

Public Art: Avant-Garde Practice and the Possibilities of Critical Articulation

Philip Glahn

"Public art" as a category embraces a wide variety of aesthetic practices: outdoor sculpture, poster art, multimedia projections, earthworks, community-based projects and many more. This totalizing classification reflects a very traditional understanding of the concept of the "public sphere;" the ideal arena in which critical dialogue among citizens is made possible. Once understood as an alternative to private experience within an art world that displayed only a limited interest in public policy and the exchange of critical ideas, public art today is confronted by an increasingly inclusive art market. At a moment when popular culture and the media make the boundaries between "public" and "private" more and more permeable and when the traditional institutions of high culture appear to enthusiastically embrace all that is different, even oppositional, the question of what public art is and can be is crucial. In this rapidly transforming framework of cultural intelligibility, experience and acceptance, the issues within this question need to be carefully reexamined.

The traditional, bourgeois model of the public sphere as an ideal situation of civic discourse is constituted by the separation of the public from the spheres of the state and the private. As an ostensibly extrapolitical, autonomous arena of critical reasoning, the bourgeois public sphere defines its universal accessibility in opposition to the exclusionary interests of power and ideological mechanisms found in the state apparatus and private enterprise. For Jurgen Habermas, ideology is the systematic distortion of communication by power. Habermas aligns the deterioration of the public sphere with the advent of mass culture and the growing interference of the welfare state. The constituting borders between state, public and private are transgressed: (literary) culture "becomes ideology," losing its outside position that is necessary for critical distance. [1] As the arts and leisure time are permeated by popular culture and by the purely private, economic interests of the culture industry, critical dialogue is replaced by apolitical consumption. The public sphere as a "general understanding of what things count as" is, as Habermas explains, invaded by the kinds of interests

that threaten the fundamental requirements for communicative reasoning. [2] He writes:

Only bourgeois art, which has become autonomous in the face of demands of employment extrinsic to art, has taken up positions on behalf of the victims of bourgeois rationalization. Bourgeois art has become the refuge for a satisfaction, even if only virtual, of those needs that have become, as it were, illegal in the life process of bourgeois society." [3]

In its heroic attempt to preserve civic notions of universality, individuality and solidarity, this bourgeois aesthetic comes to function as an active and effective tool of ideological reproduction, serving an apparatus of cultural production that is constantly remodeling its quickly worn-off surfaces.

While the publicity of the culture industry is hiding behind the facade of the ostensibly all-accessible and critical bourgeois public sphere, the presumed autonomy of the latter serves not only the monetary interests of private enterprise but reinstates the commonly held belief in the function of the public sphere as the "ideal speech situation." [4] Defining itself as free from ideological distortions of mass culture--all those "vulgar" interests that deny a public culture the necessary distance from the objects of its contemplation--traditional public art evokes an artistic strategy that restores the notions of authorship, craftsmanship, originality, individualistic production and reception. [5] Being more of a rudimentary than a critical strategy in the sense of Habermas's "emancipatory critique," this idealized artistic production neglects the constitutive dependency between popular culture and "high art," between inside the institution and outside it. Many current public artworks address a singular, universal audience in a Habermasian sense, and the spaces of its display are the physical outside, taking for granted a certain common basis of and capacity for reasoning. Lucy Lippard calls this type of traditional outdoor art "parachute" or "plunk art" in that it has been removed from the gallery or museum and dropped onto the site, thereby simply extending the space of the art institution and defining public space solely in terms of physical accessibility. [6] As Rosalyn Deutsche has pointed out, in public art these ideals of a bourgeois aesthetic serve the private interests of urban development and gentrification, creating a pseudo-public sphere distinguished by "exclusions and homogenization?" [7] Deutsche's commentary on the boardwalk art in Manhattan's Battery Park City illustrates the relation between economic interests, urban speculation and artistic produc-

tion. By refusing to acknowledge or simply ignoring art's function as cultural capital for urban development, the last thing this art is public. Much of it is not legible for anyone but those who are well-versed in art history or the personal narratives of the producers and although the work is physically accessible to a multitude of visitors, those who most benefit from the boardwalk's cultural capital are the owners of the rather exclusive properties around Battery Park City. The boardwalk art thus acts as an accomplice to the realtors and therefore serves a distinctly private interest.

