EthnoScripts

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Anthropology and Art
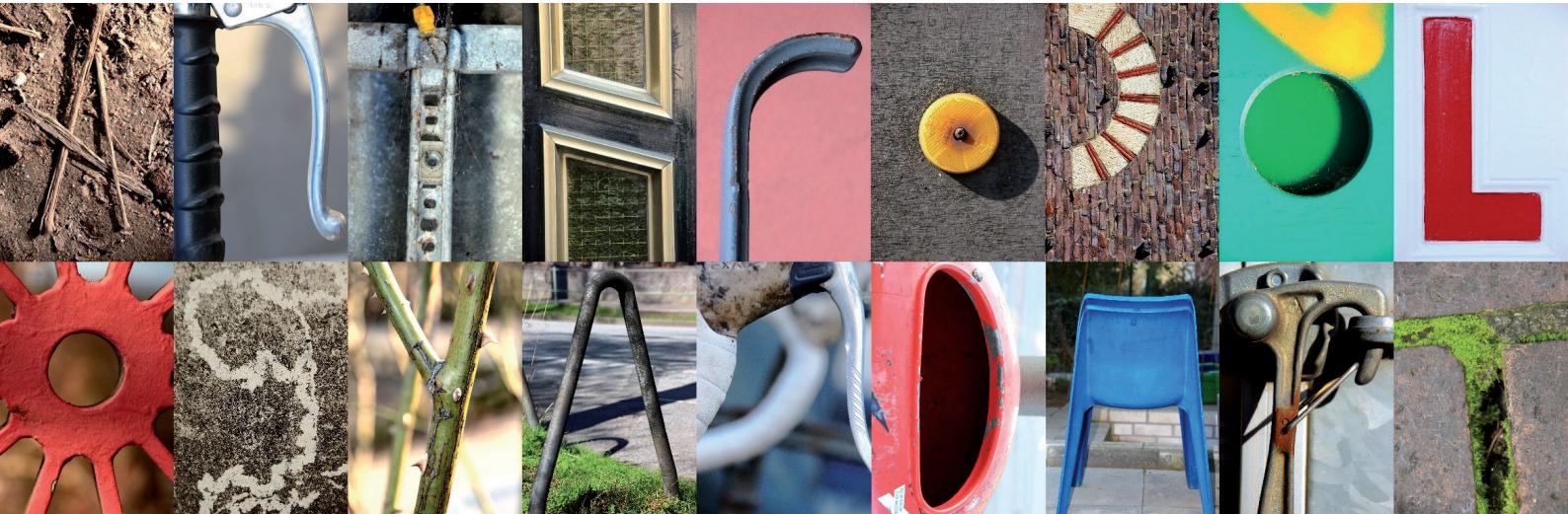
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IM GESPRÄCH

WERKSTATTBERICHT

REZENSIONEN

Shifting patterns, zooming layers, focusing processes
Art and anthropology in a transforming and translucent world

Michael Pröpper

Aber Lebendige machen alle den Fehler,
daß sie zu stark unterscheiden.
Engel (sagt man) wüßten oft nicht, ob sie unter
Lebenden gehen oder Toten. Die ewige Strömung
reißt durch beide Bereiche alle Alter
immer mit sich und übertönt sie in beiden.
(Rilke 1997:188)

Introduction: Thriving fields

The interlinkages between art and anthropology and more so between art and ethnography, to come to more sensually holistic ways of understanding and representing different realities in a globally transforming world, are the matter of many recent projects and publications (Latour 2013; Pink 2009; Pink, et al. 2010; Schneider and Wright 2010; Schneider and Wright 2013; Svasek 2007). Edited volumes (Baxstrom, et al. 2008; Marcus and Myers 1995; Schneider and Wright 2006; Schneider and Wright 2010; Schneider and Wright 2013), special journal issues (Pink, et al. 2010; Rutten, et al. 2013), blogs and collaborative projects[1], and interdisciplinary institutes[2] indicate activities in this thriving field of interaction and collaboration. The exhibitions and digital-collaborative art and science projects Bruno Latour has thought up with artists[3] to renew the political-ecological through the spirit of art and science come to mind (Latour 2002; Latour 2013). Likewise one can think of Tim Ingold's writings and experiments on a graphic and motive anthropology (Ingold 2001; Ingold 2007; Ingold 2010; Ingold and Hallam 2007). Often book and journal compilations join products by artists and anthropologists side by side, likewise there are increasingly works from people

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1 http://artpologist.com/; http://www.abdn.ac.uk/research/kfi/; http://field-journal.com/; http://www.anthropologies-of-art.net/
2 http://sel.fas.harvard.edu/
3 http://www.bruno-latour.fr/node/333; http://www.iconoclash.de/

with hybrid identities, that means people who do anthropology AND Art (Schneider and Wright 2013).[4]

All these activities happen in a context of a rapidly transforming world that immerses and challenges the arts as well as all the sciences. Anthropology of late has lived through a crisis of representation and narrativity, has arrived at widespread massive criticism of the global projects of modernity (Latour 1995), post-colonialism, capitalism and neoliberalism with all their global effects in local contexts. On top of that there is a global challenge that unites artists and anthropologists – the ecological threat of the human impact upon the physical world, lately termed by some as the Anthropocene[5] (Klingan, et al. 2014; Weintraub 2012), which is being epitomized by the threat of climate change (Latour 2014). It seems that being confronted with the sheer scale of problems to understand and tackle no single discipline and not science as an institutionalized system is able to provide solutions or even formulate problems adequately (ibid). What we are facing is a crisis of classic models of reality and realism, "deficits in reality" as Natalie Göltenboth terms it in her article (this volume), that require new and different approaches to this *reality crisis* – a quest for "better realities" as Katherine Carl terms it in the interview with Linda Weintraub (this volume), or the "rupture between imagination and real life" as Tim Ingold calls it (2014). Reality it seems is more complex, textured (Klingan, et al. 2014), layered, and translucent as conceptualized so far. Instead of bounded disciplines and mono-naturalistic options for action we need collective approaches at problem formulation that involve understanding the interlinkages between physical, emotional, sensual, bodily and discursive parts of politicized realities.

Critical realism (Bhaskar 2008), political resistance, new forms of narrativity and representation, involvement and immersion into real life problem forming, knowledge fusion, sensually being inside not outside of things, these are key term landmarks in a terrain that also the authors of this special issue are carefully and step by step wandering. While this terrain still seems to be theoretically and practically unchartered, especially the disciplines of anthropology and art, both characterized by a high degree of 'undisciplinedness' and the fact that categories and definitions are not neatly formulated

4   Also proponents of a more classic art-anthopology as Morphy and Perkins have outlined that an anthropology of art should open the subject of art for cross-cultural analysis. Therefore, anthropologists should critically question dominant Western conceptions of art (e.g. the emphasis on the autonomy of aesthetic experience, the connoisseurship of elites, the utilization and capitalization of objects as symbolic capital, or the emphasis on cultural renewal using terms like innovation, avant-garde, or rebellion) (compare Morphy and Perkins 2006:1ff).

5   Anthropocene is a term that has been proposed by geologists to denote the epoch that began when human activities had a significant global impact on the earth and its ecosystems. The term is currently being examined further to become formally part of the Geological Time Scale.

but often contested, seem well suited, especially as they are characterized by a strong mutual affection.

Mutual affection, hybrid practices

Already 20 years ago Foster had argued convincingly that anthropology has a particular prestige among artists as a science of alterity, which takes culture as its object and is open to self-critique and reflexivity (1995). Broadly, it is the anthropological *practice* of ethnography in conjunction with the direct encounter and within-ness of the researcher in real-life sociality, culture and politics that seems to fascinate artists of late. Consequently, relational aesthetics and socially engaged participatory art are important contemporary strands (Kester 2011). In these projects artists are dealing with *social relations* and the challenge of participation of the people they interact with, also being cautious about inequalities, marginalizations, hegemoniality, power differentials and criticism of the politics of collaboration (Bishop 2012:, see Schneider this issue). As part of anthropology's attractive self-reflexivity there are multiple old and ongoing debates certainly of high interest for contemporary artists. I am thinking of debates about the (im)possibilities, adequacies, ethics and politics of representing the self and other (Clifford and Marcus 1986:, and the myriad of subsequent publications), old questions of subjectivity vs. intersubjectivity, structure vs. agency (Gell 1998; Giddens 1979), whether anthropology is a science at all or an art in itself (Carrithers 1990), as about the materiality and processuality of the human predicament (Carrier and West 2009; Ingold 2000; Miller 2005; Wimmer 2005), and yet the recent debates of the merging of culture and nature in times of the Anthropocene (Latour 2014) – to pick just a few.

Likewise Foster has argued that the mutual intrigue is caused for once by a certain 'artist-envy' among anthropologists. "In this envy the artist becomes a paragon of formal reflexivity, sensitive to difference and open to chance, a self-aware reader of culture understood as text. [...] is this figure not a projection of a particular ideal ego – of the anthropologist as a collagist, semiologist, avant-gardist? In other words might this artist-envy be a self-idealization?" (Foster 1995:304). It seems that in their contemporary struggles to deal with the unspeakable, un-representable of the human condition, the complex interaction of the *sensual self* with the world (Howes 2003; Smith 2010), anthropologists increasingly admire artists for their liberties of expression and tend to lean from their practices.[6] The immersive multi-sensorial products of the Harvard Sensory Ethnography Lab[7] might be

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[6]   I will consider in this article mainly an anthropology which deals with global modern arts expressions, and to a lesser way the classic art-anthropology investigating indigenous art expressions in a comparative manner (Layton 1991; Morphy 2005).

[7]   http://sel.fas.harvard.edu/

read as only one current example of a new concern with the senses in anthropology. I will keep touching this 'sensory turn in anthropology' (Rutten, et al. 2013) in the course of the paper.

As outlined, one can observe in recent publications a strong concentration on the subject of *practice* especially driven by writings on the practice of ethnography (Schneider and Wright 2013). The 'ethnographic turn' in art, the emerging interest of artists in ethnography and participant methodology, has been critically discussed (Coles 2001; Foster 1995; Rutten, et al. 2013). Increasingly we observe the emergence of ethnography based art exhibitions (Pussetti 2013) (a fact that is also being addressed in the contribution by Weintraub in this issue) and globally mobile curators operating in an ethnographic manner. Ethnography as anthropology's main method and a means of entering, investigating but as well innovatively representing the world, is being advocated as a kind of link, a possibility encouraging artists and anthropologists "to learn directly from each other's practices 'in the field'"(Schneider and Wright 2010).

Focusing on many practice-based examples Schneider and Wright have discussed the distinctions and fuzzy borders between artists and anthropologists practices and have raised their voices in favour of an art-ethnography based on cross-fertilization, dialogue, appropriation and collaboration - in the visual but also in other domains (Schneider 2008; Schneider and Wright 2006; Schneider and Wright 2010; Schneider and Wright 2013). Artists and anthropologists share a set of common practices that raise similar ethical issues. In this sense Schneider also argues for a new hermeneutics for the collaboration in this volume. Another recent step seems to be 'ethnographic conceptualism', meaning that ethnography is being conducted as conceptual art, integrating the performative methodological involvement of audiences.[8]

Pushing theory: Sensual and processual realities

Despite the importance of the focus on practice for understanding the cross-fertilization and mutual engagement of anthropologists and artists alike there are some unchartered theoretical fields. Schneider and Wright have rightly emphasized "that an engagement between art practices and current anthropological theory is now required to push forward theory and practices in both fields" (Schneider and Wright 2013:6). They suggest "a genuinely theoretical conversation to be had, not necessarily with words but with works" and suggest subjects such as materiality, personhood, relations, actor-network-theory, and perspectivism (ibid.2013:16). Likewise Ragazzi suggests a look at mimesis and appropriation, materiality and the agency of objects (2013). I would fully support such claims, yet I do perceive some chartering work still to be done.

8   http://www.courtauld.ac.uk/researchforum/events/2012/spring/jan31_EthnographicConceptualism.shtml accessed 09.12.14

For the moment I would like to remain with the *words-based* conversation and will come to the *works* later. In *speaking about* the anthropology-art nexus it is common to use certain concepts and metaphors. Art and anthropology are being described as spatial domains or fields that lie next to each other separated by an invisible line or an unchartered terrain. It is the narrative of a "border zone" and "divisions between the fields" (Schneider and Wright 2010:1), of a "'third space' that crosses disciplinary borders" and a "contact zone" (Rutten, et al. 2013:471, see also Schneider this issue) that constitutes a feeling of betweenness, of unchartered territory, of newness and thus explorative spirit. Likewise this zone is analogized with interwovenness, intermingling and the mixing of two liquid colors "maintaining their original identities in places, together they achieve new colors and forms" (Schneider and Wright 2010:1). Furthermore, somehow the whole territorial setup is 'surrounded' (or permeated) by a wider landscape of the sensual, subjective, hard-to-represent or speak-about aspects of human existence that both 'disciplines' attempt to tackle, to understand and to represent. Simultaneously these fields can also have an agency, they can become like corporate actors acting upon each other and the world. Foster writes that "art thus passed into the expanded field of culture that anthropology is thought to survey" (Foster 1995:306). Here metaphors of interacting, of touching or overlapping are being used. This corporate agency is then somewhat mixed with single actors agencies – the actual performers of exemplary practices.

I would not contest that such metaphorical speaking has heuristic functions. But I suspect that while emphasizing *practice* we need to have a clearer look at the actors and agents of such practices as people are the human, embodied and emotional locus of practices (involved in to wider societal structures, of course). Thus we should more clearly apply process theory (Ingold 2011; Wimmer 2005; Wimmer 2008) to ongoing actions of anthropological and artistic actors in the world. That means other theoretical aspects of practice, the *embodiment* and *ontology* of doing any practice, may it be anthropology or art or both, should gain more emphasis. I do not contest that in concurrent writings processes, movement and fluxes involving discourses and structures play a dynamic role but I argue that the empiricism and the examples are based on single actor's practices – without clearly grasping the full theoretical and conceptual dimensions of their reflexive positioning. This may just be one facet yet an important one.

There are yet a few more unresolved issues. Is anthropology a word-based descriptive comparative science mainly about ethnographic representation or rather something that should investigate the world also in an experimental forward-looking self-reflexive and philosophical manner, as Ingold suggests (2008). Should anthropologists attempt to use artistic methods and experiments to not only colour but deepen their ethnographies? These questions lead into a query about the adequate representation of the respective

findings. When remaining with the spoken (or written) representation of some practice-nexus, one could argue that the roles in the theoretical conversation that Schneider and Wright have called for should remain clearly distributed. Art is doing practical experiments without ever claiming more than direct sensations differing among recipients, while the written analysis, the etic and intersubjectively intelligible view of addressing a broad audience is being formulated by sciences like anthropology.

However, dissatisfaction with the incompleteness of the outcome or product, its lack of authenticity, feel and emotion, and its remaining out-of-touch with the physiology and ontology will remain for anthropologists with artistic sensibilities (and maybe vice versa). Susan Hiller, an anthropologist who later turned to art experienced a great discomfort in the role of the observer and became an artist to "find a way to be inside all my activities" (Einzig 1996; Hiller 1996). And in fact the detachment of the scientist from his/her 'object' of study, the unreachable claim for objectivity and the lack of recognition of involvement all are serious matters that have been debated for long (Fabian 2014; Jackson 1998). Contrarily Hiller postulates that the artist, like everyone else, is an insider whose work depicts biographically determined social conditioning. "Artists' work does not allow discontinuities between experience and reality, and it eliminates any gap between the investigator and the object or situation investigated" she writes (Hiller 1996:24). Consequently she found the role of the participant observer disturbing due to the absence of a "passionate commitment to the values and goals of the people one observed" (Hiller 1996:18). "Fieldwork did not provide revelations into the nature of any 'ultimate' reality behind the varying sets of perceptions one learned of. It was just an exercise in observation and limited social interaction" (ibid.).

I would agree with Ingold that it is a desirable part of the anthropological endeavor to come to a "critical understanding of human being and knowing in the one world we all inhabit" (Ingold 2008:69). Ingold in fact advocates an anthropological 'being-with' instead of a mere ethnographic 'writing-of' (ibid.). Remaining within an ontological perspective both practices are attempts to contribute insights into major mysteries of our existence. Death, afterlife, magic, cosmology/religion, the complexity of the human being, the human body/mind, the soul, human emotions, or the occurrence of the global ecological crisis, overconsumption, utmost terror and violence, exploitation and marginalization – these are just a few examples where the scientific results – the spoken and written representations cannot keep pace with remaining unspoken, unspeakable yet intensely experienced and thus causative parts of reality (Bhaskar 2008). Such parts are called transmateriality by Schneider and Wright who seem to denote a similar idea "that ephemeral, transitory phenomena (anything between social actions and extrasensorial experiences) produce and leave material traces that refer back and point for-

ward to similar events not any longer or not yet manifest" (2013:15). In sum what I aim to say is that there are aspects of life, of situations, of practices, of interactions, of that thing that we call *reality*, which challenge our perception and our abilities of recognition and representation, influence our often strikingly misfitting behavior and call for radically new understandings and approaches. This is a challenge for the collaboration and merging of the two disciplines and their different audiences[9] and styles of representation.

Hence the call by Schneider and Wright to continue the conversation on the level of *works* which might be understood as a call for a deepened engagement in the sensational and representational domain. A salient underlying future question seems to be: What happens in the process of the production and reception of art (as of things and processes in life in general)? And what happens in the process of the production and reception of anthropology? What is missing? For which reasons? What is the meaning, the purport, the sense?

As Christina Lammer outlines in this volume anthropology and art both are practices of searching, delving and researching. It is a common feature of both practices to produce some sort of knowledge about the world, to uncover. That means that both practices are serving purposes of utility. There is of course the absolute liberty of art to be useless. Frayling provocatively stated that the "American Customs & Excise definition of 'a work of art' is that the owner must be able to prove it is completely useless."[10] However, if we take a research agenda of art to produce some knowledge about and represent some findings about the human journey through the world seriously, to my mind the two mainly differ in their institutionalization – which carries a lot of epistemological baggage.[11]

Allow me to insert a short one-paragraph excursus on institutionalization: It is mostly the rules of ethics, politics, empiricism, methodology and intersubjectivity that constrain an anthropology which considers itself as science (and thus a quest to truth) to remain within the realm of the speakable, representable, reproduceable. Additionally the scientific system has entirely different incentives for rewarding good performance, which is mostly the successful participation in an academic literal discourse (being rewarded with one of the scarce steady jobs). Art as a solitary expression of the search-

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9   A question that occurs to me is if art and anthropology in western contexts might be addressing different audiences – the scientific real, material world and the artsy ontological/spiritual, 'afterwork', lay world? Or do they address people in different modes of their activities – in a science mode and a lay mode?

10   Christopher Frayling, Rector of the British Royal College of Art on http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/w/what-is-craft/ (accessed 20.08.2013).

11   This is of course leaving aside art's other main aesthetic, archival, decorative or therapeutic functions which do not merge with anthropology or science that much.

er is much less confined to these boundaries, and rewards few with relatively enormous financial and social capital while many remain largely unprotected by an institutional system but pecuniarily precarious and 'free'. From this position the artist can choose a different approach to ethics, to provocation, and to pushing social boundaries as some artists do.[12] However, to be taken serious the artist cannot continuously violate the most basic agreements of truthfulness, ethics or sociality. A border zone emerges that may attract especially those anthropologists who question the claims for objectivity and truth and experience themselves as subjects representing an idiosyncratic, solitary worldview. Likewise artists attempting to come to representations about the world to be taken permanently serious in intersubjective discourse may choose to adopt some theme, material or methodology that supports these claims. Especially in the field of human-environment relations ranging from the scientific conundrums of human perception to the destructivity of human ecological impact actors from art and anthropology also in collaboration have produced very interesting outcomes (Weintraub 2012).

But to continue, what is the nature of that knowledge that art and anthropology produce about an ultimate reality behind the varying sets of perceptions that Susan Hiller mentioned (1996)? And what are the products? Ethnography is certainly largely a descriptive knowledge of the observable, as is probably also iconography.[13] As Susan Hiller observes "ethnography is very much about talking, about ideas and issues, making art is a process largely without talking but much more feeling" (1996). Pointedly one could argue that sciences' role is still rather intellectual while art is more physical/emotional while in fact such separation of labor is producing only partial approaches at some sort of holistic understanding.

Is the reality ultimate and *behind* the things? Or is it not rather *within* and among the things that we just do *not focus precisely enough*? Are there not layers of a world that need to be zoomed like complexly interwoven narratives? The work of Kathryn Ramey, this issue, involving her personal biography in a complex filmic narrative is a step in this direction. Are there not aspects of the world, like the aural politics that Jen Heuson in this issue argues need to be heard? Or the deeply emotional relationships with things and images that need to be chiseled out as in the work of van Klaveren or Aigner, both also this issue? Is it not the re-questioning of the real meanings in the imaginations, and representations or their absent content, the overcoming of taboos of thinking and feeling alike? Lammer is suggesting a different sensual representation about a subjective investigation, the exposure of emotional landscapes of touches and senses in the work of surgeons and patients alike. All that is not unspeakable but requires a sort of intuitive sensual understanding on the side of the recipient. It is a mutual approach

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12   A popular example is http://www.jonathanmeese.com/
13   In the sense of critics of positivism a dispassionate intellectualization.

to the „qualitas occulta", the "energy-metamorphosis" and the "tangency" of the art-object in interaction with the recipient as the art-historian Gertrud Inboden called it (Völcker 2009).

To me all the questions that have been raised so far boil down to the increasing awareness that reality is not quite that material, temporal and distractedly observable thing that we tend to believe. Anthropology and art, taken as meaningful quests, have to involve their actors inside the processes of research – a fact that is much less problematic for artists. Furthermore we cannot entirely talk about the outcomes as things/products or singular events but as observations of ongoing *processes*, actor-object-networks and multiple translucent layers of a complex reality. It is a major issue "whether the notion of art is necessarily associated with the notion of object or product" (Hiller 1996:20). There are multiple challenges to complexity representation (Köhn 2013). I would agree with Ingold that at its core the (solitary) individual and social practical involvement with the world, as it is largely applied by anthropologists and artists alike, is something that evolves along temporal and spatial lines (Ingold 2007; Ingold 2011). Practices are in fact processes, as a process of creative improvisation is intrinsic to life (Hallam and Ingold 2007).

From this perspective there are several fortes which have been emphasized in art. Its ability to "disrupt and irrupt time, working against the kinds of linear social time manifest in social formations" (Schneider and Wright 2013:7). Its ability of shifting patterns of thinking: e.g. by staging, re-enacting, slowing down, speeding-up, exposing imperceptibilities, breaking up linearity and narrativity or the "transmateriality" of material objects (photos, images) making translucent the actions or events from which they originate (Schneider and Wright 2013:15). But for an anthropology that takes this processuality of the human conscious being and its experience within a complex layered and translucent reality for serious there will be impulses for future anthropological representation and complex narratives. In this sense the thematic contributions we have compiled in this issue all take their own shot at certain aspects of this nexus.

Thematic contributions

We present critical reflections on the potentials for future collaborations in a field of sensory political/ecological art-ethnography, potentials for theoretical or practical collaborations as well as productive friction that infuse both activities with new political meaning and engagement and potentials for future complex collaborations in a field of social/political action. We have mixed contributions by artists, curators and anthropologists who all work in some way on these various subjects and have taken care to offer them maximum liberties to voice their perspectives.

In an opening theoretical contribution the anthropologist Arnd **Schneider** argues that in the current climate of convergence plus an ongoing ethnographic turn of the arts, there is a favorable climate for a new hermeneutics in the collaborations of artists and anthropologists (see as well Schneider 2008; Schneider 2013). He emphasizes the need for collaborations around the rhetorical figure of being on "speaking terms" and argues in favor of mutually critical perspectives, experimentality and exploration, and a process of negotiating and being in dialogue. This dialogue in mutual respect should circle around the topic of appropriation in a Ricoeurian sense as "to dispossess oneself of the narcissistic ego, in order to engender a new self-understanding, not a mere congeniality with the other". He further argues for relinquishment, the temporary ceding of disciplinary boundaries and the hybridization of practices. However, such a dialogue should be conscious of differences in terms of capital, but as well unequal hegemonic relationships and practices between actors.

Wilma **Scheschonk** is an art historian and anthropologist who engages in a deep reflection about the Latourian perspective onto the Anthropocene, a world in deep ecological crisis that is being reshaped by human discourse and action, and his call to conflate art and science (Latour 2013; Latour 2014). She reflects on the filmic attempt by Armin Linke called 'Alpi' to meticulously analyze the discursive and practical 'overshaping' of the alps.

The whole domain of relational or collaborative art which investigates the interlinkages between art and social life is the matter of an empirical case study that is presented by the anthropologist Nathalie **Göltenboth** in her contribution on participation and collaboration in Cuba. She investigates the work of Havanna contemporary artist René Francisco from an anthropological perspective. Francisco applies a sort of 'social-desire' fieldwork, social work and house restoration practices and Göltenboth shows exemplarily how such a socially committed art understood as social sculpture becomes meaningful for the people involved and is meant to break indifference, resignation and loss of agency. Convincingly she presents a case of an art *within* social contexts, not separated and disconnected from it though also offering a bi-directional agency as the artist also capitalizes on the results by exhibiting films, photos etc. In the sense of the transmateriality mentioned above the artist works with multidimensional representational material that comes out of the lives of people but simultaneously symbolizes and visualizes empowerment in a living metaphor of 'Cubanness'.

Jennifer **Heuson** is an anthropologist and sound artist who emphasizes the essential role of sonic, acoustic art approaches to ethnography in making aural politics sensible. She discusses the importance of a sonic and sounded approach to the present "experiential" and "sensorial" moment of Native American heritage tourism, ethnography, and sound studies mainly to expose that sensory aural lifeworlds can be politicized as they are divided

along racial lines. Her sonic research deals with the challenge to make such aural politics able to be sensed. She exposes how the managing, mediating and making sound, noise, and silence, is being used to link these to emotional and physiological effects and to ultimately justify, colonize, and exploit cultural and racial difference. Her contribution thus also offers a critical look at significant differences between aural politics and other sound-based approaches, such as soundscape preservation and sonic criticism (Samuels, et al. 2010).

In an equally stirring study on racist stereotypes and assumptions about Native Americans the art-historian and art teacher Susan Livingston deals with the attempt to use art to reshift power structures and challenge hegemonies (that have also been established by some 'classical' anthropological narratives) by reflecting on the art of Kent Monkman, a Canadian artist of Cree ancestry. Monkman works with a variety of mediums, including painting, film/video, performance, and installation. Monkman uses quee(re)appropriation, or the queer re-appropriation of previously appropriated images, to challenge the grand narrative of the erasure of Indians, the imposition of European sexual binaries in the «New World,» and engages in issues of authenticity and power in a postmodern era of rampant decontextualized appropriation.

Kathryn **Ramey**, an anthropologist and artist, tackles the question of the validity of our collective historical recollection and the complexity of an adequate representation of reality. She uses the format of a cinematic essay to present a multivalent portrait based on different but connected narratives of discovering and forgetting. In her essay she merges the demoted planet Pluto, a MIA WWII General by the name of Ramey, who was a relative of hers, and a US commonwealth to examine the scientific, militaristic and historic rationalities surrounding them as much as her personal emotional involvement inside these discursive events. Using such a way of representation refusing linear narrative or voice of authority in favor of digressions she reflects on the potentials and challenges of merging ethnographic fieldwork with formal experimentation. Her contribution is thus able to shake up received notions of what is an appropriate presentation for anthropological research as well as what kind of content is acceptable for experimental film.

Rosanne **Van Klaveren** is a media artist also touching the subject of socially engaged and participatory art. She reports of her artistic approach to create an internet platform for the storage and exchange of food related local knowledge in circumpolar regions. She shows how an artistic approach can create favorable opportunities for the needed combining and communicating of knowledge but also reports of the difficulties that a real world application causes. Artistic participatory practices can establish connections between people(s) that are valuable for the sharing of knowledge, especially when ini-

tiators are outsiders to those who own the knowledge and/or in situations of othering.

Florence **Aigner** is a photo artist who presents portraits of a memory game that was created with a group of multi-cultural trainees in French language in Brussels in 2012. It is about them and their relationship to one specific painting that they had chosen from the collection of the Musée Royal des Arts Anciens de Bruxelles. In describing and depicting this intimate and multi-role encounter and the intercultural dialogue that emerged Aigner discusses the collaborative dimension of the project, how a group that has never been in a museum before meets this environment and brings into it its own cultural references and experiences. Her contribution is thus a reflection on encounters of reinterpretation and transformation of the self and the imagination within a social multi-cultural encounter.

Kathrin **Wildner** is an urban anthropologist with longstanding experience as a curator and editor of anthropological and artistic collaborative projects. In her article she explores the urban space, the city, the metropole as a social, cultural and political lab, where disciplinary, institutional and regional limitations of research and knowledge production can be cracked open (van Eeghem 2013). She presents experiences from the transdisciplinary project 'Global Prayers' which investigated religious phenomena in global cities as well as the transformation of urban spaces by religious movements with the means of science and art (Becker, et al. 2013). Reflecting several methodological approaches, like the recordings of the sound artist Gilles Aubry which expose especially well the texturedness and layeredness of a sounded space, or multi-sited ethnography, enactment or intervention, she presents potential new avenues of collaboration which span the disciplines.

Frank **Weigelt** and Miriam **Vogt** have picked up the complex challenge of trying an interdisciplinary and experimental dialogue between an anthropologist and an artist. Inspired by research on European Buddhism they have chosen the term of *Achtsamkeit* (=Attentiveness) as a thematic outline. Their work shows how the fruitful friction that emerges when the text based approach of the anthropologist meets the work-based results of the artist – in this case the production of wax-flags. It is the central argument that Achtsamkeit understood as 'sensual (self)sconscious observation' is a crucial part of the artistic process of creating and receiving at the same time and could be made fruitful for the anthropological endeavor as well.

The contributions by Linda Weintraub and Christine Lammer are of a di- or trialogic nature as they base on interviews. Linda **Weintraub** is an author and curator well known for her work on eco-art. Especially for this edition she discussed with Natalie Jeremijenko, an artist, engineer and inventor with a speciality in environmental and urban issues, and Katherine Carl the curator of an exhibition at the CUNY Graduate Center Gallery in New York

City entitled "World of Matter".[14] Their exchange about the interlinkages between art and anthropology in a transforming world is full of insight by two professionals. Carl for example perceives anthropology as "cracking open in exciting ways" and perceives that as "things are happening in the margins, like the personal field notes that don't end up in the finished journal article but are then food for a poem". She thinks it is crucially important to involve both in dialogue. Both engage in reflections on critical realism which for Jeremijenko "takes a kind of observation immersion in a phenomenon of interest that exists without the coding and empirical analysis". Like Susan Hiller she advocates a work about lived experiences that makes an ethnographic fieldwork methodology a valid entry point.

The Austrian sociologist and multimedia artist Christina **Lammer** combines sensory ethnography with video, performance and body art in hospitals and clinics to focus on embodied emotion and sensory interaction between patients and physicians during the course of medical treatment. In a dialogue with M. Pröpper carrying the title 'Empathography' she explains her approach to key concepts like sensuality, emotion and subjectivity and the role that the body (Leib) understood in a holistic sense, bodily perceptions and bodily borders play in her work on human dimensions in the field of hospitals. Lammer understands her work as artistic research and in this way is a perfect example of hybrid practitioner chartering new ground described above. Especially targeting the intersection between actions, arrrangements, materialities and the sensual and expressive images of the human body she exposes some deep human dimensions of this field of interaction.

The sensual and expressive human body and the deep human dimensions of the bodily and emotional anthropologist undergoing and suffering in stressful and even traumatic fieldwork situations is focused as well by Erwin **Schweitzer** and Kathrin **Gradt**, both anthropologists. To avoid this situation which they call the 'Malinowski-Blues' they introduce in their article a new method called TRE (Tension & Trauma Releasing Exercises), a bodily oriented relaxation process that is able to dissolve muscular tensions caused by stress, relive traumata and thus improve the general frame of mind.

Conclusion

The title image of this special edition is an artistic approach to the hidden meaning of objects as bearers of significance – achieved by the anthropolo-

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14   http://centerforthehumanities.org/james-gallery) This exhibition assembles interviews with members of indigenous populations and their representatives the world over. Each interview, which is accompanied by textual and visual documentation, conveys the impact of resource extraction, genetic modification, dam construction, industrial agriculture, and other indicators of economic growth upon a region, its population, and its cultural traditions. Reflecting their experiences.

gist Kathrin Gradt. It could be seen as an objectified metaphor for the multiple meanings, or different *layers of that translucent material reality* which anthropology and art attempt to grasp. It is in fact the approach to better attune our sensorial and emotional and perceptive capabilities to ultimately better understand multiple dimensions of a 'qualitas occulta' of that thing reality that unites anthropologists and artists. The endeavor is about 'laying bare' of hidden gaps of perception and knowledge, as well as structures of powerful narratives and the discursive penetration of all spheres of our social life.

Empathography, "Achtsamkeit", non-linearity, poetic ethnography, critical aureality, asynchronous sensuality and an awareness for the intermittent nature of our daily sensory experiences, the layers of reality in the Anthropocene, social-political cooperation destabilizing lines of power and hegemoniality, the 'participatory democracy' of non-humans – lastly the forming of new problems instead of the repetition of old ones – these are all exemplary answers to the challenges ahead that authors in this volume have given. They have outlined that there is a great potential for contemporary art to become a means of precise communication in scientific discourses, and vice versa. Likewise several contributions have focused on processes of participation, improvisation, performativity and creativity as part of individual and cultural action in societal and ecological transformation. In this sense the political and social dimensions of the processual human encounter with a threatened ecological environment seems to steer many activities in the two merging disciplines alike.

Though still a bit hazy it shimmers through that arts' ability of closing sensual gaps can be made useful as enrichments or subversive counter-products for scientific work while the scientific theorizing of certain especially social encounters can focus artistic expression. Art and research are both practices of investigation, of "excavating ubiquitous yet missing knowledge" about " 'hybrid', 'solidified', 'pixelated' worlds all going on simultaneously" as Carl put it (this volume)[15] This involves art=research as in the work of Lammer, Wildner or the work of René Rodriguez that Göltenboth describes.

Ultimately what anthropologists and artists alike should attempt is to bodily grasp our environment as beings *inside* processes and to make these experiences sensually and inter-subjectively transferable. Lastly, the ongoing question to which this volume has contributed a few steps is how established patterns of thinking, narrating and acting can be transformed through an encounter of multiple perspectives to come to new critical perspectives on reality behind the varying sets of perceptions which do not allow discontinuities between experience and reality.

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15   See as well http://institut-kunst.ch/art-is-science/kunst-ist-wissenschaft/

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Towards a New Hermeneutics of Art and Anthropology Collaborations[1]

Arnd Schneider

I would like to start this brief intervention with a short observation on history. I am not suggesting that in a narrow sense of willful agency we can 'learn' from history or that history 'teaches' us something. But I certainly believe that history can be used to retrieve creative potentials of past human action and interpret them for the present – to some degree this view is inspired by philosophers and historians, such as Ernst Bloch (1986 [1959]) and Reinhart Koselleck (2004 [1979]).

For instance, the 1920s and 30s in France saw an unparalleled period of fertile collaborations between artists and anthropologists, which culminated in the interdisciplinary, surrealist journal *Documents*.[2] Historian James Clifford commented specifically on the collaboration between Georges Bataille (an editor of *Documents*), and anthropologist, Alfred Métraux, and ascertained that "French ethnography [was] on *speaking terms* with the avant-garde" (Clifford 1988:126; my italics).

Whilst 'speaking terms' were applied by Clifford to a historically contingent phenomenon, in my further use of the term I suggest they are a good rhetorical figure, and offer a heuristic potential to think through the possibilities of present and future art and anthropology collaborations.

Hence to speak about the present, or even more ambitiously, the future of art-anthropology collaborations, then seems a great leap forward. The intervening period is rich in aborted, half-way, and, very occasionally, successful attempts to bring disciplines of art practice, art history into dialogue with anthropology.[3]

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[1] This is an abridged and revised version of a chapter to appear in a future volume *Beyond Text? Critical Practices and Sensory Anthropology*, edited by Rupert Cox, Andrew Irving, and Christopher Wright. Manchester: Manchester University Press (forthcoming). The present short version was first published in *Still in Search of Europe? Art and Research in Collaboration*, edited by Samuli Schielke and Daniela Swarowsky. Heijningen /Netherlands: Jap Sam Books, 2013. It is here reprinted by kind permission of the editors.

[2] This history is now well researched, see, for example, Clifford (1988), Ades/ Baker (2006), Kelly (2007).

[3] I have covered these developments elsewhere, see Schneider (2011).

Moreover, since the early 1990s a number of writings and initiatives[4] have tried to gage and critically assess the potentials of art-anthropology collaborations for the present. For some, such collaborations inevitably are fraught with dangers of 'artist envy' by anthropologists, and artists doubling in 'pseudo-ethnographic role[s]' (Foster 1995:306). Others, including myself, have pointed to the critical potential in artistic projects critiquing anthropological methodologies which, nevertheless, are also 'uneasy relationships' between practitioners with different disciplinary backgrounds (Schneider 1993, 1996). Experimental situations which bring together artists and anthropologists, in fact quickly reveal how tenuous and temporary any dialogue between different disciplinary traditions and practices can be.[5]

Yet there is good reason to continue to explore, negotiate and possibly fill, if only temporarily, with contemporary content those *speaking terms* which Clifford found characteristic of French anthropology and the artistic avant-garde in the 1920s and 30s. 'Content' here appears perhaps as too totalitarian or absolute a concept, but it is the dialogical situation itself (the *speaking* in Clifford's terminology) which is worthwhile considering and aiming for, even if it stays inevitably incomplete and imperfect, and 'content' (i.e. what are the *terms* for Clifford) remains temporary and fragmentary, or just a future aspiration. With 'dialogue' I mean the conversational situation of collaborations, conscious of the differences (in terms of economic, educational, and cultural capital) which can and do exist between the participants in such collaborations. 'Dialogue', in the tradition of hermeneutic approaches in philosophy and anthropology (Gadamer 2004 [1960]), Ricoeur 1981; also Geertz 1973, 1983), has been a much discussed term in anthropology (e.g. Tedlock, 1983, Tedlock/Mannheim 1995, Maranhão 1990, Crapanzano 2004, Maranhão/Streck 2003, Verde 2003). However, despite different emphases it is clear that 'dialogue' can never just mean a level position of partners, collaborators, or actors, but has to account for difference.

As regards art-anthropology collaborations, arguably, there is now a current climate of 'convergence', with on the one hand, the so-called 'ethnographic turn' of the arts, and on the other hand, the (post) writing culture critique of fieldwork practices in anthropology, coupled with a renewed emphasis on practice (in addition to, and beyond text). Within this apparent frame of convergence, possibly a 'third' is rising – as yet impure, unnamed and undefined, and with soft edges pushing up to new epistemological hori-

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4   See Schneider (1993, 1996); Foster (1995), Grimshaw/Ravetz (2005), Schneider/Wright (2006); also, the international conferences *Fieldworks: Dialogues between Art and Anthropology at Tate Modern*, London, 2003, *Beyond Text*, Manchester, 2007, and *Art/Anthropology: Practices of Difference and Translation*, Oslo, 2007.

5   For example, the closed experimental workshop *Connecting Art and Anthropology*, Manchester, 2007, which brought together fourteen international artists and anthropologists (Grimshaw/Owen/Ravetz 2010).

zons beyond both fields of art and anthropology. This 'third' seems to revolve around certain tropes or fields, such as relational and dialogical art practices, are renewed interest in the senses in anthropology and the arts, a shared and heterogeneous interest in ethics (in the plural!), as well as strong counter stances to anthropology's almost innate phobias against images and colour.[6]

Any future art-anthropology collaborations will have to deal with certain parameters coming from different disciplinary backgrounds, and certain eruptive fault lines (which for instance deal with the aforementioned arenas of iconophobia, sensory research, ethics, and experimentation) around which productive, but contested and sometimes conflictive dialogues will develop.

Once such collaborations are set up not only in the closed 'laboratory' of a university workshop,[7] but use ethnographic fieldwork situation as their locale (such as some contributions to this volume) they are likely to reveal not only conceptual differences between artists and anthropologists but also differences in the forms of relationality that are at stake. This is especially the case where anthropological research is set in fieldwork situations outside so-called 'First World' countries, where unequal relations of real differences in economic power pertain, as well as differential access to educational and other symbolic capital (such as the hegemonic first world education system and the equally hierarchically structured international art world). For instance, I've been involved in dialogical art projects with artists in North-West Argentina (Corrientes Province). Practiced by somebody educated and based at metropolitan first world institutions this kind of anthropology, inevitably, is a partially hegemonic practice, where artists have substantially different access to economic resources, but also the 'global' circulation of (anthropological) knowledge, and this conditioned the possibilities for finding a common understanding across disciplinary practices. The reflective criticism by participating artists, for example through forms of auto-ethnography, consequently decentres the underlying hegemonic structure of such North–South (or West–Non-West) collaborations. Rather than just appropriating knowledge, forms and methodologies from the North (or West) artists develop genuinely new art forms 'From Here' (Mosquera 2010: 53).[8]

It is clear then that there can be no normative *a priori* demands when anthropologists collaborate with artists. To return to my opening remarks, I contend that 'speaking terms' (which Clifford applied to a specific historical situation), are a fragile construct which cannot be normatively presumed but can only be delicately constructed for each instance and phase of collaborations. It is solely through this procedure of mutual respect and understand-

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6   See for example, Bourriaud (2002), Kester (2004, 2011), Classen, Howes (1991, 1997, 2004), Jones (2003), Stoller (1986), Taylor (1996), Batchelor (2000), Benson/O'Neill (2007).

7   See note 4 on the workshop convened by Amanda Ravetz in 2007.

8   This example is further developed in Schneider (2013). For anthropological research traditions within Argentina, see Guber (2002).

ing that a hermeneutic field, however tenuous and uneven, can be achieved, which might form the basis of fruitful collaborations.

In this context hermeneutic philosopher Ricoeur's insights on appropriation[9] can be equally applied to the appropriation of methodologies across disciplines, in this case art and anthropology.

> *An interpretation is not authentic unless it culminates in some form of appropriation (Aneignung) if by that term we understand the process by which one makes one's own (eigen) what was initially other or alien (fremd). (Ricoeur 1981:178; German terms in original)*

Appropriation is opposed to 'distanciation' by Ricoeur, but its practice does not mean taking simple possession of the other. To the contrary, the term implies in the first instance to dispossess oneself of the narcissistic ego, in order to engender a new self-understanding, not a mere congeniality with the other (Ricoeur 1981:191-193).[10]

> *Relinquishment is a fundamental moment of appropriation and distinguishes it from any form of 'taking possession'. (Ricoeur 1981:191)*

Relinquishment then, the temporary ceding of one's own disciplinary boundaries to promote understanding, could be a key term and strategy to develop collaborative and dialogical projects. Such hybridazation of practices might temporarily imply the giving up of secure boundaries definitions but it could be rewarding, on the other hand, to explore new fields of practice and theory. After all – and no teological or evolutionary agenda is implied here – advances in the sciences and knowledge, more generally, have often been built on transgression (of previous theories) and the opening of new horizons.

Further, in this context of hermeneutics it is useful to think of Kester's discussion of 'dialogical aesthetics' (Kester 2004: 82-123, also 2011). Kester develops the concept in relation to a range of art practices which develop, or are based on, social relations with communities and individuals, even if these relations, established by artists are temporal. Some of these practices can be called community art, others have been signified as 'relational aesthetics' (Bourriaud 2002), where artists themselves instantiate social relations *as* artworks. Kester offers an interesting discussion of the possibilities of dialogue between artists and 'communities' by thinking of the productive potential in the social relations engendered by the creation and response to artworks. He builds on and at the same time departs from Habermas' notion of the 'ideal speech act', which can only remain a philosophical postulate as

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9   The original context for Ricoeur was textual interpretation (1981).
10   Ricoeur is inspired primarily by Gadamer's Truth and Method, see Gadamer (2004 [1960]).

it presupposes equal and 'ontologically stable' partners – a condition which is not realistic when participants in dialogue have different access to power, educational and cultural capital. Kester (2004: 106) suggests, following philosopher Gemma Fiumara (1999), that any dialogue has to start not from a position of presumed equality, but with an act of self-reflective listening, interrogating the 'ethics of communicative exchange' (2004: 106). This line of thinking comes close to Trinh T. Minh-ha's concept of 'speaking nearby', said otherwise, that in ethnographic representations we cannot speak *about* or *for* the other (and that any attempts to *lend* the other a voice remain illusionary, as early textual critics assumed), but at best can speak nearby (Chen/ T. Minh-ha 1994). The same insight can be applied for appropriations across disciplines. Yet inherent in any discussion of the ethics of such projects must be the recognition and self-reflection upon an unequal relationship, based on difference, between the partners in fieldwork (as recently argued by Benson /O'Neill 2007, taking inspiration from Levinas). I contend that it is this fundamental acknowledgement of dialogical inequality which constitutes an uneven hermeneutic field which can still render a productive collaboration.

Further, what Kester posits for relations between artists and their 'constructed' communities, I suggest, could also be fruitfully applied to collaborative projects between artists and anthropologists, and comes close to the hermeneutic field I have been advocating earlier. Speaking terms, then can only be found in a mutual recognition of difference.

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„A globe is always achieved too fast"
Bildstrategien der Entschleunigung in Armin Linkes
Film-Forschungsprojekt Alpi (2011)

Wilma Scheschonk

Einführung

Der folgende Beitrag thematisiert mit dem Film *Alpi*[1] (2011) eine aktuelle Kooperation von Künstlern und Anthropologen, die beim Generieren von Bilderwissen kollaboriert haben. Der Film *Alpi* (italienisch für „Alpen") basiert auf einem mehrjährigen Forschungsprojekt, das Armin Linke mit dem Architekten und Anthropologen Piero Zanini und dem Klangkünstler Renato Rinaldi hauptsächlich in diesem mitteleuropäischen Gebirge realisiert hat. *Alpi* zielt aber keineswegs auf eine Porträtierung der Alpenlandschaft in ihren topografischen Grenzen, sondern macht assoziative Modi der Kartierung des Alpenraums und seiner globalen Verflechtung produktiv – ein Ansatz, der das Filmteam bis in einen alpin-utopistischen Snow Dome in einer Wüstenlandschaft in den Arabischen Emiraten führte.

Abb. 1: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

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1   Alpi. A film by Armin Linke based on a research project of Piero Zanini, Renato Rinaldi and Armin Linke, 2011, 16mm, Blu-ray/ DCP, 5.1 Sound, 16:9, Farbe, 60 min. Kamera: Armin Linke, Sound: Renato Rinaldi, Editing: Giuseppe Ielasi.

Ohne erklärende Stimme aus dem Off zeichnet *Alpi* circa dreißig markante Stationen alpiner Netzwerke auf, ohne dabei eine Ganzheit anzustreben und ohne eine eindeutige Reihenfolge oder einen klaren dramaturgischen Spannungsbogen zu verfolgen.

Mit dem Abbildungsinteresse ethnografischer Dokumentarfilme teilt *Alpi* den Fokus auf menschliche Praktiken, die sich als *Doing Nature* oder besser spezifischer: *Doing the Alps* beschreiben lassen. Als Feldforschung gibt sich *Alpi* auch durch gefilmte Interviews und Techniken teilnehmender Beobachtung zu erkennen. *Alpi* geht aber weit über die künstlerische Adaption von Methoden der Anthropologie hinaus, indem vielmehr das Gebirgsmassiv als „anthropologischer Raum" erfasst wird. Dieser umfasst die komplexen Interferenzen zwischen Topografie, Imaginationen, Bildern und deren Traditionen, sowie kulturelle Praktiken, die dieser Raum hervorbringt.

Abb. 2: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Alpi wurde bislang vorrangig in Kunstkontexten rezipiert – unter anderem bei der Architektur Biennale in Venedig 2012. Es ist die Brisanz des Themas, die Dichte von theoretischen und historischen Bezügen, die *Alpi* für viele fachliche Perspektiven zur lohnenden Auseinandersetzung machen. Verbindungen von Kunst und Anthropologie – personelle, methodische, theoretische und rezeptionsästhetische – zeigen sich in *Alpi* in vielfachen Quergängen. Das Filmprojekt steht damit exemplarisch für die charakteristischen aktuellen Durchdringungen beider Fachbereiche, ihrer Themen, AdressatInnen-Gruppen und den Medien ihrer Forschung und Vermittlung. Außergewöhnlich ist die Intensität und Dauer der Kooperation – bis hin zum Editieren der großen Mengen an Film- und Tonmaterial, die erst über den Umweg anderer Installationsformen zu einem Einkanal-Video wurden (vgl. Linke 2012).

Alpi reiht sich aber ebenso ein in das Oeuvre des Künstlers Armin Linke, der in Film- und Fotoarbeiten und Ausstellungsprojekten die Erde als Gestal-

tungsraum des Menschen dokumentiert.[2] Linke sammelt in einem anwachsenden Archiv auf diese Weise die untrüglichen, visuell erfassbaren Anzeichen dafür, wie stark Teile der Menschheit als „Weltgärtner" und „Manager" mit ihrem Wirtschaften und ihren Technologien das Schicksal des Planeten determinieren. Seine bildwissenschaftlich-künstlerische Praxis leitet Armin Linke aus diesen Themen ab, die über eng gesteckte Disziplingrenzen hinausgehen. Die aktuell sichtbar werdende Instabilität des Erdsystems, welche die Zivilisation als Ganzes betrifft, ist fachinternen Perspektiven vielfach entwachsen – und doch erfordert diese Entwicklung exakte, lokale Analysen und darüber hinaus neue Formen der Vermittlung im Kontakt mit veränderten Öffentlichkeiten. Sowohl hochspezialisiertes Wissen als auch interdisziplinäre Öffnung sind also notwendig. Eine Umgestaltung von Wahrnehmung, die nicht zuletzt im Anbetracht von Klimakrise und Artensterben den so wesentlichen gesellschaftlichen Willen mobilisieren kann, ist angewiesen auf kreative und problemorientierte Zugänge. Kunst und Anthropologie begegnen sich nicht zum Selbstzweck, sondern um anlässlich einer ungekannten Situation probate Sichtbarkeiten zu erzeugen ohne reaktionär zu werden.

In Alpi´s Trajektorie, durch Beschreibung auch Bewusstseinsveränderung anzuschieben, liegen gewisse Parallelen zu Bruno Latours *Inquiry Into Modes of Existence* (*AIME*). Dieses praktische Philosophieexperiment und aktuelle Forschungsprojekt des Anthropologen und Wissenschaftsforschers zielt auf eine Selbstbeschreibung der (in ihrem Selbstverständnis) „Modernen". Es soll parallel existierende Werte, Wahrheiten und Denkweisen aktueller Lebenswirklichkeiten in den technisierten „Zentren" der Welt zusammentragen. Ziel ist das forschende Sammeln von Beschreibungen der komplexen Grundlagen, auf denen sich diese ruinöse Moderne zunehmend ihre eigene Lebensgrundlage entzieht (vgl. Latour 2014b:12ff). Gründe hierfür sucht das *AIME*-ForscherInnen-Team in der Selbstreferentialität disparater Handlungssphären, die jeweils eigene Wertesysteme unterhalten. Diese sichtbar zu machen, ist ein Vorhaben, für das Bruno Latour explizit die Kompetenzen von KünstlerInnen anfragt.[3] Aber auch wenn Armin Linke

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2   Für einen Überblick zu Armin Linkes Beteiligung am „Anthropozän-Observatorium" am „Haus der Kulturen der Welt" in Berlin vergleiche http://www.hkw.de/de/programm/projekte/2014/anthropozaenobservatorium20132014/start_anthropozaen_observatorium_2013_2014.php, letzter Zugriff am 08.12.2014.

3   Bruno Latours Webseite (http://www.modesofexistence.org), die er mit Hilfe von KünstlerInnen und WebdesignerInnen erstellte, versteht sich als interaktive Ergänzung seiner Buchpublikation „An Inquiry Into Modes of Existence" (2012) und Plattform des Austauschs. Die geplante Einbindung von künstlerischen Positionen, welche seine Anthropologie der Modernen erweitern und befragen sollte, ist meiner Beobachtung zufolge bisher wenig fortgeschritten. Latours Aufruf an KünstlerInnen der HfG Karlsruhe, das Großprojekt zu begleiten, ist einzusehen unter http://vimeo.com/44456882, letzter Zugriff 12.12.2014.

und Bruno Latour im Rahmen von *AIME* mehrfach kollaboriert haben und in konzeptuellem Austausch stehen, ist *Alpi* keineswegs ein Lehrfilm über die Latour´sche Theorie der *Modernen*. *Alpi* bedient nicht das klassische Zusammenspiel aus Wissenschaft und vermeintlich bloß „illustrativen" Bildern, sondern macht vielmehr das Medium Film als Instrument einer eigenen Forschung produktiv, um dieses unabschließbare Großprojekt einer Selbstbeschreibung der *Modernen* zu erweitern und zu präzisieren. Die Alpen sind nicht nur historisch das topografische Zentrum in Mitteleuropa, von wo aus diese westliche Moderne ihren Lauf nahm, sondern – vielfach deklariert als „Labor der Moderne" – traditioneller Ort ihrer Erfindung und Erprobung.

Abb. 3: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Latour´sche Forschung an den *Modernen* zielt auf „Entschleunigung" – in einem Wortsinn, der auch für die folgende Analyse von *Alpi* von zentraler Bedeutung ist: In Anbetracht bevorstehender ökologischer Konflikte verbleibt *Alpi* bei einem Modus der Beschreibung, der sich weder vorschnellen Machbarkeitsfantasien hingibt noch übereilt apokalyptische Endzeitfantasien befeuert.

*Alpi´*s Bildstrategien der Entschleunigung

Entschleunigung ist ein vielfach geäußertes Begehren in den aktuellen Zeiten mobilisierter Lebensentwürfe und Höchstgeschwindigkeit von Gütern, Geld und Daten. Verlangsamung gehört zu den Versprechen, die alpine Urlaubsorte BesucherInnen unterbreiten, damit in Auszeiten Kraftreserven aufgeladen werden können: „Alltag raus – Österreich rein", titelt eine Tourismus-Kampagne über Bergidyll. Wenn im Folgenden die Bildstrategien der Entschleunigung in *Alpi* im Fokus stehen, dann mag zunächst erstaunen, dass der Künstler die Alpen in diesem Film als gänzlich integriert in Turbokapitalismus und

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mitunter konfliktive Globalisierungsprozesse präsentiert: Ein dröhnender Helikopter setzt TagungsteilnehmerInnen des *World Economic Forums* in Davos ab und das italienische Val di Susa unter einer Autobahnbrücke ist Schauplatz einer Demonstration gegen die neue Hochgeschwindigkeitstrasse „TAV". Im Modus des Dokumentarischen zeichnet Armin Linke ein umfassendes alpines Netzwerk nach – weit abseits von Suggestionen arkadischer Landschaften durch die Tourismusindustrien.

Entschleunigung in Armin Linkes Alpenbildern ist ein deutlich weiter reichendes Unternehmen als ein Training von Achtsamkeit als Strategie individueller Abwehr von Zeit- und Effizienzdruck. *Alpi* teilt mit diesen gängigen Forderungen nach Verlangsamung lediglich die Schärfung von Wahrnehmung als Ziel. Entlang verschiedener konzeptueller und bildanalytischer Modi der Entschleunigung wird das Filmprojekt im Folgenden vorgestellt.[4]

Ausgebremst werden in *Alpi* die schnellen Sprünge zwischen parallelen, modernen Naturerfahrungen in den Alpen. Diese künstlerische Bildstrategie, die unter „Alpen im Anthropozän" in den Fokus dieser Analyse rückt, ist gekennzeichnet von einem dokumentierenden Verbleiben bei Performanzen von Natur, anstatt ihrer routinierten Überhöhung als „unendlich Erhabene" oder ihrer Abwertung als Zerstörte zuzuarbeiten. *Alpi*, so wird aufgezeigt, setzt einer theoretischen, binären Opposition von „unberührt" und „kulturalisiert" durch das Abbilden von *Doing the Alps* die allgegenwärtige Graduierung dieser Kategorien in der Praxis entgegen.

Alpi suspendiert außerdem das (post)modernistische Streben danach, als verkitscht und verbraucht deklarierte Alpenbilder kurzerhand zu verwerfen – dieses Verzögern und analytische Umkreisen von Abbildungstraditionen des Alpinen ist als entscheidendes künstlerisches Verfahren der Entschleunigung Thema in „Alpenbilder – missbraucht, verkitscht, verworfen". Dass *Alpi*´s weitgehend statische Kamera einen deutlichen Dialog mit der vornehmlich europäischen Gattung der Landschaftsmalerei unterhält, weist auf tief geschichtete Bildprogrammatiken, die weitergehend in „*Alpi* – Lokalisierende Ansichten des Alpinen" betrachtet werden. Insbesondere das Alpenpanorama mit weiten Horizontlinien und schier unendlicher Ausdehnung in den Bildraum, als *die* Darstellungskonvention der Bergwelt, befragt *Alpi* in ihren naturbildlichen Implikationen. Den semantischen Gehalt des Panoramas, seine Suggestion von konzeptuellem Zugriff auf eine weite physische Ausdehnung bremst *Alpi* aus, indem der Film ein Bild der Alpen aus schmalen Kameraeinstellungen vorrangig von Innenräumen zusammensetzt.

Traditionen der Landschaftsmalerei rückten kürzlich auch in das Interessensgebiet der Anthropologie: Unter „Eine Anthropologie der modernen

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4   Für die Anregung dieser Begriffsfindung danke ich Benjamin Pfeffer und dem Seminar „Naturbilder im späten 20. und frühen 21. Jahrhundert" bei Dr. Matthias Krüger.

Natur" wird *Alpi's* Naturbildforschung daher abgeglichen mit aktueller Theoriearbeit zu Performanzen von Natur, wie sie aktuell prominent von Philippe Descola und Bruno Latour entwickelt wird. Die mediale Stabilisierung in Kunst und Wissenschaft stattete, laut den beiden Anthropologen, europäische Naturkonzeptionen mit einer besonderen Fähigkeit zur Expansion aus. Mit bildlich-inhaltlichen Referenzen zu künstlerischen und wissenschaftlichen Diskursen des späten 19. Jahrhunderts untersucht auch *Alpi* eine Phase der nachdrücklichen Ausdehnung von „Natur" europäischer Prägung in neue Räume – ein Topos, der unter „Historische Alpen – erhöht, erniedrigt, bezwungen" den Schwerpunkt bildet.

Dass die aktuelle ökologische Alpenkrise gleichermaßen eine Krise von Naturkonzeptionen und -bildern ist, thematisiert *Alpi* in eindrücklicher Weise. Wie eine globalisierte, alpine Bilderwelt zurückwirkt auf den physischen Raum des mitteleuropäischen Gebirges, ist zentrale Frage des Filmprojektes, die besonders unter „Zeitgenössische Alpen – exportiert, importiert, verschoben" erörtert wird. *Alpi* wird in der folgenden Analyse vorgestellt als ein entschleunigendes *Tracking* tradierter und aktueller Imaginationen der Alpen, das in Anbetracht mensch-gemachter, alpiner Gletscherschmelze darüber hinaus die Notwendigkeit vorführt, allmählich neue Bilder in den alpinen Bilderpool einzuspeisen.

Alpen im Anthropozän

Ideen einer unberührten Natur prägten lange kulturelle Praktiken und das Erlebnis der Alpen. *Alpi* dagegen etabliert eine divergierende Konzeption von Natur, die im Folgenden herausgearbeitet wird. Durch filmisch-essayistisches Zusammenlagern verschiedener Praktiken der Hervorbringung von Natur im erweiterten Alpenraum wird Natur in *Alpi* eine Zeitgenossenschaft an unserer Moderne eingeräumt.[5]

Die häufig zunächst so rätselhaften wie dokumentarischen Filmsequenzen zeigen schon nach wenigen Minuten, dass Betrachtende in *Alpi* eine Na-

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5   Mit seinem Begriff des „Denial of Coevalness" klagte Johannes Fabian in seiner Publikation „Time and the Other" von 1983 über eine Tendenz der Anthropologie, andere Kulturen als seine Beforschten als statisches, zu studierendes Objekt in einer anderen Zeitlichkeit als die der Moderne zu fixieren. Bruno Latours Anthropologie der Natur ist vor dieser Folie auch zu lesen als ein Zubilligen von Gleichzeitigkeit von „Natur" zur Moderne. Indem diese eben nicht ausschließlich als ihre proklamiert ewigen Funktionsweisen taxiert, sondern ebenso in ihren Veränderungen vor allem bei und nach anthropogener Manipulation wahrgenommen wird (vgl. hierzu Latour 2011b:3ff). Diskurse um das Anthropozän proklamieren ebenso die zunehmende Verunmöglichung des Verweises auf eine natürlich-zeitlose und „ursprüngliche" Natur. Die Bestimmung der (auch politischen) Handlungsmacht von „Natur", die aus der Betonung ihrer Zeitgenossenschaft resultiert, ist bisher ebenso ein Desiderat, wie als Konzept insgesamt umstritten (zu Letzterem vgl. Hagener 2006:134).

tur zu sehen bekommen, die keineswegs bereits vermessen und bestimmt ist. ZuschauerInnen sind ständig mit Informationslücken über den Sinn kompilierter Ansichten einer Natur konfrontiert, die eben verschmolzen scheint mit ihren Lokalitäten. Der Gegenentwurf zu der in *Alpi* gezeigten fragmentierten, örtlich divergierenden Natur ist eine „universelle" und häufig genug „erhabene" Wildnis, die abseits von Kultur zu denken sei. Doch letzterem Naturbild, das sich in seinem Antagonismus zur Kultur definiert, muss spätestens mit den aktuellen Evidenzen einer totalen Vermischung von Mensch und Erdlandschaft widersprochen werden. Mit großer Vehemenz verneinen vorrangig europäische Naturkonzeptionen die Verwobenheit von Techniken, Imaginationen und Natur und dehnen diese Vorstellung über den gesamten Planeten aus. Ohne dass eine global einheitliche Mega-Natur davon in Zweifel gezogen würde, *verabgründigt* sich jedoch spontanes, westliches Aufrufen von Natur als elastisches Gefüge, das Bedeutungen unverbindlich anzieht und ausgrenzt.

