell when it hosted a simultaneous television broadcast entitled *Our World* among nineteen different countries, which concluded with The Beatles singing *All You Need Is Love*. Marshall McLuhan, who appeared in the broadcast, referenced satellites like Telstar and Intelsat as examples of the new communications connectivity: 'The worldpool of information fathered by electric media – movies, Telstar, flight – far surpasses any possible influence mom and dad can now bring to bear.' Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium Is the Massage* (London: Penguin, 2008 [1967]), 14.

3 On his 1966 LP 'How to Make a Happening,' Kaprow presented the Happening as an intrinsically peripatetic activity, envisioning performances multiplying from house to street, 'then on more than one street. Then in different but nearby cities. Finally all around the world. Some of this can take place travelling from one area to another, using public transportation and the mails.' Allan Kaprow, *How to Make a Happening* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute and Primary Information, 2008 [1966]), CD.

4 Pichon-Rivière achieved celebrity status with his application of psychoanalysis to group therapy. He regularly attended events at the Di Tella, and between 1966 and 1967 wrote a column in *Primera plana* magazine on the social psychology of everyday life. Mariano Ben Plotkin, *Freud in the Pampas: The Emergence and Development of a Psychoanalytic Culture in Argentina* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 105–7.

5 'el bosque de antenas vibraba como bambúes metálicos.' 'Happenings: El gabinete de la doctora Minujín,' *Primera plana* 4, no. 199 (18 October 1966): 77. All translations from Spanish and French are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

6 The writer Bernardo Verbitsky described Minujín as 'una especie de cosmonauta con overol al parecer metalizado'. Bernardo Verbitsky, 'Un espectáculo revolucionario', *Confirmado* (3 November 1965): 53, Box 69, Folder 4, Allan Kaprow Papers. On visions of futurity in Argentine art of the 1960s, see Rodrigo Alonso, 'Argentines on the Moon', trans. Janice Jaffe, in *Past Futures: Science Fiction, Space Travel and Postwar Art of the Americas*, ed. Sarah J. Montross (Brunswick, ME: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 2015), 76–88; and in the early twentieth century, Beatriz Sarlo, *La imaginación técnica: Sueños modernos de la cultura Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión, 1992).

7 'cada asistente era prolijamente fotografiado y filmado, de frente y de perfil … La segunda fase preliminar consistió en la grabación de las voces: cada invitado dijo su nombre ante el micrófono, y dio su opinión ante lo que estaba ocurriendo.' 'Happenings: El gabinete de la doctora Minujín', 77.

8 Marta Minujín, untitled description of *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad*, n.d., Box 69, Folder 4, Allan Kaprow Papers.

9 Some reports list the second station as Radio Excelsior.

10 Michael Kirby, 'Marta Minujín's "Simultaneity in Simultaneity"', *The Drama Review: TDR* 12, no. 3 (Spring 1968): 148–52 (151–2).

11 *Ibid*., 152.

12 Marta Minujín, untitled text for *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad*, with a note stating 'this text was read at Radio Municipal', n.d., Proyectos de Obra I, 1960–70, Archivo Especial Marta Minujín, Fundación Espigas, Buenos Aires. This echoes McLuhan's countercultural vision of how the mass media extended the individual's central nervous system into 'a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned'. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994 [1964]), 3. Minujín has related that she attended Oscar Masotta's lectures and reading groups, describing how 'we were reading a lot of [Claude] Lévi-Strauss and also Ferdinand de Saussure, and Marshall McLuhan, whose book *Understanding Media* was very important to us'. Marta Minujín, '1,000 Words: Marta Minujín Talks about *Minucode*, 1968', with an introduction by Daniel R. Quiles, *Artforum International* 48, no. 8 (April 2010): 156–9 (158). Comparably, in an interview with Richard Schechner published alongside Kirby's account of *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad*, Kaprow related that there was a 'very strong relation' between McLuhan's ideas and his works, noting their shared interest in the connectivity created by the experience of viewing television, with the caveat that 'the TV community is passive and I am interested in a variety of modes including contemplation, observation, and participation.' Allan Kaprow, 'Extensions in Time and Space', interview by Richard Schechner, *The Drama Review: TDR* 12, no. 3 (Spring 1968): 153–9 (155). This qualified an earlier exchange during which Kaprow accused Schechner and Kirby of oversimplifying McLuhan's influence in their 1965 special issue on Happenings, asserting that, 'so far as I know, he has had no effect upon the Happenings at all'. Allan Kaprow, 'On Happenings', letter to the Editor, *Tulane Drama Review* 10, no. 4 (Summer

1966): 281–3 (283). Michael Kirby's 'The New Theatre' and Richard Schechner's 'Happenings' can be found in *Tulane Drama Review* 10, no. 2 (Winter 1965): 23–43 and 229–32 respectively.