Other public art practices have revealed this ideological function of the idealized bourgeois public sphere and its aesthetics and have attempted, in the tradition of the historical avant-garde, to critique its claim to disinterested artistic production. Viewing the presumed autarchy of the bourgeois public sphere as a legitimizing facade for the utterly private--or at least for the non-public interests of the "production public sphere" [8]--the immediate expression of the process of production in the work of artists such as Hans Haacke, Group Material and REPOhistory not only acknowledges art's involuntary function in a larger arena of social production, but defines the public sphere in the light of its functionality and use-value. [9] The public sphere possesses use-value when social experience organizes itself within it. It denotes specific institutions, practices and agencies, as well as being a "general social horizon of experience in which everything that is actually or ostensibly relevant for all members of society is integrated." [10] Here, the concept of the public sphere is in itself an ideological one, being part of--and at the same time providing the framework for--social legibility. Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge define the so-called "dominant public sphere" as the alliances formed out of the dysfunctional bourgeois public sphere in its fight against all particularity, and the various production public spheres. These spheres mainly consist of the publicity of the culture industry and the public relations work of conglomerates and that of social institutions. [11] This dominant public sphere organizes social experience under the guise of the universal and all-accessible bourgeois public sphere. The traditional view of an idealized public sphere therefore becomes part of what Louis Althusser calls the "reproduction of ideology," representing the imaginary relationships of individuals to their actual conditions of existence, hence to the actual circumstances of discursive cultural production. [12]

Contrary to his writings on the totalizing impact of ideological reproduction under advanced capitalist societies, Althusser allows for times and spaces of resistance in his essay on the theatre of Carlo Bertolazzi and Bertolt Brecht. The "melodramatic consciousness" must be infused with a "dialectical time (that of conflict)" in order to rupture the common sense of the dominant culture. This consciousness has to be articulated as a tension between the myths and reproductive functionality of the "world of alibis, sublimations and lies of bourgeois morality" and the "real experience, foreign to the content of consciousness," of alienation and oppression. Only the introduction to consciousness of what is different from itself allows for a moment of necessary rupture. [13] Similarly, for Negt and Kluge the formation of an oppositional or "counter" public sphere is made possible by the acknowledgment of the public sphere as a site of discursive contestation and by the inclusion of those material experiences that have been excluded from it. These experiences lead to the questioning of the ideological sites and narratives that deny the formation of alternative world views in order to guarantee a universal and coherent life-context (Lebenszusammenhang). The possibility for "a horizon of a different kind," a different relationality and Zusammenhang involves "the dialectical interplay of three distinct elements":

The experience of re/production under capitalist, that is, alienated conditions; the systematic blockage of that experience as a horizon in its own right, that is, the separations of the experiencing subjects from the networks of public expression and representation; and, as a response to that blockage, resistances and imaginative strategies grounded in the experience of alienated production--protest energies, psychic balancing acts, a penchant for personalization, individual and collective fantasy, and creative reappropriations. [14]

Projects like Haacke's "... Und Ihr Habt doch Gesiegt" ("...And You Were Victorious after All," 1988) encouraged a different relationality by reintroducing its Austrian audience to its country's Nazi past. By reconstructing a Nazi victory column in the city of Graz, accompanied by facsimile reproductions of documents local newspapers from 1938 announcing the recent "Aryanization" of neighborhood shops and jubilant reports of the burning of the synagogue, Haacke produced a local counter-text to a public display of World War II history; public consciousness had been limited to the memory of the region's soldiers, neglecting the histories of Austria's embrace of Nazi-Germany's "occupation" and the city's brutal participation in anti-

Semitic practices. Haacke's project aimed to "restore the truth," disrupting and interfering with the texts and narratives that were provided for society by the dominant public sphere. [15] It revealed a history that had been suppressed, excluded or ignored and thus rendered irrelevant.

