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A Study of the Relationship between Art Practice and Citizenship

Stephen Swindells

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of
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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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This research is dedicated to my family, Michelle and William.

Abstract

This research investigates the relationship between art practice and citizenship, raising questions on what the relationship might be from the perspective of an artist-citizen-researcher. The contextual research and the writing of the thesis was not conceived as an activity divorced from my art practice, so the theory, practice methods strove to situate the relationship between art and citizenship both inside and outside of the thesis; whereby the inherent practices of art and citizenship move in and out of aesthetic, ideological and scholarly activities. In practice, the text in this thesis is disrupted by the multiple voices of the artist, citizen and researcher. Content presented in the abstract refers to the experience of the artist, citizen and researcher. My art practice is demonstrated by individual exhibitions and collaborative work with other artists. Citizenship is demonstrated by reinvigorating a sense of communal values through the politics of self-sufficiency.

I argue a 'localized' (avant-garde) art practice diametrically reflects citizenship through the articulation of an agonistic-led wishful-ness, which is first and foremost engaged with staking a place for contestation and difference to exist. The intended complicity between art practice and a socio-political field articulated in Nicolas Bourriaud's *Relational Aesthetics* (1998) is counter-productive to an effective relationship between citizenship and art in context to a self-sustaining micro-politics. A micro-politics based upon communitarian values. *Relational Aesthetics* is criticized for its complicit participation in the particularity of neo-liberal politics. Atelier van Lieshout's *AVL-Ville* (1995-2000) provides a template of a heterogeneous, self-sufficient micro-politic, which I argue is best placed to resist the colonization of art and citizenship by undemocratic corporatism. It is in this context that this research contributes to the literature of Documenta11_Platform 1, *Democracy Unrealised* (2002), but opposes the literature of *Relational Aesthetics* (1998) by contesting the significance of a 'localized' art practice as a domain for the avant-garde. Local art practice, not as an international (liberal) canon, but as the configuration of an effective relationship between art and citizenship in the preservation of social difference and democracy.

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Introduction

Note to the reader: content written in the abstract refers to the experiences of the artist-citizen-researcher.

Rationale for Art Practice and Citizenship

This research investigates the relationship between my art practice and citizenship. The rationale as to why anyone should want to relate citizenship to contemporary art practice reveals some of the expectations and anxieties placed upon art and artists within a complex, expectant world of art reception. Art practice is a social interaction with others and each artist practices their own model of being an artist. My understanding of art is determined by the postmodern revision of the boundaries between art and other cultural practices. From such a perspective, this thesis straddles theory, practice, art and research.

The findings within the research fall between its semantic content as objective research and its position as an artefact within my art practice. This duality mirrors the contradictions inherent in the relationship between citizenship and art. Citizenship articulates a rational political discourse, whereas art expresses a subjective-aesthetic paradigm. Within the creative processes of making and receiving art the regenerative abilities of the imagination can offer resistance to a prevailing ideology and challenge the monopolising effects of mass media. In this sense, art and the imagination are political by the way they generate questions and resist homogenisation. After years of aggressive corporatism, which has undermined nation-state democracy, the positioning of art in relation to society is not only problematic but also political.¹

Herbert Marcuse wrote:

I shall submit the following thesis: the radical qualities of art, that is to say, its indictment of the established reality and its invocation of the beautiful image ... of liberation are grounded precisely in the dimensions where art transcends its social determination and emancipates itself from the given universe of discourse and behaviour while preserving its overwhelming presence. Thereby art creates the realm in which the subversion of experience proper to art becomes possible: the world formed by art is recognized as a reality which is suppressed and distorted in the given reality.²

The role of art is to refuse to adhere to the reality principle (which Marcuse and Freud propose Western civilisation demands) by insisting upon issues of an aesthetic subjectivity and the presentation of an awkward dialectic. In such a refusal, art rejects the idea that there can be any simple solution to social issues.³ Relating my art practice to the concerns of citizenship opens a broad field that inevitably raises symptoms of certain discontinuities, struggles, anxieties and needs, whether socio-political, or of deeper psychological nature in which the citizen or communities live and are represented. Within an entrenched and all persuasive condition of global capitalism the role accorded to art is an artefact (in whatever form or material) that can be bought and commodified so it can reach a large audience. The politicisation of art lies in its ability to play within as well as outside of the demands of the 'reality principle', where form and context, paradoxically, becomes both content and alienation. This paradox inscribes the relationship between art and the politics of citizenship, which is a process of estrangement, so the political weight of art is not reliant upon its literal content, but in its refusal to embody a socio-political literalness by the irreducible position of an aesthetic. The view here is the provocation of art can transcend racial, gender, sexual and other forms of cultural difference and at the same time recognise democracy is itself reliant upon the notion of difference. The politics of relating art and citizenship is

inevitably contestable, given that what is established between the political and the non-political is itself a political process.⁴

Citizenship as a model for reflective practice may not be the normal domain in art practice and prior to this study I would not regard my work as directly engaged with specific political issues. The proposition to study art in relation to citizenship was a slow realisation, brought about by the need to comprehend my position as an artist within society, which is a feature of personal history, age, experience and a growing sense of anxiety in locating meaning to my work. Consequently, the study of citizenship represented an opportunity to question these anxieties in relation to what kind of constituency I belong. Constituencies are based on people, memories, objects and a sense of place, which constructs collective emotions that holds value and purpose in life. Being a citizen is one of many identities an individual may feel, but is distinguished by the ability to exercise political and civil rights on equal terms, and create the conditions for full social and political participation.

The methodology I adopt as an artist, citizen and researcher necessitated a multifaceted approach in order to fully engage with the critical debates, implications and viability of the research. In this respect, the methods circuiting through this thesis operate in a similar fashion to the production of art in my studio. They are constructed, contrasting and enfolded to hybridised positions. The writing of the thesis was not conceived as an activity divorced from the studio and/or gallery but conducted within the practice, where the methods strove to situate the relationship between art and citizenship both inside and outside of the text.

Content and Structure of the Thesis

Citizenship is consistently thought to encompass membership, participation, belonging, rights and obligations in the cultural, socio-political field, while the

artist is connected with the dialogic production of context and aesthetics through a variety of practices (practices that are defined as different from other practices), usually associated with a mix of cultural institutions, public and private museums and galleries. This research uses the ordinary understandings of art and citizenship, while interpretive conflict within the thesis dialogue involves the capacity to throw into question established codes and rework the frames of common understanding. Such a position necessitated a consideration in which the definitions arguably join together in an attempt to map the significant relationships that capture and respect the mutable qualities and subtle shifts of art and citizenship. The result is an argument for the right to be different while also enjoying the full membership of a particular community.⁵ The right to be different is central to the research methodology and the structure of the thesis. In this study the union of the artist and citizen (artist-citizen) is defined as a polyglot who is able to move comfortably within multiple and diverse communities while resisting the temptation to claim a ‘purer’ and less complex identity.

The methodology (chapter one) is organized into three main themes: positioning the identity of the researcher, the artist voice and defining citizenship. The three aspects of being a researcher, artist and citizen begin to fragment and reconfigure at unlikely conjectures forming a ‘web of identity’.⁶ The representation of the web of identity results in the presentation of multiple voices within the thesis, which is a response, both to communal values existing within the thesis and to the complex articulation of the artist-citizen-researcher. Chapter two discusses the historical position of the artist in relation to the political institutions (*polis*) that represent her/him. The relationship between the historical representations of art and the mythical representations of the *polis* opened a broad dialogue on the politicization of art, art history and cultural theory. The relationship between the artist and the *polis* is organized through two broad themes: pre-modern practices and modern practices. The legacies of art and citizenship in classical Greece and Renaissance Europe still present

terms of reference, points of labelling and concepts around contemporary expectations. The expectations placed upon the artist and the citizen opens their respective cultural, socio-political capabilities in relation to forms of government and political decision-making.

The weight of expectation upon the artist and citizen established in chapter two is presented in relation to modern politics, postmodernity and European culture in chapter three. Modern life articulates an era in which the subject seeks meaning and purpose to life through a progressive rationale, exemplified by a continuous process of re-defining and renewing the concept of the new and its correspondence to economic production. The modern consciousness, to think and feel in a certain way is inextricably linked to social alienation and an intense from of individualism. Individualism and universality begins to construct the corporate quest for a single European identity.⁷ The profile of the European citizen is torn between conceptions of national identity and an integrationist approach, which is to conceive of the citizen as shifting his or her sovereign rights and ultimately their identity towards liberal conceptions of being European. The traditions of Western thought and liberal reasoning contrasts with the notion of being different, which makes a unified European culture so difficult to constitute.⁸ Equally, looking for a European sensibility in contemporary art may actually blur the important differences between different nations and communities.

If chapter two and three provide a broad 'exterior' dialogue on the relationship between art practice and citizenship through history, culture, politics and social theory, then chapter four emphasizes the interiority of the artist and citizen through identity and representation of the self, and how aspects of place and democracy become critical to such notions. Representation of the artist and citizen cannot be constituted with any exactness, as there is always a sense of fiction and complex interconnections between the indigenous and foreign,

between the conditions that define the artist and the conditions that define citizenship.

In recent years contemporary art has displayed an increasing interest in art as a social exchange, a model that some may argue articulates the relationship between art and citizenship.⁹ This interest is a result of the demand for 'natural', comprehensible relations between the artist and her/his surroundings. The unpredictable layers and contrasts of society is no longer a passive receptor but an active ingredient of the artwork. The principle of this interrelationship is applicable within this thesis, but it is a relationship based upon a contradictory estrangement of art from the dominant socio-political field rather than its complete assimilation. In this sense, the artist and citizen are framed by continuity and rupture.¹⁰

The refusal to fuse art and citizenship in the same socio-political language generates a paradox in the cultural, socio-political field. The foundation of this paradox is the realisation that the artist is also a citizen (artist-citizen), which is the ability to address the complexity of one's situation and towards that, which leads to a separation within the self. However, this separation is also an opportunity for the artist to comprehend cultural, socio-political realities of the community in which s/he is placed, by the dogged insistence on circumnavigating socio-political co-ordinates in the search for indeterminacy, which in turn articulates the aesthetic.

In the later part of the research a sense of placed community emerges through the dual realization and constituency of the artist-citizen. The community (Endowood Rd, Sheffield) is defined through keeping chickens and growing vegetables, where the modest beginning of self-sufficiency becomes a political issue by re-conceptualising economic relations in relation to land. This is a process of neighbours, community and I seeking to escape the dominant interpretive categories of the majority by adopting a minor-politic.¹¹ The notion

of escape or communal emancipation is counter-posed to the universalising tendencies of liberalism and the proposition of a single European identity.

Atelier van Lieshout's *AVL-Ville* (1995-2000) [fig. 20, 21 Appendix 10] provides a template for the micro-political settlement arising within my own experience.¹² However, I argue in each case (*AVL-Ville* and where I live, Endowood Rd, Sheffield), the practices of a micro-political community or settlement is not automatically deemed to be art because it houses the activities of artists.

The notion of the avant-garde artist is one who is often caught between a conflicting sense of who their work is for, so their motivations are bound up with public expectations and politics in art, but always estranged from the dominant socio-political discourse in which it is placed. T J Clark argues, 'inventing, affronting, satisfying, defying [the] public is an integral part of the act of creation' and this is what defines the avant-garde.¹³ Throughout this research the notion of an avant-garde refers to an artist who adopts both a radical and critical attitude to contemporary events and sensibilities - thus highlighting problems in society and culture and making them worthy of artistic attention. The concept of the avant-garde, meaning 'advanced-guard', arises from the modern artist allegiance to all that is new, so the avant-garde artists often regarded themselves as ahead of their time by defying historical, conventional and familiar practices. This sensibility continues today, Brazon Brock writing the introduction to the 2001 Venice biennale catalogue, (*The Plateau of Humankind*)¹⁴ proposes the avant-garde self-image remains pertinent for many artists because its self-assurance comes from an ability to turn certainties into problems. He contests, the history of Western art, since the Renaissance, is the history of problems that cannot be solved, and the role of the avant-garde is to uncover them in the social field. I perceive my art practice exists within this notion of the avant-garde.

I argue the intended complicity between art and a socio-political field through Nicolas Bourriaud's *Relational Aesthetics* (1998) is counter-productive to the needs of citizenship and art. *Relational Aesthetics* has been criticised for its complicit participation into neo-liberal politics.¹⁵ It is in opposition to the literature of *Relational Aesthetic* that this research contributes to the literature of Documenta11_Platform 1, *Democracy Unrealised* (2002) by demonstrating the significance of 'locality' in the configuration of art and citizenship. In practice, the research contributes to the template of *AVL-Ville*, by the realisation of an avant-garde art practice to exist within a micro-politic, which in succession nurtures social, political and cultural aspects of citizenship.

Chapter One

Defining the Subject: Methodology and Interconnected Voices

This chapter explains the methodology to my research and provides a rationale to how the thesis should be read in context to art and citizenship. The notion of the subject is dismantled in order for it to be reconstructed in context to relating my art practice to citizenship. The subject has multiple associations and it is this multiplicity that informs a behaviour and methodology to the research. The multiple associations of the subject define the interrelationship of an artist, citizen and researcher forming a 'triad-person'. This 'triad-person' is organised into three sub-texts within this chapter, positioning self-identity in relation to artist-researcher-citizen, locating the artist voice within the thesis and defining the field of citizenship for the purpose of the research. Under the condition of the subject, the three aspects of myself as a researcher, my self as an artist and my self as a citizen fragment, overlap and fuse forming a 'web of identity'.¹⁶

The representation of the 'web-of-identity' in this research is demonstrated through 'multiple-voices' emerging within the text. The representation of multiple-voices in this thesis appropriates Schon's 'practice research cycle', which is a continuous cyclic process that converges to a specific understanding over time for both practice and reflective critique upon practice. As an artist I engage and reflect upon citizenship, as a citizen I engage and reflect upon art, as a researcher I engage and reflect upon art and citizenship.¹⁷ This learning cycle involved analysis and contextualisation of citizenship permeating into the reflective and contextual process of making art. The reflective and contextual process of making art permeated into the analysis and contextualisation of citizenship. The research processes, of rendering one position into the other

created a helix shape to the study that directs each learning cycle towards establishing a relationship between my art practice and citizenship. Each cyclic turn (generated by studio practice, exhibitions, interpretation and dialectical contexts, writing, social practices, reflective-action and learning) intensifies the relationship through each chapter and is finally demonstrated in the submission of this thesis and the production of a final exhibition.

The research context starts with a macro position that draws in external relations of art and citizenship – addressed in the political relationship between the artist and forms of government (symbolically identified as the polis). This opens out the study to position the artist and citizen in a modern and postmodern context, and in relation to European identity. In the penultimate chapter the study spirals inward towards a psychological position of the artist-citizen in relation to identity, space and action.

The decision to present multiple voices within the thesis is twofold: first it is a response to the complexity of articulating the triangulated model of artist-citizen-researcher and secondly it orientates the triangulated model of artist-citizen-researcher to broader social, political and cultural contexts to establish a deeper understanding to the art and citizenship paradigm. I define this art and citizenship paradigm as dialogic. The artist-citizen-researcher position I establish in this research is in tension with the Western (European) philosophic systems of defining self-identity, which have generally been constructed on masculine concepts of rationality and objectivity (masculine-rationalism) - based on exclusion of women, children, non-Western cultures, emotions, relationships and personal experiences.¹⁸ This tension underpins my position as an artist and citizen.

The position of Europe in relation to art and citizenship is continuously referred to throughout this thesis because European culture is seen as central to the understanding of Western art and traditional notions of citizenship. Thus

European culture and European history is given prominence both as a significant aspect of the researcher's experience and as a fundamental context to the understanding of contemporary art and citizenship. European history and European identity are discussed in a variety of contexts: cultural, sociological, philosophical, political, historical and economical. Each context contributes to a multiple understanding to the notion of European culture and being a European artist-citizen. Western art, philosophy and political thought are understood to have their roots in the practices that emerged from Classical Athens and Renaissance Europe. Thus the comprehension of Europe and European identity is discussed in a variety of ways in relation to the researchers art practice and citizenship. However, today Eric Wolff proposes the traditional history of Europe often excludes non-Christians, suggesting Europe has to be thought beyond:

Ancient Greece begat Rome, Rome begat Christian Europe, Christian Europe begat the Renaissance, the Renaissance the Enlightenment, the Enlightenment political democracy and the industrial revolution. Industry crossed with democracy in turn yielded ... the right to life, and the pursuit of happiness.¹⁹

Hence, there is a need for European culture to unveil what Edward Said called 'undocumented people', noting the tension between the Orient and the Occident as a critique of Enlightenment rationality.²⁰ For much of European history, ancient and modern, women, children and the non-European have often been denied the formal status and rights of citizenship. Western critics who find themselves excluded from the dominant histories of European culture provide an appropriate perspective from which to analyze a contemporary understanding on the relationship between art and citizenship – to put the claims of 'art as social exchange' and the ideals of citizenship to task.²¹ Thus the multiple voices that emerge within the thesis are founded upon revision and a critical understanding of being a European artist-citizen.

Thesis-Writing Behaving as Art

Conceptual aspects to my art practice have been motivated by the conceptual art movement's radical critique of the visual, so the intellectual potential of writing is not visually exiled from the processes of 'image-object' making adopted within my art work. My 'artistic-writing' mutates the typographic and semantic composition of writing into the pictorial and vice versa, other strategies also involve other people's writing (fiction and non-fiction) as ready-mades.²² Conventionally, writing is one of the primary demonstrative tools with its linear syntactic construction and semantic definition of words, writing serves as a useful device to capture and communicate experiences in a meaningful way. Similarly, writing on art has tended to deliberate on and explicate the conceptual basis, material qualities, institutional processes and historical aspects that have come to affect the conception and reception of art practices.

The logic of writing on art is generally informed by a sense that it is enacted to comprehend art from the 'outside' in a language that is not necessarily perceived as being art itself. However, the writing behavior I adopt as an artist-researcher is unable to divorce itself from the strategies I hold within my art practice; theory, practice and context mutate into each other. Even my writing on art, which assumes a view from the 'outside' adopts a language and style that somehow slips materially into its 'object'. In short, my artist-researcher position is subject to the characteristics (potential peculiarities) of my art practice, stubbornly resisting the text as the singular authorising material.

Hence, the writing here adopts a 'peculiar' status as critical discourse, it aims to be succinct and comprehensive in the demonstration of an independent and original contribution to knowledge, that is, equally embedded in the processes I adopt as an artist. I see no alternative other than to conduct the research from a position inside the practice, which is able to accommodate the demands of academic research. It is noteworthy to consider the position Art & Language

describe in regards to their re-positioning of critical-writing in relation to the art object:

In various ways 'things' escaped or were bound back to text. Art & Language was a site for these transformations to take place – a land of exile from the walls. And from time to time the texts within that site began (to seem to be) used like more or less conventional critical texts. But there was always that marginal possibility of escape – of their being transformed – of their getting out to the walls and living a different life. Later, the circumstances which had generated these texts became complex, talkative, discursive. They had started to mark points of reference in a collaborative (dialogic) practice. But the texts generated therein were theoretical just in case they were object-like, and art object-like just in case they were theoretical.²³

Art & Language deliberately shift the operation of the 'critical text', preventing it from forming a static site in relation to the 'object' of art it aims to critique, where one is potentially, (and covertly) rendered into the other. From this conceptual position there is no more 'inside/outside', the writing straddles a contested border of art and critique. In regard to the future of writing upon art within my art practice, after being exposed to the work of Art & Language during the early 1990's, it proved difficult to return to the easy coexistence of text (catalogue) and image (gallery) that distinguishes the critique as authorising the position of its 'object'. This slippage between text and image is fundamental to the hybrid sensibilities I seek in my art practice; that the role I accord to my work is to fall awkwardly between prescribed definitions, contexts and situations. In respect of this thesis-writing as research and this thesis-writing as emphatic to the production of art will depend on it being significantly rooted in the artistic processes it aims to research, and consequently adopting a distinction in language and presentation from the established textual genres or literary traditions of other forms of institutional research-writing.²⁴

I am not proposing that this thesis-writing is somehow appropriated in the hope of it being validated as art, rather that the 'sliding' operation of the text is founded upon the character of aesthetic peculiarities and theoretical issues that

are generated by the artistic traditions (which contextualize my art practice), and by the problems intrinsic to their continuation. This might be termed research-writing 'behaving as art' without having to be validated as art – it is writing that is emphatic to the processes of art making. Research-writing 'behaving as art' might be thought of as writing that begins to destabilize its semantic content, while simultaneously establishing quasi-theoretical or quasi-poetic structures that touch upon the use of writing by artists.

Thesis in Practice and a Pictorial Voice

In respect of the pictorial, Art & Language point out in '*Making Meaningless*' (1999):

There is nothing of course incapable of being meaningful in some sense, and of course one person's perspective's decoration is another's votive object. So there are no absolute decorative items.²⁵

The slippage of the thesis-writing into the historical and cultural space of image-identity is the dialogical 'tool' which questions the prevailing stereotypes of art, art criticism, citizenship, the seemingly entrenched reification of Western culture, and even what is to count as artistic practice in a social context.²⁶ In this respect, the thesis designates the dialogue as an event, as performance, as a 'haecceity', as the property that uniquely identifies the 'object' that arises in this thesis.

The notes supplement provide a bibliographical reference to all the material and quotes within the thesis; the notes are organized into a separate binding with corresponding chapters, titles and headings where each context and quote is referenced in numerical order. This allows the reader the opportunity of having the thesis and notes open at each corresponding page. This method was chosen to work adjacent to the bibliography because it allows the notes to have a dual purpose. On the one hand they provide an overview of the literature and

on the other, they present an original context of the material and a supporting discussion to the dialogue being presented within the main body of the thesis.

I often use Comic Sans MS in my art practice and in the initial writing of this thesis pink Comic Sans MS was a typeface that located the memoiristic voice of the artist. In this respect, pink Comic Sans MS attempted to dismantle (de-colonise) and re-conceptualise the role of the text in relation to the politicisation of knowledge. I proposed Pink Comic Sans MS is contrasting and ‘alien’ to the formal-legislative authority of the institutional researcher. It is through this voice that the relationship between citizenship and art became biographical, revealed in the context of exhibitions and personal action. However, pink Comic Sans MS is not presented in the final presentation of this thesis because it gave an artificial separation of the artist voice from the other voices that seemingly laid claim to the artist and citizen relationship.

The textual methods and compositions adopted in the presentation of this thesis evolves within an ‘object’ that straddles the distinction between art and research; it is an object that might be read as text behaving as art, while at the same time it exists as research. The thesis is inserted into the practice and so becomes an aspect of the practice. It is appropriate to include the ‘lived conditions’ in which these methods arise, to regard them as effects of certain causes and markers of specific social, political and cultural voices.

Self-Identity, Europe and Multiple Voices

Zygmunt Bauman discussing identity has recently stated that ‘things’ only reveal themselves when they are broken down – in this thesis revelation takes place through the separation and fusion of different voices that compose my multiple-self.²⁷ Self-identity is a refuge built around essential elements: community, language, territory, class position, a common history and so on, all of which produce in its characters a sense of belonging and uniqueness.

Many social commentators propose that Western abstract-universalism or liberalism underpins the dialogue for an integrated European Community. In short, the attempt to build a European community through a 'common market', a 'citizen's Europe', and a 'European culture' seems to be constituted precisely through its distinctions from and oppositions to New World Culture, Asian Culture, Islamic culture and so on.²⁸ Cultural difference is constitutive of identity, and therefore self-identity becomes as much about exclusion as it is about inclusion. Contemporary Europe is experiencing a process of economic, political and social transformation that is also transforming the institutions of nation-state politics, while simultaneously raising questions of national identity and Euro-identity. Equally, international migration into European economic, political and cultural geography is a phenomenon that brings into question the degree to which liberal democracies ought to open their citizenship status and national cultures for immigrants.²⁹ Critical citizenship theory tends to focus upon the symbiotic processes of inclusion and exclusion from which citizenship as a concept and practice begins to emerge.

This thesis represent a dialogic-practice based upon the multiple-self, which more accurately reflects the fabric of interconnected relationships that signal particular and different relationships to the world. Some of the social, political and economic events that are taking place across Europe are therefore metaphorically relayed within the representation of the text within this thesis. This thesis demonstrates an interconnectedness and plurality of different voices operating where language values, personal experiences and relationships with others overlap and are not separated off.³⁰ In a Foucauldian sense, social and legal regulations, which seem to limit the freedom of self-identity begin to provide the conditions for self-identity in which freedom becomes meaningful and desirable.³¹ In a Freudian sense, desires, drives and self-identities are not simply social constructions as they also belong to the body, which is not totally the creature of social and ideological structures.³² The discourses of feminism,

post-colonialism, gay and lesbian politics, the disabled rights movement, plus others, form a mass of different voices that are infinite, plural and non-calculable. However, they represent a series of struggles and contestation that are at the core of politics and citizenship. These voices can be described as a swarm of points that traverse social stratifications and personal sensibilities to counter the entrenchment of citizenship in forms of masculinity, legacies of patriarchal structures, hegemony and forms of exclusion. Non-calculable sets of voices remain poised within this thesis. Poised in context to the legacies of historical centring and privileging of my position as a white European, able-bodied, heterosexual male artist.

The Responsibility of Our Situations

Positioning personal-identity for the purposes of this research will involve negotiating the philosophic and political systems of Western culture (humanism and liberalism) through the critical concerns of other voices. Individual voices, different perspectives, cultural positions, locations, and social relationships are described as our situations within the context of this research.³³ It seems appropriate to describe my multiple-self as a 'we', which is a complex process of absorption and recognition of the other - the antidote to xenophobia, racism and other forms of cultural hatred is to recognise that the foreigner is within us and what is most terrifying of the other may be the very quality we do not want to recognise in ourselves.³⁴ Our situations is the multiple-person within this thesis – it is a reference to the ideals of inclusive citizenship. It is also an artistic attempt to pick a way through the morass presented by relating two broad concepts - art and citizenship. Our situations becomes a kind of literary-cultural-montage, which accounts for a different voice within the text. It is a poetic verbal flash, where a few brief sentences or phrases are simultaneously critique, voice and representation.³⁵

Our situations are constructed from multiple points of view, different positions of knowledge and from clusters of theories. They are not united by any overarching ideological essence or by any single set of beliefs, but by the way they generate an understanding of art practice and citizenship. The critical position of our situations is an appropriate method for an individual researcher-artist in pursuit of a social project, to originate the undertakings of difference and plurality within ‘our’ beginnings, and articulate a dichotomy of perceptions, ideas and purposes. In this sense, the thesis acknowledges artistic practice having a preoccupation with forms of citizenship, knowledge and rationality to problems of authenticity, moral philosophy, politics, person-hood and social identity.³⁶ Hannah Arendt describes this weaving of different social perspectives as a ‘web of relations’ that is woven when human beings, groups of people experiencing a common interest come together in the sense of what they represent.³⁷

The weaving of different relations identifies the tension between the singular voice of the self and the multiplicity of others. The thesis demonstrates that individual identity emerges from a collective identity, which is based on the selective processes of memory so that, as Schlesinger proposes:

All identities are constituted within a system of social relations and require the reciprocal recognition of others. Identity is not to be considered a ‘thing’ but rather a system of relations and representations.³⁸

Facing a work of art for the first time can be seen as an event akin to Emmanuel Levinas’s description of the originary encounter.³⁹ Such a moment marks the discovery of the responsibility for the existence of the other, perceived neither as negation nor as an affirmation, (nor as a narcissistic projection of the self). Experiencing the visual arts announces a play between the materiality of the ‘object’ (presence) and what it signifies (absence): always other than other, it is a sign dependant upon presence, absence and loss of an original.⁴⁰ In other words, responsibility in the existence of other identities and other significations necessitates an acceptance of unstable relations.

The Auto-biographical Self and the Group

The thesis is organised from the tension between the particularity of my situation and my art practice becoming our situations, constructed from a shared social-theoretical framework and therefore not isolated from the concerns of others. The interconnectedness of personal experience and subjectivity should not be left out of studying a social situation.

Morwenna Griffiths proposes:

Bodies and gender matter in understanding the world. Neither men nor women are disembodied pure rationalities, and their bodies leave their marks on the kind of understanding they have.' ... 'Thought itself arises out of incidents of living experience and must remain bound to them as the only guideposts by which to take its bearings.⁴¹

Personal-identity and its relationship to the body is formulated through the experience of social configurations that are embedded within different, but overlapping communities, each of which is itself changing. Griffiths sees, 'such plurality is the norm, not the exception'.⁴² This research embraces interconnectedness between different artistic, cultural, social and political relationships within a specific situation. Rather than a stream of consciousness approach to 'our situations' the study uses the term, 'critical self-reflection' (taken from Griffiths term 'critical-autobiography') in order to access these interconnected relationships as part of the methodology. Morwenna Griffiths writes:

The term is needed to distinguish such writing from standard autobiography, because of the strength of the current cultural norms that 'autobiography' should be a personal, confessional, individualistic, a theoretical and non-political linear narrative of a life. 'Critical autobiography', in contrast, makes use of individual experience, theory, and a process of reflection and rethinking, which includes attention to politically situated perspectives.⁴³

The term ‘critical self-reflection’ is a process of reflective writing, which pays attention to ‘politically situated perspectives’. Griffiths argues that theory, ‘is a term which can be used to describe a communal endeavor to understand each other’.⁴⁴ The notion of communal endeavor is fundamental to inclusive citizenship and develops into a methodological principle. Griffiths writes:

Critical self-reflection continues seeking out different perspectives and does not expect stable, unchanging states of knowledge ... in short what is needed is a continual reflection on experience⁴⁵

So theory and social practice are not separated but interdependent, forming a ‘web of identity’. Griffiths proposes, ‘the metaphor of a web is useful in understanding both ‘becoming’ and ‘agency’.⁴⁶ Similarly the metaphor of the self as an interconnecting mesh of strands (artist/researcher/citizen) is also one that resonates with my art practice, in that there are no restrictions on media and collaboration – to include painting, video, text, performance, photography and installation. In order for theory to be relevant, it needs to be grounded in real experience.⁴⁷ An over reliance on theoretical positions which no longer interact with experience or being present become fossilized into sterile positions and therefore external to the issues of everyday life.