„A globe is always achieved too fast" (2014a), so ließe sich mit Bruno Latour vorsichtiges Unbehagen gegenüber diesem Naturbild anmelden. Denn sogar unser Wissen, dass wir uns auf einem kugelförmigen „Globus" befinden, der als (Sprach-)Bild bereits lediglich ein Modell von der Erde ist, werde als ein höchst vermitteltes Wissen lokal reproduziert. Der Globus steht damit nie außerhalb von kulturell durchdrungenen Darstellungsmitteln und Konventionen (vgl. Latour 2014a).

Abb. 4: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Außenansichten des ganzen Erdballs leisten darüber hinaus Imaginationen planetarer Einheit Vorschub. Leichtfüßiges Überspannen von Naturkonzeptionen über den ganzen Planeten wird ganz faktisch zum Problem von irdischem Ausmaß. Die derzeitige Handlungsunfähigkeit politischer Instanzen im Angesicht der Klimakatastrophe und die praktische Unmöglichkeit

ein globales Kontrollgremium einzusetzen, das Einigkeit darüber herstellen kann, was als Natur zu schützen sei, führt das Problem der Maßstäblichkeit von Naturkonzepten exemplarisch vor Augen. Eine zentrale Frage dieses Zeitalters lautet daher: Was kann planetare und was lokale Gültigkeit beanspruchen?

*Alpi´*s Naturkonzept in Zeitgenossenschaft zur Moderne schließt daher die Orte ihrer Gültigkeit und Vermittlung ein – und in diesem Sinn zeigt *Alpi* Natur „to a certain extent [...] put back in its place" (2012:333), so rezensierte die französische Philosophin Emilie Hache treffend. Einer verhärteten „wilden", „anderen", „sublimen", „authentischeren", „unpolitischen" oder „zeitlosen" Naturkonzeption werden mit *Alpi* neue Bildlichkeiten hinzugefügt, die sie in ihren Verwobenheiten mit unserem Zeitalter zeigen.[6]

Ideen von Natur als unendlich überlegenes „und darum auch grenzenlos belastbare[s] Außen" (Sloterdijk 2011:99) werden im Angesicht extremer Vernutzung von Ressourcen, Minimierung von Artenvielfalt und weiteren ungewissen Auswirkungen der Industrialisierungsschübe zunehmend zum Problem ungekannter Größenordnung. „Das Raumschiff Erde hat keinen Notausgang", so der Titel einer der sich vermehrenden Publikationen, deren Beiträge die Erde daher in einer neuen geo-chronologischen Epoche verorten: Das „Anthropozän" trägt als Zeitalter des Menschen dem Faktum Rechnung, dass „der Mensch" – tatsächlich graduell abgestuft nach Reichtum – als relevanter Faktor in geologische, biologische und atmosphärische Prozesse des Planeten eingreift. Die (sicher auch problematische, technoide) Metapher von der Erde als „Raumschiff" erinnert an eine eigentlich selbstverständliche Verbindlichkeit. Denn es gibt kein lebenswertes „Außerhalb" von dieser einen Welt.

Alpenbilder – missbraucht, verkitscht, verworfen

Auch in künstlerische Zugänge zu alpinen Landschaften schreiben sich Ideen einer Natur als „außerhalb" von Kultur ein. Als etwa die Landschaftsmalerei auf der Leinwand bloß noch als überholte kulturelle Konvention erschien, wandte sich die sogenannte „Land Art" dem alpinen Außenraum auf der Su-

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6 Eine Besonderheit *Alpi´*s liegt gerade in der Strategie eines Hinzufügens neuer Bilder zum alpinen Imaginations-Pool. *Alpi* reiht sich damit nicht in die Tradition ikonoklastischen Insistierens auf einer Gemachtheit der Abbildung, das seit der „Nouvelle Vague" in künstlerischem wie ethnografischem Film in immer neuen Modi bildlicher Selbstreflexion der Erhöhung des Realitätsgrades dienen sollte. Aber ebenso sind Betrachtende nicht in synästhetisch-immersiven Sogbildern adressiert, die eben die mediale Verfasstheit der Aufnahmen zugunsten einer sensorischen Partizipation weitgehend bestreiten, wie derzeit prominent erprobt durch das „Harvard Sensory Ethnography Lab". Vielmehr gilt es nicht aus dem Bild und seiner traditionellen Verfangenheit auszusteigen und die Gültigkeiten konservativer Bildformen – etwa des Genres der Landschaft – aufzuzeigen.

che nach einer „echteren" Natur zu. *Alpi* hingegen setzt auch dieser hastigen und nur vermeintlichen Entbindung von Abbildungs- und Naturbildkonventionen eine Verlangsamung entgegen: Als eine Studie mit und über Visualitäten der Alpen verwirft *Alpi* keineswegs leichtfertig deren Bildgeschichte, sondern fragt nach den Aufladungen, die Alpenbilder bis in unser aktuelles Verständnis dieses Raumes transportieren. Unkündbar ist der anthropologische Raum der Alpen mit seinem Abbild verbunden. In dieser Verbindlichkeit – das wird im Verlauf dieses Artikels als ganz zentrale These des Filmprojekts immer wieder in den Fokus rücken – schreiben sich Alpenbilder stets auch wieder in das Gebirge ein.

Von einem „Ausstieg aus dem Bild" und dem ikonoklastischem Vorstoßen gegen Alpenbilder distanziert sich der Film. Regten Krisenzeiten der Alpen (post)modernistische KünstlerInnen dazu an – etwa nach der ideologischen Vereinnahmung der Berge durch die Nazis – in Bilderstürmen auf das Panorama loszugehen, alles Erhabene zu entweihen, alles Hohe metaphorisch zu planieren, weist *Alpi* vielmehr ein Interesse an den Gültigkeiten alpiner Bildlichkeiten auf. *Alpi*´s filmische Annäherung an Codes der Aufzeichnung von Natur – aus der Wissenschaft wie der Kunst – verweist einmal mehr darauf, dass zeitgenössische Natur nicht außerhalb ihrer mimetischen Nachbildungen zu suchen ist.

Dem Bild und damit der Landschaft – die ja nicht nur künstlerische Gattung ist, sondern auch eine gewissermaßen begrifflich zugerichtete Natur im physischen Raum bezeichnet – mit allen ihren Implikationen der Mensch-Gemachtheit entkommen zu wollen, reicht in die Praktiken der „Land Art" hinein.[7] Die „Land Art", als Kunstform im Außenraum, wendet sich häufig und meist mit anti-fortschrittlichem und institutionskritischem Impetus den Alpen zu. Alltägliches, anthropogenes Eingreifen in die Erdoberfläche lässt jedoch zunehmend fragwürdig erscheinen, ob das Einfügen von künstlichen/künstlerischen Spuren in einen als solchen zuvor erst konstruierten Naturraum noch als ernstzunehmende, künstlerisch-diskursive Praxis betrieben werden kann. Können wir uns noch auf eine entropische, ubiquitäre Kraft berufen – ein favorisierter Topos der „Land Art" –, die menschliche Eingriffe stets wieder der Erde einverleibt? Wenn „der Mensch" sich allgegenwärtig und historisch manifest in die irdischen Stoffwechsel einschreibt, welches „Außerhalb" kann (durch die „Land Art") noch erschlossen werden?

Bereits die kulturelle „Entdeckung des Horizonts" beschreibt Stephan Oettermann als eine „Seh-sucht" nach einem solchen „Außerhalb": „Hegel zufolge bedeutet das Innewerden einer Grenze zugleich auch ihre Überschreitung. Fast scheint es, als sei diese Denkfigur am Phänomen des Horizonts

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7   Fotos auf der Webseite des prominenten „Land Art"-Künstlers Richard Long dokumentieren eine beispielhafte, künstlerische Zuwendung zu der Bergregion im Schweizer Kanton Wallis mit *Alpine Stones. A Thirteen Day Mountain Walk beginning and ending in Leuk* (2000).

gewonnen" (1980:10). Hier kündigen sich bereits Gründe für Armin Linkes Vorsicht mit alpinen Horizontlinien an. Denn zunehmend machen anthropogene Erschließung und Eingriffe ein irdisches „Draußen" oder „Dahinter" zweifelhaft – eine Abgeschlossenheit, die der Philosoph Peter Sloterdijk als „Makro-Interieur" bezeichnet hat: „Mit einem Mal sehen wir uns genötigt, die widernatürlich scheinende Vorstellung zuzulassen, dass die terrestrische Sphäre im Ganzen durch die menschliche Praxis in ein einziges großes Interieur verwandelt worden ist" (Sloterdijk 2011:100). Zunehmend verschwimmen die Unterschiede von „vor" und „hinter" dem Horizont, von Landschaft und Natur im Anthropozän, wenn von Meeresböden bis zur Exosphäre keine „unberührte" Natur als Gegenbild zur Kultur mehr aufrechterhalten werden kann. Diese verschobene Maßstäblichkeit untersucht *Alpi* exemplarisch am Gebirge der Alpen.

Alpi – Lokalisierende Ansichten des Alpinen

Der folgende Abschnitt widmet sich der Beschreibung einiger Sequenzen aus *Alpi*, die durch fragmentierende Montage und schmale Kameraeinstellungen dem Gebirge eine veränderte Abbildlichkeit verleihen. *Alpi*´s häufig in Innenräumen aufgezeichneten Alpenbilder stehen in einem Dialog und Spannungsverhältnis zum *Panorama*, der Perspektive, von der Raumerfahrung und Visualität der Region bestimmt werden.

Die *Google*-Bildsuche „Alpen" reiht auf Ergebnisseiten Bergpanoramen aus offiziellen Tourismus-Annoncen, Profi- und Amateur-Fotografien der wenigen „Viertausender" über unzählige Pixel-Kilometer. Die „Panoramafunktion" breit verfügbarer Kameratechnik übersetzt alpin, grenzenloses Raumgefühl in Displaygröße. Ob Zillertal, Hohe Tauern oder Ötztaler Alpen – sich in die Weite erstreckende Bergketten, Gipfel und Abhänge bilden das favorisierte Landschaftsbild, das auch vor Ort eingefordert und geboten wird. Als räumliche Praxis prägt es Hotelarchitekturen und plausibilisiert deren Preise: „Jeder weiß, dass Hotelzimmer mit Ausblick teurer sind als solche zur Hangseite" (Kos 1998:12).

Alpi´s Umgang mit dieser alpin-panoramatischen Blickkonvention ist zunächst eine Vermeidungsstrategie. In einer engen „tunnel vision" (Latour 2011a) der Kamera werden alle Sequenzen fragmentarischer Alpen-Bezüge zu einem Spiel der Verortung. Die enge Kadrierung wird durch ein sogenanntes Normalobjektiv (mit Brennweite von 50 Millimetern) produziert, das nächstmöglich am menschlichen visuellen Feld orientiert ist (vgl. Linke 2012). Da nie die Einstellung der Totalen erreicht wird, die alle Handlungsteile bildlich zusammensetzt, füllt sich der thematische und räumliche Anschluss an den Alpenraum erst mit dem Verlauf von Zeit additiv an. Ein auf diese Weise angereichertes Bildgedächtnis erlaubt Bezugnahmen zwischen den gezeigten Settings: Der Abbau von Porphyr-Gestein in einer Mine in Trient und die halbmechanische Verarbeitung der gewonnenen Platten zu Pflastersteinen

für die heimische Terrasse, gehören demselben Netzwerk an. Der mit der Semantik des „Natürlichen" erst durch seinen Abbau aufgeladene „Naturstein" bleibt zu 60 Prozent in Folge seiner Sprengung aus dem Bergmassiv als pulverisierter Abfall in den Alpen zurück (vgl. Mancini 1996:127). Solche Informationen, deren „kritisches" Potential in künstlerischer Verwendung höchst fragwürdig ist, werden erst durch die im Abspann aufgezählten Drehorte von *Alpi* überhaupt recherchierbar – sie werden einem Publikum keineswegs mit missionarischem Eifer aufgetragen.[8]

Dass *Alpi* Handlungsverläufe meist in Innenräumen dokumentiert, unterstützt den Eindruck eines zerklüfteten, alpinen Raumes, der sich dem panoramatischen Blickregime und dessen proklamiertem visuellen Zugriff auf eine weite physische Ausdehnung widersetzt. Charakteristisch in Linkes Darstellung alpiner Settings ist, dass die Filmeinstellung häufig bildparallel von innenarchitektonischen Strukturen dominiert wird.
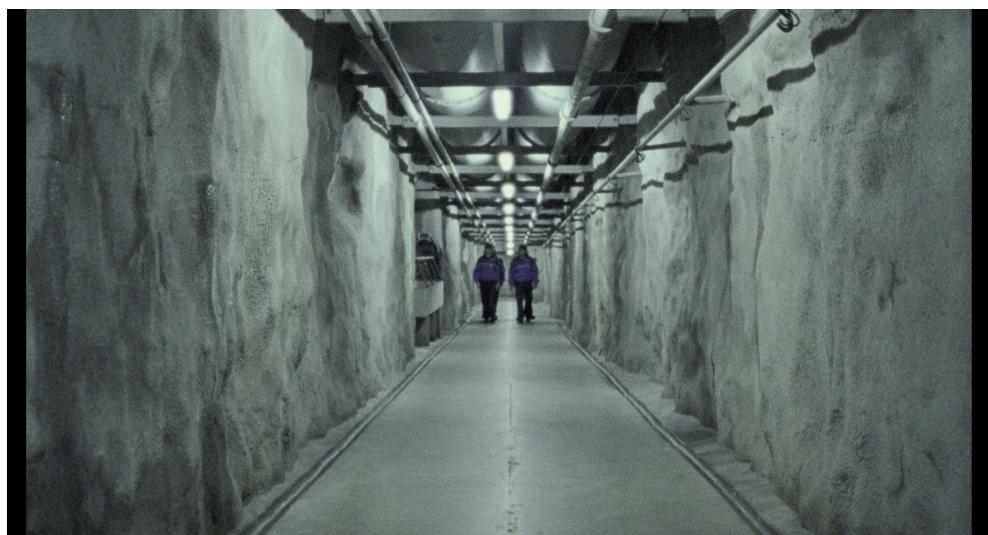
Abb. 5: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Mit der klassischen Architektur-Abbildung als Vorbild werden bauliche Senkrechte und Waagerechte als bildkompositorische Elemente ausgelegt – eine Strategie, die den Eindruck von Statik der Kamera noch erhöht und die Architektur zum eigenmächtigen Akteur der Szene erklärt. Durch diesen Abbildungsmodus werden beispielsweise Beauty-Anwendungen im „Alpenkräuter-Bett" in einer Therme in den Dolomiten mit einer gewissen Kontinuität zu Schweizer Polizeiübungen in einem ehemaligen Bunker versehen. Schmale Ansichten werden aber auch beim Abfilmen vernebelter Aussichtsplattformen im Außenraum nicht gesteigert. Alpiner Extremsport wird auf

8   *Alpi* präsentiert keine konkreten Handlungsempfehlungen als „kritischer Beitrag aus der Kunst" zu aktueller Umweltpolitik. In diese Richtung lobte und rezensierte Bruno Latour *Alpi* als „the most uncritical film ever made about the utter artificiality of the modern world" (2011a).

gleiche Weise in engen Kameraeinstellungen inszeniert. Sowohl ein Kletter-Worldcup im norditalienischen Aprica als auch eine Skisprungschanze in Innsbruck erfahren eine ähnlich komponierte Rahmung. Inszenierungen von *Free Riding* in Sommer- und Wintersport in rasanten Kamerafahrten, welche die Bewegungsrichtung ihrer ProtagonistInnen nachvollziehen, stellt sich *Alpi* als Film ohne Altitude an die Seite.

Konsequent egalisiert der Maßstab alle alpinen Unternehmungen – bis zuletzt der Alm-Abtrieb von Schafsherden die Beengung dieser Alpen lockert, aber keineswegs auflöst. Wir sehen so nicht die Ausblicke von Delegierten während des *World Economic Forums* aus den traditionsreichen Davoser Kurhotels und Tagungszentren, sondern ihr Durchqueren alpiner „Nicht-Orte" (Augé 1992:44). Diese Helikopter-Landeplätze und Verkehrswege sind meist eben einfach „da", ohne identifikatorische Wirkung auszuüben. Die Unvereinbarkeit von Linkes Alpenbildern und den etablierten Ausblicken dieses gehobenen Luftkurorts hält die Panoramaperspektive jedoch auch in diesen Szenen präsent. Als Blickkonvention im gelebten Raum sind panoramatische Entwürfe von Landschaft den Architekturen gleichsam eingeschrieben – das Panorama mit seinen Implikationen von Überblick und Objektivität (vgl. Oettermann 1980:117f), so ließe sich *Alpi* hier verstehen, ist Teil eines Erfahrungsraumes, in dem nicht zuletzt klimarelevante Themen auf dem *World Economic Forum* verhandelt werden. Das bergige Umland organisiert darüber hinaus mindestens als wirkmächtiger Akteur bei der Einrichtung der Sicherheitszone Ein- und Ausschluss, so berichtet ein städtischer Beamter im Interview. Bereits in dieser einen Erzählung zeigt sich (alpine) Natur mit vielfältigen Bedürfnissen konfrontiert.

In *Alpi´*s seltenen Sequenzen, in denen dagegen Alpenräume und -landschaften zunächst weitwinkliger erscheinen, wird die Suggestion eines Überblicks schnell irritiert. Denn meist sind dann dreidimensionale, maßstäbliche Raummodelle so eingefangen, dass erst nach einigen Einstellungen erkennbar wird, dass wir uns in einer plastischen Landschafts-Nachbildung und in mikrologischer Dimension befinden. Solche Miniaturmodelle sind dazu ein fast gänzlich überholtes, historisches Arrangement, da geologische und klimatische Simulationen – wie weitere Arbeiten Linkes für das „Anthropozän-Oberservatorium" zeigen – weitgehend durch Digitaltechnik und algorithmische Risikokalkulationen ersetzt wurden. Und dennoch konfrontiert uns ein plastischer Wolkenzugs- und Niederschlags-Simulator in einem Institut für Meteorologie in Lausanne als beinahe einziger Akteur in *Alpi* unverkennbar mit den atmosphärischen Qualitäten von Landschaft, wenn etwa Nebelschwaden durch die nachgebildeten Berghänge um den Genfer See ziehen.

Ihr Experimentaldesign entstammt dem Zeitraum nach den 1950er Jahren, als Wetter zunehmend zu einer kalkulierbaren Größe wurde.[9] Dass *Alpi*

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9 Vergleiche hierzu weitere Arbeiten Armin Linkes für das „Anthropozän-Oberservatorium", wie Fußnote 2.

panoramatische Überschau als Kameraeinstellung nicht über Alpenlandschaften, sondern im Laborraum aufruft, weist auf ein Interesse des Künstlers an den Übersetzungsprozessen zwischen „Innen" und „Außen".

Abb. 6: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Linke macht somit die zeitabhängigen Mittel und Örtlichkeiten sichtbar, mit denen Wetter zu meteorologischen Daten wurde. Er bildet die Ästhetiken und materiellen Träger der Prozesse ab, welche die Meteorologie zur aktuellen Leitwissenschaft werden ließen. Klimaforschung trägt aktuell das Experiment aus, ob sich „auf dem Raumschiff Erde so etwas wie globales Stabilisierungsregime einrichten lässt" (Sloterdijk 2010:113). Die so anvisierte Planbarkeit der Atmosphäre lässt Unterschiede zwischen „Innen" und „Außen" zunehmend verschwimmen und macht das Sloterdijk'sche Bild des „Makro-Interieurs" evident.

Eine Anthropologie der modernen Natur

Alpi´s Engführung von Naturkonzeptionen, die – wie im vorausgegangenen Abschnitt aufgezeigt wurde – in Kunst, Wissenschafts- und Raumpraxis eingeschrieben sind, weist das Filmprojekt als informiert durch eine aktuelle „Anthropologie der Natur" aus.

Es ist diese Vielfalt und Historizität paralleler Naturräume, der sich dieser Forschungszweig an den Pariser Institutionen *Science Po* und am *Collège de France* unter wachsender öffentlicher Aufmerksamkeit widmet. Natur, da es ihre Anthropologie gibt, kann hier eben keineswegs nur als der sich selbst organisierende und letztlich aber westlich-biologische Mega-Aktant taxiert werden. Der Forschungszweig beschreibt vielmehr Praktiken, welche kulturell divergierende Naturrelationen evident machen (vgl. Kauppert 2011:622).

Aufbauend auf ihrer äußerst unterschiedlichen ethnografischen Forschung haben Bruno Latour und Philippe Descola den Dualismus von Natur und Kultur zurückgewiesen, der „die Welt keineswegs vollständig, sondern eben nur abendländisch" (Kauppert 2011:622) erfasst. Descola und Latour, „two friends, who quote and praise each other" (Fischer 2014:333), haben in aktuellen Debatten eine weitreichende Präsenz entwickelt. Beide zielen in Ausstellungs- und Kooperationsprojekten auf erweiterte Sichtbarkeit und Vermittlung von anthropologischer Forschung im Kunstfeld. Während (verkürzend dargelegt) als Descolas Ausgangspunkt eher „klassisch anthropologisch" seine Forschung bei den Achuar in Amazonien gilt, widmete sich Latour der Ethnografie kalifornischer Biotechnik-Laboratorien, die er in ihrer ganzheitlichen Prozesshaftigkeit auffasste. In diesen disparaten Settings entwickelten beide ihren gemeinsamen Fokus auf Performanzen von Natur.

Die Handlungsimplikationen des Anthropozäns lassen jedoch auch Reibungspunkte zwischen den beiden Theoretikern hervortreten. So differiert ihre Einschätzung der Reichweite von „Diplomatie" als Konzept für die Vermittlung zwischen partikularen Natur- und Weltbezügen.[10] Kritik wurde zuletzt an den Werken beider geübt und speziell an einem verkürzten Begriff von Praxis, am Überspannen fachwissenschaftlicher Kompetenz oder an Reduktionen als diskursivem Stilmittel festgemacht (vgl. Kauppert 2011:622, Hagener 2006:127). Doch werden letztere analytische Verkürzungen, etwa in Bruno Latours aktuellem *Digital Humanities*-Projekt „An Inquiry into Modes of Existence" (*AIME*), auch beifälliger als vorläufige und notwendige Simplifizierung gewertet.[11]

In Zeiten sich noch beschleunigender anthropogener Eingriffe in den Planeten deuten diese wenigstens projizierend auf zukünftige weniger „mono-naturalistische" Handlungsoptionen – ohne zu suggerieren, dass bereits alles durchdacht, erforscht und begriffen wäre. Denn Mittel der Entschleunigung und eine „diplomatische" Vermittlung zwischen Partikularem und Globalem können in einer *Moderne*, „die offensichtlich nur die Alternative zwischen rasender Geschwindigkeit und lähmendem Stillstand kennt" (Hagener 2006:134), entscheidend werden. Die Alpen haben zu dieser paradoxen Temporalität der *Moderne* und deren Polarisierung traditionell eine besondere Affinität: Von gleichmütigster Lethargie ist die alpine Bilderwelt gekennzeichnet, aber blecherne Milchkannen, Alpenblümchen und Bergpanoramen rasen als Verpackungsdesign und Sehnsuchtskürzel durch den Warenverkehr weit über „westliche Zentren" hinaus. Mobilität hat die behäbige Erdschwere und Beständigkeit des repetitiven Alpen-Brandings erst Recht

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10   Vergleiche hierzu die Debatte zwischen Latour und Descola im „Museum of Anthropology" in Vancouver am 25. September 2014. Einzusehen unter http://www.ikebarberlearningcentre.ubc.ca/latour/, letzter Zugriff 10.12.2014.

11   *Digital Humanities* („digitale Geisteswissenschaften") umfassen die Anwendungen von computergestützten Verfahren und die systematische Verwendung von digitalen Ressourcen in den Geistes- und Kulturwissenschaften.

für viele Erdteile zum assimilierbaren Wert von exotischer Anziehungskraft gemacht.

Philippe Descola interessierten in seiner Vorlesungsreihe zur „Ontologie des Images" besonders die künstlerischen „bildhaften wie bildenden Figurationen" (Reck 2012:103) von Naturrelationen.[12] Die mimetische Naturabbildung im Genre der gemalten Landschaft etwa beschreibt Descola im Hinblick auf die hierin sichtbar werdenden Weltbeziehungen der *Modernen*. Die (lange beinahe exklusiv europäische) klassische Landschaftsmalerei weise eine physische Ausdehnung als einheitliches Naturstück aus, das sich über die ästhetische Grenze hinaus in die Unendlichkeit zu verlängern scheine (vgl. Descola 2012:806f).[13] Als Gattung, welche so die äußere Welt als eine homogene Einheit schildert, veräußere und befördere die Landschaftsmalerei Vorstellungen einer universellen Natur, die heutig weitausgedehnten Naturbildern so nahesteht, dass deren historische Gemachtheit kaum noch aufzuzeigen sei. Noch dazu sei die Landschaft, so Descola, ein Genre mit dem Ziel, Natur nicht in malerische Konvention zu hüllen, sondern einen „ungekünstelten", „natürlichen" Ausblick auf sie zu entwerfen (vgl. Descola 2012:805).

Dieser naturalisierende *double bind* zeigt sich etwa im Modus des Hyperrealismus´ des Panoramas, mit dem die Landschaft ihre eigene Medialität verleugnet und nach Kohärenz mit der äußeren Welt strebt, sich gewissermaßen als arbiträrer Ausschnitt von Natur zu verstehen gibt. Die so vollzogene „Reinigung" ebenso von Natur und auch ihrer Darstellung wurde auch kunstwissenschaftlich als ein einziger „Quest for Purity" (Mitchell 1998: S.13) beschrieben, der immer auch das Ende der Gattung der Landschaft, also ihre Auflösung in Natur anvisiere. Dieser Ideologie entsprechend nannte

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12   Über diese Vorlesungen zu den „Ontologien von Bildern" hinaus hat Philippe Descola sich als Kurator globalen Kunstphänomenen zugewendet. Als Ausstellungsmacher bleibt Descola an das klassische Tätigkeitsfeld des Anthropologen gebunden – im Gegensatz etwa zu Bruno Latour, der in seinen Projekten aktuell zeitgenössische KünstlerInnen auch konzeptuell an seiner Arbeit beteiligt. Descolas Ausstellung „La Fabrique des Images" im ehemaligen ethnologischen Museum, dem „Musée du quai Branly" in Paris 2011, lässt sich als wichtiger Teil seiner Forschung und Vermittlung einer Anthropologie der Natur entlang künstlerischer Artefakte sehen. In eine räumlich-museale Neuordnung brachte Descola solche „bildhaften und bildenden Figurationen" (Reck 2011:103), die Aufschluss über geografisch und kulturell polar divergierende Naturverhältnisse lieferten. Pittoreske und frühe niederländische Landschaftsmalerei wurde etwa mit Masken von Totemtieren konfrontiert, um als das spezifische und historisch lokalisierbare Weltverhältnis der *Modernen* den „Naturalismus" herauszustellen (vgl. hierzu auch Descolas Publikation „Par-delà nature et culture" von 2005).

13   Weder Philippe Descola noch Bruno Latour legen fest, in welchem geografischen Raum die *Modernen* beheimatet sind oder waren. Dass das Genre der Landschaft etwa auch in China frühe Verbreitung erlebte, lässt diese Lücke der Spezifizierung ihrer Beforschten einmal mehr deutlich hervortreten.

Robert Parker bei seiner Patentanmeldung des „Panoramas" – das griechische Kunstwort aus „alles" und „sehen" – seine Erfindung 1788 zunächst *La Nature à coup d'œil*, „die Natur auf einen Blick" (vgl. Oettermann 1980:7).

Historische Alpen – erhöht, erniedrigt, bezwungen

Ein solchen „Quest for Purity" zeigt *Alpi* in einer Filmsequenz mit „La Natura", dem Mittelteil eines Alpen-Triptychons in seiner aktuellen Ausstellungssituation. Gemalt auf auffällig grober Leinwand, die als rustikale Naturspolie die Abkehr von Kultur anzeige, malte der Engadiner Giovanni Segantini eine alpine Hochebene. Mit bäuerlichem Bildpersonal vor als unendlich beschriebenem Horizont in klar-gelbem Sonnenlicht weist er die höheren Lagen der Bergwelt als Lebensraum aus, in dem Einfachheit, Ruhe und Frieden in Harmonie mit der Natur vorherrschen.

Abb. 7: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Dass Maler die „jungfräuliche" Bergnatur gerade unter den Umständen ihrer beginnenden Vernutzung durch Industrialisierung entdecken, ist ein kunsthistorisch gut aufgearbeitetes Phänomen. Auch das Naturinteresse Segantinis lässt sich unter diesem Druck der Moderne einordnen. 1885 hatte er seine Absicht erklärt, „nach der Natur" malen zu wollen, und seine Ausrüstung auf Mobilität ausgerichtet und besonders sein Farbmaterial für das Malen in der Höhenluft auf fast 3000 Metern modifiziert. Mit seiner Vorstellung, Natur sei „desto höher desto ursprünglicher", eine „intensivere und natürlichere" Natur mit steigenden Höhenmetern, umso weiter entfernt vom zivilisatorischen Moloch im Tal, bediente der Maler einen sich verbreitenden Topos des bürgerlichen Alpinismus´ seiner Zeit (vgl. Günther 1998:18).

Gleiches beobachtet Robert Felsch in seiner Studie zu den „Alpen als Laborlandschaft" (2007) im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs der Jahrhundertwen-

de: Erste Symptome von Erschöpfung einer modernen Gesellschaft durch Fabrikarbeit, Großstadtverkehr und Schulerziehung wurden beobachtet und problematisiert. Ermüdung ließ sich besonders gut unter den extremen Bedingungen der Alpen experimentell erfassen. Der Wunsch, die Alpen überfliegen zu können – sie als Barriere gewissermaßen auszuschalten – rückte außerdem die Höhenkrankheit in den Fokus der PhysiologInnen. Wissenschaftliche Debatten kreisen vielfach um das Thema, ob sich die Bergnatur auch im Tal für Studien reproduzieren oder ob sie sich ausschließlich „vor Ort" erforschen lässt. Robert Felsch erkennt daher zeitliche und ideologische Parallelen zwischen dem Verlassen des Ateliers durch MalerInnen und des Labors durch PhysiologInnen.

Abb. 8: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Als Vehikel des Realismus´ hätten *Plein-Air*-Strategien eine Praxis und Rhetorik generiert, die eine Ernsthaftigkeit und Wahrheit eines „Draußen" gegen die künstlichen Innenräume ausspielte: „Arbeiten vor Ort [in höher gelegenem Gelände] stand für den Versuch, akademische Konventionen zu überwinden und Eindrücke authentisch, das heißt so festzuhalten, wie sie sich dem unvermittelten Sehsinn darboten" (Felsch 2007:67). Selbstredend wurden dafür die Instrumente zum Aufzeichnen physiologischer Befunde erheblich aufwendiger. Der „unvermittelte" Blick geriet in die üblichen Spannungen zu den Maßnahmen seiner mechanischen Objektivierung, die WissenschaftshistorikerInnen für die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts beschreiben (vgl. hierzu Daston/Gallison 2007:151f). Im Ringen um Glaubwürdigkeit projizierte die Wissenschaft die Bedingungen aus Laboratorien auf diese Weise aus dem „Innen-" in den „Außenraum" – ein Prozess, den Bruno Latour als Kern moderner Wissenschaft beschreibt (vgl. 2002:153f).

Eine solche „echtere" Natur in der Höhe – das drängt sich auf – ist eine historische Konstruktion, der *Alpi* widerspricht. So lässt Armin Linke in ei-

ner Filmsequenz einen italienischen Bauern die Strukturveränderungen seiner hohen Bergregion schildern und macht so deutlich auf die Durchdrungenheit von „oben" und „unten" aufmerksam. Das Filmbild, bereits durch schmale Einstellung an seinen Seiten begrenzt, entzieht uns noch dazu jede Information über die Höhenmeter der Aufnahme. Die Alpen erscheinen gänzlich „verflacht" und ohne Aussicht auf ein „Außerhalb" – einen „anderen" Raum, den Bergbegeisterte um die Jahrhundertwende noch glaubten, in alpinen Gipfel vorzufinden (vgl. Günther 1998:26).

Mit dem Abfilmen einer Betrachtungs- und Ausstellungssituation von Giovanni Segantinis Gemälde weist Linke den ländlichen Raum vor allem als Imaginationsraum und stillgestelltes Sehnsuchtsarchiv von StädterInnen aus. Nicht zuletzt war Segantinis Triptychon zunächst für die Weltausstellung 1900 in Paris konzipiert worden und sollte dort als immersiver Erfahrungsraum in einer Art Panorama-Installation mit Geräuschkulisse und Naturalia die Alpen repräsentieren. Die Illusionsmacht solcher Panoramen ist durchaus als Vorläuferin des Kinos zu sehen, mit seiner Fähigkeit, eine ferne Welt in einen Innenraum zu übersetzen (vgl. Oettermann 1980:9).

Der historische Diskurs zeigt, wie Argumentationen stets ein „Draußen" und in der Bergwelt besonders „große Höhe" mit „echter" Natur gleichsetzen, die sich noch dazu einem „unvermittelten" Sehsinn erschließt. Die „wilde" und „irreduzible", „zeitlose" Bergwelt erscheint im historischen Alpinismus stets auch als ein „weg" von kultureller Konvention.[14] Es ist genau diese automatische Verschränkung von „draußen" und „natürlich", die Armin Linke durch den Fokus auf Innenräume und filmisch beschränkten Horizont befragt. Wenn *Alpi* uns den Ausgang verweigert, dann um darauf hinzuweisen, dass wir uns immer „innerhalb" eines komplexen Netzwerks befinden. Waren etwa die ersten AlpinistInnen, die den Mont Blanc als zivilisationskompensatorische Reaktion auf die Industrialisierung erkletterten, wirklich weiter außerhalb von kulturellen Fäden als Kletter-Cup-Teilnehmende, die in Innenräumen Körperwissen akkumulieren? In den *modernen* Netzwerken seit Beginn des Alpinismus´ ist Natur weder arbiträre Konstruktion noch ist sie „unvermittelt" zugänglich.

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14 Physiologen, die größere Echtheit der Forschung in größerer Höhe vermuteten, stützten ihre Argumentation auf *chaotische* Eigenheiten der Berglandschaft. Die Komplexität des alpinen Klimas und die Irreduzibilität des Ortes wurden betont. Mit dem Einsetzen von Chaos und Vielfalt als einzige Konstante der Berge, so zeigt Robert Felsch auf, werden jedoch Konstruktionen aufgerufen, die bereits im 17. Jahrhundert an die Bergwelt herangetragen wurden. Robert Felsch verweist auf Thomas Burnets „Telluris theoria sacra" (London 1680), welche die Berge als durch Sintflut zerstörte göttliche Schöpfung auslegten. Zurück blieben die hässlichen, chaotischen Berge, die durch ihre Unordnung Erhabenheits- und Ehrfurchtsgefühle vor Gott auslösten (vgl. Felsch 2007:78).

Abb. 9: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Zeitgenössische Alpen – exportiert, importiert, verschoben

Philippe Descolas Bildanthropologie hat mit der Untersuchung der Abbildungstraditionen von Natur in Europa diesen Konzeptionen eine besondere Exportfähigkeit bescheinigt, die besonders seit der Entdeckung der Landschaft um das 17. Jahrhundert expansive Tendenzen aufweisen. Ihrer Ausdehnung widmet sich auch Bruno Latour. Auch er setzt den Schwerpunkt auf die mediale Vermittlung, welche die Verbreitung spezifischer Naturbilder aus den Zentren der sogenannten *Modernen* heraus forcierte: Landschaftsabbildungen – mittels perspektivischer Darstellung in optische Konsistenz gehüllt, gerastert und in zweidimensionale, mobile Form gebracht – statteten europäische Naturkonzeptionen mit besonderer Transportfähigkeit aus. Ihre Re-Präsenz andernorts sei diesen „unveränderlichen, mobilen Elementen" (Latour 2006:260) gleichsam eingeschrieben. Dieser Prozess – und das rückt im Folgenden in den Fokus der Analyse – ist jedoch längst nicht mehr monodirektional von Europa aus zu denken: *Alpi* zeigt, wie durch Globalisierung hybridisierte Naturbilder zurück in ihre Ausgangslandschaft eingespeist werden. Dass selbst die räumlich und kulturell entferntesten Konzeptionen des Alpinen nicht spurlos am physischen Alpenraum vorbeigehen, setzt sich als zentrale These des Filmprojekts durch.

Dabei war die Bewegungsrichtung lange eine andere: Tendenz zur Expansion des alpinen Naturkonzepts beweisen bereits die *Southern Alps* Neuseelands. Konsequent ist daher, wenn *Alpi* die Rhetorik von Landschaftsmalerei in einem Snow Dome in einer Wüstenlandschaft auf die Spitze treibt: Gefilmt mit statischer Kamera geben uns hier die klischeehaft installierten Landschaftsikonografien (*Repoussoir*-Motive, Fenster-Ausblicke und Rü-

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ckenfiguren in der Tradition Caspar David Friedrichs) fast didaktisch zu verstehen, dass wir eine „Landschaft" sehen.[15]

Abb. 10: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Schließlich beweist der atmosphärische (wie künstliche) Schnee-Nebel unsere Verortung in europäischer Landschaftstradition, denn auch dort wurde sein kontemplatives Stimmungsmoment durch die Romantiker ästhetisch produktiv gemacht. Mit den Alpen erweisen sich in dieser Filmsequenz die europäischen Formeln mimetischen Naturbezugs als höchst exportfähig. Die Alpen und ihre Bildlichkeiten laufen über in das Wüstengelände als *Package Tour*. Die offensichtlichen Analogien zwischen *Alpi*´s Bildern und romantischen Landschaften, transferiert in die Arabischen Emirate, werfen Fragen nach der interkulturellen Rezeption der Berge auf.

Als eine Art Ursprungstopografie hat die mitteleuropäische Berglandschaft *modernes* Theoretisieren über eine geschichtslose, universelle und unberührte Natur stets beflügelt; umso stärker, als seit den Industrialisierungsschüben im späten 19. Jahrhundert die Folgen einer faktischen Vermischung von Natur und Kultur immer tiefgreifender den physischen Raum transformierten. Zeitgleich eigneten sich BergsteigerInnen, MalerInnen und WissenschaftlerInnen im gemeinsamen Projekt des Alpinismus´ das Gelände – wie bereits aufgezeigt – als gesteigerten Naturraum und Gegenbild zur Zivilisation im Tal an. In den Alpen als „Labor der Moderne" wurde so nicht zuletzt das spezifische Naturverhältnis elaboriert und expandiert, das die folgenreiche Entwicklung anstoßen konnte, die aktuell als Anthropozän systematisiert wird.

15   *Repoussoir*-Motive sind markante Objekte, die seit der Renaissance im Bildvordergrund für eine Verstärkung der perspektivischen Tiefenwirkung sorgen. Leon Battista Alberti prägte 1435 die Metapher des Bildes als offenes „Fenster zur Welt", das fortan unter Einsatz der Zentralperspektive die dreidimensionale Welt im zweidimensionalen Bildträger bannen sollte.

Abb. 11: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Erste strukturrelevante Auswirkungen der Weltklimaerwärmung sind sogar in die vormals sicheren Bastionen der heilen Bergwelt vorgedrungen, wie Linke filmisch dokumentiert. Er zeigt die von schierer Hilflosigkeit getriebenen Versuche, mit denen Gletschereis mittels riesiger weißer Stoffbahnen vor seiner Schmelze bewahrt werden soll. Das „Labor der Moderne", als das die Alpen immer wieder charakterisiert wurden, erhält hier eine neue Dringlichkeit, indem die Grenzen zwischen Test und Anwendung, die Barrieren zwischen Simulation hinter verschlossenen Labortüren und Realisation draußen in der Natur kollabieren.

Abb.12: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Ob bildlich oder in Form einer plastisch-atmosphärischen Nachbildung des arabischen „Alpenparadieses" – die zahlreichen Reproduktionen, so lässt

sich Linkes These verstehen, haben die Bergwelt mit einer Aura größter „Natürlichkeit" aufgeladen und machen diese Topografie zu einer privilegiert schützenswerten Natur. Und auch hier verkehren sich Verhältnisse, scheint doch der arme Süden, dem meist aller Sinn für Naturschutz abgesprochen wird (vgl. Martinez-Alier 2012:524), kapitalisierbares Umweltengagement diesmal vorgelebt zu haben. „In response to a growing global market for nature tourism [...]", führt der indische Umwelthistoriker Ramachandra Guha aus, „many nations in the developing South have undertaken ambitious programs to conserve and demarcate habitats and species for strict protection" (Guha 2000:370). Dass die Suche nach „wahrer Wildnis" verstärkt in Dschungel und Tigerreservate der südlichen Hemisphäre verlegt wurde, ist laut Guha aber vor allem bedingt dadurch, dass Flugreisen günstig und so einem breiten KonsumentInnen-Kreis zugänglich wurden.

Bei Linke erfahren wir die Alpen wie in einem verdrehten Exotismus als zu erhaltenden regionalen Strukturträger. Denn ohne die charakteristischen weißen Gipfel, die visuell und bergsportlich erfahren werden können, brechen mit internationalem Tourismus und Filmbetrieb für die Alpen entscheidende Beschäftigungsfaktoren weg. Die Alpen als Filmkulisse führt *Alpi* vor, wenn wir uns gleich zu Beginn am Filmset einer Bollywood-Produktion befinden. Auch wenn der alpine Raum in Hindi-Romanzen auf eine völlig andere Zielgruppe zugeschnitten wird, als etwa in den Fotografien von TouristInnen verschiedener Nationen, die *Alpi*´s ZuschauerInnen an Aussichtsplattformen und bei Bergtouren begleiten – das ersehnte Motiv ist meist der schneebedeckte Berg.

Doch der Status der „Natürlichkeit" von durch Maschinen, Geld und Arbeit aufrechterhaltenen Gletschern ist zweifelhaft. Als „Kleid" der Berge galt in romantisch-anthropozentrischer Lyrik stets der Schnee selbst. Das Verhüllen ganzer Bergabschnitte erweist sich als erstes, noch ratloses Arrangement mit der neuen Rolle „des Menschen" als Assistenz und Manager des Planeten. Und erneut sollte Bruno Latours titelgebender Einwand vorschneller Verallgemeinerung vorbeugen: „A globe is always achieved too fast". Denn ein erstes Laborieren mit den Folgen des Klimawandels mag in den Alpen *in situ* erprobt werden – „globale" Erwärmung äußert sich vielerorts bereits drastischer und firmiert paradoxerweise herrschende Dominanzverhältnisse. Klimagerechtigkeit und eine Gleichheit „des Menschen" vor der anthropozänen Natur sind keineswegs gegeben. Klimaveränderung muss darüber hinaus, das betont Philippe Descola im Ausgang seiner wegweisenden Publikation „Par-delà nature et culture", in örtlich und kulturell abweichende Welt- und Naturverhältnisse eingepasst werden und bleibt nicht folgenlos für diese (vgl. 2011:573ff). Eine Anthropologie der Natur muss daher stets die Frage danach stellen, wie das Wechselspiel von Wissen ganz unterschiedlicher Reichweite und Maßstäblichkeit begrifflich und konzeptionell gefasst werden kann.

Natur als Fortschrittskompensatorin ist eine der Konstruktionen, die in der *modernen* Anschauung einer dringenden Revision bedarf. Die textile Berg-Hülle verbindet sich assoziativ mit weiteren gezeigten Stoffbahnen in *Alpi*. Einerseits wird ein Sichtschutz evoziert, dessen Aufbau und Demontage vor und nach dem *World Economic Forum* dokumentiert wurde. Andererseits werden die weißen Tücher aufgerufen, unter denen Wellness-Spa-Besuchende und fermentierende Alpenkräuter wie durch eine zweite Haut gleichermaßen verbunden wie voneinander getrennt bleiben. Es ist in diesem Kontext bezeichnend, dass, während Ski-Pisten und jeder Lift einen Vermerk auf ein „powered" oder „sponsored by" erhält, an diesem Tatort eine weiße Fläche in den ansonsten so bildbedrängten öffentlichen Raum installiert wird. Ist nun das, was nur unter maßlosem Einsatz aufrechterhalten wird, noch Natur? Die ökologische Forderung nach einer Rückkehr zur Natur wird sich in Zukunft noch mehr der Frage aussetzen müssen, welche mensch-gemachte Natur damit gemeint sein kann (vgl. Hache 2012:127)?

Abb. 13: Videostill aus Alpi, 2011 (c) Armin Linke

Alpine Natur präsentiert sich bei der Gletscherschmelze als höchst eigenwilliger Akteur, der Strukturveränderung anschiebt. Natur kann unter diesen Umständen nicht mehr als unveränderliche Größe und passiver Hintergrund als Bühne für menschliche Dramen und Historie dienen. Die Alpen präsentieren sich gewissermaßen *posthuman*, denn Natur schreibt inzwischen in für Menschen wahrnehmbarer Geschwindigkeit selbst Geschichte. Es sind jedoch nicht ihre stillen, sondern durch Bildmacht und mediale Aufmerksamkeit zu Schauplätzen gemachten Naturräume, die partielle Fürsorge erfahren. Die von ForscherInnen als „Pflästerli" (oder finaler von AnwohnerInnen als „Leichentuch") bezeichneten Riesen-Vliese schützen mit den Gletschern darüber hinaus Europas größte Trinkwasser-Vorkommen. Naturschutz zeigt sich offener denn je an strategischen Prinzipien ausgerichtet,

auch wenn die UV-Schutzhülle höchstens temporär diese zukünftig in ihrer Bedeutung nicht zu überschätzende Ressource konserviert.

Was sich an diesen Orten abzeichnet, ist die so ubiquitäre, großartige wie erschreckende Tilgung der Distanz von *Tat* und *Bild*, die in ihren rezenten Ausuferungen von Horst Bredekamp eindrücklich nachgezeichnet wird (Bredekamp 2014). Bilder der Alpen lassen sich vor diesem Hintergrund als Handelnde auffassen. Sie sind Schützende und vielfältig Geschützte, wie die Einkleidung von Naturverwüstung demonstriert. So lässt sich ein „Bildakt" (hierzu Bredekamp 2010:14ff) im Verhüllen von Hochgebirgszügen ausmachen. Denn verdeckte Bilder und Artefakte – beispielhaft der verhüllte Reichstag durch Christo und Jeanne-Claude – laden das Verborgene mit Macht auf, erhöhen es und machen es in paradoxer Weise sichtbar. Nur vordergründig gilt die Verhüllung der Alpen nicht einem Bild oder Artefakt, sondern einer partikularen Natur. Dieser wurde jedoch auf der Basis ihrer kulturellen Wertigkeit der Status eines besonderen Erbes zugesprochen. Und gerade daher ist die Assoziation eines Bildaktes doch auch treffend. Denn mehr als Natur wird hier ihr Bild mit für Bilder angemessenen Mitteln nicht nur erhalten, sondern eine merkwürdig bildgewordene Natur sowohl verteidigt als auch produziert.

Fazit

Armin Linke hat sich mit dem Film- und Forschungsprojekt *Alpi* den Performanzen alpiner Natur gewidmet und konzeptuelle Tragweiten ihrer traditionellen Darstellungscodes untersucht. Die filmischen Sequenzen und Ansichten vorrangig von Innenräumen und „domestizierter Natur" treten in einen Dialog mit *dem* Darstellungsprogramm der Bergwelt, dem Panorama. Filmischer „Tunnelblick" widersetzt sich dessen ideologischen Implikationen von Weitblick und konzeptuellem Zugriff auf eine physische Ausdehnung. *Alpi* zeigt dagegen Natur fragmentiert und gebunden an Praktiken und Orte ihrer Hervorbringung. Der Film zeichnet prägnante Stationen alpiner Netzwerke nach und weist auf die globalen Verflechtungen der Alpen und ihrer Imaginationen – und deren Rückwirkungen auf den physischen Raum des mitteleuropäischen Gebirges.

Auf diese Weise dokumentiert der Künstler für den anthropologischen Raum der Alpen den Eintritt in das Anthropozän, das als neue geo-chronologische Epoche den gravierenden Ökosystem-Veränderungen durch menschliche Technologien und Wirtschaftsweisen Rechnung trägt. Das Verdecken von Gletschern mit gigantischen Stoffhüllen führt pointiert vor, dass ein künstlerisch-ikonoklastisches Verwerfen alpiner Abbildlichkeit als Reaktion auf die ungekannte, ökologische Alpenkrise nicht nur nicht probat, sondern zunehmend eine bedrohliche kulturelle Praxis wird: Denn Naturbilder und ihr Signifikat nähern sich im Anthropozän in sich beschleunigender Tendenz

einander an. *Alpi´*s bildanalytische Entschleunigung, der Dialog mit Bildtraditionen der Alpen und das Nachzeichen von deren globalisierten Rezeptionsweisen weisen vorausschauend auf die künftigen Herausforderungen einer immer gewandteren Verschmelzung von Bild und Natur. Bilder der Alpen – als traditionell progressiver Ort der Entwicklung von Konzeptionen der Moderne – sind elementarer Teil einer anthropologischen Forschung an den *Modernen. Alpi* leistet eine Beschreibung, welche die *Modernen* für sich selbst als mächtige Akteure von geologischer Relevanz erfahrbarer werden lässt.

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"I am the instrument that people might play" – Participation and Collaboration in Contemporary Art from Havana

Natalie Göltenboth

Introduction

With her concept "Arte Útil", cuban artist Tania Bruguera argues for a kind of contemporary art that should not only be consumed by the art world, but might also be utilised, and so made useful in the direct sense of the word, by the spectators or even participants. "Arte Útil" she argues, "aims to transform some aspects of society through the implementation of art, transcending symbolic representation or metaphor and proposing with their activity some solutions for deficits in reality" (Bruguera 2013). She suggested that the most innovative act today would not consist of admiring Duchamp's famous urinal in a museum of modern art, but to give it back to its origins – perhaps make it useful again in a public restroom (Roque Rodriguez 2013:1).

The intention to achieve an interlinkage between the realms of art and social life has already inspired artistic work in varying eras within the history of art and constitutes one of the main features of what is known as Relational or Collaborative Art today. The attempt to define an interrelation between art and life in a new way can be traced back to the delimitations of the European *avant-garde*, such as Dada and Surrealism, from a bourgeois understanding of art as a highly aesthetic and individualistic product consumed by individuals, which has the dissociation of art from the praxis of life as its main characteristic (Bürger 2006). Art movements such as Fluxus, Action Art and Happening in the 1960s acted on that idea of creating spaces of encounters and making art a fluid medium with direct impact in and on society. Collaboration or Relational Art today draws lines of options which run beyond the borders of politics, social work, anthropological fieldwork or community-based actions, as the artist exceeds the limitation of an art production understood as individual production of aesthetic objects.

> *"The untenable dichotomy of art versus reality is exploded by these projects – a dichotomy that anyway usually hides the positioning of art in a privileged and aloof status in relation to other forms of cultural activity, however weak art may be when located in 'living reality'. The distinction between art and other realms of knowledge is made operative in the osmotic exchange between different capacities to do things" (Bang Larsen 2006:172).*

We could say that Collaboration Art blurs the boundaries that make art distinguishable from other forms of actions or objects not only in visual terms, but also in terms of art practice and presentation. The art-project "Land in Sicht – alle im selben Boot" ("land in sight – all in the same boat") (2007), realised by the Austrian Art Collective *HEIM.Art*, consisted of the documentation about their collaboration with a group of refugees in order to grant them permanent status in Austria by engaging them as artists, whose status was more easily legalised at that time**.** Other examples would be Tania Bruguera's "Immigrant Movement International and Migrant People Party" (2010-2015), with direct impact on immigration policies in Mexico, or "Eco-favela Lampedusa Nord" (2014) at Kampnagelfabrik in Hamburg, an art project realized by the art collective *Baltic Raw* that constructed houses for immigrants coming from Lampedusa. While Collaboration artists open up restaurants (Gordon Matta Clark 1971), children's playgrounds (Palle Nielsen 1968/2014) or even charity bureaus (like the German art collective *Zentrum für Politische Schönheit* 2014), became engaged in field research and social and political actions, we might ask for the kind of possible interpretations of these activities. Regarding actions or forms of presentation, Schneider and Wright have shown (2013) that there are analogies between Collaborative Art practice and methods of cultural anthropology.

Following the American art philosopher and art critic Arthur C. Danto and his concept of "aboutness", I deliberately want to try a naïve point of view on collaborative artworks in this paper and ask about the determining criterion that distinguishes them from common daily life situations and objects. According to Danto, who exemplifies his theory of ontological difference by analysing the link that connects Andy Warhol's Brillo Boxes to their aesthetically similar counterparts in the supermarket, it is the "aboutness" that marks an artwork in contrast to other common phenomena or objects. Only by means of a kind of constant effort of research and interpretation, which comes close to the anthropologist's approach to foreign communities and his or her penetration into their very interior fields of meaning, can the decoding of the artwork's "aboutness" be achieved (Danto 1981).

In the following pages, I will give a presentation of one of the art projects of René Francisco Rodriguez, a Cuban contemporary artist with an oeuvre that encompasses fieldwork, *trabajo social* – social work and restoration work, i.e. the reconstruction and restoration of the domicile of a needy resident in Havana City – a case in which the making of art literally means building houses. My comments on the art projects of René Francisco Rodriguez are based on fieldwork I realised during several periods (between 1998 and 2002, 2012 and 2014), interviews and documentary material. The interpretation will be realized in two voices, focusing on the artist's comments on his work and my own ideas on the project.

René Francisco Rodriguez: Art as Social Sculpture

At the end of the 1990s, a new generation of artists started to expose their ideas in Havana's art galleries, in public squares and open urban spaces, motivated by new intentions and topics: their device was *transformación social* (social transformation), with the intention of producing a kind of art that was concerned with the social life of that highly specific place – Cuba. The aim was to stimulate participation and reaction in the audience and, thus, perpetuate (and circulate) this new approach to art into Cuban society. Artists of the 1990s, such as Lázaro Saavedra, Ana Albertina Delgado, José Toirac, Glexis Novoa, Eduardo Ponjuan and René Francisco Rodriguez, explicitly rejected an understanding of art as a purely aesthetic concern, connected to the intellectual flows moving the global art world at that time. Havana was roughed up by new goading artworks: happenings, installations, action and painting were answered by an audience that, for the first time, were confronted with this kind of conceptual approach to art (Alvarez 2007, Mosquera 2007, Valdés Figueroa 2007).

René Francisco Rodriguez, born in Holguin in 1960, studied at the ISA (Instituto Superior de Arte), one of the most renowned national art academies in Cuba, graduated in 1982 and since 1989, has worked as an art professor at the ISA. In addition to various exhibitions in Cuba and participation in various Biennials in Havana, numerous exhibitions, art projects and scholarships have led him to a great variety of different countries. In 2007, he participated in the Venice Biennial with his art project "Patio del Nin".

René Francisco Rodriguez's artwork spans across painting, objects and installations to video installations as a way to make his art projects visible to the audience. In this paper, I will concentrate on René Francisco Rodriguez's art projects that he realised in a neighbourhood in Havana, and which he links to the concept of Social Sculpture, referring to Joseph Beuys as an iconographic figure who represents the equation of art and social life in a very explicit way.

René Francisco Rodriguez invokes this equation in his art projects, which, in his oeuvre, turns out as a kind of direct social interaction between the artist and the inhabitants of a specific social setting in which the project is located. Coming close to what Tania Bruguera calls "Arte Útil", René Francisco Rodriguez locates his art projects in the realm of social work (*trabajo social*) or even sociology (*sociología*), which means that the artwork is useful as well as meaningful for the people involved. The art practice can be divided into three parts, starting with what the artist has titled "archaeology of the situation", a kind of ethnographic fieldwork where first contact with the neighbourhood and its people is established. This is followed by a consensually taken decision regarding which of the local people will join the art project. René Francisco Rodriguez's aim is then to get to know the main concerns, problems and needs of the people involved. In step three, he tries to

realise their desires and transform them into reality, which has often meant reconstructing the entire house of one of the inhabitants, which had previously been in decay, without running water and mostly with poor sanitary arrangements.

The entire project is documented by video material, and subsequently worked out as a video film or video installation which can be presented at exhibitions and biennials. The equation art = social life also lies in the background of his educational theory. Therefore, before taking a closer look at his art projects, I want to present his concept of pedagogics of art and the method of ethnographic fieldwork it implies.

"Galería DUPP": Fieldwork as Art Practice and Pedagogic Concept in Artistic Education

I first met René Francisco Rodriguez in 1998 when I was in Havana on a dissertation project. At that time, he was concerned with "Galería DUPP", a pedagogic art project that is still running and continuously transforming today. René Francisco Rodriguez is, at the same time, the innovator, initiator and the co-ordinator of "Galería DUPP". DUPP – which stands for *Desde una Pragmática Pedagógica* (based on pedagogic pragmatics) – has no location, no fixed address and shows art only on certain occasions. In fact, it is nothing like an art gallery, but has a collective identity that works as a connecting link between René Francisco Rodriguez and his group of young artists (Binder and Haupt 2000, Ojeda 2007).

The idea emerged out of a state of discomfort that René Francisco Rodriguez experienced while teaching art within the insularity of the classrooms at the ISA, separated from the effervescent life of Havana. He gathered together a group of young artists with whom he left the classrooms of the academy, and thus, the institutionalized form of teaching and understanding art, in order to participate in the life of Havana's people, engage in a kind of ethnographic fieldwork and make art inspired by contact and collaboration. The purpose was to develop an original exclusively Cuban approach to art by getting involved in the life of Havana City and letting the students find their topics "on the street" – i.e. develop art through participation.

The rules of first contact in the "field" were the following: Students stepping into carnival groups, *santería* (an Afro-Cuban religion) communities, families or single households agreed to, firstly, ask whether or not participation was possible and if they could share the life of the group for a determinate period of time; and, secondly, ask what they might do for these people and so get to know the desires of their hosts.

The idea behind this engagement in the *vida social* (social life) of these people was to capitalize on the social settings the young artists came from and get artistic inspiration out of their own social and aesthetic resources.

Many of the students had been participating in the carnival groups since their childhood or were engaged in Afro-Cuban religious practices. René Francisco Rodriguez emphasised an understanding of this first contact as research, out of which, in a second phase, artistic production might emerge. In one case, the desires of the host family were realised as a complete painting of the walls of their house with Afro-Cuban religious motives: the decayed bathroom as a domain of the *oricha* (santería gods) of the sea, *Yemayá*, was painted in white and blue, whereas the peacocks and yellow colours indicated the presence of *Ochún*, the *oricha* of love and sexual desire, in the couple's bedroom. On another occasion, the shared lives of the young artist and an old musician called Ismael, who used to play *trompete* in a Cuban Son orchestra, resulted in a project called "*La región de Ismael*" (the domain of Ismael). Ismael's desire was to learn how to paint. Therefore, the interaction with Ismael was to give him painting lessons and, on top of that, paint his flat in an elaborate system of colours determined by *santería* significances. After this interference, Ismael left the band, became an artist and today still works in the *Taller Experimental de Gráfica* (Experimental Graphic Workshop) in Havana.

For the artists, the research focused as much on aesthetic as on social impressions: Inspired by the mixing structures of hanging clothes and broken and fixed window shutters, by the social interaction in the carnival groups or in the bakery, a variety of artworks had been created manifested in different media, such as film, painting, conceptual art and artistic actions. "Galería DUPP" continues to act in different formations, but always conserves its main feature, that of collective art production.

It is noticeable here that the process of fieldwork as a prelude to artistic production is a site-specific process which René Francisco called: "crear una antropología de la Habana" (create an anthropology of Havana). In his own art projects, René Francisco intends an even closer engagement with the people with whom he is working. One of the projects I will present here is "Agua Benita", from 2008, which was financially supported by Artcircolo in Munich and was realised in the context of an international call for art projects on the conflicting global issue of water.