13 'el contexto de su casa, de su vida personal, es el aspecto privado, mientras que el medio es, justamente, la irrupción temporaria de lo colectivo en ese contexto privado' (emphasis in original). Marta Minujín, 'Notas sobre la situación preparatoria del happening sobre "invasión de los medios masivos"', n.d., Proyectos de Obra I, 1960–70, Archivo Especial Marta Minujín.

14 Niko Vicario posits that *Simultaneidad en simultaneidad* sought 'to eliminate what had been diagnosed as the lag time between artistic centers (or what were sometimes seen as centers and peripheries)'. Niko Vicario, 'Oscar Bony's *La familia obrera*: The Labor and the Work', *ARTMargins* 6, no. 2 (June 2017): 50–71 (60).

15 Kirby, 'Marta Minujín's "Simultaneity in Simultaneity"', 152.

16 Fred Turner observes that McLuhan 'drew extensively' on Wiener's work, as well as on Jurgen Ruesch and Gregory Bateson's *Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychology* (1951). Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 52–3.

17 Judith F. Rodenbeck cites the 1967 pulp novel *The Happening* – itself adapted from a film – as evidence of 'just how far the term "happening" … had drifted from its initial usage.' Judith F. Rodenbeck, *Radical Prototypes: Allan Kaprow and the Invention of Happenings* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), ix.

18 On Masotta and *Arte de los medios*, which comprised Eduardo Costa, Roberto Jacoby and Raúl Escari, see Ana Longoni and Mariano Mestman, 'After Pop, We Dematerialize: Oscar Masotta, Happenings, and Media Art at the Beginnings of Conceptualism', trans. Linda Phillips, in *Listen, Here, Now! Argentine Art of the 1960s: Writings of the Avant-Garde*, ed. Inés Katzenstein (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2004), 156–72. See also Karen Benezra, 'Media Art in Argentina: Ideology and Critique "Después del pop"', *ARTMargins* 1, nos 2–3 (June–October 2012): 152–75.

19 Oscar Masotta, 'Proyecto de trabajo sobre "artes visuales y medios de comunicación de masas" (lugar de la investigación: N. York)', n.d., 1, Box 3, Folder 11, AR BDT 1970 CEA EA, Fondo Centro de Experimentación Audiovisual, Archivos del Instituto Di Tella, Biblioteca Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Buenos Aires. Andrea Giunta gives a detailed account of Masotta's time in New York in *Avant-Garde, Internationalism, and Politics: Argentine Art in the Sixties*, trans. Peter Kahn (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007 [2001]), 180–8.

20 On Masotta's diverse intellectual interests, see Philip Derbyshire, 'Who Was Oscar Masotta? Psychoanalysis in Argentina', *Radical Philosophy* 158 (November–December 2009): 11–23. Responding to this article, Daniel R. Quiles stresses the need to integrate Masotta's philosophical outlook with his involvement in art practice. Daniel R. Quiles, 'Who *Was* Oscar Masotta? Response to Derbyshire', *Radical Philosophy* 164 (November–December 2010): 60. Ana Longoni tracks the development of Masotta's thinking with regard to Pop art, Happenings and *Arte*

*de los medios* in 'Oscar Masotta: Vanguardia y revolución en los sesenta', in Oscar Masotta, *Revolución en el arte: Pop-art, happenings y arte de los medios en la década del sesenta* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2004), 9–100. Claire Bishop considers his anti-Happenings in *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (London: Verso, 2012), 105–28; as does Olivier Debroise in 'Looking at the Sky in Buenos Aires', *Getty Research Journal* 1 (2009): 127–36. Critical interest in Masotta has expanded into exhibitions: his work featured in Documenta 14 (2017) at the Athens Conservatoire (Odeion), while *Oscar Masotta: Theory as Action* appeared at the Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA) in 2018.