An over emphasis upon rational or ‘objective’ forms of knowledge can be potentially alienating to both author and reader because they can become a product of patriarchal culture. Therefore a ‘memoiristic’ voice begins to emerge within the thesis to punctuate academic research and presentation. Janet Wolff writes, ‘the separation of the academic from the personal (sic. Subjective) is not only artificial, but also damaging’.⁴⁸ Academic issues arise from social and cultural research. Wolff continues, ‘issues which are normally presented as purely academic matters are more than likely to originate in, and remain connected with, biographical and subjective concerns’.⁴⁹

‘Our situations’ accounts for the tension between the individual and the group. Foucault proposes, ‘One must care for oneself, if one subsequently wants to

care for others'. And, 'one must, throughout one's entire life, be one's own project'. The 'cultivation of the self' is a response to the 'stylistics of existence'.⁵⁰ Foucault writing in *Technologies of the Self* (1988) sought to locate the self as a site for the production of change and transformation. This transformation generates a fluctuating boundary where personal identity engages with the social. The nurturing of self-identity can be productive towards personal change and transformation through self-knowledge.

Foucault writes:

My objective for more than twenty-five years has been to sketch out a history of the different ways in our culture that humans develop knowledge about themselves: economics, biology, psychiatry, medicine, and penology. The main point is not to accept this knowledge at face value but to analyse these so-called sciences as very specific 'truth games' related to specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves.⁵¹

Foucault argues that abstract concepts such as 'liberty' and 'rationality' refer neither to ideas nor to practices but to sets of complex exchanges between the two. In this sense, Foucault is critical of nostalgic, utopian and universal abstract thought because power relations between the self and the group are complex and continuously changing.⁵² The construction of the self is a factor in social practice. The understanding of the multiple-self, expressed through 'our situations', is central to the demonstration of relating art and citizenship. Foucault succinctly describes this rationale:

Around the care of the self there developed an entire activity of speaking and writing in which the work of oneself and communication with others were linked together. Here we touch on one of the most important aspects of this activity devoted to oneself: it constituted, not an exercise in solitude, but a true social practice.⁵³

Social practice provides insight into 'internal' and 'external' realities that can be presented as a 'memoristic voice' describing *our* own scripting, in which the present can be given meaning in terms of the past. Lynne Segal states,

'Memories present themselves through narratives that make sense in the present, modifying individual events and assigning them different meanings at different times'.⁵⁴ The intention of these memoiristic (narrative) fragments is to stand for something beyond itself, to be somehow typical of a moment in cultural history, and not be theoretically redundant or too idiosyncratic, which leads to nowhere.⁵⁵ It is from this position that the past and present relationship of art and citizenship is discussed throughout the thesis.

My Art Practice

My art practice emerged from the context of painting, but now there are no restrictions on medium, as I use (or work with) installation, painting, photography, video, text and performance. The practice may be considered as a polemic between post-structuralist thought, countering the idealising criticism of modernist rhetoric, and a continuing engagement with abstraction with emphasis on ambiguity and the ephemeral within the processes of representation, interpretation and meaning.⁵⁶ The exhibition 'Haecciatas Star' (1999) [Appendix 1: fig. 1 and fig. 2] outlines this tension, which also identifies a transitional period of where my art practice emerged from and where it is subsequently placed. 'Haecciatas Star' proposed a renewal in the processes of abstraction and a re-interpretation of the rhetorical and philosophical complexities of painting seen in a state of collapse.⁵⁷ The question 'what is painting'? resulted in a self-reflexive engagement with painting as a medium and an opening onto the notion of the 'indeterminate'. I was interested in the possibilities of the indeterminate as a presentation of the 'unpresentable'. The exhibition also touched upon the fallibility of painting in the 1990s in relation to the aesthetics of crisis and ruin, and the significance and history of paintings' materiality. In *Representation, Presentation, Unpresentable* (1991) Jean-Francois Lyotard proposed that what is at stake in the alliance between technology and culture is a situation where experience is destroyed, 'everything is equivalent because everything is good for consumption'⁵⁸ – resulting in a

situation where everything is known. I was interested in the non-calculable issues of painting so the indeterminate and experiential may emerge beyond systems of representation - resulting in 'abstraction'.

'Haecciatas Star' also engaged with installation as an experience that could be thought to meet the condition of painting, while also acknowledging the continuing influence of Duchamp (Dada, Surrealism) in the desire for ambiguity. The exhibition fused different sensibilities. It was partly influenced by the formalist and minimalist tendencies of High Modernism contrasting with ideas of Supports/Surfaces, which were a group of artists in France engaged with the dismantling of the components of painting.⁵⁹ This polemical approach attempted to hold different positions in my art practice, resulting in the deferment of meaning in the desire for nothingness.⁶⁰

'Haecciatas Star' also attempted to counter the dominant interpretation of abstract painting, that abstraction is solely linked to modernism, and the end of abstraction as a concern for the avant-garde is the sign of the death of modern painting's integrity and the emergence of the postmodern.⁶¹ I sought an interface between traditional, theoretical and philosophical understandings of abstract painting to interact with the dismantling of those same understandings.⁶² I was suspicious of the implications of progress in the arts whereby a medium and a practice becomes obsolete and superseded by a new 'technological product'. Simultaneously, I was also looking for a less sanctimonious position in painting. 'Haecciatas Star' attempted to free itself from the singular theme of autonomy (standard modernist account) and therefore able to lend itself to working outside the domain of market reasoning, complete aesthetic reductionism and outside the field of lament, (the proposition of what is no longer possible in art).

On reflection, 'Haecciatas Star' opened up the critical activity of presentation, fusing the notion of 'possibility' and 'ambiguity' to re-work a sense of meaning

that might otherwise be considered exhausted.⁶³ Since 'Haecciatas Star', I have been exploring text to potentially move within and beyond the realm of aesthetics, again to open up the role of interpretation, meaning, and value in the work.⁶⁴ Walter Benjamin proposes, 'the rigid, isolated object [of art] ... is of no use whatsoever. It must be inserted into the context of living social relations'.⁶⁵ From this position there are strategies that can be employed in art to determine value judgment upon broad social and cultural issues. Central to the notion of value judgments are concerns upon the rise of market reasoning (reification) within the arts and its relationship to cultural identity and cultural citizenship.⁶⁶ This reasoning stems from this research and is projected against a background of European social fragmentation and integration and the role art practice plays in wider society, including how it might represent and embody some of society's conflicts and contradictions.⁶⁷ This includes the coy role of art institutions as producers and conveyors of 'market' ideologies.⁶⁸

Since 'Haecciatas Star' I have been concerned with the relationship between an uncertain discourse within my art practice and the conditions of a fractured, plural society. This involves trying to understand the processes by which my art practice becomes politicized and what use this politicisation might serve.⁶⁹ Such questions are being addressed by the dismantling of text and image in my work to counter the totalizing intentions of discourse and its effects on social and political reflexivity, which simultaneously may have deep implications for a social theory of art.⁷⁰ Traditional aesthetics within art practice propose an autonomous discourse of aesthetic theory based upon the legacies and inspirations of artists and artistic movements. A sociological position within practice proposes works of art and associated aesthetic theories are expected and relative outcomes of socio-economic circumstances.⁷¹ In my studio practice both positions become untenable as independent positions. On the one hand the studio practice is sociologically constructed and therefore within a political discourse, while on the other, it stops short of a sociological reductionsist account that fails to accommodate the irreducible question of the ephemeral,

subjectivity and ambiguity within a broader aesthetic discourse.⁷² In this sense, the position of identity, aesthetics and politics cannot be ignored. As such my art practice is a difficult balance of unstable meaning, involving the intentions of heart-felt sentiment (and sometimes the search for beauty).⁷³

Central to these issues is the problem of purpose and social value within modernist and postmodernist sensibilities. I would argue my studio practice examines the possibility that a philosophy of art criticism can drive an art practice in an age where anything is possible, to employ strategies of deferment and ambivalence as a form of resistance to art being reduced to universality or market forces.⁷⁴ The broad intention in my art practice is to nurture a sense of community and collective responsibility through cultural imperatives that renew personal and group subjectivity, which results in a agonistic public sphere (between ‘social-good’ and ‘formless’). This interrelationship is an oscillating process between form and content, rational and irrational, meaning and non-meaning – the fusion of nothingness and social engagement.⁷⁵

The intention of the formless within my work is to operate beyond simple binary thinking towards more uncertain thinking. Rosalind Krauss argues formlessness has been suppressed within the history of modernism in order to service thematics and categories in art.⁷⁶ This research explores the awkwardness and complications of fusing formlessness with a search for social value in art (Bataille expressed it as a job).⁷⁷ In this context, the formlessness I seek in my art practice is aligned to a form of social responsibility, impossible to quantify other than as a continuous project.⁷⁸

The ambivalence and indeterminate qualities I was seeking in painting cross-over into my approach to writing. Writing in my art practice has been used to produce a blurring and merging of theoretical and contextualising processes, self-reflective critique, the critique of other artists work and the creation of fictional scenarios. The intention is to problematise the role and position of the

text. This is evident in the writing I produced for 'Haecciatas Star' in 1999 and previously in a publication I was asked to write in 1998 on the exhibition *Vesuvius*. The exhibition was at Rotherham Art Gallery and featured the work of Sheffield based artists Steve Dutton and Percy Peacock. In the publication *Vesuvius*, critical and objective writing attempted to articulate and interpret the exhibition. However, in discussion with Dutton and Peacock on the content of *Vesuvius*, it became apparent that some of their ideas and concerns with the processes of making and presenting the artwork had a philosophical and artistic density that was difficult to articulate with a clear rationality. In response to this, the writing in *Vesuvius* continuously found itself in a constant state of ontological collapse, punctuated by fiction narrating an emergent tension [Appendix 2].

What emerged from *Vesuvius* was a set of propositions concerning the fictional, rhetorical and pictorial aspects of art and text, which formed the conceptual basis for the continuing collaboration of Steve Dutton and I (then working under the pseudonym of Sons of the Desert or 'Suns of the Desert' or 'S.o.D'). In the exhibition 'Vim and Vigour' (curated by MASS at S1 Artspace, Sheffield, 2000) 'Sons of the Desert' contributed two blocks of text as image to the exhibition catalogue, which were reproduced as a weak painting in vinyl lettering [Appendix 3: fig. 3. and 4]. 'Vim and Vigour' was an exhibition operating as an anthology of current trends in British painting; the exhibition featured both established and emerging artists. The two blocks of printed vinyl text by 'Sons of the Desert' faced towards the main body of the exhibition as a surreptitious critical eye. Alongside the collaborative practice of 'Sons of the Desert' the three-way collaboration (Dutton and Peacock and Steve Swindells) continued in 2000 with the exhibition 'Kayakoy', at Pekao Gallery, Toronto. Taking into account the collaboration of 'Sons of the Desert' and past collaboration in '*Vesuvius*' (1998), it seemed appropriate that I should not only write about their recent work, which was to be edited by 'Sons of the Desert' but also contribute something (wall-textual) to the actual gallery space, also edited by 'Sons of the

Desert'. The result added to the problematisation of authorship, and created a broad interrelationship between artists, text and image. Though the exhibition was clearly consistent with Dutton and Peacock's past work, and it had all the characteristics of their approach to making art, other interventions were evidently taking place through me both as an individual artist and 'Sons of the Desert'.

In the *Kayakoy* publication I wrote a piece entitled 'Pig' (edited by 'Sons of the Desert') [Appendix 4: fig. 5 and 6]. The text was exhibited in Pekao Gallery in the form of six blocks of wall-text, and re-exhibited and partly re-worked during its installation at Catalyst Arts in Belfast 2001. The intention was for the wall-text to cross-over into the conditions of drawing or painting. Dutton, Peacock, Swindells collaborated again in 2002 in an exhibition 'Entropic Gym', at Mercer Union, Toronto. The exhibition did not have an accompanying catalogue other than a Gallery brochure, in which Steve Dutton and I wrote an introductory context to the exhibition. It is evident that the *Entropic Gym* introductory text had marked differences from the writing in *Vesuvius* (1998), *Vim and Vigour* (2000) and *Kayakoy* (2000). The initial context to writing *Entropic Gym* incorporated biographical situations that gradually become mediated and fictionalised in the final brochure [Appendix 5: fig. 7, 8, 9, 10]. In this respect, there was a mediation of personal experiences and therefore a personal investment in the text. The *Entropic Gym* text also formed the subtitles to a video piece called 'Joke', which was exhibited in the 'Entropic Gym' show. The coy reference to real experiences and their potential conflation with fiction was an important juncture in understanding how the content and production of the work evolved into a sense of awkwardness, strategically used to defer foreclosure.

Since the retirement of Percy Peacock from practice, Steve Dutton and I have consolidated our collaboration on a number of projects (Art Sheffield 03, 2003, S1 Alternative Action Plan, 2003 and {shift}, 2004). We no longer work under

the pseudonym of 'Sons of the Desert' (now Steve Dutton and Steve Swindells). These recent projects range from text-orientated work of critical and fictional commentary within publications and installations to digital video and performance. One of the defining characteristics of recent work has been the signaling of an interest in aspects of the public realm, specifically, in the rhetorical and political aspects of place. As an example, in CAFKA (2002) we sited a video-text work within the projection screen of the city council chambers in Kitchener, Ontario [Appendix 6: fig. 11]. The slow unfolding fictional text referred to the dream processes of a local politician, which was projected into the city council chamber during the everyday machinations of political debate and policy making. The video-text operating within the period of general city council activity began to disturb the normal flow of information, mixing council rhetoric with small flows and eddies of fiction.

In 'Brownfield' (Art Sheffield 03) we (Steve Dutton and Steve Swindells) were commissioned to produce a monumental vinyl wall text [Appendix 7: fig. 12 and 13]. The text was a meditation on the nature of a brownfield site - its potential to urban regeneration, and referencing of colourfield painting. This consisted of a rhetorically overblown yet apparently well-intentioned diatribe, which consistently found itself being undone by other flamboyant rhetorical tactics. The content of the text conflated pseudo pornographic references and art theoretical jargon, combined with local political inflection.

In 'Plaza-text' (Sheffield Telegraph, August 2003) we worked with Sheffield's major newspaper on creating a full-page text work along similar lines as the 'brownfield' piece [Appendix 8: fig. 14, 15]. The intention was to open up a plaza-like gap in the informative fabric of the newspaper. 'Plaza-text' was re-worked and transformed into 'Plaza-Song for Devonshire Green', then sung to the melody of 'We'll Keep the Red Flag Flying' by the soprano, Laura Lemmon and released as a limited edition CD soon after [Appendix 9]. This operatic

performance was part of the exhibition S1 Alternative Action Plan held in Sheffield on November 20th 2003.

Throughout the remainder of the thesis I will continue to discuss (as the artist voice) some of the practices and exhibitions mentioned in this section. The artist-voice continues in the footnotes of the thesis. The intention is to contextually (and pictorially) align the discussion of my artistic voice in relation to the content of each chapter.

The Field of Citizenship

Citizenship is a form of identity based on social reciprocity and common interests that is based upon a sense of tradition, culture, ethnicity or lifestyle, and heightened by systems of belief, ceremonies and social phenomena, such as: television, sport, school, Royalty, politics, corporate bodies such as supermarkets or stores, flags and so on. Citizenship is one of many identities an individual may feel, but is distinguished by its necessity for moral maturity, and its potential to moderate the divisiveness of other identities, such as: gender, age, religion, race, ethnicity, class and nation.

T. H. Marshall is credited with providing a major discussion on modern citizenship. In 1950, T. H. Marshall argued that:

Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed.⁷⁹

This involves not only a set of legal rules between the individual and the state in which they live but also a set of social relationships between individuals forming a community and the state, and between individuals as citizens. Marshall mapped the development of modern citizenship to the following:

- 1) Civil: 18th Century. Civil citizenship included individual freedoms of speech, thought and faith, rights to property, contract and justice.
- 2) Political: 19th Century. Political citizenship included the right to vote and participate in public decisions.
- 3) Social: 20th Century. Social citizenship consisted of the right to security and welfare and to share in the ‘social heritage’ – to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society.

Though the above developments give a useful guide as to their historical period, this linear periodization needs to be elastic because such developments overlap and formulate in one or more centuries. Citizenship is intended to operate as a key to social participation. In Marshall’s work there is a preoccupation with the formal democratic aspects of political, legal and social rights that underpin participation and the social and economic conditions under which those rights are exercised. In more republican forms of citizenship the focus shifts to the attitudes and actions that constitute the identity of the citizen in an active rather than passive sense of the term.⁸⁰

The different approaches to citizenship become polemic between status (rights) vs citizenship as practice (obligation),⁸¹ or the priority of the rights and status of the individual in contrast to the interests of the wider society.⁸² Responsibilities as well as rights enter into the citizenship equation but the appropriate balance and relationship between the two, and how that balance is managed in government is complex.⁸³ In 1950 Marshall claimed that social rights imply an absolute right to a certain standard of civilization that is conditional on the, ‘discharge of the general duties of citizenship’ and that, ‘if citizenship is invoked in the defense of rights, the corresponding duties cannot be ignored’. These duties require that acts of citizenship ‘should be inspired by a lively sense of responsibility towards the welfare of the community’.⁸⁴

Awareness of the status of citizenship, (and citizens equally being aware of such status) is central to historical models. A historical account of citizenship is founded upon the Greek city-state, classical philosophy, Rome to the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment to modern conceptions of citizenship. Western citizenship status is conceived of having five elements: identity, virtue, legal, political and social aspects.⁸⁵ The analysis of citizenship is complex when measured against the weight of history, which in turn complicates the defining and exercising of contemporary citizenship. It is the contested nature of historical precedents and how the complexities of such precedents may be overcome which many contemporary scholars focus upon, particularly if civic duties are to be performed and civic rights are to be exercised.⁸⁶

Citizenship, therefore, has to be understood through historical reference, in respect of both negative and positive aspects. The Greek civic republican model proposes a sense of social order through civic duty and civic obligation rather than administrative-bureaucratic rule and the payment of taxes-for-services.⁸⁷ Contemporary civic republican's state civic obligation in contemporary life is not unknown or misunderstood but merely forgotten. This is to argue the politics of rights is dominated by; as Raymond Plant and Norman Barry write:

Claims to dutiless rights, demand satisfaction and self-realisation through unimpeded freedom of action, a politics of rights amounts, in conditions of civic dis-aggregation and disorder, to little more than a politics of individual claims against the civic order and of duties owed by the latter to the individual.⁸⁸

Neo-Republican scholars such as David Selbourne propose a non-ideological democratic state in order to restore the pre-eminence of the citizen and restore the sovereignty of the civic order.⁸⁹ Against this background it is therefore appropriate to look at a polemical view to citizenship as social rights *versus* citizenship exemplified as civic obligation.

Citizenship as Rights

The nature of rights and the validity of their extension beyond the civil and political spheres is a contested issue. Citizenship can be described as both a set of practices (cultural, symbolic and economic) and a bundle of rights and duties (civil, political, and social) that define individual membership in a polity. In this respect, citizenship is neither a pure sociological concept nor a pure legal concept but a relationship between the two.

Citizenship can also be characterised as having a competent membership in a polity, thus emphasising the constitutive aspect of citizenship. Underlying this debate are opposed views about the nature of inclusion and freedom, and the role of government in the protection or promotion of inclusion and freedom. The new political right (since the 1980s) defines freedom in negative terms as the absence of coercion and interference so that the role of government is limited to the protection of the freedom of the individual.⁹⁰ In other words the individual has autonomy within the bounds of the law, which enables individual citizens to pursue their own ends. If this is the case, negative freedom cannot be separated from the ability to pursue those ends, raising awareness on the distinction between freedom and ability or competence of the individual, which is critical to the neo-liberal conception of citizenship.⁹¹

Positive freedom as self-development requires not only the absence of external constraint but also the availability of social and material conditions to all, necessary for the achievement of broader social purposes or plans.⁹² Positive freedom requires a more pro-active role from central government in maintaining social and economic parity to all citizens. Social rights become a legitimate expression of citizenship through positive freedom because they help to promote the effective exercise of civil and political rights by groups who are disadvantaged in terms of sites of power and resources. Without social rights, gross inequalities may undermine the equality of political and civil status

inherent in the idea of citizenship.⁹³ The role accorded to social rights in positive freedom is in recognition that individual autonomy cannot be understood in purely individualistic terms but it also has a social dimension.⁹⁴ Individual autonomy is key in linking the theorization of social rights with that of human need. Personal autonomy and physical survival represents the most basic human needs – those which must be satisfied to some degree before ‘political actors’ can effectively participate in their form of life to achieve any other valued goals.⁹⁵ Social rights contribute to the protection of human needs, thereby helping to address economic and social inequalities.⁹⁶

The individualistic nature of social rights raises concerns about the dangers of distancing them from the negative historical and political context of white male power and values (patriarchal society).⁹⁷ This scepticism overlaps with feminist scholars from the left who have highlighted the failure of citizenship rights and liberal democratic institutions in meeting the needs of women and the socially and economically marginalized.⁹⁸ The right to participation and to decision-making in social, economic, cultural and political life should be included in the nexus of social rights. The passive nature of the post-war welfare state in the context of welfare bureaucracy has led to the de-politicisation of social citizenship.⁹⁹ Despite a growing emphasis on user-involvement in state welfare services, (the development of a ‘contract culture’ most notably in the UK), it merely reflects the narrower classical liberal conception of rights. As services are contracted out to non-state providers, the rights involved are those of contract rather than rights against the state, with possible implications for both access to and the quality of services provided.¹⁰⁰

Maurice Roche among others proposes there should be greater involvement and increased democratic accountability of welfare institutions, both statutory and voluntary so that a rights-based conception of citizenship is complemented by an emphasis upon citizenship as practice. However, despite efforts to place

citizenship in the national curriculum, many scholars argue the practice of citizenship is not prominent in contemporary society and culture.

With regards to cultural rights, Prott has identified eleven cultural rights across international law.¹⁰¹ Five of these rights are the rights of individuals and the remaining six are the collective rights of the people. Cultural rights respond to respect for cultural identity and the right of people to own their own artistic, historical and cultural wealth. They include respect of cultural rights of minorities, the right to avoid or to resist cultural imperialism, and the equal enjoyment of a common humanity. In a plural society a tension arises between two sets of cultural rights, between minority and universal rights. Cultural citizenship helps to maintain one's historical culture but this may well contradict other universalistic claims about social and political rights. For instance the existence and importance of certain religious or ethnic rites may create a tension between the particular and the universal.¹⁰²

Citizenship as Obligation

Citizenship as obligation over rights is often placed in the context of appealing to the common good of the political community. In Western societies the prime obligation to a community is engagement in paid work by potential welfare recipients to support themselves and their families. In other words, the main obligation is the reduction of unemployment to reduce state welfare costs.¹⁰³ From this perspective social rights become contingent on the duty to engage in paid work – paid work representing as much a badge of citizenship as rights.¹⁰⁴

The discourse of obligation is based on the individual's responsibility to his or her family as part of a more general appeal to 'family values', community, and personal and collective responsibility. In the UK David Selbourne has deplored, 'the politics of dutiless citizenship rights as characteristic of the *civic desert* of the modern nation with its ... weakened civic bond'.¹⁰⁵ Civic republicans such

as Selbourne question whether there should be any absolute social rights and the prominence of social rights is the result of uncertainty in liberal thought, corruption of the liberal ideal and a failed socialist utopia, which has created a moral and civic vacuum.¹⁰⁶ To rectify these problems neo-republicans propose a reinstatement of the civic order, which is the amplification of the community or communities of a determinate area ordered under a common rule as a polity, or a united body politic, whether that is a nation state, city or regional council. This model proposes a ordering and re-organisation of civic duty to be delivered through the development of civic education towards a civic consciousness, and ultimately civic ‘self-defence’ realised through notions of self-realisation, reciprocity, social equity and social coherence.¹⁰⁷

The key aspects of the relationship between rights and obligation focuses on the distinction between common-compulsory and vague-optional definitions of duties and related to that is the nature of the relationship between these duties and social rights.¹⁰⁸ There are two models that emerge on the relationship between rights and duties. First, there is the argument that duties imply a right to the means to fulfil them; second, that responsibilities are morally and logically prior to rights. The latter position is argued from both the new right and communitarianism.¹⁰⁹ The relationship between right and obligation as ‘reciprocal’ as opposed to ‘conditional’ is still rather vague in contemporary politics. A ‘mutual society’ is based on the principle of ‘each according to his or her ability; and each according to his or her need (rights) for the conditions of agency’.¹¹⁰ In other words whatever is necessary to enable him or her to fulfil his/her potential of citizenship as a practice.

Citizenship Practice

The notion of a practising citizen is linked to the idea of ‘active citizenship’. The term was given kudos by UK Conservative ministers (new political right) during the 1980s as an exhortation of neighbourliness, voluntary action and charity.

The term was advanced during a time of a large privatisation programme, the rundown of public sector services and benefit cutbacks.¹¹¹ However, Ray Pahl states active citizenship can also be defined as, 'local people working together to improve their own quality of life and provide conditions for others to enjoy the fruits of a more affluent society'.¹¹² This type of active citizenship is evident through community groups that are largely self-motivated, being pro-active from the 'bottom-up' rather than seen as a government incentive to promote 'top-down' relationships.¹¹³ Another example of active citizenship is the notion of the ecological citizen, where duties stretch beyond the geographical and temporal boundaries of the individual citizen's community. Green politics has become an increasingly important strand of political activism. Maurice Roche proposes the ecological citizen expresses aspirations of citizenship by fostering a culture of local, community activism and personal responsibility that is not divorced from global, environmental issues.¹¹⁴

The ecological citizen has been put forward as the fourth element of citizenship to complement and extend the original civil-political-social triad (proposed by Marshall, 1950), which broadens the idea of participation to include citizen's relationship to nature. The ecological citizen should also be viewed from a rights perspective, for example the right to healthy foods and an unpolluted environment, which in turn implies obligations on corporate bodies and government as well as on individual citizens towards each other.

The Political Citizen

Civic republicanism represents a reaction against the individualism of the liberal citizenship paradigm that has dominated modern and contemporary political life.¹¹⁵ The individualism (the marketing of the modern individual) of liberal citizenship is seen as an impoverished version of citizenship in which individual citizens are reduced to atomised, passive bearers of rights whose freedom consists in being able to pursue (and purchase) their individual interests,

whereas, civic republicanism proposes to reclaim active politics through notions of obligation as the essence of citizenship.¹¹⁶ The ideals of political activity are not a means to an end but an end in itself, associated with the pursuit of the ‘public’ or ‘common good’, which stands outside and separate from the interests of individual citizens.¹¹⁷ Civic republicans see political activity as contributing to self-development of the individual citizen; through political engagement the self fulfils its full potential as a citizen.¹¹⁸

The activities that are deemed worthy of the labels of ‘political’ and ‘citizenship’ are closely intertwined propositions. The classical civic republican model dictated that all citizens should be directly involved in governance and community. However, the legacies of the Athenian city-state do not translate easily into the modern, large complex societies of today. The significance of the definition of ‘the political’ for political theory and practice has been highlighted by numerous feminist scholars who have exposed the extent to which conventional definitions have been steeped in male experience and patriarchal practices.¹¹⁹

Many feminist scholars argue participatory democracy should broaden the sphere of ‘the political’ beyond the boundaries of general government of a society to embrace other institutions in which individuals have the opportunity to participate in decision-making. This is to challenge the sharp distinction between ‘public’ and ‘private’, which characterises civic republicanism, while sharing the latter’s emphasis on active participation by citizens.¹²⁰ From this perspective political life becomes distinguished from the ‘private aspects of social life’ but the two are ‘dialectically interrelated’ rather than ‘dualistically counterposed’.¹²¹ A distinction is thus drawn between a broad conception of citizenship politics, which is located within the ‘public’ sphere, and what some feminists have argued as the personal politics of the ‘private sphere or intimate sphere’.