With projects such as "The People's Choice" and "Food and Culture," both realized in 1981, Group Material, founded in New York City in 1979, challenged the restrictions of an exclusive and apolitical artistic practice by introducing the art gallery to neighborhoods and their inhabitants which were not usually found in the art world. By exhibiting and addressing concerns and cultural artifacts that resonated within particular neighborhood communities, these projects produced a public sphere within parameters different from those of the traditional ideal. "The People's Choice" consisted of cultural objects chosen and thereby defined as such by the residents of the community. Ranging from family photographs and folk art to religious imagery and a personal collection of Pez candy dispensers, the objects communicated a diversity of experiences and aesthetics generally excluded from galleries at the time. The neighborhood also provided the aesthetic framework for the "Food and Culture (Eat This Show)" project, in which members of the community would cook a variety of dishes to be eaten inside the gallery space by their neighbors. The project provided the base for cultural dialogue, its contingency a jest against the object fetishism of the art market. The collective also applied an inverted strategy of this kind by displaying so-called non-art issues, expressed through non-art forms in the white-walled spaces of art institutions such as the Whitney Museum of American Art and the Dia Art Foundation. An early manifesto states, "Group Material wants to occupy the most vital of all alternative spaces--that wall-less expanse that bars artists and their work from the crucial social concerns of the American working class." [16] The strategy of "storytelling," the production of counternarratives and their insertion into the accepted canon of social and historical tales, became one of the central tactics of critical art practice in the 1980s that sought to more adequately capture the heterogeneity and complexity of contemporary formations of reality. Such niches of oppositional public spheres are also formed by the art collective REPOhistory--a group consisting of a changing lineup of artists, educators, writers and activists that sets out to reclaim forgotten or ignored histories. The 1992-93 "Lower Manhattan Sign Project," for example, used artist-designed street signs on city lampposts in order to reinscribe the hid-

den histories of what had become homogenized public spaces. The temporary signs aimed to "provoke critical and multiple readings," [17] engaging the viewer in a reflective process, thus participating in an active act of what Andreas Huyssen calls, "writing realistic counter-(hi-)stories against the reality fiction of history." [18] By emphasizing the fact that history is constructed and plural, the project challenged and transformed the city's symbolic structures.

All of the aforementioned projects dismantle the singular concept of history as a central part of a dominant social narrative, or *Weltanschauung* the concept undergoes a process of "selective tradition" in which certain meanings and practices are emphasized in order to create "the significant past." [19] This historical narrative is exclusive to the experiences of untold histories and at the same time constitutive of "the familiar, well-known, and transparent myths in which a society and age can recognize itself." [20] Functioning according to the principle of the so-called "proletarian public sphere," the works by Haacke, Group Material and REPOhistory reintroduce those material experiences excluded from the idealized bourgeois public sphere. They retell those histories and experiences that a public sphere committed to a universal cultural truth considers to be private or asocial and therefore are to be excluded from civic discourse. These practices dismiss the traditional, bourgeois notions of artistic production and reception as merely reproductive of ideological relations and turn to an "alternative media practice that intervenes in the contemporary public sphere." [21] The idealized critical practice of an autonomous cultural field is criticized as an unproductive form of resistance, while the remaining aesthetics of bourgeois culture are considered inadequate to describe or change material experiences. When viewing the ideological framework as constructed, the principle of relationality, (the very possibility of making connections--between traditionally segmented domains of public and private, politics and everyday life, reality and fantasy, production and desire, between diverse and competing partial publics," and, in this case, between art and socio-political reality), becomes a central one. [22] These counter- or oppositional public spheres rupture an ideological conception that, as Althusser said, lies like a "veneer" over a society's framework of socio-political legibility, like an imposed "borrowed consciousness on the innocents." [23] Critical public art of this type seeks to crawl under what Kluge describes as the "ideological fence that never quite reaches the base." [24]