"Agua Benita" – An Art Project in the Outskirts of Havana

In the case of "Agua Benita", René Francisco Rodriguez established first contacts with the inhabitants of Havana's Buena Vista district. In a process of frequent visits and conversations, the inhabitants finally came to an agreement that Benita, an old lady of the *barrio* (neighbourhood), would benefit most from the project. When she was young, Benita had been working as a maid in the villa of a banker's family that fled to the US after the victory of

the revolution. Benita stayed and moved to the Buena Vista district, where she has lived since that time. The artist describes her situation as follows:

"Agua Benita was about getting to know a person in one of the narrow little streets where you find a lot of small houses and apartments all penned up. Generally, all the people there are faced with a severe problem with public water supply. The water is available only every second day, then of course you have to collect it. Benita was a person "full" of water containers, washing pans and tanks. There was a water-tank in the kitchen, another tank over there, say, in this district, people tried to collect water with whatever they had in order to save water for at least two days. We came there at two o'clock in the morning. It was an incredible impression to film them there at this time of the night, to see the people washing their clothes at two o'clock in the morning. Benita has severe problems with her legs; she had to walk outside, fill up the water, come back with a bucket of water, go out again, like that - you know!!" (René Francisco Rodriguez interviewed by Natalie Göltenboth 22.3.2012)

Fig. 1: Agua Benita Art Project by René Francisco Rodriguez 2008.
Published with the kind permission of the artist.

Fig. 2: Agua Benita Art Project by René Francisco Rodriguez 2008.
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After the first stage of contact had been made, the second part consisted of gaining Benita's confidence and learning about her daily needs and her most urgent desires. René Francisco gives an account of how he experiences a situation that is equivalent to anthropological fieldwork and participant observation:

> *"The first part of my work is very delicate; it is when you first get access to the privacy of the people. It is about how they reveal their private life and let you participate in it. Sometimes, I passed by early in the morning. I knocked at their door. I filmed them still sleeping – let's say I entered into the heart of this family and, by asking questions and by sharing their daily life, I get to know which are the items of their desires. You have to detect the kind of desires which could later on serve as the basis of my material artwork." (René Francisco Rodriguez Interview in Cultura Cuba 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gCo7Ov_Ktss; author's translation)*

Fig. 3: Agua Benita Art Project by René Francisco Rodriguez 2008.
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Phase three of the project was to follow Benita's visions regarding her house and transfer them into reality. René Francisco Rodriguez, together with his family, friends and colleagues, eventually carried out an almost complete restoration of Benita's house. What remains of the art project are the sequences filmed of the interaction, from the beginning until the very end when the old lady was finally led into her revived home by René Francisco Rodriguez's daughter and the whole crew of friends and artists.

Fig. 4: Agua Benita Art Project by René Francisco Rodriguez 2008.
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Fig. 5: Agua Benita Art Project by René Francisco Rodriguez 2008.
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"What I always do when I interview is to see what are their, what are their desires, what frustrates them. The things that do not even appear solvable. Well – the roof, the water leaks through – Benita had to put plastic everywhere when it rained. She can only walk slowly, putting all her stuff together in one corner, because it gets wet here – over there not. We reconstructed the whole roof, we almost reconstructed the whole house, we built a new roof, we tried to do it as she wanted it, how she told us that she wanted it. In fact, that shows the way in which I work." (René Francisco Rodriguez interviewed by Natalie Göltenboth 22.3.2012)

Fig. 6 and 7: Agua Benita Art Project by René Francisco Rodriguez 2008.
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Interpretation in Two Voices: René Francisco Rodriguez and Natalie Göltenboth

In the following chapter, I will try to establish a path to a possible "about-ness" of the art project, based on the assumption that the potential of a subjective, variable and manifold interpretation is one of the unique features of artworks. The interpretation will be presented in two voices, which here means that I will relate my suggestions to the interpretations given by the artist and derive the topics out of expressions which he, himself, had developed during the fieldwork.

1. "Crear una antropología de La Habana": Art as anthropology and archaeology

> *"We always do lots of filming, lots of interviews, trying to get lots of material – it's a kind of archaeology of the person involved, and we are archiving this material." (René Francisco Rodriguez interviewed by Natalie Göltenboth 22.3.2102)*

In fact, the process of establishing deep contacts with the people with whom he is working seems vital to the work of René Francisco Rodriguez, and serves as the very basis and material of his artistic work. What Bourriaud writes about an art that focuses on interhuman relationships (Bourriaud 2009), could also contribute to the understanding of the work of René Francisco Rodriguez:

> *"Artists produce relational space-times, interhuman experiences. They are, in a sense, spaces where we can elaborate alternative forms of sociability, critical models and moments of conducted conviviality" (Bourriaud 2006:166).*

It is notable here that the fieldwork-like art practice in the case of "Agua Benita" expands into the realm of the imagination of the people with whom the artist chooses to work. The point is "to get to know their desires", says René Francisco Rodriguez, which might also be understood as calling upon the creation of a kind of self-imagination which already includes a future perspective. For the particular Cuban setting, this means to ask for something that is often hard to do in the actual situation that exists and, for many people, must have often seemed futile to even try.

The "anthropology or archaeology of Havana" created by the artist, thus, is a two-sided undertaking. It concentrates, on the one hand, on the documentation of the actual situation of the people, their decayed houses, their needs, and their daily practice of surviving, and, on the other hand, it operates with a potential that is stimulated by the artist: the creation and expression of a clear portrait in an imagined (better) future.

What the artist archives, therefore, are these two realities: the living environment and the imagined one, which together reflect the Cuban situation in a palimpsest of a two-fold reality both lived and imagined at the same time. Archiving by means of filming and a collection of interviews comes close to the desires of academics (archaeologists or even anthropologists) to at least document the present, which in that specific setting requires bearing in mind the precious as well as precarious ephemeral social and historical Cuban situation.

2. "Volcarse a la vida" – Art as social commitment

> *"Because, when you become engaged in this kind of social work, your work goes along with educating people. In the end, it's not a big thing, it's just about getting some colour and paint. Because people finally get used to working and living in whatever kind of situation. Sometimes, it can just be a kind of oblivion, you know?" (René Francisco Rodriguez interviewed by Natalie Göltenboth 22.3.2012)*

Reconstructing houses is what comes out of the encounter with the imagination of the *gente del barrio* (the people of the neighbourhood) in Havana. In fact, the question of housing is one of the main concerns in Cuba, where most of the people are owners of their dwellings, but where, at the same time, the means of repairs are hardly ever possible to achieve. The art of René Francisco Rodriguez takes on the shape of social commitment, of creating social situations as well as "creating and staging real life structures that include working methods and ways of life, rather than the concrete objects that once defined the field of art" (Bourriaud 2006:169f). The creative process in the case of "Agua Benita" is to be defined as the production of a social situation and a social engagement with the people involved. In that case, working against resignation and oblivion, and showing, with the reconstruction of the house, that the imagined future, at least in that very moment and for that very person, can be turned into reality. It is important to stress that the act of renovation, even so, only worked out for the old lady Benita (and in several similar art projects for the people involved), who, in the eyes of the artist, serves as a symbol of empowerment that, in the ideal case, continues to influence the entire *barrio* and the minds of its inhabitants.

3. "Nada mio! Es todo tu!" – Providing agency

In his art projects, René Francisco Rodriguez understands his role as a mediator, acting as a kind of agent in the interstice between the often irreconcilable realms of the present situation and the desired future:

"I am like a sound-board, an instrument that they can take into their hands and start to shape. Only by their power does it achieve shape. In other words, it requires strong efforts to understand the mission of art as something that has much in common with sociology." (René Francisco Rodriguez Interview in Cultura Cuba 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gC07ov_Ktss; author's translation)

He states that not only the desires of the people of the neighbourhood are the raw material of his work, but also he himself, his body, his capacity and the resources to which he has access, such as financial grants and social connections, serve as a kind of raw material for them. They can shape their houses, their ideas about getting better, relying on his capacities to organise money, people, ideas and workers. He comments:

"The point is to let these people think through me, dream through me, realise themselves through me, and speak through me. And you share their dreams." (René Francisco Rodriguez interviewed by Natalie Göltenboth 22.3.2012)

We might call it a kind of interrelation in which the artist renounces the creation of his own subjectivity in art, and instead of that, lets the people of the barrio gain access to the potential of agency to which he has access. On the other hand, René Francisco Rodriguez benefits from the whole artistic process which, in turn, leads him to exhibitions and biennials in the international art world – a kind of bidirectional agency that is achieved by the artwork. The mutual benefit is also explained by René Francisco Rodriguez:

"or let's say it's also a question of attitude: to create space for the others more than for myself, and I also benefit from that. Say, it's like a boomerang, no? It is not my intention to be the protagonist – René Francisco – you understand?" (René Francisco Rodriguez interviewed by Natalie Göltenboth, 22.3.2012)

Conclusion

Observing his own art projects with an unfamiliar view, the artist himself comes to a point where he notices the potential of possible misinterpretations of his oeuvre as the labour of a social worker, an action anthropologist or somebody who "just wanted to help people". He comments on his impressions by emphasising that the crucial part of all his projects is that he is not a social worker nor an action anthropologist, but an artist, and that his action always flows back into the discourse of art, which means that is where it achieves its significance. He states:

"In this moment, I am thinking that the artist in this process turns into something that seems very far away from what we call art. However, at the same time, it returns into the circle of art, because I am not a doctor or a sociologist. I am an artist who tries to do sociology. I try to create medicine with curative qualities somehow. And then, anyway, it is great material that you are working with, because you are not just shaping the material that you are planning to exhibit, but this material comes directly out of people's lives and from their needs, those with which you are working. It is not the same as being an artist who simply imagines something, but to be an artist who is receptive and demanding and who is working with that kind of outcome. So, there is a way of communication in my work that to me seems very interesting." (René Francisco Interview in Cultura Cuba 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gC07ov_Ktss; author's translation)

Crucial to his work, in my opinion, is that it comments on the specific Cuban social situation in a very precise way. Taking into account that the video installations and their images do something that Benita cannot do: show her situation and that of many Cubans in public spaces, galleries and biennials not only on the island. The images are able to emigrate and travel around the world, speaking in different parts of the world in an international language – art – on a topic that normally would not be possible to talk about easily. They embody the synchrony of different and sometimes opposite social realities, energies and motivations in that specific time and place: We can see the hardship illustrated by Benita's house and the people washing clothes at night, we follow their lives and their projections of future desires. At the same time, we can recognise the amount of social interaction and solidarity of the people in the *barrio*. The Cuban political system fosters the idea of a collective to which the single person, to a great degree, surrenders his or her individual desires. In the *barrio*, this has led, to some extent, to a collective resignation and loss of agency which is partially changed by the artist as an individual, breaking through the wall of indifference and asking people to express their desires and participate in a communal renovation of at least one of the houses. René Francisco Rodriguez's art project makes the tension that exists between individual and collective obvious. He, himself, acts as an individual person and as a member of an artist collective at the same time. He, as an artist, is able to conduct the project on behalf of his publicity, but, at the same time, is realising the work in a collective of friends, family members and the people of the *barrio*. The friction that accompanies collective and/or individual identities is, at the same time, one of the exigent Cuban questions – still unsolved and more prevailing nowadays when new laws are enacted almost every year, which allow people, for the first time since 1958,

to act and plan as individuals: as sellers, landlords, small businessmen and women, artisans, and so on. Included in that process is the result that social inequality is emerging which had not been perceived in that way since the Cuban Revolution. The question of social consciousness and social commitment – a topic that for René Francisco Rodriguez is vital in his work – has also arisen in tandem with the latter process. Therefore, in spite of what is ostensibly going on – the reconstruction of a house – the artwork itself is like a living metaphor of Cubanness and all the issues included in that term, and it is this metaphoric dimension that makes its "aboutness" (Danto 1981). Despite the apparent similarities of methods that the "Agua Benita" art project has in common with other forms of social interactions, there is this special feature that disassociates the project and incorporates it into the discourse of art. But the last words I will leave to the artist:

> *"I affirm that I am more enthusiastic and I feel more vital when I am engaged in collective artworks. It's an experience that has formed part of this era, part of my generation and then, it is not only about making art, but also about your own lifestyle. It is about not getting separated from the people, especially nowadays with all the difficulties that we are experiencing that make people become more and more disconnected!" (René Francisco interviewed by Natalie Göltenboth, 22.3.2102*

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On Hearing Together Critically:
Making Aural Politics Sensible Through Art & Ethnography

Jen Heuson

> *They do not hear me, he says; they listen and listen but don't hear what I say.*
>
> On a July afternoon, a group of German tourists gather at the foot of Mato Paha, or Bear Mountain, in the northern Black Hills of South Dakota. Some, like myself, have just descended the sacred mountain; others sit in the shade, chatting about dinner or the next destination. I rest with an elder Oglala Lakota man. He tells me again why he doesn't like to give interviews. "I am always talking," he says, "but people do not listen. Maybe it's the language. I can tell you what happened to my people in German or French," he explains, "but not English. It's too painful." So, I just sit with him and listen, trying to hear all that he cannot say... all that sits quietly in between his words, in his breath and in the way he holds his head slightly tilted. I have spent a lot of time learning how to listen and how not to. I have learned that sometimes just being present is enough.

Following six summers of fieldwork researching aural heritage and politics in the Black Hills of South Dakota, I returned for a final visit to share my findings with those who had been instrumental to my work. These included heritage and tourism professionals and the general public of locals and tourists. I conducted professionalization seminars, held public talks and film screenings, and even led a "listening and remembering" hike for grandparents and their grandkids. Initially, I was excited by the responses I received. But, the enthusiastic "I finally get what you're doing" was quickly supplanted by a much more daunting question: "What do I do now?" Those whom I had managed to convince of the profound power of aurality to modulate mood or tune bodies and minds now wanted to know how to harness it accurately and ethically. They wanted to know how to make the past sensible in the present. They wanted to know how to share sense across times, places, and peoples. This article explores my response.

In the following pages, I will, first, briefly outline the core conceptual finding of my research, namely the significant difference between aural politics and other sound-based approaches, such as soundscape preservation, sound ethnography, and sonic criticism. I will, then, discuss how crucial this

stance is to the present "experiential" and "sensorial" moment of heritage tourism, ethnography, and sound and sensory studies. The latter portion of the article will develop my approach to both making aural politics sensible (able to be sensed) and to offering the possibility of a presently embodied critique of sense in the form of a critical aurality or a "hearing together critically." The article will make use of field recordings and images from my work in the Black Hills to define and locate aural politics and to situate these politics within the current cultural moment. I will introduce three experiments to argue for the essential role of artistic approaches to ethnography in making aural politics sensible (and hence possible to critique). At the crux of these experiments is the need to build critical presences able to foreground sensing as a political act that must delicately navigate what can and ought to be shared with the demands of cultural and economic sovereignty.

Introduction – Hearing and Listening in the Black Hills

Located in western South Dakota, the Black Hills are among the most sacred, contested, and popular tourist regions in the United States. Each year, millions visit area sites that include Mount Rushmore and Crazy Horse Memorials, Deadwood, Devils Tower, the Badlands, and the Sturgis Motorcycle Rally. Tourists come to witness the world's largest mountain carvings, to walk the infamous streets of Wild Bill Hickok and Calamity Jane, and to ride the Hill's many tiny, winding highways. They come to explore caves and canyons, to bathe in healing hot springs, and to escape the noise and crowds of contemporary urban life. In fact, tourists have been "escaping" to the Black Hills for more than 125 years. As early as 1892, seven trains a day brought visitors to the region (Schumacher 2007:70), and by the 1920s, the Standard Oil Company marketed this small swathe of land as "the most marvelous hundred square miles on earth" (Julin 2009:5). The marvel offered tourists blended natural and cultural wonders like buffalo and powwows with historic events that marked Western expansion and the occupation of sacred Indigenous lands. Today, the South Dakota Department of Tourism draws upon the region's many natural, cultural, and historic resources to sell tourists experiences of American heritage. In 2012, the state launched its "Your American Journey" campaign to promote its unique offerings (SD Tourism 2012). And, in 2013, the state's tourist industry earned an estimated $2 billion dollars (IHS Global Insight 2014).

Tourism is big business in South Dakota, and like elsewhere in the American West, it relies upon producing experiences that draw heavily from frontier histories and mythologies. These include the wildness of Western lands, the moral rightness and strength of male characters, and the transformative power of technology in addition to typified "cowboy and Indian" stories. Much like tourism myths more generally, frontier experiences are

thought to deeply alter the peoples and places involved, albeit through mostly violent conflict (Slotkin 1998). In the Black Hills, experiences ranging from buffalo encounters to Teddy Roosevelt reenactments to dynamite explosions draw in differing ways from decades of frontier cultural production. Essentially, tourist producers in the region utilize both history and popular culture to make experiences for tourists that simultaneously serve as national and local heritage and as crucial economic resources. And, much like other extractive industries, heritage tourism locates its experiential resources in specific peoples, places, and things. The Black Hills offers an exemplary instance of frontier heritage because of its unique history and natural features. Most notably, it is the location of the massacre marking the end of the so-called "Indian Wars" (Ostler 2004). Just along the southeastern edge of the Black Hills is the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, home to the Oglala Lakota and one of the most enduring symbols of cultural genocide in the United States, Wounded Knee (Giago 2013). For South Dakota's heritage and tourism industries, Wounded Knee is a foundational experiential resource. For Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota peoples, it is a sacred site of reverence and mourning.

At the crux of both heritage and tourism is the ability to make sense, that is, to make the body *feel* or to produce affects that are physical, emotional, and intellectual and to link these to times and to places. An affect is a force or intensity that can make the body shiver or cry, move quickly or stand still. Affects can be ordinary or radically new; they can be as subtle as a tingle or as shocking as an explosion. For anthropologist Kathleen Stewart, affects feel like things happening or things we are in, and they are often shared, a form of "collective sensing out" (2009). Creating sense that is both shared and presently embodied is fundamental to the success of experiential industries, making affect management central to tourist production. One of the most important modes of managing affect is through sound. Whether mood music, audio tours, and performances or the preservation of environmental soundscapes, sound in its varied forms works to forge common sentiments and senses such as fear or freedom. In the Black Hills, yodeling cowboys, growling buffalo, and screeching steam trains are among the many sounds used to produce frontier affects. A frontier affect is the feeling of being literally *in* a frontier – a wild zone at the edge of time and space. Importantly, the Black Hills' frontier is also made sensible through the vibrations of hundreds of thousands of motorcycles, through the wild whipping of high prairie winds, and through the "silent" evocations of noble "Indians" like Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. Thus, understanding how hearing, listening, and sound making, are used to produce frontier experiences requires a conceptual and practical engagement with the silences, vibrations, hauntings, and other aural forms crucial to generating bodily and emotional impacts.

The management of affect and its use to produce experiences for tourists involves activating the histories and myths of peoples, places, and things

and making these available for commodification and embodiment. To do this, producers must be able to mediate materials and non-materials, like stories and memories, and they must be able to offer these mediations as worlds to inhabit. The task of my research in the Black Hills has been to investigate how frontier worlds are created and maintained and what they do. The most pervasive, yet subtle, form of world making is through the production of "aurality" – the quality, condition, or degree of being aural, of the ear or sense of hearing (Collins 2014). Aurality is not just about sound, but describes the process of mediating and making sound, noise, and silence, and linking these to emotional and physiological effects. Following sound historian Veit Erlmann, aurality is the interpenetration of the cultural and the biological (2010:17), and it precludes how and what we are as sensory beings and communities. It is a "stancing" of the ears that attunes to moods and atmospheres, while also teaching modes of listening and hearing. In the Black Hills, the consistent production of a "frontier aurality" works to ensure the region is maintained as an experiential artifact of frontier histories and myths. Shootouts held six times each summer day along Deadwood's Main Street, for example, preserve aural stances celebrating gun noise as powerful and fun, while daily rides on Hill City's 1880 Train teach how to hear and feel the whistles and screeches of industrial technologies as divine and progressive. [🔊 DeadwoodShootout and 🔊 1880Train] As a researcher, my task, thus, became figuring out how to document and critique the aural stances made and solidified through decades of frontier tourism in the region.

I use Dimensional Stereo Microphones (DSM) by Sonic Studios to record the Days of '76 parade as it winds its way down Deadwood's Main Street. The annual event started in 1924 as a way to attract newly mobile tourists to Deadwood. Today, it is still an important celebration of local heritage. *Photo by Ali Pitt, July 2014*

Defining and Locating Aural Politics

I began fieldwork in the Black Hills with three important misconceptions that shaped my early theoretical and methodological approach to aural politics. First, I believed that sound was a thing that could be quantified and contained and, hence, documented and offered as evidence of present social conditions. Second, I approached tourism in the Black Hills as a postcolonial condition. And, finally, I thought that frontier tourism was essentially about experiencing the past, not shaping the future. In each of these, I was mistaken. After sixty interviews with tourist producers and the documentation of over one hundred heritage sites, I began to understand how inadequate the methods of soundscape study, sound ethnography, and sonic criticism were to engaging the production of frontier affect in the Black Hills. I also began to understand just how colonial social and institutional structures were in the Black Hills, including the consistent use of Lakota "ways of life" as a primary experiential resource. While South Dakota's tourist industry draws on the lifeworlds of Native peoples to profit mostly non-Native individuals and organizations, actual Lakota endure extreme poverty and racism ranging from anti-Native hate crimes (King 2012) to state practices of placing Lakota children in non-Native foster care (Iron Eyes 2013). In short, as my work progressed in the Black Hills, I began to understand that the state's tourist industry relied on sensory assumptions that reproduced stark contrasts between the natural and cultural world and between Native and non-Native peoples. These contrasts were produced most often through the forms of frontier aurality enacted at heritage and tourism venues.

The National Museum of Woodcarving (NMW) located in the central Black Hills, just a few miles outside of Custer, is one small, but exemplary instance of the current forms of frontier aurality. The museum is home to a collection of woodcarvings from chiropractor-turned-artist Dr. Harry Niblack and contains more than thirty carving scenes animated using mechanical gears, music, and narration. It also houses a carving studio (including resident and guest carvers), two gift shops, a theater (running a 20-minute Niblack biopic), and a gallery of contemporary carvings from across the country. NMW boasts that it is "Where Wood Comes Alive" (NMW flyer 2013). Yet, it is not only sound that animates Niblack's carvings. NMW is a place where visitors can feel the affects of a civilizing process (Elias 2000), a central tenet of frontier mythology and colonial conquest. Through juxtapositions between sound, noise, and silence, NMW constructs a frontier experience where the natural world of "dead" wood and "Indians" are transformed into living culture through the mechanical skill and artistry of one man. In this case, visitors not only learn what specific sounds and noises to associate with modernity, they also learn to link Native peoples with silence and inaudibility. In short, visitors learn that progress entails a transformation of sensation through aurality. Just briefly, I will recount the experience.

A larger-than-life sized "Indian," intricately carved and painted, greets visitors to NMW. He stands tall, guarding and mediating the space between door, theater, gift shop, and gallery. He does not speak, nor is he named. He looks up with eyes slightly open, head tilted, body poised perhaps to dance; he holds a wooden shaker readied for play. He listens, intently and silently, to something the visitor cannot hear. Surrounding him are the sounds of creaking gears and a ringing cash register, the voice of Niblack's film narrator, and a woman telling how to use the wooden nickels in the gallery. Another, much smaller carving, a "Geronimo" bust by John Burke, is located at the gallery exit, welcoming visitors to the carving studio and the gift shop to follow. "Geronimo" gazes forward with ears prominent and poised, listening, like his fellow "Indian," for things unheard and surrounded by the busyness of scratching, scraping, and carving wood.

Sylvester, the old Black Hills miner, opens the "Niblack Collection" of NMW. He speaks in a stereotypical dialect and is joined by a silent parrot and surrounded by mining artifacts that include a rusty track and a train car full of rocks. Underneath his voice are the clicks and buzzes of the electrical pulses moving his wooden jaw. Passing Sylvester, visitors encounter signs instructing how to behave in the museum and a string of scenes that represent western themes while highlighting Niblack's craft. Visitors pass saloons and operating rooms that fill the gallery with low churning, cranking sounds until they reach Dusty The Gambler, a card-playing cowboy tucked in a gallery corner. Pushing Dusty's button sounds an out-of-tune piano and prompts his John-Wayne-like voice. [🔊) [NMW]

A few scenes past Dusty is Niblack's only "Indian" animated scene. It is labeled "Running Elk and Josephine" and is without any context other than instructions printed in the NMW guide: "Hold button for five seconds and you will see our Indian friends come to life" (2013). Josephine sits, holding a ceramic bowl and wearing leather, beads, and feathers, in a carved and painted chair to Running Elk's right. Running Elk stands in blue jeans, a black cowboy hat, red ascot, and blanket; a drum is strapped to his chest, and he holds a mallet. Visitors push a button to animate the couple. Josephine begins to breathe, her chest moving up and down. Running Elk rhythmically beats his drum, his beat slowing and stopping and starting along with his aging wires and gears. Neither speaks, and except for faint drumming, visitors hear the creaking gears and buzzing electricity of Niblack's animation process. [🔊) [RunningElkandJosephine]

Running Elk and Josephine are one of Dr. Niblack's many animated woodcarving scenes located at the National Museum of Woodcarving in Custer, South Dakota. The museum is owned and operated by Dale Schaffer. *Photo by author, July 2013*

The encounter detailed here is typical of both tourist experiences and local heritage in the Black Hills. It presumes that the natural world is mostly silent and that civilization and culture involve music, voice, and technological sounds punctuated by the noise of machines and other devices necessary to progress. It also presumes the divide between nature and culture is a racial divide between Native and non-Native peoples. The visitor can never hear what Josephine does or the sound of her breathing in and out. Her ears are neither cultured nor mediated. Running Elk is perhaps somewhere in between; he is "becoming modern" through dress and stance and ears. He sounds for the visitor both the faint drumming of his past life and the squeaking and creaking of modern machines. The scene of Running Elk and Josephine is not one of innocent intercultural contact, and it is not a scene that merely represents a lost silence or past way of listening or hearing. What occurs here is an active training of ears, a learning to listen and to hear that generates sensory orders, generating also what sounds are and what they do. In this example, the tourist journey through Niblack's museum reproduces the bodily and emotional impacts of mythologized frontier transformations. Here, visitors learn that to stand still and be silent is to be a part of the natural, but "dead" world; conversely, to cut, chisel, creak, and crank is to be "alive" – mobile and civilized. In other words, Niblack's carving and animating sound the pro-

cess of "becoming civilized," while also making it felt as something intrinsically moral and ethical. This and dozens of similar examples taught me that critically engaging racist sensory assumptions would require defining and locating the consistent relational patterns of who and what could be heard. Thus, in the Black Hills, aural politics must engage not only how and what is "sounded" but all that undergirds sound as backgrounds, pauses, lapses, hauntings, or silences.

The Role of the Aural in Making Sense Today

The production of audibility must be understood within the current aural and sensory "Zeitgeist" both in academia and popular culture more widely. Despite recent critical attention to sound and the senses, the current "sensual turn" (Howes 2003:29) in contemporary culture and research largely adheres to what Jonathan Sterne calls "the audiovisual litany" or the assumption that hearing is an idealized "pure interiority" while vision is rational and abstract (2003:15). This litany recurs in many forms from the "ear-man" and "eye-man" of media theorists Walter Ong (2012) and Marshall McLuhan (1994) to the longing for past soundscapes of composer and theorist R. Murray Schafer (1993). Approaches that follow "the audiovisual litany" presume that "sound draws us into the world while vision separates us from it" (Sterne, 2003:18). This division aligns the ear with subjective and irrational experiences that are difficult to critique or locates hearing and listening in teleologies of historical and social transformations that are finished or contained. The litany is further deepened in the division between the eye and ear and the presumed baser senses of touching, tasting, and smelling. And, while historians such as Mark M. Smith (2004) and Alain Corbin (1998) document the role of the ear and of sense in past social and political conflicts and anthropologists including Steven Feld (1982) and David Howes investigate the senses as the "social relations" (2003:xi) of other peoples and places, these sorts of studies serve to undergird popular understandings of sound and sense as objects that can be understood and known. The widespread acceptance of sense as "object" is used to justify, colonize, and exploit cultural and racial difference, most often by claiming it "natural" or "historical" or by offering it as an affective or atmospheric commodity.

Many uses of sound exploit its unique quality as both objective and subjective, making it a thing to be made or preserved *and* a means to accessing some hidden or unknowable realm. This dual role of sound occurs in a wide range of popular cultural productions including film, music, and advertising but also urban design, environmental protection, and heritage preservation. The general trend is to offer sound as evidence of others' ways of being, feeling, sensing, and knowing and to use this evidence to create increasingly immersive methods of embodying other lifeworlds. In 2006, for

example, the U.S. National Park Service added the "acoustical environment" to its list of resources to protect, claiming that cultural and historic sounds were significant as "intangible aspects of cultural expression" and important to visitors' abilities "to better understand and embrace America's heritage in a direct and personally meaningful way" (NPS 2009). Such approaches rely on the naturalization of both sound and sonic experience and deny the training needed to hear and to listen. They also employ sound as a means to managing sense more generally. The presumption is that heritage producers need only protect materials in order to preserve "emotions, attitudes, and memories" (NPS 2014). Yet, the categorization of sound and its value cannot be taken as fact. These are consequences of present and historical social and sensory relations. They are also the result of current preoccupations with the study and manipulation of sound, on one hand, and with urban noise pollution and the presumed scarcity of experiences of silence, on the other (Keizer 2010; Prochnik 2010). As urban life seems to grow louder, quiet becomes an ever more valuable resource, one that must be made or located elsewhere. Predicated on scarcity and a land-based spiritualism coopted from Native peoples (McAvoy 2002), silence has become crucial to heritage production and tourism in the Black Hills. But, of course, listeners must be taught to *hear* the silences they encounter. For example, the consistent use of the Lakota phrase "Paha Sapa" to refer to the Black Hills on tourist flyers and signs evokes the region as ancient and spiritual as well as conquered and occupied.

Ultimately, the most important forms of aural politics I consistently encountered in the Black Hills are not about sound *per se*, but center on producing aural experiences that generate what is audible as "sound" in the first place. These include Native silence as background, atmosphere, or mood for "civilizing" sound and noise making and New Age appropriations of Native hearing. Such productions, in turn, create inaudibility through both "noise" (excess) and "silence" (absence) and act as crucial pedagogical moments for listeners. For music theorist Jacques Attali (1985:6), the organization of sound into music and noise is a fundamental form of power, a tool to consolidate a community. But, what remains *unsounded* is equally important to the shaping of a common ear and to determining who is and is not a part of the "sounded" community. In one of the most dramatic instances of aural experience in the Black Hills – night dynamite blasting at Crazy Horse Memorial – stark divisions between the sound of sculptor Korczak Ziolkowski's voice, the noise of blasting dynamite, and the haunting silence of Crazy Horse work to affirm power relations between a conquering and a conquered people, using aurality to shape who belongs to each. [🔊) [CrazyHorseNightBlast]]

Importantly, this is not merely an instance of "imperialist nostalgia" (Rosaldo 1989) that can be located in stereotypical sound designs, but entails the naturalizing of ears that continue to divide sensory worlds along racial lines. And, in this case, the visceral and emotional impacts of frontier

conquest (via dynamite exploding contested sacred land) are felt as powerful, celebratory, and good while Lakota peoples remain a "silent" natural resource to preserve or protect. What is needed is a critical approach able to engage how audibility is shaped by ever shifting cultural, social, economic, and physical factors.

Three Experiments in Making Aural Politics Sensible

Determining how to make aural politics something that can and should be discussed is a difficult task involving, on the one hand, finding ways to challenge aural assumptions that feel as self-evident as the beauty of a bird's song and, on the other hand, giving critical attention to aural effects that seem spontaneous or beyond control, like a shiver or a stance. What is needed are creative ways to explore how the aural exerts forces on the body, mediating the material world and the immaterial realm of stories, epistemologies, emotions, and psychological states. Such experiments would need to engage both the presently embodied uses of aurality and how these are made, including the subtle ways hearing and listening are passed along and inherited or appropriated and colonized. The aural, in fact, often works to suture or close sensory gaps so that contained lifeworlds can be made available as tourist or other types of experiences, as affective commodities, or as objects of research and heritage preservation. The crux of aural politics demands interrupting the naturalized flow of sensing in the present such that some form of critical distance can emerge. These interruptions would need to: 1) Mind the gap between various modes of sensing; 2) Create live instances of listening and hearing together; and 3) Allow for critical sensing in the present. I will briefly trace an example of each.

One of the most important ways that tourist and heritage professionals produce experiences of contained lifeworlds is by ensuring that sensing is a seamless occurrence. This process involves employing the representational, aesthetic, and sensory forms standardized for the venue and using these to produce immersive affects, or bodily and emotional feelings of "being in" another world. While the work of museum and heritage professionals, anthropologists, and historians most often seek to ensure seamless sensing occurs, experimental artists from Jackson Pollock to Nathanial Dorsky attempt to engage the constructed and elusive nature of sense itself. As Dorsky notes, films that "fill in too much" violate the intermittent nature of our daily sensory experiences (2005:31). This approach can be useful in generating critical gaps in tourist and heritage production. But, rather than create experiences that are *either* immersive *or* detached, I suggest an experimental approach involving "intermittent immersion" or "asynchronous" relations between the senses (Heuson 2014). This basically entails making experiences that weave between positions of sensory immersion and critical distance by either alter-

ing sensory relations and synchronicities (Jung 1973) – between eyes and ears, for example – or by interrupting sensory flows or "distributions" produced through standardized form and content relations (Rancière 2004:42). The exact forms of these interruptions will depend upon the specific venue and its sensory-political stakes. Ultimately, the goal is to challenge the idea that sense ratios (McLuhan 1994) or sensory worlds (Hoffer 2003) are ever distinct, contained, or finished.

Experiment 1: Interrupting the presumed synchronicity of ear-eye relations in the audiovisual exhibitions normally used to produce mood, atmosphere, or immersion in museums is one way to challenge common aural assumptions. This approach involves using images and sound recordings to create *asynchronous museum experiences* through exhibits that intermittently make and then break the coeval presence of looking and listening. In this case, the causally shared time and space of sensing is both produced and challenged. For example, sound recordings of Deadwood's historic Days of '76 Parade would be joined with still images to give attention to the distinct practices of static looking and sampled listening and their cultural linking. Images and sounds would move between "sync" and "non-sync" relations, meaning that the time and space of recordings would only be shared occasionally. This could be accomplished by altering the position (time and/or space) of either image or sound. So, a photograph of the parade in 1932 could be paired with a sound recording of the parade that moves from 1932 to 2010 and back to 1932. A 2013 image of the interior of the Deadwood Stagecoach could be paired with 2013 sound recordings that move from interior to exterior. [🔊 Daysof76] The possible combinations are infinite. Even a subtle change in narrator tone could alter the audiovisual experience and its affects. Here, the goal is to generate lapses to critical effect not to force disinterest or confusion, so these shifts must be noticeable while not destroying the possibility of shared sense more generally. Thus, these are critical pauses in common sense rather than arguments for extreme relativism.
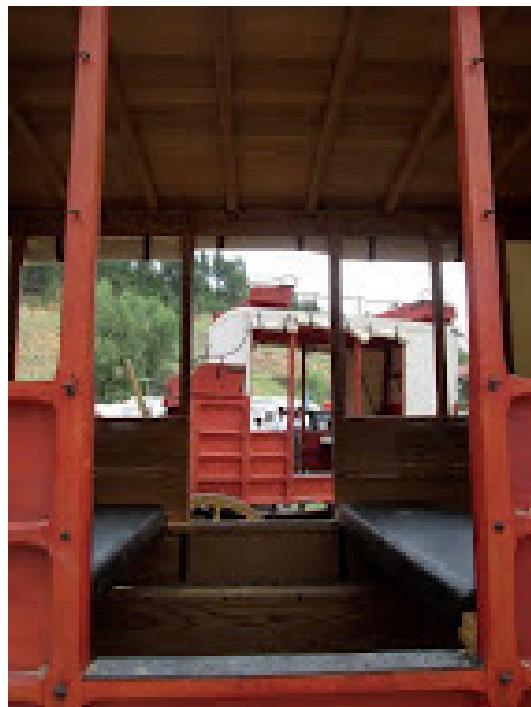
The Deadwood Stagecoach prepares for the Days of '76 Parade, a historic part of Deadwood's annual Days of '76 rodeo. The stagecoach is normally housed in the Days of '76 Museum, owned and operated by Deadwood History, Inc. *Photo by author, July 2013*

In this experiment, one of the primary goals is to respond to a methodological approach common to heritage producers, the desire to document and understand other lifeworlds through sensory experience. In South Dakota, this approach is foundational to the state's tourist economy and to its forms of exploiting and colonizing local Lakota peoples. But, rather than question only the content of these productions, I aim to challenge the basic assumption that sensing equals knowing. This is a response to the function of sensory knowledge in the state's tourist infrastructure, where "knowing" is the result of a mythic frontier journey. In this journey, encounters with "Native South Dakota" do not produce knowledge of local Lakota peoples, but act as media of transformation for non-native tourists to acquire self-understanding in the form of heritage experiences. This is basic frontier mythology, but it is also materialized in how museum exhibits and heritage performances are made in the region. And, it accounts for a sentiment that recurred throughout my fieldwork with local Lakota performers and producers – the feeling that no matter how much tourists listened, they could never hear.

Another important aspect to the seamless production of lifeworlds involves the uncritical use of sound and aurality. While critical approaches to visuality, including representations and forms of display and interaction, are fairly common among producers and tourists, similar approaches to sound

and aurality are not. This is not to say that stereotypical images and practices of looking do not occur, but rather, to note that image making is generally understood as a problematic process with legal and political ramifications. This understanding does not translate easily to aural practices. There are a number of reasons for this. First, sound itself is engaged with minimal criticism. When critique does occur, it most often focuses on such things as stereotypical music and accents or on ownership rights. Second, categorical and moral distinctions between sounds, noises, and silences are presumed to be self-evident and natural with no bearing on social or political relations. In others words, producers assume that who and what is sounded is either arbitrary or that any sounding at all is indicative of inclusion and pluralism. And, finally, the bodily and emotional affects generated through sounds, noises, and silences are considered subjective and incidental or beyond control. Thus, there is little critical engagement with practices of sonic branding (Jackson 2004) or with uses of sound to create mood (Sterne 1997). Environmental factors, including spatial design and architecture, are also rarely noted for their aural effects. I suggest that creating instances of live listening and hearing together is a first important step to intervening in the generally uncritical understandings of sound and aurality.

Experiment 2: To create critical instances of *live hearing and listening together*, it is important to challenge the standardized aural stances as well as how these are normally discussed (or not) and translated into foundations of knowledge or understanding. There are many possible ways to produce interventions in collective aural experience, including the practices of sound-walking (Westerkamp 1974) and filmless film festivals (Third Coast 2013) or alterations to more traditional audio or live tours and other types of tourist or heritage performance, such as talks or concerts. The crux of this intervention is to call attention to a shared aural heritage and to offer tools to critically engage this heritage in the present. My own experiments have ranged from leading soundwalks along Deadwood's historic Main Street to offering "listening and remembering" hikes at the Outdoor Campus in Rapid City. Unlike uses of soundwalking by the World Soundscape Project, however, these cases do not focus solely on the acoustic environment or on the presumed inability of "numbed" modern ears to hear "delicate and quiet sounds" (Westerkamp 1974). Instead, these presumptions become problems to interrogate through differing stances of the ears and through critical discussions about how and why these stances occur. For example, at the Wounded Knee Museum in Wall, South Dakota, a soundwalk could engage how the events depicted are "sterilized" through active sound design – including the sequestering of the museum's only audio exhibit to a darkened corner room of folding chairs – and through the aural effects of architecture and the museum's placement on Wall's overly kitschy Main Street. What is heard as visitors read of Lakota women and children running in horror or stare at the infamous

image of Chief Big Foot dead and frozen in the snow is *a big, open, soft, buzzing whooshing surrounding sound* like being literally inside a very large dry cleaner. The museum's one large room with glaring white walls, fluorescent lighting, lengthy air vents, and cement floor dramatically alter how the story of Lakota massacre is felt. Here, the formal elements shaping the Wounded Knee narrative serve to produce unsentimental and detached affects. Ultimately, the goal of a critical soundwalk in this case would be to engage how and why these affects arise and to discuss their social and political impacts.

This experiment responds to the general lack of critical engagement with the inherited forms of aural production documented during my fieldwork. While many producers acknowledged the effects of material forms on how tourists encountered the stories and lifeworlds offered, these effects were often thought "beyond control" because of lack of funding and larger infrastructural or institutional constraints. In many cases, producers were sympathetic to critiques involving the content of sound displays, but did not possess the vocabulary to critically examine the relations between the material forms of their displays and the affects they produced for visitors. Even more importantly, formal relations were always depoliticized. The Wounded Knee Museum example illustrates both how important form is to tourist experience and how its uncritical engagement is supported by economic constraints and larger state discourses of inclusion. During my visits to the museum, tourists commented on how "sterile" the museum felt, how "cold" it was, and some even called it "terrible," moving quickly through displays. Rather than appraisals of the museum's content, however, these comments point to how the Wounded Knee story is altered through its current sensory form. After a fire in 2012, the museum relocated to a modern building on Wall's Main Street. Space in the building, owned by the non-profit organization Lakota Ways, was donated for the museum's reopening in 2013. While marking an increase in visibility for the story, the new building is in stark contrast to the meandering, home-like space of the old museum. In this case, a critical soundwalk is a relatively easy and inexpensive way to engage both producers and tourists in attempts to articulate the relation between form and content. It does not force Lakota exclusion, but also does not deny public appraisal of *how* this inclusion occurs.

Finally, it is also crucial to be able to challenge the collective force of sensory productions that generate or rely upon similar aural assumptions and affects. If each case, each heritage or tourist site and event, is examined independently, it is impossible to engage the full force of what is being made and shared, making it difficult also to ascertain that these are consequences of common cultural assumptions. In other words, producers and tourists tend to focus critique on individual cases, while ignoring the wider nexus of cultural production and its impacts. This approach denies what is most crucial to tourist experience – the desire to escape to, be immersed in, or be a part of

some other world (Clifford 1997:66) and to share this world with others (Kaplan 1996:ix). It also denies that individual productions participate in larger institutional and ideological structures, such as South Dakota's "Your American Journey" campaign or frontier tourism myths more generally. Finally, it denies that affective forces are the result of sensory relations, not individual contained instances of sensing. What makes a trip to the Black Hills different from reading a book or watching a film are the bodily and emotional impacts of a collection of experiences. These impacts both draw from and are translated into "understanding" or "knowledge" of peoples and places and, thus, become very important political acts that can help continue cycles of racism and exploitation. Stopping racist and exploitative cycles of sensory production requires experimental works able to critically engage how and why particular sensory relations recur in the present.

Experiment 3: In this case, intervention requires offering a tool that is both accessible and thought-provoking, one able to teach critical aurality to a wide range of audiences across multiple locations and types of activities. In this experiment, the sensory relations and assumptions that recur across tourist and heritage experiences in a region would be articulated and evaluated through the familiar form of the tourist guidebook. With some modifications, the guidebook can be transformed into *a critical tourist fieldguide* able to engage tourists in the moral and ethical implications of hearing and listening. For example, *A Fieldguide to Listening in the Black Hills* would gather the key insights of my own research into a multimodal, pocket-sized notebook. This interactive notebook would provide aural tours of Black Hills sites using maps, archival and ethnographic media, and history and folklore. The guide would come with a CD of field recordings as well as a website of additional recordings, interviews, and documentations from my research. It would be designed to encourage critical aural ethnography through sound walks and maps, listening exercises, and engagements with regional aural conflicts. It would offer spaces for taking aural field notes or creating sound maps and diaries as well as providing discussion prompts and field recording tips. By offering tourists "journeys" through their ears, the guide would teach the importance of aurality to how we encounter and understand other peoples and places. But, it would move beyond this to introduce and counter some of the racist aural stereotypes crucial to frontier tourism. The guide could be used inter-generationally as well as across audiences that include tourists and heritage tourism professionals and would transform sound and aurality from naturalized objects and stances into historically conditioned problems.
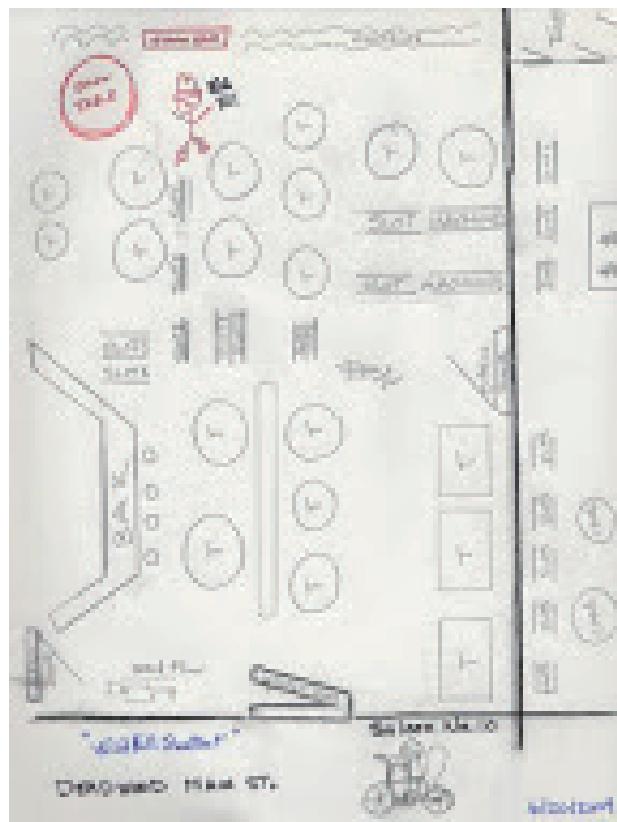
A sound map is one example of how aurality can be critically engaged by altering how sound is represented. Here, the many material elements of a moment of hearing and listening at the No. 10 Saloon in Deadwood are sketched. This helps to pause sound momentarily in order to encounter how it is made. *Illustration by author, June 2009*

Here, my experiment responds to two important reactions from producers and tourists: first is the claim that individual sites do not share common aural or sensory assumptions, and second is the belief that sensing is itself a subjective, individual act. In both cases, what producers and tourists said did not fit with what they did. And, more importantly, these claims acted as ways to deny or dismiss potentially problematic assumptions. For example, during a number of public talks I conducted in 2014 with non-Native audiences, I outlined a consistent pattern of aural production documented at dozens of sites and events throughout the Black Hills. I call this pattern "frontier aurality," and it goes something like this: the natural environment or earth is essentially silent; technologies are the noisy but necessary means to civilizing the earth; and sounded culture is the harmonious world in between of music, language, and voice. There was general agreement until I argued that Native peoples were positioned not as active participants of sounded culture, but as silent mediators of the natural environment. Producers reacted roughly along three lines: arguing that their site was unique; blaming it on tourists;

or claiming site design elements resulted from Lakota participation. Tourists reacted by arguing that individuals "hear" these silences, noises, and sounds based upon personal, not collective, experience. Yet, my fieldwork interviews and observations showed that both producers and tourists were very invested in shared sensory experience. Thus, in this case, I hope to create a provocatory *fieldguide* that would enable producers and tourists to explore the relations between their aural and sensory assumptions and the legacies of racism embedded in these assumptions and their material manifestations.

Conclusion – Artistic Ethnography and the Possibility of Sensory Politics

In a single nexus of what is being sold as frontier heritage are noisy dynamite explosions and silent "Indian" carvings, gun-toting cowboys and their flute-playing sidekicks. If engaged separately, through a focus on what is strictly sounded, it is possible to critique some of the racist stereotypes and assumptions embedded in how sounds are used to represent and evoke lifeworlds. But, this critique would be limited, and it would fail to account for the larger role of aurality – of making audibility and its grounding noise and silence – in producing culture and community through sensory relations. Furthermore, it would fail to engage these relations as inherited or as legacies of much longer histories of violent conquest, resource extraction, and cultural assimilation. In fact, in a chapter titled "Sounds" in his 1854 *Walden* text, Henry David Thoreau details aural relations similar to those I label "frontier aurality" in my Black Hills' research. For Thoreau (1995), the sound of deliberate life in the woods was only made sensible through the punctuated noise of the train and the silent ways of nature and Native peoples. His description is a naturalized stance of the ears that continues to subjugate Native peoples as a resource necessary to "sound" culture as alive, awake, and deliberate. But, this is a stance that cannot be heard unless sensing is engaged as relational and political, rather than as an individual act that is either purely subjective or objectively transferable. Such a "hearing together critically" requires artistic forms of ethnographic practice and representation.

Along Interstate 90, just west of Rapid City, is the Black Hills Visitor Information Center, a gateway for tourists en route to the Hills. The Center offers travel information, books tours, and houses a museum and gift shop. On its door is a yellow sign in Lakota with the words *anpétu wašté!* or "good day" in small print. Forty-five miles northwest of Rapid City is the small ex-mining community of Lead, home to George Hearst's infamous Homestake Gold Mine, which was the oldest and largest gold mine in the Western Hemisphere when it closed in 2002. Its Independence Day fireworks over the Open Cut are among the loudest in the United States. [🔊): OpenCutFireworks] In the Black Hills, the production of "frontier aurality" is not accidental, incon-

sistent, or inconsequential. The making of a common ear is both a sensory inheritance and a subtle mode of passing along future social relations. Through the aural stances enacted at tourist and heritage venues, Native peoples and lands are consistently exploited and colonized. They are protected as valuable, spiritual silences and made inaudible by the noise and sound of technological, civilizing processes. In this case, the ethnographer must find ways to embody and share a critical aurality that does not naturalize sounded culture as the primary aural means to investigate social and political relations. To push this claim still further, these examples indicate the growing need for anthropologists to consider not just the representational politics of sense, but the deeper epistemological problems embedded in claims that sensing is knowing or even understanding or that it ought to be. These have been the foundational concerns of philosophers and artists for centuries.

The experiments I offer here grow not only from my unease with the exploitation of sense that grounds much tourist and heritage production, but also from the increased focus on sensory experience amidst anthropologists and media makers more generally and from recent attempts to legislate sense under the guises of heritage or environmental protection. The current preoccupation with various forms of sensing, from noise pollution to 3D cinema, share similar assumptions about both the morality and ethics of sense. If we could only sense more (or less), we could know more, understand more, and be more. If we could only control sense, we could preserve the past, fix the present, and protect the future. But, these presumptions deny the politics of how sensing occurs as a presently embodied experience, one that is shared and produced. It denies questions about who owns the rocks and bodies we sense through and whether these are used to extract gold or spirit or experience. And, it denies the fact that current sensory productions always respond to current sensory, social, and political problems. Contemporary auralilty in the Black Hills, for example, derives from the unique ability of aural experience to produce and transform current anxieties surrounding the loss of personal sovereignty in the face of encroaching noise, out-of-control technology, and a political system detached from the "land-based" myths of many Americans. Yet, these are questions ethnographers are uniquely poised to engage if they can creatively and critically shape fieldwork encounters and their resulting research "documents" as artworks that challege representational and epistemological regimes. Through the examples and experiments offered here, I seek to challenge ethnographic practices that do not problematize their modes of both sensing and representing the lifeworlds of others.

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Quee(Re)Appropriations and Sovereign Art Statements in the Work of Kent Monkman

Susan Briana Livingston

Gleaming white phalluses pointing skyward against sublime panoramas, feather headdresses worn with beaded platform heels, arrow quivers emblazoned with the Luis Vuitton logo; this is the work of Kent Monkman (Figure 1). His work is amazingly varied in form, from videos and performances to epic paintings and sculptural objects, yet it is ideologically coherent, Monkman's work explores the layered power relationships between gender, sex, race, and colonialism. A First Nations Canadian artist of mixed Cree, Irish, and English heritage, Monkman's work suggests, "that history, as it pertains in any case to the constructed notions of aboriginal identity, is a largely subjective and arbitrary fabrication, no more valid or trustworthy than fiction" (Liss 2005:80).

Figure 1. *The Treason of Images* (2008) Kent Monkman Acrylic on Canvas (24"x30")
Source: Kent Monkman

In turn, his work is tremendously serious and bitingly ironic, with an eye towards camp and humor, illustrated with titles like, *The Triumph of Mischief* and *Bijoux Not Bear Claws*. Monkman says of his work, "I like to think that my work complicates the discourse about both contemporary and historical art, as well as first Nations art and identity" (Gooden 2009:82). His work points to "history as a mythology forged from relationships of power and subjugation" (Gooden 2009:82), elicited from eroticism, xenophobia, and morality. While Monkman, or rather his alter ego Miss Chief, struts in drag through performances entitled *Miss Chief Share Eagle Testickle's Traveling Gallery* and *European Male Emporium* (Liss 2005). His paintings of grand vistas mimic the by-gone landscapes of the Hudson River School, but subvert those works' messages of Manifest Destiny, providing a sentient touchstone to the issues of power that Monkman explores. As Liss explains upon viewing Monkman's work

> *Cowboys, Indians and soldiers appear engaged in the kinds of activities that most of us in North America were taught took place upon contact between the first settlers and aboriginals.... on closer scrutiny, however, it becomes clear that Monkman's figures are engaged in encounters of an entirely different sort. (2005:79)*

These encounters of a different sort include interracial sex, sodomy, and homosexual desire. McIntosh notes that

> *From his reworking of iconic Hudson School and Group of Seven landscape paintings, newly populated with porno–kitsch "cowboy–and–indian" couplings, to his incarnation as Miss Chief Share Eagle Testickle, an extreme–rez makeover of the artist as pop diva Cher, Monkman surfs our collective cultural pasts, repeating, inverting, queering and reusing them. (2006:13)*

I suggest that Monkman's work uses a type of quee(re)appropriation, or the queer re-appropriation of previously appropriated images, to shift the power structure and challenge hegemony, particularly the relationship between heterosexuality and colonial empire. Queer, here an adjective, describes practices that explicitly work against white capitalist heteropatriarchal colonial hegemony, creating clearly articulated alternatives to dominant culture, alternatives that serve as decolonial gestures and sovereign statements. Historically, appropriation, seizure, and confiscation have been used by conquerors as tools of empire, as Headrick's (1981) has argued in his work on technology and imperialism. This has often been in the form of "scientific" or anthropological documentation that supposedly recorded and preserved people and their culture. However, the seemingly documentarian collection of aboriginal images and culture, selectively appropriated by colonial pow-

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ers, have been used to justify a hierarchical power relationship that led to assimilation, relocation, and genocide.

Monkman uses strategies of quee(re)appropriation to challenge the historical power relationship established by those images, enacting both a sovereign and decolonizing image-making practice. Liss explains that "Monkman knows the canon well enough to be able to read between, around and through the narratives that we have come to accept as our heritage" (2005:80). However, that which we have accepted as our heritage is an ideological construction designed by colonial powers. This fiction becomes ripe for parody and pastiche in the hands of Monkman, an artist of Irish and Cree heritage.

Monkman's quee(re)appropriations then allow him to make sovereign artistic statements about the contemporary lives of native people who have been colonized, but continue to productively resist complete assimilation. Sovereignty, while often understood through law and policy as the right to self govern, is also, according to Bunda (2007), an embodied identity, which is articulated through indigenous productions like literature and art. Bunda discusses the (re)emergence of the aboriginal sovereign woman in literature, noting that "Our sovereignty is embodied and is tied to particular tracts of country, thus our bodies signify ownership and we perform sovereign acts in our everyday living" (2007:75). Lyon, also looking at writing and the idea of rhetorical sovereignty, explains,

> *After years of colonization, oppression, and resistance, American Indians are making clear what they want from the heretofore compromised technology of writing. Rhetorical sovereignty, a people's control of its meaning, is found in sites legal, aesthetic, and pedagogical, and composition studies can both contribute to and learn from this work. (2000:447)*

A similar type of articulation has been occurring within fine arts. Many of the technologies of aesthetic production, like painting and photography, have been used by colonizers against native people and when not used explicitly as tools of empire, the Western world has defined the ways in which these artistic mediums should be used. A sovereign artistic statement is then an embodied native production that acts to either decolonize or challenge empire's constraints on indigenous lives, including both the means and aesthetics styles of indigenous production. Monkman engages in sovereign art making through quee(re)appropriation. Liss notes that for all the sequins and kitsch, Monkman "makes us aware of the damaging effects of marginalization and oppression and of the multiplicity of stories and truths that need to be acknowledged and included in the dialogue" (2005:82). Parody and camp may seem light hearted, but when used by a master of quee(re)appropriation, "porno-kitsch" becomes a decolonial strategy. By using the empire's own language, both visual and verbal, Monkman speaks back to power.

I argue that three of Monkman's most successful quee(re)appropriations are his paintings, which re-appropriate both literal and imagined spaces through the use of Hudson River School style landscapes, Monkman's drag performance as Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, which challenges both the grand narrative that erases American Indians and the imposition of European sexual binaries on the "New World,". The classical Western dualistic split between male and female, combined with cisgenderism, or the assumption that one's biological sex matches their gender, silences a large spectrum of other gender performances and identities. Monkman's work engages in issues of authenticity and power in a postmodern era of rampant decontextualized appropriation, and his photographic depictions of himself as different Indian performers, which reclaim Indian image making back from the likes of Edward Curtis Edward and his famous Vanishing Race portfolio.

The Multivalence of Queer

In this paper, I define and use queer as both a verb and a noun. Firstly, Monkman is queer, here used as noun, insofar as he identifies himself as a Two Spirited person. According to O'Hara, "The word two spirited was coined during the Native lesbian and gay movement of the 1990s to establish a space for coalitions and activism" (2014: xxi). Driskill, et al., explain that Two Spirit

> *is an umbrella term in English that 1) refers to the gender construction and roles that occur historically in many Native gender systems that are outside the colonial binaries and 2) refers to contemporary Native people who are continuing and/or reclaiming these roles within their communities (2011:xxi)*

More broadly it has also been applied lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (known in the United States under the acronym LGBTQ) Native peoples to incorporate an indigenous cultural understanding of gender and sexuality. As Roscoe notes, "The social universe of native North America was nowhere more at odds with that of Europe and Anglo-America than in its diverse gender roles" (2000:4). This was apparent in European reports of *"berdaches"*[1] a term anthropologists coined to refer to third and fourth gender people who were met by Europeans from the Spanish conquistadors onward "...with amazement, dismay, disgust, and occasionally, when they weren't dependent on the natives' good will, with violence" (Roscoe 2004:4).

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1   I put *"berdache"* in quotes based on Jacob's and Thomas's work (1997), which notes that *"berdache"* is often considered insulting and inappropriate by contemporary Native Americans and anthropologists. Two Spirited is the more appropriate agreed upon term, but *"berdache"* has been historically used to describe certain types of ceremonial travesty. Therefore, I continue to use it, but in quotation.

Roscoe goes on to argue that "*berdaches*," Two-Spirited individuals, or what we would perhaps now call transgender or gender queer individuals, were common, even respected, in many native societies. "The result," he explains, "is a strikingly different view of the American frontier. Instead of hyper masculine braves and submissive squaws we find personalities of surprising diversity and complexity" (Roscoe 2004:4). Moreover, the lives of "*berdaches*" refute western social and medical ideas on sex and gender, as, "*Berdaches* were not failed men or women; they occupied distinct gender roles and behaved according to cultural expectations for those roles" (Roscoe 2000:5). Two Spiritedness often "...overlays conversations about Indigenous nationalism with representations of gender diversity" (Driskill, et al. 2011:166). Two Spirited-ness and what has been called a sovereign erotics, "...suggests that the project of 'healing our sexualities' cannot be separated from 'ongoing processes of decolonialization'" (Driskill, et al. 2011:176). Thus two spirited describes an identity that is both linked to sexual and gender identity, as well as a commitment to Native knowledge and ways of being. Two Spirited is an identity that Monkman not only performs, as in his drag performance and his video piece *Dance to the Berdashe* (2008), but also Monkman self identifies as Two Spirited. With this in mind it is no wonder that, as De Blois explains

> *Monkman's latest video installation is a response to the fifty-sixth letter of Catlin's memoir in which he condemns the existence of the* Berdashe*, but also to one of his paintings called Dance to the* Berdashe *depicting a ceremony in honor of this singular character. As one would expect, far from disapproving of the* Berdashe*'s hybridity, Monkman's work glorifies it. (2010:1)*

It is easy to understand the noun queer in application to Monkman and his work. However, queer can also be a verb as it describes an analytical process that belongs to the discipline of Queer theory and addresses something broader than Gay and Lesbian studies (Giffney 2004). As Downson explains

> *Queer theory is very definitely not restricted to homosexual men and women, but to anyone who feels their position (sexual, intellectual, or cultural) to be marginalized . . . Queering . . . empowers us to think what is often the unthinkable to produce unthought-of- of pasts [presents and futures]. (Giffney 2004:73)*

Many scholars have worried queer will be emptied, "...of its political valence and critical edge if it is moved outside of the lesbian and gay sphere" (Giffney 2004:73). However, opening queer to possibilities outside of lesbian and gay studies takes it outside of the realm of identity politics. Moreover, Giffney explains, "I understand queer theory to be, in Ruth Goldman's words, 'a theoretical perspective from which to challenge the normative' (1996:170) – even

if that normative is itself" (2004:74). It is this use of queer, not singularly as an identity category or marker, but as a theoretical position from which to challenge normativity, even the normative assumption that queer must be about homosexual identity, that informs Glickman's use of queer. Glickman explains that,

> *To queer something, whether it's a text, a story, or an identity, is to take a look at its foundations and question them. We can explore its limits, its biases, and its boundaries. We can look for places where there's elasticity or discover ways we can transform it into something new. To queer is to examine our assumptions and decide which of them we want to keep, change, discard, or play with. This becomes a practice in transcending the habit of settling for pre-defined categories and creating new ones. And even when we leave something unchanged, we have changed our relationship to it. (2012: para. 1)*

Cober and Valochi note that "...queerness is...a relation between something perceived to be solid and stable and it's destabilization into something else" (2003:25). It is to "...focus not on the identity of those labeled normal and those labeled abnormal, but on the oblique relation between two (or more) identities, positions or practices that have no certain or timeless definition or content" (Cober and Valochi 2003:25). Queer becomes a critical lens or tool to explore the ambiguous spaces between binaries, most obviously between hetero and homosexuality, but also between any set of practices that appear ideologically stable, but are in fact mobile, circulating, and carrying with them different meanings and power relationships. In relationship to Monkman, queer destabilizes not only the hetero/homo and male/female binaries through an opening up of a Two-Spirited space, but it also complicates the narrative binaries of colonizer/colonized, civilized/savage, and agent/victim. Two-Spiritedness may also seem to limit gender performance by confining it within a narrative binary. While the term came into common use in contemporary Indigenous and Gender studies in the 1990's, the term itself is an older re-appropriation. *Berdache* is a term that like Two Spirited, was originally coined by the colonizers. However, Two Spirited has become the term which has been re-appropriated because of the problematic meaning of *berdache*, which in French means male prostitute (Epple 1998) and was used by colonizers in a derogatory way.