The distinction is problematic for the notion of political citizenship implies active political participation where the terrain of political citizenship is the public sphere while the underlying ground cannot be divorced from what happens in the private, which permeates the foundation for citizenship struggles. This point defines the reason for political participation and practice, what merits the label citizenship, and what does not, while not losing sight of the two areas of concern, provided it is recognised that the interrelationship between the two is always subject to change.¹²² Some argue only action in the conventional public arena can be accorded the label ‘political’ and the popular notion of politics is a kind of activity that should not be dissolved into everything else.¹²³ However, to narrow the meaning of politics prevents it from encompassing the power relations that pervade both private-domestic as well as the public sphere.¹²⁴

European Citizenship

National identity, historically seen as central to the status of citizenship, becomes weakened by the fragmentation of the nation-state and the increasing blurring of national, political and cultural identities across the European Union.¹²⁵ The contested nature of defining citizenship within the EU involves questions of poverty, work and welfare, gender, ethnic and cultural inequalities, provisions and entitlements of citizenship, the new (migratory) underclass and self-determination, and the potential for new conceptions of citizenship in response to economic, environmental and political change.¹²⁶ The political and legal nature of the European Union is constantly changing and remains contested in relation to exploring the meaning of EU citizenship and its environment, particularly in the context of general political aspects of European integration. The Maastricht Treaty (1992) introduced the concept of citizenship of the European Union. The Maastricht Treaty only offered a few new rights to the concept of European citizenship; the main emphasis was placed upon the symbolic value and market value of European Citizenship, resulting in a corporate conception of citizenship.¹²⁷ As such, the constitutional nature of the

European Union and the integration process of new nation states are constantly being explored by legal experts from different nationalities. So concepts of equality, electoral and other political rights, plus social rights, conferred on citizens in the context of nation-state identity and third-country nationals are redressed in the context of European citizenship.¹²⁸

An important issue in the debate on European unification involves the role of education in the development of EU citizenship, particularly the insights of political science in the development of European citizenship. Questions arise of the extent to which European citizenship is already felt and practised as a point of reference for developing a coherent educational policy.¹²⁹ In this sense, the awareness of community affairs alongside the development of European political identity among EU member states becomes significant, such as the identification of a common set of European social values based upon participatory democracy, human rights and social justice as part of the development of European identity.¹³⁰ Exclusion from EU citizenship in relation to migrating societies, asylum seekers, and the general problem of promoting inclusive forms of society in Europe is a continuous problem to EU member governments.¹³¹ Scholars such as Maurice Roche propose a broader definition of social exclusion beyond that of unemployment, poverty, migrant workers and refugees. In an examination of social and constitutional reform through the Intergovernmental Conference of 1996/97, Roche argues that the people of Europe are treated as denizens (residents within a foreign country) rather than citizens belonging to a particular constitution. This, he concludes, is due to an imbalance between economic and monetary integration on the one hand and the ambiguities of European citizenship and the vagueness surrounding the 'European Social Model' on the other.¹³²

Links between nationality and citizenship can be overstated but at the same time citizenship becomes further complicated by adding a European dimension to it; understood as tensions between national and post-national citizenship.¹³³

A minimalist definition of citizenship generally focuses upon rights and their limitations. A more dynamic approach to European citizenship includes not only rights but also aspects of geographical belonging and access to European citizenship through political and material aspects of social inclusion.¹³⁴ The formation of a European identity and European citizenship are interconnected; for instance, the problems of defining the boundaries of European citizenship in relation to the shifting geography of the European Union. A recurring theme is the connection between individual nationality and European citizenship, rather than a focus on post-national Euro-identity. Some even propose European citizenship as a renewal of nationalism (the exclusion of non-European ethnicities) rather than a foundation for a cosmopolitan, plural society.¹³⁵ Current European citizenship implies three complicated strata: citizens, denizens and aliens, obscuring the relationship between residence, nationality and European-ness.¹³⁶

Identity in the European Union is seen as central to a common European political and economic culture. However, European identity has constraints related to the difficulties of defining common European objectives in general. The Maastricht Treaty remains snared in bureaucratic processes in relation to the demarcation of European citizens from non-citizens, plus the continued links between citizenship and nationality, and workers and resident rights against citizen-based rights.¹³⁷ The lack of adequately combating social exclusion in citizenship theory creates a tension between citizenship's plea for equal distribution of resources and active participation, and the notion that social citizenship implies social duty and obligation. In other words, the people who cannot make the relevant contribution to society are confronted with the enforcement of duties of membership. Despite the development of trans-national institutions, EU institutions and policies based upon 'communitarian' configurations there has not been a significant shift away from the exclusive elements of nation-based forms of citizenship.¹³⁸

The Status of the Citizen ‘Subject’

Irrespective of the issues surrounding European identity, political participation can be conceptualised as both a right as well as an obligation, which thus underlies its importance to both liberal and republican traditions of citizenship. Civil, political and social rights are now more likely to be seen as a necessary precondition to full and equal citizenship. Though some critics still argue they need to be supported by a broader sense of rights to include sexual, ethnic, cultural and ecological rights as an antidote to the pervading individualism of the classical liberal rights model. A broader conception of social rights is seen to promote the ‘positive’ freedom of individuals as well as protecting their ‘negative’ freedom.¹³⁹

The case for understanding rights as constituting a mutual supportive infrastructure of formal (civil and political) and the substantive (social and economic) has been made with reference to their status as a prerequisite for the realisation of human agency. In other words, ‘human rights’ are grounded in the nature of human-beings, and one of the fundamental characteristics is ‘free agency’. It is from the notion of human rights that the triad of citizenship rights derives.¹⁴⁰ Within citizenship theory itself the fundamental justification of social rights is the notion of agency. In theory, social rights enable citizens to exercise their political and civil rights on equal terms, and create the conditions for full social and political participation.¹⁴¹ Citizenship is thus conceptualised as a *status*, carrying a wide range of rights, and as a *practice*, involving both obligations and political participation. These issues will be explored in relation to art practice.

Research Methodologies and PhD Submission

The pattern of the research encompasses a broad field of external relations to art and citizenship, which are simultaneously mapped onto an intimate and

psychological sphere. The continuous opening and enfolding of theory and practice adopts the form of a helix spiral, drawing down theories in which questions arise. The position I establish in this chapter contests my art practice cannot be simply an illustration of a written thesis otherwise, as Candin proposes, 'it continues to draw a firm line between theory and practice, and maintains the stereotype of art as anti-intellectual.'¹⁴² This is research that is not just written; it is made or realised through the production and contextualisation of my art practice. The written text and the artwork combine to demonstrate the intellectuality of making and writing, rather than demonstrating the intellectuality of writing upon making. This research process thus acknowledges the thesis is not totally representative of the dialogic process at the core of the methodology for the PhD submission, but involves the combination of the thesis and the demonstration of my art practice.

Chapter Two

The Artist and the Polis

In Chapter One, 'Defining the *Subject*: Methodology and Interconnected Voices', I established the rationale for the artist-citizen-researcher as our-situations, to be demonstrated through the presentation of multiple voices. In order to place our-situations in modern social, cultural and political contexts, it is necessary to explore the debate surrounding the significance of the artist and citizen within the historical processes of social, cultural and political decision making. If the theory and practice of citizenship is directed through the polity and actions of government, then it is necessary to address the interrelationship between the citizen and the artist in relation to a political platform.

The intention of this chapter is to characterize the historical and cultural relationship between the artist and the polis: access to decision-making through the politicized subject. This means characterizing the artist as a citizen in relation to systems and structures of pre-modern and modern government, in particular the relationship between cultural policy and the representation of art within broad sociological, philosophical, political and art historical contexts. The foundation of the 'artist as a citizen' (artist-citizen), comprehending the role of the artist in his or her position to the polity establishes the interrelated aspects of visual arts and forms of government, where an encounter takes place between art practice and the discourse of citizenship.

Focusing upon pre-modern and modern conceptions of the artist and the polis raises and explores debates to be addressed or expanded upon in context to art and citizenship. An aspect of this exploration is for the debates to exist on

the cusp of openness and closure. That it is appropriate for some of the links to be poised for more concrete propositions later in the thesis. This thesis seeks its own logic within the gaps of larger power structures, while simultaneously formulating a forum that establishes living and art practice within socio-political contexts, (where the voice of the artist-citizen resides). In the West, every age since the ancient Greeks has fashioned a new image of the citizen. Above all, modern citizenship has expressed a right to deliberate with others and participate in determining the fate of the polity to which he or she belongs. Citizenship emerged as a series of practices (political, juridical and social) that define and constitute individuals as competent members of a polity. A polity is a politically organised state or city-state and for the purposes of this research, the polis represents the democratic 'forum' where political decisions are made on behalf its citizens.

Citizenship, even within the parameters of Europe, risks the danger of meaning what particular people choose it to mean, and then the question arises which meaning is considered to be correct, or are there particular choices at stake. In answer to these questions the way 'our-situations' define the artist-citizen is intimately linked to the kind of society, culture and political community our-situations aspires.

Pre-Modernity

Citizenship has been a central theme in western social and political thought since its origins in ancient Greek theory. Historical legacies of citizenship still present terms of reference, points of labeling, notions and concepts around familiar understanding of social and political thought on citizenship today. Greek democracy (*via* a modern translation) is often held up in political theory as the ideal of public participation in political life. Plato and Aristotle's classic accounts of democracy, tyranny and the nature of politics remain fundamental to our understanding of human beings as political beings framed within the context of

citizenship. However, liberal democracy is different in practice to the ancient Greek slave-based ‘direct democracies’ but these legacies should not be overlooked because classical Athenian democracy has been referred to so extensively in modern Western culture.¹⁴³

Ancient Athens and classical Greek democracy knew no such category as ‘autonomous art’. For Athenian citizens and inhabitants most cultural practices were politics and matters of the city-state polis; the polis was a theatre for the manufacture of a city-state’s history and political culture.¹⁴⁴ The cultural practices of the Athenian democratic state concerned itself with its past, its future, the prosperity of its citizens, and the fate of the city among other cities. The construction of Greek architecture, painting and sculpture for the worship of the gods, as well as for political, religious and historical education was inseparable from other functions of the ancient ‘democratic-state’, such as policing the city or waging war. To propose ‘religious’, ‘political’ or ‘historical’ education as Greek (artistic) theatre is to differentiate falsely activities that were not differentiated until the work of Plato. Plato’s writings of specialization and expertise among human activities belong to a gradual narrowing of human possibility in the domains of cultural practices and expression. Plato’s efforts to categorise and establish differences of human activities is linked to his ‘anti-democratic’ strategy, to ensure that ‘governors’ governed.¹⁴⁵

The legacies of ancient Greece and classical scholarship re-emerged in the Renaissance, a period of European history that marked the rise of the modern world; characterized as beginning in fourteenth-century Italy, nurturing the potential for humanism and the assertion of the secular state. For example, the fourteenth-century campanile in Florence displays a complicated cultural programme of assimilating classical Greek and Arabic sources of knowledge into a Christian framework that attempts to embrace the sum total of human knowledge, moral ideas and God’s cosmic plan for humanity. The overall message portrayed each person’s character, professional occupation and fate,

which was governed by the planets and the seven sacraments – a world view that fused classical (pagan) sources and theological virtues with civic interests. In examining the historical relationship between the artist and the Italian Renaissance polis the nineteenth-century art historian Jacob Burckhardt proposed the role of the artist during the fourteenth-century was directed by the task posed by particular types of commission. The task of the art commission was defined by the work's secular or religious function, and there is often a clear relationship between political activity in cities such as Florence and Siena involving the guilds and artists securing lucrative contracts. Burckhardt argues that the task of the commission could not simply be resolved by recourse to personal aesthetic preference or technical skill; the artist had to demonstrate clear links between civic obligation, secular thought and religious piety. In other words, the material and 'illusionistic' techniques used by the artist were in keeping with the function of the commission and the commission itself was often orchestrated by the needs of the polis. The fourteenth-century artist had to work within well established traditions of representation in which particular liturgical, devotional, civic and political requirements had to be met.

Art during this period had a 'didactic' function in communicating specific religious, secular and dynastic belief and knowledge to a largely illiterate public. The tension between, on the one hand, dissemination of knowledge through political and religious authority and on the other, the practical skills and professional accomplishments of artists was ideally resolved through the requirements of the commission. From this perspective the expectations placed upon a mimetic schemata in Western art trace back to the needs of the Renaissance polis and the foundations of secularization.¹⁴⁶

In Florence and Siena during the fourteenth century the professional practice of artists was controlled and assisted by the guilds. In terms of their social and economic standing, during the first half of the fourteenth-century, artists were not generally deemed wealthy or politically significant individuals. However, in

the period following the Black Death (1348), the political scene in Florence and Siena became increasingly fluid and political representation was extended to citizens of artisan status; thus artists acquired government posts that marks the emergence of the artist-citizen acquiring political status. The seemingly didactic relationship between the illusionistic (mimetic) tradition of imagery in Western art, the communication of knowledge and forms of political discourse during the Renaissance, plus these legacies continuing into the modern period is obviously a highly contested discussion within art history. The processes of interpretation and communication of art history involves a kind of ‘belief’ that the recipient will recognise specific cultural symbols, in the sense that communication must be seeking to validate known information or changing an other’s mind in some way, or implant information of some kind which people do not already have.¹⁴⁷ It is a belief that interpreting and communicating art history can operate in this way, and it is a belief that has political connotations.

Many art historians, such as Richard Wollheim, prefer what he describes as the ‘perceptual’ and ‘psychological’ approach to understanding and interpreting communication in art; Wollheim specifically addresses painting in this debate. Starting from the position that a painting is first a ‘marked surface’, and marked not just by implement but also by the intention of the artist. Wollheim proposes the role accorded to painting during the Renaissance was to speak of many things: historical events, political acts, ideology, literary narratives and the cultural codes which access those readings might well be embedded in the artwork. In contrast, Michael Baxandall is skeptical about the primacy of the visual within the work of art historians, proposing; ‘We do not explain pictures: we explain remarks about pictures’ – ‘we explain images only insofar as we have considered them under some verbal description or textual specification’.¹⁴⁸

The key point that arises from Wollheim and Baxandall is whether the subject of the discipline, the visual image, should be allowed to speak of its potential subjectivity, creating a tension between the apprehension of the image, or

visual artefact bound by modern modes of analysis, such as structuralism, or whether certain works of art have the capacity to stand outside and even above the presumed context in which they are viewed.¹⁴⁹ This is a key point in understanding the position of the artist in relation to society.

The Privileging of Humanist Thought and Image

The fusion of humanism and *logos* go back to Athenian classical culture, which proposed a movement of ‘true’ thought lying ‘truthfully’ behind the sensuously present; what is visually intelligible is foreground as a solvable puzzle in search of ‘the real truth’.¹⁵⁰ The introduction of geometrical perspective during the Renaissance educated the Western eye to observe representational objects in a certain manner; perspective became a visual re-organisation of matter and a technical presentation of *logos*. The perspectival image was integrated into society at the level of cognition and myth, becoming a form of mutual exchange and reinforcement of key themes and figures in society. The perspectival image is saturated with the possibility of hallucinatory imagery, which in the period of the Renaissance was developed to deep psychic levels.¹⁵¹ It is the privileging of the image as ‘true’ thought, related to the image of the human body, which is at the centre of humanism and theology alike, this privileging creates a powerful force in the social imaginary.¹⁵²

Perception has consistently been articulated in Western society as a conception of cognition; theory comes from the Greek *theoria*, meaning speculation and sight; formed of *theoros* the spectator, base of *thea*, meaning sight and contemplation. In classical Greek thought, Plato (who was deeply influenced by Pythagoras - ‘all is number’) argued in his ‘*Theory of Ideas*’ (or *Forms*) that knowledge is mediating on an optical illusion, where knowledge responds to the theatrical debates of the polis.¹⁵³ In philosophical terms, Plato believed that perception is merely appearance; true reality is the realm of universal ideas or abstract forms from which this appearance derives.¹⁵⁴ In the twentieth-century,

Theodore Adorno argues the world of appearance is intertwined with relativism and reification, marking a difference between 'essence' and 'appearance', which makes reification an ideological concern. As such, both the artist and citizens in a capitalist society, despite what they might think, are bound by forms of visual culture and reification, which potentially restricts thought and action. Adorno was attracted to the concept of the avant-garde in music and art as a strategy to by-pass the reduction of art and aesthetic value into the culture industry. This meant the preservation of subjectivity embodied within the artefact in order to resist the onslaught of reification and commercialization in the private sphere.¹⁵⁵

The Appearance of the Privileged in Art History

Writing on art is often used to allegorise an experience of the image in such a way as to eliminate the momentary engagement of the viewer to the object, so the visual engagement of the artefact becomes no more than a trace within the space of 'textual representation'. Within art history, it is the textual representation of the 'art-object' rather than the experience of the viewer that remains the most prominent discourse – textual representation and theory have always been companions in power relationships.¹⁵⁶ The position of the text (its discourse) is thus potentially elevated to an authorising capacity that defines the significance and the socio-cultural power of particular works of art. The charge here is the history of writing art history (historiography) is situated in institutions that represent the interests of a white male, patriarchal, middle-class, Eurocentric monopoly - stressing personal autonomy in history writing to be closely linked to the primacy of the masculine artist genius. The historiography of art history, starting with Pliny's history of naturalistic art (AD77) to Giorgio Vasari's 'Lives of the Artists' (1568) continuing into Johann Winckelmann's (1764) approach to John Ruskin's 'The Stones of Venice' (1853) reveals the changing roles and the variety of interests which the writing of history has served in shaping the way viewers understand works of art. The emphasis

within this historiography is the notion of progress through the development of pictorial and sculptural images (mimesis) to match the surface reality of a culture dominated by the privileged European male over non-male, non-European other.

The pre-Modern Polis in Modern Politics

Ancient Greek politics developed distinct criteria for political philosophy realised in the participation and corresponding duties of the citizen in public life. A contemporary analogy is to see the Greek city-state as a modern private corporation in which the citizens (employees) are encouraged to see themselves as stakeholders. Plato as the main exponent of the Greek city-state came to the conclusion through his *dialogues*, (early, middle and late) that only philosophers could be fit to rule.¹⁵⁷ Plato's *Republic* develops a comparison between justice and order in the soul, and that in the city-state; only those who apprehend the form of the 'good' are fit to rule and govern the state. The later *dialogues* become an investigation of the concept of knowledge as true belief plus *logos*, or the certification of knowledge by reason, and reason is only achieved through competitive discussion or argument, which provides the foundation to philosophy. It is the image of the classical polis where the certification of knowledge and competitive discussion takes place that became the model for modern forms of parliament and political debating.¹⁵⁸

Across Europe, historical and cultural distinctions on the word polis distinguish the general socio-political discourse within different nations. English speaking Britons forged the word 'policy' out of the old French word 'police', the French themselves came to use the word 'politique' to refer to both politics and policy (*politik* in Germany). The French definition of policy as policing returns to the role accorded to the Greek polis and the management of the city-state.¹⁵⁹ The relationship between a critical analysis of cultural policy and the orientation of political policy emphasises the relationship of policy to politics as a field of

contestation between competing discourses. In the *Republic*, (a central text to citizenship theory) Plato defines justice as paternalistic and necessitating totalitarian rule. He rejects the notion of democracy (as understood in the modern world) partly because it provides no restraint on desire and the capacity to subordinate, resulting in the rule of the many. For Plato the problem of absolute political power is solved by the development of an altruistic ruling class, which have an appropriate discipline regulated by philosophical teachings and experience of a cultural existence. In short, the Athenian ruling class becomes the antidote to the ‘unreason’ of the masses. However, Plato also stressed rulers could not exploit power or control in a manner which was narrow and selfish.¹⁶⁰

The legacies of classical Greek politics and the role accorded to the polis is significant because it contains components that formulate modern political institutions within liberal society.¹⁶¹ Modern society, taking its lead from pre-modern social and political structures, is organised through a variety of institutions, and these function as an internal cohesion of immense complex web of meanings that permeate and orientate the life of the individual and society through what Castoriadas has termed ‘social imaginary significations’.¹⁶² From pre-modernity to modernity the main social imaginary significations that animate the social consciousness are powerful concepts, such as: gods, God, polis, citizen, nation, state, war, political group, commodity, money, capital, taboo, penal system, virtue, sex, sin and so on. Social imaginary significations also include man/woman/child, and animal beyond biological and anatomical definitions. In Greek writings the image of the social consciousness of the citizen is presented comprehensively and most starkly in mythical or poetic mythical form - modern citizenship still has theology, philosophy and myth embedded within. This is a cumulative effect fed by real historical events and historical imaginings juxtaposed.¹⁶³ Thus the emergence of a social origin and social imagery have an interrelationship.¹⁶⁴ Within the history of the classical polis (actual or mythical), individuality and personality become

subsumed into (some kind of) cosmic design and therefore limited to a particular history and particular religious thought - expressed in the concept of a 'station and its duties'. A concept evident in ancient and modern thought, stressing the fusion of classical deities and Christian theology. Paul-Barry Clarke proposes that citizenship in the Greek polis emerged in a distinct public domain and the linking of concepts such as humanity to citizenship became universalised notions, leaving other more particular interests behind, such as, affairs of the household, social or personal matters, or the status of women in the context of their sexuality.¹⁶⁵ The definition of citizenship through the historical models of ancient Greece may be seen as an enclosing and limiting concept in relation to a modern understanding of humanity and civilisation.¹⁶⁶

Summary of Pre-Modernity

The emergence of a socio-political-religious consciousness within the Renaissance polis, the techniques of mimesis in the visual arts and the textual representation of art historiography have an interrelationship in context to sustaining Western supremacy and patriarchal society. Paul-Barry Clarke proposes this is a cumulative configuration, fed by politics, religion, philosophy and fragments of events and fragments of imaginings. What remains distinctive about the development of European painting, particularly the development of classical painting that re-emerged during the Renaissance is its continuous attempts at perfect reduplication of the world from the position of *mimesis*. As a system of signs, the European artist had to equate the complexity of the social character of the viewing citizen with reference to the intrinsic relationship between the control of images and socio-political-religious authority. This interrelationship had to continuously use painting or sculpture as a system of politicised signs in order for it to seem an objective reality that could instruct and be acted upon.¹⁶⁷

Interpretation and meaning within European painting (developments within the Western canon) became dependant upon the interaction and fluctuations of a social discourse, which expects particular technical features, such as composition, colour, perspective, brushwork and so on. The expectations of technical features within Renaissance painting, and its influence within the canon of Western art, supported and even manipulated the construction of narratives toward social obligation and political consciousness.¹⁶⁸ Janet Wolff argues, art is a social product; claiming art is produced and received within the social world, and the production and consumption of art is a repository of social signification and cultural meaning which therefore becomes ideological.¹⁶⁹ In this sense, an 'archaeology' of the social imaginary uncovers assumptions and allegiances on the relationship between art and its relationship to socio-political-cultural paradigms; the expectation of technical features within Western art and their relationship to the development of citizenship values become instruments of each other in linking the artist to the polis.¹⁷⁰

Within an art historical context Ernest Gombrich proposes, 'what we call civilisation may be interpreted as a web of value judgements, which are implicit rather than explicit',¹⁷¹ suggesting the perspective and values of the art historian are authentic and irreducible because they accord so accurately with the objective reality of the canon. Gombrich uses the term 'web' with negative connotations, implying that if the canon is seen only as a set of subjective value-judgements, then art historians are effectively 'caught' within the subjective breadth of different voices and histories. Gombrich proposes the role of the art historian is to defend her or his discipline as non-subjective and unarguable. Gombrich's statement aims to outline a defence of scholarly neutrality, based on the certainty that art history's canon of artworks and artists represent unquestionable value and greatness. This is a key point in drawing a relationship between the values of the pre-modern polis continuing into values expressed in modern art history and modern society.¹⁷² For instance, Gombrich's 'Story of Art' (first published in 1950) does not include a single

woman artist, and it is examples such as this that the legacies of pre-modernity reveal a corresponding exclusivity within the history of the visual arts and patriarchal aspects of citizenship.¹⁷³

The French Revolution and Modern Citizenship

In 1762 Rousseau noted that citizens were confronted with an existing political authority which claimed to be politically independent by being founded upon divine authority, that of God. In the age of Rousseau, Citizens were born into a political system, which could not be changed because of its divine authority.¹⁷⁴

The sovereign was usually the head of the church and the subjects were the subjects of the sovereign and God. Rousseau's paradigm identifies that subjects are born 'free' but they relinquish their freedom for precise goals which they cannot do individually, such as secure peace and protection, reap benefits from the community and so on.¹⁷⁵ Rousseau rationalises *pacte-social* as a contract between individuals to establish a common political entity through the notion of polity, government or state.¹⁷⁶

The French Revolution in 1789 may seem distant and chaotic, but the revolution remains critically important on understanding the development of modern citizenship and its relationship to modern conceptions of polity.¹⁷⁷ The conventional view of the revolution is seen as a struggle by the bourgeoisie intellect against the feudal dominance of the monarchy and the church. The French Revolution became a feature of modern citizenship linked to social change, political liberation and the potential for economic equality. Modern citizenship pre-supposes the notion of equality, and the emphasis of universal criteria based upon a secular 'system of values' to reinforce particular claims and obligations. Modern society therefore, emphasizes contract over status. However, these 'value systems' are predominantly continuous from the universal criteria and historical legacies of exclusivity identified in pre-modern citizenship.¹⁷⁸

The transition from pre-modern to modern citizenship involved social change conceptualized in the transition from ascription to achievement. Taking these developments into account the fundamental definition of citizenship in modern society simply means to be an inhabitant or occupant of a modern nation state or city-state, and the conditions that define citizenship simultaneously begin to define modernity. The emergence and expansion of modern citizenship, presupposes a certain decline in the dominance of pre-modern hierarchical social structures. This expansion of citizenship signals potential egalitarian horizontal relationships between persons defined in universal terms, where concepts such as humanity, personality and the subject come to be played out in tension between the individual and the group.

The Nation-State and the Weakening of Group Rights

Modernity is built upon the weakening of cultural group rights in the sense that the sovereign individual and the sovereign state become a problematical conception of modern political life. The problem emerges within the modern idea of democratic unity, where democratic unity becomes a mythical entity because political life between different groups embodies irreducible multiplicities. In other words, minor cultural groups within bigger conceptions of national identity become marginalized due to the centralized dominance of nation-state politics, where the city-state polis is subsumed and homogenised in relation to the larger state-form. Writing in the late nineteenth-century Otto Gierke argues the notion of democracy is suspect unless public law recognizes group rights, which are able to mediate effectively and fairly between the state, minority groups and the individual.¹⁷⁹ Gierke argues that group identities are as real as individual identity (adopting a anti-liberal stance), and thus they are socially and morally constructed through the inter-subjective process of mutual recognition. Democracy within modern Europe becomes problematical in the transformation of inexhaustible combination of minor cultural identities

exercising a sense of different group rights to modernity where only two sovereignties are recognized, that of the state and the individual.¹⁸⁰

The pre-modern concept of the citizen embodied rights and duties in the sphere of private law, which was dependent upon the cultural group a citizen belonged to. The rise of modern civil and political citizenship in nineteenth-century Europe provided the right to free association and to political membership, but according to Gierke these rights never recognized group rights in preservation of 'minor' cultural identities and human subjectivity. Since the late eighteenth century the polity that 'colonised' everyday life has been the nation-state. Every nation-state identifies individuals based on their own criteria, (birth, blood and nationality) and registers them with systems of documentation such as birth certificates and passports. The growing significance of state documentation and the obligation to work within burgeoning industrial cities meant modern citizenship embodied a multifarious and complex character of political theory, where the definition of modern citizenship as status and practice became a field of contest.¹⁸¹ Modern citizenship therefore entails status, rights, loyalty, and duties but not primarily in relation to other individuals, but in relation to an abstract concept, which is the nation-state.¹⁸²

The Emerging Modern Art Institution and the Conferment of Art

Modernity in society and modernism in art created new publics, new class strata, new kinds of critical commentators emerged alongside new institutions in which to train artists leading to new forms of art funding and commercial exchange.¹⁸³ These changing conditions are represented in the function of the work of making art itself. Modern society organised itself into two distinct dimensions. In the first dimension, society operates (acts and thinks) through elements of production, social class, science and knowledge, properties and relations, all posited as distinct and definite. The requirement here is that everything conceivable be brought under the act of determination and raising

the implications or consequences of such determination. From this dimension existence *is* determinacy. The second dimension is an imaginary dimension, which is rooted in the pre-modern social imaginary, transformed to promote existence *is* signification. However, imaginary significations in modernity can be ‘pointed to’ but they cannot be determinate (as in the first dimension) because each signification (*via* post-structural reading) refers to an indefinite number of other significations.¹⁸⁴

It is difficult to reduce society to set-theoretical categories and operations because the social order and its dimension of determination (as described above) cannot be reduced to existing mathematical, physical or biological notions of order and organisation. In other words, there is no deterministic theory of social and political history, which can claim more than a very partial or heavily conditioned validity.¹⁸⁵ Equally, the modern museum and art gallery, as producers and conveyors of ideologies, including versions of art history, come to represent and embody some of society’s conflicts and contradictions in relation to the social imaginary of particular nation-states. The traditional image of the national museum is one of ‘conservativism’, intended to produce an internal (mythical) image of the past, where national institutionalised identity and representation is played out.¹⁸⁶

Since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the idea of a coherent nation-state polity has been articulated through the building of new museums, which institutionalised high art as a category. Throughout the Western world national art museums and modern art galleries have functioned as symbols of Western civilisation, particularly in opposition to and dominance of other cultures.¹ Jim

¹ Displacing the role of the text in my art practice creates an inexplicable gap between what is interpreted as the work of art and what is not interpreted as a work of art. This is to displace the role of interpretation, so the text-work-image straddles its ‘usefulness’ and artifice. The intention is to position the text in a different context from traditional art history (historiography of art). For

McGuigan claims modern art museums and galleries tend to ‘sacralise’ their contents, so the ‘art object’, shown in an appropriate formal setting, becomes the repository of society’s loftiest ideals. Indeed, without modern art museums, the category of high art is ‘practically unthinkable’, where the notion of ‘high art’ is seen to represent the aesthetic articulation of society, humanity and Western civilisation.¹⁸⁷ McGuigan proposes the Modern art museum is; ‘A historically specific set of institutionally embedded relations in which forms of thought and conduct of extended populations, are targeted for transformation – partly through the extension of social groups, techniques, and regimens of aesthetic and intellectual culture … in relation to the discourses of moral regulation’.¹⁸⁸

Modern art is defined by its social presentation and it’s corresponding context and conferment by ‘art-world circles’.¹⁸⁹ This ‘institutionalised’ position challenges the psychological intention or materialistic tradition of art as championed by Wollheim; the institutionalisation of art in modern society corresponds to the emergence of new organisations of social, economic and

instance, the work of British art historian Sir Kenneth Clark, and his television series *Civilisation*, marks a presumption that *universal* symbolic representations and historical forces are simply centred by European history. The beginning of the Eurocentric world, a form of Euromegalomania, is marked by invasion and conquest of the ‘New Worlds’, where the coloniser uses representational terms of European language and European symbols to represent the Other, in their own terms, which begins to constitute the ground of colonial power. David Morley and Kevin Robins (1995) *Spaces of Identity*, London: Routledge, p198. Greenblatt (1992) writes, ‘the founding action of Christian imperialism is christening … Columbus [first New World] act of christening and re-naming Guanahani as San Salvador entails the cancellation of the ‘native’ name and erasure of the alien … the taking of possession and the conferral of identity are fused, in a moment of pure linguistic formalising’. Greenblatt. S (1992) *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p83. Artist Jimmie Durham argues, ‘colonisation is not simply the language of some political rhetoric of past decades. Europe may be passing through a post-colonial time, but we in the Americas still live in a colonial period’. Jimmie Durham, (1993) *A Certain Lack of Coherence: Writings on Art and Cultural Politics*, London: Kala Press, p172.

political structures. In the context of classifying art, a work of art, according to George Dickie, is an artefact and a set of aspects it has conferred on it by person or people acting on behalf of the 'art-world circle' and not necessarily by the intention of its maker(s). If Dickie's argument holds then just about anything can operate as a work of art and the key members of the art-world 'system', responsible for making, presenting and mediating high art, begin to speak, represent and influence the modern social imaginary. Tony Bennett proposes that the way in which cultural forms and activities are politicised and the manner in which their politicisation is pursued are matters that emerge from, and have their conditions of existence within, the policies of governmental initiatives for specific social, cultural or political ends.