21 'Ninguna película, ninguna caricatura, ofrece un pesimismo más incurable que el Happening. Ninguna descripción más deprimente de los Estados Unidos. Los intelectuales aprecian esta mezcla sutil de disgusto, de sarcasmo, de sadismo y de amor a la destrucción.' 'Una extraña forma de teatro en Nueva York: El happening', *Primera plana* 1, no. 1 (13 November 1962): 31–4 (33).

22 'A medida que aumentaba nuestra información crecía la impresión de que las posibilidades – las ideas – se hallaban agotadas. La idea de *no* hacer un happening original, entonces, sino la de reunir en un happening varios happenings ya realizados, nos pareció, de pronto, más importante' (italics in original). Eduardo Costa and Oscar Masotta, 'Sobre happenings, happening: Reflexiones y relatos', in Oscar Masotta, Marta Minujín, Alicia Páez, Roberto Jacoby, Eliseo Verón, Eduardo Costa *et al*., *Happenings* (Buenos Aires: Jorge Álvarez, 1967), 177–82 (177).

23 Kirby's collection of essays and scores appeared as Michael Kirby, ed., *Happenings: An Illustrated Anthology* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1965).

24 *Happening para un jabalí difunto* (*Happening for a Dead Boar*) (1966) by Costa, Escari and Jacoby, consisted purely of documentation without an originary event, addressing the extent to which Happenings had become mediatised. Masotta pointed to 'the difference between the Happening and "media art" ', while stressing that 'the idea of making works of the latter type was already indicated in Happenings and that the passage emerged as a "logical consequence" '. Oscar Masotta, 'After Pop, We Dematerialize' (1967), excerpted, trans. Eileen Brockbank, in Katzenstein, *Listen, Here, Now!*, 208–16 (214).

25 Allan Kaprow, 'The Happenings Are Dead – Long Live the Happenings!', *Artforum* 4, no. 7 (March 1966): 36–9 (37). Kaprow coined the term in his essay 'The Legacy of Jackson Pollock', which proclaimed that Pollock's experimentation had opened art up to 'entirely unheard-of happenings and events'. Allan Kaprow, 'The Legacy of Jackson Pollock' (1958), in *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, ed. Jeff Kelley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 1–9 (9).

26 Allan Kaprow, 'New Goals and Techniques of Happenings', 8 March 1965, New York, Box 47, Folder 5, Allan Kaprow Papers.

27 Philip Ursprung stresses that 'as the "father" of the Happening and as one of the most influential figures in American college life, this heterosexual white artist … embodied a distinctly patriarchal structure'. Philip Ursprung, *Allan Kaprow, Robert Smithson, and the Limits to Art*, trans. Fiona Elliott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 51.

28 Contemporaneous knowledge of the form's internationalism has frequently been overlooked in favour of a US focus. See for example Mildred L. Glimcher, *Happenings: New York, 1958–1963* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2012); Mike Sell, *Avant-Garde Performance and the Limits of Criticism: Approaching the Living Theatre, Happenings/Fluxus, and the Black Arts Movement* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); and Mariellen R. Sandford, ed., *Happenings and Other Acts* (London: Routledge, 1995). For histories that articulate the transnational networks in which Happenings were created, see Bishop's *Artificial Hells*; Deborah Cullen, ed., *Arte ≠ Vida: Actions by Artists of the Americas, 1960–2000* (New York: El Museo del Barrio, 2008); and Midori Yoshimoto, *Into Performance: Japanese Women Artists in New York* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005). On the African and Asian influences on performance works created in California, see Kellie Jones, *South of Pico: African American Artists in Los Angeles in the 1960s and 1970s* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 185–263. See also the scholarship on performance art in Central and Eastern Europe, especially Amy Bryzgel, *Performance Art in Eastern Europe since 1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017); and Klara Kemp-Welch, *Antipolitics in Central European Art: Reticence as Dissidence under Post-Totalitarian Rule, 1956–1989* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), particularly 13–56 on Tadeusz Kantor and his *Sea Happening* of 1967.

29 Allan Kaprow, 'Nine Japanese of the Gutai Group', in *Assemblage, Environments and Happenings* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1966), 211–25.

30 Ming Tiampo, *Gutai: Decentering Modernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 90. On internationalism and the concept of the 'contemporary' in 1960s Japan, see also Reiko Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016).