In her discussion of contemporary depictions of Two Spirited identity, Tatonetti discuss a type of , "...Two-Spirit cosmology," where relationships are, "...defined not just in terms of same-sex desire but also by a nonheterosexual desire that cannot be separated from understandings of indigeneity." (2010:165). She continues, arguing that "...in the end, eroticism and indigeneity are linked" (2010:166) within Two Spiritedness. Similarly, Driskill ar-

gues that, "The term 'Two-Spirit' is a word that resists colonial definitions…" (2004:52). Two Spirit was "…never meant to create a monolithic understanding of the array of Native traditions regarding what dominant European and Euroamerican traditions call 'alterative' genders and sexualities" (2004:52). Two Spirited is analogous to the way in which queer is used contemporarily, as a multiplicity of identities and practices that resist the normative, particularly but not exclusively in regards to sexuality and gender. Two Spirited and Queer both destabilize with their intrinsic critique. McRuer (2006) has persuasively argued that queer and "crip" occupy a similar critical position in challenging the norm, one through a challenge to compulsory heteronormativity, the other through a challenge to compulsory able-bodiedness. Two Spirited challenges heternormativity through and with indigeneity. I believe that Monkman's Two Spirit work combines decolonial and sovereign practices with queer critique, all working towards the overall critical position of challenging hegemonic dominance, through re-appropriative acts.

Humorous, Sovereign and Decolonizing Re-Appropriations

Like queer, appropriation, or as I will argue re-appropriation, also has multiple meanings. Appropriate is defined as "to take or use (something) especially in a way that is illegal, unfair, etc. To take or make use of without authority of right" (Merriam Webster, 3rd ed., s.v. "appropriate"). There is a literal or physical appropriation of lands or objects, for example the taking of land from native peoples. This is most one of the more familiar uses of the word and is particularly attached to imperial projects that funneled resources in the form of goods, slave labor, and land from the hands of the colonized into the pockets of the colonizers. Maira looking at the rise of Indo-Chic in the United States, has noted a

> *…turn-of-the-millennium Orientalism, in Edward Said's words, "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the orient' and (most of the time) 'the occident'" (Said 1978:2) and situated in histories of colonization, economic penetration, and academic voyeurism. (2002:137-138)*

While Maira may be interrogating the rise of henna, bindi and belly button rings; colonialist America applies a similarly Orientalist view to indigenous peoples' images and productions. Similar exotic tropes and connections with barbarism, in America savagery, and a mythical land, here the fictional pristine forests that early travel writers linked to Natives, are used in a type of American Orientalism or what Wrobel (2006) calls an "imperial gaze." Wrobel similarly cites Said and Orientalism in his study of American travel writing, noting that, "Travel writers have been commonly characterized as the ar-

chitects of imperial visions, the exoticizers, commodifiers, and objectifiers of colonized 'others' who helped their readers in the imperial mother countries to understand, accept, and consume the exercise of empire" (2006:431). Wrobel goes on to look at how travel writing has represented America and explains that, "The idea of benign national distinctiveness, of republican purity and innocence, has continually collided with the notion of the United States as an empire, much like other empires that have risen and fallen in the course of human history" (2006:432). Manifest Destiny, or the narrative of progress that argued that civilized man was destined by divine right to inherit, read take, the earth from those primitive enough to not understand its worth and potential, butted up against the perspective that America was engaged in the very human process of empire making. Wrobel notes that, "From the earliest settlements in British North America, colonists viewed the western frontier within a wider context of global exploration, commerce, and imperial war" (2006:432). Worbel also explains that, "So long as the United States had a western frontier to move into, that process of expansion seemed ostensibly, and retrospectively, nonimperialistic" (2006:433). By the 19th century empire seemed antiquated, a piece of American history and no longer a description of current expansion, which involved fully formed states entering the union. However, imperialism describes the continued appropriation of Native lands through both Jeffersonian Civilization policy, which turned Natives into civilized Americans, putting land into the hands of proper Americans by making Indians proper, to Jacksonian Removal policy, which forcibly took Indian lands (Satz 1975; Wallace 1999).

However, there is also the symbolic or cultural appropriation of another people's customs, traditions, image, etc. While this form of appropriation is not as overt, it is harmfully stereotyped and continued today. Mithlo (2009) discusses this type of cultural appropriation in her book *Our Indian Princess*, where she addresses the harmful nature of fictionalized visual stereotypes like that of the Land O'Lakes®, particularly for Native female artists. This is something seen on a regular basis in the form of sports teams like The Red Skins or The Blackhawks or the University of Illinois' now officially defunct, but still idolized, mascot Chief Illiniwek. Charlene Teeters, who is credited with starting much of the protests against these racist mascots because of the frequent use of "war paint," feathers, and fake tomahawks at Illinois tail gating events said, "It was sacrilegious...They were culturally cross-dressing" (Rodriguez 1998:23). According to Rodriguez, "The mocking, as [Teeters] saw it, was akin to 'Black Sambo' or the 'Frito Bandito' – images that were done away with a generation ago" (1998:23).

While many of these more overt examples of racism, like Chief Illiniwek, have been changed by their schools, in large part because of pressure from sports organizations like the NCAA (National College Athletics Association), more subtle examples of cultural appropriation persist like Urban

Outfitters recent Navaho underwear line that featured vaguely geometric Native inspired prints (Sauers 2012). However, this appropriation isn't even a direct appropriation as Indians have not been the creators of Indian images, rather the stereotypes that these icons thrive on stems from Western depictions. Nichols explains that the Other, "rarely functions as a participant in and creator of a system of meaning … hierarchy and control still fall on the side of the dominant culture that has fabricated the image of the Other in the first place" (Mithlo, 2009:23). Brody applies Nichol's observations about the Other to Native Americans, noting that, "the role of the Indian artist has been primarily that of a performer, working from a script written by Whites" (Mithlo 2009:49). Indian image and culture were appropriated so long ago and have been so essential to American myths of manifest destiny, as well as American expansion and exceptionalism, that the stereotypical Indian image is a production of the American imperial gaze.

With both the literal appropriation of lands and the cultural appropriation of images and artifacts as the predominant interaction between whites and indigenous people for the bulk of 18th and 19th century North American history, it is easy to see why contemporary indigenous artists are interested in the idea of reappropriation. Owens argues for an appropriative strategy, explaining that, "the only way to be really heard is to make them read on our terms, though within the language of the colonizer's terminology" (1998:7). Reclamation and re-appropriation are brought up in Bird and Harjo's *Reinventing the enemy's language* (1998), a series of poems and prose by indigenous women writers, who deal with ideas of cultural and personal loss. I find the idea of re-appropriation to make sense in the context of Monkman's work.

Reappropriation is the cultural process by which a group reclaims terms or artifacts that were previously used in a disparaging of that group. This is most obviously seen in the reappropriation of derogatory language. As Galinsky, et al., explain, "Derogatory labels express contempt and derision, and, as carriers of stigma, they represent mechanisms of social control that reinforce a group's disempowered state" (2013:2020). However, they go on to counter that "…self-labeling with a stigmatizing group label may facilitate *reappropriation*, the process of taking possession of a slur previously used exclusively by dominant groups to reinforce a stigmatized group's lesser status" (2013:2020). Critical to reappropriation is the shift in power. This is similar to the term reclamation. Godrej explains

> *To reclaim literally means to make one's own, to regain, retrieve, recover, repossess, salvage, or rescue. We reclaim terms, words, specific phrases, so that we refashion their meanings to correspond to our particular goals, we rescue or salvage them from their earlier, often derogatory, meanings we repossess them so*

that we make them our own, so that their meanings have the authority of our ownership behind them. (2011:111)

Godrej goes on to explain that "...reclamation is usually a tool for disarming the power of a dominant group to control one's own and others' views of oneself." (2011:111). Reclamation and reappropriation cover similar ground, as Mithlo points out in her article *Reappropriating Redskin*. Mithlo discusses the 2003 Venice Biennale and the Indigenous Arts Action Alliance's exhibit there, entitled *Pellerossasogna*, or Red Skin Dream. She argues that much native image making is devoted to addressing misconceptions promoted by mainstream media, which "overlooks alternative strategies of representation that utilize humor, reappropriation, and self-conscious camp as expressive forms of self-identity" (2004:24). By re-appropriating the term redskin, the Indigenous Arts Action Alliance parodies other's use of the term in a derogatory manner, establishing indigenous sovereignty over use of the term. Strategies of humor, camp and reappropriation appear repeatedly in native artists. Ryan discusses the many uses of humor and re-appropriation as postmodern indigenous art making strategies (1992).

Morris notes that many Indian artists have re-appropriated their own image and, "... have parodied the image or employed it to subvert colonialist tropes of power and representation" (2011:575). Decolonial resistance and empowerment coalesces in the artistic strategy of reappropriation making reappropriation an important tool for decolonization and sovereignty. Henzi explains that, "Reappropriation, then, is not only about resisting past and present forms of colonization; it is also about restoring traditional knowledge and attempting to harmonize it with present-day societal preoccupations" (2013:11). Reappropriation can be a decolonizing gesture about taking back what was stolen and decontextualized by colonialists, and putting it to work for the people who exist as contemporary inheritors of those losses. Reappropriation is particularly important to contemporary conversations about sovereignty as it offers a number of strategies for contemporary indigenous people to both return to a time before colonization, but also as a way to envision a future that is predicated on that past and sidesteps the assimilationist colonial narratives.

Kent Monkman and Queering Re-Appropriation

Quee(re)-appropriation is a type of reappropriation that specifically challenges the norm. The normative and hegemonic are constructed by and for the colonial capitalist hetero-white patriarchy, which have appropriated indigenous land and culture, reformulated them into an image of the noble savage, an image that is always already in the past and vanishing. A quee(re) appropriation then challenges that construction of Indians as vanishing and perpetually in the past. It challenges the ownership of lands, both psychi-

cally and physically. It challenges the importation of Western gender binaries and their violent application to Native peoples. Kent Monkman's work queers through its reappropriations and through those specific reappropriations, challenges ownership, authenticity, the historicizing impulse of sentimentality, and Western gender and sexual practices. Monkman's alternative history/fantasy paintings depict Indians as violent victors who chase partially dressed cowboys with murderous intent, freeze dying erect ranch hands in the artist's gaze, and sodomize cowpokes on the prairie while Bison stare on voyeuristically. Monkman's aggressive quee(re)appropriation of previously appropriated images, spaces, and cultural markers re-contextualizes them and re-orders the hierarchy upon which their original appropriation was founded. The following sections look specifically at Monkman's productions, specifically a selection of his paintings, performances, and photographs and how his work uses the strategy of quee(re)appropriation.

McIntosh argues that, "At first glance, Monkman might appear only as a highly accomplished mimic of bygone painterly and personal styles, as a fashionista of everything faux in the most vulgar sense of postmodern pastiche, parody and time" (2006:13). He goes on to explain that Monkman is that, but more since,

> *Mimicry is simply the fragile, familiar surface of Monkman's work. While he assumes the position of master in the colonial days, asserting his post-Indian diva warrior self as a determining presence, he exceeds simple role reversal and simulation, by constructing eloquently disjunctive palimpsests that breaks open to reveal new seems of meaning (2006:13).*

Some of Monkman's most iconic works and pieces that engage most explicitly with both quee(re)appropriation and what might be called parody based mimicry are his paintings. Most are large scale, measuring upwards of six by nine feet, and are acrylic. As McIntosh (2006) notes, at first the paintings seem to be exquisite copies of the Hudson River School Style. However, within these awe-filled visions of nature when one looks carefully, one finds queer acts abounding as cowboys are sexually mounted by Indians, while Native men frolic with land surveyors and photographers in erotically charged scenes. These images are appropriations of two traditions: American landscape painting from the Hudson River and Rocky Mountain Schools and the works of the famous painter of Indians, George Catlin. Through the use of these stylistic and genre appropriations, Monkman re-appropriates both Native image and image making, as well as a type of psychic re-appropriation of what were once Native lands that were stripped from Native hands.

To understand the mechanics of Monkman's re-appropriative strategies it is necessary to understand the logics of early American landscape paintings. Sage (2008) explains that both the Hudson River School, primary lo-

cated in Eastern America and represented by artists like Thomas Cole (1801-1848) and Edwin Church (1826-1900), and the slightly later Rocky Mountain School, located further towards the West coast and represented by artists like Thomas Moran (1837-1926) and Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902). Both schools used strategies that have been called "the American sublime." The sublime had long been debated by philosophers and was most often associated with nearly inexpressible feelings of awe, wonder and divine omnipotence. Sage argues that the American sublime "unfolded through a kind of emotionally charged, transcendental resonance between God as the supreme moral and omnipotent being, the absolute moral ideals of the individual and an indiscernible experience of the vastness and immensity of nature" (2008:28). This strong link between nature and God and the mastery of nature as part of manifest destiny was seen in some of the stylistic tropes of these artists, where "...the spread of light over darkness accompanied the civilizing passage of Christian pastoral culture into wilderness" (Sage 2008:31). The sublime has also been linked to ideas of horror or terror (Morley 2010), making the New World an overwhelming wilderness that could evoke fear. Feelings of both awe and terror that threatened to swallow the settler in the immensity of the new world, could be managed through "taming" the land, literally and metaphorically. While they engaged conceptually with the sublime, these artist were also engaged in the task of American expansion and the taming of the wild, as many of these artists were employed by the government, a government who had made Manifest Destiny a federal policy at the time. Sage notes that, "from the 1870's onwards these artists regularly accompanied government-funded expeditions across the frontier of the United States, working alongside photographers to record these new lands for a fascinated public and Congress back east" (2008:30). These images, while overwrought with the sublime, also became a part of the rhetoric of manifest destiny and westward expansion. As Aikin explains, "Physically, politically and spiritually, we imagine ourselves moving into that landscape to occupy, settle, and own it" (2000:84). However, this occupation is predicated on the land being uninhabited unadulterated nature, an obvious fiction, but one that was both based in and supported by images of the West as pure and unadulterated (Deluca & Demo 2001).

Even when Natives are represented in paintings from American sublime landscapes or in the work of George Catlin, these images become tools of empire. George Catlin had an epiphany of sorts in 1824 upon seeing a delegation of Indians in Philadelphia: "Awestruck by their 'classic beauty,' the 28-year-old lawyer turned portraitist resolved to devote his life to the 'production of a literal and graphic delineation of the living manners, customs, and character' of the North American Indian" (John, 2001:176). Catlin visited at least 48 tribes and created approximately 500 paintings, along with detailed journals. And while Catlin believed he was engaged in sound ethnographic work,

he also, as noted earlier, called *Berdaches* or Two Spirited people "disgusting." Monkman discusses this himself, explaining that

> *on the one hand [Catlin] purported to be a savior of a 'dying race,' but on the other hand, when he encountered things that he found distasteful, like the dance to the* Berdashe[2]*, he wrote that he wanted it to be extinguished forever. I was interested in* Berdashe *and dandy as two characters who represent obliterated histories. For me they also represent colonized sexualities–the* berdashe *represents the third gender, the male who inhabits the female role in aboriginal societies, and this custom was obliterated through colonial interventions. (Gooden 2009:81)*

Monkman is aware of the history of Indian representation and is consciously subverting it through reappropriating one of the most famous painters of Native Americans: Catlin.

As Wrobel (2006) explains about other travel writers being engaged in the project of empire, Catlin similarly creates an object of empire, particularly in relationship to his depictions of Indians. John argues that

> *indeed, the American landscape and the Indian were symbols linking textually and aesthetically the natural environment and its aboriginal people to romantic notions of morality, exceptionality, and a national racial heritage. But while celebrating and promoting the Indian subject, nationalists painted a spectral picture of the Indians' future complicit with Jacksonian policy designed to rid eastern lands of Native Americans. Catlin's landscape paintings and descriptions problematically reproduced this irreconcilable tension in early nineteenth-century cultural nationalism and ultimately contributed to an imperial discourse on the Native American West: one that in Catlin's works ambivalently contained its own critique, questioning the effects of west-ward expansion and Indian policy. (2001:175)*

The vast expanses of unused land and the primitive and savage inhabitants justify colonialism through images like Catlin's, enacting what John (2004) calls a "benevolent" imperialism. However, as Jacksonian Indian policy included the forced relocation of over 91,000 people, including the horrific episode known as the Trail of Tears (Satz 1975:97), it is hard to see Catlin's work, or any image involved in manifest destiny, the American sublime, or American individualism and exceptionalism as "benevolent."

As these American landscapes were rationales and tools of empire, it is not a stretch to see them as appropriation. These paintings both literally and metaphorically took lands away from indigenous inhabitants, either by

2   *Berdashe* is another spelling of *"berdache"* used by Monkman.

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painting them out of the paintings so that the land seemed open to new settlers or in framing the current inhabitants as either ignorant savages or children of nature, neither of which could effectively use the land the way the almighty intended it to be used. Monkman's use of both the stylistic conventions of the American sublime landscape and his reference to Catlin's work, the most famous painter of Indians, then becomes a re-appropriative gesture. Monkman symbolically reclaims North American lands by populating his depiction of them with Indians, Indians that are not naïve children of nature. Rather, Monkman's Indians are wise to the geopolitical, they understand need to conquer back, as they chase half dressed cowboys with lust in their eyes. They understand the power of the gaze, as we can see in *Study or Artist and Model* (2003) (Figure 2) This painting features dramatic lighting and the pristine forests, conventions of the American landscape painters. It also depicts Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, Monkman's alter ego, in a floor length war bonnet, pink loin cloth and platform heels standing at an easel painting a "primitive" looking pattern on animal hide. To the left side of the painting, a cowboy, complete with hat, is stripped down, his pants around his ankles, tied to a tree. He is pierced by arrows, a clear reference to St. Sebastian, his penis is erect and his head is thrown back in agony, or perhaps pleasure. At his feet an old fashion plate camera, the type used by documentarians on survey missions and the later photographer Edward Curtis.

This image features the re-appropriation of the act of recording, allowing for the agency of the Indian to come through in Monkman's own image. Monkman re-appropriates the gaze, which in the works of Catlin, was an imperialist gaze that disempowered. Here, Monkman's own gaze is the narrative of the work, as he holds both violent and sexual sway over the trussed cowboy. Further more the very inclusion of himself is a re-appropriative reference to Catlin. As Liss notes

> *A detail not lost on Monkman was George Catlin's fondness for occasionally inserting himself into his pictures as a handsome and heroic central player. In response, Monkman created his own persona. Miss Chief Share Eagle Testickle is the flamboyant, high-heeled alter ego who appears in his paintings and performances. (2005:80)*

Thus the creation and following inclusion of Miss Chief is a queer re-appropriation. In looking at *Study for Artist and Model*, one sees the tools of empire have been smashed or reclaimed, the camera lays fallen and the easel now holds hide and traditional Indian imagery. The genocide of Indians is replaced by the torture of the colonial dominator, although the cowboy's clear and centrally placed erection may attests to this torture being a delicious, complicit one. Justice, et al., while discussing a different work, make a point that holds true for many of Monkman's paintings.

Figure 2. Artist and Model (2003) Acrylic on Canvas (20"x24")
Source: Kent Monkman

*This [work] offers important ironic commentary on the sexual-
ized history of colonialism, but it also reverses perceived power
dynamics, repositioning the familiar status of Native Bodies (of-
ten those of women) as submissive victims of the colonial are
erotic to assertive and enthusiastic agents of unashamed sex-
ual subjectivity while also intimating the penetrability of white
male bodies. (2010:1)*

Monkman's works are far from mere mimicry, but carefully deploy a quee(re) appropriation through deft mimesis altered to challenge normativity in a multitude of ways.

Miss Chief & Performance Work

Another of Monkman's quee(re)appropriations deals directly with the birth of his alter ego Miss Chief Share Eagle Testickle and her performance pieces (Figure 3). Green argues that "One of the oldest and most pervasive forms of American cultural expression…[is] playing Indian" (1998:30). With this in mind, Monkman re-appropriates one of the oldest American cultural tropes

by playing himself, but a fictionalized Indian self. Miss Chief is a direct re-appropriation of Cher's 1973 song and performance *Half-Breed,* itself a moment of playing Indian. An obvious stereotype based on other appropriative fictions like mascots and Wild West shows, Cher's performance of sexy faux native princess becomes an image that Monkman uses and plays with in his own performances. As Vizenor explains, "...the simulation of the Indian is the absence of real natives–the contrivance of the other in the course of dominance" (1994:14). While Cher, like other users of faux Indianness like mascot enthusiasts, may believe her appropriation actually gives voice to and represents Natives, it becomes yet another tool of empire and factors into the continued dominance of indigenous people. However, by taking the image back from the hegemonic oppressors, Monkman performs a quee(re)appropriation and through his own uses challenge Western sexual binaries and attempts to bring back the traditional figure of the "*berdache*" or two-spirited figure.

Figure 3. Still from *Dance to Miss Chief* (2010) Kent Monkman 5 minute Digital video
Source: Kent Monkman

Monkman, in his bedazzled loin cloths, his "traditionally" beaded platform heels, and his sequined hot pink headdress, could be mistaken for a drag queen with a simple fixation on Cher. This would not be particularly out of the drag show norm, as Cher is a major icon in the drag community. However, Monkman's costume and playful stage name are just the beginning, as his shows and videos eliminate any doubt that these are critical pieces of performance art. Take for instance the performance *Group of Seven Inches* (2004), the title of which is a reference to a group of Canadian landscape painters, The Group of Seven, who like the American sublime landscapist, believed that a distinctively Canadian art form could be created through an interaction with the countries expanding and unexplored wilds (Silcox 2011). Monkman's website describes the piece as follows:

> *In August 2004, Group of Seven Inches was staged as an occupation of the McMichael Canadian Art Collection in Kleinburg, Ontario. In the Founder's Lounge, Miss Chief Eagle Testickle forced innocent naked white men to become her figure models, finishing off the session by dressing the bewildered men up as more "authentic" examples of the "European male." Miss Chief's text borrowed heavily from the diaries of 19th century painters of "Indians," George Catlin and Paul Kane, turning their dismissive writings on the "romantic savage" upside down and inside out. (Kent Monkman, Group of Seven Inches)*

Having seen a video based on this performance, I can say that the inversion of colonial power is quite obvious since the nearly naked white men are bent over in cheesecake pinup poses for Miss Chief's artistic eye and her occasional spanking. Liss explains the performance, noting that

> *...colonial roles and gender expectations are reversed, as white men (actors hired by the artist) become the subjects of ethnological study by the cross gendered Monkman/Miss chief, who arrives at the doors of the museum splendidly decked out in drag and on horseback. (2005:82)*

In another piece *Séance* (2007) Miss Chief become a medium speaking with dead white colonial painters from the Orientalist Delacroix to Catlin. And with each dead artist Miss Chief channels, her own Cher like costume grows increasingly larger "...and more outlandish, as the responses of each successive artist draws more of her ire" (Monkman, Séance). This is a clear re- or perhaps counter, appropriation where Miss Chief literally embodies the men who stole her and her people's image, land, and culture. Through this embodied performance she is able to speak back to the dominant colonial bodies from her own time and place in history as an inheritor of their imperial sins.

In *Justice of the Piece* (2012), Miss Chief literally holds court alluding to the long history of treaties and legal battles for sovereign land rights. In one of my personal favorites, *Mary* (2011) a short video by Kent Monkman where Miss Chief,

> *… stars in her first foot fetish video. Once again oozing sex and irreverence, Miss Chief revisits the Prince of Wales' visit to Montreal in 1860 to challenge the meaning of surrender within Aboriginal treaties with the crown. Referencing the biblical allegory of Mary Magdalene washing Christ's feet and linking them to the Prince of Wales' visit to Montreal in 1860, Miss Chief Eagle Testickle rewrites this historical narrative and adds a sexy twist that addresses the relationship of betrayal and treatment aboriginals have had with European colonizers. (Monkman, Mary)*

The video shows Miss Chief kneeling at and licking the feet of an official figure of the British crown. However, this "boot licking" posture is laden with sadomasochistic, submissive/dominant subcultural imagery, which places the real power in the hands of the submissive, not the assumed dominant. In all of these performances, Miss Chief is an obvious queer, but also decolonial and sovereign figure whose art challenges the oppressive nature of hegemony through re-appropriations of images and practices with each platform heeled stride.

Monkman & Photography

The final production of Monkman's that I will discuss as quee(re)appropriations are his photographs. Monkman explains about his photo series *The Emergence of a Legend* (2006)

> *The studio portraits, shot, printed and framed to emulate antique daguerreotypes, feature my alter ego Miss Chief Eagle Testickle in various performance guises. The photos trace the history of Aboriginal performance culture — more specifically "Indians" performing for a European audience. (Monkman, The Emergence of a Legend [1/5])*

The photographs in question are a set of five images, which are all part of a limited print series. All look aged and worn, with the silver finish of antique daguerreotypes and depict Monkman in a number of dated costumes; playing "Indian" in one form or another. Monkman labels his referents specifically, explaining his identity in three of the photos as "Miss Chief as a performer in George Catlin's Gallery that toured Europe in the 1850's" (Monkman, The Emergence of a Legend [1/5]),"Miss Chief as The Trapper's Bride imagined as a performer in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, like a Cree Annie Oakley"

(Monkman, The Emergence of a Legend [5/5]), and "Miss Chief as Vaude-ville performer" (Monkman, The Emergence of a Legend [2/5]). "After the popularity of the Wild West shows waned, many Aboriginal performers transitioned their performance careers onto the Vaudeville stage. This photo is styled closely after a photo of one Vaudeville performer, Molly Spotted Elk, who also danced in all-female revues in Paris in the 1920's" (Monkman, The Emergence of a Legend, [2/5]). These are all re-appropriative performances, as all of the referents for his photos are not authentically Indian, but a performance of Indian dictated by Western conventions. Catlin, as previously discussed, was a famous portrayer of Indians, but his portrayals were created by and for European audiences. The Wild West show and Vaudeville are both notorious for depicting racist and imperialist imagery. While there has been some investigation of agency on the part of Native performers in Wild West Show, most scholars acknowledge that

> *Wild West shows highlighted frontier (i.e., white settler) life and included a variety of "cowboy" acts, but the stars of the show were the "Indians," who drew in the crowds in the hundreds of thousands. Wild West shows consistently produced both romantic and stereotypical representations of Native peoples as exotic noble savages (McNenly 2014:144).*

And while Banks argues convincingly that "Performance troubles oppressor/oppressed binaries" (2011:149), it is also well established that these shows, particular Buffalo Bill's Wild West show were about, "...the frontier myth, and the making and performance of American nationalism and identity" (2011:143). Similarly, vaudeville has been the home of many stereotypes, most notably the "black face" minstrel. As Taylor and Austen note, while, "Formal minstrelsy would gradually disappear, ...the stereotypical Negro caricature that it helped etch into the nation's psyche lingered and continued to resurface on- and offstage" (2012:xiv). Similarly, many whites have played native in films, re-enactments, and on stage (Deloria 1999), enacting a type of "Red Face." In marking out his references in West Shows and vaudeville, Monkman demonstrates the roots of the stereotypes that he is reclaiming for his own uses.

However, the most obvious reference to Monkman's photos, while it remains unnamed, is Edward Curtis, the famous photographer of American Indians. Working around the turn of the 20th century, Curtis' most famous work is a twenty volume set entitled *The North American Indian* (1907-1930) which included his celebrated print, *The Vanishing Race* (1904), an image of a band of Navajos on horseback disappearing into the misty gloom. Curtis explained that the photo was meant to show, "...that the Indians as a race, already shorn of their tribal strength and stripped of their primitive dress, are passing into the darkness of an unknown future" (Dippie 1992:41). His North

American Indian project was hailed by *The New York Herald* as, "the most ambitious enterprise in publishing since the production of the King James Bible." (King 2012: para. 1). Documenting this "fast expiring race" (Dippie 1992:42) with photography was not new (there were over one thousand daguerreotypists working in the United states by 1850) and many tropes like, "...the sentimental notion of a dying native race [was] already an entrenched literary and artistic convention" (Dippie 1992:42). Full of "rampant nostalgia," Curtis had sought to document the "picturesque in Indian life before it disappeared forever" (Dippie 1992:42). Curtis also held a claim on the scientific, as his work was edited by a member of the Bureau of American Ethnology and was praised by American anthropologists of the day (Dippie 1992). It was this unique blend of artistic conventions and scientific appearances that made Curtis' work so popular. Curtis' familiarity with artistic tropes is not only visible in his work and the metaphoric description he gives it, but it can be linked to his study of Catlin's paintings as it was an 1898 decision, "to become a photographic Catlin...seventy years after Catlin formed his own resolution to become the Indian's memorialist" (Dippie 1992:43). Like the Hudson River Schools "imperial landscape" paintings before, these photographs were tools for surveying land and people, all in an effort to demonstrate mastery. As Aikin explains, "the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny" (2002:82) is full of surveying metaphors, compass directions, and Horace Greeley's call, "Go west, young man" (Aikin 2000:82). These metaphors, upon and through which Curtis and others developed their conventions of representation, were more than rhetorical strategies, but were backed up by real promises of free land in the 1862 Homestead Act. Manifest destiny legitimized expansion while furthering it. This was seen not only in the allegorical depiction of Indians as vanishing from the path of white colonialism, but also in the sheer level of documentation that Curtis achieved. His project resulted in 40,000 photographs, 25,000 of which were published (Zamir 2007). While Zamir (2007) argues that to have that many images of Native people requires a certain amount of collaboration or agency on behalf of the indigenous people, however complicity with the purpose of the photos as anthropological documentations and ethnographic specimens which were to become a component of Manifest Destiny and American mythology seems unlikely. Furthermore, Mick Gidley, a renowned Curtis scholar has effectively argued that Curtis' work is theatric, or rather, many of Curtis' photos were staged. Curtis' images were made to highlight "Indian"-ness, meaning that Curtis often depicted his subjects not as they were everyday in short hair and collared shirts, but posed in headdresses and bare-chested (Zamir 2007). As Lyman (1982) explains in depth in his work *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions,* Curtis' work was far from objective ethnography, but rather Curtis went so far as to provide props to his subjects while claiming authenticity, placed his subjects against studio tent back drops which decontextualized them from their own

lands, and used dreamy "artistic" fin-de siècle effects like those in Curtis' print *The Vanishing Race*. Curtis even went so far as to retouch a clock out of one of his images to further the authenticity (Lyman 1982).

For Gidley and Lyman, Curtis' works is about "… 'the formation and perpetuation of an iconography,' concluding that the images must be seen as 're-constructions or, more accurately, constructions produced at the behest of a prevailing ideology'" (Zamir 2007:615). This construction is "the binary logic of savagism and civilization that underwrites narratives of Native demise, or vanishing, as well as the historical self-assurance of white culture" (Zamir 2007:615). This binary refuses the idea of adaptation or cultural change and freezes the Indian in a fictionalized past. Monkman is well aware of Curtis' photography, its popularity and its fictionalized ethnography. This is something that Monkman plays with in his own work, deconstructing images that may appear authentic and pointing out both their artistically staged genesis, as well as their role in the subjugation of Native peoples as savages from the past. While Zamir (2007) may believe that there is more Indian agency in Curtis' images than meets the eye, Monkman offers a truly sovereign Indian image that addresses both complicity and rejection. Monkman's decolonizing projects are executed in the visual language of the colonizer, but re-appropriate the image of the Indian for use by a contemporary, urban, indigene.

Conclusions

Art, whether in the realm of fine art, the arena of public art, or as cultural production gathered into anthropological and cultural museums, has been used as a tool of empire. While contemporary art often has connotations of radical and leftist politics, this is a recent association. Traditionally, museums housed the acquisitions of empire and acted as warehouses of hegemonic colonial power, where the conqueror displayed the artifacts of conquered as a way to demonstrate, even consolidate, their own nationalism and sovereign power. These objects and images were misappropriations, as they were decontextualized on the shelves of museums and displayed as the hegemonic order saw fit, not as the original creators intended. These artifacts were often gathered or created by those who believe they were preserving vanishing cultures, even defending indigenous people from the inevitable expansion of empire. However, figures like Catlin and Watkins, while enacting what has been called "benevolent imperialism", were still culpable for involvement in the atrocities of colonialism. And it is the long history of placing indigenous people in museum settings that freeze them as dying or dead cultures from the past that has drawn so many native artists like Kent Monkman to engage with these misappropriated images.

What this article offers is two pronged: first a strategy to approach works like Monkman's through quee(re)appropriation. It has been noted that

gender and sovereignty are co-constitutive because sovereignty is about embodied-being in the traditional tribal ways. It is through this that Two Spiritedness, or an indigenous understanding of gender and sexuality, becomes a sovereign erotics and a decolonial gesture. Similarly, quee(re)appropriation joins queer critiques of heteronormativity with the act of re-appropriation, creating a similarly co-constitutive relationship. Secondly, the application of quee(re)appropriation as an analytic to the work of Kent Monkman allows for a deep investigation of themes like Two Spiritedness, re-appropriation as a decolonizing strategy, and sovereign artistic statements. While cloaked in humor and camp, Monkman makes complex statements about colonialism and assimilation that invert and complicate traditional narratives of aggressor and victim, settler and savage, colonizer and colonized. Monkman's work plays with the gray areas between these binaries through humor and erotic pleasure and makes sovereign, self-determined artistic statements about himself and the lived experience of contemporary Indians.

The effectiveness of much of Monkman's work hinges on his knowledge of Western canon and his reappropraition not only of images of Indians and images of native lands, but through his counter-appropriation of the aesthetic styles and strategies of empire. Monkman's work may look like mimicry, but speaking the enemy's language is actually a way to speak back to power. By using Western tropes, Monkman avoids an out and out rejection of the work and lures viewers in through familiar images of the splendor of manifest destiny. It is only on closer examination that the layers of re-appropriation and counter appropriation reveal themselves through homosexual encounters and gender queer performances. Two Spirited being, in both its sexual liminality, as well as its racial and cultural components, can be shocking to Western sensibilities, which may be broadening in regards to what is acceptable, but are still incredibly white and heteronormative. If Two Spiritedness were not stylized in the aesthetics of colonialism, the work may not be as successful, as the viewer could simply reject it. Instead Monkman's work becomes uncanny, luring the viewer in through the familiar, and then discomforting with the foreign. The work creates for the viewer a feeling that is all to familiar to the colonized subject, that of being foreign in one's own land and skin. While Monkman's works may appear mimetic, through quee(re) appropriation the works transcend their stylistic lineage opening up a space of resistant ambiguity that challenges the dominant racist heterosexist patriarchy. Monkman's works become sovereign art statements that emphasize contemporary native agency: a contemporary native agency in beaded platform heels.

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₽ *(the empty sign)*

Kathryn Ramey

> *"Appeals to the past are amongst the commonest of strategies in interpretations of the present. What animates such appeals is not only disagreement about what happened in the past and what the past was, but uncertainty about whether the past really is past, over and concluded, or whether it continues, albeit in different forms." (Said 1994:3)*

Figure 1: Rue Ramey, Paris France; photo by Kathryn Ramey

In Paris there is a Rue Ramey. Nearby is the film school La Fémis. When I met the director, Marc Nicolas a few years ago, he remarked on my name and said, "You must come to visit us and see the street with your name!" This road is likely named after Claude or Jules Ramey, both sculptors, or Madeline Ramey the 19th century actress or the 18th century politician Marie-Jean-Baptiste-Antonine Sugny Ramey. In other words, there are a handful of French Rameys and decent enough reasons for this relatively unassuming street to be named after them. Several years ago, while researching US expansionism, militarism and neo-colonialism in the Americas I came upon a significantly less charming use of my surname. Ramey Sector US Border Patrol is the 21st sector in the system and the only one that exists outside of the continental

United States. It was constructed on the site of the decommissioned cold war era Ramey Air Force base and effectively continues the imperialist political and economic interests of the United States in the region into the 21ˢᵗ century.
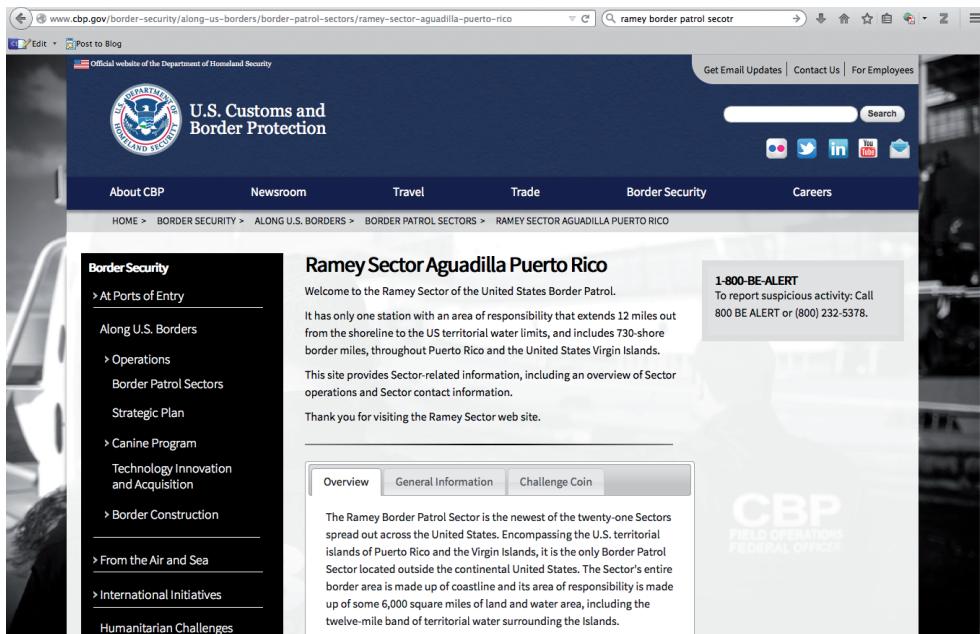
Figure 2: Ramey Border Control; photo by Kathryn Ramey

This essay is about the genesis of a film project, ♇ *(the empty sign).* The main title for the film, ♇, the astronomical symbol for the dwarf planet Pluto, emerged out of the bizarre origin narrative of the US border control sector that bears the name RAMEY – my family name. The secondary title *(the empty sign),* is a playful invocation of Roland Barthes' use of the term in his essay, *La Tour Eiffel* and captures how my name through its use in the subjugation of the Caribbean has developed for me a surplus of meaning, a meaning that has replaced a center in me with a void. In the same way that the former planet Pluto was made and unmade through human – specifically American – discourse in the 20ᵗʰ century, my name has, through no intention of my own, become a wound. Mining this strange serendipity, my film will be a cinematic essay folding together a demoted planet, an MIA WWII General and a US commonwealth to examine the scientific, militaristic and historic rationalities surrounding them. Focusing on narratives of discovering and forgetting, the cross-inspection of these accounts raises an army of questions that challenge the validity of our collective historical recollection, most importantly: What discourses of power undergird these histories and what are the residues of these processes in contemporary life? Inspection of this question through the voice of the filmmaker connects main narratives of the once planet and base and is combined with the historic imaginary of

contemporary Puerto Rican artists, scholars and activists to create a multivalent critique of the United State's military and technocratic ambitions over the Caribbean.

Pluto/*plutoed*

In 1947 the formerly Borinquen Air Force base was named after Howard K. Ramey, a US general who disappeared in a B-17 called "Pluto" in 1943. This plane was adorned with a likeness of the Disney dog that was named after the "American" planet so – called because it remains the only planet (or once planet) in our solar system "discovered" and named in the US. Percival Lowell, scion of the Massachusetts Lowell family, who built a research facility dedicated to its discovery in Flagstaff Arizona, had hypothesized the 9th planet. Although Percival died years before evidence of Pluto was documented, Clyde Tombaugh, working at Lowell observatory produced photographic "proof" of Pluto's existence in 1930. This dark sphere, furthest from the sun in our system was named, on the suggestion of Venetia Phair (née Burney), an English school girl whose grandfather just happened to be friends with a prominent astronomer, after the Roman god of the underworld with the astronomical sign an overlay of Lowell's initials: P + L = ♇. When Pluto was "discovered" it was hailed as a kind of American victory, proof of the US emergence onto the world stage of science. Pluto became accepted as the 9th planet in the solar system and everywhere school children learned the names of the planet with mnemonic devices such as *My (Mercury) Very (Venus) Educated (Earth) Mother (Mars) Just (Jupiter) Served (Saturn) Us (Uranus) Nine (Neptune) Pizzas (Pluto).*

Over the next forty years more objects were discovered orbiting our sun, many of them spherical, some with atmospheres and moons. The working definition that humans had used for five hundred years to designated "planet," as a world orbiting a star, was deemed insufficient. As it turns out, there had never been a *scientific* definition of what a planet *is* (Tyson 2008). Most of the planets, excepting Uranus, Neptune and Pluto had been documented before the 17th century. Astronomy in the 17th and 18th centuries was consumed with charting the outer regions of the solar system as well as documenting the various moons and other interplanetary objects in the sky. As other large objects were documented in the outer regions of space, soon referred to as the Kuiper belt, debate erupted as to whether Pluto should be called a planet at all. There was enough doubt in this regard, that when the Hayden Planetarium opened in New York City in 2000 with Pluto listed as the largest object in the Kuiper belt and *not* a planet, there was serious backlash, much of it directed at the man who designed the display, Neil de Grasse Tyson (Tyson 2008). There was so much outrage that the International Astronomical Union met and drafted a resolution in 2006 to define a planet as "a celestial body that (a) has suffi-

cient mass for its self-gravity to overcome rigid body forces so that it assumes a hydrostatic equilibrium (nearly round) shape, and (b) is in orbit around a star, and is neither a star nor a satellite of a planet" (IAU 2006). Despite vociferous protest, mostly from non-astronomers, media and school children, planet Pluto was downgraded to a *dwarf* planet.

Overnight ♇ became an empty sign, pointing to nothing and a new verb was coined. In 2006 the American Dialect Society voted *to pluto/to be plutoed* is "to demote or devalue someone or something" as its word of the year.[1] That same year the National Air and Space Administration launched the New Horizons mission to the outer regions of the solar system and recently on December 6th, 2014, the sleeping craft awoke to English tenor Russell Watson singing a specially recorded version of "Where My Heart Will Take Me" (BBC) in preparation for its January 2015 rendezvous with the now dwarf planet. This is a truly romantic use of science with aims noble and pure. But one cannot deny the cold war legacy of the "space race" and how even now there is no way to delimit the boundaries between technology made for peaceful ends and that which will be used for war and oppression. In his film *Inextinguishable Fire* (1969), Harun Faroki concludes his investigation into the manufacture of Napalm by Dow chemicals with the following statement: "What we make depends on the workers, the students and the engineers" (Faroki 1967): In other words, companies manufacture and governments militarize technology what civil society institutions and persons *allow* them to. In the United States, the aerospace industry has enabled spaceflight but it has also perfected drones that allow for ever more impersonal surveillance and killing.
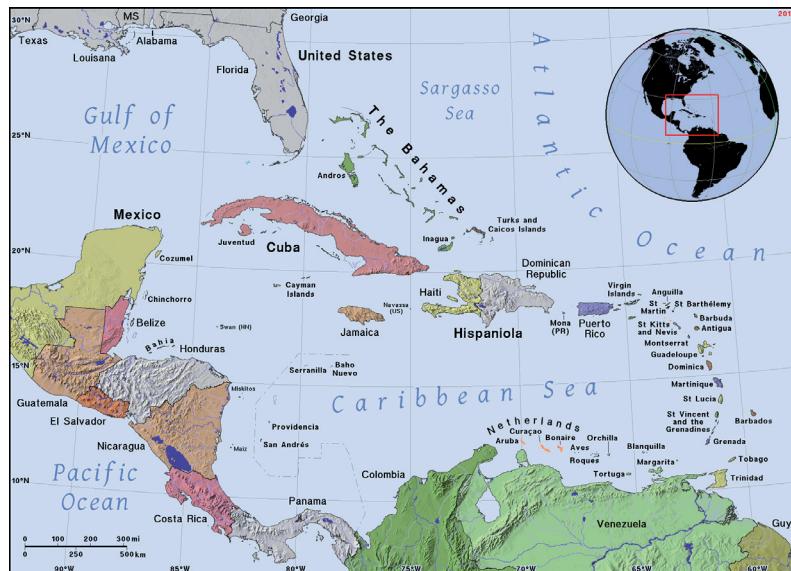
Figure 3: A political map of the Caribbean as it is currently constituted.
Courtesy of http://ian.macky.net/pat/map/country.html

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1 http://www.americandialect.org/Word-of-the-Year_2006.pdf.

A Brief History of US Imperialism in Puerto Rico and the Caribbean

Puerto Rico – a US territory since 1898 whose residents, though US citizens, lack representation at the federal level – was doomed by its geographic location to be a launching pad for 20th century American economic and military ambition in the Caribbean and Central America. Since it's "discovery" by Christopher Columbus on his second voyage to the Americas in 1493, Puerto Rico had been claimed as an outpost of the Spanish Empire. In the 1800's many Spanish colonies in the Americas achieved independence. There was strong resistance to Spanish imperialism in Puerto Rico including a handful of uprisings and the island became an autonomous province of Spain in 1897. Unfortunately for Puerto Rico, the United States was about to intervene in the affairs of the Caribbean. In 1898 they supported Cuba in its war against Spain. War was declared with the US by Spain that April and as a part of the conflict Puerto Rico was first bombarded from the sea and then invaded by the Unites States Army, led by Major General Nelson A. Miles. Fighting lasted into August, without clear-cut success for the United States in Puerto Rico, however, as part of the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1898, Spain ceded the island, in addition to other Spanish holdings to the United States.

Throughout the 1800's the United States had been expanding its territory in the Americas via the displacement and destruction of the native population and through military domination of former Mexican territories. Although these were by no means peaceable acquisitions at least these territories were, once annexed, and eventually made part of the republic. With Puerto Rico the United States took an entirely different tack. Through a series of political maneuvers the US Congress created laws (upheld by the Supreme Court) that essentially made colonialism and the ruling and taxation of a territory without granting its inhabitants representation at the federal level, constitutional as long as certain individual rights were maintained (Ayala and Bernabe 2007:26-27). This legislation and ones that would follow dramatically transformed the economy of Puerto Rico, expanding certain agricultural and artisanal exports (e.g. sugar and needlework) such that farmland became consolidated into big parcels increasing the exploitation of day labor and at home piecework by women and children became a central to the finances of many families. By 1930, 95% of Puerto Rico's external trade was with the United States. They were isolated from a larger world economy and the dependence on their new landlords created dramatic shifts in demographics as people moved geographically for work and historic family ties to land that had been used for subsistence farming decreased (Ayala and Bernabe 2007).

After being given as a spoil of war from Spain to the United States, Puerto Rico was governed from August 1898 to 1900 by the US Army, headed by the very man, General Miles, who had invaded them. This regime dismantled the remains of the Spanish colonial government and instituted new legal and

political institutions (Beruff 2007:18). This brief stewardship had significant impact, as the framework the military set up was to carry over into the civil administration. In the post-Civil war period the US Army had two major experiences controlling civilian populations in the States: that of corralling and moving the indigenous population and that of working with big corporations to quell labor disputes (Beruff 2007:19). These experiences engendered racist and classist sentiments that helped to shape the way in which the Army and the administration that would follow saw the Puerto Rican population as "ethnic other" that required an authoritarian regime to "guide" them (Beruff 2007). Not only was the economy of Puerto Rico dramatically redesigned to fit a US model of industrial capitalism with a monopoly industry (sugar), the governing structure shifted from being relatively self-determined under a long absent colonial power to the institution of civil and political structures that reinforced its status as an unincorporated colony with strategic military significance.

After Britain's exploitation of the Caribbean during the War of 1812 US politicians became convinced that sovereignty for the United States could only be obtained through total influence throughout the Americas with a strong military presence in the Caribbean. Following the States Civil War, various plans were drawn up to create a passageway between the Pacific and the Atlantic to facilitate trade and the movement of troops. Although initially a site in Nicaragua was considered (my film *Yanqui WALKER and the OPTICAL REVOLUTION* explores this), the Isthmus of Darien, a small strip of land linking the North and South American continents was determined to be the best site. Private interests began a canal project in this area but quickly went bankrupt so the US exerted influence and successfully "encouraged" the succession of the Republica de Panama from Columbia in 1903. The US Army Corps of Engineers took up the task of building the canal and completed it in 1914. Protecting this investment became a central part of US foreign policy in the hemisphere from then on. To this end, in the lead up to World War II, Puerto Rico became a major site for Navy and Air force bases built on land expropriated by the United States. Tens of thousands of families were displaced on the island of Vieques as US took most of the island for a Naval base and munitions testing ground eliminating access to fishing around the island which caused economic hardship for the families that remained. Although the US built up a strong Naval presence, it was felt that the only real threat posed from across the Atlantic would be an air attack. Therefore, a series of air bases were planned to serve as a part of the military network established to "defend" the Panama Canal and ensure US interests in the region. It was determined that the main Air Force base would be located in Punta Borinquen, Aguadilla. On September 6th, 1938 the US government requisitioned almost two thousand acres and gave the affected residents of the neighborhoods Maleza Alta and Maleza Baja twenty days to move (Beruff

2007:232 and 358). Although the construction of the base would employ many workers, the displaced workers and those residents that remained were mainly farmers so their services were not required (Hernández 2006:121). Thus, in addition to loosing their ancestral land that many used for income and/or subsistence farming, dispossessed residents were also unable to gain from employment from the base. Several bombardment units served out of the base during WWII. Following the war the base was expanded further to allow for its role as a bomber base in the Strategic Air Command which meant that its fields and hangers needed to be large enough to support the B-36"Peacemaker" airplanes that were capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

What's in a Name? Filmmaking as an act of Personal Responsibility

It was during this post-WWII period that the Borinquen base was renamed for my distant relative General Howard K. Ramey. Decommissioned in the 1970's as an Air Force base, the land was transferred to the US Army and Coast Guard with some put into civilian use for the University of Puerto Rico, Rafael Hernandez International Airport, a Courtyard Marriot™ and most recently, the RAMEY Skate and Splash Park. At the time of this writing the RAMEY base continues to house the offices of the Ramey sector border control, a detention center for undocumented immigrants attempting to reach the US and serves as an airfield for drones patrolling the surrounding waters. These drones and this base are the extension of two US initiatives, the "war on drugs" and immigration from Central America through the Caribbean. Border control issues "challenge coins" to all that work there. This is a far cry from the romantic Rue Ramey in Paris.

Figure 4: Challenge Coins RAMEY sector US Border Control. *Qué sorpresa desagradable!!* (What a disagreeable surprise!); photo by Kathryn Ramey

So what do you do when confronted with the fact that your name has been used as an arm of US Imperialism? I decided to make a film. Having an aesthetic response is what artists do when they are confronted with things that trouble them. Since I'm trained as an anthropologist, I cannot help but be inflected by that training. But what will it be? When I began making films, my work was often personal, in the present tense, and very formally experimental. As I developed my style and began making work that cast a broader net, largely under the influence of my studies in anthropology, I became very interested in social and historical processes and how so much is forgotten or neglected in causal explanations. My two films, *Yanqui WALKER and the OPTICAL REVOLUTION* (2009) and *WEST: What I know about her* (2012)[2] addressed these ambiguities but also began a somewhat new trajectory in my work. In different ways, both of these films deal with the legacy of US military and social movements during the expansionist period in the mid 1800's referred to as "manifest destiny" that were disastrous for millions of Native Americans and anyone else who lived in the way. These events are frequently reduced to a small chapter in US history books and education and the suffering they caused barely mentioned. For me, filmmaking has become a way to address the past as a necessary component of personal responsibility. I look for projects that engage how my own subject position as a citizen of the world is enmeshed in complex and often invisible histories and relations of power. My work seeks to uncover these or at least parts of them and activates in the viewer a desire to do the same. Investigating drone use and immigrant detention in the Caribbean I discovered a military base and a "sector" of border control WITH MY NAME. How could I not make work around this?

In his essay, *La Tour Eiffel*, Roland Barthes relates that Maupassant often ate at the restaurant there, because it was the only place in Paris where he did not have to see the tower. Barthes goes on to describe the tower as an empty sign that can be seen and can be seen from. In a few months I will go to what is left of the Ramey Air force base, the Ramey sector of border control, the Marriot hotel (inhabiting the old Ramey hospital) and the Ramey historical museum (a monument built and maintained by ex-airmen who have claimed the island as their home) and see what I can see from there. Will the blight on my surname become invisible from this place? Will I somehow reclaim it? Of course I existed before my name and it is only borrowed anyhow. The name was my father's and his father's before him and so on and somewhere down the generations general Ramey and I share a common ancestor. Of course there was the "i" that existed before I was named, but that period was brief and I don't remember it. I have lived 47 years in this name and have

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2   The capitalization is consistent with the titles of the original works and is present for visual emphasis in the films. Low resolution copies of the film can be viewed online as follows: *Yanqui WALKER and the OPTICAL REVOLUTION* (2009) at http://vimeo.com/kramey/WALKER and *WEST: What I know about her* at http://vimeo.com/kramey/WEST.

come to inhabit it. It isn't a common name. So as much as it is possible to feel romantic about Rue Ramey in Paris it is also possible to feel ashamed about Ramey border control. But if I walk around it, if I look from inside it, will I see things differently? And how to account for those who do not celebrate it? Who do not memorialize it? For whom the very name conjures US imperialism? A few months ago I had the opportunity to find out. I met a colleague, Jose Martinez-Reyes whose friends had been arrested on the base in the mid-1990s for protesting the US invasion of Panama. When you live in Western Puerto Rico, Aguadilla is where you go to protest the United States or at least where that protest will be noticed. When he heard my name was Ramey, his eyebrows shot up. "*Él no es mi abuelo!*" (He is not my grandfather!) I said. But somehow we *are* related. This man has connected me with colleagues in Mayaguez who live near the base. And from them I met (virtually) Carlos Hernández Hernández the author of *Pueblo Nómada: de la Villa Agrícola de San Antonio al Emporio Militar de "Ramey Base"* (2006). (Nomadic Village: From the Small Agricultural town of San Antonio to the Military Center of Commerce "Ramey Base"). This book is a history of a series of expropriations of land by the US government to build and expand the base in Aguadilla, Puerto Rico. It chronicles the displacement of families and the rationalizations that have been made for this displacement. It also asks over and over at each historical juncture that it covers "Why?" Why was Puerto Rico so important to the United States in the years leading up to World War II, what purpose did it serve economically, militarily, politically and why have histories taught in Puerto Rico neglected to question if what was perceived as good for the United States was actually good for Puerto Rico.

℗ *(the empty sign)* inquires into the United States' thirst for dominion: of the solar system, planet earth and the social, economic and political destiny of the Caribbean and Central America. The film examines the neo-colonialist period following WWI and the rise of the military industrial complex obliquely from this future point. Weaving together seemingly spatially and temporally disparate narratives to inquire: What are the residues of these processes in our post-colonial, consumer driven, global-market economy where space exploration is quickly becoming privatized and military ambitions are increasingly achieved via cyberspace and desktop "warriors" piloting drones? What is the historic imaginary of the American tourist sipping rum by the pool of the luxury hotel in Aguadilla, PR, the hotel worker who serves them, the skate punk in the nearby RAMEY skate park or the student attending the nearby college?

Currently in pre-production, the film will be comprised of repurposed found footage of the geographic locals central to the story, contemporary film shot in and around Aguadilla, PR as well as newly created animations and re-enactments of various narratives pertinent to the story. Stylistically the film will draw on some aspects that can be found in my earlier work. *Yan-*

qui WALKER and the OPTICAL REVOLUTION had a similar structure in that it connected, a biography of William Walker (American born dictator of Nicaragua in 1857), a sketch of the science of optics from the last three centuries, an overview of the transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism in Central America and a travelogue of my experience traveling through the terrain pertinent to the narrative. The film also employed a reworking of found film materials, mostly educational films about Central America and through the use of these materials raised the questions: How have we been taught to think about this region? Who benefits from us thinking this way? Who suffers? What is hidden? When discussing the rationalizations for invading Nicaragua, William Walker said he was going to "spread democracy" to its inhabitants. This is a claim that the United States continues to use to this day to invade sovereign nations.

Figure 5: Film Still Yanqui WALKER and the OPTICAL REVOLUTION;
photo by Kathryn Ramey

WALKER relied on a voice over to help carry the story, a style that I moved away from in my next film *WEST: What I know about her* an experimental documentary about Elizabeth Crandall Perry: adventurer, midwife and my distant ancestor. In the film I travel with my 5-yr old son along the path Perry took across the American West and film side-by-side through monuments to American expansionism until we arrive at the family farm in Oregon. Juxtaposing found footage, historical narrative and contemporary looks at the Willamette Valley; the film is a meditation on how to understand a past fraught with contradictory points of view and the role of the artist in the

making of meaning. In *WEST* I relied predominantly on text that I "found" on historical markers as well as "journal entries" about the main character written under the camera. The film also featured strong ambient sounds and sound effects that helped to accent certain scenes. The film is a first person account told without voice over.
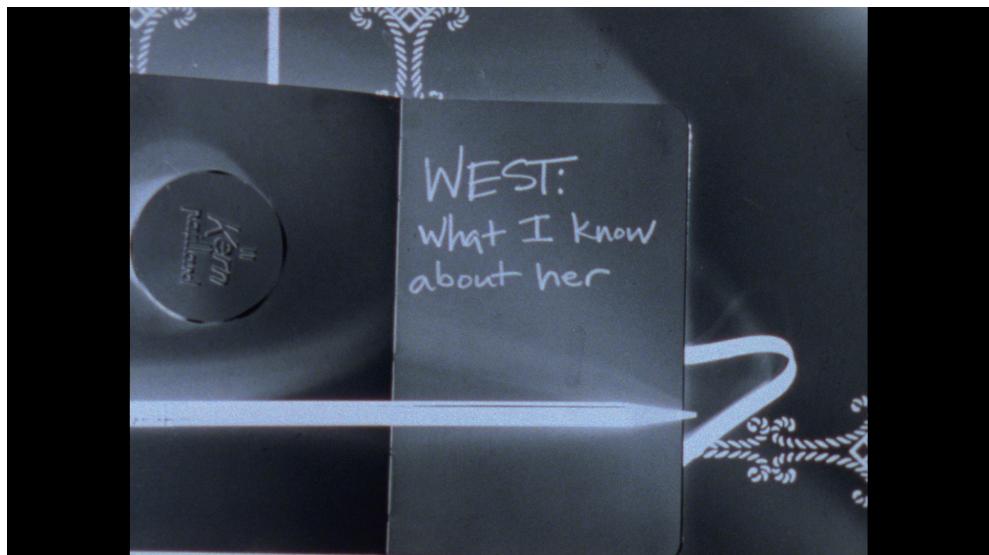
Figure 6: "Journal entry" from *WEST: What I know about her;* photo by Kathryn Ramey

♇ *(the empty sign)* is an expansion of things that were successful in both projects. Like *WALKER* it blends seemingly disparate subject matter to ruminate on particular ways of thinking and doing things that have led to present circumstances. But like *WEST* it will move away from a reliance on first person voice over and use text and sounds present in the locations of the film to provide contextualization. As a citizen of the United States it is important to acknowledge that Spanish should now be held equivalent to English as the *linga franca* of the land. Therefore the film will move between English (my native tongue) and Spanish (a new acquisition for me) to explore the boundaries of my own privilege as a white, English speaking, US citizen as well as foreground how ubiquitous Spanish is in our culture and how central it will be in the 21st century. Most importantly, ♇ is a film that blends personal responsibility (these things, these places are literally in my name) with political and social analysis. Although my work tries hard not to be didactic, I am always striving to raise awareness of histories that are under-represented or untold and cause people to question assumptions they might have been unaware that they held. Even in regards to the planet Pluto, the International Astronomical Union changed its official definition of "planet" expressly with the intention of excluding Pluto and a number of recently discovered similar sized astral bodies in the solar system as opposed to creating a more inclusive definition. Naming and categorizing are all about creating boundaries

around bodies and knowledge and thus they are powerful acts. As a film-maker my intention is to try to lay bare and destabilize these lines of power. What do the planet Pluto, the name Ramey and Puerto Rico have in common? They've all been *plutoed*.
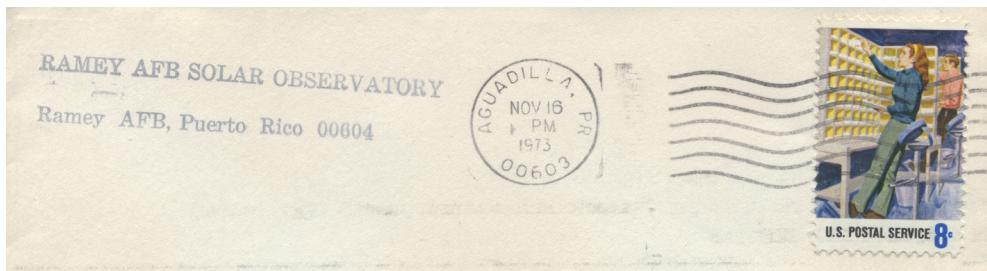
Figure 7: I have been collecting Ramey base memorabilia. This is postage from the base; photo by Kathryn Ramey

Concluding Remarks – Essay Films, Anthropology and Art

As with all of my work, structure and formal techniques employed in ♇ will be determined through praxis. For ♇, I am collecting mementos from RAMEY Air Force base and US military and educational films "about" Puerto Rico and ephemera from the "space race". These *objets trouvés* (fr. "found objects") take on the significance of characters as the weight of their history and the power relations they express is explored. Made in the 21st century looking back at the 20th, both film and digital technology will be used in representation and deconstruction with manipulation of celluloid and glitch. Glitching refers to taking digital material "bending" the image/sound at the level of code. This breaking down of information to reveal the structuring systems beneath will serve as a unifying visual metaphor and provide an image corollary to the empty sign of ♇. Foregrounding dialogic inquiry, present day footage and interviews from Aguadilla, PR will also be filmed. There are a number of persons still living who were displaced as children to make way for the building of the base. There is a small group of retired airmen who have created the Ramey museum and made the region their home. There is a man who grew up on the base whose brother died of cancer from exposure to defoliants used there as a child. There are hotel workers in the Marriot. Refusing linear narrative or voice of authority in favor of digressions, ♇ will reconsider these histories by weaving together their perspectives in both English and Spanish with footage of the ruins of the base, the surrounding surf beaches and towns and historical markers (Christopher Columbus' 2nd landing in the "Americas" is just below Aguadilla).