Government and Cultural Policy

Bennett argues, 'cultural technicians' within the field of government should be 'tinkering with practical arrangements', so the vast array of cultural institutions, public and private, involved in shaping and regulating the population reflects the intentions of cultural politics from within government.¹⁹⁰ Tony Bennett defends processes of 'governmentality' and the formulation and provision of government cultural policy, arguing that it is wrong to believe that cultural policy initiatives are committed to a 'top down' rather than a 'bottom up' approach between government and 'localised' artistic activities. Bennett claims communities and their cultures are already formed by practices of government, and *vice versa* also apply; i.e. governments formed by communities and 'localised' cultures.

Foucault proposed 'governmentality'¹⁹¹ involves three propositions:

1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has its target population, as its principal form of knowledge of political economy, and its essential technical means apparatuses of security.

2. The tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and on the other, in the development of a whole complex of *savoirs*.
3. The processes, or rather the result of the processes, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes 'governmentalized', where social imaginary significations become absorbed.

Foucault identifies the transformation of the pre-modern administrative state into modern forms of governmentality. He also utilises the old definition of police to include policy, authority and polis within his analysis of 'power'. Rejecting the conventional theory of power, defined as a central point from which struggle is waged, as in hegemony theory, Foucault proposes real power exists in a micro-politics, one that is able to circuit the couplet of culture and governmentality.¹⁹² In other words, power exists at the level of the particular. In response to the cultural policy debate, Theodor Adorno proposes a cultural policy must be based on a self-conscious recognition of the contradictions inherent in applying planning to a field of cultural practices that stand opposed to planning in their innermost processes; hence planning in government must involve a critical awareness of its own limits.¹⁹³

In contrast to Adorno's position, Bennett argues that Adorno's model of a maintaining an autonomous cultural policy for the arts is outdated and Bennett now sees culture as an industry; recognising that any aesthetic and critical disposition forms merely a particular market segment within that industry.

According to Bennett, different competing patterns within the ‘cultural industry’ will determine public expenditure, forms of administration to be debated and assessed in relation to different publics, and their relationships to competing political values and government policy objectives – this is the reification of culture. However, in his defence, Bennett proposes that communities are formed from the policies within government - cultural policies are national political instruments that construct communities, rather than perceiving communities emerging external to government initiatives. In tension to Bennet’s defence of cultural policy is the transformation of the ‘nationalised’ museum-gallery to ‘community’ museum-gallery. This involves empowering the community by providing access to the control of the museum programme and thus developing local institutions for a shared identity, where the public become co-author in a collaborative enterprise, which Poulot argues is, ‘designed to ensure mutual learning and participation for all’.¹⁹⁴

Bottom-Up vs Top-Down

Poulot promotes the community museum (*ecomuseum* in France) because it supports self-discovery and development of the community from ‘grass-roots’, which may include the preservation and exhibition of marginalised cultures. The ‘ecomuseum’ aims not to attain ‘nationalised’ knowledge but to communicate upon everyday aspects of the community rather than the extraordinary aspects of national culture.² Poulot argues the ‘community museum-gallery’ is motivated

² Since July 2001 I have been a member of the Visual Arts Advisory Panel (VAAP) for Kirklees Borough Council. This is an advisory panel to Kirklees Cultural Services; the panel meets quarterly to discuss the development, support and programming of visual arts in Kirklees museums and galleries. To date, through the support of the Culture Company and the limited budget provided by Kirklees Cultural Services, the panel has utilised a Regional Arts Lottery Project (RALP) capital grant to re-design, modernise and decorate the foyer area of the gallery, fit new flooring and fix defunct lighting. The panel has also used a European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) to commission four artists to re-conceptualise the gallery signage and foyer area. The gallery now has a reinvigorated contemporary art programme, reflected in

by civic aspirations, embodying a form of 'civic pedagogy', which seeks to offer a 'programme of cultural development of the citizen'.¹⁹⁵ However, Bennett is critical of Poulet's ideas by proposing equations which place museums and communities on one side of cultural development as part of a creative 'bottom up' approach and the state or government policies on the other as imposed forms of 'top down' cultural policy are misleading. Bennett states the community-museum-gallery (Poulet's *ecomuseum*) exists precisely because of government policies, through establishing and funding such museums in the first place, ensuring appropriate staff development, and in developing new principles in the organisation and constitution of a community via the management of its shared culture.¹⁹⁶

The Liberal State Polis and the Artist-Citizen

This tension between Bennett and Poulot raises the question of how the artist-citizen experiences and relates to the polis of a modern liberal government. It is common for the modern liberal state to invoke civic experience as ideal, valued in terms of its rationality, morality and security. The artist and citizen is dependent upon the processes of symbolic reproduction within the modern social imaginary and cannot be understood independently of this context. Ideally this involves a basic working knowledge of the political system and skills in accessing and processing information, interpreting political language and

audience development, publicity and marketing. Citizens living within Kirklees may regard these changes to a gallery as insignificant; however, I would argue this development has to be placed within the context of regeneration to the whole area, through new businesses, new housing and building programmes, shopping malls and service industries. My membership with VAAP illustrates the tension between the initiatives of community 'activist' taking control of a 'local' museum/gallery and the initiatives of central government and European Objective One in providing funds to regenerate 'local' culture in support of broader social and economic regeneration.

working creatively within public-cultural ‘spaces’ for the benefit of the polity. The assertion here is the modern artist and citizen, despite operating at different levels of exposure, are best placed to creatively communicate the desires of the polis as universal (apolitical) concepts of morality and virtue in the context of the ‘good life’.

However, there are two problems emerging from this idealisation of art and citizenship practice. First, in the context of modernity, and in broad terms, the representation of the artefact itself became politicised – the right preferred to see art as a transcendent - formalist aesthetic entity with no social task to accomplish, whereas the left offered a critique to openly bind the representation of art to its agendas. From either position the role of modern art in public life became a powerful ideological task rather than an accomplishment of neutral forms of emancipation. Secondly, there is no guarantee that modern artists can rise above a differentiated sub-system of society, thereby lacking public status. This leads the debate back to why artists began to establish ‘artist spaces’ outside the dominant cultural institutions to pursue experimental forms or local practices in order to be liberated from dominant ideologies and market forces, thereby claiming a localised democratic position that is closer to the living conditions of a ‘grass root’ community (Poulot’s ecomuseum).

Bennett’s claim is the alternative-space-movement took place in the context of government initiatives and government grants; as such they are tied to fulfilling specific criteria (normally ‘outreach’ work and open access) on behalf of central government in order to receive the necessary funding. The charge against this is the liberal principles of the secular state is founded upon a false ideal and revealed to be a coercive institution; in other words the universalised (cultural) policies of central government must subordinate the communal base in order to sustain the principles of the liberal state.

The liberal state polis might start from the assertion that morality and virtue is a form of realism, that the good citizen must know certain things about her or his surroundings, most obviously the existence of other people and their claims. The polis on behalf of the state assumes a position of authority based upon the Enlightenment conception of reason and what is rational and universal in politics. However, Foucault's notion of governmentality reveals the concealed inequalities and social exclusivity in the modern nation state. If Foucault could advise the artist-citizen and their communities he would no doubt promote resistance to entering the discursive space of reasons of the liberal state by being 'unreasonable'. Being 'unreasonable' provides a context for the avant-garde in modern art by challenging the dominant forms of representation, dominant cultural institutions and market forces that underpin the Western canon. In the context of the avant-garde, 'unreasonableness' is therefore likened to an unregulated voice in order to maintain an effective position in socio-cultural contexts; effective criticism is often borne from resentment and philosophical ruptures emerging from dispute.

Art, Power and Citizenship

The history of representation in the visual arts necessitated particular technical features to communicate broad concepts of politics, myth, religion, production, social relations, science and knowledge, which are posited as representative of national culture and the concerns of the polity. The 'sacralisation' of high art in the Western art world became a repository of society's loftiest ideals. The museum and a corresponding textual history supported a set of institutionally embedded relations in which forms of thought and conduct of society are targeted for regimens of aesthetic and intellectual culture to correspond to political, economic and moral regulation'.¹⁹⁷ The requirement here is that everything conceivable be brought under the act of determination by the institutions of nation state governmentality.

Foucault refers to T. H. Marshall's *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950) as the founding document of modern citizenship studies; it also distinguished the interrelationship between pre-modern and modern versions of citizenship.¹⁹⁸ Marshall argued that the modern concept of citizenship consists of meshing three entities: civil, political and social, which still remain at the core of defining the citizen's relationship to the community and forms of government.¹⁹⁹ In the context of defining the relationship between the artist and the polis lurk two interrelated propositions: is the realm (thought and action) of the modern artist independent of the polity in which he or she practices, or is governmentality the condition of possibility for all modern artists? In other words, the existence of modern Western art practices is by and large subject to the existence of a modern liberal state polity, so forces of liberal democracy correlate to regimes of aesthetic and intellectual culture; unless the artist can occupy places of resistance.

In response to these propositions, (as Bennett identified) Foucault challenges the conventional theory of power as a vertical model of social control from above, ultimately the state, and resistance by popular forces from below. Foucault's concept of power is more diffuse, allowing a horizontal model of discourse from a multitude of sources, and not therefore limited to a finite, vertical site. Foucault's idea of power extends beyond its official form of (State) politics to include more local forms of empowerment, through aspects of sexuality, identity, community politics and so on. This leads to the notion of 'capillary power', a theory which also provides some support to Dickie's theory of the conferring art-world circle, suggesting a sense of power or influence flowing laterally through the veins and arteries of the 'body-politic' - regulating social and cultural relations at innumerable minute points and with specific regional properties. Foucault states:

Power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organisation; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as the support which

these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunction's and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallisation is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formation of the law, in the various social hegemonies. Power's condition of possibility, or in any case the viewpoint which permits one to understand its exercise, even in its more 'peripheral' effects, and which also makes it possible to use its mechanisms as a grid of intelligibility of the social order, must not be sought in the primary existence of a central point, in a unique source of sovereignty from which the secondary and descendant forms would emanate; it is the moving substrate of force relations which by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power, but the latter are always local and unstable.²⁰⁰

An Unreasonable Avant-Garde

The emergence of National art museum collections and a supportive art history across modern Europe aligned their rationale to a 'centralised sovereignty', that interprets the museum content as a 'sacralised' image of national, civic and sovereign consciousness. The traditional focus of Western art history is to link the values of Western art to the values of classical antiquity – to link the history of Western man with classical values presented as rational, logical and universal.²⁰¹ In contrast to this view the emergence of avant-garde practices in modern art, which are revisionist and seemingly in opposition to the 'universal principles' of the Western canon inevitably appear subversive (unreasonable), by opposing national factions both within the institutions and outside of them. From this perspective, McGuigan states the avant-garde, 'pose the threat of undermining the museum's authority and thus adversely affecting the various elite, corporate, and government interests that the museum normally serves'.²⁰²

The economic, industrial, and urban development of the modern world, which the modern museum symbolised came to pass through unprecedented

economic expansion. Any display of art in a museum or gallery is still an interpretation of the museum-gallery status, policies and intentions. McGuigan argues, ‘the issue is not purely visual, how could it be? – but visual ideological.²⁰³ Artists and the significance of their artworks are inevitably caught in the conditions and contradictions of power relations, governmentality and the ‘capillary’ processes of Dickie’s art-world conferring circles. So the work produced by the avant-garde acquires a paradoxical value because its central intention is to take dominant, accepted ideas, images and values and attempt to produce a new form that T. J. Clark proposes, ‘is in itself a subversion’ to the notion of dominant representations of sovereignty.²⁰⁴ The potential for subversive action demonstrates the particular effectiveness of the idea of the avant-garde. T J Clark writes; ‘By turns of art to disappoint, enrage, cajole and mystify the critics into reaction, and this is the real kernel of modernism’s specificity and value in relation to social discourses’.²⁰⁵

However, T. J. Clark also comments, ‘in the light of – better still by the measure of – their (avant-garde) inability to conclude the remaking of representation that was their goal’,²⁰⁶ modern art failed to totally transform the conditions of representation within Western art towards new social, cultural and political contexts. This failure was inevitable, because its ultimate ambition was to divorce the pre-modern social-imaginary in favour of new forms of representation. Despite the development of new media in the visual arts, the avant-garde could play with forms of representation but could not totally play-out the legacies of pre-modern representation and the expectations of its communicative force. In other words, the expectations of art have not been totally redefined.²⁰⁷

Art and the Representation of Humanity

The Aristotelian idea that art ‘works’ to imitate, through (natural) visual resemblance, forms and events in the world focuses upon the classical

traditions of virtue (humanism), iconography and iconology in pre-modern forms of representation.²⁰⁸ However, the power and stability of iconography and iconology throughout European art history is complex and problematic, and such readings do not necessarily recognise the multiplicity of ways of representation found in art within different communities.²⁰⁹ The assumption of a ‘universal’ history is challenged by arguments presented by Nietzsche, Heidegger and Foucault, plus other post-modern thinkers. Nietzsche proposes, ‘the goal for humanity is humanity itself’, noting that the goal is still lacking.²¹⁰ Heidegger traces the roots of humanism and showed it was far from a universal notion.²¹¹ Classical humanism referred to particular manners and customs that became exclusive rather than inclusive concepts based upon those that follow certain forms of ‘civility’ and ‘manners’ and those who do not. Western humanism masquerades under the guise of universality, but represents those who do not abide by Western culture as uncivilised or inhuman.

Foucault takes the idea of the breakdown of universal categories further, extending the collapse from the end of humanity to the end of ‘man’, proposing, ‘the idea of the human is unstable.’²¹² What becomes most damning by this attack on humanism is not the objection to a common humanity but that particular aspects of human life have been elevated beyond their particularity into some kind of universal representation within the modern liberal state.²¹³ In late modernity the universalised meta-narrative of classical humanism begins to collapse through the post-structuralist turn, which is serious for traditional notions of citizenship and potentially damning to the Western art canon because concepts such as humanity cohere so powerfully with the *mimetic* tradition in the visual arts and both are constructed deep within Western thought.²¹⁴ Central to representation within Western art is the representation of problems in representation as the process of ‘re-presenting’ actual things from the world or things that are absent or don’t have any physical existence at all like ideas or values (abstract concepts). Rosalind Krauss argues the canon of Western art refers to artistic techniques (plural) that become part of art’s

armoury of representational form.²¹⁵ The canon of Western art comes to be articulated through the armoury of representation or a ‘metalanguage of the visual’.²¹⁶ Rosalind Krauss calls this natural representation ‘perceptual plentitude and unimpeachable self-presence’ and in context to this thesis this metalanguage of the visual must also include the relationship between the signification of words and images.

A Crisis of Representation

The appropriateness of semiotics and post-structuralism in the analysis of art is problematic because the address made to the image or visual artefact is very different from the address made to a text; this difference exists both visually and cognitively.³ The way the image or visual artefact addresses the viewer, the

³ In September 2002, Dutton, Peacock, Swindells, were invited to participate in Contemporary Art Forum Kitchener 02 (CAFKA); the exhibition was entitled, ‘Power to the People’. Kitchener (formerly called Berlin) is an old industrial town in Ontario, Canada. The exhibition involved twenty artists from across Canada, United Kingdom, the United States and Mexico, with video works from Canada, France and Germany. The title ‘Power to the People’, was chosen to recognise the hundredth anniversary of the foundation, in Kitchener, of one of the first publicly owned utilities – the Ontario Hydro, which was conceived in Berlin/Kitchener in 1902. Power from Niagara came to Berlin/Kitchener on October 11th 1910, celebrated with the moto ‘Power to the People’.

The phrase ‘Power to the People’ was chosen by CAFKA organising committee as a theme for the exhibition to encourage the artists to make work that responds to the nature of democracy, public ownership, free expression, and the role of the arts as an act of empowerment itself. Nearly all of the projects took place in and around Kitchener City Hall. Dutton, Peacock, Swindells were invited to make a video piece to be projected in the City Hall council chamber. We eventually produced a text piece on DVD for the council chamber, entitled ‘The Pleasures’. The video is a narrative; delivered one word at a time, about a female politician who is experiencing doubt and a sense of unease about political rhetoric. However, the text itself slips into its own sense of political rhetorical through its claims and the context in which it is presented. The main protagonist in the text, and the text itself, looks reflectively inward and outward, so much so that the fictional politician and the text is uncertain of its position. The video is looped so the narrative (one word projected onto the screen at a time for four seconds

way ‘in which it inhabits the eye’ is very different from the way the text sits before the reader’s eye. While the image is often ‘all-of-a-piece’, the text by its very nature is ‘atomistic’. Text is, normally, read because it is composed of separate visual elements. Whereas the image, is potentially, deeply, visually relational to cultural icons, symbols and forms of illusion. Text is syntactical in the sense that it embodies rules governing the logical arrangement of words in a language.²¹⁷

It is possible that the elaboration and appropriation of this ‘metalanguage’ by the avant-garde defines modern art and its discourses because its form, material nature and significatory structure is entirely fitting in meaning and purpose to disrupt the belief that natural representation or mimesis in art is equal to the world.²¹⁸ This is a different perspective on the ‘Great Art’ legacies of the Renaissance and the traditions of art history, which were based on representation representing all that is fitting in humanity, civility, and nation-city-state building.²¹⁹

A modern understanding of representation within Western art can accommodate the actual absence of presence as the very condition of representation itself: promoting a metaphysical base to much modern art. This

– fades in and fades out) runs forward to its end, and then reverses back in on itself, un-narrating, to repeat the cycle. In this sense we imagined the text forming a complete circle, or an imaginative loop in space somewhere behind the screen. This textual circular image begins to echo the architecture and seating arrangement of the council chamber itself, and also the sense of round-table discussions as an aspect of political debate. We also likened this model of the text, visually, as a kind of large clock within the council chamber. Contextually we wanted to touch upon the kind of rhetorical devices and strategies such a council chamber would inevitably have to operate within, and the possible sense of personal doubt felt by the politicians with regards to the function of the chamber. ‘The Pleasures’ (2002) is a piece which attempts to tease out the complex relationship between the artifice of political rhetoric and the self, which touches upon the uncertainty of self, empowerment and fiction.

is a condition that serves a systematic play of difference, so representation is not grounded as one thing, or another, it is many things or *no-thing* other than a form of representation.²²⁰ Therefore, representation within the Western art world is snared by the representation of problems in representation, and the position of the avant-garde remains equally bound by these problems of representation within the metalanguage of the visual.²²¹ However, the problems of representation create a subjective paradigm for the avant-garde, by its capacity to define and emphasize the indeterminate, which in turn cajoles society into debate.

Modern Art and Liberal Government

Modernity saw the rise of liberalism, which is not just an economic doctrine nor just a form of nation-state government but a proposed vision of 'good' politics at both individual and collective levels. The tendency to universalize liberal concepts as 'good' politics within the nation-state equally generated an unchallengeable belief system in the modern metalanguage of the visual.²²² The western belief system supported a strong proselytising force to over-ride other belief systems; triumphant liberal conceptions of Western history tend to represent world history to the exclusion of other cultures, peoples and practices.²²³ The potential weakness of seeking perfectionism in Western political thought (from the classical traditions of Plato onwards) is grounded in the dominant theories of citizenship as prescribed by the classical Athenian-state that is now the modern liberal-state: prescriptions that construct legislation on people's lives that might bear little or no relation to actual lives.²²⁴ Modernity constituted the citizen essentially as a member of a democratic nation-state and effectively juxtaposed nationality and identity as citizenship.²²⁵

Modern artists and liberal nation-state governments are both caught in the web of the social imaginary that reaches deep into the legacies of Athenian models of classical culture, which includes the myth of the polis cohering with the

proselytising force of representation in visual culture. The formulation of a social doctrine prescribed by historical models and a corresponding metalanguage of the visual (deep social imaginary) may actually limit the emancipation of modern citizenship by maintaining a patriarchal culture and various social hegemonies. Modern art is not merely subsumed by the theoretical category of textual representation but overwhelmed by the reification of the ‘image’, which is seen as the dominant commodity in a spectacle economy (from which art struggles to be distinct).⁴ In the wake of pre-war avant-gardes and post-war neo-avant-gardes art seeks to be benignly liberal, open to social issues, pluralistic and its field multicultural – but this position is also not-so-benignly neutral, in the sense that its relativism is in danger of what the liberalized global market requires. It is a process of an exclusive political-economic-cultural symbiosis, a fluctuating give-and-take paradigm of host and ‘tick-bird’ within each other’s existence.²²⁶

The idea of the artist seeking autonomy from the nation state polis is to contest living as political; it is a struggle to evade global economics (corporatism) and Western homogenization. From this position, in the spirit of an effective avant-garde, the artist-citizen operates at the intersection of a more open-ended democratic project through the provocation of non-conformity, to maintain a position of ‘unreasonableness’ through creative and subjective strategies that lead towards an effective politics for all.

⁴ ‘Haecceitas Star’ at the Mappin Art Gallery (1999) was a response to painting bound (via representation) to the notion of its own ‘sanctimonious historicism’ (Gilber-Rolfe 1999). I wanted to make paintings that seemed on the verge of collapse – to appear hysterical as I radically attempted to disrupt the order of things within the context of painting’s tradition. The materiality of painting was deliberately disrupted, conventions are paralysed and fears, anxieties and hallucinations are played out through the presentation of dead animals and living plants, ready-mades, debris, collapse, dusts – entropic sensibilities. The work acknowledged a sense of ridicule in its position; paradoxically I wanted this ridicule to be taken seriously. Haecceitas Star by Melanie Jordan in AN magazine (1999).

Chapter 3

Modern- Postmodern European Art, Culture and Citizenship

This chapter uncovers the complex socio-political and psychic configurations of the modern and postmodern artist and citizen in relation to European thought. The fusion of capitalism and liberalism in the modern Western world created a vision of economic posterity at both individual and collective levels. The tendency to universalize liberal concepts as the ‘good life’ within the nation-state equally generated an un-challengable belief system in the modern metalanguage of the visual. The emergence of the Western nation-state supported triumphant liberal conceptions of Western history and culture to represent world history to the exclusion of other peoples and practices.²²⁷ From this perspective modernity constituted the citizen essentially as a member of a democratic nation-state and effectively juxtaposed nationality and identity as citizenship.²²⁸

Modern citizenship pre-supposes the notion of equality, with emphasis on universal criteria based upon a democratic, liberal, secular system of values to reinforce particular claims and obligations, emphasising contract over status, though some of the core values of liberalism are seen as continuous from the classical humanistic values identified in pre-Modern citizenship.²²⁹ The notion of modern European culture is often seen as elusive and emotive, defined as the consistent recurrence of social distinctions and actions, related to the production of particular artefacts, symbols and icons. By the end of the Enlightenment the concept of modern society had become rooted in a sense of historical linear-time; however, some scholars propose modern society is a complex reorganisation of temporal and spatial relations in the quest to govern

technological and geographical spheres (colonialism) rather than the conventional academic model of history and time.²³⁰

Modern society is thus imprecated in Enlightenment reason, particularly the belief in progress, empirical science and positivism. Modern culture is generally described as late nineteenth and twentieth-century social values and action, which correspond closely with the emergence of industrial capitalism, generating fluid, cosmopolitan social structures. During the second half of the nineteenth-century the visual arts adopted similar modernising tendencies by gradually breaking away from traditional techniques of representation to conceive of a fleeting and fluid reality with no apparent social centre or purpose other than responding to mechanical modes of production. This mechanization is also evident in the arts, the post-Impressionist work of Seurat signifies the painter's body adopting a mechanical process in an attempt to reach the condition of photography.²³¹ Modernist movements in the arts attest to the broad changes that take place within the urban aesthetic sphere; it was the search for new forms and a new language to provide expression to the newness of modern society. Modernism is thus the aesthetic logic of an urban modernising society in correspondence to an urban industrial capitalist society, in which different structures (political, economic and cultural) increasingly separate themselves from centralised institutions.²³²

Modernity is not just about the expression of contemporary ideas but becomes a lived embrace with the economic sphere, responding to industrial technology and the dynamics of modern economies. Krishnan Kumar proposes modern society, 'is the speeding up of economic evolution to the point of revolutionary proportions'.²³³ In contrast, postmodernism is constituted by the rejection of the modernist project; it breaks with the deep structures of universal authoritative culture in order to re-colonize the space of Enlightenment universality for intellectual and economic appropriation. The postmodern condition is to witness the ruins of previous orders of meaning that come to be re-elaborated,

extended and, ultimately, irrevocably undone. Postmodernism also coincides with the transition from industry to post-industry, resulting in global capitalism and multinational corporations weakening nation-state politics and democratic processes. In the neo-liberal regime of globalization and individualistic consumer culture, citizenship, politics and art are being hollowed out in the elimination of difference.²³⁴

Background to the Critiques of Modern Culture

In the nineteenth-century Karl Marx accepted that capitalism can both create the possibility for the enlargement of humanity while simultaneously destroying its very basis through the division of labour, fostering alienation and endorsing fragmentation in social values. Marx becomes a kind of nihilistic modernist using language and imagery to portray:

The glory of modern energy and dynamism alongside modern disintegration and nihilism creating a vortex where all facts and values are whirling around – exploding, decomposing and recombining without control.²³⁵

Marx's historical materialism (the proposition that the economic base determines the political and ideological superstructure) identifies the role of the economic in social life but fails to understand the complex irreducibility of modern culture. In the early twentieth century Max Weber (Frankfurt School) argued that individuals do not just respond passively and mechanically to external economic and material forces; rather they are driven by contrasting modes of action, such as cultural beliefs, subjective goals and the search for religious salvation.²³⁶ A sociological study of culture begins when culture is theorised as a distinctive realm belonging to a broader socio-historical phenomena and characterised specifically by the principle of autonomy, which is the understanding of cultural sensibilities acting beyond the economic and political sphere.²³⁷

Weber identified that modern industrial production forced the individual to internalize the values of the Protestant work ethic and translate them into economic and social principles.²³⁸ The Protestant ethic of restraint and strict management of pleasure and time had an elective affinity with modern capitalism. At the root of the citizen's conduct is a desire to link her/his material economic needs with her/his ideal interests in salvation. Ideas for salvation rely upon useful activity, self-control and a commitment to the idea of 'useful work', itself generated by self-belief.²³⁹ Weber's notion of value spheres are important to citizenship theory because they include all aspects of social development, political, economic, intellectual, erotic, scientific, psychological and so on. Weber would claim that each sphere has its own logic and remains independent from others.²⁴⁰

Weber's description of the nature of capitalist culture as a, 'iron cage' is close to Marx's analysis and in particular, proposes a close relationship between the concepts of alienation and rationalisation.²⁴¹ In contrast, Antoni Gramsci sees modern culture as partly autonomous yet always enfolded in the structure of economic and class forces.²⁴² Gramsci proposes modern culture as both a 'higher sphere' (of human subjectivity) yet one based in the relations of power (economic and political). Modern society and culture, therefore, is conceived in relational terms as an intricate web of multiple interactions.

The Modern Industrial Citizen

Writing at the turn of the twentieth-century, Georg Simmel anticipated the Frankfurt school's critique of mass society and culture, noting how new technology and mass production generates consumerism and a society in which the modern citizen is surrounded by a mass of cultural objects. Simmel proposed that even the most varied elements of modern cultural objects suffer under the uniform convertibility of monetary values. Hence, the tragedy of modern culture is the tendency to reduce everything to monetary exchange,

generating a tension between the rational, calculating monetary nature of modern times working against the impulsive, emotional character of earlier more subjective epochs. Modernity characterises this tension between rapid development of science, technology and positivistic knowledge eroding more personal local-cultures (the erosion of subjective mysteries). Simmel writes:

The wealth of objective culture increases, but the individual mind can only develop by distancing itself from that culture' and 'in a western (capitalist) culture characterised by restless unrelenting activity ... the core of meaning slips through our fingers.²⁴³

Simmel describes a gap developing between a culture of modern material things (consumerism) and the individual's limited capacity for knowing and understanding the processes of production overwhelming personal subjectivity. The 'industrialised' citizen is merely a cog in an enormous organisation of things, which transforms human values into an objective material life. Monetary value becomes the basis of all value judgements in society. It is a place where citizenship values of rights and practice are dehumanised by fixed and impersonal time schedules. Punctuality and exactness pervades all spheres of cultural life, so much so that life itself seems to be dominated by the principles of rational, continuous mathematical operations.

Modern Artefact and Comodification

Modern artefacts and commodities only become meaningful when the citizen has internalised and assimilated them successfully into his or her subjective consciousness. The increasing penetration of consumerism and monetary economy into modern social life generated a fragmented reality, providing only fleeting glimpses of a meaningful everyday life. In this sense a material culture failed to provide a unifying purpose to life because of its disinterest in human subjective values and over-reliance upon maintaining economic capital.²⁴⁴ The paradox for the modern artist or citizen is she/he can only grasp the reality of local-culture by stepping back from the artefacts that are meant to be

emblematic of human desire. Modern culture is therefore structured around apparently irreconcilable contradictions unless personal subjectivity can permeate the basis for cultural objectification; the role of the artist is to imbue the relationship between art, culture and modern artefacts with subjectivity in order to reinstate meaning to life.⁵ This theory provides one understanding why modern art both imitated and used modern artefacts (ready-mades) in order to invest subjectivity into the everyday. However, the prevention of an opportunistic capitalist economy invading even the most private of space remains unresolved.²⁴⁵

The Poets Modernity

In the late nineteenth-century the poet Charles Baudelaire wrote, 'the everyday reality of modern experience should exemplify its own heroic features without recourse to classical forms'.²⁴⁶ Baudelaire proposed art should seek an eternal beauty from the relativity of the present in order to break away from the constrictive tradition of pre-modernity. He proposed the fragmentary and the ephemeral as a search for some kind of eternal 'hidden truth', a 'truth' that lies behind the chaotic and impressionistic surface of everyday modern life. Baudelaire's modernity seeks a subjective response to emerging industrial capital cities and a poetic assessment of the increasing commercialization of European culture.