"Circulation," the current public art project by the collective REPOhistory, is one of the most refined public artworks to date, serving here as an example of critical practice reflecting an acknowledgment of the mutating mechanisms of cultural commodification. Influenced by the various strategies and developments of the historical and neo-avant-gardes as well as by the new social movements of the 1970s and '80s, REPOhistory's projects have formulated an increasingly complex artistic articulation. "Circulation" is a multidimensional, collaborative endeavor, a mapping work whose objective is, as the project's director, Gregory Sholette, points out, to "reveal the unknown history and topography of blood. It does so by proposing that an informed citizenry learn to 'read' the body not solely as a natural, biological thing, but as a specific historical site layered in social meaning and cultural significance," [25] "Circulation" comprises different forms and techniques of production: postcards, magnetic signs, the reverse sides of Metrocards, stickers, maps describing the movement of donated and discarded blood throughout Manhattan and other items that are circulated around the city. The "Circulation" Web site features discussion forums and receives and displays images and texts in addition to exhibiting various Web-based interactive artworks. The project also includes a window display at Printed Matter Books in New York City as well as two collaborations with two public high schools exploring the subject of human blood—one school's project researching blood-related topics ranging from DNA tests to the culture of vampirism, the other "representing a dialogical inquiry into race relations," each featuring its own Web site. In addition, the main Web site features an extensive compilation of blood facts, literature and links to other Web sites and related art and activist organizations. "Circulation"'s heart, its Web site, will be maintained after the distribution of the project's other elements. [26]

"Circulation" is a collaborative project that emphasizes participation and reappropriation, in both content and technique. The postcards—which are distributed on card stock as well as in a virtual format through the website—articulate knowledge and assumptions about blood, reconstructing and exposing the ideological foundations of so-called common sense. [27] The postcard "Whose Blood is Deferred?," for example, explores the restrictions on who can donate blood: those who are excluded by FDA regulations are so-called "high-risk groups for AIDS and Hepatitis. These high-risk groups are defined in terms of nationality, ethnicity, sexuality and drug use. Another card, "Do You Know Where Your DNA Is?" describes the poten-

tial abuse of DNA samples obtained by police, or the profitable abuse of these samples by pharmaceutical companies. These postcards are meant to be added to and expanded, to be sent out via the Internet or regular mail.

The discussion forums on REPOhistory's Web site invite the exchange of a diverse range of opinions and experiences regarding blood as a physical entity and a metaphor for identity. The interactive artwork "blud" is driven by the investigative curiosity of the viewer to create juxtapositions of familiar ideas such as "revolution," "brotherhood" and "terrorism" and to form new contexts concerning politics and blood. The online game "exquisite corpse," modeled after its Surrealist precursor, creates a continuously evolving story by several authors, constructing a complex network of ideas and identities in the context of an urban circulatory system of travel, recognition and displacement. Authorship is granted to whomever decides to virtually engage in the writing of the tale. At the same time, the reappropriation and transformation of the channels of publicity employed by the culture industry, such as those surfaces usually reserved for the placement of advertising, highlights the struggle over the production and distribution of information.

"Circulation" takes into account an increasingly complex cultural landscape that renders the creation of oppositional or alternative strategies difficult. A "capitalism that," as Bertolt Brecht describes, "has the power instantly and continuously to transform into a drug the very venom that is spit into its face, and to revel in it," [28] produces and reproduces a constantly changing and transforming ideological framework, thus appropriating the alternatives offered by its critics. "Circulation" employs what Walter Benjamin calls the necessary combination of political "tendency" and "technique." [29] Departing from a more circular, closed and dystopic model of ideology, the project enacts a strategy of aesthetic and linguistic usefulness. The emphasis on audience participation—and on the reappropriation of the channels of ideological production and reproduction—dismantles the naive ideal of the bourgeois public sphere and its paradigms of artistic autonomy. The project's specificity and complexity reject a rt institutions' emptying embrace of the extraordinary and the diverse. Similar to Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, "Circulation" treats the social horizon of experience, or the common sense, not as enforced but as negotiated. This conception of ideology as hegemonic is important insofar as it liberates the idea of ideological dominance of its aura of

autonomy and inescapability. As Stuart Hall argues, hegemony describes the "dominance of certain formations (as) secured, not by ideological compulsion, but by cultural leadership." [30] Hegemony is understood as accomplished by the formation of active consent of the groups subordinated within it; ideas and world views, identities and representations are articulated, disarticulated, recombined and restructured. The various domains of cultural production are the sites of this struggle over the meanings and representations inscribed into a framework of social intelligibility.