Figure 8: Glitched image of the Disney dog Pluto from the trailer for the film ⊵ [3];
photo by Kathryn Ramey

The form of my work, categorized by film scholars as "the essay film" is a kind of experimental documentary originally written about by Hans Richter who called for films that moved beyond recording the real world to "portray a concept". He averred a film should "collect its material from everywhere; its space and time must be conditioned only by the need to explain and show the idea" (Leyda 1964:31). Beginning his career a decade or so after Richter wrote this, Chris Marker is probably the best known maker of essay films and his epistolary *San Soleil*, *The Last Bolshevik* (1992) and *Letters from Siberia* (1957) have been very influential on my style. The films do not follow linear explorations of specific events or individuals, but allow themselves to digress, be self-reflexive and dwell on the seemingly mundane in an effort to uncover a larger connection or meaning – rather than simply telling. They ask the viewer not to observe passively but to engage. It can be confusing and at times off-putting but it also agitates. Agitation is memorable. My work draws on the cinematic history of makers such as Marker, Agnes Varda, and Harun Farocki and finds a contemporary context with artists such as the Otolith Group, Deborah Stratman and Rebecca Baron.

Furthermore as anthropologist Arnd Schneider writes, "contemporary art and experimental film [...] disturb our assumptions and allow a distance for the observer".[4] Schneider is particularly interested in how artists/anthro-

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3   A short trailer for ⊵ *(the empty sign)* is available to view online here http://vimeo.com/kramey/emptysign

4   From the program notes for *New Visions: Experimental film, Art and Anthropology* an international symposium at Musee du Quai Branly, March 30-31, 2012 in which I was a participant screening my film *Yanqui WALKER and the OPTICAL REVOLUTION*.

pologists can "challenge previous borders and categorizations across the two disciplines" (2008). Merging ethnographic fieldwork with formal experimentation my films shake up received notions of what is an appropriate presentation for anthropological research as well as what kind of content is acceptable for experimental film. In a promising contribution to both fields, ℙ *(the empty sign)* combines ethnographic research and experimental practice to link up the forgotten costs of US militarism with other post-colonial, scientific and global touristic narratives of the 20th century.

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FOOD RELATED: An Artistic Approach Towards Knowledge Sharing

Rosanne van Klaveren

By Rosanne van Klaveren

Introduction

In recent years, a renewed focus on knowledge sharing has been emerging within the circumpolar regions. Scientists from various fields increasingly aim to include local knowledge in their research, and are often asked to communicate results in return. Also within the communities, many elders hope their knowledge will cross the generation gap. For example, during a plenary roundtable session, held at the 17th Inuit Studies Conference, held in Val-d'Or (Canada) in October 2010, an Inuk elder in the audience asked for the development of new media products in order to transfer knowledge and to reconnect the youth of his community to their cultural identity. In a similar way, pondering about possibilities to connect different Arctic peoples or cultures on the Internet was expressed during conversations that I participated in during travels in Greenland and the Canadian Arctic. It is these kinds of open requests and speculations that motivated me to start the *Food Related* project, and encouraged me to continue developing an online platform for combining and communicating knowledge.

Knowledge exists of insight in certain situations or practices that take place in history, present or future. Knowledge, as a qualitative unmaterialistic commodity, can take many forms. For example, thoughts, concerns, habits, memories, viewpoints, experiences and stories can all contain knowledge. As the sharing of knowledge can lead to a transfer of knowledge or to the creation of new points of view, the main purpose of the platform is to present an expressive space for this sharing to occur. But, the interplay between indigenous knowledge and Euro-western science strategies is one of the auspicious challenges in contemporary (social) sciences. Many research methods have a strong tendency to exclude truths that contrast the Euro-western research paradigm, such as the animistic worldview (Chilisa 2012). Indigenous knowledge is simply too spiritual, too sensitive, too local, too tacit, too sensory, too implicit, too flexible, or too relational to fit in their approach. Nevertheless, combinations of traditional and scientific knowledge can lead to deeper understanding of the research topic.[1] However, conceptual models or frameworks enabling combinations of and links between different ways of viewing the world are absent in most cases. According to Bagele Chilisa (2012) and other patrons of indigenous research methodologies, we need to recognize that "integrating indigenous perspectives in dominant research paradigms may not be the most effective strategy to legitimize the histories, worldviews, ways of knowing, and experiences of the colonized and historically oppressed" (p. 39). Altogether, we can conclude that combining different kinds of knowledge comes with pitfalls and challenges.

In my art practice, in which I have conceptualized and developed various kinds of expressive spaces for more than ten years, I have experimented in combining diversified and sometimes opposed viewpoints and experiences in both online and offline projects.[2] In such expressive spaces, people could creatively and imaginatively share thoughts and experiences. For example, poetry, bird observations, personal experiences and concerns, news items, children's drawings and fictional writings were all combined on the *Vogelvlucht* website, a project commissioned by CBK-Utrecht in 2005 and 2006 in the Netherlands. Less burdened by limitations of knowledge systems or worldviews, these spaces enable different kinds of knowledge to merge. Rather triggered than discouraged by the difficulties described above, I therefore consider artists to have valuable tools at their disposal to overcome these difficulties. As the social power of art lies in the possibility to create

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1   For example, in environmental research there is a growing interest in traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), which is considered a valuable resource to increase our understanding of current environmental changes and their impacts (Hunnington et al. 2004).

2   For example, the Braintec project. This project won the ISOC-Award for Internet and the Arts in 2001 and was nominated for the International Media Art Price in 2002. An overview of early work can be found at http://www.rosannevanklaveren.nl

an expressive space in which the rules and regulations of social reality are reshaped, as both Bourriaud and Rancière state (Trienekens 2010), artists should be able to bypass at least some of the burdens of colonial knowledge structures through creativity and artistry.

Realizing these possibilities of an artistic approach, I accepted the challenge to design possible interplays between the different kinds of knowledge in building an expressive space for the Arctic peoples: the *Food Related* platform. Although this project functioned as one of the case studies within my doctoral research, it has originated out of my own intentions and without external funding. In this article, I like to disclose some experiences and design steps that make visible how this platform came into existence. After some basic information and description of the functionality of the platform, I will focus on my decision to choose food and food culture as its theme. This decision is partly grounded in theoretical arguments. Then, focusing on my artistic approach during fieldwork, I will review the use of creative questionnaires and the cultural probes method. Through stimulating engagement and the imagination, this design method is known for its possibilities to include knowledge that is otherwise difficult to grasp in words (Gaver et al. 1998, 2004).

From all these intentions, theoretical findings and fieldwork experiences, I initiated a prototype of an online platform that can be viewed online at *www.foodrelated.org*. This prototype has been used sporadically during fieldwork, but announcements of its existence were deliberately not made. This is because, as described further in more detail, the conditions surrounding the platform were not beneficial. Further developments turned too time-consuming and technically challenging to be handled by one single human being. But more important, the fact that the project lacks firm roots within the Arctic proved a serious weakness during fieldwork. However, as proof of concept the platform is an interesting case to illustrate how an artistic approach can enable or stimulate the collecting, sharing, and combining of different kinds of knowledge.

FOOD RELATED: an expressive space for sharing knowledge of Arctic food culture

On the *Food Related* platform, one can find recipes, news items, drawings, video messages, old myths, thoughts, personal concerns, research outcomes, facts and fiction; all related to Arctic food and food culture. For example, in a video recording from Kugluktuk, Nunavut (Canadian Arctic), Tracy Evyagotailak says that she likes eating sweet root and caribou. She expresses her appreciation for the cooked substance of the caribou hoof, saying:

"My favorite is the caribou. They kinda taste like deer, they say, but I don't know how that tastes like. We eat the brain, the tongue and the jaw meat. When you eat the feet part, I am not sure exactly what it is called, but when you cook it in very high temperature - is it the tendons or the ligaments or something? It is the cartilage. That is what we eat. It's very yummy!"

In contrast to this personal message, one can also find impersonal entries. For example, a news item reports about the export of Yamal reindeer meat towards Qatar:

"When rival energy producers Russia and Qatar talk business, it's no longer only about natural gas – they're talking reindeer meat, which Russia has promised to export and butcher according to Muslim dietary law. (…) Yamal's governor Dmitry Kolbylin had the state-owned Yamal Reindeer Company arrange for ritual Islamic slaughter and the trial production of 1,000 cans of halal reindeer meat."

These and many other entries form a various collection that can be explored on the website. Although the prototype of the *Food Related* platform is fully functional, it should be considered artistic research. As such, most entries are made by the artist in order to experiment and to visualize its possibilities. The design of the website has three modes to access the collected and shared contributions: a *Geographic View* shows entries in relation to their geographic location, a *Foodgroup View* shows entries in relation to their ingredients or food items, and a *Historic View* shows all collected entries in order of publication.

Illustration 1 shows four screenshots taken from the *Geographic View*. An image of the area within the Arctic Circle rotates and zooms in when an encircled area is clicked upon. Within this selected and enlarged area, colored dots function as buttons to open related entries that are available in three languages. For artistic reasons, the 66° latitude was chosen as the outline, unintentionally excluding certain areas from this mapping. Although this circular solution is an attractive feature that was appreciated by most participants, exclusion cannot be the message of this project. Therefore, in case future versions of the platform will be built, another geographic solution needs to be designed. Nonetheless, people from more southern areas can always contribute on the current platform in other mappings, for example in the *Foodgroup View*.
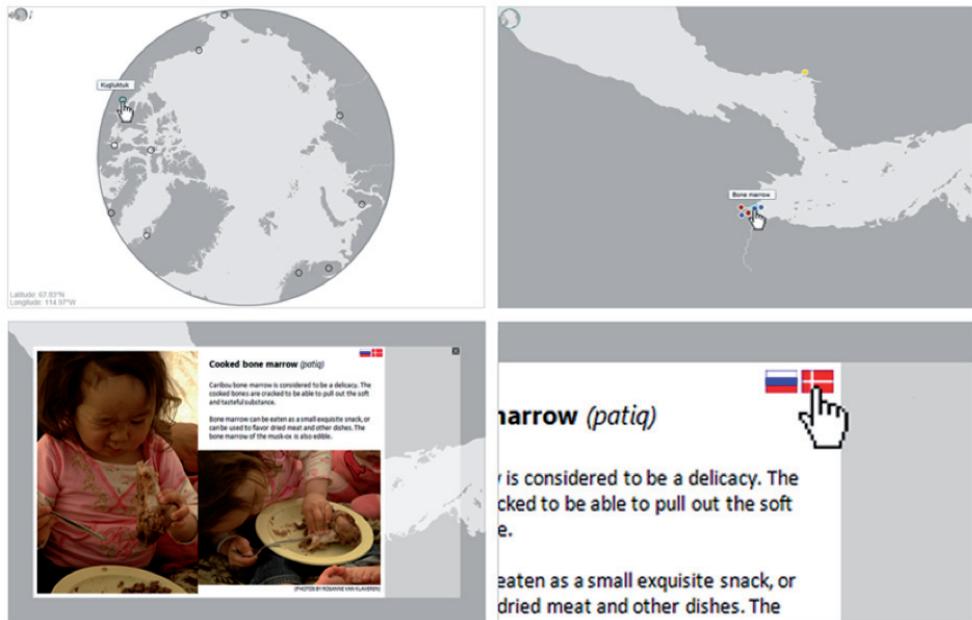
Illustration 1: Geographic view of the Food Related platform, 2012;
by Rosanne van Klaveren

In the *Foodgroup View*, entries are mapped by their ingredients and categorized under sea mammals, birds and eggs, land mammals, fishes and other sea products, hoofed animals, bread and pastry, fruits and vegetables, drinks, or snacks. Individual food items enlarge when clicked upon, after which the related entries become visible as colored, clickable dots similar to the *Geographic View*. A paper-prototype of the food groups and their connected food items was discussed during the 17th Inuit Studies Conference and led to some small but important adaptions. For example, while focusing on the inclusion of specific characterizations of Arctic food culture, I was advised to visualize sea mammals and land animals as distinct groups because it has been a taboo for many Inuit to mix (products of) these animals. The Inuit from Greenland clearly divided animals by ocean and land, a division that can also be observed in the rules that forbid sewing caribou skin on ocean ice in Canada (Petersen 2010:296). As the third and final view mode, the *Historic View* gives a graphic overview of the whole collection in order of publication, which makes it easier to find a particular entry, or to view only the recently added entries.[3]

When users of the platform want to contribute through the sharing of thoughts, habits, recipes, concerns, or any specifics related to Arctic food and food culture, they follow an easy step-by-step process that guides them in the making of a new entry. In one of these steps they can mark which geographic location and food item(s) this entry concerns, which will decide where their entry can be found by other users.

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3   Future versions can, of course, include more view modes.

In order to bring the different Arctic peoples together for the act of sharing knowledge, the participants should be able to understand each other's contributions. The use of automatic translation software is therefore an important aspect of the technological realization of the platform, as it immediately translates all collected recipes, anecdotes, opinions, news items, and other written content of newly made entries. The prototype of the platform is, unfortunately, only using English, Russian and Danish[4] on a structural base because automatic translation software for indigenous languages does not exist. As people throughout the whole circumpolar north were forbidden to speak their indigenous languages during colonial times (Freeman 2000), it feels wrong to present only these three languages on the platform. And besides being a strong tool of communication, language is also a signifier of culture and identity, just as food. Hence, inclusion of Arctic indigenous languages is a prerequisite for future versions of the platform. If enough funding can be found for translation purposes, it is technically not difficult to include several indigenous languages (for example, Kalaallisut [West-Greenlandic], Northern Sami and Inuktitut).[5] The inclusion of these languages can thoroughly change the look and feel of the platform and can make the switch towards a meeting place from the Arctic peoples.

I worked on the *Food Related* project between 2009 and 2012. Following a *research through design* approach, as outlined by Zimmerman et al. (2007), the iterative design process of creating and testing possible content and architectural solutions eventually led to the current version of the prototype. Sketches and earlier versions of the platform are shown and discussed

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4 Most Arctic people who regularly make use of the Internet master one of these 'big languages'. Danish is chosen as a third 'big language' because many Greenlanders do not master English. Also many Sami from Norway and Sweden found it easier to read Danish instead of English. Computer languages, in which the platform is programmed, are also used. The practice of these languages is purposely left out of this paper in order to avoid more fragmentation.

5 Language is used on the Food Related platform in two ways: for information and guidance concerning the use of the platform (static language use), and within the entries made by the users of the platform (dynamic language use). All static language use can be outsourced if future budgets allow. For example all words and texts used to guide participants in exploring the content of the platform and during the process of making new entries, including the descriptions of the view modes, the food items, the locations, the step-by-step guidance during the editing and re-editing of entries, and all possible error messages, can be translated. It is more difficult to translate the language of the entries, because this content is created dynamically by participants who want to be able to change their contributions at any time. However, participants can be asked to translate their (and others') entries manually in their own language, even to correct language mistakes from the automatic translations.

in Arctic Canada and in the Tromsø region. As much as possible[6], members of the target group – the Arctic peoples – were invited to participate in this design process through the cultural probes method (to be discussed further in this article), expert meetings and a workshop.

In an early stage of the project I visited Kugluktuk, a small hamlet in the northwest of Nunavut in Canada, to observe and discuss functionalities of food in the Inuit culture. Although I am not an anthropologist, and do not intent to become one either, I believe it is just as important for artists not only to learn about their topics from theory but from lived experience as well. In addition to that, both approaches can lead to artistic inspiration. Hence, I visited this Arctic community while the project was still in the conceptual stage and discussed my intentions with several community members.

Illustration 2: Eating caribou head in Kugluktuk, Nunavut (Canada) 2009;
photo by Rosanne van Klaveren

When the first sketches of the platform were ready to be shared, I presented them at the 17th Inuit Studies Conference and made small creative questionnaires for the other participants to gather and discuss feedback. Later on, after a second iteration of the design process, I presented the project at the 7th International Congres of Arctic Social Sciences. Again, given feedback influenced further improvements. During a private holiday in Ittoqqortoormiit, a small community in the northeast of Greenland, I presented creative questionnaires to the local school to explore views upon Arctic food

6   It would have been better if more workshops were organized and more cultural probes packages were spread, but due to high travel costs and a limited amount of research time, this was impossible.

from the younger generation. In a later stage of the project, during an artist in residence working period of two and a half months in Kilpisjärvi, I have been working on and with the cultural probes method. As this location is not far from Tromsø, I organized a workshop there to present and discuss the platform. Every time, the participants' opinions, experiences and worldviews were valued beyond inspiration. For example, a connection with Facebook for sharing entries and an easier login process was desired during a workshop in Tromsø, which was immediately integrated in the platform. Eventually, the input given by participants had the power to put the project on hold when discussions about ownership underlined a strong need for indigenous partners.

Features of food, fortitudes of the platform

During my explorative stay in Kugluktuk, I witnessed several aspects of the local food culture. A local hunter demonstrated to me how he skillfully slaughtered a frozen caribou while explaining the use of each body part. I was invited to participate in various activities: I went fishing on the frozen Coronation Gulf, I ate caribou head (*see Illustration 2*) and witnessed part of its preparation, and I joined a picnic on the ice during which a variety of local foods was shared. To the big surprise of the whole community, Governor General Michaelle Jean visited town to express her interest in the local culture, including the food culture. One day earlier, she visited Rankin Inlet and ate the heart of the seal – a gesture that was widely debated in the media and appreciated by many people in Kugluktuk. The Governor's words were later published on the Food Related platform in a news item: "The heart is a delicacy. It is the best you can offer to your guest. It is the best that is offered to the elders. So, do you say no to that? You engage and at the same time you are learning about a way of life, a civilization, a tradition."

Also some of the information that was shared to me by the locals found their way on the platform, resulting in entries about bone marrow, dried caribou meat and arctic ground squirrel. *Illustration 3* gives an example of how this local knowledge is published on the platform. However, the aim of my visit to Kugluktuk was not to gather content for the website, but to find inspiration for the design of the platform and to become more familiar with the topic of Arctic food. As people were enthusiastic about my ideas, I continued considering the food theme from a theoretic approach.

In its broadest sense, food is strongly connected to the core of life itself, and food culture reflects many aspects of livelihood. Seals, for example, are more than nourishment for the people of Isertoq, the Isertormeeq, in the East of Greenland. Besides their main resource for food, seals and sealing also remain deeply embedded in the culture of today: "... they are critical in the maintenance of cultural values and identity. To eat seal meat is to be

an Isertormeeq" (Hovelsrud-Broda 2000:159). Not only the consumption of food, but also the way it is gathered or hunted, prepared, shared and consumed, has a meaning. "Food and cuisine are a quite central component of the sense of collective belonging," notes Fischler (1988:280). Referring to Calvo (1982), he explains how among minority cultures certain features of cuisine are sometimes retained after the loss of the original language. Not only in representations but also in sensed experiences, individuals within a given group are bonded by collective practices, which include food practices (Fischler 1988). The reason why food satisfies more than physiological needs alone lies in the myriad of sociocultural, political, economic, and philosophical factors that influence the foods we choose, when we eat, how we eat, and why we eat the way we do (Germov 1999). If we add geographical, environmental and spiritual factors, the amount of aspects that influence our food and food cultures ranges even further.

Arctic ground squirrel

Kugluktuk (Coppermine), Kitikmeot, Nunavut, 2010-09-03, Rosanne

Arctic ground squirrel is considered to be a 'beginners animal'. It is often the first meat eating by babies and the first game shoot by children.

After you remove the skin and the guts, you can air dry the meat to preserve it. It does not have to be dried completely. Traditionally it is just boiled as a whole without cutting it up into pieces. It tastes like chicken!

Illustration 3: Example of an entry made in Kugluktuk; photo by Rosanne van Klaveren

It is this myriad of possible connections and relations that make the food subject suit so well for an expressive space like the *Food Related* platform. As many aspects of Arctic cultures and livelihoods are directly related to food, more diverse contributions, and links between contributions, are possible. The present prototype shows indeed how various the content of entries can be. For example, the joy of making Akutaq (Alaskan Eskimo ice cream made with caribou meat, seal fat and berries) can be linked to an entry about extremely high food prices, or to an entry containing concerns about mercury levels in marine animals, and to contributed Sami recipes with berries. From all the related factors in the possible connections, the physiological aspects

of the food subject also stimulated some philosophical thoughts about the media use of the platform. When we are spending time online, we are less focused on our body. A feeling of mentally being there, while the body is more or less neglected, is often experienced in virtual environments (Munt 2001). Experiencing body and mind separately, as in Cartesian dualism, is perhaps a Euro-western pitfall that should be avoided when working with indigenous peoples. Thus, the focus on food on the *Food Related* platform might sustain the physical connection to the body during virtual contact, and be meaningful in that aspect too.

Besides its connection to all those aspects of human life, food is powerful in establishing or strengthening connections between people. Food has the proverbial ability to break the ice during conversations and can literally bring people together. In all human cultures food is used to build and maintain social relationships, notes Joanne Ikeda (1999). Referring to Rozin (1996), she explains how food is an extremely valuable social instrument because it promotes social interaction (Ikeda 1999:151). The social act of eating together even has its own term: commensality. Claude Fischler defines commensality as one of the most striking manifestations of human society (Fischler 2011:529). Drawing on Georg Simmel's analysis of the shared meal (Simmel 1910), he describes the sociological power of commensality as being magic, because it turns "the exclusive selfishness of eating into a habit of being gathered together such as is seldom attainable on occasions of a higher and intellectual order", into a collective, social experience (Fischler 2011:541). Indeed, thoughts and emotions are shared easier and less restrained during the shared activity of consuming food, whether it is among friends, family, business partners, or even complete strangers.

If food, as a topic or subject, can also create comfort and stimulate communication in virtual environments, it is probably an ideal feature to stimulate openness too. Openness is a favorable condition for participatory practices, as it is inviting and gives space for people to fit in (Huybrechts 2013). For projects like *Food Related* it is even more important to create as much openness as possible, because the target group might not only contain different opinions, but different worldviews as well. Among the people I was aiming at, I explicitly did not wish to exclude the non-natives. In times of globalization it is more relevant than ever for minority groups to be understood by the majority. For example in relation to the European import ban on seal products, prejudice is on the vanguard of globalized rules and regulations that disadvantage the Arctic peoples (Lynge 1992). If openness can contribute in more understanding of Arctic food cultures, prejudice against the Arctic peoples can decline. During the period that I worked on the *Food Related* project, I therefore tried to be as open as possible. Food as a feature helped me in doing so, for it can be approached from many angles or interests, is a need that all people share, and is not judging in itself.

Through my visit to Kugluktuk and through confirmation from literature, implementation of the food subject became a well-considered foundation of the platform that fortifies many aspects and aimed functionalities. The purpose of this feature stretches beyond the function of a theme or a topic; it is handled as a linking element and a principle of dynamic agglutination, in the way Bourriaud described the notion of relational arts (Bourriaud 2002).

Creative questionnaires and cultural probes as a method to explore possibilities and concerns

During further conceptualization and development of the *Food Related* platform, I worked with creative questionnaires and cultural probes as an artistic approach for including knowledge and feedback from participants. Cultural probes (sometimes referred to as design probes) are small creative tasks, sometimes used singular but mostly used as a set or a so-called probe kit. As a qualitative research method it follows the artistic approach, which is characterized by being irrational and uncontrolled, with a focus on inspiration (Gaver 1999). Probe kits contain ludic tasks and assignments, often combined with a diary or notebook to gather and explain outcomes, and are usually given or sent by mail to the participants to work with at home. Cultural probes outshine for openness to various ways of expression. Through the creativity of both the initiator(s) and the participants, cultural probes give space to dreams, subjective thoughts and uncertainties. They can open up the design space, instead of narrowing it down (Gaver 2004), and therefore are a match for including different kinds of knowledge.

In spring 2010 I visited Ittoqqortoormiit (Scoresbysund), in the northeast of Greenland, for a short holiday. This gave me a good opportunity to test the probe method, as I had never worked with it before. Because I was particularly interested in food experiences from the local youth, and because I imagined it easier to approach them in the limited time frame, I made small booklets as creative questionnaires to be used in classrooms. These probe-booklets contained as little text as possible and often suggested drawing or other creative responses as possible ways to answer questions. For example, children could draw their favorite food on an empty plate. And, a set of 14 handmade stickers of yellow smiley faces with a licking tongue and 14 green faces that expressed disgust could be used to show taste and dislike on a collage of local animals in an Arctic environment *(Illustration 4)*.

Nine school children aged 10 and 11 worked with these booklets under the guidance of their teacher. This brought me three valuable insights, which were important for the project. First of all, I experienced that it was not easy to find good conditions for these booklets to be used in class. Due to the eruption of the Eyjafjallajökull volcano, which disturbed most air traffic in and around Iceland, I arrived in Greenland with a delay of four days. The

teacher whom I was advised to approach was no longer in town and instead I encountered a hostile response. This was based upon the fact that too many outsiders want the school children to participate in their projects, and I could only appreciate the teacher's response to protect the children under her care. Showing her the booklets anyway broke the ice and made her offer the golden mean: she would allow her class to work with the booklets without my presence.

Illustration 4: Creative questionnaire p. 6-7 filled in by Signe P. Kunak, Ittoqqortoormiit (Greenland) 2010; photo by Rosanne van Klaveren

Hence, I learned that finding good conditions surrounding the participation is perhaps more difficult within Arctic communities than in most Western-European societies. This is probably obvious knowledge for anthropologists, but this was a new experience for me as an artist. Secondly, I noticed that the creative approach of the booklets can motivate participation. When I picked up the booklets after a short weeks' time, the same teacher enthusiastically explained the joy she and her pupils experienced from it. If I would be able to come back another time, the teacher told me, we could prepare a collaborative working moment around the Arctic food theme as a guest-lesson. Unfortunately, I had not enough financial resources to do so. Remembering her previous attitude, I realized that the creativity of these booklets most probably broke the proverbial ice (maybe in a similar way as food and commensality can). Looking back at the great amount of time it had cost me to design and make the booklets, I considered it worth the effort. And thirdly, I experienced the bidirectional connection of working with the probe-booklets to be like an exchange of gifts. At home I had made something for them, namely the booklets, and now they made something for me in return. After viewing the nice drawings, funny remarks and sometimes even rebellious responses in the returned booklets, I felt big sympathy for these children despite the fact that we did not meet in person. I therefore have to agree with Gaver et al.

(2004) that probes enable artists or designers to feel connected to the people they designed them for.
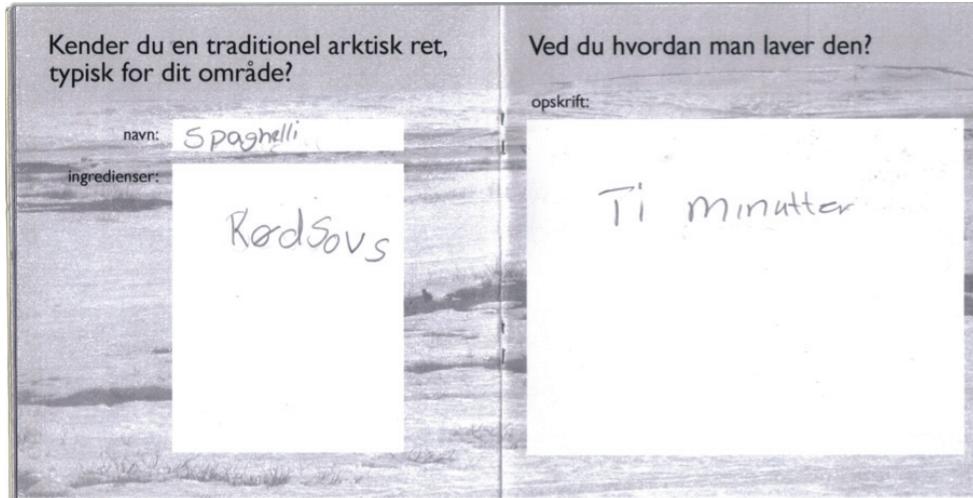
Illustration 5: Creative questionnaire p. 10-11 filled in by Emilie Madsen, Ittoqqortoormiit (Greenland) 2010; photo by Rosanne van Klaveren

Although the cultural probes method is not aiming for analytical outcomes or seeking scientific validity (Lee 2013), the returned booklets contained information that I found notable. For example, some children claimed that they never eat vegetables. Spaghetti has been drawn and written remarkably often as favorite food or as most common food. In response to the question if she could name a traditional food from this region, Emilie Madsen (11 years old) mentioned spaghetti. The recipe she wrote for making it, which is displayed as *Illustration 5*, is endearingly simple: "Ingredients: red sauce. Preparation: ten minutes." In one of her drawings, she also added potatoes to it.

Motivated by my experiences in Ittoqqortoormiit, I was eager to continue working with the cultural probes method. This time I wanted to design a package of probes, instead of only one booklet. In the autumn of 2011, during a working period within the artist in residence program of the Finnish Bio Art Society in Kilpisjärvi in the north of Finland, I finished my first cultural probes kits (see *Illustration 6*). Ten boxes containing ten explorative tasks, including a booklet for diary purposes and writing down responses, were ready to be worked with. One task reflected on futuristic food, the so-called 'Predict-your-future' probe, asking for wishes for the future of Arctic food. This probe came with a small booklet that explained how Winston Churchill during the interwar period predicted that in fifty years hence we should be able to escape the absurdity of growing a whole chicken in order to eat only the breast or wing, by growing these parts separately under a suitable medium. The illustrated booklet continues explaining that it is today possible to produce meat tissue in laboratories for about one million dollar per 250 gram. After some images of food designed for the future, the question is asked how

the participant thinks reindeer meat will be like, fifty years hence. What will be the color, taste, smell, production and consequences? The suggestion is given to draw, write, photograph or print how life will be like with this food of the future. This probe also came with a small plastic petri dish filled with an unfamiliar substance to stimulate the imagination.

Illustration 6: Making Cultural Probes in Kilpisjärvi (Finland) 2011;
photo by Rosanne van Klaveren

Another probe informed about the connection between food and identity through an allegory with flag placements, including three little white flags that could be colored and used to claim certain food. There was a probe that consisted of a little box with freshly picked berries with the question to write or draw what comes to mind when eating this. And the box contained a set of handmade playing cards with recipes, requesting to add more cards to the deck. To name them all; there was also a probe to label oneself, a probe to design view modes for the online platform, a probe to write a message in a bottle, a probe to leave comments, a probe to frame one's most important outcome, and a probe containing Arctic candies as a thank-you gift. The purpose of the probes and the overall *Food Related* project was explained in a booklet that came with the probes. This booklet also gave space for a daily description of food intake and experiences, and for sharing additional thoughts. Altogether, it became a varied and colorful combination of things and thoughts to explore, with many possibilities for sharing opinions, experiences and concerns.

With the help of some local people, I organized a *Food Related* workshop at *Small Projects* in Tromsø to discuss the project and the platform being designed (*Illustration 7*). At the end of this workshop I introduced the probe kits. People appreciated the creative approach and were impressed by the time and effort I put into it. Looking at the probes was naturally followed by using them, although people also felt restricted to 'use' a whole probe kit for working with just one or two tasks. Afterwards, three probe kits have been taken home to work with. Two other kits were used later in the same region. As I made ten kits in total, half of them were not used at all. This illustrates that it has been difficult to find favorable conditions, like in Ittoqqortoormiit.

Illustration 7: Workshop at Small Projects, Tromsø (Norway) 2011;
photo by Rosanne van Klaveren

To give an idea of the outcomes, I like to share this response written by a Sami woman to the earlier described 'Predict-your-future' probe:

> *"I think it will be like now. The Sami reindeer-meat traditions have not changed that much, compared with the time my parents was young. The biggest difference is the vegetables that they did not have very often (only potatoes). Today, reindeer meat is served with different kind of vegetables, sauces and maybe the dishes will be influenced by people from other parts of the world – mixed food traditions. My brother in law is from Philliphines, and he make the most wonderful reindeermeat dishes in a 'Philliphine-way'. Really exciting!"*

This probe-outcome mentions the practice of mixing food traditions, which I find inspiring. For example, a future extension of the platform could focus on this mixing of food traditions and other relational aspects. Since I had not thought about that option before, I consider this response valuable. It illustrates how the cultural probes method can lead to unexpected, inspirational results.

Through its openness to creative and imaginative responses, cultural probes allow more uncertainty than most other research methods. This uncertainty enables both richness and risks. Liesbeth Huybrechts analyzed how generative participatory projects involve risks and uncertainties that may lead to unexpected and unintended results (2014:268). She characterized participatory projects as 'risky trade-offs' that take place between makers and participants. These projects are defined as "socio-material assemblies where the partaking elements, being people and objects, mutually define and shape each other" (Huybrechts 2014:275). In order to allow uncertainty to enable richness and risks, one should not aim at unambiguous, easy-to-handle results. Gaver et al. (2004) criticize the analyzing of probe results and express their worries about the way researchers appropriate the probes into a "scientific" approach. They deliberately refused to analyze the results of their probing because "the Probes embodied an approach to design that recognizes and embraces the notion that knowledge has limits" (Gaver et al. 2004:53). It is better to handle results with uncertainty and ambiguity too, as in this lays the value of the method. Although it possibly remains unclear to others how the results of the probes influenced the working process of the *Food Related* project, I can acknowledge that its influence has been strong. Responses turned useful for the optimization and evaluation of the current build of the platform. But more than the richness, it was the enabled risks that turned the strongest as this caused a complete reconsideration of the project.

The fact that the project lacks firm roots within the Arctic was considered a serious weakness of the project and for some this was even reason not to participate. For example, one of the probe kits that was handed over to a Sami woman by her partner, returned unused because I was not Sami myself. Her refusal to work with it was intensified by her message saying that she became sick of initiatives of southerners who wanted her collaboration just for the fact that she is Sami. Multiple attempts to find people prepared to participate resulted in similar refusals. Obviously, I first felt disappointed when it turned almost impossible to find participants for my neatly prepared probes. Then I realized that in these refusals lay a strong message that I could not ignore; they all pointed towards the ownership conditions. Also during the workshop in Tromsø, which preceded working with the probes, ownership was questioned and debated the strongest. Instead of hearing only encouraging responses from peers or from indigenous people who are used

to collaborate with non-indigenous people, for example during conferences, I now heard different voices. The risk of refusal, enabled by the intention to include participants in the design process, made this possible. After overcoming my initial disappointment, I could only agree with the critique: this project needs firm roots within Arctic soil. If I would launch the platform to a greater audience than just some individuals at workshops or conferences, it would fail because of its current conditions. Besides my non-indigenous background, it simply does not make sense if one individual is trying to run the whole thing alone. If I would try it anyway, I would risk burning up all its potentials and burn out myself. Hence, I decided to round up my work for *Food Related*. This, I believe, was the strongest follow-up possible for the time being. In building one final version of the online platform, as a fully functional prototype, I could do justice to most of the constructive feedback I received. Future times, for example after finishing my PhD, might enable me to restart and rebuild the project with an Arctic team, under fundamentally different conditions while using different technological solutions. Then, as a team, we might consider following up this potent piece of advice too, that was given to me in response of the probes: to implement the platform in an educational or social program across the Arctic.

Conclusion

Some empirical experiences related to my artistic approach and working methods were discussed in this article, as examples of how artistic participatory practices can influence knowledge sharing. As a media artist, I searched for new ways of bringing people together through the shared use of (new) media for more than a decade. I often use media in my art to stimulate engagement and debate, in which the communicative aspects of media are usually paramount. When accepting the challenge of combining different kinds of knowledge, including indigenous knowledge, I therefore designed an online platform as a space for expression: the *Food Related* platform. This expressive space aimed to build proverbial bridges between the different Arctic peoples for the purpose of knowledge sharing: a bridge to overcome physical distances through virtual contact; a bridge to tackle language problems through the use of automatic translation software; a bridge to stimulate discussion and exchange of experiences; and a bridge to strengthen dignity and self-respect through positive cultural display and attention for contemporary issues of minorities within a globalized world. The visual appearance of the online platform aimed to motivate exploration and contribution. Navigation through different view modes allows viewers to browse through the collected content while following their interest.

    With the *Food Related* project as the research case, I focused on two topics that were essential in the realization of an expressive space for knowledge

sharing: food as a subject and stimulus for sharing, and the use of cultural probes as a method for participation. First, general aspects of food and commensality were discussed from empirical findings and literature study. Food proved to be a strong entrance and stimulant for engagement during a short period of fieldwork in Kugluktuk, Canada. Confirmed by theory (Hovelsrud-Broda 2000, Fischler 1988, 2011, Germov 1999, Munt 2001, Ikeda 1999), a focus on food and food culture can bypass constraining aspects of intellectuality in order to open up the project towards different kinds of knowledge. Secondly, the use of the cultural probes method is reviewed. Departing from Gaver et al.'s experiences (1999, 2004), creative questionnaires and cultural probes packages were designed and put into practice. The creativity and artistry of this research method encouraged subjective and imaginative engagement. Thus, in working with cultural probes also lies a possibility to share and collect knowledge beyond intellectuality and constraining worldviews. Although it has been difficult to motivate people for participation, the artistry of the probes method could break the proverbial ice, for example when probe-booklets or creative questionnaires were used in Ittoqqortoormiit.

The presented findings gave possible answers to the question how an artistic approach can support the combining and communicating of knowledge. The openness within the approach enabled ambiguity and allowed contradictory contributions. The discussed artistic approaches and design solutions made it easier to combine discordant or conflicting elements. They are an example of possible frameworks to unite 'intimate' and scientific knowledge. However, in working on the *Food Related* project also aggravating circumstances occurred. For example, the implementation of automatic translation software aimed at cross-continental communication, but also implicated power imbalance through the use of 'colonial' languages. Both the critique and the potentials that were acquired in working with the probes, uncovered the need to collaborate and continue working with a team. It is mainly ownership issues, brought up by some of the participants, which made me decide to postpone developing the platform beyond the current conceptual stage. Although I strongly believe in the possibilities and potentiality of the platform, which is backed up by enthusiastic and encouraging responses of peers and some participants, other participants convinced me that it would be better to put the project on hold until ownership can be transferred to (a partnership within) the Arctic regions. Putting the project on hold, for a yet undetermined time, was without doubt the most difficult decision to make. But in taking the contributions of the participants seriously, and in following them up where possible, I believe this was also the best thing to do.

Although I am still convinced that it is nowadays, unfortunately, almost impossible to overcome all power imbalance in knowledge sharing projects like *Food Related*, I believe that creativity and artistry can be beneficial in finding equal grounds. I found some backup for this idea in David Gauntlett's

'Making is Connecting' (2011), in which he explains how acts of creativity usually involve a social dimension that connects us with other people. New plans and ideas can arise if we think imaginatively together, during the act of making things, which gives us resilience and the creative capacity to deal with significant challenges (Gauntlett 2011:20).

The outlined experiences aimed to present how an artistic approach can be valuable for projects that wish to include 'intimate' knowledge. They showed, however, only examples from one specific case study. More examples deriving from manifold cases are needed before distinguished statements or conclusions can be made. Nevertheless, I hope that my approach can be inspirational to others, including those beyond the fields of art, for giving attention to artistry in order to enrich knowledge sharing practices.

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With unveiled face – what the portrait reveals of myself and of the others
('A visage découvert, ce que le portrait dit de moi et des autres')

Florence Aigner *in conversation with Rokia Bamba.*[1]

Introduction

In this contribution, I would like to present a participatory photographic project to which I have contributed as a photographer. It was designed for a class of 15 adult students of French as a foreign language from a popular area of Brussels and has been initiated by the centre 'Molenbeek Formation', offering French language classes to migrants in cooperation with the educative programme 'Sesame' from the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium. The main objective of this programme is to make the museum's collections more accessible by creating links between the museum's collections and groups of adults learning French, as well as children, youth and families.

The purpose of this participatory approach is to open a space for each participant to stimulate and explore the dimensions of artistic format of a portrait, and to share it with an audience. In that sense, the process is as important as the final product.

The project process

The impulse for this project came from the observation that Brussels is a city where groups of people live separately from each other. They also live in precarious systems (poor education, unemployment, difficulties to integrate beyond their own communities or families). The task was to conceive a project in which they could approach the world of museums through a creative and proactive approach by bringing into it their own cultural references and experiences. The questions that were asked were: Is such a project feasible? And what could it reveal to them, and to us?

Concretely, a group of language students with migration background (French as a foreign language in Brussels) got to know a selection of the collection of portraits from the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium. By using cultural practices such as language and photography, each participant got the opportunity to create his own way to perceive the art works and to formulate an individual statement towards one selected work. This was realised through the creation of a memory card game built around a selection of portraits seen in the museum.

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1   Project coordinator and French teacher at Molenbeek Formation.

Why portrait?

In this project, portraits are precisely considered beyond exterior features. They express something about social, cultural and religious belongings and emotional attachment. They reveal dreams, ambitions, power or secret emotions. The portrait is often based upon an attribute; an object is investing personal or symbolic functions. The process of identification and projection works between the participants and the paintings.

Thus, from art works rooted in a history, aesthetics, culture, a dialogue ensues between the individuals and the collective; between a subjective view and a reality that is intended objective. All these concrete representations allow experimenting with the complexity of identity construction.

The process has designed to:
- create conditions where two worlds that are not familial with each other meet with each other's' specificity, by demystifying this place.
- bring people into museum by being active and creatively involved,
- offer the opportunity to explore how culture brings together people, creates links with one's self and the others, within a project and finally also with society as a whole.

The museum represents the gateway allowing this specific link. It is embedded in the urban environment of Brussels, where the participants live. The company of a professional team within the frame of this project helps to overcome barriers between 'low' and 'high culture'.

Once the participants found their mark in the museum, various portraits were analysed together, put back in their social, cultural and historical context. The participants were confronted with other forms of portraits found in different cultures and different artistic expressions. By this proactive practice, their knowledge of the French language has been enriched through the exploration of human emotions such as happiness, sadness, anger and fear.

Finally, the group was invited to bring an object that represents an aspect of their personality. They were stimulated to talk about themselves in relation to that object. Then, for preparing the memory game, they were asked to choose the reproduction of a painting from the museum to which they had a special link, a work that somehow could represent them. They also had to think about an object in the painting that could be staged by them in the photograph.

The photographic approach

Each trainee was then photographed in front of the chosen work with an object that has been carefully selected both for its connection with the work and with a personal experience. This represented a very emotional moment for the participants: They allowed themselves to be photographed and take stage by investing and presenting personally selected works.

Through this very intimate encounter a dialogue emerges between the painting and the personal reality of each participant. Also, a specific way of learning French has been developed by being engaged in a discussion on individual feelings in relation with the analysed paintings.

Furthermore, it also helped to enhance the knowledge and better understanding of the culture of the host country and created a space where past, present and here/ there could resonate.

The memory game – how it works

The result (outcome) is not only for participants, but also shared with other audiences: The purpose of the game is to find and put together three photos of each triptych. It is composed by ten triptychs; each photo is printed on a different sheet. It functions as a game of mirrors between photographic portraits of the participants and the paintings. This memory card game is currently used as an educative tool integrated to the Sesame programme for workshops organized for French classes.

Here is the memory game, together with some words from the participant portrayed in each triptych.

'Portray of Willem Moreel, mayor of Bruges', H. Memling;
photos by Florence Aigner

'The serene man' by Abderrahim, 41, from Morocco

"I chose this painting, because it shows a man who looks peaceful and calm. He also seems to have a lot of money. I would love to be as peaceful as this man."

'Episodes from September Days 1830', G. Wappers;
photos by Florence Aigner

'Léa' by Rokia, 37, from Belgium

"This painting represents the Belgian Revolution of the 27th September 1830. My daughter, Léa, was born on the 27th of September ... and she is my greatest revolution!"

'The Virgin and the Child', Q. Metsys;
photos by Florence Aigner

'The perfect love' by Hakim, 38, from Morocco

"I chose this painting because it brings together two emotions that I love in this life: the emotion of joy and the emotion of love (especially between the mother and her baby). I also like the objects shown in this painting: objects that speak of wealth, the bread which indicates the food given by Mariam to her son to make him live and grow and make others live ... I loved the idea of my photo taken by this painting because I find it good and most able to express what I have in my head and in my heart."

'Portray of A. Anselme and his wife J. Hooftman and their children', Martin De Vos;
photos by Florence Aigner

'The ideal family' by Fatma, 30, from Belgium

"This painting shows us 'an ideal happy family'. I love my family. I miss
so much my family that remained in Turkey ... but my son is here and he
makes me very happy."

'Triptych of the brotherhood of Saint-Anne', Q. Metsys;
photos by Florence Aigner

'The quiet child' by Abdelaziz, 52, from Morocco

"I chose this painting about praying since praying is very important to me.
The child seems very calm. I love children who pray."

'Portray of Jacqueline Van Coertre', P. P. Rubens;
photos by Florence Aigner

'Old objects' by Zaynab, 27, from Morocco

"I love this painting because it is linked to everything I like: ancient life and beautiful clothes. I love old things and old clothes. I like this woman because she reflects beauty. She is wearing a beautiful dress. I also like to wear beautiful jewellery."

'Portray of a woman with a bunch of flowers', A.T. Key;
photos by Florence Aigner

'Inner Silence' by Anne from Belgium, project leader

"I love this woman in the silence of her private room. She is surrounded by objects, source of life: flowers in water, fruits and in her crossed hands, she twists a gold rosary."

'Loth and his daughters', A. De Gelder;
photos by Florence Aigner

'Love is in the air' by Manuel, 32 from Spain

"I chose this painting because I would love this to happen to me too ... It represents, for me, a man who seeks true love with a beautiful woman."

'The month of May' – detail of 'The woman with a flower', P. Snijers;
photos by Florence Aigner

'A happy young woman' by Sema, 32, from Turkey

"I chose this painting because I think it represents happiness. I feel happy, too."

'Studies of the head of a Moor', P. P. Rubens;
photos by Florence Aigner

'Memory of the family' by Husniye, 34, Belgian

"I like this picture because it expresses a lot of emotions. Sadness, joy, reflection … I chose this painting because it explains life. I live far from my family and this is what the portrait expresses as well. I miss my family. I am sad."

A moment of transformation and appropriation

This project has a special meaning for me. Having being involved in various collaborative photographic projects in the past, in which we depart from the personal material culture of each participant, this project is the first project in which a creative space is given to each participant to explore and meet references from cultural and art history of their new country. I had been wondering how the so-called 'low culture' meets the so-called 'high culture'; and even more how to bring them together, how to initiate a creative process in which each participant can become active and inspired.

Taking the photos of the particpants at the museum was a moment of intense emotions for me. Beyond being a moment of intense concentration for the participants and myself, I was very touched while they were posing in front of their chosen painting, holding objects, memories, symbols from their personal life embedded in their culture of origin. It created a feeling of accomplishment, a feeling of appropriation, a feeling of their homecoming. Yes, it is possible to create a bridge among people, milieux and cultures. One of the participants said after the project, he bought two entry tickets to the museum for his nephew, because he wanted him to better understand the history and the culture of his new country.

Florence Aigner (1975) is a photographer based in Brussels. With an academic background in Refugee Studies, her artistic practice focuses on issues related to memory, belonging and the material culture of people in exile ('Homes Sweet Home', 'Retour de Babel', 'Coin de vies', ...). Through participatory processes, she has been developing over years participatory projects to give a creative space for self-expression and to initiate collective processes with various social groups through photography, sound creation and writing (workshops in various refugee centres in Belgium and in Palestine, workshops with adolescents in favelas and detention centres in Brazil, Bolivia, ...) She is also member of the collective of audiovisual artists 'Polymorfilms' involved in filmmaking and sound creations 'Surya', (2006) 'disorient' (2010), 'The Revelation' (in process).

Inventive Methods. Künstlerische Ansätze in der ethnographischen Stadtforschung[1]

Kathrin Wildner

Auf die Frage, wie er mit seinen Feldforschungserfahrungen und seinem Datenmaterial umgegangen sei, antwortete Claude Lévi-Strauss in einem Interview, dass er ein sehr schlechtes Gedächtnis habe und daher immer sehr viel notiere. Er neige dazu Karteikarten zu sammeln, „ein bisschen von allem, flüchtige Ideen, Resümees aus Lektüren, Werkreferenzen, Zitate…..". Und wenn er eine Sache verstehen wollte, im Denken nicht mehr weiterkam, nahm er einen Stapel aus dem Kasten und legte die Karten wie eine Art Patience. Die wie zufälligen Kombinationen halfen ihm sein Gedächtnis zu rekonstruieren und ergaben immer einen neuen Blick auf die Sache (Lévi-Strauss/ Eribon 1988:3, Übersetzung K.W.).

Auf den ersten Blick scheint es irritierend, dass der Begründer des ethnologischen Strukturalismus seine Forschungsergebnisse wie in einem Glücksspiel durch Zufall und Kombination erlangt. Auf den zweiten Blick ist es nicht so erstaunlich: Bei der genaueren Betrachtung von Forschungsprozessen stößt man immer wieder auf unerwartete, meist nicht mitkommunizierte Prozesse der Wissens- und Erkenntnisproduktion. Die Fragestellungen und Werkzeuge der Datensammlung, die Entwicklung von Ordnungskategorien oder Systematisierungen und damit auch die Produktion von Bedeutungen, beruhen häufig weniger auf rein systematischen Verfahren als vielmehr auf offenen Versuchen und Kombinationen von Fragen und Materialien.

Dieser Art Überlegungen zur Methodologie finden sich auch in Debatten der gegenwärtigen (kritischen) Stadtforschung. Unter den Bedingungen einer globalisierten, vernetzen aber auch konfliktreichen Welt rücken Städte und Metropolen zunehmend in den Fokus der Aufmerksamkeit. Sie sind nicht nur transnationale Knotenpunkte und kosmopolitische Zentren, sondern gleichermaßen Konfliktfelder und Möglichkeitsräume gesellschaftlicher Aushandlung. Städte sind sowohl konkrete Orte der Alltagsrealität als auch Labore des Wissens. Ausgangspunkt des hier vorgestellten Forschungsansatzes ist die Frage nach der Konstitution von Stadt, das heißt die Frage nach den materiellen Bedingungen sowie den sozialen Implikationen, Akteuren, Diskursen, Bildern und Vorstellungen, die bei der Produktion von Stadt eine Rolle spielen. Dabei manifestiert sich die Gleichzeitigkeit unterschiedlicher Lebensentwürfe in neuen Formen des Zusammenlebens ebenso

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[1]   Dieser Beitrag ist eine überarbeitete Version des englischen Artikels „On Research with Global Prayers" (Wildner 2014).

wie in Konflikten und politischen Aushandlungsprozessen. Diese Prozesse materialisieren sich wiederum auf der physischen Ebene des Städtischen, in Architektur, Infrastruktur, Zeichen und Symbolen. Stadt ist ebenso eine urbane Ansammlung, ein verdichteter und komplexer Raum, in dem sich Machtverhältnisse und gesellschaftliche Strukturen reproduzieren, wie ein Raum, der kontinuierlich mittels kultureller Praktiken verhandelt wird (u.a. Farias 2011, Lanz 2014, Wildner 2014). Stadt ist ein Ort der Lokalisierung von Gesellschaft, eine „grounding site of meaning making" (Smith 2001).

Stadtforschung bedeutet, sich dieser gesellschaftlichen Produktion urbaner Räumen zu widmen, den Formen städtischen Handelns und den Widersprüchen, die das öffentliche Leben der modernen Gesellschaften bestimmen (Delgado 2011). Es wächst die Erkenntnis, dass die so verstandenen urbanen Konfigurationen, kollektiven Imaginationen, komplexen Netzwerk- und Machtbeziehungen nicht nur(?) mit dem Kanon klassischer, disziplinär ausgerichteter kultur- und sozialwissenschaftlicher Methoden betrachtet, analysiert und interpretiert werden können (vgl. Brantz et al 2012, Amin/Thrift 2002, Farias/Bender 2010, Streule 2013). Daher ist eine Reflexion methodologischer Zugänge notwendig, um das urbane Feld für neue Forschungsansätze zu öffnen und andere kritische Perspektiven auf das Städtische zu werfen.

In diesem Beitrag nehme ich die Wissensproduktion innerhalb des Forschungs- und Kunstprojekts „Global Prayers. Erlösung und Befreiung in der Stadt" (2009-2014) zum Anlass, um über disziplinübergreifende Methoden zu berichten und sie für die ethnographische Stadtforschung zu denken. Das transdisziplinäre Projekt Global Prayers erkundete mit den Mitteln der Wissenschaft und der Kunst neue Erscheinungen des Religiösen im Stadtraum sowie die Transformation städtischer Räume durch neue religiöse Bewegungen. In Metropolen wie Istanbul, Lagos, Rio, Mumbai und Berlin forschten die internationalen WissenschaftlerInnen und KünstlerInnen zu den Veränderungen materieller urbaner Räume, zu neuen Formen von *Governance* und kultureller Produktion in alltagsweltlichen Situationen.[2] Sowohl im gesamten Projektkontext als auch in den als *Case Studies* angelegten lokalen Forschungen spielte die Frage nach Methoden und Verfahren der Forschung von Beginn an eine zentrale Rolle. Eine grundlegende Idee war, dass die beteiligten Sozial- und KulturwissenschaftlerInnen, KünstlerInnen, MusikerInnen und AktivistInnen kollaborieren sollten. Das bedeutete im Fall von Global Prayers auch, sich über die jeweiligen Forschungsprozesse auszutauschen, gemeinsam Verfahren zu entwickeln und diese zu reflektieren. Neben der Produktion von neuen Erkenntnissen in Bezug auf *Urban Theory* war ein zentrales Ziel die Reflexion der Prozesse der Forschung und Wissensproduktion.

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2   Für weitere Informationen über das Forschungsprojekt,
      vgl. www.gobalprayers.info sowie Becker/Lanz/Klingan/Wildner 2014.

In der Betrachtung des Projektes Global Prayers im Rahmen des Themenschwerpunkts dieser Ethnoscripts liegt mein Fokus auf den Prozessen der Forschung, der Entwicklung und Erfindung von Methoden, der Sammlung, Archivierung und Analyse von Daten und ihrer Übersetzungen in Präsentationformate. Zunächst werde ich den Begriff der Forschung reflektieren und für die weitere Betrachtung definieren. Dann wende ich mich einigen ausgewählten Forschungen des Projektes Global Prayers zu. Anhand von Interviews mit den beteiligten ForscherInnen und KünstlerInnen sowie eigenen Beobachtungen und Reflexionen werde ich einige spezifische Verfahrensweisen wie *multi-sited ethnography, sound recordings,* Inszenierungen und Interventionen genauer betrachten, um abschließend über die einzelnen Fallstudien hinaus noch einmal die Frage nach den Potentialen von künstlerischen Ansätzen in der ethnographischer Stadtforschung in den Blick zu nehmen.

Forschung – Instrumente erfinderischer Methoden

Laut Arjun Appadurai ist Forschung zunächst ein Instrument oder eine „Maschine", die neues Wissen produziert. Diese Forschungsmaschine beruht auf den (rationalen) Parametern der Systematik, der Wiederholbarkeit und der Nachvollziehbarkeit, die von der *scientific community* für notwendig erachtet und als Grundsäulen der Forschung kontrolliert werden (Appadurai 2000:9f). Dementsprechend kritisiert Appadurai die Ethik der meisten Forschungen, die als vermeintlich wertfrei und neutral verhandelt werden. Im Gegensatz dazu betrachtet er Forschung als ein höchst moralisch unterfüttertes oder ideologisches Vorgehen der akademischen Welt des nordamerikanischen, europäischen Westens, die eine „höchst eigenartige koloniale Praxis der Imagination" bedient (Appadurai in Holert 2011:49).[3] Auf diese Weise entwirft Appadurai zwar einen kritischen Forschungsbegriff im Sinne postkolonialer Ansätze, orientiert sich jedoch eher normativ an akademischen Säulen, indem er jeder Forschung zuallererst wissenschaftliche Parameter der Verifizierung, Transparenz, Falsifizierung mit dem Ziel größtmöglicher Objektivität zu Grunde legt.

Dieses Konzept von Forschung spiegelt eine dichotome Vorstellung, die sich auch in den Diskussionen um „künstlerische" versus „wissen-

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3   Für Arjun Appadurai ist Forschung immer Teil einer Moral oder Ideologie, die allerdings nur selten zur Sprache gebracht wird, sondern im Gegenteil Forschung immer als etwas Neutrales betrachtet. Er fordert daher eine offene selbstreflexive Forschung oder vielmehr eine Verständigung über Forschung, in der gerade die Fragen der Ethik der Forschung diskutiert werden (Appadurai 2000:11ff).

schaftliche"[4] Forschung findet.[5] Dabei wird meist ein naturwissenschaftlicher Wissenschaftsbegriff – beruhend auf beweisführender Wiederholbarkeit, Rationalität und Universalisierbarkeit – von einem eigenständigen Bereich der Kunst – gekennzeichnet durch subjektive, semiotische Prozesse und diskursive Sprachen sowie durch Virtuosität, Geistesblitz, Intuition, Körperlichkeit oder Zweckfreiheit – abgegrenzt (vgl. Bippus 2009:10). Das heißt, der Kunst werden Formen der Spekulation, Reflexion und Argumentation zugeschrieben, die nicht auf Neutralität und Objektivität pochen, sondern sich in politischen, moralischen und ideologischen Kontexten verorten (vgl. Holert 2011:49). Hierdurch wird ein disziplinärer Unterschied zwischen künstlerischer Forschung und angewandter wissenschaftlicher Forschung betont und reproduziert, wobei die Singularität künstlerischer Darstellung der Überprüfbarkeit wissenschaftlicher Untersuchung entgegengesetzt wird.[6] Unbeachtet bleiben bei dieser Perspektive der Experimentcharakter und die Kontingenz von Forschung in den Naturwissenschaften (vgl. u.a. Rheinberger 2006, Latour 2000), wie auch umgekehrt künstlerische Projekte, die auf systematische und kritische Weise mit quantitativem Datenmaterial arbeiten, nicht einbezogen werden (vgl. Möllmann 2008). Ausgehend von diesen blinden Flecken lässt sich fragen, ob es nicht fruchtbarer wäre, die konkreten Prozesse und jeweiligen Techniken des Forschens genauer in den Blick zu nehmen, statt sich mit dichotomen Anordnungen und Unterteilung in objektive und subjektive, künstlerische oder wissenschaftlicher Verfahren aufzuhalten (vgl. Latour/Yaneva 2008:84).