Thus, Baudelaire's modernity corresponds to total new modes of experience to the extent that it has no *telos* (no pre-modern combining form) - it seeks no ideals from classical humanism. In this respect Baudelaire's modernity is anti-Enlightenment. It is the opposite of the *philosophies* belief in historical progress and resistant to the configurations of pre-modern society.²⁴⁷ Baudelaire's attitude towards modern thought is to imagine it other than it is, and to transform it by giving style to one's own strength and weaknesses; this is not to

⁵ A pathos of distance is already embedded in the work of the modern artist – the role of the artist is to remain alien to the objectification of reality. Art begins where usefulness ends.

destroy modernity but to creatively live within it. Therefore, Baudelaire's modernity seeks deep subjectivity, one that is based upon the present without a clear sense of usefulness and this becomes a meta-narrative of modern artistic sensibility.²⁴⁸

A Positivist Modernity

The legacy of the Enlightenment lays in the triumph of scientific thought and the abolition of the eternal myth.²⁴⁹ Enlightenment science led to the domination of positivism and forms the basis of facts and rationality over the social world in which the surface of mathematical information constitutes reality. Positivism advocates the idea of system and rational concepts, which in turn correspond to the mechanization of reality.²⁵⁰⁶ The rationalization of the economic sphere operated autonomously to the political sphere and became distinguished by its own internal logic, which is business conducted on the basis of impersonal rules, demonstrating commitment only to calculation and economic discipline, rather than the moralizing values of human experience. The principles of rationality, coherence and consistency replace irrational and personal subjective elements of pre-modernity, which involved a holistic fusion of myth and religious-political reasoning.²⁵¹

Modern Artist Thinking and a Summary of Modern Culture

The claimed self-sufficiency of modern art practices was seen as an opportunity for salvation from all that was wrong with the rationalized modern world. Hence art sought to preserve its autonomous purposefulness by paradoxically maintaining a distance from society.²⁵² Wassily Kandinsky claimed, 'the phrase art for arts sake is the best protest against materialism – it is also the best art a materialist age can hope to attain'.²⁵³

⁶ The 'moment' and the 'fragment' act as small pleasures in my art practice that attempt to affirm private subjectivities.

The development of modern art to ‘high modernism’ was characterized by a self-referring formalism that aimed to detract any sociological meaning to modern art in preservation of deep subjectivity. Writing in the late 1930s Clement Greenberg denied any higher purpose to art or any sociological purpose to art’s production other than art is there to be aesthetically good, which he proposed is the greatest attainment of modern civilization. Greenberg was concerned with the links between the populist space of kitsch and the rise of fascism and totalitarianism across Europe.²⁵⁴ This position was criticized from a Marxist perspective as a shift from radicalism into ‘aesthetic individualism’, arguing it represented the devitalization of modern culture in the final stages of capitalism.²⁵⁵ Falling between aestheticism and ideology, the modern artist began to feel and think in a certain way so that she or he is reassured in belonging to the present. The present became a task, which is to realize the modern subjective-self by continually re-defining and renewing the task of a new present.²⁵⁶

The solitary and isolated consciousness of modern life corresponded to the disintegration of communal reality, creating an intense form of individualism and institutionalism, which became the driving force both of modern government and industrial capitalism.²⁵⁷ The modern artist and citizen faced a paradox, it was difficult to preserve his/her identity in a society where local-cultural institutions continuously collapse and mutate to meet the needs of an ‘external’ economic sphere that offers no explicit sense of stability, or values specific to heterogeneous societies.

European Citizenship and European Culture

The most familiar and recent model of modern European citizenship is provided by the nation-state, the idea of the nation as the ultimate realm of politics is predominantly a modern conception. European citizenship raises concerns

about justice and democracy within a trans-national paradigm, where universal principles excludes others outside of the community in order to maintain an 'internal' stable system. The idea of the European nation-state emerged during the French Revolution and ascended to the position of a predominant 'master-narrative' of European history. The new sovereigns of European nations had to reinforce their boundary to external forces through the construction of national culture, national economy and a sense of national belonging.²⁵⁸ The homogeneity of the nation was therefore defined by its common history, common culture and by its common 'natural origin' in distinction to other nations.

The idea of Europe as a modern entity began as an overarching cultural paradigm that embraced a sense of unity beyond political boundaries and national identities. This sense of European culture emerged more than two hundred years ago when Jean-Jaques Rousseau put forward his *pacte-social* (1762) to establish common, pragmatic political entities in opposition to a fragmented and scattered political map. It gave rise to the idea of universal human rights and the rule of public law.²⁵⁹ Rousseau's Enlightenment position emphasised secularization and rationalization, the thrust for a universal community through welding new codes of public-ness and virtue, along with the search for universal transcendence and salvation. The Enlightenment also led to the conception of the world as 'nature', to be described by empirical science and positivistic progress as the guiding principle of history.

Despite the emergence of universal human rights the Enlightenment created a tension at the core of European culture, between the politics of *philosophes encyclopédie* and the history of religious thought – the legacies of sacred metaphysical outcomes. This tension begins to impinge on the claims and conflicts of European citizenship, and still remains as a mediating interface between the pragmatic machinations of political organization in relation to the ideals of human rights and human subjectivities. A cross-national survey in the

1990s on human values formulated by ten Western European countries, including: Britain, Holland, West Germany, Italy, Spain and the Republic of Ireland found that deep-rooted cultural practices are shared in Western Europe, which derive from pervasive social and cultural histories and influences. This is the European social imaginary. The Christian religion was an example of one such institution, which has sought to create a commonality of moral values and beliefs across Western Europe; Christianity (and its adoption of classical humanist values) was therefore cited as a formative cultural influence at the base of Western European thought.²⁶⁰

The expansion of secularization over the last two hundred years has not detracted European societies from widespread Christian moral precepts at the base of European thought despite the fact the majority of Western Europeans remain by and large un-churched populations. As Grace Davie proposes, despite vast differences of religious beliefs and socio-religious participation across the history of Western Europe there are still some consistent patterns, particularly where English speaking becomes more common, resulting in citizens being neither purely secular nor religious in thought but live and reflect in the interface between the two.²⁶¹

After Christianity, Islam is the next largest faith in Western Europe and conservative estimates suggests seven million Muslims are now permanent resident European citizens. Thus, there is a need for European culture to unveil what Edward Said called 'undocumented people', noting the tension between the Orient and the Occident as a critique of Enlightenment rationality, where contemporary Occidentalism argues Western modernity is soulless, claiming the modern West replaced spiritual authenticity with the empty worship of money and property. Irrespective of religious belief, modern and postmodern concepts of the European citizen describe an 'exiled' subject in many ways, not only in the complexities of social, political and religious

configurations but also in terms of ‘home’, where the voice of deep personal subjectivism towards ‘habitat’ crumble against the weight of bureaucratic over-secularized rhetoric.²⁶²

The Cultural Citizen versus European Identity

Culture refers to the system of common knowledge, beliefs and values that are the foundation of a particular society’s social, economic, political and religious practices and institutions. Clifford Geertz denotes culture as:

A historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate and develop their attitudes toward life.²⁶³

Citizenship as an expression of particular local-cultural values and citizenship as an expression of national characteristics and a trans-national European consciousness may obviously overlap but are presented counter-posed for the purpose of understanding regional, national and post-national tensions of defining and administrating citizens of Europe. In the local-cultural citizenship model, citizenship is about locating political, civil, economic and cultural rights and duties within the lived community and in the actual lives of citizens as an agreed process. They are embodied, shaped and spoken from a grounded cultural background to a community relational context.²⁶⁴ Citizenship conceived as a single European identity is closer to the liberal concept of citizenship, comprised of more universalizing political and civil rights within the public sphere.²⁶⁵ An axial tension emerges between a particular cultural conception of citizenship against a national/trans-national conception or the particularity of actual socio-political life in contrast to broader, homogenizing-liberal values.²⁶⁶

The European Union Administration proposes an official coming-of-age of European consciousness as the basis for a single European identity, in order to prevent social fragmentation and chaos, and ethnic and political separatism. Local-cultural citizenship is grounded in an ethnographic description of people's

claims and community politics. Local-cultural citizenship is defined by the concerns and claims of local group rights in terms of education, employment, habitat, housing, language, representation and so on.²⁶⁷ Local-cultural citizenship arises as a form of 'bottom-up' participation, voicing the rights and claims of different groups whereas a single European identity adopts a 'top-down' model of administration and the potential for alienating inter-governmental bureaucracy.²⁶⁸ In the context of the visual arts this debate is symmetrical with the issues surrounding Bennett's 'top-down' model of government cultural policy in tension to Poulot's 'community museum-gallery' as a form of 'civic pedagogy' and self-determination.

The local-cultural citizen is ideally seen as a community activist and the ultimate subject of participatory political action, which becomes evident to all in a particular region. In this sense, competent local-cultural citizens create, negotiate and define their own sense of community, whereby broad access to local political activism implies certain micro-politics by which the collective agrees to live. The intention of the local-cultural citizen is to eradicate central bureaucratic exclusivity where distinction between periphery and centre is erased. In contrast, a single European identity model is seen as a macro-political project towards a cohesive political union that support corporate conceptions of inclusion.²⁶⁹ Unlike local-cultural citizenship, a single European identity is fostered by an administrative centre and moves towards the periphery, whereby it does not need political activism on the part of the citizens, but only needs simple passive awareness of the cultural basis underlying the values of the European Union.²⁷⁰

The premise for local-cultural conceptions of citizenship is to connect two aims: the ideals of civic, political and social participation and respect for all differences within the community. The idea that these two aims can be attained without contradiction and without threatening the unity of a community is contrary to the liberal ideals of a single European identity project.²⁷¹ Julia Kristeva proposes

cosmopolitanism as a model to turn politics into freedom; she suggests a rejection of a simple unified society for the sake of a unified diversity through the ‘rights of man’ for all beyond the rights of national citizens. What Kristeva identifies is not only important differences between cultures and conceptions of citizenship but commonalities; that is, to the inherent capacity for people to exist as local-cultural beings and to maintain their deeper sense of belonging within a cosmopolitan society. However, classical liberal concepts of European citizenship were founded upon the white, heterosexual, adult, able-bodied male as the normal and universal dimension of citizenship, so questions of cultural, physical, sexual and racial difference are overlooked.²⁷²

Local-cultural citizenship aims to eradicate the concept of the other as a threat by reinforcing the processes of inclusion and democratic participation at all levels of the local community.²⁷³ In this sense, local-cultural citizenship does not emphasise the frontiers of the group or those of the state, but points to what is common ground for all differences; recognising life experiences become the touchstone of representation, participation and identity. In contrast a single European identity struggles with how to address and benefit national and cultural differences within the frame of universal Europeanism.²⁷⁴

Citizenship Beyond Racial and Ethnic Issues

In response to patriarchal concepts of citizenship, feminist perspectives not only seek to extend citizenship to include women but propose a post-patrimonial conception based upon respect for individual person-hood.²⁷⁵ Thus, attempts are made to divorce masculine and patriarchal definitions of citizenship, so person-hood rights become embedded within mainstream concepts of contemporary life. For instance, mass circulation of heterosexual symbolic material in respect of the production, representation and consumption of sexuality has ironically brought questions of gay and lesbian representation and identity into the public sphere.²⁷⁶ The increased visibility of gay and lesbian

narratives in popular culture begins to open a complex set of questions concerning the commodification of sexuality and the deconstruction of heterosexism into wider socio-political agendas.²⁷⁷

Equally, the deconstruction of ‘normality’ when examining the themes of disability and citizenship has done much to challenge the assumptions of who is fit to be called a citizen. Representations of the able-bodied seek to maintain certain psychic fantasies of bodily perfection in order to keep less secure constructions of the self at bay. The disabled bodied movement attempt to re-value the stigmatised identifications of the less able-bodied as an argument for the right to be different but equal in terms of citizenship.²⁷⁸ The understanding of such difference in person-hood and the right to be different still has to be fought on the imperatives that define and mediate the machinations of advanced capitalism.²⁷⁹ It is therefore necessary to broaden citizenship discourse beyond a predominant class, racial-ethnic issue in order to accommodate other issues concerning the body, sexuality and age, resulting in a more ambivalent conception of the citizen.²⁸⁰

The Ambivalent Local-Cultural Citizen

Emancipatory discourses, (such as postcolonialism, feminism and disabled rights movements) begin to address the development of policies to protect minorities, and new immigrants against social exclusion, discrimination and racism, and to question the degree of cultural relativism which is compatible with the maintenance of a modern democratic state.²⁸¹ The potential fragmentation of nation-state identity means the notion of local-cultural citizenship takes on greater significance in determining the processes that allows citizens to participate as equal, democratic citizens.²⁸² The legacies of citizenship suggests the capacity to act autonomously and responsibly, so the concept of citizenship is made meaningful by the conditions of actual ‘common attributes’ in the form of social competence that respects both rights and duties

discourse.²⁸³ Local-cultural citizenship is based upon the recognition of common attributes rather than being totally predetermined by universal models.

The Defence of a European Administration

Beyond the existing icons of Europe, there is a circulating idea on the need for a unified European consciousness through an extended notion of European citizenship. It is an attempt to formulate a cohesive European identity that supports trans-national institutions and corporate bodies. This notion is being systematically sponsored by the administration of the European Union, which in its broadest sense includes the European Commission, and intergovernmental conferences and reflection groups. Jacques Santer, President of the European Commission in 1995, proposed to the World Telecommunications Forum (Geneva 10/03/95) that a European identity is necessary for the European Union to avoid social 'fragmentation, chaos and conflict' of every kind, and to help achieve cohesion, solidarity, subsidiarity and co-operation.²⁸⁴ However, the political maps of the European Union are potential mis-projections of actual social geographies, where the real spaces of human activity expand or shrink according to different perspectives, purpose or occasion, and all significant societies are probably either much larger or smaller than the traditional notion of the nation state.²⁸⁵

The European Union propose a distinct balance at the level of Union administration to respect existing national and ethnic identities of the Member States. As Rainer Baubock suggests:

European identity has to crystallize and increase the feeling of belonging together, sharing a destiny and so on, otherwise the threat of dissolution will come from both inside and outside.²⁸⁶

The Maastricht Treaty (Treaty on European Union, published on July 29, 1992) emphasised the need for a common European defense policy, which is

independent of NATO and able to assert its identity on the international scene. The Declaration by the Western European Union (WEU) emphasised the critical importance of building a ‘genuine European Security and defense identity’ as the progressive merger of Western European Union (WEU) and European Union (EU), where the WEU would become the ‘defense component’ of the Union. The concern for defense on the part of EU administration is part of the EU economic policy. Iain Chambers writes:

The world is riven by local wars and planetary poverty. The brutal historic discrepancy between a rich, overdeveloped, (Western) minority and a poor, underprivileged and underrepresented (non-Western) majority.²⁸⁷

Despite the rhetoric of Western governments it is unlikely that any revision on the redistribution of trans-national resources will be founded upon the notion of global citizenship.

The search for collective administration of the people of Europe falls between the traditional conceptions of national institutions as the unifying symbolic basis and the strengthening of a post-national society emerging from the cultural heterogeneity of European sensibilities.²⁸⁸ Beyond the political administration of the Europe Union there are the normative expectations and values already embedded in nation-state life. An integrationist approach is to see European citizenship as a simple extension of nation-state life, where European nations shift part of their sovereign rights to the European Union; the United States is often projected as a political model. An anti-integrationist approach is to see a federal Europe as a shift away from democratic principles due to the mire of Brussels bureaucracy, where the particulars of everyday life is subsumed into some unwieldy alienating administration.²⁸⁹

The Emotions of European Citizenship

A combined psychoanalytic and cultural understanding of citizenship begins to define the emotional investments citizens make in relation to broader collective

identities, where rationalised outcomes emerge from unconscious beginnings.²⁹⁰ Thus the unconscious and psychoanalytic aspect of citizenship reveals how citizens live their lives in relation to the wider community through rights and duties, but equally through feelings of person-hood, belonging and self-realisation. The particulars of such charged personal criteria points to the changing conditions of globalisation, where issues of representation and identity become politicised in relation to the emotional aspects of national symbolism. An emotional tension emerges between local-cultural identity and a nation-state's intellectual appeal in contrast to the thrust of post-national, global sensibilities.²⁹¹

Local-Cultural Power Vacuum

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri argue the concealed demands of advanced capitalism and large corporate bodies aim to maximize the potential of Western European markets within global economics and politics.²⁹² These multinational forces operate beyond the democratic process within nation state politics and therefore remain unaccountable in local-cultural politics. The danger of weakening nation-state politics in the move towards a European political federation is that it allows nation-state governments to revoke their national responsibilities, where an administrative power vacuum occurs that opens the door to more extreme forms of politics. As a consequence of this 'national power vacuum' local-cultural politics also disintegrates aiding the co-ordination of new-extreme-right electoral forces across all parts of Europe.²⁹³ This is caused by the confusion of European integration, its obscure realization and sense of uncertainty and discontent, which potentially props the political right via the emotive scraps of nationalist identities.²⁹⁴

Within the new and changing makeup of European politics, countries that have more affinity to Western Christianity rather than Orthodox Christianity or Islam may well find it easier to realize their political and economic aspirations.²⁹⁵ The

former Yugoslavia reveals that ethnic nationalism bolstered by religious difference interacts with a multiplicity of factors such as historical, linguistic and economic divisions to create an explosive situation.²⁹⁶ The idea that a centralised European administration should in principle be neutral between different perceptions of the world is a liberal fantasy. It runs the risk of suppressing reference to real person-hood inequalities and cultural exclusions through a bureaucratic charade, obscuring fundamental economic, cultural and social class divisions behind an administrative veneer. Citizenship is neither the sole property of the administrative centre nor the citizen; it is a shared cultural space where representation and participation takes place. This can only be achieved by a willing identification with the polis on the part of the citizens, so that local-cultural administrative institutions in which citizens live are a working expression of themselves.²⁹⁷

The Issue of Postmodernity

Postmodernism challenges the inheritance of rationalism from the Enlightenment to modernism, once presented as the unique, progressive objectification of reality.²⁹⁸ In respect to theorising citizenship within a postmodern condition, marginality might be celebrated as an expression of resistance, where postmodernism represents the 'the cultural logic of late capitalism', difference is itself attractive to the market as a selling feature.²⁹⁹ The inherent problems of appropriating and subsuming difference is that it may weaken an effective critical distance to society, where critique is overloaded and uncertain about what it is meant to be critiquing.³⁰⁰ Focusing too heavily upon the post-structuralist paradigm as a solution to contemporary citizenship problems tends to prioritise a 'textualist' stance, so the critique is *in* the semantic process rather than practically orientated within the real concerns of actual lives; the preference of thought over being. Benita Parry is sceptical on the over reliance of 'textualist' thought because it, 'contrives to block the appeal to any kind of real-world knowledge or experience'.³⁰¹ A criticism based on

ethical as well as cognitive grounds. Poststructural critique, however liberating, builds no worlds, and the eligibility of alternative theoretical positions is in danger of producing no social practice or philosophical system that meets actual sociological requirements.³⁰²

The mere acknowledgement of the many available frames of reference within the postmodern condition creates a complex discourse, making equality and equity within contemporary citizenship problematic. Emerging from the multiplicity of these frames are the 'real-life' experiences of the repressed histories, languages and voices of the marginalised other, so the transition from modern to postmodern at best ushers in other critiques in the search for egalitarian relationships and at its worst, collapses into a semantic wasteland.

The Transition of Modernity to Postmodernity

The deep psychological labyrinths of modernist structures are replaced by the phenomenological 'thing-ness' of postmodernism's literal surfaces; the self-awareness of a modern humanistic belief steering towards the notion of consciousness as a centre-less engagement with the sensuously present. Postmodern consciousness understands how to dissolve all modern truths in order to celebrate its own dominance and understanding of the modern. Postmodernism can embrace and absorb the immediateness of sensory overload, projecting the 'thing-ness' of the world as rational sense-certainty and as a positive theory about the nature of reality. In other words, postmodernity still attempts a rational articulation of the world by its own irrational juxtapositions. The certainty of the senses constitutes a positive ground for postmodern poetics, articulating the artefact without having to resort to modernity's passion for the universality of Enlightenment.

The emergence of minimalism in the visual arts attests to this transition and articulates an aesthetic of 'thing-ness', by responding to the completeness of

smooth repetitious surfaces that outline the limits of the expressionistic gesture of figurative language (pre-modern/modern representation) that was perpetually trying to articulate a state of becoming.³⁰³ Modern artists with minimalist tendencies began to abandon the incompleteness of the varied pictorial surface by using systematic technological methods, which abolished modern-expressionism and thereby resisted the pictorial elements of classical humanism considered universally representational.³⁰⁴

Formalism, Conceptualism and Classical Humanity

Frank Stella argues:

If you pin them down, they always end up asserting that there is something there besides the paint on the canvas. My painting is based on the fact that only what can be seen there [is] there.³⁰⁵

Stella acknowledged a new relationship developing between the viewer's awareness of the painting as a fabricated thing, and the viewer's awareness of its 'thing-ness' as a bearer of meaning. Thus, Stella proposed the object as the idea by attempting to deny any signification other than that which is identical with the objects physical presence. However, Arthur Danto argues art is always representational in some form, not just in the sense that it refers to something but it also conveys the artist's and the art world's intention. Objects presented as works of art are about the world in a manner identical to which other objects are not.³⁰⁶

Like Stella's minimalist position, conceptual art shifted the emphasis from the totality of the object's 'thing-ness' to reveal the artist's thinking and actions, making any artistic activity or thought a potential work of art. Conceptual artists like Victor Burgin claim the break with traditional schematic approaches to art was explored on the basis of incorporating the viewer's social, cultural and physical response as integral to the art works meaning. In this sense,

conceptualism purports to recognise the social, sexual and cultural diversity and position of both artist and viewer alike, thereby aiming to displace the silent privileging of the ‘white male genius’, which traditional art history aimed to protect.

Conceptualism was also seen as a reaction against the commercialisation of art and against the critique and dominance of modern painting championed by American art critic Clement Greenberg.³⁰⁷ Greenberg describes high modernism as a historical tendency towards complete self-referential autonomy, where the avant-garde address ‘the medium of their own craft’, signifying all that is finest in classical humanity.³⁰⁸ Greenberg links formalism with art history’s classical humanism, which Victor Burgin argues is an attempt to privilege painting within modernity and thereby protect patriarchal networks. The corporeal representative of classical humanity is the human body, realised in the hand-made brush stroke, drip, dribble or stain of painting (carving or casting in sculpture), which adopts a privileged position in the representation of European culture, based upon the index and trace of the male body at work, and of the ‘genius’ to which it plays host.³⁰⁹

Formalism claimed modern art *par excellence* is human essence made into form, it is Western civilization made into substance and it is the individual (classical human subject) made into material realization. Conceptual artists such as Victor Burgin argued this *par excellence* is linked to the ideology of male patriarchy and hegemonic forms of power. During the early 1980s the, ‘institutional machinery of museum curation’ and a corresponding art history oversimplified and diffused conceptual art’s radicalism, which equally benefited an uncertain art market.³¹⁰ Burgin argued this process coincided with the emergence of new right politics (Thatcherism), which merely paved the way for a return to the shiny surfaces of painting that offered no effective critique to society. The paradox for conceptual art is its discursive field is in part a product of the linear narrative of traditional art history (it is defined by its contestation),

which in succession is linked to an ‘administering’ enclosure of European history and classical humanism as its form of power-knowledge.

Art History, Liberalism and the Fetish

In postmodernity, the status of the visual as a sign of ‘truth’ is entwined with the destabilisation of Enlightenment rationality and the weakening of patriarchal principles in general, which begins to mark the limits of image and language in the contemporary.³¹¹ Postmodernism appropriated and subverted Plato’s classical concept of *mimesis* by doing away with the idea of an original and ultimate principle to be imitated. Postmodern art demonstrated that there are no absolute truths to *mimesis* and consequently there are no eternal absolute images to be imitated. However, the underwriting of patriarchal principles in art history was to reaffirm the primacy of *logos* present in the object.³¹² The insistence of *logos* present in the object (by white, male art historians) was to get rid of the threat of narcissistic self-integrity; it is the denial of different interpretations of art and art history. In other words, traditional art history argues that to deny *logos* in the object is an attack on classical humanism and on the body of art’s greatness.³¹³

From this perspective, the history of art is stamped by the presence of *logos* as a form of fetishism and by the fetishism of *logos* present in the artefact. Victor Burgin argues not all art should be reduced to the fetish, or that fetishism lies behind all artistic representations in a relation of cause and effect. Rather, emancipatory politics (feminism, postcolonialism, sexual identity) and conceptual critics argue art history’s denial of being responsible for difference is in itself a form of fetishism. It operates at deep psychic levels to protect 2000 years of art historiography, which is inscribed by the power relationships of the white male ‘genius’ embedded within social structures of class, cultural and sexual divisions.³¹⁴ The unveiling of patriarchy and hegemony in art history not only critiques classical humanism but points to a revision of liberal thought

which is seen to underpin modern Western democracies. The origins of liberalism as a political philosophy lie in the Renaissance and Reformation, resulting in certain kinds of reasoning, moral and psychological dispositions and a vision of society as crucially composed of individuals and of their liberty as the primary social good.

However, modern Western society includes non-liberal groups such as political groups, religious communities and ethnic groups that seek a more open-ended political framework. To oversimplify Western society as fundamentally liberal is not only to homogenize society but also to give the traditions of liberalism a cultural monopoly and emotionally project non-liberal thought as illegitimate and threatening to humanity. In contemporary society the continuing dominance of liberalism as a central frame of reference is to de-legitimise other moral sensibilities and shape all society in its image. Alternatively, the radical practices of conceptualism, new art history and what Iain Chambers calls a post-humanist art³¹⁵ attempt to speak only of difference. Difference in society coincides with a 'crisis of representation' in the visual arts and revision of Western society in terms of space, time, politics and knowledge.^{316 7}

⁷ Conceptual aspects to my art practice is an attentiveness towards difference in society. The intention is to continuously realign and reorganise the complex network of differences in which the role of practice is constituted. As such, my practice is fragmented, hybridised and differentiated in a haphazard way. It works when it is unpredictable in the articulation of its own difference, which in succession is linked to the hybridisation of social existence. The obscure and unsuspected position I adopt in the relationship between art and citizenship invites strangeness and difference. Stuart Hall quotes Laclau arguing if the spheres of difference are widened and multiplied, 'universalism as a horizon is expanded and the attachment to a particular content is broken'. Stuart Hall, 'Democracy, Globalization, and Difference' in *Democracy Unrealized*, Documenta11_Platform 1, Kassel: Hatje Cantz (2002) p.34. It is the necessary awkwardness and uncertainty of difference (in the work of the artist and new social configurations) that opens democracy to new forms and new ways of thinking. Transforming – 'the promise of freedom and equality – has yet undergone and the struggles to come.' Ibid. p.35.

The New Indigenous Citizen

Modern European society is neither a *thing* nor a system built around objective laws of political and economic development; rather, society is a complex labyrinth involving the ceaseless interaction of many elements.³¹⁷ A tension emerges between rational action guided by economic forces and personal subjectivity, resulting in the disenchantment of modern life and the potential for a deep pessimism across the breadth of modern European culture.³¹⁸ A tragedy lies in the difficulties of assimilating a capitalist-driven material culture into faith and spirit of a subjective, non-alienating collective agenda.³¹⁹

The difficulties facing art and citizenship in contemporary society is that events have not only a temporal but also a spatial form, so the experience of art and citizenship in London is different from the experience of art and citizenship in rural Greece. The danger of generalising postmodern theories is they tend to fall into rhetoric, over-emphasising its account so as to decontextualise and flatten out all the significant differences between the experiences of people in different situations, members of different social and cultural groups with access to different forms of economic and cultural capital.³²⁰

Contemporary art and citizenship encounter a postmodern paradox - to recognise only social fragmentation overlooks the positive aspects of group pluralization. Fragmentation and pluralization are two logics of postmodernity, as Robert Dunn concurs:

Postmodernity generates both a sense of ephemerality and loss associated with cultural fragmentation and movements of cultural renewal as manifested in an expanded field of cultural and political practices.³²¹

Dunn's point highlights that to recognise only one logic at the expense of the other (*fragmentation versus pluralisation*) is to mis-recognise the variety of experiences and subjectivities that arise, becoming both destabilising and

restabilizing aspects. Dunn's expanded field is critical to the revisions of liberalism in order to make it more accessible to cultural and moral plurality. The problem for the artist and citizen is how to fully appreciate the profound ways in which contemporary local-culture shapes, structures, reconstitutes and channels human wants and capacities.