In other accounts of ideological domination, the media is defined either as the agent of complete quantification threatening the domain of high culture, or as the apparatus of ideological reproduction, not able to produce knowledge but merely a recognition of the things we already know. [31] Within the theory of hegemony, the media is understood as a mechanism that shapes a consensus while at the same time reflecting it. The media is used as a tool in the struggle over ideological signification--the struggle between competing definitions and representations of experience, which in turn determines the hegemonic formation and maintenance of consent. "Circulation" disarticulates the traditional narratives of blood, race relations, AIDS and genetic engineering by addressing a plurality of public spheres and creating new audiences and constituencies by forming temporary, discursive alliances based on the issues discussed. It occupies and transforms a variety of spaces of socio-political articulation such as the newer and more traditional channels of mass culture as well as of high art production. The project's practice is situated within a history of avant-garde strategies, testing and expanding forms of artistic production and reception that were, or remain part of, the social hegemonic formation of Western capitalist culture.

The artistic production of Dada artists such as John Heart-field and George Grosz addressed those structures of political power not visible or openly discussed in any public forum; by using art as a vehicle for critical inquiry they challenged its presumably "pure" aesthetic status. The concept of montage provided an alternative relationality between cultural production and socio-political reality. It did so by reappropriating images and reproductions from popular culture and mass media and strategically juxtaposing them in such a way as to display the fact of ideological construction of any image and the naive and concealing claims of the self-proclaimed autonomous art. The Productivists sought to reconnect the idea of artistic production to a

broader social enterprise, emphasizing the artist's place within social production and highlighting every work's "intention of social functionality." [32] Questions concerning the cultural acquisition of reality were being asked from the perspective of the producers of social conditions. Art's emancipation from its autotelic confinement reappropriates "the product of art [which] is the tool for the direct or indirect social action." The avant-garde project therefore depends on the idea of change, including not only the belief in the transformation of society, but the strategy of change within the artwork itself. The artwork has to be able to point towards new perspectives and formulate new possibilities and new narratives. The avant-garde work is able to rearticulate its own position and function, overcoming the constitutive gap between high art and mass culture. It is precisely this ability that prompts Habermas and Peter Burger to announce the failure of the avant-garde's efforts to successfully critique and deconstruct the bourgeois institution of art. Again, this failure is formulated on the assumption of a necessary autonomous and extrapolitical space that allows for the distance of the aesthetic critique to the spectacular display of uniformity created by the culture industry: "Given the experience of the false sublation of autonomy, one will need to ask whether a sublation of the autonomy status can be desirable at all, whether the distance between art and the praxis of life is not requisite for that free space within which alternatives to what exists become conceivable." [34] "Circulation" transgresses this ideological separation and, in the light of avant-garde strategies, is best defined along the lines of Benjamin Buchloh's revision of Burger's idea of the avant-garde: The project enacts the "continually renewed struggle over the definition of cultural meaning, the discovery and representation of new audiences, and the development of new strategies to counteract and develop resistance against the tendencies of the ideological apparatuses of the culture industry to occupy and control all practices and all spaces of representation." [35] By employing a montage strategy of both content and technique, "Circulation" addresses the complexity of a contemporary framework of cultural production. It juxtaposes different audiences and topics, different ideas of production and reception, of author and reader, as well as different media, and thereby forms a contingent network of experiences and knowledges.