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4   Die hier getroffene Unterscheidung von *artistic* und *scientific research* lässt sich nicht ohne Weiteres aus dem deutschen Kontext auf z.B. den US-amerikanischen übertragen. Der vorangegangene Satz ist ein wenig verwirrend, weil du dich auf den deutschen Kontext beziehst, aber dazu bereits die englischsprachigen Begriffe nennst. Dort wird der Begriff *scientific* nur für die Naturwissenschaften in einem eher positivistischen Sinne, nicht aber für die *Humanities* verwendet (benutzt), die von vornherein im Rahmen von Verfahren der Subjektivität, Interpretation, Reflexion verstanden werden.

5   Siehe hierzu auch die höchst kontroversen Debatten um die im Zuge des "Bologna-Prozesses" entstandenen Vorschläge zur Internationalisierung, ab hier ist der Satzbau schief: bzw. systematische und evaluierbare, und dementsprechend „wissenschaftliche" Ausbildungsstandards (BA, MA, PhD) auch an Kunsthochschulen zu etablieren (vgl. u.a. Bippus 2009, Holert 2011).

6   Zwar weniger kategorisch, aber doch auf den Unterschieden von Kunst und Wissenschaft bestehend, argumentiert der Kunsthistoriker Helmut Draxler. Er spricht sich gegen eine Verschmelzung von Kunst und Forschung aus und argumentiert vielmehr für die Rekonstruktion der historischen Bedingungen ihrer Trennung. Gerade in dem Prozess der Unterscheidung der Praktiken und Wissensformen, so Draxler, läge die Möglichkeit eines konstruktiven Austausches der Disziplinen mit dem Ziel, jeweilige Kriterien, Potentiale und Probleme der Forschung zu entwickeln und aufzudecken (Draxler 2012:126f).

Die Sozialwissenschaftlerinnen Celia Lury und Nina Wakeford (2012) sprechen von „inventive methods" und beschreiben damit eine Reihe aktueller Forschungsansätze, die auf einem zunehmenden Interesse an interdisziplinärem Wissen, an neuen Formaten, vor allem aber an der wachsenden Notwendigkeit der Vermittlung der Forschungsergebnisse auch außerhalb der wissenschaftlichen Communities beruhen (Lury/Wakeford 2012). Sie fordern eine Methodenreflexion, die über die disziplinären Grenzen der Sozialwissenschaften hinausgeht, und die Erfindung neuer kreativer Methoden.

Einer der zentralen Aspekte dieses so verstandenen, von erfinderischen Methoden geleiteten, Forschungsansatzes rückt die Auseinandersetzung mit den Subjekten der Forschung in den Blick. Das betrifft zum einen die Beschreibung, Konstruktion oder Inszenierung des Forschungssubjektes, der subjektiven Interpretationen und Bedeutungszuschreibungen der Akteure und ihres kulturellen Wissens. Aber es betrifft auch die Forscherin selbst, ihr Involviertsein. An dieser Stelle lässt sich der zum Klassiker gewordene Text „The artist as ethnographer" von Hal Foster heranziehen (Foster 1996), in dem er die Rolle des Künstlers in seinem Engagement und Sich-Einlassen auf die Situation in die Nähe der Rolle des Ethnographen rückt. Das Verhältnis des Künstlers als jemand, der außerhalb steht, verweise auf ein Gegenüber, das Andere. Hier zeigen sich Gemeinsamkeiten von Kunst und Ethnographie, ein gemeinsames Interesse und eine Attraktion der Erforschung von Alterität, und die inhärente Selbstreflexion beider Akteure (Foster 1996:305). Die Forscherin, Künstlerin wie Ethnographin, ist in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Anderen immer auf sich selbst zurückgeworfen und schwebt in dem Paradox des Teilseins und Nicht-Teilseins, der teilnehmenden Beobachtung. Das erfordert eine ständige Bewegung zwischen Distanz und Nähe, eine Reflexion der eigenen Rolle sowie der Forschung als eine gesellschaftliche oder politische Situation. Das bedeutet, weder der Forschungsprozess noch Methoden können als neutrale Werkzeuge bezeichnet werden.

In dem Artikel „Enacting the Social" (2004) entwickeln John Law und John Urry die These, dass Forschung soziale Realitäten beschreibt und reflektiert, aber auch an ihnen teilhat (*participate*) bzw. sie produziert und zur Aufführung bringt (*enact*). Dementsprechend schlägt Olaf Kaltmeier vor, Forschung als einen politischen Akt zu verstehen, und fordert eine dekolonialisierende Reflexion von Methoden (Kaltmeier 2012:41). Er entwickelt eine Art Manifest für eine kritische (dekoloniale) Methodologie, die durch Selbstreflexion und kollaborative Ansätze die unterschiedlichen Phasen des Forschungsprozesses betrachtet. Eine kritische Reflexion beginnt bei der Fragestellung, reicht über Fragen der Präsenz im Feld, der Datensammlung und einer möglichst dialogischen Lektüre bis hin zu Fragen der Autorenschaft, der Repräsentation und schließlich der Rezeption (Kaltmeier 2012:30ff). Aus dieser Perspektive werden die jeweiligen Forschungsphasen nicht als lineare Abfolge standardisierter Prozesse verstanden, sondern als unterschiedliche,

eng miteinander verknüpfte Ebenen, denen jeweils konkrete Entscheidungen zu Grunde liegen. Die Entwicklung einer Forschungsfrage folgt hierbei einer Idee von Forschung nicht als Hypothesen testenden deduktiven Vorgang, sondern als eine induktive und explorative Herangehensweise.

Dabei gibt es laut John Law (2013) kein allgemein gültiges Methodenrezept oder gar eine richtige Antwort.[7] Forschung (*research*) ist als Suche (*search*) zu verstehen: ein wiederholtes Suchen (*re-search*), ein Neu-Ansehen der Dinge und Phänomene. Der Forschungsbegriff des Global Prayers Projektes reflektiert Praktiken der Wissens- und Erkenntnisproduktion, als suchende Bewegungen zwischen Wissen und Nicht-Wissen, als methodische Experimente, kritische Selbstreflexion und vor allem als einen Prozess der Erfahrung. Dieser erweiterte Begriff von Forschung verweist demnach auch auf einen alltäglichen kritischen Prozess, der es den Bewohnern einer Stadt erlaubt, sich lokal, aber auch in dem komplexen Kontext der urbanen Umwelt zu verorten, zu agieren und reagieren oder in den Worten von AbdouMaliq Simone: „Research is largely about location – the location of things in cells, curves, correlations, indicators, regressions and context specifities. Even in a world of complexity, it remains a process of locating causes and effects" (Simone 2012:205).

Global Prayers Projekte Revisited

Das Forschungsfeld von Global Prayers ist die Stadt, genauer gesagt das Städtische. Ein Großteil der Global Prayers-Projekte beruft sich auf ethnographische oder dokumentarische Herangehensweisen, die sich durch ein exploratives und induktives Vorgehen auszeichnen. Der Fokus liegt auf Alltagspraktiken, die auf einer Mikroebene lokalisiert und in Beziehung zu Diskursen, Repräsentationsverhältnissen oder Praktiken des Regierens, die an der Konstitution des Städtischen beteiligt sind, untersucht werden. Und schließlich bilden die Formate der Präsentation von Wissen oder Erkenntnissen ein zentrales Element der Forschung. Forschung, wie sie hier verstanden wird, begreift die Veröffentlichung, das Erfahrbarmachen, das Aufführen (oder Ausstellen) als wesentlichen Teil des Forschungsprozesses. Sowohl die Prozesse der Analyse als auch die Abstraktion und Übersetzung in Veröffentlichungsformate werden als grundlegende Aspekte der Wissensproduktion verstanden. Die Präsentationsformate sind keine abgeschlossenen Ergebnisberichte, sondern Teil des Forschungsprozesses, sie provozieren neue Erfahrungen und weitere Fragen. Workshops und Salons, Ausstellungen und Thementage sind Formate des Aufführens der Materialien, Erfahrungen und Ergebnisse und bilden wesentliche Quellen der Wissensproduktion.

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7   Vortrag von John Law auf der „Insel Techné" im Rahmen der Veranstaltung „Das Anthropozän-Projekt" im Haus der Kulturen der Welt 10-13. Januar 2013.

Wie kann eine solche Art der Wissensproduktion also aussehen? Was sind die methodischen Herangehensweisen? Wie wird die Person der Forscherin reflektiert und wie verknüpfen sich die Formate mit der Präsentation (?) mit der Forschung selbst? Im Folgenden einige Beispiele.

Soundrecording

Der Musiker, Soundkünstler und Komponist Gilles Aubry untersuchte die Bedeutung von Sound in religiösen Zeremonien und Missionierungskampagnen in Lagos und Kinshasa. In seiner Installation „La Pluie de feu" über kongolesische Erweckungskirchen in Kinshasa komponiert er mehrere Soundebenen zu einem dichten Gewebe: *Soundrecordings* von Missionierungskampagnen auf den Straßen Kinshasas und von Gesprächen mit einen Pastor, der in seinem eigenen Studio das Videomaterial von Predigten archiviert, reihen sich an Ausschnitte religiöser Zeremonien, der *Call* des Propheten und die *Response* der Gläubigen werden gemixt mit *Soundscapes* der Stadt und Tonspuren aus einem improvisierten Freiluftkino auf einem Markt. Durch die Überlagerung der Sounds, die in den Kompositionen von Aubry in mehreren Kapitel chronologisch wie ein religiöses Ritual aufgebaut sind, verdichtet sich die Dramaturgie zu eigenen akustischen Arenen: die Straße, die Kirche, das Studio, der Markt. Diese Komposition wird von einer Stimme überlagert: eine Übersetzung der von Aubry ausgewählter Sequenzen der Predigten aus der Landessprache Lingala ins Französische. Die Situation des *re-listening* und *re-recording* bildet einen weiteren akustischen Raum. Die simultane Übersetzung des Gehörten, ein reaktives Hören, wiederholt die Ereignisse und bildet durch Nuancen in Betonungen, Rhythmus und Performance einen Kommentar. Gleichzeitig nimmt diese Stimme aus der Distanz, vergleichbar mit der off-Stimme des Kinoerzählers, die eines allwissenden Betrachters ein.

Gilles Aubry komponierte das Material, abhängig von Kontext und Ort der Aufführung, als Audioessay oder Musikstück. Der Audioessay „Pluie de Feu", der im Rahmen der Ausstellung „The Urban Cultures of Global Prayers" (vgl. metroZones 2012) gezeigt wurde, basiert auf einer eher diskursiven und analytischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Soundmaterial. Der Hörer wird über die sinnliche Erfahrung hinaus mit dem atmosphärischen und räumlichen Kontext konfrontiert. Im musikalischen Kontext, wie bei der Präsentation des Stücks „L' Amplification des Âmes" (Verstärkung der Seelen) im Rahmen der Thementage im Haus der Kulturen der Welt komponierte er die Soundebenen zu einem Musikstück. Anders als in üblichen musikalischen Kompositionen wird das Material hier nicht nach formellen Prinzipien wie Klangfarbe, Tonhöhe oder Lautstärke organisiert, sondern Aubry erfindet andere Systeme der Komposition. Er definiert Spatialisierungen der Klänge, räumliche Aspekte sowohl der Aufnahmesituation im Feld als auch der Prä-

senz im Aufführungsraum zu einer Regel der Kompositionslogik. In dem geschichteten Raum der Soundaufnahme und der Aufführung treten Encounters verschiedener Ebenen von Akteuren, Sprechweisen, Geräuschen, Lärm, Gesängen und Räumen auf. Hieraus entsteht eine Spannung, die wiederum in der Komposition produktiv gemacht wird (vgl. Ismael-Wendt 2014).

Als Ziel seiner Forschung beschreibt Aubry die Möglichkeit, durch das Hören, *Recording* und Organisieren des Sounds eine andere Art von Perspektive auf das Ereignis zu schaffen, die seine persönliche Erfahrung im Feld reflektiert wie auch über das einmalige Ereignis hinaus Hinweise zur Bedeutung von Sound in religiösen Zeremonien gibt. In der Komposition wird die Präsenz des Forschers und Künstlers offensichtlich. Anders als bei einer Aufnahme mit der Kamera, bei der zwar der Bildausschnitt auf einer präzisen Entscheidung beruht, der Fotograf jedoch (zumeist) hinter der Kamera bleibt, kann sich der Künstler bei den *urban field recordings*, wie Aubry sie einsetzt, nicht entziehen (vgl. Lane/Carlyle 2013:9f). Er selbst befindet sich – mit dem Mikrophon in der Hand – im Zentrum der Aufnahme. Diese Präsenz setzt Gilles Aubry immer wieder (ganz) bewusst ein: Indem seine eigene Stimme auf den Aufnahmen zu hören ist, reflektiert er seine (körperliche) Teilnahme, aber auch die teilhabende Autorenschaft an der Situation.

In den Projekten von Gilles Aubry wird Sound „as a hinge", als Werkzeug, Vermittler oder Verbindungsstück eingesetzt, der das Körperliche mit dem Sozialen, der Community und dem umgebenden Raum verbindet (LaBelle 2010). Gleichzeitig ist Sound ein Element religiöser Praxis, das individuelle Emotionen bündelt, religiöse Dogmen kommuniziert und Communitas manifestiert (vgl. Wildner 2012:2139). In der Stadtforschung werden akustische Phänomene der Alltagspraxis oft vernachlässigt, doch gerade der religiöse urbane Raum ist durch ein spezifisches *Soundscape* geprägt. Über Sound wird agiert und agitiert. Die Beschallung des Raumes markiert Territorien oder Zonen (Kirchengeläut, Muezzin-Ruf, Lautsprecheranlagen mit dem *Religious Pop* der Pfingstkirchen). In den akustischen Arenen zeichnen sich urbane Räume ab, an denen sich Widersprüche von Transformationen, Verschiebungen von Machtverhältnissen und Aushandlungsprozessen beobachten und in der Komposition überhöhen lassen. Sound bildet in diesem Forschungsbeispiel, wie auch in einer Reihe anderer Forschung von Global Prayers Ausgangspunkt, Medium, Datenmaterial und das Display der Aufführung der Forschung.

Following the people

Als eine klassische ethnographische Forschung im Sinne der teilnehmenden Beobachtung angelegt, untersuchte Gerda Heck die Bedeutung kongolesischer Erweckungsgemeinden auf den Routen globaler Migration. Nachdem sich bereits bei ersten explorativen Forschungen in kongolesischen Gemeinden in Berlin die Bedeutung der Kirchen als besondere Anlaufstellen auf den

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oft langwierigen Migrationswegen abzeichnete, entschied sich die Forscherin für eine *multi-sited ethnography* (Marcus 1995). Gerda Heck folgte den kongolesischen Gläubigen auf ihren Routen der Migration; sie reiste von Berlin nach Kinshasa, von Kinshasa nach Istanbul, von Rio de Janeiro nach Paris und wieder nach Berlin. Diese Metropolen sind Überbrückungsorte und Transferstädte, in denen einige Migranten ihre Handelsgeschäfte mit religiöser Mission verbinden, andere Migranten sich über Jahre aufhalten oder Migrationsziele sind(?), die zuweilen nie erreicht werden. Dem induktiven Ansatz der ethnographischen Forschung folgend, begab sich die Forscherin mit offener Fragestellung ins Feld. Erst mit ihrer engagierten Präsenz vor Ort und der Vorstellung ihrer früheren Forschungen zu Migration, gewann Gerda Heck das Vertrauen einiger Pastoren, die im Folgenden bereit waren, sie den Kirchengemeinden vorzustellen und in die Netzwerke einzuführen. Gerda Heck besuchte die Protagonisten zu Hause, begleitete sie zu Festen und Freundinnen, verbrachte Zeit mit ihnen im Alltag und in den Kirchengemeinden; sie nahm an sonntäglichen Gottesdiensten, an Konferenzen, Gebetsnächten und Gemeindetreffen teil. So gelangte sie in den jeweiligen Städten an Orte der alltäglichen Praxis und spirituellen Vernetzung, brachte auf den transnationalen Routen der Migranten auch Wissen über die häufig gescheiterten Versuche und zahlreichen Umwege in Erfahrung.

Dieser offene Forschungsansatz lässt auch dem Unerwarteten Platz, nimmt ungeplante Wege zwischen mehreren Forschungsorten und Forschungssträngen. Die *multi-sited ethnography* ist nicht nur geographisch zu verstehen, sondern die Forscherin begibt sich darüber hinaus in Situationen zwischen unterschiedlichen (politischen und ökonomischen) Lebenswelten und Institutionen. Nicht selten wird sie selbst zur Vermittlerin und ihre Forschung zu einem Kommunikationsnetzwerk zwischen den Orten. Durch die engagierte Teilnahme, das Wiederkehren an die jeweiligen Orte und die Wiederbegegnungen mit den Menschen auf ihren Migrationsrouten und Netzwerken, gelingt es Gerda Heck, etwas über die Rolle der Kirchen im Alltag der Migranten zu erfahren. Vor allem aber zeigt sich, wie sich die Gemeinden den urbanen Settings der „Zielländer" anpassen, um sich unauffällig im städtischen Raum zu verorten – das kann in Istanbul in einer Hotellobby am zentralen kosmopolitanen Taksim Platz, in Rio de Janeiro am Rande einer Favela oder in Paris in ehemaligen Gewerbe- oder Bürogebieten an der Peripherie der Stadt sein. An allen Orten sind die Kirchen Knotenpunkte für ökonomische, soziale und politische Netzwerke und bieten den Migranten Rückzugsräume als Orte der religiösen Gemeinschaft. Sie können als Orte des „place-making" im urbanen Raum oder auch „subaltern counterspaces" gelesen werden (Heck 2014).

Dieses Vorgehen ist ein Beispiel für eine translokale und gleichermaßen vernetzende Forschung. Die weltweit verzweigten Verflechtungen, aber auch die jeweiligen lokalen Bedingungen und migrantischen Strategien verweisen

auf die Verbindungen (*links*) zwischen den Orten. Das translokale Agieren der Migranten innerhalb dieser Netze, lässt sich erst mit der mobil angelegten Forschung, bei der die Forscherin, ähnlich wie die Protagonisten selbst, multiple situiert ist, erfahrbar machen. Den Menschen zu folgen, verweist auf bestehende Verbindungen und formt zugleich eigene Netzwerke auf den Routen der Migranten und Forscherinnen.

Re-shuffeling

Die bildende Künstlerin Paola Yacoub arbeitete im Team mit dem Architekturtheoretiker Joseph Rustom über die spezifische Ikonographie kriegszerstörter religiöser Stätten in der gegenwärtigen Konfliktsituation in Syrien. Ihre These war, dass die konkreten Orte der Ruinen als Beispiele für die enge Verknüpfung religiöser, politischer und militärischer Interessen interpretiert werden können. Nachdem Yacoub und Rustom bereits an anderen Projekten im Rahmen von Global Prayers religiöse Praktiken im Libanon untersucht hatten, war es die Herausforderung in diesem Vorhaben, gemeinsam ein Projekt zu entwickeln und ihre kollaborativen Forschungsprozesse zu reflektieren (Yacoub/Rustom 2014).

Auf der Grundlage eines ausgewählten Datenkorpus von Fotografien und Videos aus dem Internet verfolgen sie Spuren innerhalb der medialen Bildproduktion. Die Bilder stammen von Nachrichten-Webseiten oder -Blogs, sollen über aktuelle Entwicklungen vor allem außerhalb Syriens informieren. Oft sind es Amateuraufnahmen, haben weder Autor noch Datum, manchmal eine GPS-Information zur Lokalisierung oder kurze Bildunterschriften, die vermeintlich nichtssagend sind, allgemein bleiben: „Homs, Stadt in Ruinen". Aber welche Informationen werden durch die Fotos auch gerade durch das Fehlen von Informationen vermittelt?

Yacoub und Rustom begannen ihre Untersuchung mit einem Spiel. Gegenseitig befragten sie sich: Was siehst du? Paola Yacoub setzt sich auf eine eher assoziative Weise mit der Sprache der Bilder auseinander oder schlüpfte in die Rolle einer Journalistin oder Bildwissenschaftlerin. Sie bediente sich dieser Verfahren, um sich damit gleichzeitig von der Situation, aber auch von den Verfahren selbst zu distanzieren. Ihr erster Versuch waren minutiöse Beschreibungen der Bilder selbst. Joseph Rustom versuchte die Bildinhalte zu systematisieren und sie über lokale und territoriale Kontextualisierung zu ordnen. Er sammelte einzelne Teile eines Puzzles. Sie isolierten Elemente der Bilder, schälten sie aus ihrem Kontext oder reduzierten sie gegen ihre Komplexität auf ihre phänomenologische Erscheinung, um eine neue Ordnung oder Bedeutung herzustellen. In einer nächsten Runde wurde diese Ordnung verworfen.

Re-shuffeling nennen sie diesen Prozess, auf der Suche nach Bedeutungen, die sich einer ersten Lesart entziehen, andere Lesarten oder Perspektiven zum Vorschein bringen: der wierderholte Versuch einer Ordnung

durch die Zusammenstellung von Informationen, die Rustom aus der Neu-
mischung heraussammelte und sortierte. Im Sinne der Nachlese las er Ele-
mente, erprobte neue Ordnungen der Bilder auf dem Tisch mit dem Ziel, Sinn
zu produzieren. Paula Yacoub legte immer wieder neue Spuren aus in der Art
einer „Schnitzeljagd" (*jeu de piste*). Dabei ist dieses kein linearer Prozess,
sondern wurde gerade durch die ständige Neumischung zu einer Art „Tanz"
um die unterschiedlichen Sichtweisen und die gemeinsame Auseinanderset-
zungen mit dem Material. Gerade das Nicht-Folgen etablierter Ordnungssys-
teme, sondern vielmehr diese zu umgehen, öffnet Raum für experimentelle
Verknüpfungen. Ohne ein konkretes Ziel zu verfolgen, kombinieren sie Bilder
und Elemente, versuchen die Bedeutung aus dem wie zufälligen Zusammen-
treffen zu befragen (*interrogate meaning*). Hier, wie in dem Prozess, den
Lévi-Strauss mit seinen Karteikarten beschrieb, geht es jedoch nicht dar-
um, die Ergebnisse dem Zufall zu überlassen, sondern vielmehr sich auf die
entstehenden Konversationen zweier Elemente. die nebeneinander geraten,
einzulassen.

Eine grundlegende Annahme dieser Vorgehensweise ist die Frage der
Emergenz, das unvorhersehbare Auftauchen aus den Materialien selbst.
Durch das offene Zusammenspiel der einzelnen Elemente entstehen neue Ei-
genschaften oder Strukturen, die sich nicht auf die Elemente selbst zurück-
führen lassen, sondern vielmehr auf ein Dazwischen, eine Auslassung (*gap*),
verweisen, das Raum für neue Bedeutungen öffnet. Durch die Konzentration
auf die *gaps* lässt sich eine Art Sammlung von Informationen über das Bild
hinaus erstellen.

Der Prozess dieser Herangehensweise ist präsent während der Ausei-
nandersetzung, wird aber nicht zum Thema der Forschung gemacht. Die
Karte des *jeu de piste*, die ausgelegten Spuren, rücken immer wieder in den
Hintergrund, es bleibt die Ausgangsfrage nach der ikonographischen Bedeu-
tung der medialisierten Bilder von Kriegsruinen religiöser Gebäude. In der
gemeinsamen Betrachtung und Interpretation, dem wiederholten *re-shuffel-
ling* und der ständigen Bewegung zwischen Wissen und Nicht-Wissen, ent-
decken sie Elemente einer visuellen Rhetorik, welche auf die vielschichtigen
Bedeutungen der religiösen urbanen *landmarks* in der politischen Auseinan-
dersetzung verweist.

Inszenierung

Die Filmemacherin Sandra Schäfer geht in ihrem Projekt „on the set 1978ff"
der Frage nach, warum die iranische Revolution 1978/79 sich in eine islami-
sche Revolution verwandelte und verfolgt hierbei die Perspektive verschie-
dener Akteure und Beteiligter. Auf der Basis von historischen Fotografien,
Filmausschnitten, Fernseh- und Radiobeiträgen reflektieren die Protagonist-
tInnen gemeinsam mit Sandra Schäfer die Ereignisse aus der Gegenwart he-
raus. Ein Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf Bildern und Erzählungen, wie sich die

Proteste und der Widerstand in den Straßen Teherans ausgebreitet haben. Diese verschränkt Sandra Schäfer mit der Frage nach der Bedeutung der medialen Konstruktion von Geschichte.

Um an diese Momente der Narration zurückzukehren, sie aber auch gleichzeitig in der heutigen Perspektive zu kontextualisieren, setzt sie eine Reihe von Methoden ein, die an der Schnittstelle zwischen Dokumentation, Forschung und künstlerischer Praxis angesiedelt sind. Sandra Schäfer benutzt Archive von Fotografen, die während der Revolution produziert haben. Gemeinsam mit der Fotografin Hengameh Golestan durchforstet und diskutiert sie zum Beispiel deren zeitgenössischen Bilder. Das *re-reading* der Bilder, das Wiederansehen und Beschreiben wird dokumentiert (Golestan/ Schäfer 2014). Die Dokumentation bildet eine Ebene der inhaltlichen Auseinandersetzung sowie der Bildproduktion der künstlerischen Arbeit Schäfers. Die Fotos sind Träger von Erinnerung, Ausgangspunkt für erneute Narration und Artefakt der Reproduktion. Videosequenzen, in denen Schäfer das Abfotografieren der Fotos dokumentiert, spiegeln die Ebenen der Erzählung und Neu-Erzählung, das Wiederansehen, die Reproduktion der Situation mit neuen Medien.

Um die Rolle der Medien und Technologien nachzuvollziehen, benutzt Sandra Schäfer bei ihren Interviews das Mittel der Inszenierung. Ein Gespräch mit einem iranischen Soziologen Asef Bayat platzierte sie beispielsweise in der Londoner Galerie *now.here*: Vorn das Publikum, die Mikrophone und Kameras, im Hintergrund die Räume der Galerie. Ein Interview mit einem ehemaligen BBC Persia-Korrespondenten arrangierte sie in einem Nachrichtenraum der BBC in London, wo sonst die Nachrichten gesprochen werden. Im Hintergrund die imperiale Architektur der Oxfordstreet, die Studios mit ihrer technischen Apparatur, Mikrophone, Beleuchtung, TV-Kameras werden sichtbar gemacht. Gleichzeitig vorgeführt und zur Aufführung gebracht sind sie Teil der Inszenierung, in diesem Fall das Setting der Aufzeichnung einer Sequenz für die Videoinstallation über die islamische Revolution.

So wie auch die Fotos der Fotografien in dem *re-reading* und dem inszenierten Abfotografieren eine Bühne bekommen, werden hier die Apparaturen und Medien zu Akteuren der Bildproduktion. Die Arbeit von Sandra Schäfer zeigt in der Hinterfragung der räumlichen Settings, Aspekte, wie mit künstlerischen Techniken – d.h. hier auch dialogische, experimentelle, akteursbezogene Forschung – spezifisches Wissen produziert wird (vgl. Denzin 2001:24). Die Forschung macht Repräsentationsweisen sichtbar, die den Wissensordnungen zu Grunde liegen, und somit die Regeln und Verfahren des Darstellungszusammenhangs (Bippus 2010:18). Sie unterschlägt nicht die praktische Logik der Medien, sondern stellt diese aus, exponiert sie, führt sie auf (Holert 2011: 57). Die Forschung ist Datensammlung, Inszenierung und Produkt der Veröffentlichung.

Einmischung /Intervention

Die sozialwissenschaftlich ausgerichtete Forschung von Ayşe Cavdar in Istanbul ist in einem spezifischen urbanen Setting verortet: Der Stadtteil Başakşehir ist eine Ansammlung islamisch-religiös geprägter Gated Communities aus den 1990er Jahren an der städtischen Peripherie Istanbuls. Im Fokus der Forschung steht die Produktion von städtischem Raum durch eine wachsende islamisch geprägte obere Mittelschicht, ihre Vorstellungen von Stadt (*urban imaginaries*) und der alltägliche Lebensstil dieser Community. Aus diesem Ansatz resultieren gewisse Parameter, die sich als ausschlaggebend für die Etablierung der Methode erweisen. Es handelt sich um eine „Elitenforschung" mit einem komplizierten Zugang zu InformantInnen. Die Gated Communities sind nach außen durch Geschlossenheit gekennzeichnet, die Menschen leben eher zurückgezogen, es gibt nur wenig Aktivitäten im öffentlichen Raum.

Ayşe Cavdar wählte als Grundlage ihrer Forschung die teilnehmende Beobachtung im Rahmen einer ethnographischen Feldforschung (Cavdar 2014). Für den Zeitraum von 6 Monaten mietete sie eine Wohnung in einer Gated Community von Başakşehir, lebte und arbeitete vor Ort. Sie agierte als gewöhnliche Mieterin, das Suchen einer Wohnung (als allein stehende Frau war sie nicht überall willkommen) führte sie zu Immobilienunternehmen und bürokratischen Institutionen (Anmeldung, Strom, Gas, etc.), machte sie mit lokaler Infrastruktur und Institutionen vertraut. Über informelle Gespräche mit Nachbarinnen bekam sie einen Einblick in das Alltagsleben aus Sicht der Frauen. In einer zweiten Phase arbeitete Cavdar in der lokalen Zeitung als Redakteurin für „neighborhood issues". Diese Rolle verschaffte ihr Zugang zu einem erweiterten Bewohnerkreis, zu dem nun auch Männer zählten. Sie fertigte Porträts von Bewohnern (Unternehmer, Künstler) und Reportagen über aktuelle Aspekte der Nachbarschaft an. In den Artikeln ließen sich lokale Fragestellungen mit ihren eigenen Forschungsfragen verknüpfen, indem sie beispielsweise Themen behandelte, die Başakşehir im Kontext der urbanen Transformationsprozesse des Großraums Istanbul verorten. In einer dritten Phase wurde sie von einer lokalen politischen Bürgerversammlung eingeladen, ihre Forschung einem geschlossenen Gremium vorzustellen (Vertreter religiöser Gruppen und Bildungseinrichtungen, lokale Politiker, Unternehmern, Vertreter lokaler NGOs). Ihr kritischer Vortrag, in dem sie sowohl Fragen zur stadträumlichen Entwicklung und zum Image Başakşehir thematisierte als auch zu den religiösen Werten, die für das Wohnviertel besondere Bedeutung aufweisen, rief eine heftige Diskussion hervor. Hier manifestierte sich eine sonst unausgesprochene Diversität innerhalb der Community. Unterschiedliche Vorstellungen in Bezug auf das Stadtteilimage, die Selbstidentifikation und die Lebensstile wie auch hinsichtlich der Bedeutung islamischer Werte wurden innerhalb des Gremiums verhandelt. In dieser dritten Phase nahm Cavdar die Rolle einer kritischen

Beraterin an und intervenierte mit ihren Forschungsfragen und -ergebnissen offen in die Debatten um den Stadtteil. Sie provozierte damit Diskussionen, die ihr wiederum wichtiges Material für ihr eigenes Forschungsfeld lieferten. Trotz – oder gerade wegen – ihrer Rolle als Aktivistin und Journalistin wird sie als Wissenschaftlerin aufgefordert, sich an den lokalen Diskussionen zu beteiligen und in die Debatten zu intervenieren.

Einer der zentralen Aspekte der Forschung, der Ayşe Cavdar erst den Zugang zu den verschiedenen Akteuren ermöglichte, war ihr offenes Engagement als Forscherin vor Ort, die uneingeschränkte Transparenz ihrer Ziele sowie die Einbeziehung der eigenen Biographie (als ehemalige religiöse Aktivistin, kritische Journalistin zu urbanen Transformationsprozessen und Wissenschaftlerin eines internationalen Forschungsprojekts). Die eigene Biographie liefert ihr nicht nur ein Vorwissen über religiöse Bewegungen in der Türkei und über städtische Umstrukturierungsprozesse, sondern bietet den Gesprächspartnern einen persönlichen Anknüpfungspunkt. Gleichermaßen provoziert Cavdars selbstreflexive Betrachtung ihrer eigenen Rolle, Diskussionen über Lebensstile oder religiöse Haltungen innerhalb der heterogenen Community.

In diesem Fall interveniert die Forscherin aktiv in die Forschungssituation, sie engagiert sich im lokalen Setting, initiiert Debatten und fördert Diskussionen. Diese Diskussionen sind gleichermaßen ein zentraler Bestandteil des Datenmaterials und dienen als Display der Forschung. Ganz im Sinne der „live methods" (Back/ Puwar 2012) werden hier (kollaborative) Herangehensweisen eingesetzt, die offensiv im Forschungsfeld interagieren oder im Sinne von Law und Urry „das Soziale aufführen" (Law/Urry 2004) und gleichzeitig analytische Aussagen über die Situation treffen.

Neue Forschungspraktiken in der Stadt

Abschließend möchte ich über die einzelnen Fallstudien hinaus noch einmal die Frage nach dem Prozess der Wissensproduktion und nach neuen Verfahrensweisen der Forschung aufgreifen. Formen des Experimentierens, der Komposition und der Aufführung zeigen sich in den hier vorgestellten Beispielen aus diversen Phasen des Forschungsprozesses der Global Prayers-Projekte als hilfreiche Anknüpfungspunkte für die Stadtforschung.

Im Grunde, so könnte man sagen, basiert jede Forschung auf Arten von Experimenten, spezifischen Fragestellungen, methodisch angelegten Versuchsanordnungen oder (analytischen) Ordnungssystemen folgend. Die hier vorgestellten ethnographischen und künstlerischen Forschungen sind allerdings nicht in erster Linie lösungsorientiert, sondern ihr Ausgang bleibt zunächst offen. Sie experimentieren im Sinne der *inventive methods* (Lury/ Wakefield 2012) mit Anordnungen, Settings und Ordnungssystemen. Damit werden ungeplante, spontane und unvorhersehbare Situationen geschaf-

fen, erfunden oder provoziert. Vergleichbar mit einem (kreativen) Spiel, in dem das Schöpferische mit dem zweckfreien Handeln identifiziert wird (vgl. Bröckling 2010:90). Das Experimentieren mit Situationen und Räumen greift auf Assoziationen und Verknüpfungen zurück, die sich über die verschiedenen Phasen der Forschung bis zu den Formen der Präsentation zeigen.

Wenn wir Forschen in diesem Sinn als diverse Formen eines Zur-Aufführung-Bringen verstehen, wird deutlich, dass sowohl die Situation der Datensammlung als auch der Präsentation eine Positionierung erfordert (Law/Urry 2004: 391). Die Aufführung – wie auch die Komposition – ist eine aktive Handlung, bedeutet sich einzumischen und sich angreifbar zu machen und ist damit politisch (vgl. Kaltmayer 2012). Eine Wissensproduktion, die auf Prozesse der Forschung in einem hier vorgestellten Sinn zurückgreift, beruht auf Verfahrensweisen, die experimentieren, komponieren und aufführen. Ein Potential dieser Vorstellung von Wissen, das nicht feststellt, sondern als ein ästhetisches Denken das Handeln der Menschen leitet (Bippus 2010:18), ist die Öffnung für neue Allianzen und Kollaborationen in anderen Räumen des Wissens.

Mehr als jeder andere Forschungsgegenstand legt Stadt als soziales, kulturelles und politisches Labor nahe, disziplinäre, institutionelle und regionale Begrenzungen von Forschung, Wissensproduktion und Diskurs aufzubrechen: Die Stadt als ein Labor, in dem gesellschaftlich relevantes Wissen erzeugt, erprobt und öffentlich debattiert wird. Mit der Entwicklung neuer Forschungsansätze und Methoden, die die oben genannten Desiderate in Betracht ziehen und transdisziplinäre, transregionale sowie transinstitutionelle Ansätze verfolgen, lassen sich auch Prozesse der Wissensproduktion rekonfigurieren und somit Stadt bzw. das Städtische konzeptionell neu denken. Ziel dieses gegenwärtig auch in der Stadtforschung geforderten Ansatzes ist es, durch eine wie immer auch geartete experimentelle Herangehensweise die fest verankerten Vorannahmen zu hinterfragen, um „unsettled and hopefully unsettling conversations" in Gang zu setzen (Robinson 2010:19).

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Ethno meets Art
Ein experimenteller Dialog zwischen Ethnologie und Kunst über den Begriff der ‚Achtsamkeit'

Frank André Weigelt und Miriam Vogt

Einleitung

Menschliche Erfahrungen ereignen sich immer durch sinnliche Praktiken. Menschliches Handeln und Wahrnehmen sind geprägt durch das Zusammenspiel aller Sinne. Dieses Zusammenspiel erfährt gerade dann an Bedeutung, wenn die eigenen und kulturell geprägten Praktiken sich beispielsweise im Bereich des Kreativen oder einer Erfahrungswissenschaft – einer Wissenschaft, die sich mit dem Erforschen alltäglicher Erfahrungen, der Empirie befasst – vollziehen. Ethnologie und Kunst stehen dabei beispielhaft als zwei Disziplinen, in denen die sinnliche Wahrnehmung eine herausragende Bedeutung hat.

In der Kunst steht mitunter die intuitiv-sinnliche Wahrnehmung im Vordergrund. Das betrifft sowohl das Erschaffen als auch das Rezipieren der jeweiligen künstlerischen Ausdrucksform. Künstler modifizieren und reproduzieren ihr kulturelles Selbstverständnis durch die Verwendung unterschiedlicher Aspekte ihres kulturellen Kontextes. Sie erweitern durch ihr Schaffen das Spektrum an Erfahrungsoptionen wie etwas gesehen, gefühlt, wahrgenommen und/oder erfahren wird (Hiller 1997:20; 24).

In der Ethnologie gehören die Sinne zum unmittelbaren Repertoire während der teilnehmenden Beobachtung. Ethnologen sammeln ihre Daten vor Ort, in den lokalisierten Sinnwelten der Menschen, die sie untersuchen (Berger und Luckmann 2009). Die Sinne dienen den Forschenden als Grundlage von Erkenntnis und als Basis der Empirie, auf welcher sich menschliches Verständnis und Selbstverständnis aufbaut (Bendix 2006:73). Die Forschenden lassen sich methodisch fundiert auf die Lebenswelt der zu erforschenden Gemeinschaft ein. Dabei liegt die Annahme zugrunde, dass Wissen auch durch sinnliche Wahrnehmungen vermittelt wird. Es liegt dann in der Form von implizitem Wissen (*tacit knowledge*) vor (vgl. Goffman 1956:17-30). D.h. der oder die Forscherin fühlt, dass etwas richtig oder falsch ist, kann dies aber vorerst nicht logisch und intellektuell begründen (Schiffauer 2002:231-246). Dieses Gefühl resultiert nicht zuletzt aus der Erfahrung von Differenz in der Bewertung dessen, was als konform und was als abweichend gilt (Honneth 1992; Weigelt 2013:259).

Der folgende Text versteht sich dabei als ein Erfahrungsexperiment. Ausgehend vom der gemeinsamen Grundlage, dass sich menschliche Erfah-

rungen auf der Grundlage sinnlicher Eindrücke und durch „bewusstes Beobachten" vollziehen, besprechen sich die beiden Autoren Frank André Weigelt und Miriam Vogt in dialogischer Form über den gemeinsamen Arbeitsbegriff der „Achtsamkeit". Achtsamkeit wird in einem ersten Schritt verstanden als „inhaltsneutrale Fähigkeit zum bewussten Beobachten" (Zimmermann 2012:11). Frank André Weigelt vertritt dabei eine ethnologische Perspektive und die Künstlerin Miriam Vogt hat im Zuge der Ausarbeitung zum experimentellen Dialog ein Objekt zum Begriff der Achtsamkeit entworfen und vertritt die Perspektive als Kunstschaffende. Das Objekt wird dann in den Verlauf des Textes sowohl besprochen als auch mittels Bildern eingeflochten. Im Ergebnis soll der Dialog Impulse liefern sowohl für eine künstlerische Auseinandersetzung mit der Thematik als auch für die ethnologische Praxis.

Achtsamkeit als inhaltsneutrale Fähigkeit zum bewussten Beobachten

Frank:

Für den europäischen Kontext lässt sich sagen, dass der Begriff der „Achtsamkeit" in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten zunehmend an Beachtung erfährt. Ursprünglich handelt es sich um eine Praxis buddhistischer Heilssuche und Spiritualität, die sich in Laufe der Jahrtausende ausgehend vom nordindischen Kontext global verbreitete und unter anderem nach Europa gelangte. In den vergangenen Jahrzehnten beschäftigen sich zunehmend Anhänger unterschiedlicher religiöser Traditionen, spirituelle Sucher, Künstler, Wissenschaftler verschiedener akademischer Disziplinen, wie der Religionswissenschaft, der Buddhologie, der Ethnologie oder der Erziehungs- sowie Lebenswissenschaften mit der Thematik. Mediziner und Therapeuten halten bei ihren Patienten positive Auswirkungen von Achtsamkeitsübungen fest. Die auf der Praxis der Achtsamkeit beruhenden Übungen gehören für viele Menschen, die an einer inneren Entwicklung, Bewusstseinsschulung und ausgeglichenen *work-life-balance* interessiert sind, zum Alltag. Wie siehst Du das für den Bereich der Kunst?

Miriam:

Diese Fähigkeit braucht es auch für den künstlerischen Prozess. Der künstlerische Prozess hat wesentlich damit zu tun, dass der Künstler bereit ist, mit dem zu gehen, was gerade bei ihm oben aufliegt, anliegt, und das nicht weiter zu bewerten bzw. nicht nach Wichtigem, Bedeutungsvollem, Besserem oder Richtigem zu suchen, sondern mit den Themen so zu gehen, wie sie sich anbieten. Per Kirkeby, einer der großen lebenden Maler, beschreibt es zum Beispiel so, dass er sagt, „vielleicht male ich gerade grün, weil Frühling ist". Er beobachtet, wie die Geschehnisse in der Natur seine Malerei prägen, bemerkt die Banalität darin und hofft auf noch andere Bildimpulse.

Aber das Mitgehen mit den eigenen Impulsen entspricht der in der Achtsamkeit geübten Fähigkeit, inhaltsneutral die eigene Gedankenbildung/

Wahrnehmung bewusst zu beobachten. Menschen, die Achtsamkeit üben, suchen oft auch eine andere Qualität des Zeiterlebens in einer schnelllebigen Gesellschaft. Auch da gibt es einen Berührungspunkt zu künstlerischen Prozessen, die immer ihre eigene Zeitgestalt haben, weder zu beschleunigen noch zu verlängern sind.

Frank:

In der Ethnologie gehören die Sinne zum unmittelbaren Repertoire während der teilnehmenden Beobachtung, einer spezifisch ethnologischen Methode der Datenerhebung. Ethnologen sammeln ihre Daten vor Ort, in den lokalisierten Sinnwelten entsprechender Personen, die sie erforschen wollen. Während der Teilnahme am Geschehen und der Beobachtung der ablaufenden Ereignisse, Interaktionen und Handlungen der anwesenden Menschen dienen die Sinne den Forschenden als Grundlage von Erkenntnis und als Basis der Empirie. Eine Frage, die sich in diesem Zusammenhang für die Ethnologie stellt, wäre, welchen Mehrwert die Praxis der Achtsamkeit für die Methode der teilnehmenden Beobachtung bereithält. Tim Ingold, ein bekannter Sozial- und Kulturanthropologe betont bereits die Bedeutung von Aufmerksamkeit (*attention*) für die Praxis der Ethnologie. Aufmerksamkeit wäre aber nur ein Aspekt, den es dabei zu beachten gilt.

Durch die physische Präsenz des Forschers vor Ort wird der Körper zu einem entscheidenden Forschungsinstrument. Er oder sie lernt mit allen Sinnen und am eigenen Körper. Sinnliche Wahrnehmungen sind in der Feldforschung immer in einem über das Individuum hinausgehenden Deutungsrahmen verankert, der kulturell geprägt ist. Es wäre daher anzunehmen, dass Achtsamkeit im Sinne einer „inhaltsneutralen Fähigkeit zum bewussten Beobachten" eine perfekte Methodenergänzung wäre. Zum einen könnte dies mögliche Verzerrungen in der Wahrnehmung von empirischen Inhalten beseitigen und zum anderen an einer Reihe von Beobachtungsgegenständen mit zunehmendem Schwierigkeitsgrad die rein formale und inhaltneutrale Fähigkeit zum bewussten Beobachten schulen. Das erstere Vorgehen würden die Aspekte der Validität und Reliabilität stärken. Ich will damit sagen, der Grad an Zuverlässigkeit über die erhobenen Daten und ihre Gültigkeit – also ob es eine plausible Ursache-Wirkungsverkettung besteht – würden gestärkt werden. Die zweite Variante würde das Beobachten als „Technik des Geistes" methodisch untermauern und herleiten. Allerdings wäre der Begriff der Achtsamkeit als sinnvolle Methodenergänzung dann weiter zu differenzieren und zu bestimmen. In einem strikten Sinne ist Achtsamkeit nie ohne Introspektion und *samādhi* (sk. für „Versenkung" oder „Sammlung") zu denken. Diese drei Aspekte gehören zusammen. Es sind das „Erinnern" oder „nicht-Vergessen des Geistes auf ein bestimmtes Objekt", die Selbstbeobachtung und das Fokussieren des Geistes auf ein bestimmtes Objekt. Letztendlich dient Achtsamkeit dann als Ausgangspunkt für eine umfassende und methodisch aufbereitete „Schulung des Geistes". Die ethnologische Praxis wäre in

diesem Sinne mehr als eine bloße Ausbildung zur Aufmerksamkeit im Sinne Tim Ingolds. Soviel zu einigen methodischen Überlegungen mit Bezug zur Ethnologie.

In der Vorbereitung zu unserem experimentellen Dialog hast Du ein Kunstobjekt erstellt. Wir haben davon ja einige Bilder gemacht, als wir bei Dir waren in der Zeit zwischen den Jahren. Ich hab mal ein prägnantes Bild herausgegriffen und im Folgenden in unseren Dialog eingefügt.

Wachsfahnen als Gegenstand einer Reflexion zum Begriff der Achtsamkeit

Frank:

Als Ausgangspunkt unseres des Dialogs zum Begriff der Achtsamkeit hatten wir sinnliche Wahrnehmung und bewusstes Beobachten. Wie bist Du dabei auf die Idee mit den Wachsfahnen gekommen?

© Miriam Vogt und Undine Weigelt

Miriam:

Ich dachte an die Sinnlichkeit, die Wachs hat. Das Papier wird durch das Wachs transparent. Es hebt die Vorder- und Rückseite auf. Striche verändern sich unter Wachs und es macht zugleich einen Unterschied, ob ich in das Wachs ritze oder auf das Papier unter dem Wachs male.

Bei der Betrachtung der Fahnen muss man genau hinschauen. Das Bild wirkt erst im Ganzen, durch die Durchlässigkeit des Wachses. Es ist wie eine Membran, das Papier wird durchlässig und transparent und wirkt als eine dünne Trennschicht unterschiedlicher Betrachtungsebenen, die es wiederum

miteinander in Bezug setzt. Es ist wie eine Fahne. Eine Fahne weht im Wind und der Betrachter nimmt den Raum dahinter wahr. Es ist das Gegenstück zu einem starren Bild mit nur einer Leinwand. Es entsteht eine Vibration in der Betrachtung, das kann man beobachten.

Frank:
Aus was bestehen die Fahnen?
Miriam:
Aus normalem Papier, das ich in flüssiges Wachs getaucht habe.
Frank:
Wie verläuft der Herstellungsprozess? Ist der auch schon künstlerisch oder eher handwerklich?
Miriam:
Die Herstellung ist bereits Kunst. Das Wachs muss man handhaben können. Meine Arbeit läuft dann intuitiv. Erfahrungswissen ist sehr wichtig.
Frank:
Stellst Du die Fahnen irgendwo aus?
Miriam:
Ja, im Mai diesen Jahres (2015) sind sie in der Galerie Erdkunst in Romanshorn, Schweiz zu sehen.
Frank:
Welchen Bezug haben die Fahnen für Dich zum Begriff der Achtsamkeit?
Miriam:
Es bedeutet für mich, im künstlerischen Prozess wach zu sein. Das heißt, für das Wach-Sein, was sich zufällig ergibt. Darauf zu achten, wann etwas „anfängt zu sprechen". Wenn ich ein gemaltes Bild in Wachs tauche, ergibt sich ein neues Bild und es entsteht etwas Unerwartetes. Es besitzt einen eigenen Ausdruck. Manche Leute oder Künstler denken, Achtsamkeit sei mit einem angespitzten Bleistift konzentriert einen geraden Strich zu Papier zu bringen. Achtsamkeit ist aber mehr. Es bedeutet Wachsam-Sein für den künstlerischen Prozess an sich. Es macht einen Unterschied, ob ich mit Achtsamkeit male oder ob ich konzentriert mit Farbkarten Auren male.
Frank:
Im Allgemeinen gilt die Ansicht, dass Künstler ihr kulturelles Selbstverständnis durch die Verwendung unterschiedlicher Aspekte ihres kulturellen Kontextes modifizieren und reproduzieren. Sie erweitern demnach das Spektrum an Erfahrungsoptionen, wie etwas gesehen, gefühlt, wahrgenommen und/oder erfahren wird durch ihr Schaffen, durch ihre Kunst. Wie stehst

Du zu dieser Ansicht, dass Du mit Deiner Kunst eine alternative Vorstellung und Auffassung von unserem gemeinsamen Beispiel Achtsamkeit, oder wie Achtsamkeit erfahren werden kann, erschaffst?

Miriam:

Kunst ist immer eine veränderte Perspektive auf etwas. Achtsamkeit bedeutet für mich Achtsam-Sein im Prozess und nicht im Ergebnis. Es gibt dabei einen Spagat zwischen „kraftvoller Kunst" und „feinen Auren". Man kann auch achtsam Kunst machen mit der Kettensäge. Manche Personen missverstehen das. Für sie bedeutet, dass feine Farbe etwas mit einem feinen Verständnis zu tun hat. Aber Achtsamkeit wird nicht mit spezifischen Techniken und Ausdrücken transparent, sondern beruht auf dem dahinter liegenden Prozess. Als Meditationspraxis bedeutet Achtsamkeit ja auch, sich des Moments vollständig bewusst zu sein. Ein Praktizierender ist sich dann seines Körpers, seiner Gefühle, seiner Geisteszustände und seiner spezifischen geistiger Qualitäten voll bewusst, nimmt sie wahr und beobachtet diese aus einer neutralen Haltung heraus. Man lässt die Gedanken kommen und beobachtet sie. Der Praktiker ist dann der, der denkt und beobachtet zugleich. Das ist ähnlich zum künstlerischen Prozess. Man lässt eine Inspiration intuitiv und ohne Bewertung kommen. Es ist das Einüben einer spezifischen Wahrnehmungspraxis und dazu benötigt es ein gewisses Erfahrungswissen, um letztendlich „das Material zum Sprechen zu bringen".

Frank:

Wir hatten uns ja mal über die Repräsentation von Inhalten unterhalten, die sich als Text nicht gut oder nur schwierig abbilden lassen. Ethnologen verschaffen sich während ihren Feldforschungen einen Eindruck von den Situationen vor Ort und versuchen diese ganzheitlich in ihrem Kontext zu verstehen und zu erklären. Im Anschluss wollen sie ein Bild vom kulturell 'Anderen' repräsentieren. Meistens geschieht dies mittels eines Textes. Es stellt sich dabei – eigentlich immer – die Frage: Wie sich sinnliche Eindrücke und Beobachtungen angemessen mittels Text transportieren lassen und welche Alternativen es gäbe, diese Eindrücke zu vermitteln? Das Thema unserer Unterhaltung fiel dann auf den Begriff der „Evokation", also das Hervorrufen von implizitem Wissen, Gefühlen und Erfahrungen durch alternative Darstellungsformen. Denkst Du, es macht Sinn, diese Form von Wissen, diese Gefühle oder Erfahrungen, die man nicht in Worte fassen kann, durch alternative Erfahrungs- und Darstellungsweisen, z.B. durch Kunst, zu evozieren?

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Miriam:

Ja, das geht immer. Es ist aber eine Frage der Erfahrung. Der Ausdruck des Bildes ist dabei wichtig. Wenn Du Deinem Gefühl eine Farbe gibst, hast Du schon mehr als bloßen Text. Das Medium Kunst erweitert den Ausdruck und die Erfahrungsweisen der Betrachter. Es bereichert und differenziert die Wahrnehmung. Im Versuch, etwas richtig zu beschreiben, sind Farben und Töne besser geeignet, Inhalte angemessen zu vermitteln. Sie sind reicher an Möglichkeiten als Text.

Frank:

Welche Probleme könnten dabei Deiner Ansicht nach bestehen?

Miriam:

Eher keine.

Frank:

Welche Vorteile bringt eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen Ethnologie und Kunst Deiner Ansicht nach?

Miriam:

Ich denke, in der Ethnologie ist man sehr auf eine differenzierte Wahrnehmung angewiesen. Kunst und Ethnologie können sich dabei nur ergänzen und bereichern. Allerdings steht bei der Kunst sehr deutlich der eigene Fokus im Vordergrund.

Frank:

Das ist nicht unbedingt verschieden zur Ethnologie. Im Text ist es letztendlich immer eine Repräsentation von Machtverhältnissen zwischen Forscher und Erforschtem. Der Ethnologe als Autor steht in der Verantwortung, ‚den Anderen' zu repräsentieren, auch wenn dies sehr reflektiert und methodisch untermauert geschieht bzw. geschehen sollte.

Miriam:

Ja, in der Kunst besteht aber zugleich die Möglichkeit, auf einer Ebene zu bleiben. Kunst ermöglicht die Begegnung mit dem Anderen auf Augenhöhe. Sie schafft einen Begegnungsraum im Moment des Anblicks. Künstler und Betrachter begegnen sich auf einer Ebene gleichberechtigt.

Frank:

Das ist doch ein toller Schlusssatz und ein prima Beispiel, wie sich Ethnologie und Kunst ergänzen können.

Fazit – der Dialog im Resümee

Der vorangegangene Dialog zeigte, welche Bedeutung die Praxis der Achtsamkeit im Kontext der Ethnologie und der Kunst hat und welche welche Impulse eine künstlerische Perspektive auf den Begriff der Achtsamkeit für die ethnologische Praxis bieten kann und umgekehrt.

Der Fokus lag dabei auf der ur-buddhistischen Praxis der Achtsamkeit. Die eingangs formulierte Definition von Achtsamkeit als „inhaltsneutrale Fähigkeit zum bewussten Beobachten" (Zimmermann 2012:11) ist dabei bereits ein Resultat von Übertragungsprozessen kulturell-religiöser Praktiken und Ideen aus Nord-Indien in den europäischen Kontext. Inhaltsneutral ist die Fähigkeit insofern, als dass es zunächst zweitrangig ist, an welchem Objekt sich der Praktizierende übt. Das Wichtigste ist „das bewusste Beobachten" (Zimmermann 2012:11). Die Fähigkeit des gezielten Beobachtens wird als Grundvoraussetzung gesehen, durch die bewusste Kontrolle der eigenen Sinne in jedweder Hinsicht entscheidende und positive Fortschritte zu machen. Gemäß Zimmermann (ebd.) war es wohl gerade der Aspekt der Inhaltsneutralität, der das Überleben dieser spirituellen Technik über die Jahrhunderte sicherte. Die Praktiken der Achtsamkeit konnten entsprechend der jeweiligen buddhistischen Ausrichtung und der Interessenschwerpunkte westlicher Interessierter verschiedene Inhalte und Impulse flexible aufnehmen. Die Praxis blieb offen und entwicklungsfähig. Diese Anpassungsfähigkeit ist als ein Grund zu sehen, warum buddhistisch inspirierte Achtsamkeitsübungen heute weit über den Buddhismus hinaus Bedeutung erlangten und als eine Art „ideologieunabhängige spirituelle Technik des Geistes" (ebd.) allen Menschen zur Verfügung stehen.

Ein verstärktes und allgemeines bzw. säkulares Interesse an dieser Praxis begann in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts (Gethin 2012:37), ab den 1970, 1980er Jahren. Als ein Beispiel für diese Übertragung sind die Arbeiten des Mediziners John Kabat-Zinn, der Psychologen Zindel Segal und Mark Williams sowie anderer Personen innerhalb der Psychotherapie zu sehen (Gethin 2012:43). Sie hatten unter anderem das Ziel, die Essenz der buddhistischen Achtsamkeitspraxis einer Klientel nahezubringen, die kein Interesse an buddhistischen Inhalten, Lehrformen oder Praktiken hatte (Gethin 2012:43). Ihre Motivation war es, den Menschen zu helfen im Umgang mit Stress, chronischen Schmerzen und wiederkehrenden Depressionen. Dazu wurden und werden in verschiedenen Programmen und Kursen Übungen wie Body Scan (das gedankliche Durchwandern des Körpers), das Üben und Fördern der eigenen körperlichen Wahrnehmung, das Auf- und Nachspüren von Empfindungen, Emotionen und Gedanken sowie das Beobachten des Atems (Gethin 2012:43) und die Bewusstwerdung über das eigene Bewusstsein gelehrt.

Die Kunst kann an dieser Stelle eine weitere Erfahrungsmöglichkeit bieten. Die Leinwand, die Bühne wie auch das Gehirn bieten eine Matrix und

es geht darum, sowohl Gedanken wie auch Farben und Töne erscheinen zu lassen und gleichzeitig sich als denjenigen wahrzunehmen, der das alles zur Erscheinung bringt. Achtsam, wahrnehmend, nicht bewertend. Kunst bietet einen Begegnungsraum, in welchem sich alle Beteiligten gleichberechtigt bewegen können.

Wie die Repräsentation des Begriffs selbst verortet sich die Praxis der Achtsamkeit immer in einem System von Werten und Normen. Sie sind eingebunden in ein System autoritärer Hierarchie. Der Praktiker wie auch der Betrachter werden immer geleitet, um zu verstehen, woher der Begriff kommt, was Achtsamkeit inhaltlich sein kann und wie es zu verstehen wäre. Im selben Atemzug ist der Künstler seinem eigenen Weg, seiner eigenen Sprache verpflichtet: Apfelblütensprache nennt die Lyrikerin Hilde Domin in einem Gedicht die Sprache, die jeder Künstler für sich finden muss. Dazu eignet sich insbesondere eine Praxis, die sich ideologieunabhängig fortwährend mit neuen Inhalten befüllen lässt und doch ihre praktische Essenz erhält. Die Betrachtung der Achtsamkeit lehrt uns immer, „den Geist bewusst zu gebrauchen" (S.H. der Dalai Lama 2012:211).

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Miriam Vogt arbeitet als Kunsttherapeutin und freie Künstlerin in der Schweiz. Das Spektrum ihres künstlerischen Schaffens umfasst die ganze Bandbreite: von bildhauerischer Arbeit christlicher Motive hin zu lyrischer Abstraktion und dem Spiel der Farben in unterschiedlichen Formen des Ausdrucks.

Curator – Anthropologist / Ethnographer – Artist

Katherine Carl and Natalie Jeremijenko
interviewed by Linda Weintraub

Interviewer's Introduction

Three voices were recorded, transcribed, and edited to reveal the multiple disciplinary perspectives that are explored in the following text. This convergence was initiated by an invitation from the editors of Ethnoscripts to contribute an essay exploring the intersection between four of these disciplines: art, ecology, anthropology, and ethnography. Only two reflected my professional proficiency – art and ecology. My search for an anthropology/ethnography partner coincided with the opening of an exhibition entitled "World of Matter" at the James Gallery, CUNY Graduate Center, New York. The exhibition incorporated all four disciplines. It utilized the methodologies of the social and natural sciences to examine instances of geopolitical-ecological upheaval. Although the venue was an art gallery, issues of migration, energy production, and mining were not presented as painted or sculpted representations. They took the form of photographic documentation, video, text, and film. Its anthropological/ethnographic content was expanded by the inclusion of historical narratives, scientific laboratory research, community initiatives, and indigenous technologies initiatives that are unique to each locale that was represented. The curator was Katherine Carl.

My initial visit to this exhibition was made more momentous because I was accompanied by an artist whose practice stretches the definition of fine art beyond its traditional borders by introducing issues, processes, aesthetics, functions, and materials that are anachronistic to the history of art. Her extensive output breached many discipline divisions. Some veered in the direction of anthropology and ethnography. This artist was Natalie Jeremijenko.

In remarkably distinctive manners, both Carl and Jeremijenko have pursued experiments that dismantle well-worn patterns of representation by embracing a plethora of aesthetic, conceptual and interventionist engagements, which explains why the following interview reflects neither anthropological research on art, nor an analysis of art from the perspective of anthropology. Nor does it explore the 'artistic' zone of operations in which boundaries between ethno-graphic fact and fiction mingle. Nor will it retrace an example of recent art where art explicitly converges with ethnography/anthropology. Groups such as Artpologist make such connections explicit in their stated

missions. Formed in 2007, this collective explicitly activates the dual perspective of artists (utilizing visual means) and social scientists (conducting ethnographic fieldwork). In this instance, both art practice and anthropological inquiries assume the perspectives of their subjects. "Voices of Taraz", for example, is a creative project by Artpologist that invites Taraz residents to elicit their childhood encounters and memories of the city. http://voicesof-taraz.blogspot.se/p/the-idea.html. Likewise, Моя Америка (My America) is based on ethnographic field research with Russian-speaking residents of New York City that gathered stories of how immigrants transformed their adopted city.