31 Fluxus activity played an important role in establishing performance networks across geographic and cultural borders. Jessica Santone points to George Maciunas's facilitation of a vast artistic correspondence network that 'opened an event to the operations and effects of distributed authorship in an art community'. Jessica Santone, 'Archiving Fluxus Performances in Mieko Shiomi's *Spatial Poem*', in *Across the Great Divide: Modernism's Intermedialities, from Futurism to Fluxus*, ed. Rhys Davies, Christopher Townsend and Alex Trott (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), 120–36 (122). See also Colby Chamberlain, 'International Indeterminacy: George Maciunas and the Mail', *ARTMargins* 9, no. 3 (2018): 57–85.

32 Alloway highlighted these shifts in relation to *Assemblage, Environments and Happenings*. Reviewing the book, he meditated on the lag between Kaprow's first drafts and the eventual publication in 1966 (the manuscript was written in 1959–60, and redrafted in 1961), observing that its ideas were out of sync with the ways in which the Happenings – Kaprow's included – had developed. Alloway refuted the 'escalation ladder' implied by Kaprow's title from assemblage sculpture through environments to Happenings, deeming his performances by this point to bear scant resemblance to the 'Junk Culture' of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Lawrence Alloway, 'Allan Kaprow, Two Views' (first published as two separate pieces: 'Art

in Escalation: The History of Happenings. A Question of Sources', *Arts Magazine* 42, no. 3 (December 1966–January 1967): 40–3; and 'Art', *The Nation* (20 October 1969)), in *Topics in American Art since 1945* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1975): 195–200 (196).

33 Marta Traba, *Dos décadas vulnerables en las artes plásticas latinoamericanas, 1950–1970* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2005 [1973]), 195. On the development of Traba's nationalist position, and her critique of Pop, Conceptual art and Happenings, which she 'associated exclusively – and erroneously – with the United States', see Florencia Bazzano-Nelson, 'Marta Traba: Internationalism or Regional Resistance?', *Art Journal* 64, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 87–8 (88). See also Mari Carmen Ramírez, 'Sobre la pertinencia actual de una crítica comprometida', trans. Héctor Olea, in Traba, *Dos décadas vulnerables*, 33–54.

34 In the prologue to the 1967 collection of essays on Happenings, Masotta referenced Kaprow's assertions in the 1966 *Artforum* essay, arguing that despite his claim that Argentina was overflowing with 'happenistas', at that point a very small number of performances had actually occurred there. ('El happening aparece en la Argentina marcado por una extraña suerte. Allan Kaprow hace un año atrás se refería a nosotros poco menos que como a un país de happenistas, en tanto que hasta esa fecha apenas si existían en la Argentina manifestaciones expresas del género.') Oscar Masotta, 'Prólogo', in Masotta *et al.*, *Happenings*, 9. The *Acerca (de): 'Happenings'* pamphlet also cited Kaprow's *Artforum* essay. Pamphlet for *Acerca (de): 'Happenings'*, 1966, Box 3, Folder 11, AR BDT 1970 CEA EA, Fondo Centro de Experimentación Audiovisual, Archivos del Instituto Di Tella.

35 Masotta, 'After Pop, We Dematerialize', 213. Quiles describes this lecture as 'in part a manifesto for a new, exclusively Argentine art founded on the ruins of the happening'. Daniel R. Quiles, 'My Reference is Prejudiced: David Lamelas's *Publication*', *ARTMargins* 2, no. 3 (October 2013): 31–62 (39).

36 Patrick Greaney contends that engagements with the Happening in Argentina depended 'on complex forms of imitation and inversion'. As such, they 'were created in response to art from elsewhere, but not as a naïve imitation or attempt to do better than the original', and constitute 'critical repetitions that reflect on art from North America and Europe; react to local conditions; and create and theorize new genres of art'. Patrick Greaney, 'Essentially the Same: Eduardo Costa's Minimal Differences and Latin American Conceptualism', *Art History* 37, no. 4 (September 2014): 648–65 (659). See also Daniel R. Quiles, 'Dead Boars, Viruses, and Zombies: Roberto Jacoby's Art History', *Art Journal* 73, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 38–55.

37 The programme was realised by the Centres for Visual Art and Audio-Visual Experimentation, and included Masotta's Happening *Para inducir el espíritu de imagen* (*To Induce the Spirit of the Image*) and Mario Gandelsonas's *Señales* (*Signals*). Pamphlet for *Acerca (de): 'Happenings'*, 1966.