"Circulation"'s success in challenging and rearticulating parts of "the particular set of ideas that dominate the social thinking of a historical block" [36] strongly depends on the interaction with and extension of the

project through its audience. In this project, participation goes beyond superficial engagement to include the following categories: (1) participation as power and influence; (2) as externalization and dialogue; and (3) as learning and consciousness-raising. [37] Such participation foregrounds a discursive or intellectual understanding of engagement that supercedes that of the walk-in or sit-on sculpture as well as that of the interactive Net-artwork that relegates its user's participatory abilities to simply changing the colors and patterns on the screen. "Circulation" can be read as a Brechtian attempt to engage its audience in a selective and reflective pedagogical project. Refusing to address the universal, contemplative viewer of the traditional public sphere, the artwork's narratives and forms demand intellectual and physical continuation through their audiences. The estrangement (*Verfremdungseffekt*) typical of Brecht's "epic" theatre surfaces in "Circulation": as the effect of the rupture of an otherwise closed, harmonic and therefore intellectually passive aesthetic; as a result of the detailed attention to, or "atomization" of, representations and formulations, which rejects the idealized universality of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*; as what rids the viewer of "the antecedence of a general familiarity, of a habit that prevents us from really looking at things, a kind of perceptual numbness." [38] REPOhistory's "factographic" approach allows for a specific and accessible reading of the work and its contents, exposing its "tendency" and counteracting a one-dimensional and politically passive aesthetic experience reduced to visual perception and the contemplation of beauty. This sociopolitical legibility denies an extrapolitical and disinterested aesthetic experience--"the pleasure of symbolic liberation from ideology." [39] Without falling in an undialectical deconstruction of the bourgeois art object's aura, "Circulation" comprises several forms of cultural signification. The Internet is not presented as a newer and truer traditional public sphere that guarantees access for all and serves as yet another extrapolitical and autonomous realm of utopian-democratic discourse, but rather as an adaptive tool for the distribution of information and the formulation of experiences. The homogenized and singular public sphere is not merely fragmented; its plurality consists of overlapping arenas of discursive practice and representation formed in response to the traditional notion of citizenship and its assumed universal capacity for civic reasoning, which excludes any difference that cannot be assimilated, rationalized and subsumed. These contingent spaces of experience articulation and identity formation are based on the ground of common interest, of solidarity, linking democratic struggles and superceding a res-

idual and apologetic bourgeois notion of individuality. [40]

The universality of an idealized bourgeois public sphere is rejected in favor of a multiplicity of public arenas and discourses; the concept of a pure and extrapolitical sphere of artistic production is replaced by a complex, multivalent and constantly changing field of ideological and political contestation. The participatory forms employed by "Circulation"--the active engagement of the audience in producing, distributing, and receiving--transform the channels of the media from a monologist apparatus of distribution into a multilayered field of communication. This transformation must strive to counteract what Brecht describes as cultural communication without consequences. Turning the listener into a speaker is therefore a material as well as a discursive concern regarding the transmission of information not as an apolitical, objective act but rather as invested in a hegemonic apparatus of signification. An art without consequences would rely on its own idea of autarchy, at best "renovating," not innovating, the "ideological institutions on the basis of the existing social order." [41] "Circulation" replaces a strategy of direct opposition with what Fredric Jameson calls "non-method as method" [42]--which demands a self-reflective and flexible aesthetic practice in order to avoid the mere reproduction of the ideological binaries of inside and outside, center and margin, high art and popular culture and producer and audience.

The position that REPOhistory and "Circulation" choose to occupy is necessarily a dialectical one. For a project that occupies an arena between traditional notions of practice and address, this address becomes difficult when its audiences define their territories of recognition along the lines of the ideological separation of public and private, of art and mass culture. Perhaps another threat exists along the same divide: how would the practice of a decade-old art collective have to change if embraced by the art world; if its strategies became a consumable signature and the relics of those strategies objects for collectors and auction houses, thereby reinscribing the dominance of economic use-value over a critical socio-political one? In the end it is this very unpredictability that makes a work like "Circulation" so successful. It operates on the tension that it creates between the hegemonic divorce of a bourgeois public sphere and a multiplicity of political constituencies, between disinterested, extrapolitical communication and the articulation of particular experiences, between an autonomous artistic produc-