Instead, this interview features two representatives of vanguard art explorations in which disciplines, categories, and definitions are not neatly formulated. Natalie Jeremijenko is an artist, engineer and inventor with a speciality in environmental and urban issues, whose methods and themes are timely and instructive. Nonetheless, the art-viewing population might be perplexed because her approach to artistry does not conform to popular definitions of art. Resistance is not confined to the public. Even critics can be at a loss to ascertain the standards of merit by which her experimental projects might be judged and art historians might have difficulty determining a historic context within which to situate them.

Likewise, Katherine Carl is an art curator, but not in the conventional sense because she does not assert her expertise by organizing exhibitions in which interaction between the artist, the artwork, the audience, and the environment is suppressed to accord with the sterilized austerity of museum protocols and the determinates of curatorial authority.

Both Jeremijenko and Carl dispense with such separatist tactics by circumventing mute audiences and neutral sites. Instead, they approach the art audience as an opportunity for dynamic engagements that are complex, collaborative, and adaptive. Thus, their professional vantages incorporate interactive principles that are non-controllable, non-predictable, and non-immediate. As a curator, Carl participates in social exchanges that examine curative aspects of our social and non-human environments by accessing the creativity of the audience as well as the artist. As an artist, Jeremijenko purges the 'art-ificiality' of her profession's history. Both represent cultural frontiers that require major overhauls of their profession's standard protocols.

Nonetheless, neither has abandoned the defining characteristics of their respective professions. Carl maintains the curator's conventional job description that includes research, management, and working with artists to optimize their work for the public. These responsibilities entail constructing and interpreting relationships between works of art and elucidating their significance. As a curator, she determines if the audience will be coddled or provoked, perplexed or instructed. Natalie Jeremijenko's departure from conventions of art production can be

encapsulated by her rejection of values associated with 'anthropocentrism', the practice of interpreting reality exclusively in terms of human values and human experience. By directing awareness away from her personal tastes and feelings and toward ecological relationships, her work epitomizes the inclusiveness of 'ecocentrism'. This entails eliminating the prefix 'ego' (self), and replacing it with the prefix 'eco' (home or habitat). Jeremijenko's eco art practice is habitat-centered and habitat-serving. She cultivates behaviors that align human and nonhuman forms of life with long-term environmental directives.

Carl and Jeremijenko welcomed the opportunity to articulate the relationship between their respective art practices with anthropological and ethnographic studies. Each selected one project to serve as her narrative focus: "Lost Highway Expedition" for Carl and "Salamander Superhighway" for Jeremijenko. Because both projects entail travel, they invite comparisons regarding such timely themes as native/alien, risk/opportunity, immigration/migration, etic/emic methodologies, political/physical obstacles, etc.

Introducing the Interviewees

Katherine Carl is an art curator and a member of The School of Missing Studies (SMS), a collaborative group that scouts for missing knowledge in the midst of abrupt urban transition. SMS is international and multi-disciplinary (www.schoolofmissingstudies.net). The founders are Liesbeth Bik (artist, Rotterdam), Ana Dzokic (architect, Rotterdam), Ivan Kucina (architect, Belgrade), Marc Neelen (architect, Rotterdam), Jos van der Pol (artist, Rotterdam), Milica Topalovic (architect, Rotterdam), Sabine von Fischer (architect, Zurich), Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss (architect, New York who gave SMS its name), Stevan Vukovic (writer/curator, Belgrade), and Katherine Carl (writer/curator, New York). Carl contributes the perspective and training of a North American art historian and curator.

Natalie Jeremijenko is an artist who applies her extensive training as an engineer and inventor to environmental and urban issues. She manifests this training and this mission by inventing the means and constructing infrastructures for non-human urban species, providing them with the shelter, food, waste management, and opportunities for social organization they require to thrive.

OOZ, for example, is a series of art interfaces that facilitate interaction between humans and nonhumans. Like a traditional zoo, *OOZ* is a place where animals and humans interact. However, the reversal of the normal spelling of 'zoo' indicates that this project reverses typical zoo protocols. Animals are not confined in cages; they are free to choose their own habitation. Furthermore,

This diversity exists alongside the advanced critical thinking skills and shared commitment to excavating ubiquitous yet missing knowledge. Each location initiates new research because each intervention explores a cultural topic that is unique to that locale. The programs of lectures, workshops, seminars, master-classes, and research studios that constitute the 'school' ultimately generate cultural projects such as artworks, performances, exhibitions, architecture interventions, critical writing, etc. These diverse activities are undertaken to open unexpected paths of dialogue among individuals who would not otherwise work together toward a common goal. In this manner they transform a cultural disturbance into an opportunity for creative research and cultural production. SMS's strategies are designed to generate independent initiatives that elaborate upon the original project and have an enduring impact on the community. These efforts are optimized because they come from regions that have multi-faceted unwritten histories and are undergoing transition. They include the nine new capitals of the Western Balkans (Zagreb, Croatia; Ljubljana, Slovenia; Novi Sad and Belgrade, Serbia; Skopje, Macedonia; Prishtina, Kosova; Podgorica, Montenegro; Tirana, Albania; Sarajevo, Bosnia and Hercegovina), as well as Munich, Rotterdam, Zurich, and New York.

Thus the notion of 'school' focuses on thematic material, structural approaches, and critical meth-

humans are not restricted to passive observation; they are granted opportunities to participate in reciprocal interfaces with animals. Both schemes break the barrier between 'us' and 'them' that is ingrained in Western attitudes toward animals.

The series introduces astute remedies, presented as works of art, to situations that endanger both human and animal populations. These remedies take the form of humorous and accessible schemes for public facilitation. *OOZ* serves animal populations by applying considerations of progress, technological development, and the quality of life to non-humans. Such projects address dwindling animal populations by facilitating immigration, encouraging reproduction, and improving habitat. At the same time, *OOZ* serves human populations by inviting the public to contribute to the generation of scientific knowledge, thereby expanding the notion of 'participatory democracy'.

Jeremijenko has initiated *OOZ* projects on behalf of birds, geese, fish, mussels, and bats. For this interview, she focused on *Salamander Superhighway*, 2012. The 'highway' is actually an enclosed tunnel made of cast iron pipe, a material chosen because it is strong enough to withstand the weight of cars, trucks, and buses. It is laid in an orientation that matches the treacherous path of migrating salamanders as they cross a road. This occurs each year in early spring, on a rainy night, when they emerge from hibernation and assemble to search for the moist,

ods that are missing from standard academic institutions. Through the auspices of SMS, education is deployed, not centralized. It transpires through dynamic exchanges, not rhetoric. It is multi-directional, not hierarchical. It is undertaken to facilitate societal change, by gaining investment of individual students. It cultivates interdisciplinary exchanges, not separate disciplines. In all these ways SMS strives to be as dynamic and fluid as the topics it addresses. Participants in this 'school' develop the tools and methods to shape the cities they inhabit as they transition from 'no longer' to 'not yet', transforming 'missing' into 'mission'.

Bio – Katherine Carl is Curator of the James Gallery and Deputy Director of the Center for the Humanities at the Graduate Center, City University of New York. She was Curator of Contemporary Exhibitions at The Drawing Center (2005-2007); was on the senior staff at Dia Art Foundation (1999-2003); manager of the international artists exchange program ArtsLink (1996-1997); and program specialist at the National Endowment for the Arts (1991-1995). She has taught art history, theory, and criticism and curatorial methods at Tyler School of Art (2010), Parsons (2009), Moore College of Art (2009) and New York University (2002-2003). Carl received an American Council of Learned Societies fellowship in 2007 for completion of her dissertation (Aoristic Avant-Garde: Experimental Art in

wooded habitats they require for spawning. Because roads fragment forest habitats and interrupt their migration pathways, mortality rates are staggering.

Jeremijenko's benevolent impulses are not only undertaken on behalf of salamanders. She notes that some salamanders have an amazing adaptation called 'autotomy'; they can make their tails fall off if a predator snags it and then they can grow new ones. Jeremijenko proposes that salamander (cock) tails offer a cheap, efficient, non-polluting, recyclable, wild, healthful, tasty source of protein that mercifully avoids the need to slaughter a living animal. In all these ways, OOZ combines wildlife care-taking with resource-acquisition to demonstrate that human food systems can have a positive impact on the environment.

Bio – Natalie Jeremijenko pursued graduate studies in Mechanical Engineering at Stanford University and in the Department of History and Philosophy of Science at the University of Melbourne. She obtained her Ph.D. from the Department of Information Technology and Electrical Engineering at the University of Queensland. She is also affiliated with the Media Research Lab/Center for Advanced Technology in the Computer Science Department, New York University. Other research positions include Xerox PARC (Palo Alto, California) and the Advanced Computer Graphics Lab of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology.

1960s and '70s Yugoslavia) as well as numerous grants from The Trust for Mutual Understanding for her research and projects. Her co-edited books are *Lost Highway Expedition Photobook* (2007) and *Evasions of Power* (2011). Carl holds a PhD in Art History and Criticism from State University of New York, Stony Brook, and a B.A. from Oberlin College.

She has taught at the School Of Visual Arts, New York; San Francisco Art Institute; University of California, San Diego; Royal College of Art, London; Michigan State University. Jeremijenko was included in the 1997 and the 2006 Whitney Biennials of American Art. In 2010 Neuberger Museum mounted a major survey of her recent work.

The Interview, conducted by Linda Weintraub

Interviewer: How does your engagement with anthropology/ethnography impact your creative process?

KC: The School of Missing Studies is a project that I've been involved with for twelve years. It took shape as a collaborative network. From the very beginning it was a platform that explores abrupt transition in cities and the missing knowledge of histories. But it is also a school of sorts. It has a very strong mandate to study, not things that are missing, but things that are actually ubiquitous but have never been scouted and brought together for many reasons. They may have been obscured for political reasons or for because traditional disciplines could not get at that knowledge because of the bounds of the disciplines. We scout for the knowledge between disciplines, among networks of people that may not have worked together before. My role as a curator isn't traditional, and in SMS I am a participant among others.

With LHE (*Lost Highway Expedition*) we raised such questions as: Is the process of travel, interacting with specific places and people

NJ: I will focus on *OOZ*, 'zoo' backwards and without cages. This is about creating urban habitat for non-humans. It comes out of the observations of non-humans who are there and who leave traces in some way. They are the other 'other', not the conventional anthropological 'other'. It is critical to understand how much we depend on biodiversity for healthy ecosystems. So *OOZ*, as an example, draws attention to organisms that are critical to the ecosystem.

One concrete example of the *OOZ* project, the *Salamander Superhighway*. Salamanders are the base of the food network. The biomass of frogs and amphibians and salamanders is almost twice the size of all things warm in the Northeast, including all the deer and squirrels, which is a lot of flesh to hide in the leafy undergrowth and puddles. But it demonstrates the reason why every migrating bird and all those small mammals love salamanders. They all depend on salamanders for

and organizations on the ground, a political act? Is that an artistic act? In order to be art, was output needed? Or was the process of moving with the material of the questions and the places enough?

Interviewer: Were these questions raised prior to the event?

KC: Prior to the event it was quite structured and everybody came with a research project, so it was not a tourist situation. We set up an itinerary and agenda ahead of time at a symposium in Ljubljana supported by the Slovenian Ministry of Culture, which brought participants from the Western Balkans to decide what topics the conversations would focus on in each city. But we also agreed that when we made that trip, it could be completely different. Thus, these questions emerged as it went on. Actually, questions about the transition in different countries changed along this route because they were shifting even in the month that we were travelling. There was new building happening and infrastructure like highways. There were new places opening for business. There were new routes opening and others closing with the new EU borders. Some were monitored strictly while other routes were less heavily monitored and things could flow more easily. So all of that was shifting at the moment. There were "parallel," "hybrid," "solidified," "pixelated" worlds all going on simultaneously in ex-Yugoslavia in 2006.

energy transfer. Of course, we're in the middle of a species extinction crisis, the scale of which we haven't seen since the disappearance of the dinosaurs. Acknowledging the very presence of salamanders is an important thing. And figuring out how we might co-habit with them is also very important.

Salamanders are critical keystone organisms, particularly in the verdant North-eastern USA. Yet we continue to cut off their migration corridors. How can we adapt our urban infrastructure to support the organisms upon whom our healthy systems depend? The Salamander Superhighway provides a safe migration route. We keep filling the aquatic ecosystem for development and water that recharges aquifers and protects the terrestrial and the aquatic ecosystem is being harmed by industrial contaminants. We need to concretely reorganize. The ecosystem needs more than ways to digest carbon. It'd be lovely to sit by the wetland and watch the dragonflies and finish your dissertation. But we have to rescue the animals from the swamps of the cultural imagination and put them back in their place. We have to imagine an infrastructure of distributed wetlands integrated back into our urban fabric, to imagine cohabiting with non-humans.

Interviewer: Do you speak on behalf of the salamanders?

NJ: I translate their points of view into English. As the salamanders

So we took up these city topics that had been formulated by the person who was living, long term, in the place. In the end, around 300 people made the excursion, and with this project and others SMS overall has made many things: a photo book and lexicon from what was learned on the expedition, also films including "Looking For October". There is more that we still need to make!

go through this a PIR sensor[1], they can tweet, "Hey honey. I'm coming home." These Socratic[2] salamanders can say profound things like, "What comes first, the salamander or the migration route?" By giving a voice to these non-humans in the 'OOZ' project and acknowledging their presence, we start to see a larger system which I would argue is critical. 'OOZ' says something about institutional framings and re-inventing.

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1 A passive infrared sensor (PIR sensor) is an electronic sensor that measures infrared light from objects in its field. They are most often used in motion detectors.
2 'Socratic' is a reference to Socrates Park where this work was originally installed as well as the 'Socratic Method', the use of systematic doubt and questioning to elicit a truth that Socrates developed in the 4th century BC in Greece.

Interviewer: Please explain your work's relation to institutional framing.

KC: That comes up in a number of ways in The School of Missing Studies. Specifically, we are a collaborative that changes. The question of individual initiative was important to us. The idea was to *not* be an institution. We were very conscious about being something that was generative and research-driven. That research was field work-driven. So this relates to ethnography and anthropology. Maybe going out and interviewing people and getting people's stories is stereotypical from an artist's or a curator's point of view. But our interest is rather in exploring what can we make together. For example, in Halle, Germany, massive modernist housing blocks became vacant. People were moving out to find work

NJ: Well, this requires a little background for the non-art reader. The greatest intellectual contribution of the 20th century in the conceptual art movement is institutional critique. That it is something that other fields have not necessarily recognized. It was generalized into a strategy of developing alternative institutions that go beyond the intervention of an experiment, into something that has durability. *OOZ* is an example of taking a legacy institution, the Victorian zoological garden, to demonstrate the extent of the human empire. It allows one to see that to display exotic animals and arrange them in categorical boxes is a radically inappropriate way to interface with non-human or-

elsewhere, and suddenly the space is taken over by wildlife. We noticed that a few retired people who are left living there gather each night at 7 pm, but they don't have anywhere to sit. So our small project might be to drag an old piece of concrete and make it into a bench for people to sit on.

Interviewer: Can you define the relationship between you who are visitors to a city and those who are citizens?

KC: Basically, we raised the problem of expedition at the time when neo-liberalism was encroaching on Eastern Europe. Our projects, however, were based on mutual invitation and exchange. For example, Filip Jovanovski, a student from Skopje, traveled on his own to Belgrade for the "Looking For October" workshop in 2003 with artists and architects from New York, Zurich, and Belgrade. The project was to find urban traces of the liberation in 1944, which affected his city as well as Belgrade, even though it was now across a national border. Then he hosted SMS travelers from Lisbon, Vienna, Basel, Barcelona and other parts of ex-Yugoslavia in Skopje for "Lost Highway Expedition" in 2006.

Interviewer: Did they associate you with conquistadors?

KC: No, David Harvey proposed that SMS may have a new reading of territory. We are concerned with a living study of living knowledge; what is more important is how we make projects together. For LHE

ganisms. This is important because the number of people who go to zoos and aquariums in the U.S. exceeds all professional sports combined. The Zoological and Aquariums Association publishes this data. So this work addresses a very present cultural legacy. The animals incarcerated in the zoos, of course, cannot manage their own territory or choose their own mate. And they are on anti-depressants. So the idea that we can radically reinvent an institution with close interaction with animals is something that's desirable and compelling and fascinating. The biologists could care less. I mean they've just started to study the beaver that moved in to the park by themselves. It's a strange thing. The concerns of the local chapter of the World Wildlife Foundation is really about saving the golden frog in Costa Rica, as opposed to what the Foundation can do about the coyotes that live right around it. They ignore urban ecosystems. It's a radical misrepresentation. What we need to understand is being able to have animals share our water. The watering hole is a great metaphor for how settlements share territorial resources.

Interviewer: Can you define the institutions that are implicated in this mismanagement of our animal neighbors, besides zoos. Are there others?

NJ: The list is extraordinary. It begins with the idea that nature is 'out there'. It is in those boxes that we call parks where we keep nature. Nature is not in the air quality in

everybody chose their own research project. Some looked at the typologies of kiosks throughout the region. Others focused on migration. Some questions that are ideal in one region may not be relevant in others. There might be a particular moment when something changed in this place because of a political decision or because of a cultural movement or a lot of black market activity.

Interviewer: Regarding institutions, it seems like the very concept that motivates School of Missing Studies is to occupy the fringe of institutions or invent something that institutions, especially institutions of education, are not presenting. But, at the same time, you talk about formalizing your research and discoveries. Do you conceive of that as an alternative institution or is it different from an institution?

KC: There have been SMS collaborations with educational institutions including Pratt and MIT.[1] Now the Sandberg in the Netherlands offers a two-year masters course of study in SMS. The word 'alternative' is not attractive on the ground in ex-Yugoslavia because most everything is alternative there. When something is an experiment – there and gone – change is not activated. We're not alternative, rather cooperative, working for a span of years.

Interviewer: The word 'institutionalize' means establishing a solid foundation that is going to endure.

this room, or the food systems we depend on, or the water that we use every day. Why don't zoos integrate the systems and substances that affect our human health? Institutional arthritis is built up from an understanding that this is a manageable technocratic city. They don't think of how we can optimize it although it is irreducibly complex and messy; that's what makes it work. The list of institutions includes all those that follow from this assumption about management, particularly in an urban space. They don't recognize that non-humans are not only here; they are a critical part of this.

So this topic enters my work through a series of signs, road signs, and other official looking signs that address feeding the animals. The signs question why humans assume we should monopolize all the nutritional resources. They counter, for example, the extraordinary genocide, or 'cleansing', that is exercised around pigeons or other non-humans that cohabit in our environment.

I suppose it's a huge cultural shift, but I think it's tremendously challenging to understand that our 'selves' are more non-human than human, and that our internal health depends on the jungle of biodiversity that lives in our elbow creases! These living, dynamic, irreducibly complex systems aren't served by these legacy Victorian institutions. It is a radically new concept.

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1 At Belgrade Architecture Faculty SMS hosted Susan Buck-Morss, Eyal Weizman, Yehuda Safran.

KC: The idea was that each project contributed to a guide for the next person doing research. *Lost Highway Expedition* was a snapshot at a specific time of infrastructure and institutions in the Western Balkans. Now we see it is a generative history.

Interviewer: Could you discuss whether you would identify your work with any art theory or any anthropological theory? How do you contextualize your own work within those two disciplines?

KC: Looking back ten years, you might say that this is Social Art Practice—specifically one in which artists not only work with the social context as material, they actively interact with social meaning, particularly in public spaces or as spatial practices.

Interviewer: Your definition of Social Practice is a lot like my definition of anthropology, especially with regard to fieldwork. How do you feel about this relationship?

KC: Here at the Graduate Center, it is easy for me, as a curator, to work with anthropologists. It seems totally natural because they also have a field site and they are also talking with people across the world. The process is potentially the same, but the output is different. Artists are making something. For instance, they could be making a sculpture instead of writing a dissertation about their anthropological findings. Or they could make a feature film of their interviews, as happened with School of Missing Studies. It is just the methods of the disciplines that are different.

I was actually trained by some wonderful ethnographers to whom I owe a tremendous intellectual debt. They include Helen Verran[1] who attacked the idea that Westerners had the monopoly on logic and aboriginal people had the monopoly on spirituality. She did this by demonstrating that aboriginals have a counting template that is as rigorous as ours. Their natural template has a base of two which is based on family relations. Our natural template uses the base ten which is based on fingers. Their logic system has parity with ours. She played an extraordinary role in establishing aboriginal land rights in Australia. I watched her work closely. I try to translate this approach in my work.

Secondly, I worked with Lucy Suchman[2] who worked on the pho-

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1 Verran is an adjunct professor at Charles Darwin University. She was awarded US Ludwig Fleck Prize of the US Society for Social Studies of Science in 2003 for her book, *Science and an African Logic.*
2 Lucy Suchman is an anthropologist and a pioneer in usability and accessibility. She played a significant role in the introduction of anthropology to tech r&d through her tenure at Xerox PARC from 1979 to 2000. Her research centers on relations of ethnographies of everyday practice to new technology design.

Interviewer: *Can you explain the process, the creative part? The thing about your definition is that the artist is conducting the research, not only commenting on it or responding emotionally to it.*

KC: Right, those of us engaged in Missing Studies are not standing back and saying, "I'm going to be critical of this." Instead, I see the approach as the participant acknowledging that there is an issue and the need to conduct research in accord with his or her living experience with others. This includes aesthetic and spatial and political lines of questioning that in turn unearths knowledge for the next inquirer. The process involves figuring out how the lived reality imposes the limits and what images and design will facilitate new better realities. Our work involves the situation that is being changed and the product that is being made from that critical stance, not just documentation or interviews.

Interviewer: *Your curatorial role involves serving as the instigator of the images, providing an opportunity for someone to fulfill this intention. Is that correct?*

KC: My involvement was facilitation and research. I don't create art objects, but I mobilize resources that make art objects and generative discourses. I think about putting people in dialogue together. I see how work needs to be together in space and whether this could be an exhibition or should take another form.

tocopier at PARC Xerox[3] when it was first designed. She demonstrated that the massive, artificial intelligence, decision theory system that was designed to support photocopy machine repair didn't work. She noted that photocopy repairmen actually solved problems only when they were given walkie-talkies to coordinate with dispatch and so they would ask, "Have you ever come across this problem before?" She based her recommendations on the ethnographic observation of actual behavior.

In both of these cases, giants in anthropological world used ethnography in very politically astute ways. Their commitment involved immersion in the research that came out of their ethnographic training. They didn't go in with pre-designed ideas. Solutions emerged from what they observed. Methodologically, this is really important in my conceptualized version of Critical Realism. It takes a kind of observation immersion in a phenomenon of interest that exists without the coding and empirical analysis. I use my own life as the medium. My work is about lived experiences. Ethnographic fieldwork methodology is extremely important.

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3 Suchman focused on the labor that was needed to become familiar with new machines and technologies, designing systems to allow them to be effectively used. In *Anthropology as 'Brand': Reflections on corporate anthropology* (Lancaster Univers., 2007, Pg. 3) she argued that the "more generally the imperative to market new technologies as if they can be incorporated into working practices without any upfront investment in resources for learning is a false economy, one for which front line workers usually bear the cost."

Interviewer: How does this apply to the Salamander Superhighway *or another part of OOZ?*

NJ: Very simply, by observing the socio-ecological system to the extent that you observe the people and the animals, and try to make sense of the animals as well. For example, there are three sparrows that hang out on Broadway in Houston in a little tree. It's a little struggling tree. I keep asking, "What are they thinking? Why is a bird there when it can go anywhere?" That reflects the general question, "Should we be improving the quality of the green spaces we have?"

A secondary thing that comes out of the ethnographic kind of work is 'organism centric design'. If you look at the world from the point of view of a salamander and really navigate that you realize that if they can't migrate, they can't reproduce.

Interviewer: Please explain your involvement with Critical Realism.

KC: Yes, Missing Studies is similar to Critical Realism in the active participation of imagining and creating new realities from the research of lived experience, in particular, the changes in Eastern Europe in the 90s and into the 2000s. There is a rise in art practices dealing with fictional histories on one hand and with the experience of realism on the other. The presence of living with parallel calendars defined the life then.

NJ: Critical realism is the fundamental form of literacy. I am in no way trying to do objective journalistic documentary. This deadening didactic approach is more related to visual anthropology. What is really important is the mental or emotional position adopted with respect to the evidence, which is why ethnography reins as the king of social science.

Interviewer: Can you explain the difference between art and anthropology?

KC: Artists and architects invent forms, make things. It is very inter-relational. An artist makes a self-reflective process as it relates to other things. It involves mobilizing the research and has a social ethical purpose.

The good thing about anthropology at this moment is that this discipline is cracking open in exciting ways. It is important to have artists in this dialogue. Things are happening in the margins, like the personal field notes that don't end up in the finished journal article but are then food for a poem. As a curator, I can place this material into the world. The public aspect is important. Art, as you know, is made to be shown, and not only inside an art world.

NJ: There is a difference between art and anthropology even if there is a mash up of strategies: visual strategies, analytic strategies, research strategies, and fieldwork. The artist is accountable to the exhibition, which is a proxy for the public; whereas an anthropologist is accountable to their community of experts. Anthropologists have, of course, done a lot of work to be accountable to the subjects of their writings as well, but as professional anthropologists, their work is intended to contribute to the field of anthropology. I think the real demanding difference is the language you must use if the public is going to see this in an exhibition. You also need different representational strategies than what you would use in talking to a community of experts. What remains the defining feature is that, as an artist, you don't get any automatic credits for being right or intelligent or thorough.

Interviewer: Is there an ethical component to your work?

KC: Yes, and let me say something about the ethics of being immersed and of producing visual evidence of that immersion. There is a difference between the process and the output. I think the work that is most ethical is the most activist. When artists who are interested in change are doing research, they are not only providing more evidence or statistics. Instead, they are making work that is pragmatic to find a point of connection with the other person. It's not in things. They speak for things.

NJ: Actually, I'm really against ethics. I would have them done away with, and I'm saying the same thing you are, Katherine. But in the fractious popular world, it is on the Right that the so-called 'ethical' meets. For instance, Google funded the $360,000 burger that I would call the "Google Goon". It was grown in a laboratory. I would pose that the salamanders offer a more ethical alternative for producing meat protein because salamanders have a monopoly on limb regeneration technolo-

That is the forensic in the project. Their art says, "I was in the situation that I was exploring. I was learning from it, and at the same time producing the reality I experienced." SMS finds that point of connection. It is more of a conversation after being immersed in the situation.

Interviewer: Where do your ethics originate? Are they religious, or biological, or sociological?

KC: It's comes from my social and political value system. I want to acknowledge the politics of any situation. It's from having a level of awareness, all the time, of things that are in operation that are unseen. Ideology runs through everything. I try constantly to step back from the framework I am inside and think of it from another perspective. Things don't have to be the way they are. I think of what needs to happen to make change. I'm not sure exactly where that came from, but I began this approach when I was an undergraduate.

Interviewer: Improving conditions or criminalizing those who are at fault?

KC: Just making small changes that are in my control. Change is an ongoing struggle. There is no existential problem. It's really a matter of saying, "Well, we are here because we need to make life better." There it is. Something about that motivation really rings true for me. It's problem-solving. If an artist offers a new way of problem solving, it brings a new set of tools to the issue, and passion.

gies. This is a sound way to manage predatory pressure. The 'early bird' is one species of salamander that can just drop its tail, half its body mass and leave it wiggling. Harvesting salamander tails is like milking a cow. You know, it is salamander cock-tails for dinner.

Interviewer: Don't you think that's an ethical stance?

NJ: By creating urban infrastructure that facilitates the lifestyle and sex life of the salamanders, we are benefiting in other ways too. This approach could be critically important for our own health. But it's a radically different model than imposing some form of ethics. Like Peter Singer[1], I want to optimize the happiness of other organisms. I'm figuring out this ethical equation by thinking of food as the interface between natural systems that encapsulates ethical guidelines.

Just do the systems' comparison between what it takes to grow meat in a culture in a lab and all the energy and externalities this takes, and what it takes to foster healthy bio diverse ecosystems. This one is self-maintaining, radically inexpensive, and socially and economically self-generative. Since these systems are always changing, they don't comply with the idea of an ethics board. This is different from things that are

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1 Peter Singer is a professor of bioethics at Princeton University. His controversial writings apply moral philosophy to poverty, charity, and euthanasia, and is a founder of the modern animal rights movement.

Interviewer: Passion may be the missing ingredient in most contemporary disciplines.

done by institutions. The modesty of the artist's hand allows small scale actions that can aggregate in a social movement. Limited resource makes the response of an artist viral. If an artist can do it, anyone can do it. There's a simplistic ethical rule about behavior that defies the very idea that we have a creative agency. It states that designing the desirable future involves lessening your damage. Yes, it's a good rule of thumb, but that doesn't excuse you from the real need to design your relationship to natural systems.

Interviewer: Please rate your own project from 1 to 10, with 10 being max. Okay? Question number one: Empirical rigor.

KC: I feel this is an unfinished project, but to date, I give it an eight.

NJ: I'm going to go with nine.

Interviewer: Regarding the public's response, do you achieve the emotive responses you intend in producing these events?

NJ: The primary emotion that I'm after is wonder. I see wonder as different from happy, or sad, or amused, or compelled, or engaged. Yeah, I think it works. Engage with people, I'll give it another nine.

KC: I imagine curiosity and the interest to ask further questions can be an emotional response. If so, then 10.

Interviewer: Is your intention to undermine a normative attitude or behavior?

NJ: Yeah, I'll put it as ten.

KC: Yeah. I'll go with ten.

Interviewer: Is your intention to generate a new attitude or behavior?

KC: Yes, let's say nine.

NJ: It's certainly ten. It is the certainty of intention to do that, whether it does that or not.

Interviewer: Is your intention to popularize an existing attitude or behavior that you find worthwhile and may not be in full use?

KC: Yes, I'd say ten there.

NJ: Yeah, nine.

Interviewer: To what degree do you rely on collaboration or the contribution of other experts from different fields?

NJ: Ten.

KC: Ten.

Interviewer: To what degree do aesthetics factor into your work?

NJ: Seven.

KC: Yeah seven. It should be 10, but artistic freedom is the freedom not to be aesthetic if you don't want to.

Interviewer: Please rate the degree to which the following items factor into your creative process. The first is, developing a strategy to achieve your goals.

KC: Nine.

NJ: I have an allergy to people saying, "It's about the process." All these design consultancies want to sell you a process. So I'm very much me. Anything goes, whatever works. It probably won't work again if it works once. I don't take away processes from my projects or work at all.

Interviewer: Is problem solving your goal?

KC: Yes. I think it's at nine.

NJ: And I would say nine but I also called it problem forming. It's problem-forming and problem-solving.

Interviewer: Is your creative contribution identifying or recognizing a problem?

KC: Yes, it's nine.

NJ: I'd put ten on that.

Interviewer: Is your creative contribution in terms of selecting examples that manifests this problem?

KC: Yes ten, because that's an important aspect of a curator's work.

NJ: Yes, I suppose nine.

Interviewer: Is your creative contribution in terms of interpreting the problem?

KC: I'd say ten as well.

NJ: Right. The way of interpreting it is the same as problem-forming. So I'd put nine on it.

Interviewer: Is your creative contribution in terms of research?

KC: Yeah ten.

Artist: Yeah ten for me.

Interviewer: Is your creative contribution in terms of advocacy?

KC: Yes nine, which takes a lot of my attention.

NJ: I'd put seven for me because advocacy is hard to do. I don't do it to the extent that I could or I feel like I should and I think there are people who are better at doing it.

Interviewer: Is there anything I have not asked you that you would identify as your creative contribution?

NJ: I'll say one more. In our practice areas, does citation exist? A lot of work has to go into crediting. I wish someone had told me that professionally a long time ago. Credit has to be widely shared and blame tightly focused. Making sure that people who have contributed in any way feel like their contribution has been acknowledged.

KC: The whole notion of individual authorship is absolutely not part of the School of Missing Studies.

Interviewer to KC: Does your creative contribution consist of redefining the nature of authorship?

KC: I don't think so, it's not about redefining authorship or even redefining collaboration. Our platform is about creating more entry points, redefining what are the points of access to certain discourses.

Interviewer: Can you manage a few more questions?

NJ: Can I go pipi?

Interviewer: We'll be done in one minute. Are you okay? Here are the final questions.

Would you consider the following a compliment or an insult? The first is, your work belongs in an ethnographic museum.

NJ: That would be a compliment.

KC: Oh yes definitely.

Interviewer: Your work belongs in a technology manual.

KC: Oh yes, that is very generous.

NJ: I suppose so.

Interviewer: Last one. Your work belongs in a congressional panel.

KC: Yes, a compliment, not that I put too much esteem in Congress, particularly in relation to their views on art and culture, but the notion that political change could happen, yes.

NJ: Sure, yeah.

Interviewer: Wonderful. Thank you for providing such an informative interview. Now, go pee!

Figure 1: Lost Highway Expedition (LHE)[1]; photo by Marjetica Potrč

Figure 2: Lost Highway; photo by Ana Dzokić

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1   http://www.europelostandfound.net

Figure 3: Salamander Superhighway; photo by Natalie Jeremijenko

Linda Weintraub is a curator, educator, artist, and author of several popular books about contemporary art. TO LIFE! Eco Art in Pursuit of a Sustainable Planet (University of California Press, 2012) was preceded by the series, Avant-Guardians: Textlets in Art and Ecology (Artnow Publications, 2006-2007). Other books include In the Making: Creative Options for Contemporary Art (co-published by D.A.P. New York and Thames & Hudson, UK. 2003-2014); Art on the Edge and Over: Searching for Art's Meaning In Contemporary Society, 1970s-1990s (Art Insights Publications 1996 – 2014), along with ANIMAL. ANIMA. ANIMUS. Co-author/editor Marketa Sepala (Pori Museum of Art, 1999); Painted Bodies of the Americas, Harry N. Abrams Publisher, 1999. She was director of the Art Institute at Bard College; Henry Luce Professor of Emerging Arts at Oberlin College; and is lecturer at the New School in Manhattan. Weintraub received her MFA degree from Rutgers University. She practices permaculture on her homestead in upstate New York.

Empathografie. Ein Dialog

Michael Pröpper im Gespräch mit Christina Lammer

Christina Lammer (47) lebt und arbeitet als Soziologin, Kultur-, Kommunikationswissenschaftlerin, Autorin und Filmemacherin in Wien. Gegenwärtig leitet sie zwei künstlerische Forschungsprojekte: Features – Wiener Gesichtsprojekt (2010-2014) wird vom Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (FWF) im Programm zur Erschließung und Entwicklung der Künste (PEEK) gefördert. Surgical Wrappings (2009-2014) wird vom Wiener Wissenschafts-, Forschungs- und Technologiefonds (WWTF) im Wiener Impulsprogramm für Geistes-, Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften finanziert. Christina Lammer ist im Rahmen ihrer Forschung an der Universität für angewandte Kunst in Wien tätig. Sie arbeitet mit Vorliebe mit bildenden KünstlerInnen, FilmemacherInnen, ChoreografInnen und TänzerInnen zusammen. Gemeinsam mit dem plastischen Chirurgen Manfred Frey verwirklicht sie seit 2005 Projekte zur Körper- und Selbstwahrnehmung. Ein weiterer Forschungsbereich betrifft das chirurgische Handwerk und den sterilen Raum des Operationstheaters als gesellschaftliche Bühne. Zuletzt beim Wiener Löcker Verlag erschienen: Empathography (Hg.), 2012; Anatomiestunden / Anatomy Lessons, gemeinsam mit Artur Zmijewski herausgegeben, 2013 und Bewegende Gesichter / Moving Faces (HG.), 2015. www.corporealities.org.

Christina Lammer (47) is a research sociologist, collaborative artist, filmmaker and lecturer based in Vienna. Her work combines sensory ethnography with video, performance and body art in hospitals and clinics to focus on embodied emotion and sensory interaction between patients and physicians during the course of medical treatment. Her most recent books: CORPOrealities (Vienna, Löcker Verlag, 2010); Empathography (Vienna, Löcker Verlag, 2012); Anatomiestunden/ Anatomy Lessons, edited with Artur Zmijewski (Vienna, Löcker Verlag, 2013) and Bewegende Gesichter / Moving Faces (Vienna, Löcker Verlag, 2015). Lammer holds a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Vienna. www.corporealities.org

MP: Du leitest zwei künstlerische Forschungsprojekte. Was kennzeichnet ein künstlerisches Forschungsprojekt? Was ist das?

CL: Künstlerische Forschung ist ein weites Feld mit einer langen Tradition. In diesem Bereich bleibt die Fragestellung, was Forschung sein kann, verhandelbar. Kunst stellt Fragen. Dabei beschränken sich die Forschenden nicht

unbedingt auf die eigene künstlerische Praxis, sondern beziehen andere Methoden und Arbeitsprozesse durchaus mit ein. Wie ich bereits ausführlich beschrieben habe, bewege ich mich mit meiner eigenen Forschungsarbeit an der Grenze von Kunst und Medizin. Ich schaffe Versuchsanordnungen und Experimentierfelder, setze mich mit gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeiten auseinander. Ich lade Kunstschaffende ein, mit mir zusammenzuarbeiten und sich einzubringen. Meiner Meinung nach gibt es wenige Künstler und Künstlerinnen, die nicht forschen, aber das führt an der Stelle vielleicht zu weit. Für mich existiert eine Verwandtschaft zwischen visueller und sensorischer Ethnografie und künstlerischer Forschung. Gerade die performativen Aspekte meiner Arbeit und die Nähe zum Theater, zur Choreografie und zur Körperarbeit generell erweitern den Rahmen, in dem als wissenschaftlich bezeichnete Forschung üblicherweise definiert wird. Meine Definition von künstlerischer Forschung hat sicherlich viel mit einer Haltung zu tun, was die Aufbereitung von Fragestellungen und Inhalten anlangt. Ich lasse mich nur ungern von Fächergrenzen oder Disziplinen einschränken und festschreiben. Für mich sind die in Österreich noch relativ jungen Förderprogramme für künstlerische Forschung enorm hilfreich. Gerade der *Fonds zur Förderung wissenschaftlicher Forschung* mit dem 2009 ins Leben gerufenen *Programm zur Entwicklung und Erschließung der Künste* spielt für mich eine zentrale Rolle. Ohne die großzügige Förderung meiner Forschungsarbeiten in diesem Bereich wäre meine Arbeit in der Form nicht möglich.

MP: Welche Spannungsfelder zwischen Kunst und Wissenschaft nimmst Du wahr? Sind künstlerische Erzeugnisse nicht subjektivistisch subversive Gegenstandpunkte? Sind eine Wahrnehmung mit allen Sinnen und eine (textuelle/wortbasierte) Analyse nicht unüberwindliche Gegensätze?

CL: Für mich sind das keine Gegensätze. Eher unterschiedliche Sprachen, Arbeits- und Ausdrucksweisen, die allerdings bei näherer Betrachtung häufig mehr gemeinsam haben, als ursprünglich angenommen. In der Ethnologie – ich vereinnahme jetzt ein wenig dieses Fach, wenn Du erlaubst, obwohl ich nicht wirklich hier beheimatet bin – sind wir doch daran gewöhnt, mit Übersetzungsprozessen und allen Transformationen, die damit einhergehen, zu arbeiten. Ich habe mich lange Zeit mit Wissenschaftsforschung und diesbezüglich speziell mit Laborstudien beschäftigt, beispielsweise von Bruno Latour. Fasziniert mich, in diese wissenschaftlichen Arbeitsprozesse im Labor einzudringen und plötzlich festzustellen – dort wird auch nur mit Wasser gekocht. Die vielfältigen Narrative und Bilder, die in den Wissenschaften produziert werden. Die strenge Trennung von Wissenschaft und Kunst ist doch ein Phänomen der Moderne. Das sollten wir vielleicht nicht ganz vergessen.

MP: In der Auseinandersetzung / dem Verstehen des Verhältnisses von Kunst und Wissenschaft scheinen mir die Begriffe Sinnlichkeit, Emotion und Sub-

jektivität Schlüsselbegriffe zu sein. Welche Rolle spielen diese Begriffe in Deiner Arbeit?

CL: Ich möchte die von Dir genannten Begriffe durch den des Leibes ergänzen. Um diesen phänomenologischen Terminus kreisen all meine Arbeiten an der Grenze von Medizin und Kunst. Je tiefer ich mit meinen Filmen und Videoinstallationen ins künstlerische Tun eintauche – ich komme ursprünglich aus der Soziologie und den Kommunikationswissenschaften – desto stärker wird mir bewusst, wie eng die Phänomenologie oder die Philosophie generell mit der Kunst, die mich besonders anspricht, verbunden ist. Exemplarisch erwähne ich diesbezüglich gerne die kürzlich verstorbene österreichische Malerin Maria Lassnig und ihre Selbstporträts, die sie später als *body-awareness-paintings* bezeichnete. Lassnig beschäftigte sich in ihrem künstlerischen Schaffen mit inneren Erlebnissen und Erfahrungen, die in ihren Bildern spürbar werden. Ähnliches versuche ich in meiner Forschung.

MP: Welche Rolle spielt der Körper, Körperwahrnehmung, und Körpergrenzen im eher kognitivistischen und intellektualisierten geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschungsprozess? Was sollte anders laufen? (Stichworte: Haut, Grenzen, Feinstoffe, Berührungen, Wunden, Öffnungen, Bewegungen, Öffnen, Aufmachen, Schmerzen, Scham).

CL: Ich kann nur für meinen eigenen Forschungsprozess sprechen. Ich betrachte den menschlichen Körper ganzheitlich und im zuvor erwähnten Sinne als Leib. Im Deutschen existiert dieser Begriff. Die Unterscheidung von Körper und Leib halte ich für immens wichtig. Über den Körper zu sprechen, impliziert seinen Objektstatus und damit kommt Distanz ins Spiel. Mich interessiert allerdings das Erleben, Erfahren oder Erspüren und die Nähe. Wie berührt ein Chirurg oder eine Chirurgin etwa eine Brustkrebspatientin vor, während oder nach der Operation? Wie empfindet die Patientin die Behandlung? Gerade im Krankenhausbetrieb begebe ich mich oft in sensible und intime Situationen. Die Beteiligten können manchmal schwer in Worte fassen, was sie empfinden und wie sie sich fühlen. Vieles läuft nonverbal ab oder mit einem unausgesprochenen Einverständnis. Ich habe mich in den vergangenen Jahren beispielsweise intensiver damit auseinandergesetzt, welche Funktion die Zeichnung in der Chirurgie hat und wie das Zeichnen in diesem medizinischen Bereich konkret eingesetzt wird. Diesbezüglich machte ich während der Zusammenarbeit mit dem Wiener plastischen und rekonstruktiven Chirurgen Manfred Frey und einer Brustkrebspatientin, die ihren Busen chirurgisch wiederherstellen ließ, für mich spannende Beobachtungen. Stell Dir die Frau und ihren Arzt in einem Behandlungszimmer vor. Brigitta, so heißt die Patientin, die ich bereits seit 2006 begleite, steht mit entblößtem Oberkörper – hier passt der Begriff Körper hervorragend – vor ihrem Chirurgen, der mit einem schwarzen Marker dicke Linien und Kreuze auf ihrer am nächsten Tag zu operierenden Brust einzeichnet. Während

seine Hand mit dem Stift über die Haut und Narben gleitet, deutet Manfred Frey mit dem Zeigefinger der anderen Hand auf einen Leberfleck und bespricht mit Brigitta, ob er diesen vielleicht für den Aufbau ihrer fehlenden linken Brustwarze verwenden soll. Er trifft auf Zustimmung und setzt seine bezeichnenden Erklärungen mit dem Stift am Oberkörper der bereits mehrmals von ihm selbst und seinen Kollegen und Kolleginnen operierten Frau fort, die am folgenden Tag ihren nächsten korrigierenden Eingriff vor sich hat. Ich begleitete Brigitta mit meiner Kamera zur Operation. Ein Implantat wurde ausgetauscht und der Nippel der anderen Brust sollte aufgebaut werden. Die Patientin wurde auf einer Liege gelagert, mit Desinfektionsmittel gewaschen, mit sterilen Tüchern bedeckt, sodass nur das Operationsfeld – beide Brüste und der erwähnte Bereich des Torsos, wo sich der Leberfleck befand, aus dem eine Brustwarze gemacht werden sollte – frei blieb. Ein Assistenzarzt zog die am Vortag vorbereiteten Markierungen nach. Professor Frey betrat den Raum und schlüpfte in ein chirurgisches Gewand und in OP-Handschuhe. Er tauchte einen spitzen, dünnen Holzstiel in einen mit medizinischer Tinte gefüllten Napf und zeichnete jene Hautstellen am hell beleuchteten Frauenkörper an, wo er später schneiden sollte. Seine Patientin befand sich bereits im tiefen Narkoseschlaf. Anschließend zog er die Linien mit einem Skalpell nach.

Während Brigittas Operation entstand das Videomaterial für den ersten Teil einer dreiteiligen Serie von Handfilmen. Inspiriert von der Choreografin, Tänzerin und Filmemacherin Yvonne Rainer, die in den Sechzigerjahren ihren ersten Film *Hand Movie* machte, beschäftigte ich mich mit chirurgischen Gesten – mit der Thematik werde ich mich übrigens in den nächsten drei Jahren in einer geplanten und gerade vom österreichischen Forschungsförderungsfonds bewilligten Arbeit mit dem Titel *Chirurgische Gesten / Performing Surgery* intensiver auseinandersetzen. Die unterschiedlichen Ebenen in der Beziehung zwischen einem plastischen Chirurgen und einer Brustrekonstruktionspatientin, wie ich diese während der vielfältigen Arbeitsprozesse des Zeichnens beobachtet hatte, wurden für mich in ihrer Vielschichtigkeit deutlich. Über die Zeichnung am nackten Oberkörper der Frau – im Sinne einer sensiblen und behutsamen Berührung – stellt der Arzt Vertrauen her. Brigitta vertraut ihrem Chirurgen ihren Körper an. Sie entblößt sich vor ihm. Die Markierungen, die Manfred Frey auf der Haut seiner Patientin einträgt, dienen einer gemeinsamen Übereinkunft darüber, was chirurgisch gemacht werden soll. Wissen wird vermittelt und der Eingriff am nächsten Tag wird vorbereitet. Die Frau muss dabei stehen. Das ästhetische Ergebnis des Eingriffes ist von der Körperhaltung abhängig. Gerade bei der Wiederherstellung der weiblichen Brust spielt die Schwerkraft eine wesentliche Rolle. Aus dem Grund kann der wiederherzustellende Körper nicht im Liegen markiert werden.

In meiner Forschung ergänze ich ethnografische Arbeiten mit qualitativen Interviews – mit oder ohne Kamera, abhängig von der Situation und von der Fragestellung. Mit Brigitta und mit den anderen Brustkrebspatientinnen, die ich während ihrer Behandlung begleitete, führte ich Gespräche darüber, wie sie sich fühlten und wie sie mit der Behandlung zufrieden sind. Wir diskutierten über ihre Empfindungen und wie sich ihre Wahrnehmung und ihr Blick auf sich selbst mit den Jahren wandelten. Gemeinsam war den Gesprächen, dass die Frauen mich baten, ihnen zu sagen, wie ich sie wahrnehme oder was ich von den Operationsergebnissen halte. Brigitta und ich haben bis heute, weit über das offizielle Ende dieser Forschungsarbeit 2009 hinaus, einen regen Austausch und sind freundschaftlich miteinander verbunden. Für eine Videoinstallation, die im Mai 2013 beim *Österreichischen Chirurgenkongress* und im April und Mai 2014 in der *Sala Terrena* im *Ausstellungszentrum der Universität für angewandte Kunst Heiligenkreuzer Hof* im Rahmen von Ausstellungen gezeigt wurde, beschäftigten wir uns mit ihren Narben und Verletzlichkeit. Ich kombinierte Bilder von ihrem Körper, die in der plastischen Chirurgie gemacht wurden, mit Fotografien und Videoaufnahmen, die ich von ihrer nackten Haut herstellte. Zudem verwendete ich gelbe Mimosenblüten, ein sensibles und verletzliches Material, das sich die Frau selbst auf ihren Narben verteilte. In einer Toninstallation konnten die Ausstellungsbesucher und Besucherinnen mit Kopfhörern die Erzählungen und Erfahrungen der Frau anhören – Narben erzählen Geschichten.

MP: Du arbeitest in einem Spannungsfeld von Patienten als Opfer, als vulnerable Matrices für die Eingriffe, Einschnitte, Invasionen vs. Ärzte, Operateure als entkörperlichte, ent-emotionalisierte Hightech-Akteure. Dieses Feld scheint sich hervorragend für eine ‚Versinnlichung' oder die Verdeutlichung einer ‚Empathielosigkeit' (z.B. in der Medizin) zu eignen. Oder was ist der spezielle Reiz an diesem Thema?

CL: Ich verwende Kategorien wie Opfer oder entkörperlichte, entemotionalisierte Hightech-Akteure nicht. Mich interessieren die menschlichen Dimensionen im Krankenhausbetrieb und wie sie sich zeigen. Mittlerweile arbeite ich seit fünfzehn Jahren an der Universitätsklinik in Wien in unterschiedlichen medizinischen Bereichen. Meine Fragestellung – wie die diagnostischen und chirurgischen Verfahren von den involvierten Personen am eigenen Leib erfahren werden – zieht sich wie ein roter Faden durch all meine dort durchgeführten Forschungsarbeiten. 2005 führte ich für eine künstlerische Arbeit im krankenhauseigenen Fernsehstudio Videointerviews mit Ärzten und Ärztinnen durch. Ich fragte sie, was für sie persönlich ein Patient oder eine Patientin ist. Die Frage war nicht geschlechtsspezifisch gemeint, sondern ganz allgemein formuliert. Wie werden Menschen zu Patienten oder Patientinnen? Die Idee für diese Fallstudie, die später künstlerisch umgesetzt und in der Form einer Videoinstallation in Innsbruck und Montreal ge-

zeigt wurde, waren Beobachtungen, die ich bei interdisziplinären Klinikrunden gemacht hatte, an denen ich teilnehmen durfte. Bei diesen Sitzungen wurden regelmäßig in Fächer übergreifenden Teams die Krankengeschichten von Krebskranken diskutiert und gemeinsam Therapiepläne erstellt. Ein Radiologe oder eine Radiologin zeigte die diagnostischen Bilder, die in der Gruppe – in einer Art Kinosituation – besprochen wurden. Die Pathologin erörterte, um welche Tumorart es sich jeweils handelte. Zumeist stellten Chirurgen oder Chirurginnen ihre Fälle, noch ein weiterer Begriff für kranke Menschen, vor. Im Team war bei jedem Treffen jemand aus der Onkologie und aus der Strahlentherapie anwesend. Ich bemerkte rasch, dass die an den Meetings teilnehmenden Ärzte und Ärztinnen unterschiedlich über die sich ihnen anvertrauten Kranken sprechen. Die mannigfachen Zugänge resultieren daraus, dass in manchen medizinischen Disziplinen wenig bis kein Kontakt zu Patienten oder Patientinnen vorhanden ist. Während in anderen Fächern eine intensive und langfristige Beziehung die notwendige Voraussetzung für die Behandlung darstellt. Innerhalb der Klinik sind entsprechend vielfältige kulturelle Unterschiede festzustellen. Für einen Radiologen, mit dem ich sprach, ist „ein Patient oder eine Patientin" beispielsweise „ein kranker Mensch" und eine Onkologin erzählt ausführlich über eine Reihe von verschiedenen menschlichen Verhaltensweisen, die ihr in ihrem beruflichen Alltag begegnen. Die Frage der Einfühlung entwickelt sich in jedem medizinischen Fach auf andere Weise. Ähnliches trifft auf das Sinnliche zu.

MP: Welche Rolle spielen Partizipation, Improvisation, Performativität und Kreativität in diesen Kontexten und in Deiner eigenen Arbeit?

CL: Eine große Rolle – ich beschränke mich in meiner Antwort auf meine Arbeit in der plastischen Chirurgie. Mit dem plastischen Chirurgen Manfred Frey, der bis Dezember 2013 die *Klinikabteilung für Plastische und Rekonstruktive Chirurgie* an der *Medizinischen Universität Wien* leitete und seine Tätigkeiten seither in privater Praxis und Privatkliniken fortsetzt, arbeite ich seit 2005 zusammen. Wir führten die bereits erwähnte Studie mit Brustrekonstruktionspatientinnen durch. Eine Forschungsarbeit entwickelten wir über die kulturellen Bedeutungen der sterilen Gewänder und Tücher im chirurgischen Operationssaal. Parallel dazu leitete ich eine Studie mit teilweise im Gesicht gelähmten Patienten und Patientinnen. Manfred Frey ist weltweit ein Experte auf diesem Gebiet der Wiederherstellungschirurgie. Vier betroffene Kinder, die er behandelte, nahmen aktiv an der Forschung teil. Ich begleitete die Buben und Mädchen während der Behandlung, war bei ihren Operationen dabei, gab ihnen Videokameras mit nach Hause und lud sie mit ihren Familien in mein kleines Heimstudio ein und filmte sie vor einem neutralen Hintergrund, während sie ihre Mimikübungen für mich machten. Inhaltlich interessierte mich bei dieser Arbeit, mehr darüber zu erfahren, wie die Kinder sich ausdrücken und ihre chirurgisch wiederhergestellte Mi-

mik Zug um Zug einzusetzen lernen. Da sie mit der Lähmung auf die Welt gekommen waren oder diese kurz nach der Geburt auftrat, aufgrund einer chirurgischen Operation, kennen sie sich nicht anders. Die Kinder sind sich bei den ersten Beratungsterminen mit Manfred Frey in Wien – sie leben häufig in anderen Ländern und ihre Eltern suchen lange nach einer für sie in Frage kommenden Therapie für ihre Söhne oder Töchter – nicht bewusst, dass sie ein Handicap haben und in ihren Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten eingeschränkt sind. Erst mit drei oder vier Jahren beginnen sie zu fragen, warum die eine Seite des Gesichtes bei ihnen nicht lächelt. Eine Mutter erklärte ihrem Sohn, dass die Hälfte des Mundes und ein Auge noch schlafen und bei Professor Frey aufgeweckt werden. Der plastische Chirurg führt an den Kindern äußerst aufwändige Eingriffe durch, um ihre Situation zu verbessern. Nerven und Muskeln werden in zwei mehrstündigen Operationen von den Beinen ins Gesicht transplantiert und häufig folgt darauf noch ein Korrektureingriff. Physikalische Therapie und das tägliche Üben vor dem Spiegel werden für einige Jahre Teil des Alltags. In der Zusammenarbeit mit den Kindern und ihren Familien habe ich mich gefragt, was macht das mit so jungen Menschen, wenn sie sich jeden Tag für eine halbe Stunde aufmerksam im Spiegel betrachten und ihre Muskulatur im Gesicht trainieren? Das ist eine Fragestellung, die in einem Gespräch schwer abzufragen ist. Diesbezüglich habe ich mit Theateransätzen gearbeitet und die in Wien lebende Choreografin Doris Stelzer eingeladen, mit den Kindern Tanzworkshops durchzuführen. Zudem entwickelten die Kunsthistorikerin Tamar Tembeck und die Theaterwissenschafterin Selma Trevino, die beide auch eine Ausbildung in der darstellenden Kunst haben und in diesen Bereichen tätig sind, mit mir gemeinsam in New York City im Frühsommer 2012 eine Choreografie, die auf den Gesichtsübungen basierte. In meinem Forschungsansatz wurden vielfältige Ausdrucksformen gegenübergestellt und miteinander zum Kommunizieren gebracht. Besonderes Augenmerk wurde hierbei auf eine ganzkörperliche Vorgehensweise gelegt. Improvisation spielte in beiden choreografischen Arbeiten eine wesentliche Rolle. Ich habe gerade ein Buch mit dem Titel *Bewegende Gesichter / Moving Faces* zur Thematik beim Wiener *Löcker Verlag* veröffentlicht, in dem die konkreten Arbeitsprozesse offengelegt und nachvollziehbar werden.

MP: Du schreibst: „Handlungsfelder, Arrangements, Materialitäten und Stofflichkeiten im Operationstheater der plastischen und rekonstruktiven Chirurgie werden transformiert und als sinnliche und ausdrucksstarke Bilder des menschlichen Körpers in den Blick genommen". Was ist das Operationstheater und wie trägt ein forschendes Durchdringen dieser Situation zu einer ‚besseren Beschreibung' oder einem tieferen Verständnis bei? Ergeben sich Schlüsse für einen Veränderungsbedarf? Handlungsempfehlungen? Oder was bewirkt das ‚in den Blick nehmen'?

CL: In einer weiteren künstlerischen Forschungsarbeit *Chirurgische Tücher / Surgical Wrappings* beschäftigte ich mich gemeinsam mit der in Wien tätigen bildenden Künstlerin Barbara Graf und mit dem Warschauer Filmemacher und Videokünstler Artur Zmijewski mit dem Operationsbereich als Handlungs- und zugleich Bildfeld. Im Englischen heißt der Operationsraum auch *operating theatre*. Ich beziehe mich mit dem Begriff Operationstheater auf das Anatomietheater und auf die medizin- und kunsthistorische Aufarbeitung der ersten öffentlichen Sektionen in der Moderne. Die für Studienzwecke zu eröffnenden Leichname wurden in einem Theaterraum vor den Augen eines Publikums spektakulär inszeniert. Eine Bühne wurde hergestellt, um in die Tiefe des toten Körpers hineinzublicken. Spuren dieser Inszenierungen finden sich in der gegenwärtigen Chirurgie wieder. Davon ausgehend, betrachtete ich die Herstellung eines sterilen Raumes durch Tücher und Gewänder in Hinblick darauf, wie in der plastischen Chirurgie diese um die Körper drapierten Materialien und Stoffe die zwischenmenschlichen Handlungen prägen und beeinflussen. Das betrifft nicht ausschließlich den zu operierenden Körper, sondern auch den des Operateurs oder der Operateurin, der Assistenten, der OP-Schwestern und der Gehilfen. Um das Gebiet der Operation herum existiert eine Hierarchie der Berührungen, über die Nähe und Distanz geregelt wird. Die bereits angesprochenen *Hand Movies*, Nahaufnahmen von operierenden Händen aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven wurden nicht ausschließlich bei Ausstellungen gezeigt, sondern waren zudem im Mai 2013 Teil meines Keynote-Vortrages beim *Österreichischen Chirurgenkongress* in Wien. In diesen fünfminütigen Filmen werden die Handbewegungen des Chirurgen oder der Chirurgin im Zusammenspiel mit dem Operationsteam als sensible und einfühlsame Handlungen gezeigt und spürbar gemacht. Die blutende Wunde bleibt in meinen Videoaufnahmen weitgehend ausgespart. Ich gebe keine Handlungsempfehlungen mit meinen Arbeiten. Das sehe ich auch nicht als meine Aufgabe.

MP: Welche Rolle spielt ein außersprachlicher Bereich der Wahrnehmung und Emotion und wie können solche Bereiche (methodisch) sichtbar gemacht werden? Ist Sichtbarkeit = Visualisierung = Bild und Film? Beispiele aus Deiner Arbeit?

CL: Ein gutes Beispiel aus meiner Arbeit sind diesbezüglich die *Anatomiestunden / Anatomy Lessons*, Malaktionen, die ich auf Einladung von Artur Zmijewski mit drei Chirurgen und einem Gastroenterologen bei der *7. Berlin Biennale* 2012 durchführte. In meiner Forschung – bei den Fragestellungen, die mich beschäftigen und den Methoden, die ich entwickle und verwende – spielen nicht sprachliche Phänomene eine wesentliche Rolle. Leiblichkeit kann an und für sich sprachlich schwer gefasst werden. In den *Anatomiestunden* haben wir künstlerische Ansätze auf sehr direkte Art und Weise mit chirurgischen konfrontiert. Ein Bauchchirurg, ein Kinderneurochirurg, der

bereits erwähnte plastische Chirurg Manfred Frey und ein Gastroenterologe erklärten einem kunstinteressierten Publikum Eingriffe und Krankheitsbilder, mit denen sie in ihrem Berufsleben Tag für Tag zu tun haben. Videomaterial wurde diskutiert, Endoskopiebilder durch die Verdauungsorgane und vom Inneren des Gehirnes wurden gezeigt, ein chirurgischer Lehrfilm wurde erörtert und zwei der Ärzte malten gemeinsam mit den Teilnehmern und Teilnehmerinnen mit Acrylfarbe auf großformatigen Papierwänden Eingriffe in den Körper. Ein Austausch zwischen Kunstschaffenden und Medizinern entwickelte sich, den ich als partnerschaftlich bezeichnen würde. Die eigenen Formen des Ausdrucks wurden gegen den Strich gebürstet und dieser sinnliche Zugang mit Pinsel und Farbe brachte durchaus ungeahnte Gemeinsamkeiten zum Vorschein. Diese Arbeit wurde 2013 beim Wiener *Löcker Verlag* mit demselben Titel von Artur Zmijewski und mir als Katalog veröffentlicht.