38 'por otra parte, era un poco vergonzoso, en medio de la gravedad de la situación política, hacer "happenings" '. Oscar Masotta, 'Yo cometí un happening', in Masotta *et al.*, *Happenings*, 157–73 (170).

39 'Pero sería difícil poder hablar de Kaprow, o aún de Lichtenstein, con el lenguaje de Heidegger. La materia sociológica del happening reclama seguramente el lenguaje de la sociología.' Masotta, 'Prólogo', 12.

40 'En este sentido, aventuraré la hipótesis de que la materia del género happening (y lo que lo diferencia de otros géneros) es la *acción social como sistema*. Pienso que esto no puede afirmarse de ningún otro género, ni aún del teatro' (italics in original). Eliseo Verón, 'Un happening de los medios masivos: Notas para un análisis semántico', in Masotta *et al*., *Happenings*, 75–90 (79).

41 This was admittedly not on the scale of the activism pursued by artists radicalised by Onganía's repressive policies. Longoni and Mestman trace the overlapping stages of Argentine avant-garde activity during the 1960s, proposing that these culminated in the 'itinerary' of 1968, a period between April and November that year that witnessed multiple fusions between art and politics. These included the boycott of *Experiencias 68* at the Di Tella in response to censorship; the Ciclo de Arte Experimental (Cycle of Experimental Art) organised by the Grupo de Artistas de Vanguardia in Rosario; and *Tucumán arde* (*Tucuman is Burning*), also in Rosario and briefly Buenos Aires before it was shut down. See Ana Longoni and Mariano Mestman, *Del Di Tella a 'Tucumán arde': Vanguardia artística y política en el 68 argentino* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 2013 [2000]), particularly the timeline on 250.

42 On body art see Kathy O'Dell, *Contract with the Skin: Masochism, Performance Art, and the 1970s* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Amelia Jones, *Body Art/Performing the Subject* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); and Rebecca Schneider, *The Explicit Body in Performance* (London: Routledge, 1997). For key studies that have connected participatory practice of the 1990s and 2000s with 1960s experiments, see Bishop, *Artificial Hells*; Anna Dezeuze, *Almost Nothing: Observations on Precarious Practices in Contemporary Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017); and Anna Dezeuze, ed., *The 'Do-It-Yourself' Artwork: Participation from Fluxus to New Media* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

43 Jill Johnston, 'Theatre: Natural History (Dreams)' (1965), in *Marmalade Me*, rev. edn (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998 [1971]), 47–8 (48).

44 Susan Sontag, 'Happenings: An Art of Radical Juxtaposition' (1962), in *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1966), 263–74 (266).

45 Claude Lévi-Strauss's structural anthropology was an important reference point for the Argentine avant-garde. Masotta's 1965 lectures on Pop art, published in 1967, make reference to the anthropologist's writings on myth. See Oscar Masotta, *El 'pop art'* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Columba, 1967).

46 Jill Johnston, '"Happenings": Ingenious Womb', *Village Voice* 6, no. 24 (6 April 1961): 13.

47 Seth Barry Watter notes that during and after the Second World War, 'communication' as a designation 'had grown catholic indeed' as it became an obsession among artists and scientists alike. Seth Barry Watter, 'Scrutinizing: Film and the Microanalysis of Behavior', *Grey Room* 66 (Winter 2017): 32–69 (36).

48 Russell Kirk, 'Is Social Science Scientific?', *New York Times* (25 June 1961): SM11, 15–16, 18 (SM11). On sociology's connections to the US military-industrial complex, see David Paul Haney, *The Americanization of Social Science: Intellectuals and Public Responsibility in the Postwar United States* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008); Christopher Simpson, *Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare, 1945–1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); and Stephen Park Turner and Jonathan H. Turner, *The Impossible Science: An Institutional Analysis of American Sociology* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990).

49 Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 186.

50 Sociology played a crucial role in US interventions in Latin America, as addressed in Michael E. Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and 'Nation Building' in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

51 Johan Heilbron describes how the boom in applied sociology and its adoption by government and business in France was closely linked to the US Marshall Plan and its 'productivity missions' between 1949 and 1956, 'which contributed to an accelerated import and adaptation of American technology and management models'. Johan Heilbron, *French Sociology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 130.