Art and citizenship are both limited in being able to take an external and transcendental view of their particular culture in order to take a critical view of it. Humans are shaped by their culture in countless ways, which forms them into certain kinds of persons and cultivates certain attachments, loyalties, moral and psychological dispositions and modes of reasoning. Equally, liberalism, far from being purely formal and culturally neutral, demonstrating a capacity for critical autonomy, is actually structured in a particular (historic) way, that functions within flexible but determinate limits and consequently defines and assesses options in certain ways. Thus, modern liberal governments tend to coerce their members to live by basic liberal values and divide all ways of life between liberal and non-liberal frames of reference. The crudity of this distinction becomes clear if we propose all religions were divided into Christianity and non-Christianity, and the latter is equated with anti-Christianity.³²² Contemporary Western society is characterised by an interplay of several mutually regulating and historically sedimentary impulses, some liberal, some non-liberal and others a complex mixture of both. It is politically limiting to expect all human beings to share an identical system of meaning when plural local-cultures adopt a non-universal view of human capacity and wants.³²³

For Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, the modern liberal state must be understood as a particular form of expression of 'abstract machine' that involves a form of 'magical sovereignty' through which authority is irrevocably imposed. This involves deep cultural mythology and 'quasi-majestic capture' within particular symbolic acts, such as regalia, the raising of flags, the reading of proclamations and so on. Nicholas Greenwood Onuf proposes:

The state is the land, the people, the organisation of coercion and a majestic idea, each supporting each other, so that they become invisible. Sovereignty describes this conceptual fusion and thus the territorial organisation of early modern Europe. Simply by adding states to its margins, the early modern world irresistibly grew to its present proportions.³²⁴

The basic constituents of a state are land and people, where the land signals a territorial claim and people become a decoded flow of labour within that land.³²⁵

The forcing of a European liberal-bureaucratic centre may stimulate the escalation of extreme nationalism and ethnic tension on the grounds of alienating citizens from their polity. The pro-unification (single European identity) voice argues European citizenship can foster liberal principles, trans-nationalism, human rights and constitutional rights, supporting it as the true uniqueness of European historic identity, and one which is able to reach beyond the segmentary models of belonging to Europe or not.³²⁶ However, Europeans may see knowledge and identity as steeped in historical significance and modern European artists often focus upon the ruins of the past, where the notion of ruin becomes an in-alien aspect of European culture.³²⁷

Out of the critique of European identity and ethnicity the concept of equality and local-cultural experience arises. To ground equality not in human uniformity but in the interplay of similarity and difference, builds difference into the very concept of equality and breaks the traditional equation of equality with similarity, which is at the core of liberal thinking. Equality involves equal freedom or opportunity to be different, and treating human beings equally requires the instruments of secular government (the polis) to take into account both similarities and difference.³²⁸

The difficulties facing the notion of neo-avant-garde as a 'critical tool' is that it risks being normalised and subsumed into a corporate capitalist culture at the level of economic production and marketing. The marketing of a neo-avant-

garde, often delivered through concepts of international biennale as much as the reification of the image is now locked into an interrelationship with the surviving forms of elite ‘high culture’ that also come to represent varying dreams of Western liberal politics.³²⁹ Looking for a European culture that might psychologically be founded upon the ruins of the past may actually blur the important differences between contemporary Europeans; it is also, probably, epistemologically naïve to suppose that there is now a neutral common European mood to which art and citizenship can respond. Forcing a universal ‘liberalising’ centre could foster incredible misunderstandings between different cultures because large un-contradictory relationships are a political fallacy.

Different local-cultural responses to Europe justify different kinds of secular legitimisation from which citizenship rights and duties inform personal responses to place. It requires a process where the specifics of a local-culture express a larger transformation in ‘becoming-indigenous’ to a region, where the living conditions, resources and aspirations of a plural community become part of an open-ended political agenda, that move to escape the dominant interpretive categories of exclusion and corporate bureaucracy in order to assert self-sustaining legal, democratic and constitutional rights.³³⁰

Reconceptualising the notion of becoming-indigenous within a nation-state offers a solution to differentiation in society, where a particular re-configuration of fundamental economic relations, including the division of labour in relation to land signals a transformation beyond the narrowing teleology of a universalising liberalism. It is the recovery of provenance to embrace different voices in the world. Though all human beings are to some extent ‘hybridized subjects’, not all forms or articulations of hybridity are equally valued across European society, hence a universal acceptance of the other as a distinct identity should be accepted as the rejection of a single (universal) identity for the sake of a coordinated diversity. Aspects of provenance and becoming-indigenous to a particular place reinstates local-cultural industries and private-subjectivities to

work against powerful international corporate bodies that aim to homogenize the world.³³¹

Becoming indigenous and embracing provenance is political, not in that it speaks about politics, but in the sense that its operations do not exist in a apolitical world but are shot through with the relations of power and access to political decision making that effect access to a ‘good-life’. Indigeneity and provenance presents transparency to everyday life, bringing artist and citizens to a collective consciousness of their real economic and political situation. Under the dominance of global capitalism and liberal politics, local-cultures remain as colonized majorities, insofar as the consciousness available to the oppressed is that of the majority because the configurations of universality operate in the service of external interests.

Identity is not universal but fragmented and differentiated in a haphazard way; along the fractures of social lives such as class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, race, age and so on.³³² The recognition of subjective privacy based upon belonging and living within a particular local-culture is held in tension to broader nation-state characteristics, global economics and pan-European politics.³³³ The prospect of establishing local-cultural imperatives is as difficult to formulate as the concept of a single European identity. These research dialogues conclude the contemporary artist and citizen are both caught between hope and despair; between a communal sense of belonging or being a political nomad bereft of any authentic emotional-home and sense of identity.⁸

⁸ The theory and practice of this study outlines a set of conditions that helps to make life habitable in a world characterized by an excess of sense.

Chapter Four

The Politics of Belonging: Within the Flux of Identity and Representation

Postmodern life created a multiplicity of subject positions and plural identities for unparalleled human development. However, postmodernity also left the individual bereft of spatial and temporal co-ordinates essential for historicity, and for a conscious sense of collectivity in correspondence with personal identity. The struggle for identity and a sense of individual coherence and intelligibility are centred on the juncture between interior and exterior, between self and other. The revision of the centred subject of Western liberal humanism demonstrated a coercive force implicated in the worldly construction of the Western rational *cogito*, which is the subject of ‘logocentrism’ that constructed representations of reality.³³⁴ This Western ‘man’, a powerful figure in art and citizenship discourses, was a subject whose identity and subjectivity depended on the negation, exclusion and denial of others: women, children, other cultures, slaves, criminals, mad-people and ‘savages’. As such, marginalized people were all categorized alike in as much as their otherness affirmed his identity as the universal norm representing the category ‘human’, which was also reflected in the particularity of classical art historiography. Post-structuralist discourse revealed the fictional character of the Western universality as the subject [he] who appropriated power to speak on behalf of all humanity, though (ironically) ‘he’ was also an undisclosed minority.³³⁵

Identity revision is about the private investments that human subjects accrue in their social and cultural world. To be a citizen, a person has to legally and emotionally feel s/he belongs somewhere, and this belonging has to feel real.³³⁶

Western democracy has to balance the psychological autonomy of the individual and the emotional investment between individuals and their communities, where the ambiguous relationship between identity and difference acknowledge the emergence of new groups, diverse communities and political subjects. With the emergence of new group rights a radicalized democracy arises beyond the confines of ideological and nationalist loyalties, where respect for diverse political struggles serves real cultural pluralism. Chantal Mouffe proposes:

The progressive character of a struggle does not depend on its place of origin ... but rather on its link with other struggles. The longer the chain of equivalences set up between defense of rights of one group and those of other groups, the deeper will be the democratisation process and the more difficult it will be to neutralise certain struggles or make them serve the ends of the [political] Right. The concept of solidarity can be used to form such a chain of democratic equivalences.³³⁷

Mouffe is correct in describing how struggles of the group unite with other groups to form a critical mass against forms of homogenized oppression or serving ‘external’ political ends. However, access to democracy is also contingent to being placed in the world. Thus, a sense of place must be present in which the self exists in a politics of shared experience; no amount of political thoughtfulness, care or honesty can straddle the barriers of human experience. The pressure of acknowledging the importance of experience looks to ‘democratic’ rather than ‘liberal’ ways of dealing with group diversity, so instead of treating difference as something that can flourish in the private ‘liberal’ domain (negative freedom), difference arises in public manifestations of positive freedom. In this respect, the question of an invested presence must be accommodated if Western democracies are to deliver on political equality.

Psychoanalysis, Fantasy and the Feeling of Belonging

A social contract arises out of the interpersonal encounter between self and other, whereby the subject negotiates the ongoing support, or not, to be found in the world. Giddens argues that the forging of personal trust is a central element in the structuring of self-identity, where the individual is able to negotiate political ambiguity if her or his self has been formed through a degree of trust and communal support.³³⁸ Thinking upon the position of self-identity encompasses the projection of other possibilities, to a perception of the self that is positioned beyond the hold of a self-competing finality. This is a psychological ‘turn in thought’ towards another possible image of the self, which allows identity to be understood as ephemeral.³³⁹ A pivotal point arises in the ‘turn’, between a view of the external world as hostile and persecutory, to a view of the world as integrating and benevolent.

This dichotomy is presented in the contrasts between Continental and British psychoanalytic theory, between those based on lack and those based on plenitude. In Continental theory, desire emerges as a gap because all beliefs in fulfillment are wishful, inauthentic or narcissistic. The ‘Continental’ subject (a European subject that excludes the British Isles) is propelled into an alienated society, losing her or himself on the way because desire occurs in the space between the wish and the lost object, so that desire is always a substitute for reality. In contrast, psychoanalytic theories of plenitude speculate there may be conditions of satisfaction for the subject, even if they are hard to construct. So the recognition of illusion and self-deception through psychoanalytic investigation transforms into a source of grounded understanding of benign forms of development, conceived as the foundation of creative forms of life.³⁴⁰

Both psychoanalytic positions hold the position of illusion or fantasy in the relationship between the individual and the group, and between social collectives to themselves and others. This is a constant and unavoidable accompaniment of contemporary experience. The investment (enjoyment) of

fantasy operates at deep psychic levels, whereby the constructive processes of perception builds up pictures of the world on a moment-by-moment basis through our expectations and active grasping of part perceptions to make them whole; constantly connecting with other thoughts and ideas, other wishes or dreams and other anxieties in both political and individual life.³⁴¹ Of special significance to modern European identity is the position of nationalism, which seems to employ the notion of 'enjoyment' as part of the emotional investment of any symbolic position. In the context of nationalism Stephen Frosh recollects the traumas of the former Yugoslavia:

The element that holds together a community cannot be reduced to the point of symbolic communication: the bond linking its members always implies a shared relationship to a [abstract-thing], towards enjoyment incarnated. This relationship towards a [abstract-thing], structured by means of fantasies, is what is at stake when we speak of the menace in our 'way of life' presented by the Other; it is what is threatened when, for example, a white Englishman is panicked because of the growing presence of 'aliens'. It is this eruption of 'enjoyment' which explains what is happening in the East.^{342 9}

⁹ Bataille links the notion of violence to form the basis of any representational act, where the act of alteration in the production of art involves not only the change of one state to another but also a succession of states, each destroying the preceding state. In the creative act of art, a material is potentially 'destroyed' or spoilt and so transformed into something else. In this sense art proceeds by successive acts of destruction, and if it liberates libidinal instincts of touch, then these instincts are potentially sadistic to what the other represents in fantasy. Bataille attributes the value of art to a kind of pre-history of 'creative acts of death', where art's unconscious is to be found. In the simple act of drawing a line he sees the underlying mechanisms at work in representation of the other. Bataille proposes two points of interest in the notion of 'destructive' alteration:

A partial decomposition analogous with that of the corpse and at the same time a transition (passage) to a perfectly heterogeneous state corresponding to the sacred. [*L' Art Primitif*, Documents No7. (1930)]

The dual aspect of art is both material and immaterial, present and absent, resulting in a metaphorical 'trophy'. The horrors of war lie in the concept of the 'human trophy'. These metaphors of decomposition and sacredness have their origins in a pre-historical social imaginary but are equally at play in the modern unconscious. The impulse within modernism is to do 'violence' to the text and the schemata of representation. Bataille argues that Manet's

National characteristics of being an English citizen were always fissured along class, gender, race and regional lines; what is known as a 'British way of life' is really another name for a particular settlement of structured social inequalities.³⁴³ National characteristics such as 'Englishness' work through state institutions to construct people in subject positions, where the illusion of

Olympia (1863) and *The Execution of Maximilian* (1867) show the way a painting and a text, such as the narrative of prostitution or assassination begin to separate. In both cases, he argues, 'The picture obliterates the text, and the meaning of the picture is not in the text, or behind it, but in the obliteration of that text'. [L' Art Primitif, Documents No7. 1930. see also: Denis Hollier, Against Architecture: The Writings of Georges Bataille, London: MIT Press (1989) p.131] This state of obliteration is characteristic of modern painting – moving towards its own death and sense of nothingness. For Bataille, the exemplary moments in the history of Western art are those that combine erotic and sadistic impulses – that representation itself connects desire with death. Bataille's ideas echo Freud in that sexual instincts of touch have a correspondence with sadistic impulses. Within the two sexual instincts 'of life and death' (Eros-life and Thanatos-death), the metaphorical language of animate and inanimate are never completely separate. In the context of Bataille's critique, modern art rehearses the cruelty of to hold and to devour or sacrifice through its own means of representation, and for Bataille it is this sacrifice that is obsessively and symbolically repeated in the destruction of objects. The modern artefact is placed, 'In a field of attraction where solid forms are destroyed, consumed as in a blazing mass of light'. [L' Art Primitif, Documents No7. (1930)]

Modernism suggests not the clarification of form but the obscuring of vision through a cloud of dust, where vision and representation become pulverised and fragile in apocalyptic explosions. The suggestive apocalypse of the modern world reinforces Bataille's connection of dust with death, dust as the mortal remains of the body.

[John Lechte, *Fifty Key Contemporary Thinkers*, London: Routledge, (1995) pp.97-100]
It is this paradoxical state, of life and dust, which contextualises my exhibition *Haecceitas Star* at the Mappin Art Gallery (1999). *Haecceitas Star* addressed entropy and nothingness as a critique of representation within contemporary painting, marking a transition from the age of growth (the formalist object) to the age of entropy (the decomposition of materials). [See: Briony Fer, *On Abstract Art*, London: Yale University Press, (1997) pp.79-81. See also: Sigmund Freud, 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle' (1920), in *On Metapsychology*, vol 11. London: Pelican Freud Library, (1984)]

freedom and mis-recognition of the ‘true’, objective nature of self-experience and society are located. Politically, representation is a way of foregrounding the structure and fantasy of power that entail in relations of dominance and subordination. Representation thus becomes a way of thinking the structures of what is known as a fantasy of correspondences and contradictory fragments in the constitution of cultural unity.

Identity and the Public Stage of the Competent Citizen

It is assumed that citizens are skilled in national and trans-national political debate and democratic procedure, that they are sufficiently knowledgeable and empowered to express their views on political matters. To contest this sense of assumed competence and propose alternate political or social arrangements, let alone work towards achieving them is generally not considered part of citizenship.³⁴⁴ Identity politics encompasses new critical forces to represent specific configurations of experience and resistance to be found in different, often fluid forms of identity, which attempt to override the grand narratives of oppression and civilization put forward by previous generations. The most powerful discourses of identity politics are found in feminism, gay and lesbian politics, disabled rights movement and post-colonial texts, all of which either dispute or supplement the economic and class-based analyses of inequality which previously dominated politics and citizenship ideology.

Approaches to identity politics must be multifaceted in order to fully engage with critical debates concerning the meaning, implications and viability of the term. The conceptual or ‘real space’ of identity is therefore placed prior or outside of the act of signification because the signifier is always pre-determined by the signified.³⁴⁵ This has been described as the ‘dimension of depth’ that provides the ‘language’ of identity with its sense of reality; the measurement and articulation of self-consciousness is made by the measure and depth of my character, or the profundity of *my person* beyond the semiosis of the text.³⁴⁶

Identity, therefore lies in the dichotomy of experience and the text.³⁴⁷

A sense of personal identity and freedom in citizenship theory is often conceived in negative terms (freedom from), which is a criticism of the liberal conception of citizenship, because many citizens also seek positive liberties (freedom to) in order to alter their conditions of existence as a member of a group or community.³⁴⁸ In this respect, citizenship is not only a set of legal obligations and entitlements, which a person possess by virtue of her/his membership in a state, but also as the practices through which a person and groups formulate and claim new rights and new identities.³⁴⁹ Modern liberalism is at best ambiguous about the relationship between a citizen and group rights.³⁵⁰ Adrian Oldfield states:

Liberalism denotes those theories that consider the individual as preceding polity and citizenship as specific rights that protect the individual. The bearer of rights is the individual and the granter is the nation-state. Under liberalism political arrangements are seen in utilitarian terms – to participate in the political realm is a right and citizens choose – on the assumption that they have resources and opportunity when and whether to exercise that right. Thus the status of citizenship is not jeopardized if they choose not to be politically active.³⁵¹

However, where the experience of citizenship contests living to be beyond the politics of classical liberalism, democracy must intervene to maximise participation, so citizens are able engage with and contest one another. Susan Mendus argues difference and disagreement should be seen as a positive pursuit of democracy, rather than maligning difference as an obstacle to a truly democratic state.³⁵² Similarly Charles Taylor proposes a politics of democratic empowerment should expect people to engage more directly with each other, so equal recognition takes place without having to entrench people in caricature identities. Such theories require the citizen to competently bring difference to an accessible and neutral public stage, based upon a politics of mutual challenge and the disruption of certainties; the recognition of ambiguities within one's self as well as one's difference with others. The problem confronting citizenship

education and those engaged in social practices (artists) is how to determine if a minimum level of citizenship competence already exists.

Identity Politics and Representation of the Authentic Artist-Citizen

Most societies need a comprehensive explanation of their identity in order to avert chaos, and what a society cannot explain by reason, it explains by myth and notions of a stabilised culture or national narratives. The conception of identity is, therefore, linked to problems of determining authenticity, which in succession links the self to language and national culture. This complex interplay between authenticity, language and culture is revealed at its most intense, and most contested within creative expression, where art reveals the limits of rational communication.³⁵³ The image of human identity and human identity as image are seen as mirrors of selfhood, which are inscribed deep within Western culture.³⁵⁴ It is an analogical relation between identity and image which unifies the experience of self-consciousness, by finding within the mirror the symbolic certitude of the sign of culture based on what Richard Rorty calls, 'an analogy with the compulsion to believe when staring at an object'.³⁵⁵ This is the symbolic consciousness that Roland Barthes proposes gives identity a sense of autonomy or solitariness, 'as if it stands by itself in the world',³⁵⁶ a mythic prestige that is, 'Constantly exceeded by the power and movement of its content ... much less a codified form of communication than an (affective) instrument of participation'.³⁵⁷

The classical humanist relation to artefacts and the self is obsessively equally analogous to visual perception. Pre-eminent among these representations is the reflection of the self that develops in the symbolic consciousness of the sign, and this marks out the discursive space from which 'the authentic being' emerges as an assertion of person-hood.³⁵⁸ Similarly, to write of the artist-citizen here as an identity, raises the possibility that what is being addressed *is* the artist-citizen as it actually *is*, an image of an authenticity.³⁵⁹ Repetitions of

identity politics take place in a repetition of thought, as an inherent and sustaining complexity of language, social structure and individual autonomy. The artist-citizen is the determination in which it finds itself at work within the repetitions of its own questioning paradigm. The artist-citizen cannot extricate itself from itself, the artist-citizen *is*; it is what it is within its own determinations: the artist-citizen is *in* its own social sense of place, a place marked by rupture.³⁶⁰

Private-Corporate Identity versus Public Democracy

Identity is placed in doubt when deeply held mythical foundations, such as people, territory, community, nation become obscured. Problems also arise in identity when particular social myths become imposed upon other groups, institutions and other societies; the revision of democracy which citizenship strives for today may well become the myth of suppression tomorrow. Citizenship rights were mapped in correspondence to public places, which reinforces the spatial nature of citizenship itself, and the critical relationship between visual perception and places of identity. The modern nation-state's main responsibilities were predominantly concerned with the maintenance of non-domestic or non-private spaces, or what was considered the public sphere. The increasing fusion of nation-state policies and global-corporate forces throughout the twentieth-century granted rights and protected citizens only when such action benefited a 'state-form' towards the smooth running of the economy.

Citizenship identity is usually understood as the product of geographic, social, economic and political situations that standardize its history and gives rise to a particular cultural style. The spatial significance of a protected public sphere is re-emphasized by the necessity of a visible place that is accessible and participatory for the continued existence of democratic citizenship. However, under the continuing dominance of corporate-commercialism throughout the

twentieth-century, influencing an emergent professional-managerial group (such as political representatives), the public sphere began to accommodate the interests of private-corporations. The encroachment of the private-corporate into the public domain effectively disarms the power, authority and ability of citizens to constitute its own identity and its attachment to a symbolic group habitat.³⁶¹ ¹⁰

¹⁰ The 'Brownfield text' was commissioned for Art Sheffield 03, which was a response by Steve Dutton and I to the debates surrounding the planning permission given to the building of the MacDonalds hotel next to Sheffield Town Hall (public space being sold off to private developers). The text played with the connotations of a 'brownfield' in the context of colourfield painting and the political rhetoric of urban regeneration [see Appendix 7]. The 'Brownfield' text was then re-worked for a text intervention in the Sheffield Telegraph (August 2003), re-named 'Plaza text' [see Appendix 8]. The 'Plaza text' was itself re-worked as part of S1 Alternative Action Plan commission, which focused upon the recent 'regeneration' developments surrounding Devonshire Green in Sheffield. The following transcript is an extract taken from a letter I wrote to the editor of the Sheffield Telegraph (July 2003) in support of 'Plaza text':
'Our artwork has always courted a sense of ambiguity, possibly the ephemeral, but this is often balanced and grounded by real experiences. In the case of the development around the Town Hall and what we perceive as Sheffield's potential, we feel real frustration and sense frustration amongst others. We feel the frustration is generated by a complete sense of lack: in vision, culture, art, confidence, consultation and so on. Those who have the power to make crucial decisions on perceiving Sheffield as a major city, confident in diverse cosmopolitan – urbane sensibilities, but equally maintaining specific regional / local characteristics seem to be lacking. Sure there have been some new and exciting developments but these do not appear to be founded upon a consistent 'dynamic' vision for Sheffield. We have previously written to the Telegraph 'Opinion' (*Monumental art of leaving open spaces*) Friday, March 29th, 2002. We feel the Telegraph has played a major role in maintaining a balanced debate upon these issues, perhaps the only site in the city where these issues can be democratically discussed. We (Dutton and Swindells) also see the Telegraph as a cultural site within the city, a site that positively responds to the breadth of cultural activity and different voices across the city. The danger with a growing sense of frustration, at times anger, is the temptation to 'have a go' and rant at those who we perceive as lacking. However, we wanted to see 'plaza-text' turn this frustration into a potential for art and possibly the debate on the 'heart of Sheffield'. During our discussions (as artists and citizens) we also proposed the Telegraph as a potential site for art as opposed to a site which comments upon art. In the making of the plaza-text (going all over

The tensions between the interests of private-corporate enterprise and the characteristics of a public and intimate sphere of the citizen are in danger of being inseparable.³⁶² Corporate-commercial practice, motivated by the capitalist market and the drive for ‘pure’ benefit to the shareholder encroaches upon democratic spheres in which the idea of public good (however construed) is served. In other words, private-corporate-service is not necessarily correspondent to public service. In the context of urban planning and public services the ethos of professionalism is subject to market demands, so professional identity is likened to a commodity and the danger is without reference to a minimum public care.³⁶³ Nation-state governments, despite being founded upon the notion of representative democracy, are prone to identify the citizen as deferent and supportive towards the economic directives of the elected government in office. There is a deep-rooted conflict in democratic theory whether democracy should mean a kind of popular power in which citizens are directly engaged in self-government and self-regulation or democracy as an aid to decision-making – a means of conferring authority on those periodically voted into office.

The citizen of deference may contrast with the image of the citizen as a morally free and autonomous person, where the ‘good’ citizen is in a position of competence to constantly measure government pronouncements and actions against the benchmark of what he or she gauges to be for the ‘good’ of the

the place and through 10 drafts over two weeks), we wanted to see the plaza-text piece as an opening in the paper, like walking out onto a plaza. In the imagined walk around the plaza, with no obvious linear direction, one may encounter debate, rhetoric, bureaucracy, polarised rants and possibly art. In this sense the ‘plaza-text’ is not designed or intended to sit comfortably (it is not a letter, not narration, certainly not creative writing, nor is it just an image). The ‘plaza-text’ piece is meant to provide an opportunity to wander from place to place. We propose it as a flat block of text-image like it’s a ground to walk on – a place where one can look at the city, look at other people in the city and feel one belongs.

local-culture /community or society.³⁶⁴ The ideal citizen should therefore be in a position of competence to regulate or protest against the government if they misused elected office or abused the social collective in any undemocratic way.³⁶⁵ Unless balanced by the model of the ‘neutral’ competent citizen or the accountability of direct models of public democracy, the corporate-commercial ethos is conspicuously supportive of right-wing policies, most notably in its commitment to business as the rightful dominant force of society, or perceived as society itself. In such a coercive ethos, employees (professional and non-professional) are expected to conform by buying into the productive ‘efficiency’ of the company rather than identifying themselves as questioning ‘objective’ democratic citizens. Equally, in such a corporate-populist paradigm artists too are in danger of being reduced to an invested décor in a commitment to embellish the rhetoric of free market forces.

In such a politically dense and contested framework the notion of ‘preserved’ public place provides a sanctuary for artists and citizens alike. Public place is a need to take stock of what can be seen and follow the course of events. Public place is not space in the city but in the context of democracy must be thought of as the city itself. Public place does not have to conform to a fast digital age; it is analogous to being un-privatized. Claiming public place as an appropriate place for political attention and a support for the discourse of art and citizenship is what constitutes an open democracy. To be identified as a citizen of a particular place and be physically present in its public arena enables multiple bodies and voices to become a questioning organism. As a counterbalance to the interests of government and private-corporate interests of advanced capitalism, the revision of everyday life of a public place through the critique of aesthetic confrontations is to work against the ‘dominant force’ of an undemocratic homogenizing corporate society.³⁶⁶

Sexual Identity and Citizenship

Identity and the personal may be political, but making all that is private public creates the problem of inviting state intervention into intimate spheres; the legislation of public-private divide provides one of the key challenges to the interrelationship between theory, performance and practice of democracy. Foucault's identification of the spatial containment of sexuality to the patriarchal family (hetrosexuality) provides one understanding of state-form regulatory discourse and its relationship to the intimate space of the citizen. In the family home, space is strategically used to mark out particular identities, so that sexual activity, rather than being repressed in the modern era, is incited and accepted when it takes place at the right time and in the right place. After hundreds of years of pre-modern sexual activity in open spaces and relatively free sexual expression, the 'containment' of sex to a particular 'commodified' space coincides with the development of modern science, secularity and the dominance of mechanised economies. Any repression of sex is not so much based on morality but on conceptions of the good, productive 'industrial' citizen.

Foucault proposes:

At a time when labour capacity was being systematically exploited, how could this capacity be allowed to dissipate itself in pleasurable pursuits, except in those - reduced to a minimum – that enabled it to reproduce itself.³⁶⁷

Slavoj Žižek proposes in *Democracy Unrealized* (2002) the threat that more 'unregulated' forms of sexual identity pose to homogenised civil society is formidable.³⁶⁸ As such, a more open-ended democratic conception of sexuality, the expressions of gay and lesbian groups, begins to contest the corporate-commercial image of family values and the public spaces in which such values are promoted and regulated.³⁶⁹

The Perception of a Fixed-(un)-Fixed Identity

The instincts of Western history generally perceive the contradictions and complexity of cultural and racial difference in a centred un-contradictionary

perception, or as a fact of nature as opposed to the un-decidability and uncertainty that circulates through the processes of language and perception.³⁷⁰ The perspectival image of classical humanism is a mirrored language that captures the citizen through the plausible rents that appear held open to sight. Desiring a centred identity, the citizen absorbs the surface of the image, which pulls the eye and cognition through an aperture, turning both inside out – to what is known and unknown. This is a psychological ‘turn in thought’ towards another possible image of the self. In the meticulous perspectival detail of Renaissance painting Norman Bryson observes an oscillation in the illusion of depth, to where, ‘All architectural spaces turn towards the viewer, displaying ... to one who stands at the place of masterly overview, with every line ... travelling in towards the sovereign spectator’.³⁷¹

In contrast, the mirrored image of the centered subject in a perspectival system of knowledge also moves not solely towards the citizen’s eye and mind, but away towards the disappearance of the scene. Bryson continues:

The lines of perspective race away towards a blackhole of otherness placed at the horizon, in a decentering that destroys the viewing subject’s unitary self-possession. ... The self-possession the viewing subject has built into it, (is also) ... annihilation of the subject as centre is a condition of the very moment of the look.³⁷²

Richard Rorty describes this as a ‘visualists’ perspective (sense perception), which is part of the tradition of epistemological knowledge, where the desire for the other through acts of representation is ‘doubled’ by the desire for power, which splits the difference between self and other so that both perspectival positions are partial; neither is sufficient unto itself.

The legacies of classical humanist vision, or representation in Western art is a faculty that attempted to put the citizen at the centre of a world in which they acquire complete self-possession, but in the visualist’s perspective the citizen is also the watched and that sense of self-possession in sight is always

threatened as the citizen becomes the object of some other subject's sight. Vision, therefore, comes to symbolize the integrity of the individual subject because it is inherently double-edged, there is no ability to see without making the concession of being seen by others³⁷³; vision is a power that equally implies the potential power of others, where the control of representation is to suggest such power has military implications. The entry of the individual subject into the social arena of visuality is potentially uncompromising, where the capture of the subject's vision supports deeply held cultural views; for instance, in patriarchal Western society women became subjected to a voyeuristic male gaze or non-white communities were rendered 'trivial and picturesque' in the West's gaze of colonialism.³⁷⁴ The visual-field, therefore, has an ideological character, where vision and identity is permeated by verbal (textual) and cultural discourses. Hence, vision adopts a political and military significance rather than the mere observation of shapes, as such, power disguises and conceals its operations in the act of looking and in the particular cultural characteristics of the social imaginary.³⁷⁵

Cultural Heritage and British Identity

Through the power to preserve and represent Western identity, the nation-state assumes responsibility for educating the citizenry in the forms of 'really useful knowledge' supported by really useful images' that refine the sensibilities of Western cultural heritage.³⁷⁶ The absorption of this perceptual-knowledge paradigm is the true test of European citizenry; it is the cognition of European identity as social incorporation.