MP: Wie verändern sich die Wahrnehmungen der beteiligten AkteureInnen (PatientenInnen/ChirurgenInnen etc.) durch den Prozess? Welche Erkenntnisse hast Du über die Prozesshaftigkeit der Interaktion gesammelt? Gibt es generelle Rückschlüsse auf andere Formen der Interaktion und ihre Invasivität, Empathie und Narbenproduktion?

CL: Gerade die visuelle und sensorische Ethnografie bietet ausreichend Stoff dafür, wie Feldforschung in die zu untersuchenden Situationen eingreift und diese verändert. Meine Arbeiten im Krankenhaus haben bestimmt den Charakter von Interventionen, deren konkrete Auswirkungen ich häufig erst lange später beurteilen kann – entweder durch Bemerkungen von Patienten oder Patientinnen, mit denen ich im Rahmen meiner Forschung zusammengearbeitet habe oder durch Rückmeldungen, Einladungen zu medizinischen Tagungen und Vorschläge von Ärzten oder Ärztinnen, gemeinsam neue Projekte zu entwickeln. Im Grunde setze ich einen kontinuierlichen Übersetzungsprozess in Gang. Ich vermittle dem Klinikpersonal mit Hilfe unterschiedlicher Medien, wie sich die in ihren jeweiligen medizinischen Bereichen Behandelten fühlen und gebe jenes Wissen oder die Erfahrungen, die Mediziner oder Medizinerinnen mit mir teilen, an die Betroffenen weiter. Darüber hinaus entstehen Medien, wie etwa ein Übungsfilm für im Gesicht gelähmte Patienten und Patientinnen, den ich gemeinsam mit Manfred Frey hergestellt habe. Dieses einstündige Video, das auf der Homepage www.facialiszentrum.at des plastischen Chirurgen zugänglich gemacht wird, ist exemplarisch dafür, welche unterschiedlichen Wissens- und Kommunikationsformen in Kunst und Medizin aufeinander treffen und was daraus entstehen kann.

MP: Gibt es ein Potential für die gegenwärtige Kunst ein Mittel präziserer Kommunikation in Wissenschaftsdiskursen zu werden und Sinnlichkeitslücken zu schließen? Ist die Kunst damit Helferin der Wissenschaft (oder umgekehrt)?

CL: Die von Dir gewählte Formulierung ist mir ein wenig zu generalisierend. Ich würde nicht von *der* Kunst sprechen wollen. Selbst in meinen Arbeiten sind Aspekte der Kommunikation eher notwendige Nebenprodukte, um die vielfältigen Ausdrucksweisen miteinander in engeren Kontakt zu bringen und einen besseren Austausch zu ermöglichen. Mir ist in meiner Arbeit der Dialog prinzipiell ein großes Anliegen. Das liegt an meiner persönlichen Geschichte, auf die ich an der Stelle nicht näher eingehen möchte. Nein, Kunst ist sicher nicht dazu da, den Wissenschaften zu helfen. Eine gegenseitige inhaltliche Öffnung ist allerdings bestimmt für die Künste und die Wissenschaften bereichernd.

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Dem Malinowski-Blues entgehen: Körperorientierte Entspannungsübungen zur Stressbewältigung während der Feldforschung

Erwin Schweitzer und Kathrin M. Gradt

> *„Zuweilen befiel mich die schwärzeste Depression."*
> *Bronislaw Malinowski, Tagebucheintrag vom 20.9.1914*
> *(Malinowski 1985:22)*

Ethnographische Feldforschung, das Fundament ethnologischer Arbeit, kann zu faszinierenden und überraschenden wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen führen und wird von vielen von uns als eine wertvolle persönliche Erfahrung betrachtet.[1] Oft werden EthnologInnen aber auch mit stressinduzierenden und manchmal traumatisierenden Erlebnissen während der Feldforschung konfrontiert. Ein Blick in die Tagebücher Malinowskis (1985) illustriert, dass schon der Begründer der Methode der ethnographischen Feldforschung mit belastenden emotionalen und körperlichen Zuständen während seines eigenen Feldaufenthalts auf den Trobriand-Inseln rang. Neuere Publikationen von jüngeren EthnologInnen zeigen (siehe z.B. Irwin 2007; Hovland, Hg. 2009), dass die Erfahrungen von Malinowski nicht eine historische Besonderheit darstellen, sondern bis in die Gegenwart eine Rolle spielen, ja vielleicht sogar eine strukturelle Eigenschaft von Feldforschung sind. Trotz allem sind wir diesem Umstand als EthnologInnen nicht hilflos ausgeliefert. In begrenztem Rahmen haben wir Handlungsspielräume, unsere eigene Stressbewältigung im Feld zu unterstützen. Damit können wir Stress während der Feldforschung nicht verhindern, aber wir können lernen, besser damit umzugehen und unsere eigene Selbstregulation zu fördern. Eine aus unserer Perspektive sehr effektive Methode zur Stressbewältigung während der Feldforschung könnte TRE (Tension & Trauma Releasing Exercises) sein. Hierbei handelt es sich um ein körperorientiertes Entspannungsverfahren, welches stressbedingte muskuläre Verspannungen löst und dadurch auch den Gemütszustand verbessern kann. Unseres Erachtens ist TRE ein gutes

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[1] Wir bedanken uns bei Barbara Oles, Katharina Mocharitsch und Johannes Gradt für das hilfreiche Feedback auf unseren Beitrag. Teile dieses Artikels erscheinen in abgeänderter Form und in englischer Sprache an anderer Stelle (Schweitzer im Druck).

Werkzeug, um dem „Malinowski-Blues" zu entgehen, da es Stress und Trauma[2] vor, während und nach der Feldforschung abbaut.

Um die Notwendigkeit von Entspannungsverfahren zu verdeutlichen, werden wir in unserem Beitrag zuerst auf Stress und Trauma während der Feldforschung eingehen. Im Zuge dessen werden wir sowohl auf eigene Erfahrungen als auch auf Literatur zur Thematik zurückgreifen. Darauffolgend werden wir TRE als ein besonders hilfreiches körperorientiertes Entspannungsverfahren vorstellen. Dabei erweisen sich sowohl die kulturelle Sensibilität als auch die besondere Wirksamkeit der Methode als Eigenschaften, die TRE als nützliches Werkzeug für EthnologInnen erscheinen lässt. Durch unseren Artikel wollen wir somit ein wenig diskutiertes, vielleicht sogar tabuisiertes, Thema sichtbar machen und gleichzeitig einen Weg einer möglichen Problemlösung aufzeigen.

Feldforschung, Stress und Trauma

Die ethnographische Feldforschung ist eine seit langem bewährte Methode, um die Lebenswelten anderer Menschen intensiv kennenzulernen. Der Feldaufenthalt kann eine sehr bereichernde Erfahrung sein. ForscherInnen schließen vielleicht Freundschaften mit InformantInnen, lernen neue Perspektiven auf die Welt kennen und entwickeln sich persönlich weiter. Trotzdem ist die Zeit der Feldforschung für viele EthnologInnen auch schwierig. Sie arbeiten meist allein in einer fremden Umgebung, in der sie realen oder auch imaginierten Gefahren ausgesetzt sind und sich von ihren InformantInnen manchmal unter sozialen Druck gesetzt fühlen. Die folgenden Beispiele aus unserer eigenen Forschungserfahrung zeigen auf, wie sich Stress und Trauma in der Forschungspraxis manifestieren können.

Unter NomadInnen, mehrfachbehinderten Jugendlichen und FarmarbeiterInnen

Während unserer gemeinsamen Feldforschung bei semi-nomadischen PastoralistInnen im ruralen Nordwest-Namibia waren wir mit basaler sanitärer Infrastruktur konfrontiert und mussten mit der Präsenz von Giftschlangen sowie regelmäßig auftretenden Magen-Darm-Erkrankungen zurechtkommen. Die Menschen, mit denen wir zusammen lebten, waren meist sehr

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2 Berceli folgend, verstehen wir unter Stress „jede Erfahrung, die Veränderungen in den normalen Bewältigungsmechanismen verlangt" (2013:26). Als Trauma bezeichnen wir „jede Erfahrung, welche die normalen Bewältigungsmechanismen eines Menschen überfordert und überwältigt" (ibid.:22). Das mögliche Ursachenspektrum von Trauma und Stress ist breit. Es reicht von herausfordernden Kindheitserfahrungen, Kriegen, Naturkatastrophen, Unfällen und gesundheitsgefährdenden Arbeitsverhältnissen bis eben hin zu schwierigen Feldforschungsbedingungen.

freundlich und großzügig, aber manche von ihnen forderten auch einiges von uns. Es verging kaum ein Tag, an dem nicht jemand vor unserer Tür stand und um eine Mitfahrgelegenheit, Essen oder Werkzeug bat. Des Weiteren befürchteten wir ständig, kulturelle Normen zu brechen und fühlten uns aufgrund begrenzter lokaler Sprachkenntnisse oft missverstanden. Darüber hinaus passte unser eng getakteter und von institutionellen Fristen geprägter Forschungsplan nicht mit dem langsameren Lebensrhythmus der PastoralnomadInnen zusammen. Ständig waren wir bemüht, die richtige Balance zwischen professionellen Anforderungen und lokalen Lebensgewohnheiten zu finden. Trotz vieler schöner Feldforschungsmomente fühlten wir uns sehr oft gestresst und ausgelaugt.

Im Kontrast zu dieser gemeinsamen Feldforschung fand Kathrin Gradts erste eigenständige Studie in einer Therapie- und Bildungseinrichtung für mehrfachbehinderte Jugendliche in Wien statt. Obwohl sie weiterhin in ihrer bekannten Umgebung leben konnte, indem sie „Anthropology at Home" betrieb, erforschte sie fast ein halbes Jahr lang wochentags zwischen 8 und 17 Uhr eine „Terra incognita". Vor allem die ersten Wochen waren für sie emotional sehr aufwühlend, da sie mit ihren eigenen, nicht existent geglaubten Vorannahmen gegenüber Menschen mit Behinderung konfrontiert wurde. Darüber hinaus kämpfte sie die gesamte Zeit mit Rückenbeschwerden, die durch das Heben und Bewegen von bis zu 100kg schweren Jugendlichen verursacht wurden.

Anders als Kathrin Gradt hatte Erwin Schweitzer während seiner Feldforschung über FarmarbeiterInnen in Südafrika oft keine Möglichkeit, mit Freunden oder anderen nahe stehenden Personen über seine Erlebnisse im Feld zu reflektieren. Obwohl er viele gastfreundliche Menschen kennen lernte, fühlte er sich oft einsam. Zudem wurde er in Kapstadt und Johannesburg Opfer von zwei versuchten Raubüberfällen auf offener Straße. Diese Erfahrungen führten bei ihm zu einer dauerhaften latenten Angst vor Überfällen während seiner Feldforschung.

Kulturschock und Post-Feldforschungstrauma

Unsere Feldforschungserfahrungen sind keineswegs besonders oder gar einzigartig. Wie der eingangs zitierte Ausschnitt aus Bronislaw **Malinow**-skis Tagebuch andeutet, litt auch dieser häufig unter depressiven Zuständen. Sein Tagebuch gibt an vielen Stellen detailliert Auskunft über seine Gefühlszustände und körperlichen Beschwerden, die er versuchte, mit Einläufen, Chinin, Arsen, Eisen oder Kalomel zu therapieren (Malinowski 1985). Am 24.10.1914 schrieb er beispielsweise: „Am Mittwoch fühlte ich mich schlecht; ich spritzte mir Arsen und versuchte etwas Ruhe zu finden" (ibid.:25). Der emotionale und körperliche Ausnahmezustand, den viele EthnologInnen und Langzeitreisende bei Eintritt in ein neues kulturelles Umfeld durchleben, wird seit den 1960er Jahren als „Kulturschock" bezeichnet: „Culture shock is

precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse" (Oberg 1960:177). Durch die Konfrontation mit einer alternativen Weltordnung wird unser bisheriges, als selbstverständlich angenommenes Ordnungs- und Bedeutungssystem in Frage gestellt. Das kann Gefühle wie Einsamkeit und Depression oder Angst vor Identitätsverlust auslösen (Irwin 2007:1).

Die von EthnologInnen im Feld durchlebten Emotionen sind äußerst vielfältig und können nicht ausschließlich auf die Auseinandersetzung mit einem neuen kulturellen Ordnungs- und Bedeutungssystem zurückgeführt werden. Sie umfassen beispielsweise Scham, Traurigkeit, Angst, Wut, Unruhe, Aufruhr, Verwirrung und Verlegenheit (vgl. Pollard 2009). Schon allein der Umstand, in einem neuen kulturellen Umfeld ständiger Beobachtung ausgesetzt zu sein, keine Privatsphäre zu haben, in der man Ruhe findet und seinen eigenen Gewohnheiten nachgehen kann, bedeutet für viele eine massive Belastung und kann zu chronischem Stress führen. Basierend auf ihrer Studie zu Gesundheit und Sicherheit von EthnologInnen im Feld kommt Nancy Howell zum Schluss, dass Feldforschung in vielen Teilen der Welt „inhärent gefährlich, inhärent unvorhersehbar und inhärent risikoreich" ist (1990:193, eigene Übersetzung). Abhängig von der Forschungsregion und dem konkreten Feldforschungsort sind entweder Tiere (z.B. Giftschlangen), Menschen (z.B. Diebstahl, gewaltsame Übergriffe, Vergewaltigung), Unfälle (z.B. Verkehrsunfälle), Infektionen, parasitär verursachte Krankheiten oder psychische Erkrankungen die häufigsten Gefahren, denen EthnologInnen ausgesetzt sind (Howell 1990). Unter diesen Umständen ist es vielleicht nicht verwunderlich, dass einige EthnologInnen nach der Feldforschung unter den Symptomen einer Posttraumatischen Belastungsstörung (PTBS) bzw. eines „post-fieldwork trauma" leiden (Pollard 2009:2–3). Diese teilweise sehr belastenden Symptome von PTBS sind nach dem von der Weltgesundheitsorganisation herausgegebenen Diagnoseklassifikationssystem ICD-10 breit gefächert. Sie umfassen u.a. wiederholtes Erinnern traumatischer Erlebnisse, Alpträume, Gefühlstaubheit, Teilnahmslosigkeit, Schlafstörungen, Schreckhaftigkeit, Konzentrationsprobleme, Reizbarkeit sowie Angstzustände und Depression (ICD-Code 2014).

Trauma- und Stressbewältigung in angrenzenden Berufsfeldern

EthnologInnen stehen mit diesen Erfahrungen und deren belastenden Nachwirkungen nicht alleine da. Studien unter MitarbeiterInnen in den angrenzenden Berufsfeldern der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (EZ) und humanitären Hilfe zeigen, dass PTBS auch dort verbreitet ist. Laut Jones et al. (2006) leiden 16% der MitarbeiterInnen des Deutschen Entwicklungsdienstes (DED) vollständig oder teilweise unter PTBS. In der humanitären Hilfe treten posttraumatische Symptome sogar bei bis zu 30% der MitarbeiterInnen nach ihrer Rückkehr von einem Auslandseinsatz auf (McEachran 2014). Connorton

et al. (2012:145) zeigen, dass unter MitarbeiterInnen in der humanitären Hilfe im Vergleich zur Gesamtbevölkerung generell eine erhöhte Rate an Trauma, PTBS, Depression und Angst besteht. In der EZ und humanitären Hilfe führte die Dringlichkeit der Problematik zu einer intensiven Diskussion über die Institutionalisierung von psychologischer und psychotherapeutischer (Nach)betreuung sowie über Vermittlung von Präventivmaßnahmen im Rahmen der Einsatzvorbereitung (Jones, Müller und Maercker 2006; Vogel, Stiebel und Vogel 2011; McEachran 2014). Im anglophonen Sprachraum wurden diese Forderungen von der Mehrheit der großen Nichtregierungsorganisationen bereits umgesetzt. Sie vermitteln ihren MitarbeiterInnen Stressbewältigungsmethoden und stellen psychologische Beratung zur Verfügung (McEachran 2014).

In der Ethnologie stehen wir unseres Erachtens erst am Beginn dieses Prozesses. Vereinzelt werden die physischen, psychischen und emotionalen Belastungen der Feldforschung anerkannt (Howell 1990; Irwin 2007; Pollard 2009). Über eine institutionelle Bereitstellung von psychologischer Betreuung bzw. die Vermittlung von Stressbewältigungsmethoden an FeldforscherInnen wird unseres Wissens im deutschsprachigen Raum noch nicht diskutiert. Mit unserem Beitrag wollen wir den Prozess innerhalb der Ethnologie in Richtung Präventionsarbeit vorantreiben. Mit den „Tension and Trauma Releasing Exercises" (TRE®) nach David Berceli stellen wir ein Entspannungsverfahren vor, welches die Stress- und Traumabewältigung im Feld unterstützt und damit Folgeerscheinungen wie PTBS potentiell vorbeugt.[3]

Tension and Trauma Releasing Exercises (TRE)

> *„Insgesamt bin ich gefasst und achte auf das Bedürfnis nach körperlicher* Bewegung. *Habe die Absicht, ein Stück Land zu roden, wo ich meine Gymnastik machen kann. Ich machte* a plusieurs reprises *schwedische Übungen [...]."*
>
> Bronislaw Malinowski, Tagebucheintrag vom 6.1.1918
> (Malinowski 1985:159, Hervorhebungen im Original)

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3   Trauma und Posttraumatische Belastungsstörung (PTBS) wurden in der Ethnologie/Sozialanthropologie seit den 1990ern als Forschungsfeld entdeckt (Young 1995). Die Universalität von Traumafolgen und deren Einbettung in politische, ökonomische und kulturelle Zusammenhänge wurden dabei kontrovers diskutiert (Breslau 2004; Jong 2005). Ohne auf Details dieser Debatte näher eingehen zu wollen, meinen wir, dass es sich gut mit einer Mittelposition leben lässt. Wir gehen davon aus, dass es körperliche Trauma- und Stressfolgen gibt, diese aber kulturell eingebettet sind und daher in unterschiedlichen Formen artikuliert werden können. Vor diesem Hintergrund verstehen wir die biomedizinische Traumatheorie von TRE als ein mögliches Erklärungsmodell. TRE rekurriert auf einen universellen Tremor-Mechanismus. Wie dieser mit Bedeutung besetzt wird, kann in verschiedenen Kulturen sehr unterschiedlich ausfallen (vgl. Keeney 2007; Schweitzer im Druck).

Es existieren zahlreiche Methoden, um Stress während der Feldforschung abzubauen. Wie das obenstehende Zitat verdeutlicht, machte schon Malinowski schwedische Gymnastik und wollte dafür sogar die Landschaft der Trobriand-Inseln transformieren. Wir selbst und befreundete KollegInnen haben bisher Methoden bevorzugt, die weniger das „Feld" verändern. So haben wir u.a. Meditation, Yoga, Spaziergänge, Joggen und Krafttraining eingesetzt, um mit den körperlichen und mentalen Anstrengungen der Feldforschung umzugehen. Als Ergänzung und Alternative zu diesen bekannten Praktiken wollen wir nun TRE vorstellen. Bei TRE handelt es sich um eine Serie von einfachen Körperübungen, die ein vom autonomen Nervensystem ausgehendes Zittern aktivieren, das muskuläre Anspannungen und dadurch Stress sowie Trauma im Körper löst. Unseres Erachtens ist TRE ein besonders effektives und kultursensibles Werkzeug. Wir beide haben TRE im Rahmen von mehreren Workshops, teilweise persönlich bei David Berceli, dem Begründer der Methode, kennengelernt. Durch diese Workshops und den Austausch mit anderen TRE-Praktizierenden erkannten wir, dass TRE einen potentiellen Nutzen für EthnologInnen und andere Menschen haben kann, die längere Auslandsaufenthalte unter schwierigen Bedingungen absolvieren. TRE stellt ein vielversprechendes Selbsthilfe-Werkzeug dar, welches EthnologInnen ins Feld mitnehmen können.

Eine Neurobiologie des Zitterns

Wie kommt es dazu, dass wir über Zittern muskuläre Verspannung und damit verbunden Stress abbauen können? Um diesen Zusammenhang zu verstehen, ist es hilfreich, den Entstehungskontext von TRE zu kennen. David Berceli, der Begründer von TRE, ist ausgebildeter klinischer Sozialarbeiter und Körperpsychotherapeut (Bioenergetischer Analytiker). Er arbeitete mehr als 15 Jahre in Konfliktgebieten in Afrika sowie im Nahen Osten (Berceli Foundation o.J.) und kam dort durch quasi ethnographische Beobachtungen zu Erkenntnissen, welche die Basis von TRE bilden. In einem Interview beschreibt er die empirisch fundierte Entwicklung seiner Ideen folgendermaßen:

> *„Ich war vor einigen Jahren während des Krieges im Libanon. Als ein Gebäude zerbombt wurde, ist mir aufgefallen, dass die Menschen sich als Reaktion auf diese Bedrohung verkrampften. Jeder Organismus reagiert in dieser Angstsituation gleichermaßen. Unsere Muskeln reagieren also nach einem Schema. Es handelt sich um einen neurologischen Prozess, der uns vor Gefahr schützen soll. Ich dachte mir: Wenn wir automatisch verkrampfen, dann müssen wir auch automatisch wieder locker lassen können. Die nächste Erfahrung, die ich machte, war in einem Luftschutzbunker. Es waren Kinder anwesend, und als die Bomben in unserer Nähe einschlugen, haben die Kinder begonnen zu zittern. Anhand der Reaktion der Kinder habe ich*

festgestellt, dass das Zittern in unserer Natur liegt – zitternde Hände, schlotternde Knie. Als Erwachsene können wir diese Reaktionen unterdrücken, da sie mit Angst und Schwäche assoziiert werden. Die logische Konsequenz: Wir verkrampfen. Meine Schlussfolgerung: Ein verkrampfter Körper kann also durch Zittern gelöst werden." (Berceli, Prassl und Riedl 2012:54)

Diese Beobachtungen von Berceli werden bei TRE mit neueren neurophysiologischen Trauma- und Stresstheorien erklärt, in denen PTBS als Krankheitsbild eine zentrale Stellung einnimmt. Diese Ansätze gehen davon aus, dass unser Nervensystem und unsere Muskulatur eng miteinander verbunden sind (Fogel 2009:196). Das zeigt sich vor allem, wenn wir unter Stress stehen. Dann schüttet unser Körper automatisch biochemische Botenstoffe (sog. Stresshormone) aus, welche die Muskulatur aktivieren und uns dazu befähigen, auf die Situation mit Kampf, Flucht oder Erstarrung zu reagieren (ibid.:187). Diese Reaktion ist ein natürlicher Schutzmechanismus des menschlichen Organismus. Nach Berceli kann unser Körper von selbst wieder einen Ruhezustand herstellen, wenn er über Bewegung die Erregung abbaut (Berceli, Heinrich-Clauer und Schlippe 2006:216). Falls es nicht zu dieser Entladung kommt, bleibt der Körper allerdings weiterhin im Erregungszustand und versucht über das Ausschütten von biochemischen Botenstoffen den Prozess zu vervollständigen. „Es kann eine endlose und nicht zu stoppende neurobiologische Rückkoppelungsschleife entstehen, die die Person in einer Art psychophysischer Gefangenschaft hält" (ibid.). Der Körper glaubt, weiterhin unter Gefahr zu stehen und bleibt im erregten Zustand. Erst wenn das zentrale Nervensystem dem Gehirn das Ende der Gefahr signalisiert, wird die neurobiologische Rückkoppelungsschleife durchbrochen und der Erregungszustand löst sich (ibid.).

Menschen und andere Säugetiere verfügen über eine körperlich angelegte Fähigkeit, mit der es möglich wird, diesen Kreislauf zu vervollständigen. Es handelt sich um den sogenannten „neurogenen Tremor". Laut Berceli könnte das neurogene Zittern ein natürlicher Mechanismus sein, „um den Prozess der Entladung des unterbrochenen Bewegungsmusters von Kampf und Flucht zu vervollständigen" (ibid.:217). Dieser natürliche Zittermechanismus kommt insbesondere bei Säugetieren vor, welche mit Schreckstarre auf Bedrohung reagieren, oder in Fällen, in denen Flucht- oder Kampfbewegungen unterbrochen oder verhindert werden.[4] Obwohl auch Menschen die biologisch angelegte Fähigkeit besitzen, Stress „abzuzittern", ist sie häufig kulturell überlagert, d.h., sie wird im Laufe des Lebens „wegsozialisiert" (Berceli 2010:151–152).

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4   Wir danken Barbara Oles für diese wichtige Präzisierung. Eine unterbrochene Fluchtbewegung bei einem Eisbären kann man in diesem Video (YouTube 2014) gut beobachten. Die Verhinderung einer Kampf- und Fluchtbewegung bei einem Pferd wird hingegen in folgendem Filmclip (YouTube 2013) deutlich.

Eine kulturelle Perspektive aufs Zittern

In unserem eigenen kulturellen Kontext sind Zittern und Schütteln meist negativ behaftet. Oft wird Zittern mit Angst assoziiert (vgl. Berceli 2010:151). So spricht man beispielsweise in der deutschen Sprache davon, „vor Angst zu zittern", und im Englischen ist die Redewendung „trembling with fear" verbreitet. Auch in der Wissenschaft werden Zittern und Schütteln schon seit langem als beunruhigendes Symptom oder neurologische bzw. psychologische Störung angesehen (vgl. Eliade 1964:23–24; Berceli und Napoli 2007:6; Keeney 2007:4). Vor diesem Hintergrund merkt der Kybernetiker und Psychotherapeut Bradford Keeney kritisch an, dass „die Negierung des zitternden Körpers das letzte große Tabu unserer Zeit" sei (2007:5, eigene Übersetzung). Im Kontrast zu unserer eigenen Gesellschaft findet man in der ethnologischen Literatur Beispiele dafür, dass kulturelle Gruppen Zitterpraktiken in Heilungskontexten einsetzen. Einen besonders elaborierten Einsatz des Schüttelns und Zitterns in therapeutischen Kontexten findet man beispielsweise in den Heiltänzen der San-Gruppe der Ju|'hoansi (siehe z.B. Katz, Biesele und St. Denis 1997; Keeney 2007). Es existieren aber auch Berichte über Zitterpraktiken bei SchamanInnen in Nord- und Südamerika sowie in Sibirien (Riboli 2002:165; Tedlock 2005:84). Keeney (2007) und Schweitzer (im Druck) stellen diese und weitere Praktiken an anderer Stelle ausführlicher dar. Diese kultur- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Perspektiven auf das Zittern werden von neueren Traumatheorien unterstützt (siehe oben), welche postulieren, dass neurogenes Zittern kein pathologisches Symptom ist, sondern ein natürlicher Heilungsmechanismus nach traumatischen Ereignissen (vgl. Berceli und Napoli 2007:6). Damit stellt TRE eine Möglichkeit dar, das körperliche Potential von Zittern zum Stressabbau auch in unserem eigenen kulturellen Kontext wieder zu reaktivieren.

TRE in der Praxis

TRE besteht aus einer Abfolge von sieben einfachen Körperübungen, die im Stehen beginnen und in einer liegenden Position enden. Die Übungen stammen teilweise aus Yoga, Tai Chi, asiatischen Kampfkünsten und der Bioenergetischen Analyse (Berceli 2013:36). Es handelt sich um Bewegungen, die viele vielleicht aus anderen Kontexten als Dehn-, Kraft- und Gelenksmobilisationsübungen kennen (siehe Abb. 1 & 2).[5] Die Übungen dehnen und ermüden die Muskulatur sowie das Bindegewebe und bereiten damit den Körper auf das neurogene Zittern vor. Die beiden Psoas-Muskeln (*Psoas major* und

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5   Entsprechend des „Anthropology & Art" Themenschwerpunkts dieser Ausgabe haben wir für diesen Artikel eine reduzierte und künstlerisch-verzerrende Darstellung der Körperübungen gewählt. Sie sollen nicht der Nachahmung dienen, aber einen Eindruck von der prozessualen Natur der Übungen geben. TRE kann in Gruppen- und/oder Einzelstunden bei TRE-Anbietern (*TRE providers*) oder mit Hilfe der Bücher von David Berceli (2005; 2008; 2013) erlernt werden.

Psoas minor), die ihren Ursprung an den Lendenwirbelkörpern haben und am kleinen Rollhügel (*Trochanter minor*) des Oberschenkelknochens ansetzen, spielen in diesem Zusammenhang eine besondere Rolle. Denn es ist dieses Muskelpaar, das sich bei Bedrohung zum Schutz des Unterleibs kontrahiert und den Körper in eine Kauerhaltung versetzt. Damit der Organismus nach Beendigung der Gefahr wieder zur Ruhe kommen kann, müssen sich die Psoas-Muskeln entspannen (Berceli, Heinrich-Clauer und Schlippe 2006:218). Wenn das neurogene Zittern durch TRE aktiviert wurde, löst es sukzessive tiefsitzende Spannungen im Psoas und in anderen Muskeln.

Abb. 1: Eine unvollständige Auswahl von Übungen aus der TRE-Serie, Teil 1;
siehe Fußnote 5 (Fotoserie: Kathrin M. Gradt)

Der Begriff „Zittern" beschreibt die Praxis allerdings nur unzureichend. Vielmehr zittert der Körper nicht nur, sondern schüttelt sich, vibriert, zuckt oder wippt auf und ab. Obwohl dieser Prozess autonom geschieht, kann er jederzeit durch das Ausstrecken der Beine beendet werden. Das Zittern und die anderen Bewegungen signalisieren dem Nervensystem über die Entspannung der Muskulatur, dass die Gefahr beendet ist. Dadurch werden die Stresshormone abgebaut und die natürliche Selbstregulation des Körpers wieder hergestellt (Berceli 2010).

Abb. 2: Eine unvollständige Auswahl von Übungen aus der TRE-Serie, Teil 2
(Fotoserie: Kathrin M. Gradt)

Einsatzbereich und Wirksamkeit

TRE wurde von David Berceli zu Beginn für größere Bevölkerungsgruppen in Ländern des globalen Südens entwickelt, die nur begrenzten oder gar keinen Zugang zu therapeutischer Infrastruktur haben (Berceli 2010:153).

Das Entspannungsverfahren ist als Selbsthilfewerkzeug konzipiert (Berceli 2013:83) und wurde in stark traumatisierenden Kontexten entwickelt, in denen es auch weiterhin genutzt wird, um Menschen eine Linderung von Traumafolgen zu ermöglichen. So wurde TRE beispielsweise 2009 nach dem Erdbeben in Sichuan, 2011 nach den rechtsextremistischen Terroranschlägen in Norwegen und im selben Jahr nach dem Tsunami und Reaktorunfall in Japan eingesetzt (Steckel 2013:9). Darüber hinaus wird TRE auch zum Trauma- und Stressabbau bei Einsatzkräften der Feuerwehr und Polizei sowie bei SoldatInnen verwendet (ibid.). Es hat sich aber auch gezeigt, dass die Methode zur Bewältigung jeglicher Form von Spannungen, Stress und schwierigen Erlebnissen hilfreich sein kann (Berceli Foundation o.J.). Daher wird TRE mittlerweile in einer Vielzahl von Kontexten wie der Beratung, der Physiotherapie, der Psychotherapie, dem Gesundheitswesen, im Sport und in Schulen eingesetzt (Barbara Oles, zertifizierende TRE Trainerin, E-Mail an Erwin Schweitzer, 7.10.2014).

Die Wirksamkeit von TRE belegen mittlerweile einige Pilot-Studien, deren Ergebnisse im Rahmen von Hochschulschriften (Berceli 2009; McCann 2011) sowie einem Artikel (Berceli et al. 2014) veröffentlicht wurden. Die Studien zeigen, dass TRE Angst verringert und die Stresserholung unterstützt (Berceli 2009), Angst signifikant reduziert und das allgemeine Wohlbefinden steigert (McCann 2011) bzw. die Lebensqualität erhöht (Berceli et al. 2014). Eine weitere noch unveröffentlichte Studie (Nibel im Druck) attestiert TRE stimmungsaufhellende Effekte und die Reduktion von Schmerzen und anderen Beschwerden. Auch unsere eigenen Selbsterfahrungsprotokolle über das regelmäßige Praktizieren von TRE zeugen von einer deutlichen Verbesserung unserer Lebendigkeit, Präsenz und emotionalen Befindlichkeit. Im Zuge der Selbsterfahrung haben wir über einen Zeitraum von drei Monaten mindestens zwei Mal pro Woche TRE praktiziert. In den Protokollen beschrieben wir einerseits qualitativ vor und nach den Übungen, wie wir uns körperlich, seelisch-emotional und geistig fühlten. Andererseits maßen wir mittels einer elf-teiligen Skala (0-10) unsere Lebendigkeit, Präsenz und emotionale Befindlichkeit. Wir bemerkten, dass sich nach TRE die Werte der drei Variablen zwischen einem und drei Punkten zum Positiven veränderten.

TRE und Feldforschung

TRE fördert die Perspektive, dass EthnologInnen nicht nur einen Geist, sondern auch einen Körper zum Forschen besitzen, und auch dieser Körper kann während der Feldforschung großem Stress ausgesetzt sein. Die Übungen, welche das stress- und spannungslösende Zittern hervorrufen, können leicht vor der Feldforschung erlernt und danach im Feld praktiziert werden.[6]

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6   Wir empfehlen allen Interessierten, bereits vor der Feldforschung eine gewisse Zitterroutine zu entwickeln und die verschiedenen Tremorspielarten des Körpers in einer gewohnten Umgebung zu erkunden.

Sie sind unauffällig, weil sie an weitverbreitete Kraft- und Dehnungsübungen erinnern. Obwohl die Übungen auf manche Menschen befremdlich wirken könnten, werden sie wahrscheinlich in den meisten kulturellen Kontexten nicht als anstößig empfunden. Darüber hinaus kann der neurogene Tremor, sobald seine Aktivierung nach einigem Üben beherrscht wird, auch subtil und ohne vorbereitende Übungen ausgelöst werden. So wird es für EthnologInnen möglich, Stress und Anspannung im Bett, in der Hängematte oder auf Outdoor-Matratzen (oder worauf auch immer man im Feld schläft) als Teil der morgendlichen oder abendlichen Alltagsroutine zu lösen. Dadurch kann TRE weniger auffällig und daher kultursensibler als Joggen, Krafttraining und Gymnastik sein. Die potentielle kulturelle Sensibilität ist aber nicht der einzige Vorteil gegenüber den genannten Sportarten. Während diese nur oberflächliche Anspannungen im Körper lösen können, kann TRE tiefsitzende Verspannungen, die Stress- und Traumafolgen sind, abbauen (Berceli 2013:36). Auf diese Weise verwendet, könnte TRE ein praktisches Werkzeug zur Prävention eines Post-Feldforschungstraumas sein. Jedoch kann man TRE auch im Anschluss an eine Feldforschung erlernen und praktizieren, um mit den Stressfolgen besser umzugehen.

Neben den wichtigen positiven Effekten auf das persönliche Wohlbefinden von EthnologInnen während und nach der Feldforschung glauben wir, dass TRE zusätzliche vorteilhafte Nebeneffekte haben kann. Wenn EthnologInnen entspannter im Feld sind, können sie auch eher eine gute Beziehung zur ihren InformantInnen aufbauen. Dies könnte umgekehrt zu besseren Forschungsergebnissen führen. Wir haben bereits damit begonnen, TRE an KollegInnen weiterzugeben. Sie haben das Zittern als entspannend und freudvoll empfunden. Noch fehlt es an umfassenden Rückmeldungen aus der Feldforschung. Die positiven Erfahrungen von anderen Menschen, die längere schwierige Auslandsaufenthalte absolvieren, stimmen uns jedoch optimistisch, was die positiven Effekte von TRE auf EthnologInnen angeht.

Fazit

Vielleicht fällt es EthnologInnen mit TRE leichter, die Tatsache anzuerkennen, dass sie als ForscherInnen nicht nur einen analytischen Geist, sondern auch einen empfindsamen Körper haben, der während der Feldforschung potentiell unter Stress leidet. TRE bietet EthnologInnen eine Möglichkeit, dem Körper die notwendige Aufmerksamkeit und Achtsamkeit zu schenken, um erfolgreich auf Malinowskis Spuren zu wandeln, ohne aber notwendigerweise in denselben Blues wie er zu verfallen. Auf Grund unserer eigenen Erfahrungen sind wir davon überzeugt, dass EthnologInnen von den stress- und spannungsreduzierenden Effekten von TRE vor, während und nach Feldforschungen profitieren werden. Deshalb hoffen wir, mit diesem Beitrag eine fachinterne Diskussion über die Notwendigkeit der Vermittlung von Stress- und Traumabewältigungsmaßnahmen an EthnologInnen anzuregen.

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Experimental Film and Anthropology by Arnd Schneider and Caterina Pasqualino. Bloomsbury: London & New York. 2014, 208pp.

Laura Coppens

This rather thin book, which is the outcome of a major international conference[1], organized by Arnd Schneider and Catarina Pasqualino, can be seen in line with Schneider's greater project of exploring the relationship between contemporary art and anthropology (see Schneider and Wright 2006, 2010, 2013). It is not surprising then that the underlying argument of *Experimental Film and Anthropology* is similar to the one made in the aforementioned publications, in that, the editors call on anthropologists to engage with experimental film practices, because "it is through practice, beyond words, that theoretical arguments are brought forward which are of genuine interest to anthropology" (p. 18). The volume at hand is a welcome and long-overdue addition to Catherine Russell's formative book *Experimental Ethnography* (1999), where she approaches the links between experimental and ethnographic film through cultural critique and textual analysis.

One of the aims of *Experimental Film and Anthropology*, as stated in the opening chapter of the same name, is the subversion of the "realist-narrative paradigm" that, in the editors' view, has dominated the field of audio-visual anthropology far too long. The call for reform of conventional anthropological film practices subscribes to a renewed dismissal of observational cinema, which is in need of a "radical shock therapy," as Suhr and Willerslev argue in their recently published volume *Transcultural Montage* (2013). They further play with this idea in a lively yet unfortunately little stimulating discussion of montage (Ch. 5) in the current publication.

Although I very much welcome the proposition of a broader notion of reality, Schneider and Pasqualino would have done better to have taken into account Anna Grimshaw's (2013:231) suggestion to "identify the Bazinian character of observational cinema and consider the nature of its radical intervention." For example, by drawing our attention to a recent installation work by Lucien Castaing-Taylor and identifying its shared cinematic aesthetic with Italian neorealist cinema, Grimshaw convincingly argues that contemporary observational practices are very well a mode of experimental anthropology.

That the innovative work of Harvard's Sensory Ethnography Lab (SEL), founded by Castaing-Taylor in 2006, is merely mentioned in a footnote and

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[1]   New Visions: Experimental Film, Art and Anthropology at the Musée du quai Branly, Paris 2012

is not given further attention in a text that proclaims to explore and advance experimentations in visual anthropology practices is a considerable short-coming in this volume. The much celebrated (at least outside academia) immersive multi-sensorial and aesthetic qualities of films like *Leviathan* (2012) and more recently *Manakamana* (2013) not only mirror a renewed concern of phenomenology and the senses within anthropology but also are examples par excellence for the innovative application of formal devices (e.g. structural techniques and installation) explored by experimental filmmakers like James Benning, Peter Hutton, and Sharon Lockhart. In fact, as MacDonald (2014:24) suggests, the SEL works are a perfect instance of "avant-docs," as they join "documentary subject matter with a level of formal experiment usually understood as avant-garde."

Whereas the SEL embraces a multi-sensory approach, the impetus bringing together the collection of essays in this cross-disciplinary anthology is foremost visual experimentation, thereby stressing the status of (analog) film as material object. Among the eleven contributions covering a vast spectrum of poetic and aesthetic cinematic practices that range from photofilm and animation to interactive digital compositions there is only one that explicitly goes beyond this ocularcentrism.

In their thought-provoking essay (Ch. 7), Jennifer Heusen and Kevin Allen, re-think the relation between sight and hearing by exploring critical approaches to sound and image in their own filmmaking practice, arguing for an "asynchronic ethnography" that, in comparison to non-synch or synch cinematic practices, better reveals "the fragmented, asynchronous nature of experience itself" (p. 120). In fact, the authors critique the conceptual and practical distinction made between synchronous and non-synchronous cinematic techniques and representations, that is, the separation between sound and sight. With their concept of "asynchronicity" they propose a third modality, one that moves between "sync" and "non-sync" filmmaking techniques. Heusen and Allen reference Jean Rouch's film *Jaguar*, in which asynchronicity shapes the entire time-space of the film, as inspirational to their experimental ethnographic practice. At the same time, they distance themselves from the sensory ethnographies of the SEL, above all *Leviathan*, which has been critiqued by anthropologists for its anti-humanistic or post-humanistic stance (see e.g. MacDonald 2014, 410). Instead, it is the stated aim of Heusen and Allen to link the sensory and the representational in order to arrive at "sensory politics" (p. 127), emphasizing their interest in people, politics, and aesthetics. Asynchronicity, they argue, is both aesthetic and political and therefore particularly suitable to disrupt, what they call, the "sedimented styles" or conventional ethnographic filmmaking practices (e.g. synchronized time and space) of visual anthropology. For their asynchronic practices they prefer to work with a Super 8 mm camera, often using the length of the film reel as structuring device. Without fetishizing vintage technologies – indeed

asynchronous practices are also possible with DSLR cameras – the authors particularly value the limitations of this specific cinematic apparatus and the materiality of analog film, because they comment on the artificial nature of the filmic process.

Another contribution that foregrounds the materiality of 8mm film is Martino Nicoletti's exploration (Ch. 10) of "visual media primitivism." Nicoletti, like Heusen and Allen, understands old analog visual media as a mode of political resistance. Introducing yet another provisional term, "poetic ethnography," to describe an evolving imbrication of experimental film and anthropology, he reflects on his multimedia artwork at the center of which lies the black-and-white cine-poem on Kayan women in Thailand, *I must not Look you in the Eyes: The Zoo of the Giraffe Women* (2011). In the cine-poem, he strategically employs the lack of visual information characteristic of Super 8 images and combines it with a poetic text and a specifically created soundtrack for the purpose of challenging the viewer's expectations and stereotypical assumptions. With his experimental work then, Nicoletti has the desire to create "conceptual distance" (p. 174) between the images of the Kayan women and the observer, critically disengaging from the voyeuristic and exploitative tourist gaze.

Alongside the politics of form, another important area of experimental film discussed in the volume is its relation to memory. Alyssa Grossman's innovative approach to explore the topic of memory in her anthropological documentary production is particularly interesting (Ch. 8). Like in her earlier work, Grossman employs specific cinematic techniques like stop-motion animation to disrupt linear narratives and to elicit memories. For the film *Memory Objects, Memory Dialogues* (2011), which Grossman created in collaboration with the visual artist Selena Kimball, she makes use of material objects from socialist times in Romania to stir imagination and trigger memories in her interlocutors and at the same stimulate remembrance in the film's makers and spectators alike. The filmmakers use a dual-screen installation, juxtaposing ethnographic interviews with the now animated objects, to properly deal with and convey "memory's generative, constantly evolving qualities" (p. 136).

In an equally inspiring essay, Arnd Schneider examines the often-overlooked hybrid genre of "photofilm" to think about issues of temporality and memory (Ch. 2). Using three selected examples, Schneider carves out different modalities of photofilm, such as its use as a research tool in the work of anthropologist John Haviland. Indeed, the author is particularly interested in the practical and theoretical potentials of photofilm for anthropological research. He argues that the "reanimation" of still images in moving sequences allows the spectator to look more precisely as individual scenes stay longer than in conventional films and at the same time reveal more information, through movement and sound, than a single image.

The least stimulating sections of the book are those that focus on the practice of an individual artist as they tend to remain overly descriptive and therefore lack in theoretical depth. For example, Nicole Brenez's essay on Robert Fenz's film oeuvre (Ch. 4) is rather disappointing, especially because it is written in an elliptical and little accessible manner. In chapter 6, Kathryn Ramey writes about the camera-less animation work of Robert Ascher and provides a brief history of this particular practice. Although his cinematic oeuvre surely merits more scholarly attention within our discipline, we would also benefit if Ramey – an anthropologist and experimental filmmaker working with animation – would discuss her own use of various direct animation techniques, perhaps in relationship to Ascher's work.[2]

The volume *Experimental Film and Anthropology* is yet another call for more experimentation in the field of visual anthropology with the aim to consider new possibilities in audio-visual media research and representation and ultimately revive anthropological documentary. Unfortunately, these suggestions for reform are still confined to the conventional distinction between experimental filmmaking and ethnographic film. Perhaps it would be more fruitful for future publications to defy these old categories altogether, since, in my view, they no longer make sense today, and instead be engaged with innovative work in "the evolving liminal zone between documentary and avant-garde" (MacDonald 2014:16). Nevertheless, it is a welcome book that serves as a point of departure for a more forward-moving and hopeful sub-discipline. In sum, although some of the contributions disappoint with a lack of new perspectives, others are more stimulating and insightful, serving as appropriate readings in advanced audio-visual and media anthropology classes.

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Greifeld, Katarina (Hg.) (2013): Medizinethnologie.
Eine Einführung. 204 S., Berlin: Reimer

Andrea Blätter

In der vorliegenden Einführung werden zentrale Themen der Medizineth-nologie vorgestellt, klassische Einsichten, aber auch neue Trends und Ent-wicklungen präsentiert. Dabei wurde eine regionale Kapitelstruktur mit Fo-kus auf Lateinamerika, Ozeanien, Europa und Afrika gewählt. Zusätzlicher Schwerpunkt ist die ausführliche Betrachtung der kulturellen Kontexte von Beschneidungen.

In einem ausführlichen Vorwort von Wolfgang Bichmann, seinerzeit Mitherausgeber von „Krankheit und Kultur", der ersten deutschsprachigen Einführung in die Ethnomedizin[1], wird zunächst die Entwicklung der Eth-nomedizin zur Medizinethnologie nachvollzogen. Erst in den Anfängen der 1970er Jahre ist das Fachgebiet entstanden und hat sich seitdem vielfältig weiterentwickelt. Anschließend erklärt Katarina Greifeld in ihrer Einleitung Begrifflichkeiten, gibt erste Orientierungen und macht Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Medizinethnologie, dem Wendepunkt der europäischen Me-dizin hin zur Biomedizin (Schulmedizin), medizinischem Pluralismus, Medi-zintourismus und Migrationsmedizin. Hier werden auch Wohlstandskrank-heiten, kulturspezifische Syndrome und die Rolle der europäischen Medizin als Herrschaftsinstrument wärend der Kolonialzeit thematisiert.

Die Regionalkapitel beginnen mit einer Einführung in die Medizineth-nologie Südamerikas von Josef Drexler aus München. Er betont die außeror-dentliche kulturelle, ethnische und sprachliche Diversität dieses Subkontin-tents und greift deshalb nur einzelne wiederkehrende Motive, Konzepte und Praktiken heraus. Die lokalen medizinischen Interpretations- und Hand-lungsmodelle können sich dabei radikal von biomedizinischen Vorstellungen unterscheiden. In den Kosmologien und Krankheitskonzepten ist eine vitale Wildnis, kosmische Lebenskraft und die verborgene Wirklichkeit zentral. Das dynamische Gleichgewicht der Heiß-Kalt-Systeme wird skizziert, üble Winde (*viento*) und Seelenverlust (*susto*) werden angesprochen, ebenso wie die zwiespältige Bedeutung der Menstruation, die Schadenszauber *daño* und *maleficios* sowie der böse Blick. Drexler unterscheidet grundlegend zwischen andinen Medizinsystemen und Medizinsystemen der Tieflandindianer, geht aber auch kurz auf die übergreifend sich ausbreitende *vegetalismo*-Therapi-en ein, bei denen Ayahuasca, ein halluzinogen wirkender Trank, verabreicht wird.

Weiter beschreibt Drexler unterschiedliche Typen von Heilern und das typische Patientenverhalten – den medizinischen Pluralismus. Als besonders

[1] Pfleiderer, Beatrix und Wolfgang Bichmann (1985) Krankheit und Kultur. Eine Einführung in die Ethnomedizin. Berlin, Reimer.

interessante Auswirkungen des „Modernen Weltsystems" beschreibt er eine Zunahme von Gewalt und indigenem Schadenszauber. Dabei wird der Zauber des Waldes aktiviert, oft die einzig verbleibende Möglichkeit der indigenen Bevölkerung, sich gegen Ausbeutung und Vertreibung zu wehren.

Auch Verena Keck betont die traditionelle medizinische Vielfalt „ihrer" Region. Sie berichtet über Gesundheit und Krankheit in Ozeanien. Zunächst weist sie auf eine Gemeinsamkeit mit Lateinamerika, Afrika und anderen Kolonialgebieten hin: die Einführung der europäischen Medizin als koloniales Herrschaftsinstrument. Sie beschreibt, wie die aktuellen Gesundheitsprobleme in Ozeanien, wie Diabetis, Herz-Kreislauf-Erkrankungen, Atemwegserkrankungen, bestimmte Krebsarten und Adipositas (Fettleibigkeit) direkt auf erzwungene Veränderungen zurückzuführen sind. Kritisch diskutiert sie die aktuelle These von „sparsamen" Genen bei Fettleibigen. Am Beispiel von Nauru erläutert sie die gesundheitlichen Folgen veränderter Nahrung und Ernährung von Taro und Brotfrucht zu Spam und Junk Food. Anschließend beschreibt sie den neuerlichen Aufschwung der traditionellen Medizin am Beispiel Pohnpei, einer kleinen Insel in Mikronesien. Die Bedeutungen unterschiedlicher Personenkonzepte für Krankheitsverhalten und Therapie erklärt Keck ausführlich am Beispiel der Yupno in Papua Neuguinea. Im dortigen epistemischen Modell wird der Körper als integrierende Instanz von Person, sozialen Beziehungen und Umwelt aufgefasst. Den medizinischen Pluralismus der Neuzeit beschreibt sie anschaulich am Beispiel von Guam im westlichen Pazifik, wo eine inzwischen multiethnische Gemeinschaft mit 37% indigener Bevölkerung (den Chamorro) lebt, wo Patienten traditionelle Heiler für „traditionellle" Krankheiten, die von Geistern verursacht wurden, aufsuchen und für „moderne" Krankheiten, wie etwa Diabetis, moderne Medizin in Anspruch nehmen. Zum Thema HIV/AIDS kehrt sie schließlich wieder zu den Yupno zurück und beschreibt Probleme des dort angesiedelten SikAIDS-Programms zwischen biomedizinischem Wissen, christlicher Moral und kulturellen Taditionen.

Ruth Kutalek beschäft sich bei ihrer Beschreibung von Krankheit und Gesundheit in Afrika insbesonderen mit Aspekten an der Schnittstelle von Ethnologie und Medizin. Sie beleuchtet die Geschichte indigener Medizin in Afrika und beleuchtet dabei wiederum die Zusammenhänge zwischen Medizin und Kolonialismus, einem durchgängigen Thema in diesem Band. Die traditionelle Medizin zwischen Ablehnung und Nutzbarmachung sowie Biomedizin und ihre Konfrontationen und Begegnungen in der Moderne werden an Fallbeispielen verdeutlicht. Dabei werden die unterschiedlichen Krankheitskonzepte und Vorstellungen von Krankheit sowie verschiedene Vorstellungen von biomedizinische Therapien angesprochen. Bei traditionellen afrikanischen Diagnosen und Therapien geht es häufig weniger um die physischen Erkrankungen als um die sozialen Beziehungen, macht Kuatalek klar. Wie die anderen AutorInnen auch verweist sie auf den modernen Medi-

zinpluralismus. Abschließend beschreibt sie die primäre Gesundheitsversorgung in Afrika.

Im letzten Regionalkaptel wird die Medizinethnologie Europas behandelt. Nicholas Eschenbruch vermittelt ethnologische Perspektiven auf Biomedizin und andere Heilsysteme. Dazu skizziert er zunächst die Biomedizin aus historischer Sichtweise. Er analysiert die Wissensformen der Biomedizin, insbesondere ihre Bilder und das daraus bezogene Wissen vom Körper. Mit seinen Ausführungen zeichnet Eschenbruch die kulturelle Konstruktion von medizinischem Wissen in Europa nach und unterstützt diese mit typischen Geschichten von Krankheit und Heilung. Anschließend umreißt er übliche medizinische Alternativen wie traditionelle chinesische Medizin (TCM) oder Homöopathie und spürt den Kontexten gesamtgesellschaftlicher gesundheitspolitischer Grundentscheidungen nach, die sich in ideologischer und praktischer Hinsicht auswirken. Er diskutiert die Rahmenbedingungen, die in den Wachstumsfeldern der Medizinethnologie, etwa im Public Health Bereich, eine große Rolle spielen. Gesundheitsbezogenes Handeln unterliege in Europa, so Eschenbach, deutlich vereinheitlichenden Tendenzen, weil ein Grundprinzip der hiesigen Gesundheitssysteme ihr kollektivierender Charakter sei. Der Staat reguliere die Gesundheitssysteme in letzter Instanz und bestimme, was innerhalb der Systeme Gesundheit sei, wer Anspruch auf Behandlung habe und wer wen wofür bezahle. Abschließend weist er noch einmal ausdrücklich darauf hin, daß die Biomedizin sich zwar als naturwissenschaftlich begründet und deshalb mit Anspruch auf Objektivität dargestellt, aber aus ethnologischer Sicht als kulturelles Konstrukt, wie alle anderen Medizinsysteme auch, durchaus hinterfragbar ist.

In den beiden letzten Kapiteln beschäftigen sich Katarina Greifeld, Petra Pfnadschek und Armin Prinzmit mit der Beschneidung von Mädchen, Frauen, Jungen und Männern. Das Thema ist für sie wegen ihrer Aktualität für medizinethnologische Diskussionen besonders gut geeignet, weil hier die Diskrepanz zwischen modernen Menschenrechten und kulturellen Konventionen besonders deutlich wird. Insbesondere die Beschneidung von Mädchen und Frauen ist in Europa und Nordamerika ein heikles und hoch emotionalisiertes Thema. Die ausführliche Beschäftigung in diesem Band soll mehr Sachlichkeit und eine verbesserte Datengrudlage vermitteln und so eine wertneutralere Einschätzung ermöglichen, die auch unterschiedliche Standpunkte formuliert.

Zunächst wird auf die lange Geschichte von Körpermodifikation im Sinne einer kulturspezifischen Ästhetik hingewiesen. Schädeldeformierungen, Halsverlängerungen und Fußeinschnürungen, aber auch modernes Intimpiercing oder Female Genital Cosmetic Surgery (FGCS) werden als Beispiele für uns vertraute und deshalb selten hinterfragte Praktiken vorgestellt. Auch diese neue normative Intimästhetik bleibt an den traditionellen Vorstellungen männlicher und weiblicher Sexualität orientiert, bei der Männlichkeit

durch Sichtbarkeit und Größe des äußeren Genitals, Weiblichkeit hingegen durch Verborgenheit und Abwesenheit symbolisiert wird.

Exemplarisch wird von den Verhältnissen in Mali berichtet, wo über 90% der Frauen beschnitten sind. Immer häufiger wird der Eingriff schon bei Säuglingen durchgeführt. Trotz staatlicher Aufklärungskampagnen gegen Genitalverstümmelung wird diese Praxis weitergeführt, denn dort besagt die soziale Norm, dass nur eine beschnittene Frau geheiratet werden kann, ohne dass das Risiko besteht, durch Untreue die Familienehre zu verletzen. Sozialer Druck sorgt für die Fortsetzung der Beschneidungspraxis, denn Mütter befürchteten Nachteile für ihre nicht-beschnittenen Töchter. Begründungen richten sich auf Respekt vor Tradition und Religion sowie Kontrolle der weiblichen Sexualität. Religion spielt keine besondere Rolle, ebensowenig wie Mythen oder Übergangsrituale. Insgesamt wird die Beschneidung immer weiter individualisiert, der Beschluss zur Beschneidung wird aber nicht individuell, sondern in der Gruppe gefällt. Greifeld betont, dass, wer hier aus einer Außensicht von Verstümmelung spricht, der Selbstsicht der malischen Frauen nicht gerecht wird, die Beschneidung für sich und ihre Töchter wünschen. Die Konzepte von Sexualität im globalen Norden und der UN-Menschenrechtskonventionen stimmen nicht mit außereuropäischen, in diesem Fall afrikanischen, Konzepten überein. Das jeweilige Verständnis für Intimität und Verwandtschaft spiegelt soziokulturelle Verhältnisse wider und gibt Einblicke in die politische Ökonomie des Körpers.

Greifeld stellt aber auch heraus, dass aus europäischer Sicht die Beschneidung nicht nur ein Problem des Menschenrechtsdiskurses in Hinsicht auf einen unversehrten und gesunden Körper darstellt, sondern auch sehr dringlich als Verletzung der Kinderrechte, sowohl bei Mädchen als auch bei Jungen.

Ein historischer Überblick zeigt, dass Beschneidung dabei nicht auf den Islam beschränkt ist, sondern dass es sich um weit verbreitete kulturelle Praktiken handelt. Auch koptische Christinnen sind in Mali beschnitten. In Europa wurde im 19. Jahrhundert Beschneidung von Frauen als probates Mittel gegen Epilepsie durchgeführt, und gegenwärtig werden in den USA Beschneidungen bei Männern routinemäßig durchgeführt. Überhaupt werden chirurgische Eingriffe im Intimbereich nach den Vorreitern Nord- und Südamerika auch in Europa immer häufiger. Nach Haarentfernung und Intimpiercings findet sich eine zunehmende vaginale kosmetische Chirurgie zur Herstellung von „Designervaginen". Immer mehr junge Frauen lassen sich laut Greifeld operieren, um schön, rein und richtig zu sein und einer zunehmenden Normierung des Körpers bis in den Intimbereich zu entsprechen.

Die Beschneidung von Jungen und Männern ist historisch der am weitesten verbreitete chirurgische Eingriff, der bereits im Alten Ägypten bekannt war. Nach einem historischer Abriß über die Bedeutung der männlichen Beschneidung von der symbolischen Handlung zur therapeutischen

Maßnahme wird in einem ausführlichen Abschnitt Aufbau und Funktion der Vorhaut erläutert. Dabei geht es um Langerhans-Zellen und ihre Rolle bei der Immunabwehr und die Vorhaut als spezialisierter Muskel-Schleimhaut-Ring mit Schutzfunktion und besonderer Sensibilität. Durch Beschneidung, so die AutorInnen, wird der empfindlichste Teil des Penis, die Vorhaut, entfernt, was langfristig zu einer Verminderung der Empfindungswahrnehmung führen könne. Beschnittene hätten auch häufig Unwillen, Kondome zu benutzen, weil die fehlende Vorhaut Reizungen bewirken kann.

Ausführlich wird über die „transatlantische Debatte" berichtet, also den Unterschied der nordamerikanischen und der europäischen Einstellung zur männlichen Beschneidung. In den USA, deutliche Befürworter von Beschneidungen, gibt es unter den Industrienationen gleichzeitig die höchste Beschneidungsrate und die höchste HIV-Rate, wärend europäische Biomediziner gegen diese Maßnahme aus hygienischen Gründen plädieren. Im Anschluß wird das fragwürdige Postulat thematisiert, dass Beschneidung die Ausbreitung von HIV/AIDS verringern würde. Diese Debatte gewann an Brisanz, als 2007 die WHO und UNAIDS die Massenbeschneidung von Jungen in Afrika als effektive HIV-Prävention empfahlen. Prinz und Pfnadschek kritisieren, dass die zugrundeliegenden Untersuchungen nur die Infektion von Männern durch Frauen beachtete, nicht aber die von Frauen durch Männer. Außerdem meinten beschnittene Männer oft, dass sie keine Kondome mehr benutzen und sich nicht mehr vor HIV/AIDS schützen müssten, weil sie ja schließlich beschnitten seien. Hier zeigt sich, dass die Integration medizinethnologischer Erkenntnisse in die gesundheitliche Versorgung bisher nur in Ansätzen gelungen ist, obwohl diese für die Gestaltung von Versorgungsangeboten für Migranten und für den Umgang mit Krankheit und Prävention in anderen Kulturen (HIV/AIDS) unentbehrlich beworden ist.

In ihrer Einführung in die Medizinethnologie, die auch für ethnologische Laien gedacht ist, betonen die AutorInnen, dass moderne Biomedizin genau so kulturgebunden ist wie andere Medizinsystem. In ihrem Schwerpunktthema Beschneidung wird das besonders deutlich. Aktuelle Beispiele aus dem breiten Spektrum medizinethnologischer Themen und der kritische Umgang mit kolonialen und postkolonialen Zusammenhämgen in der Medizinethnologie machen diesen Band lesenswert für Anfänger. Die Besprechung bisher unveröffentlichter Studien machen ihn spannend für Fortgeschrittene. Das unkommentierte Auslassen des asiatischen Kontinents mit seinen reichhaltigen medizinethnologischen Forschungsbereichen in diesem Band ist allerdings bedauerlich.

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