tion and reception and the reappropriation of mass culture and its media. To quote Thomas Crow: "Mass culture ... displays both moments of negation and an ultimately overwhelming recuperative inertia. Modernism exists in the tension between these two opposed movements. The avant-garde, the bearer of modernism, has been successful when it has found for itself a social location where this tension is visible and can be acted on." [43] In this sense, "Circulation" is a public artwork that enacts the possibilities and strategies of a contemporary critical avant-garde practice. This practice is largely dependent upon the analytic development of public art aesthetics and concepts such as those of Haacke, Group Material and REPOhistory's own projects as discussed earlier in this text. It is a continuous and self-reflective negotiation of strategies such as Haacke's historical counternarratives and Group Material's juxtaposition of popular culture and high art aesthetics, all of which find themselves confronted with the constantly changing yet reinforcing dichotomy of what is mainstream and what is alternative. "Circulation" occupies a contingent position that enables the participatory rearticulation of values and meanings inscribed into a general social horizon of experience without falling back on a romanticized notion of universal discourse or an unreflective practice of oppositional reductivism.

PHILIP GLAHN is a doctoral student in art history at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

NOTES

(1.) Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a.M., 1990), p. 250.

(2.) Charles Taylor, *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 262.

(3.) Habermas, "Bewusstmachende oder rettende Kritik. Die Aktualität Walter Benjamins," in *Politik, Kunst, Religion*, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1978), p. 63. The "needs" Habermas mentions include a "mimetic relation to nature," "social life based on solidarity" and the "fortune of a communicative experience." (my translation).

(4.) Terry Eagleton, *Ideology* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), p. 129.

(5.) See Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*; Peter Bürger, *Theorie der Avantgarde* (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a.M., 1974); Herbert Marcuse, *Kultur und Gesellschaft 2* (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a.M. 1965).

(6.) Lucy Lippard, "Looking around," in Suzanne Lacy, ed., *Mapping the Terrain--New Genre Public Art* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995), pp. 114-130.

(7.) Rosalyn Deutsche, "Uneven Development," in *October* 47 (Winter 1988), p. 11.

(8.) "The traditional public sphere, whose characteristic weakness rests on the mechanisms of exclusion between public and private spheres, is today overlaid by industrialized public spheres of production, which tend to incorporate private realms, in particular the production process and the context of living (*Lebenszusammenhang*). These new forms seem to people to be no less public than the traditional bourgeois public sphere." Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993). pp. 12-13.

(9.) *Ibid.*, p. 1.

(10.) *Ibid.*, p. 2.

(11.) *Ibid.*, pp. 12-18.

(12.) Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1971). pp. 127-186.

(13.) Althusser. "The 'Piccolo Teatro': Bertolazzi and Brecht," *For Marx* (London and New York: Verso, 1996), pp. 138- 140.

(14.) Miriam Hansen, "Foreword," in *Nest and Kluge*, p. xxxii.

(15.) Yve-Alain Bois, "The Antidote," in *October* 39 (Winter 1986), pp. 129-144. This article on Hans Haacke is based on Roland Barthes's discussion of Bertolt Brecht in "Brecht and Discourse: A Contribution to the Study of Discursivity," in *The Rustle of Language* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1986), pp. 211-222. Barthes's main example of Brecht is "Über die Wiederherstellung der Wahrheit" (*About the Restoration of the Truth*) (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a.M., 1967). pp. 89-90.