The United Kingdom, as a nation-state of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is a historical construct of European politics, a product of much conflict, which led to the Act of the Union; linking Scotland, England and Wales. The link was never based on any sense of cultural or ethnic equality, which today reveals the sign of the covert oscillations and substitutions between terms 'Britishness' and

'Englishness'.³⁷⁷ The act of Settlement Act (1701) secured protestant ascendancy drawing a critical symbolic boundary between Celtic-Catholic and Anglo-Saxons-Protestantism. Ann Coombes writes:

The national story proved incapable of incorporating 'Irishness' into 'Britishness' or of integrating Irish Catholic migrants into imagined 'Englishness'. Their culture and presence remains marginalised today.^{378 11}

National cultural heritage becomes a discursive practice in the way in which the nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory. Nation-state constructs identity by selectively binding chosen high points and memorable achievements of patriotism into an unfolding 'natural story' called national-cultural representation.³⁷⁹ Cultural representation seeks to connect authoritatively (state-form) within the structure of its narrative; a cultural tradition therefore is never neutral with respect to the values it embodies and inevitably reflects the governing assumptions of its time. David Scott proposes in Britain national-heritage is for those who belong to a liberal society imagined as culturally homogeneous and unified to being a subject within a modern nation state.³⁸⁰

The notion of heritage and cultural difference has historically provided some of the most provocative challenges to the fantasy of a stable and continuous state-identity. National narratives and cultural myths are seen to embody the nation and aim to dissolve the terror involved by the prospect of a de-stabilised identity, and de-stabilised nation.³⁸¹ The British usage of cultural heritage emphasizes preservation and conservation of what already exists. Historically, the British government sees representations of ethnic society as vaguely disquieting because it reveals an expression of desire beyond the controlling frame of dominant national heritage.³⁸² Since the eighteenth century, British museum collections of cultural artefacts and works of art have been closely associated with 'informal' public education on national characteristics and

¹¹ My family are second-generation Irish Catholic migrants, which adds another dimension to my interest in citizenship.

caricatures of the other. These collections are not simply part of cultural heritage awareness but involve broader practices of nationalizing identity that indirectly and at a distance induce attitudes of liberal civil society to inform the conduct of citizenship.³⁸³

The Presence of Democracy

In 1789 a group of Frenchwomen laid claim to a place in the Estates General in the following terms:

Just as a nobleman cannot represent a plebian and the latter cannot represent a nobleman, so a man, no matter how honest he may be, cannot represent a woman. Between the representatives and the represented there must be an absolute identity of interests.³⁸⁴

The classical liberal treatment of the political relationship between ideas and different experience allows for private spaces within which people can get on with their own chosen affairs and a public sphere ordered around a set of shared minimum presumptions, often leading to the mere toleration of caricatures. Part of the dissatisfaction with liberalism's treatment of difference is the feeling that tolerance is a poor substitute for actual recognition and respect for other cultures. The individualism promoted by liberal politics ignores different identities by making them 'private', which also relegates them to a non-negotiable position in the public sphere.

The interpretation of identity politics and cultural difference within the paradigm of new right liberal governments is in danger of fuelling resentment and the dogmatisation of self-hood – so that identity becomes over-constructed towards an essentialist caricature position. Citizens will only dispense with an entrenched caricature of the other when the presence of democracy is at hand to locally eradicate inequalities. In a democracy which promotes presence by utilizing the public sphere there could be no privileging of some voices as more authentic than others, and no coercive imposition of a supposedly unified point

of view – it is politically naive to presume difference in experience and identity can be dissolved into an all-embracing (universal) category or group. The implications for a ‘democracy of public presence’ is there is no way of knowing in advance whether diversity has been successfully acknowledged. Even if the boundaries of democracy are significantly pluralized, they still have to define in advance what are the appropriate or relevant differences. For instance, Stuart Hall argues that it is no longer possible to represent the ‘black citizen’ without recourse to class, gender, sexuality and ethnicity.

The tension between the politics of presence and the politics of ideas revolves around who is to be represented and by whom in relation to a higher politics of ideas. The criticism of liberalism is it has not yet fully engaged with the problems of political presence, for it has tended to be complacent over the homogeneity of political elites. In other words, liberalism cannot pretend equal citizenship exist for all when those charged with political representation are predominantly white, male, heterosexual or middle-class.

The Masculine-Self and Civil Society

Feminist such as Juliet Mitchell argue Freud’s theories of parricide can be seen as the emergence of Western civilization – it is the transition of nature or ‘savagery’ into the first human social order, where the oedipal murder of the father by ‘sons-in-arms’ reveals a social contract. Pre-modern fraternity was based upon the cyclic processes of the political right of fathers and the natural liberty of sons: that family and polity are homologous. In Mitchell’s critique, the ultimate father (Adam) is dead but the liberated brothers appropriate the ability specific to women and create a ‘body politic’ fashioned after their image.³⁸⁵ In this context women are ‘opposite’ to and outside of the fraternal social contract and civil law, they are ‘originally’ and necessarily excluded from an agreement through which men inherit their legacy of patriarchal sex right. In his

Enlightenment writings, Locke insisted that the right of men over women is not political but is a ‘foundation in nature’.³⁸⁶ Since the eighteenth century the individual has been presented as universal, as the embodiment of all, but the individual of civil society adopts the identity of the white ‘brother’, becoming nothing more than a ‘man of reason’. Discourses of the self inevitably remain in danger of referencing the white male individual of Enlightenment civil society, an individual torn between the claims of public interest (reason) and the private subjective interest of desire.³⁸⁷

The only ties between the individualism of liberal social contract theory are those of self-interest, where the individual is likened to property that can, through rational calculation, be made subject to contract. The problem for liberal theory is how to present a coherent conception of citizenship when the individual’s political bond with other citizens is merely the pursuit of self-interest. In the modern era the discourse of the individualist liberal breaks with the pre-modern fraternal traditions of citizenship, which was closely aligned to the bearing of arms. Feminists argue that ancient pre-modern conceptions of citizenship are bound up with connections to the warrior, self-identity, sexuality and masculinity.

The modern liberal individualist, despite being male, is in opposition to the political and militaristic passions that underlie a particular pre-modern masculinity – it is not in the individualist liberal’s self-interest to be a soldier, thus the reasoning of civil society becomes separated from the fraternity of which citizenship and the ‘military dream’ depended upon in pre-modernity. In this context, civil society found its expression in the form of a political elite and fraternity continued to find its complete expression on the battlefield. The forms of subjection specific to civil society are conducted through the complicity of subordinates as well as by force, which is made all the more easier when consciousness is informed by patriarchal forms of liberty and equality. In a world presented as rational, contractual and universal, the position of the

fraternal citizen is ascriptive; so patriarchal subordination is socially and legally upheld throughout modern civil life. John Berger concurs with Michael Moore's film *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), that a political economy which creates an increasing wealth surrounded by a disastrous and increasing poverty requires a continual war with some invented other to maintain its own internal order and security – poverty is functional to the interests of a dominant civil society. It is always the poor, fed on the consciousness of fraternity and patriotism, who make the most sacrifices in war. Historically, obedience and loyalty to the state have been fostered by appeals not to individual rational advantage, but to ascribable psychological bonds, especially to nationalism, patriotism and fraternity. In such a paradigm, civil society manipulates the ideals of citizenship to foster its own political and individualist self-interests. From a cultural perspective, art has often claimed a hidden resistance to political tyranny and the politics of Western civilisation has habitually sought ways to control the role and influence of representations in art. What makes Moore's film so effective is that it fuels a moral insurgency into a political-military project by turning the project's own moral claims against itself.³⁸⁸

Migrating and Placed Identity

Stuart Hall proposes the feelings of uncertainty and multiplicity within contemporary life is due to everyone feeling recently migrated.³⁸⁹ The feeling that individual identity can be apprehended and fixed is naive from the very beginning. Identity is formed at the unstable point where personal subjectivity meets the narratives of history and culture, where the 'captured' subject is always somewhere else: doubly marginalised and displaced to the point of always being other from where he or she is able to speak.³⁹⁰ To reinstate place as a counter to displacement transforms the significance of place to become something that is learned and invested in context to the operations of citizenship. Identity politics cannot be solely reduced to issues of racial difference and immigration because diasporic cultures are not just nomadic.

The sense that everyone simply goes everywhere over-romanticises and obscures the real figure of movement and hybridity. It is a complex relationship between place, survival and migration, between the indigenous and being alien, and between a self-sustaining community and globalisation.³⁹¹ Stuart Hall writes:

It may be true that the self is always in a sense a fiction, ... But doesn't the acceptance of fictional or narrative status of identity in relation to the world also require its opposite – the moment of arbitrary closure – the point where there is necessity to meaning? Potentially discourse is endless: the infinite semiosis of meaning, to say anything at all you have to stop talking, but of course every full stop is provisional. So what is this ending? It's a kind of stake ... a wager. 'I need to say something, something just now'. It is not forever, not totally universally true, it is not underpinned by any infinite guarantees, but just now, this is what I mean; this is who I am. We call these unfinished closures, 'the self', 'society', 'politics' etc. Full stop.³⁹²

What Hall points to is the possibility and re-conceptualisation of being placed, it is the point where identity arises beyond fictional linguistics to actual action in the world; it is also the premise for the artist-citizen within this thesis. It is not the universal identity of Western liberalism or of nationalist tendencies but one that is predominantly inscribed by the representations of placed person-hood.

The difficulty in locating an authentic person-hood lies in seeking an identity politics that is open to contingency but still is able to act, still has a voice in a specific public place. The politics of infinite dispersal, of universal subjects and globalisation is the politics of subordination and silence. Theories of citizenship can adopt universality from the best of intentions, and from the highest of all possible abstractions. However, a sense of placed community is a political issue that re-conceptualises citizenship, where a particular configuration of fundamental economic relations, including the division of labour in relation to the land signals an 'organic' configuration of people towards an accessible geographical polity. There is a connection between place, integration, participation, memory and identity. Citizens not only live in the world; they also

have an image of the world. Placed communities exist within a system of signs through which they identify themselves and understand their world. Placed identity denotes a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate and develop a self-sustaining knowledge and attitudes toward life.³⁹³

The symbols, rituals, attitudes, and perspectives about life that constitute a placed cultural identity enable human societies to cohere and function. Local-culture assigns meaning and allocates value in terms of the key elements of human life. However, difference between peoples contests the fixed binaries that stabilise meaning to show how placed identity is never finished or completed, but keeps moving to encompass other-ness, disturbing the classical economy of language and the problems of universal representation. In this sense, meaning and identity in any specific sense depends upon a contingent and arbitrary stop, which temporarily breaks with the infinite repositioning of differential terms in the semiosis of language. This 'cut' of identity is significant to the process of being-placed and meaning within actual lives, as long as the position is not viewed as permanent and essentially complete. The position of being-placed is strategic and arbitrary in the sense that there is no essential position that closes art and citizenship - there is always something beyond the identity of the artist and citizen.

Identity Politics and Social Antagonisms

Citizens and communities, like forms of democracy, are constructed in the plurality of collective imagination, where cultural myths and political rationality cohere within the social imaginary. The notion of a politicised identity is not based upon a stable essence of the term but on its dynamic confrontation with other identities. Self-identity arises from a seemingly antagonistic relationship, from the inescapable confrontation with otherness in which political dialogue

might redeem them both into variable positions rather than discordant pairs. Thus, identity is portrayed on many fronts as an unstable notion, mutating through confrontations that simultaneously take place in different settings. Identity is not reducible to the autonomous person closed in upon him-herself, nor is it totally equivalent to the society s/he inhabits. Identity is neither fixed nor completely fluid, it is the product of a contradictory tension between a necessary social structure and the contingency of personal autonomy. It is relational and autonomous at the same time.

For instance, if the citizen or artist are nothing but what the social structure determines, they would be the same as the structure, as classical Marxism intended.³⁹⁴ However, the social structure is never complete; it is never entirely identical with itself and therefore always subject to dislocation. The social structure is both incomplete and determined at the same time, where the undecidable nature of the social structure gives rise to social antagonisms. Antagonism between people is the basis of politics and politics keeps the social structure open.

Political action takes place in relation to a set of 'sedimentary' practices (such as access to resources) that are essential for the prevention of social life collapsing into indeterminacy. Identity politics changes social practices, but in order for there to be any politics there must be relatively unchanging sedimentary practices; those bequeathed by culture, history, democracy and the social imaginary. It is the recognition of the fictional nature of person-hood, and the arbitrariness of the closure that makes identity politics problematic to constitute, which in succession outlines the problems in constituting citizenship.³⁹⁵

The Politics of Being at Home

Place is related to the political and cultural geographies of ideological struggle and resistance - people do not dwell in pure nature but in the realm of mediated meaning. The concept of place refers not simply to geographical location but also to a dialectical relationship between environment and human narrative. It is a contested reality that is not simply local but constructed from what lies inside and outside of representation. An invested place is any space that has the capacity to be remembered and to evoke what is most valued in experience. It evokes a distinctive sense of 'this-ness' that fuels private subjectivities and a sense of belonging. The place that surrounds identity is not simply raw data but something a person experiences as bearing meaning – place is a human construct.

Citizenship turns its attention to the issue of identity politics in relation to belonging and not belonging to a particular place, provoked by the various forms of inequality or subordination. Citizenship encounters the politics of identity in relation to what Martin Heidegger called 'the house of being'.³⁹⁶ Heidegger proposes to be a person is equivalent to 'being-there'. It is to dwell and persist in a place among things and locations. Investing in place is to reinstate the 'good' intentions of citizenship, which in itself becomes a protest against an unpromising pursuit of colonising space and time, which is the preoccupation of global capitalism. It is a declaration that person-hood cannot be found in escape, detachment, absence of commitment, and undefined individual freedom (as prescribed by liberalism), nor is placed person-hood anti-nomadic or anti-immigration – it has no sense of border. The pursuit of conquering space and time beyond practical human necessity is an exodus from historical responsibility, whereas a yearning for a place is a decision to enter the problems of history with an identifiable commitment to people.

Investing and occupying place depends on social relationships as much as on physical features. It is a complex network of connections and disconnections

between peoples, of physical, social and cultural conditions that give shape and content to identity politics. Global technologies and trans-corporate business has tended to de-value place for the sake of productivity, mobility, centralisation, or economic rationalisation in the colonisation of spatial and temporal coordinates. The global relativity of space dissolves a human sense of place that is vital to the optimum benefits of citizenship. Within the forces of liberal homogenisation, often in the name of Western civilisation, people become standardised, removable, replaceable, easily transported and transferred across space.¹²

Place offers a fruitful relationship with natural elements and indigenous resources. It is the recognition that the age of growth as determined by the Enlightenment is coming to an end and the age of entropy is close. If citizenship is to aspire to a valued quality of life without destroying other people's, then the economic infrastructure, human settlements and resources will have to be reconstructed, so they do not totally rely upon fossil fuels or global corporations. Participation in the entropic age and the formation of the ecological citizen is the critical point that will alert new rights and foster obligation towards a collective

¹² Anna Detheridge writing on 'MULTIPLICITY', in *Going Public: Politics, Subjects and Places*, Modena, pp14-19. (2003). describes in 'Uncertain States of Europe', how in the Paris 13. arrondissement a high-rise residential building has been completely transformed by the population of Asiatic émigrés, who use the underground parking as a bazaar and the flats as workshops. Elche, near Valencia, thousands of residential apartments have been turned into light engineering 'cottage industries' by local residents eager to earn a living. These are a few examples of small self-sustaining organisms of people spontaneously breaking apart and reuniting across the cities, inventing their own sense of architectural habitation because, as émigrés, refugees and exiles they have been denied an inclusive architecture. The currents of globalisation are transforming European cities and urban spaces into self-organised areas to the extent of small settlements occupying the periphery of the non-place of Marc Augé. The positive elements are people are capable of creatively adapting powerful infrastructures towards their own requirements, the negative aspect is that such creativity is generally borne out of desperation.

endeavour. Commitment to a sense of place is the corollary of social participation that still lies deep within art and citizenship theory.

A sense of place will only take shape through the commitment of its inhabitants to foster egalitarian relationships in relation to consumption and access to resources. In this context, place ceases to be a landscape, a backdrop, and becomes an organism. Citizenship is meant to be an equitable system of placed procedures and balances by which things work or were meant to work. Placed citizenship is a continuous state of negotiation so everyone stands in a particular relationship to everyone else, often literally so in terms of family, friends, community or relationships based upon exchange - people employ one another, work together, or sell things to each other, or exchange services, or simply invest together in the same place. Each casual encounter in an invested place reinforces the subtle and elaborate system of how citizenship might operate. A local-cultural politics that aims to unite experience to a particular place and the higher politics of ideas rejects that there has to be an essential correspondence to patriarchal civil society, and rejects that there has to be an essential politics of national articulation or politics as a hegemonic project.³⁹⁷

The very question of a new identity through a sense of invested place raises the possibility of re-instating a sense of indigeneity for all. It arises in between the denial of aspects of existing knowledge and the designation of new knowledge.³⁹⁸ The migrating signs of identity are marked by resilience, strength and productivity, which indigenous people(s) fully understand, 'They (indigenous peoples) know that to preserve their image, they must wear several masks and reinvent their profiles in different ways'.³⁹⁹ Working a political and philosophical position to an invested place can never be complete, it will always be in process and always constituted on contested borders. The slow and contradictory movement from identity embedded within liberal conceptions of civil society to becoming a placed-person as a source of landed-identity is part of the decline of Western civilization and a transformation of the liberal

individualist to feel marginally ‘marginal’, so a compatibility is constructed through the differences between, rather than the homology of history.⁴⁰⁰ This is to recognize the Western liberal (individualist) has been and remains expensive to the rest of the world.

Ideologies are not the product of individual consciousness; rather, political identity is formulated within an open-ended ideology.⁴⁰¹ Thus, ideologies ‘work’ by constructing positions of identification and knowledge for citizen’s that allows them to discuss ideological statements as if they were authentic authors. Investing in the provenance to a particular place reinstates the particularity of identity towards local-cultural industries and private-subjectivities to work against powerful international corporate bodies that aim to homogenize the world through the procuring concepts of global economics.⁴⁰² Ideologies can be made of concepts that have no necessary class belongingness, so that constituted units of ideologies can be articulated to a variety of political discourses that represent different local-cultural interests. The character of ‘landed-politics’ is not solely given by its content but by its articulation into a dialogic ideology.

The desire for a placed identity is an immanent principle of society, which moves or manifests itself as an autonomous flow, exhibiting political subjects whose identity and function is an effect of inscriptions peculiar to the particular social fields in which they inhabit. In this context, citizenship becomes the product of desire, circulating by a continuous and infinite flux, undifferentiated except by the process of constantly being cut-off and reconnected. The interplay of the flows of desire become analogous to capillary power, pulsating between the polemics of active and reactive forces. These two poles are defined by a series of fundamental oppositions: between nomadism and

segregation, between indeterminate and totalization, between fluidity and blockage, and between potency and castration.⁴⁰³¹³

¹³ Contemporary Art, Democracy and Society: Imagine, the theory of representation of civil society that has its terminal point in the cultural artefact and the state is either coming to an end, or is in an unprecedented transition. Postmodernism, global technology, mass communication and human migration is potentially eroding the historic representations that constitute Western civilization in what Paolo Virno calls an expression of 'anti-monopolistic' (to work against a monopoly). The crisis undermining the significance of the artist-artefact lies in the historical monopolizing of representation towards the politics of subordination, which in itself undermines the foundations of representative democracy. That cultural representation and democracy are complex correspondents. Hence, the artefact is perceived as being analogous to a particular theory of representing Western liberalism, which is equally overwhelmed by the practical dominance of the 'image' operating as a commodity in a spectacle economy, from which art can no longer pretend to be distinct.

If we follow this line of thinking towards a post-artist-artefact equation, the question lies in whether the contemporary artist can express a 'social-object' in an abstract or non-representational way, thereby removing the representative sign to be monopolized? This question has some justification; Jimmie Durham is an artist who investigates the available options open to self-representation of marginalized populations because they have been denied the opportunity to represent themselves. The Cherokee Nation culture, whom Durham represents, has either been ignored or misunderstood within Western interpretation of that culture. Colonial expansion of the Americas by Western civilization was seen as encounters with 'non-peoples' (deemed uncivilised or 'savage'), where the colonial pioneer-civiliser makes habitable the 'empty land'. [Jimmie Durham (2002) 'Cowboys and ...' in R. Araeen, S. Cubitt, Z. Sardar (eds) the *Third Text reader: on Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, p.104] It is noteworthy to consider the decomposition of the Western representational artefact in correspondence to the notion of a non-representational democracy; that a revised democracy might be thought of as an organism of people that are skeptical of the idealized representations of a permanent assembly. To become organically (heterogeneously) non-representational is to re-conceptualise language, knowledge, science and resources towards non-representative cooperation, which in itself assumes a constitution of organic self-management based upon place, human need, resources and 'external' relations. This is to propose the organics of non-representational democracy is capable of solving problems from within, which is to re-conceptualise notions of citizenship in the most inventive and appropriate manner, so that it is able to foster its own communal point beyond the legacies of liberal representative government. In a non-representative democracy, a diverse relationship arises between person and group,

founded upon common intellect: the capacity for language, abstract thought, coordination and self-reflection that manages both difference and a unitary basis for action. From such a perspective, language and knowledge is not determined by fixed contents but based upon the ability to cooperate with others – this is to bridge a high level of common intellect and the subjective contingency of the unique action of the individual. In non-representational democracy, the artist is a ‘foreigner’ that instinctively turns to ‘communal places’ in order to orient themselves in a world they are never at home. As Stuart Hall remarks, we are all ‘foreigner’ now, in this sense the artistic non-representations belong to everyone as a constituent characteristic of the ‘many’.

Walter Benjamin proposed (*The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*) there is no longer a uniqueness to art because its aura has decreased, but in the uniqueness of the artist ‘performativity’ in non-representational democracy, in the ability to communicate by unrepeatable means, begins to reinstate unique experiences that might be aesthetically valued towards what Heidegger termed, ‘being-there’ – to dwell and persist in a place. The organism of non-representational democracy, therefore, would still have to invest in a culture that is a vital correspondence to itself and the world, one that is placed in direct relation with its worldliness and all that is unexpected. This is the difficulty the artist now has to face, how to express human capacity and the conceptual relationship of political, philosophical and aesthetic qualities that can resist the institutionalisation or state-form / corporate monopoly.

For many artists the answer to problems in representation seem to lie in the principles of Nicolas Bourriaud’s *Relational Aesthetics* (1998), which is to reduce leaving behind objects in the wake of art’s ‘performativity’, so what remains is an aesthetically valued social exchange between the ‘foreigner’ and the ‘community’. However, in contrast to an essentialist view of *Relational Aesthetics*, the deceased ‘liberal-artefact’ does not have to become a literal stop to producing a physical object (painting, sculpture, installation) because what was and is more at issue is the formal significance of a medium in serving a political index to the institutions of Western homogenization. Equally, as Hal Foster would argue, Nicolas Bourriaud’s ‘Relational Aesthetic’ has provided one way in how art might proceed as an unpredictable and dynamic social encounter but too much is conceded too quickly in celebrating the death of the Western-artefact. In the global diasporas, of which the liberal-artefact is a part, people live by and large in an age of aftermath: existence confronts the wake of both modern institutions and practices and postmodern, postindustrial deconstructions of these practices. The theory that the artefact is no more because a monopolizing representation is all is perhaps nothing more than over-emphasizing poststructural ‘visual studies’, to be understood in textual reproduction rather than experiences which ground artefacts in more modest social practices. Foster, too, argues that a paradigm of no-paradigm at all is in danger of producing a flat indifferent culture, resulting in a

stagnant posthistorical default, which is no improvement on the old historicist determinism of modernist practices.

In the 1960s radical critics such as Guy Debord proposed the avant-garde was already bankrupt because avant-garde of Dadaism had already abolished art without actually realizing it. According to Debord, the failure between art and society was reciprocal and any attempt to revive art was farcical. In his opinion, it is far better to have done with the whole project of a canon of Western art. However, even Debord's 'situationist' laboratory of techniques and experiences was not divorced from a modernist paradigm of revolution and iconoclasm - of reinventing the new by aiming to detach itself from all that surrounds. However, the world does not offer such clean severance, art lives on in the present because it remains in perpetual crisis, even in relation to Debord's foreclosure. If we are on the edge of a non-representative democracy, the 'living on' for art would not have to be a repeating of past strategies but simply adopt what comes after – a continuous becoming beyond what is already known. Today the life in art seems to involve its own trauma of reaching beyond classical humanism, and beyond the pastiche of a liberal-artefact (Western canon) towards what Iain Chambers calls a post-humanist manner. Despite the positive revisions of democracy, trauma remains a common theme across global de-territorialised spectators (Hall's 'foreigner', displaced peoples, immigrants, exiles, disenchanted workers, capitalist refugees), so trauma has come to float free as a general signifier of oppression, scarce resources, personal subjectivity and displaced histories. Traumatic experience is an ensemble of fear, desire and pain that lies deep in the political imaginary of continued class, race and sexual difference. The traumas of identity and difference are collective as well as personal, that patriarchy, racist and homophobic positions live on nightmarishly in the present. In a reflexive way, the trace and exposure of trauma in society is not directly conditional to the crisis of representation of a liberal-artefact, that would be to overestimate the significance of art, but it is the crisis of representation or non-representation itself that opens art onto a world of experience, to respond by expressing an 'experience that is not experience', however construed. [see: 'Exodus, Uniqueness and Multitude', Interview of Marco Scotini with Paolo Virno in *Going Public: Politics, Subjects and Places*, Modena, September (2003), pp.59-71].

The articulation of landed-politics (or placed-politics) is, therefore, a moment of arbitrary closure, it is not exactly anything; it is a place where utterances or discourse suggests ‘a clinging together’.⁴⁰⁴ The politics of being placed (of becoming-indigenous) is a complex totality of the autonomous flow of desire, made up of relations between different levels, and between correspondence and contradiction. Ideology is a level of special significance in acts of landed-politics as it is conceived as an articulation of disparate elements, where the understanding of hegemony articulates and re-articulates the ideological struggle between domination-subordination and equality-emancipation. The political transformation of universal citizenship to placed citizenship within an ideological field is not just waiting to be found in the exposure of different experiences, it is a polity that Stuart Hall remarks, ‘is framed by two vectors, simultaneously operative; the vector of similarity and continuity; and the vector of difference and rupture’.⁴⁰⁵

The identity of the artist-citizen operates in the dialogic relationship between these two vectors. One provides some sense of continuity with the past, the other is a reminder of what is shared is precisely the experience of profound discontinuity. The critical point for the artist-citizen is in making the distinction between observer to participant.

Conclusion

This research explored the relationship between art and citizenship, raising questions on what the relationship might be from the perspective of an artist-citizen-researcher. The research dialogues conclude effective citizenship is based upon access and participation in the socio-political fields in which the citizen is placed. Citizenship is enunciated by citizens bearing different community accents, different ethnic codes of speech and systems of self-preservation; citizenship also means to competently and rationally engage in socio-political points of reference with others. In this context, citizenship represents membership to a political community through identity, values and realizing one's full potential within it.

The research dialogues also conclude the inherent practices of the avant-garde artist exist 'off-centre' to a socio-political discourse in which the artist is placed. The artist moves in and out of ideological spectacle, creating rupture and doubt that is inherent in the cultural, socio-political field. Ian Heywood argues the subjectivity of art is a question to which socio-political theory cannot respond, except by ceasing to be socio-political theory and adopt the condition of art.⁴⁰⁶ Art and citizenship interpret discourse⁴⁰⁷ (signs, symbols and customs) of a cultural, socio-political field in a different way and with different intentions, but I argue this difference defines the characteristics of their respective practices; it is a double act *par excellence*. Where citizenship necessitates language is used as an agreed rational discourse in which to enter dialogue with others, art appropriates language to indeterminate qualities (subjectivity), but equally to enter into dialogue with others. As a practice of representation, art is inevitably driven to self-subversion, towards constantly making itself problematic in the

quest for aesthetic satisfaction. Citizenship as a practice is founded upon using language and forms of representation to confront problems of difference, so difference between citizens is an acceptable condition towards realising the ‘good life’.

The refusal to fuse art and citizenship in the same socio-political language generates a paradox in the cultural, socio-political field. The foundation of this paradox is the realisation that the artist is also a citizen (artist-citizen), which is the ability to address the complexity of one’s situation and towards that, which leads to a separation within the self. However, this separation is also an opportunity for the artist to comprehend cultural, socio-political realities of the citizen by the insistence on circumnavigating their co-ordinates in the search for indeterminacy, which in turn articulates the aesthetic. I argue the intended complicity between art and a socio-political field through Nicolas Bourriaud’s *Relational Aesthetics* (1998) begins to erase this separation and is therefore counter-productive to the needs of citizenship and art. I also argue a ‘localised’ art practice diametrically reflects citizenship in the articulation of an agonistic-led wishful-ness; a wishful-ness based upon belonging to a democratic micro-politic that openly articulates difference.

It is in this context that this research opposes the literature of Nicolas Bourriaud’s *Relational Aesthetic* (1998) as a model for the relationship between art and citizenship, but contributes to the literature of Documenta11_Platform 1, *Democracy Unrealised* (2002). In practice, the research contributes to the template of Atelier van Lieshout’s *AVL-Ville* (1995-2000), by the realisation of an art practice within a micro-politic, which openly nurtures the social, political and cultural aspects of citizenship.

Humanism and Art

It is noteworthy to reconsider the roots of Western humanism and logocentrism (metaphysics of presence) in relation to Athenian classical culture and its subsequent influence upon Renaissance humanism and art. This involved an idealisation of the world, which proposed a movement of ‘true’ thought lying ‘truthfully’ behind the sensuously present; what is visually and textually intelligible is fore-grounded as a solvable puzzle in which ‘the real truth’ can be revealed.⁴⁰⁸ The classical humanist relation to artefacts and the self is obsessively equally analogous to consumerism, where sensual subjectivities of the *id* are channelled through a process of repressive desublimation.⁴⁰⁹ Freud emphasised in *Civilisation and its Discontents* that the repression of biological and instinctive needs grounded in the *id* is a factor of Western civilization in its drive towards the modern.⁴¹⁰ Rather than challenge the established system, desire is directed towards superficial, sexual and instinctive needs that reproduce the dominant structures of power in the modern individualist liberal (a constituent of Western civilisation).

As a form of resistance to the dominance of capitalist systems of consumerism, members of the Frankfurt School, Eric Fromm and Herbert Marcuse emphasised the need to re-sexualize everyday life so as to uncover transformations of libidinal energy, leading to the emergence of ‘natural’ interpersonal relationships. These natural interpersonal relationships are based on being-different, a difference that Hardt and Negri propose is linked to an irrational ‘organic’ body. In this context, the recovery of a non-repressive sexuality becomes an antidote to the experience of alienation under capitalism. Herbert Marcuse argues, art has the capacity to remind people of what is buried or not permissible, it reveals their deepest selves which cannot be made manifest within the existing system.⁴¹¹

Citizenship, Democracy, Liberalism and Corporatism

In the West, the idea and practice of democracy was first developed in ancient Greece. For Greek citizens, democracy was not just a form of government or even a manner of constituting the polity, but a way of organizing individual and collective life. Democracy was seen and nurtured in terms of three closely related ideas of community, equality and active citizenship. The democratic vision was based on the belief that the individual was shaped by his or her political community. The governing of the polis by an elected community of citizens still represents the inner nature of open democracy.