52 Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Field of Cultural Production; or, The Economic World Reversed' (1983), trans. Richard Nice, in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 29–73. See for example Lawrence Alloway, 'The Long Front of Culture' (1959), in *Imagining the Present: Context, Content, and the Role of the Critic*, ed. Richard Kalina (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 61–4.

53 Mills defended 'the sociological imagination', understood as the ability to conceptualise the connections between the minutiae of everyday life and shifts in wider social structures, against the 'bureaucratic ethos' of a technocratic sociology concerned with prediction and control, used 'in and for nondemocratic areas of society – a military establishment, a corporation, an advertising agency, an administrative division of government'. C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 114. This critique continued in titles such as Loren Baritz, *The Servants of Power: A History of the Use of Social Science in American Industry* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965).

54 Irving Louis Horowitz, 'Sociology for Sale' (1963), in *Professing Sociology: Studies in the Life Cycle of Social Science* (Chicago: Aldine, 1968), 167–73.

55 Harry Stack Sullivan, *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry*, ed. Helen Swick Perry and Mary Ladd Gawel (New York: W. W. Norton, 1953), 18. The *OED* cites Sullivan in 1938 as the first use of the word 'to describe behaviour between people in any encounter'. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. 'interpersonal, *adj.*', www.oed.com/view/Entry/98146 (accessed 19 January 2020).

56 Jurgen Ruesch and Gregory Bateson, *Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1951), 5.
57 *Ibid*.
58 Geof Bowker, 'How to Be Universal: Some Cybernetic Strategies, 1943–70', *Social Studies of Science* 23, no. 1 (February 1993): 107–27 (116).
59 Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society*, rev. edn (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1954 [1950]), 15.
60 *Ibid*., 18.
61 Andrew Pickering, *The Cybernetic Brain: Sketches of Another Future* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 13.
62 Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings*, 61.
63 Steve Joshua Heims traces how the conferences became increasingly split between the mathematic cyberneticists, who leaned toward behaviourist models of interaction, and the social sciences cluster, which was sceptical of behaviourism. Steve Joshua Heims, *The Cybernetics Group* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 1–13.
64 Norbert Wiener, *Cybernetics; or, Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965 [1948]), 8–9, 10.
65 Shannon's model of communication was one in which 'the actual message is one *selected from a set* of possible messages' (italics in original), whereby information was distinguished from noise. Claude Shannon, 'A Mathematical Theory of Communication', *Bell System Technical Journal* 27, no. 3 (July 1948): 379–423 (379).
66 N. Katherine Hayles, *How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 63.
67 Peter Galison, 'The Ontology of the Enemy: Norbert Wiener and the Cybernetic Vision', *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 1 (Autumn 1994): 228–66 (240).
68 William R. Kaizen describes how in *Communication* Ruesch and Bateson were 'working against … the disembodiment of information in the mathematical formulation of communication'. William R. Kaizen, 'Steps to an Ecology of Communication: *Radical Software*, Dan Graham, and the Legacy of Gregory Bateson', *Art Journal* 67, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 86–107 (93).
69 Second-wave cybernetics 'grew out of attempts to incorporate reflexivity into the cybernetic paradigm at a fundamental level'. Hayles, *How We Became Posthuman*, 10.
70 Ray L. Birdwhistell, 'There Was a Child Went Forth …' (1959), in *Kinesics and Context: Essays on Body-Motion Communication* (London: Allen Lane 1971), 3–11 (3).
71 Ray L. Birdwhistell, '"Redundancy" in Multichannel Communication Systems' (1962), in *Kinesics and Context*, 89.
72 *Ibid*., 91.
73 The cognitive scientist Colin Cherry reached a similar conclusion: 'communication is not the response itself but is essentially the *relationship* set up by the transmission

of stimuli and the evocation of responses' (italics in original). Colin Cherry, *On Human Communication: A Review, a Survey, and a Criticism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978 [1957]), 6–7.

74 Pamela M. Lee, *Chronophobia: On Time in the Art of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 238. Manfred Drack and David Pouvreau give a detailed overview of the similarities and contrasts between system theory and cybernetics, stressing that their relationship is one of 'gradual differences' rather than 'sharp borders'. Manfred Drack and David Pouvreau, 'On the History of Ludwig von Bertalanffy's "General Systemology", and on Its Relationship to Cybernetics – Part III: Convergences and Divergences', *International Journal of General Systems* 44, no. 5 (2015): 523–71 (524).