- (16.) Group Material, "Caution: Alternative Space," manifesto, September 1981.
- (17.) Undated REPOhistory flyer.
- (18.) Andreas Huyssen, "An Analytic Storyteller in the Course of Time," in *October* 46 (Fall 1988), p. 126.
- (19.) Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory," in *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (New York: Verso, 1981), p. 39.
- (20.) Althusser, "The 'Piccolo Teatro': Bertolazzi and Brecht," p. 144.
- (21.) Hansen, "Foreword," p. xxxiv.
- (22.) Ibid.
- (23.) Althusser, "The 'Piccolo Teatro': Bertolazzi and Brecht," p. 138.
- (24.) Alexander Kluge, "The Public Sphere," in Brian Wallis ed., *If You Lived Here: The City in Art, Theory, and Social Activism. A Project by Martha Rosler* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991), p.70.
- (25.) Gregory Sholette, "How to Best Serve the New Global Contemporary Art Matrix." Unpublished manuscript, 2000, p.9.
- (26.) See the REPOhistory website at www.repohistory.org.
- (27.) Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), p.326.
- (28.) Bertolt Brecht, "Rauschgift," in *Gesammelte Werke. Vol. VIII* (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a.M., 1967), p.593.
- (29.) Walter Benjamin, "Author as Producer," in *Reflections* (New York: Schocken, 1978), pp. 220-238. Benjamin points out that a work of art that seeks to align itself with a progressive ("revolutionary") political cause will have to not only exhibit the "correct" intention and attitude but needs to take into account the artwork's place and function within a larger understanding of social production, hence, the conditions under which it is produced and received.
- (30.) Stuart Hall, "The rediscovery of 'ideology': return of the repressed in media studies," in Michael Gurevitch, et. al., eds., *Culture, society and the media* (London: Methuen, 1983), p.85.
- (31.) See Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (Fischer: Frankfurt a.M., 1988) and Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses."
- (32.) Heiner Boehncke, "Überlegungen zu einer proletarisch-avantgardistischen Ästhetik." in W. Martin Ludke, ed., *Theorie der Avantgarde: Antworten auf Peter Burgers Bestimmung von Kunst und burgerlicher Gesellschaft* (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a.M., 1976), p. 186.
- (33.) Sergei Tretjakov, cited in Boehncke, p. 186.
- (34.) Burger, "Theory of the Avant-Garde," p. 54.
- (35.) Benjamin Buchloh, "Theorizing the Avant-Garde," in *Art in America* (November 1984), p.21.
- (36.) Stuart Hall, "The problem of ideology: Marxism without guarantees," in David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, eds., *Stuart Hall--Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p.27.
- (37.) After W. M. Lafferty, in "Participatory Urban Design in Urban Context," John Gotze, PhD. dissertation, Technical University of Denmark, 1997, Chapter 2, p. 14. Also available at www.gotzespace.dk.phd/.
- (38.) Fredric Jameson, *Brecht and Method* (London and New York: Verso, 1998), p. 42.
- (39.) Benjamin Buchloh, "Since Realism there was... (On the current conditions of factographic art)," in *Art and Ideology*, exhibition catalog (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984), p. 15.
- (40.) Chantal Mouffe, "Hegemony and new Political Subjects: Toward a New Concept of Democracy," in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), pp. 89-104.
- (41.) Bertolt Brecht, "The Radio as an Apparatus of Communication," in John Willett, ed., *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), p. 53. In this text from 1932, Brecht describes a Gramscian idea of hegemonic articulation, pointing specifically at the mechanisms of a neutralized media apparatus: "As for the radio's object,

I don't think it can consist merely in prettifying public life...radio is one-sided when it should be two-. It is purely an apparatus for distribution, for mere sharing out. So here is a positive suggestion: change this apparatus over from distribution to communication. The radio would be the finest possible communication apparatus in public life, a vast network of pipes. That is to say, it would be if it knew how to receive as well as to transmit, how to let the listener speak as well as hear, how to bring him into a relationship instead of isolating him...Whatever the radio sets out to do it must strive to combat that lack of consequences which makes such asses out of almost all our public institutions. We have a literature without consequences, which not only itself sets out to leave nowhere, but does all it can to neutralize its reader by depicting each object and situation stripped of the consequences to which they lead." (p. 52).

For a more detailed look at Brecht as a dialectical, not a "vulgar" Marxist, see Jameson's book *Brecht and Method*, especially p. 25.

(42.) See Jameson, *Brecht and Method*.

(43.) Thomas Crow, "Modernism and Mass Culture in the Visual Arts," in Benjamin Buchloh, et. al., eds., *Modernism and Modernity* (Halifax and New York: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1982). P. 256.

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