75 Lee, *Chronophobia*, 238–9. Jack Burnham's most well-known essay is his 1968 *Artforum* publication 'Systems Esthetics' (*Artforum* 7, no. 1 (September 1968): 30–5), but he had already explored these ideas in writings that speculated that technological developments were too rigid and 'unadaptable', and were destroying earlier organic networks. Jack Burnham, 'Sculpture, Systems, and Catastrophe' (1966), in *Dissolve into Comprehension: Writings and Interviews, 1964–2004*, ed. Melissa Ragain (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015), 81–8 (88). On Burnham's use of general system theory, see Luke Skrebowski, 'All Systems Go: Recovering Jack Burnham's "Systems Aesthetics"', *Tate Papers* 5 (2006), www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/05/all-systems-go-recovering-jack-burnhams-systems-aesthetics (accessed 17 January 2020). On art and systems theory more generally, see Francis Halsall, *Systems of Art: Art, History and Systems Theory* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008); and Donna De Salvo, ed., *Open Systems: Rethinking Art c. 1970* (London: Tate, 2005).

76 Birdwhistell, '"Redundancy" in Multichannel Communication Systems', 86.

77 Leary focused on the role of anxiety in interpersonal relations, based on the Sullivan-inspired premise that 'all the social, emotional, interpersonal activities of an individual can be understood as attempts to avoid anxiety or to establish and maintain self-esteem'. Timothy Leary, *Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality: A Functional Theory and Methodology for Personality Evaluation* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957), 59.

78 Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner note that the visual and performative manifestations of the counterculture have regularly been deemed irrelevant to politics, and simultaneously excluded from artistic narratives of the 1960s. Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner, 'Introduction. The Counterculture Experiment: Consciousness and Encounters at the Edge of Art', in *West of Center: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965–1977*, ed. Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press and Museum of Contemporary Art Denver, 2012), xvii–xxxvi (xxi).

79 Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (London: Faber, 1970), 64.

80 Leary, *Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality*, 51.

81 J. Milton Yinger, 'Contraculture and Subculture', *American Sociological Review* 25, no. 5 (October 1960): 625–35 (627).
82 Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture*, 38.
83 Johanna Drucker, 'Collaboration without Object(s) in the Early Happenings', *Art Journal* 52, no. 4 (Winter 1993): 51–8 (51).
84 Rodenbeck, *Radical Prototypes*, ix.
85 Shannon Jackson, *Social Works: Performing Art, Supporting Publics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 2.
86 *Ibid*., 6.
87 See Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, trans. Simon Pleasance and Fronza Woods, with Mathieu Copeland (Dijon: Les Presses du réel, 2002 [1998]); and Grant Kester, *Conversation Pieces: Community and Communication in Modern Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013 [2004]).
88 Ursprung, *Allan Kaprow, Robert Smithson, and the Limits to Art*, 10–12. Rodenbeck also notes Goffman's importance – notably *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) – for Kaprow's early work. Rodenbeck, *Radical Prototypes*, 163. Carrie Lambert-Beatty comparably observes the impact of Goffman's elaboration of 'copresence' on the Judson Dance Theater's turn to everyday gestures in *Being Watched: Yvonne Rainer and the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), 24. On 'copresence', see Erving Goffman, *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings* (New York: Free Press, 1963), 17.
89 For an insightful reading of Vito Acconci's performances as a manifestation of antibehaviourist sentiments, see Elise Archias, *The Concrete Body: Yvonne Rainer, Carolee Schneemann, Vito Acconci* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 157–60. This builds on Kate Linker's connections between Acconci's work and Edward T. Hall's study of proxemics in *The Hidden Dimension* (1966), Goffman's *Interaction Ritual* (1967), and Kurt Lewin's *Principles of Topographical Psychology* (1966 [1936]). Kate Linker, *Vito Acconci* (New York: Rizzoli, 1994), 30–5.
90 B. F. Skinner, *About Behaviourism* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1974), 189.
91 On Bateson, as well as Kaizen, see James Nisbet, *Ecologies, Environments, and Energy Systems in Art of the 1960s and 1970s* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014), 157–63. Jasia Reichardt's 1968 *Cybernetic Serendipity* exhibition at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London has formed a focus of critical analysis; see María Fernández, 'Detached from HiStory: Jasia Reichardt and *Cybernetic Serendipity*', *Art Journal* 67, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 6–23. For other investigations of art and cybernetics, see Yates McKee, 'The Public Sensoriums of Pulsa: Cybernetic Abstraction and the Biopolitics of Urban Survival', *Art Journal* 67, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 46–67; and Margit Rosen, 'Gordon Pask's Cybernetic Systems: Conversations after the End of the Mechanical Age', in *Practicable: From Participation to Interaction in Contemporary Art*, ed. Samuel Bianchini and Erik Verhagen, with the collaboration of Nathalie Delbard and Larisa Dryansky (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016), 25–38.

92 Marcia Brennan connects David Riesman's sociological study *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (1950) with the New York School's constructions of masculinity, in *Modernism's Masculine Subjects: Matisse, the New York School and Post-Painterly Abstraction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 10–12. Cécile Whiting shows how the sociology of marketing and motivational research shaped the reception of Pop art, in 'Shopping for Pop', in *A Taste for Pop: Pop Art, Gender and Consumer Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 7–49. Whiting draws on Vance Packard's sociological trilogy dissecting advertising and mass consumption – *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957), *The Status Seekers* (1959) and *The Waste Makers* (1960) – which also forms an important source for Joshua Shannon's *The Disappearance of Objects: New York Art and the Rise of the Postmodern City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

93 It is important to bear in mind Hal Foster's related critique of artistic engagements with ethnography, which he argues risk reinscribing ethnographic authority rather than achieving recursive deconstruction. Hal Foster, 'The Artist as Ethnographer', in *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 172–203 (190). However, Foster mentions sociology's deployment by feminist artists only in passing, while Jennifer A. González notes that Foster's reduction of art practice to the limits of ethnography 'becomes problematic when an explicit *critique* of colonial ethnographic and anthropological discourse is central to much of the artwork' (italics in original). Jennifer A. González, *Subject to Display: Reframing Race in Contemporary Installation Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), 13. Equally, Miwon Kwon observes that many of the artists Foster mentions are often subject to institutional pressures, which his argument does not fully account for. Miwon Kwon, *One Place after Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 140.

94 Sheila Bob, Elizabeth Daley, James Hindman, Allan Kaprow, Peter Kirby, Larry Kirkman and Edward Wortz, 'The Use of Art Performance as a Model for Personal and Social Awareness', Preliminary Proposal to the National Endowment for Humanities, 18 July 1977, 1, Box 34, Folder 14, Allan Kaprow Papers.

95 *Ibid*., 3 and 4.

96 For the institutional consolidation of performance art in the USA during the 1970s and 1980s in relation to sociology and anthropology, see Shannon Jackson, *Professing Performance: Theatre in the Academy from Philology to Performativity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), especially 146–75.

97 See for example Mechtild Widrich, *Performative Monuments: The Rematerialisation of Public Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), especially 13–52; and Christian Berger and Jessica Santone, 'Documentation as Art Practice in the 1960s', *Visual Resources* 32, nos 3–4 (2016): 201–9 (202). On performance, mediation and reperformance, see Amelia Jones and Adrian Heathfield, eds., *Perform, Repeat, Record: Live Art in History* (Bristol: Intellect, 2012).

98 Ultimately Minujín's work did not feature. Index of artists, n.d., Archiv Sohm, in *Harald Szeemann: With By Through Because Towards Despite. Catalogue of All Exhibitions, 1957–2005*, ed. Tobia Bezzola and Roman Kurzmeyer, trans. Ben Schmidt, John S. Southard and David Stone (Zürich: Edition Voldemeer, 2007), 287. The exhibition was not the success that Szeemann had hoped for, dogged as it was by controversy relating to the Viennese Actionists, and an unenthusiastic critical response to the emphasis on documentation. See Philip Ursprung, 'More than the Art World Can Tolerate: Otto Muehl's Manopsychotic Ballet', *Tate Etc.* (Spring 2009), www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/articles/more-art-world-can-tolerate (accessed 18 January 2020); and Magdalena Holdar, 'Doing Things Together: Objectives and Effects of Harald Szeemann's *Happening & Fluxus*, 1970', *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 6, no. 1 (2017): 91–114 (94–5).

99 Kaprow, 'The Happenings are Dead – Long Live the Happenings!', 37.

100 *Ibid*., 39, 37.