Liberal democratic theory, bequeathed by European history and modernity, seeks to justify the sovereign power of the nation-state, while at the same time justify limits on that power. Representative democracy is promoted as the only method to overcome this dilemma. The liberal concern with reason, law and freedom of choice can only be upheld by recognising the political equality of all mature citizens. Such equality is meant to ensure not only a secure social environment in which people are free to pursue private interests, but also a state that is under the watchful eye of its constituents, who would do what was best in the general or public interest.⁴¹²

A Western perspective on the world (which some argue is a liberal perspective of the world),⁴¹³ given by a set of historical, social, cultural and economic presuppositions, is a site that multinational corporate organisations use to construct a map of the socio-historical field in an attempt to intervene and change the field according to the values and beliefs produced by its cultural agenda.⁴¹⁴ For example, in order to discuss the same social and historical events, and for one's words to mean the same thing, it is necessary to adopt a compatible perspective, so names codes and categories can be used. A theory of globalisation therefore operates as a process of cultural reproduction; the artist or citizen has little choice, if one wants to participate in the dominant culture, but to accept the dominant perspective, (perhaps that of the white,

adult, rational male, able-bodied, heterosexual speaker of a major European language and urban dweller even if one belongs to an entirely different social assemblage).

The lack of distinction between the state and civil society in centre-right politics has led to ‘corporatism’, which is an interweaving of business and government where the distinction no longer expresses an important difference in power.⁴¹⁵ The democratic representatives in the global institutions (such as, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization) are missing. In other words, there isn’t a global representative schema that makes global institutions democratically accountable because they are comprised of non-elected multinationals. Globalisation has weakened a sense of belonging to a political community for the sake of productivity, mobility, centralisation, or economic rationalisation in the colonisation of spatial and temporal coordinates. The contractual theory of modern liberalism is non-existent in global politics and yet it is liberalism that is portrayed as the driving force to open democracy. The concept of people formed through the liberal contract is seen to be weak because its support for individualism creates a society hungry for capital, and this weakness stimulates a denial of difference through the homogenisation of subjects.

Hardt and Negri propose insurrection through a process of micro-politics based on being-different, where being-different is linked to an irrational ‘organic’ body that the capitalist logic of multinational corporatism (which some contest is an imperial society) struggles to normalize towards its own organization.⁴¹⁶ The tension between being-different and the characteristics of multinational corporatism is not only an ideological predicament but a predicament of desire that is founded upon the quest for truth and power conflating with consumption and greed.

Relational Aesthetics and Citizenship

During a recent debate at the Whitechapel Art Gallery on Nicolas Bourriaud's *Relational Aesthetics* (1998), Adam Scrivener criticized Bourriaud's position for its complicit assimilation into neo-liberal politics. Criticism of Bourriaud focuses upon a dissatisfaction with 'post-aesthetic' alternatives (*Relational Aesthetics*) because of its lack of subjective confrontation within the current political arena. JJ Charlesworth writing on the Whitechapel debate in *Art Monthly* (September 2004, No.279) outlines the tensions between a neo-conservative agenda based on aesthetics and beauty in contrast to *Relational Aesthetics* 'post-aesthetic'.⁴¹⁷ Charlesworth refers to Dave Hickey's (neo-conservative) *Air Guitar* (1997), which is seen as a return towards an aesthetic that stimulates 'communities of desire' (the search for beauty). Hickey contests the art world has been suppressed by various factional agendas that are too overt in the representation of postcolonialism, gays, feminist, academic intellectualism and 'political correctness'. In opposition to this neo-conservatism is a 'critical art' based upon social and political responsibility, in which the post-aesthetic artefact (*Relational Aesthetic*) becomes the site for conflicting interpretations of modern society. These tensions are evident in the shift of Okwui Enwezor's position as artistic director of Documenta11 *Democracy Unrealized* (2002), (which focused upon the uncertainties of democracy in global politics) to the appointment of Roger Buergel, artistic director of Documenta12 (2007), in which Buergel is expected to be less concerned with politics and more committed to the recovery of aesthetics and notions of beauty. In his article, Charlesworth proposes the most important aspect in the debate between aesthetics and society is what are the 'critical rallying points around which a younger generation of practitioners might form themselves as a constituency'.⁴¹⁸

The problem for a contemporary avant-garde operating within a capitalist axiom is art is often used as the language of diplomacy (as a backdrop to corporatism), as corporate bodies and governments seek a moral counterweight to the chaos created by global capitalism.⁴¹⁹ Julian Stallabrass

writing in *High Art Lite* (1999), argues, the relationship between business and the arts in Britain changed dramatically in the 1980s and 1990s, forcing art institutions to be reliant upon business sponsorship rather than state support.⁴²⁰ Since 1979, successive British governments have treated the arts as a form of business, resulting in 'products' for consumption by consumers in a competitive marketplace.⁴²¹ As a consequence of this shift in arts funding, the remaining state funds (through the Arts Council regional bodies) were justified on the premise that art practice had to be socially meaningful and accessible to all, which to an emerging generation of artists orientated them to art as social-exchange in order to meet the funding criteria.⁴²²

In such a compromised environment, art is unable to demonstrate any autonomous concern with the activities of business or local authorities (Regional Arts Board) that are themselves seen to be subservient to central government or corporate sponsorship. One of the features of advanced capitalism are the ways in which one form of cultural capital is transformed into another and how this informs and changes both the public and private sphere, where both sphere's become interchangeable. Despite the anti-authoritarian stance by the YBA (Young British Artists)⁴²³ their work has received overwhelming support and patronage from corporate sponsorship and the London Regional Arts Board. Thus, art that remains in compliance with the needs of corporatism (a capitalist axiom) is snared within its central matrices, while at the same time the capitalist axiom denies art the autonomy to effectively critique social problems without the critique itself taking on the appearance of the concerns of corporatism. In other words, problems such as the flow and distribution of food to feed the entire world are made to appear as resolvable through the capitalist axiom.⁴²⁴ This is a crucial point in assessing the capabilities of art as a disinterested critique of society.

Julian Stallabrass is critical of the work of Mark Wallinger because his work commodified homelessness, when Wallinger claimed to be exposing

homelessness as a condition of new-Right politics. In *Capital* (1990), Wallinger painted a series of portraits of homeless people standing in the closed doorways of banks (actually Wallinger's friends in costume). Tim Jackson writing in *The Big Issue* (a magazine run by the homeless) argued, Mark Wallinger's depiction of homelessness, and a full-size waxwork by Gavin Turk of himself as homeless (*Bum*, 1998), reduced the issue of homelessness to a spectacle commodity.⁴²⁵ Despite the artists best intentions, both Wallinger and Turk are celebrity artists and their work belongs to a lucrative art trade of private and corporate patronage. In such conditions, the ironic play of representing poverty by the wealthy for the wealthy actually begins to transform (and mask) the issue of homelessness into an issue that can be sold.

From a Marxist perspective, Terry Eagleton is scathing of the idea that art that intends to be political should be reduced to representing identity-politics, because this form of struggle is already fractured within a populist culture and therefore unable to formulate an effective challenge against the capitalist axiom.⁴²⁶ Victor Burgin's account of political art, echoing the post-structuralist critique of the 'metaphysics of presence', claims that representations in art cannot simply disengage from the economic real (the market place), because an economic reality is itself constituted by a sense of reality *in* all representations (part of the super-structure for Marxists). In other words, social reality is partly constructed in, and out of, the signifying forms of visual-representation.

Art as an autonomous critique of society does not have to be reduced to the literal representation of political discourse. Art performs an oscillation between the ideological structuring of psychic-identity (representation) to a subjective paradigm that threatens the de-politicisation of the subject through visual pleasure (aesthetic), which itself becomes a political act. The nurturing of a psychic space in the viewer might be the best option for the artist to help society with its hidden conflicts and contradictions, where an aesthetic subjectivity

confronts the imagination and stimulates debate. Herbert Marcuse argued hope lies in the human ability to imagine what does not exist and give that imaginary dimension a shape. Walter Benjamin wrote, ‘One of the foremost tasks of art has always been the creation of demand which could be satisfied only later’.⁴²⁷ From this perspective, the capacity for art to stimulate a new political consciousness arises not in the articulation of political content but in the refusal to enter political discourse through a commitment to an aesthetic paradigm. In other words the indeterminacy of art has a political dimension.

The New Constituents of Micro-Politics

Historically, a community or commune would share the results of their labour, and usually make joint decisions by democratic means, which stress each members right to equal participation. In the classical polis of the Greek state, Aristotle argued, ‘a community is a primary bond of a shared understanding both of the good for human and the good of that community’.⁴²⁸ Amy Gutmann argues communitarianism indicates the ways in which modern society can aspire to realize not only citizenship but also effective community through many social unions.⁴²⁹ Gutmann highlights the tension between the individualism of liberal politics and the potential erasure of individuality in communitarianism. However, Gutmann also notes how facets of liberalism and communitarianism can form a collective resistance to the concentration of power in both the global corporate economy and the unwieldy bureaucracies of the state.

The relationship between art and citizenship reveals cross-currents in the renewed sense of interest in the local-community. Artists working within the duality of a defined but equally broad heterogeneous community are able to reflect non-calculable relationships between art and a historical moment founded on the tensions between homogenization (neo-liberal globalization) and self-sufficient de-centralization (communitarianism). The affirmation of the aesthetic-paradigm in art is part of the process of responding to unknown

constituents or citizens, by mobilizing subjectivities that foster difference and an agonistic public sphere.

The tension and uncertainties in how art is positioned in a socio-political context (between heterogeneity and homogenization) emerges in the practice of Atelier van Lieshout (AVL). Between 1995 and 2000, Atelier van Lieshout worked on *AVL-Ville* (situated in the harbour of Rotterdam), which was originally a commission to design a city-planning project [fig. 20, 21 Appendix 10]. Rather than build a block of houses, AVL created a human settlement, described as an independent state within a united Europe. AVL describe *AVL-Ville* as art that is simple, functional and sturdy, which also makes a statement about life and society. In the realization of *AVL-Ville* the strategy is one of mobility in order to 'outrun' rules, regulations and the bureaucrats. *AVL-Ville* consists of several mobile living units, offices to work in, a complete farm, an emergency hospital, a power plant, human compost toilets and a city heating system. *AVL-Ville* have also created their own money system, a flag and constitution based on mutual respect, and a do-it-yourself mentality, including growing vegetables, slaughtering pigs for food as well as producing medicine, alcohol and weapons. The intention of AVL is to integrate everything in life and dismantle the boundaries between art, architecture and design. In this respect, *AVL-Ville* reflects the aspirations of the classical Greek city-state as a socio-cultural micro-politic; power not as a transnational monolith, but as a swarm of points traversing social stratifications and individual selves.

However, despite its self-sufficiency and sense of completeness, it is questionable whether *AVL-Ville* is avant-garde art, claiming an aesthetic priori because Joep van Lieshout is an artist. Artists can also be citizens, architects, designers or farmers and I would argue, it is too presumptive to assume these practices are automatically conferred as art when they may equally be an affirmation of other discreet disciplines. AVL describe *AVL-Ville* as 'heterotopia' as opposed to 'utopia'. In *The Order of Things* (1986), Foucault presents utopia

and heterotopia as two discursive modalities which contradict and contest ordinary experience and the discourse in which they are framed; utopia by an unfolding of a non-calculable place within space and heterotopia as a non-calculable place in language.⁴³⁰

Heterotopia becomes an analysis of space rather than discourse, so places as spatio-temporal units become counter-places which are interpenetrated by all the other spaces which they are not: the mirror (illusion) where 'I am not' reflects the context 'where I am', so places are equally ruptured by the reverberation of one another. The dream place of heterotopia reflects neither the dominant social structure nor the structure of the capitalist axiom, it is neither a socio-historic system nor an ideology: instead heterotopia presents ruptures in everyday life, imaginary realms and representations that have the potential to assert a micro-politics, which is distinct from state politics.

The spaces of heterotopia thus have a function in relation to all other spaces, Foucault writes:

Either its role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory.... or, on the contrary, its role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed and jumbled.⁴³¹

Joep van Lieshout has previously stated he made art but now whether his work is classified as art or not is irrelevant to him. However, if *AVL-Ville* stands as a template for the recovery of local values within a heterogeneous state, then I would argue it is important not to presume art (which is part of *AVL-Ville*'s original conception) continues to exist simply through creative, pragmatic, self-determination. *AVL-Ville* may adopt the condition of heterotopia (it is a kind of place I aspire to in my work-space, home and garden) but art is only able to operate, as Bourriaud contests, if it operates 'off-centre' to *AVL-Ville*'s self-organizing structures.⁴³² *AVL-Ville* is creative architecture, design, horticulture,

animal small-holding and a self-sustaining environment, but I would argue art commences where this usefulness ends. Georges Bataille proposes the production of art involves not only the change of one state to another but also a succession of states, each destroying the preceding state. In this sense, art is not practical or pragmatic but proceeds by successively destroying a material (physical or textual) in order for it to become transformed into something else. This is not the clarification of form but the disruption of organizing structures, where vision and representation become 'subjective chaos'.⁴³³

When art is claimed to be fully assimilated into the socio-political arena (the polis) it is no longer effectively Other but affirms points of reference within the dominant discourse; even the micro-politics of *AVL-Ville* have to be viewed as a socio-political organization.⁴³⁴ The subjectivities of art are a quality that stands in negation to the socio-political discourse because the aesthetic dimension (Bataille's sign of rupture or transformation) cannot be reduced to empirical enquiry or rational principles.

To be viewed in conjunction with this conclusion I have produced *Theses* (2004) [Appendix 10], which is a series of five videos (*polity, language, barricade, being, civil*). *Theses*, responds to the discourse in this research and demonstrates an art practice, text and context that is able to contribute to the template environment of *AVL-Ville* by an aesthetic paradigm that moves in and out of landed-politics. As a self-sustaining settlement *AVL-Ville* recovers critical aspects of citizenship, particularly in the reinstatement of collective decision-making and communal values. *Polity* (2004) reveals the breeding of chickens and the making of chicken houses with my neighbours. *Polity* is pseudo-documentary in its presentation, which includes subtitles inserted into each brief video clip (a glossary of terms used by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *An Introduction to the Politics of Desire*).⁴³⁵ I would argue, the breeding of chickens and the construction of their coops are not automatically conferred as art simply because I am an artist, rather it is a practical operation in the process of what

Deleuze and Guattari would call deterritorialization (the act of becoming a minor-philosophy and micro-politic). *Polity* shows a micro-politic developing from domestic poultry keeping, which in a small suburb of Sheffield (Endowood Rd) signifies the modest beginnings of a self-sustaining community. Marcel Mauss proposes the principle of exchange within the social implies a three-fold obligation: to give, to receive, and to reciprocate. Even when communal exchange has to do exclusively with various 'things' (be they animal feed, plants, chick incubators or chickens) they are not commodified as they are assumed to be in the capitalist axiom, rather the exchange-gift takes on a deeper sense of aura. In this sense, the exchange-gift starts to reflect the fortunes of the social structure.⁴³⁶ Endowood Rd is not *AVL-Ville*, but it is a reinstatement of identity and citizenship through the processes of exchanging resources and collective decision-making, decisions that lead to a renewed interest in the notion of settlement and micro-politics within a city.

Being (2004), shows an oscillation between my garden reflecting the desires of heterotopia and a series of performances in my studio that respond to heterotopia as an auratic enclosure. A performer (Chris Lockwood) sings the beginnings of diary-essays by the eighteenth century naturalist Gilbert White, the *Natural History of Selbourne* (1789).⁴³⁷ White describes the parish of Selborne as an organic community, where the cultivation of resources, farmland and nature reveals (in the context of its time) an auratic cohesion. Each oscillation in *being* reveals a letter that in the totality of the video spells 'c o s m o p o l i t a n s'. Scenes move in and out of studio and garden, city and country, echoing the wall of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *The Allegory of Good and Bad Government* [1337-1339 see Appendix 10]. There is also a performative subtext to *being* that voices the separation-union dichotomy of Julia Kristeva's cosmopolitan-foreigner.⁴³⁸ *Being* reflects an eighteenth-century tension between Whites celebration of an effective rural community and the accelerated enclosure of common land through acts of parliament. Parliament willingly sponsored private bills of enclosure in order to stimulate an agrarian industry to

serve the expanding towns and cities, which in succession supported the emerging British Empire. Precisely in the period of accelerated enclosure (c.1750-1815) there began a cultural renewal in the dramatic aesthetic of rural England on the part of the middle-classes. At a time when large portions of common land was changing and becoming unrecognisable, the image of rustic England was offered as the image of the homely national characteristic. Ann Birmingham proposes the rural idyll of the picturesque (popularised in the work of Constable as a democratic landscape) harks back to a world that, if it ever existed, was quickly disappearing into a strictly modern industrious accessory.⁴³⁹ In a contemporary sense, the themes of *being* allegorise the enclosure of public spaces (public services of health and education, playing fields, city squares) by corporatism (capitalist axiom), where common 'democratic' land is encircled by the metanarrative of capital, designed to service 'external' and 'undemocratic' monolithic interests.

The videos of *language* (2004) and *barricade* (2004) explore a similar dichotomy to *being*, except the notions of 'inside' and 'outside' refer more specifically to theory, practice and to a dialogue between this thesis and the studio. In *language*, Chris Lockwood sings a section of chapter one: *Defining the Subject: Methodology and Interconnected Voices*. This section describes how Art & Language in the *Impossible Document*⁴⁴⁰ position the use of text as a dialogic practice that straddles theory and art. The text was, 'a site for these transformations to take place – a land of exiles from the walls'. If art is a language related to other languages, it too must comprehend an 'inside' and 'outside' in relation to its limit, not so the language of art is sealed off hermetically from other discourses, but it is able to resist colonization from powerful discourses that use art to literally theorize something other than art.⁴⁴¹

In *barricade*, a performer (Chris Lockwood) sings the concluding section to Chapter two: *The Artist and the Polis* while standing behind a barricade that traverses across the studio. The barricade stands as a reminder of a sense of

limit to art and its relationship to socio-political discourses. The best that can be expected in the relationship between art and politics is a cultured arrangement between languages, between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ in the acknowledgement of difference. In *civil* (2004) the image of a donkey is overlaid by the words, ‘the corpse within us’. *Civil* reflects Juliet Mitchell’s critique that civil society is essentially patriarchal in its reflection of Freud’s theories of parricide and in its fraternal sense, Western civilization has a powerful military arm.⁴⁴² *Civil* is also a further reminder of Bataille’s proposition that the value of art is linked to a pre-history of ‘creative acts of death’, where art’s unconscious is to be found.⁴⁴³

Social Action or Art

Harald Szeeman, writing in the 2001 Venice biennale catalogue, suggests art in the early twenty-first century searches for the dissolution of borders, which is an artistic trend towards a global utopia.⁴⁴⁴ Szeeman articulates the theme of the biennale by referring to artist confronting social issues such as birth control, nuclear arms race, air pollution and hunger crisis. As part of the 2001 Venice biennale, AVL worked with Willem Velthoven and Women on Waves.⁴⁴⁵ Women on Waves is a non-profit organisation which aims to promote the human rights of women and of preventing unwanted pregnancies and unsafe, illegal abortions.⁴⁴⁶

AVL created a mobile clinic, *A-Portable*, which during the biennale opening was attended by the crew and medical staff of Women on Waves. I do not wish to contest the rights or wrongs of Women on Waves in this thesis, rather to evaluate *AVL-Ville* and *A-Portable* in the context of Nicolas Bourriaud’s *Relational Aesthetic*. Bourriaud contests, the estrangement of the artist from society is nothing more than a Romantic ideology, maintained to protect the rarity of the artist signature through a muddle of subjectivity and style.⁴⁴⁷ Bourriaud proposes, the exclusivity of the artist signature is a process of homogenisation and reification, controlled by global capitalism to transform

subjective territories into 'products'. To counter the problems of subordination by global forces, Bourriaud argues for a 'heterogenetic process' that cultivates aesthetic paradigms, (seeped in difference and particularity). The role of the *Relational Aesthetic* paradigm is to enter society and disrupt cultural and political certainties. In this sense, Bourriaud quoting Deleuze and Guattari, propose art as mediation between the environment, the social and subjectivity, it is a clinging together of heterogeneous 'existential territories' (territories which appear identical to *AVL-Ville*). No longer a system of independent, conceptual masterpieces, art becomes, 'a construction of concepts with the help of percepts and affects, aimed at a knowledge of the world'.⁴⁴⁸

I would not disagree with Bourriaud (or Guattari) on any of these propositions. However, the issue is whether *Relational Aesthetic* does what it claims in the context of art. Bringing Women on Waves into the context of an art biennale (whatever the intentions of Atelier van Lieshout might be), melds abortion into what Bourriaud calls a 'social aesthetic paradigm'. I would argue, the subjective qualities of art, that seek rupture and transformation, might complicate and displace the issues of abortion, rather than provide a platform from where different views can be clearly articulated. It is also noteworthy that AVL openly display their work as a brand (*AVL-Ville*, *A-Arms and Bombs*, *AVL-Canteen*, *AVL-Hospital*, *AVL-Boiler and A-Portable*). Writing in *Public Art: A Reader*, AVL state:

We think there should not be any boundaries between (public) art and life. This is one of the objectives of *AVL-Ville*, to integrate everything you do and everything you make into a life-style: the AVL way of life.⁴⁴⁹

Though this quote specifically refers to *AVL-Ville*, it gives some indication of AVL's sense of purpose and determination in their operation between art and society. As a brand, AVL is vulnerable to the image of another corporate voice representing a particular definition of public morality, consensus and community. Henry Giroux argues Benetton's advertising campaign stands as constant reminder that the relationship between self-promotion and art is

always founded on profit, not social justice.⁴⁵⁰ My concern here is, I don't perceive anything fundamentally worthy in art that affords it the status of a moral precept. If art has any worthiness it is, paradoxically, in the ability to distance itself from such a claim.

Herbert Marcuse argues, artist face a paradox in modern alienated societies. The more alienated people are from their inner needs, the more fragmented they are in relation to society in which they live and work; the more alienated society needs the experience of art, the more they may reject it on the grounds of being too obscure to benefit their daily lives. This is the artist's dilemma. In the context of citizenship, the effectiveness of art is not necessarily measured by a favourable reception, but by whom it was criticised or rejected. Art itself may not change society but it may stimulate the imagination or psychic-identity of the women and men who can change society. AVL's *A-Portable* might be successful in bringing the discussion of abortion into the open, however any success in terms of social awareness has to be premised not on a subjective paradigm but on an accessible platform that is open to all, which I argue is contrary to the qualities of art.

In his writings, Bourriaud brings subjectivity into play to defend the strategy of *Relational Aesthetics* as a protector of difference in society. He argues, human subjectivity must be seized and enhanced in order to resist a rigid colonization of the powers that be. Repetitively quoting Guattari, Bourriaud asserts a 'chaotic' subjectivity is necessary to promote emancipation. Subjectivity cannot exist in an independent way (meaning subjectivity is forever caught in the web of the capitalist axiom), it can only exist in the chaotic pairing of human groups, socio-economic forces and systems of knowledge. I differ from Bourriaud by contesting the alleged good deeds conducted by *Relational Aesthetic* projects do not require the subjective status of art in order to be practically functional. Art and citizenship may have the same socio-political aspirations based upon the kind of world they wish to inhabit, but as I have shown in this research, such

aspiration is based on occupying a different status and language within the socio-political centre rather than convivial joining of forces.

Bazon Brock writing the introduction to the 2001 Venice biennale catalogue, (*The Plateau of Humankind*) proposes the avant-garde self-image still remains pertinent for many artists because its self-assurance comes from an ability to turn certainties into problems. He contests, the history of Western art, since the Renaissance, is the history of problems that cannot be solved, and the role of the avant-garde is to uncover them in the social field.⁴⁵¹ Iain Chambers writing in *Democracy Unrealized* argues globalization has to be understood in relation to occidental modernity (the West identifying the world in its image). Within this modernity, which the Venice biennale is part, the geo-political Western observer assumes a universal position, where, ‘occidental subjectivity and objectivity become one’.⁴⁵² Chambers proposes this universality is humanism, and post-humanism is the opposite of worldly configurations and a reinstatement of locality that point to the limits of ‘objective’ discourse. Chambers quotes Cherokee artist Jimmie Durham, who contests, art occupies a position that is, ‘looking for connections that cannot be made, may be, should not be made’.⁴⁵³ In this sense, art has the capacity to interrupt the process of globalization by uncovering a re-conceptualized provinciality that is simultaneously heterogeneous. If globalization presents the image of hospitality (for the privileged), then art creates a disturbance that uproots a sense of universal ‘home’ (the neo-liberal fantasy) and points toward a localized, limited, unsettled domain.

The Cohabitation of Art and Citizenship

Contemporary life is subject to a massive interference from people who largely don’t know each other, which is generally accepted by a common form of obedience that binds stranger to stranger through the regular flow of benefits and mutual support. The good citizen recognises obligations towards people

who are not known to her or him, which equally enables strangers to stand side-by-side against oppressors and unjust authority in the assertion of common rights. The crucial feature of liberal democracy is representation, and this in turn requires a territorial jurisdiction along with the social and political institutions that reflect the makeup of the people. Thus, being 'at home' is amplified by a legal culture, whose rules are seen as procedures for those who share a common land. This is not to canonize home in order for it to become a universal model, as *Relational Aesthetics* contest, but to comprehend democratic life as a capacity for citizens to establish themselves in a micro-politics of being-different.⁴⁵⁴ If citizenship is to aspire to a valued quality of life without destroying the quality of others, then do-it-yourself human settlements and use of resources will have to be reconstructed in a similar model to *AVL-Ville*'s new form of settlement.

Relational Aesthetics suggests conviviality is the mark of the artist, where artist parties and 'good deeds' are part of a friendship culture. Nicolas Bourriaud writes:

Social utopias and revolutionary hopes have given way to everyday micro-utopias and imitative strategies, any stance that is 'directly' critical of society is futile, if based on the illusion of a marginality that is nowadays impossible, not to say regressive.⁴⁵⁵

To support his argument Bourriaud quotes Félix Guattari, Guattari writes:

Just as I think it is illusory to aim at a step-by-step transformation of society, so I think that microscopic attempts of the community and neighbourhood committee type, the organization of the day-nurseries in the faculty, and the like, play an absolutely crucial role'.⁴⁵⁶

What Bourriaud and Guatrai point to is the crucial importance of actively being 'local', to be placed in a micro-politics of difference and participate in the organization of communal needs. This is the model of *AVL-Ville* fusing with participatory citizenship (reflecting similar aspirations of Poulot's 'ecomuseum').

⁴⁵⁷ Together they invoke a sustainable community that is not subordinate to the demands of what David Held argues, an unregulated system of private capital seeping into government policy.⁴⁵⁸ However, Bourriaud's *Relational Aesthetics* continuously refers to international art practices, 'Gabriel Orozco puts an orange on the stalls of a deserted Brazilian market (*Crazy Tourist*, 1991), or slings a hammock in the MoMA garden in New York ...'.⁴⁵⁹ This is not to decry international art, rather to highlight the inherent contradiction between internationalism and Bourriaud's assertion of 'micro-utopias'.

I am not arguing the practices Nicolas Bourriaud supports are unhelpful to society but by their assimilation into international culture they affirm cultural difference as something that can be chosen (Jens Haaning broadcasting *Turkish Jokes* in Copenhagen: 1994, Angela Bulloch playing Kraftwerk at CCC in Tours).⁴⁶⁰ The danger of canonizing the 'local' within international culture is that it promotes the metaphor of multiculturalism without responsibility to actual inequalities – it becomes a language of easy comparison, which hides precisely the heterogeneous social relations that help distinguish between the many hybrid entities. The concept of multiculturalism is criticised in postcolonial discourse because it is seen as an attempt by neo-liberalism to contain and displace the struggle of the oppressed. A plural society is a society in which all culturally different components are considered equal, so they form a heterogeneous society beyond the binaries of majority and minority cultures.⁴⁶¹

Heterotopia needs Art

Norman Bryson argues in the introduction to *Calligram* (1988), that if socio-political-cultural power is thought of as, 'vast and centralised, like a tank, as panoply', then it will not be seen that socio-political-cultural power can also be minor, microscopic and discreet, a matter of local moments of change and that such change becomes embedded in the actual moments of everyday life.⁴⁶² Artists working within the communal gaze of micro-politics are able to redirect

the discursive flow towards a form of subjective privacy, which is held in tension to broader nation-state or global characteristics.

Francesco Bonami writing in the 2003 Venice Biennale catalogue, *Dreams and Conflicts*, remarks:

Where curatorship of the twentieth century adopted an almost Christian attitude towards large international exhibitions as if attempting a moral and cultural view of the world ... today the curator must address the clash of irreconcilable elements.⁴⁶³

I argue a placed art practice diametrically reflects citizenship through the articulation of an agonistic-led wishful-ness, which is founded upon the particularity of micro-politics. An agonistic-led wishful-ness (nurtured by rupture and transformation) generates an action-orientated conception of the artist, which is first and foremost engaged with staking a place for contestation to exist. The question arises on whether art can support an open democracy by positing an autonomous critical position in relation to the society in which it is placed, or whether a certain conception of art has come to an end. AVL-Ville points to a new conception of human settlement, one that is self-sustaining and respondent to the issues of scarce resources and environmental change. However, critics such as Hal Foster propose the end of art was never meant to be a literal stop to paintings, sculptures, installations and so on, what was more at issue was the formal significance of these mediums in relation to serving as an essential index to Western civilisation and globalisation, an index that has been criticised for its associations to hegemony, imperialism, racism and patriarchal structures.⁴⁶⁴

Under the condition of (global) corporatism, local public space as a vast blank page has been written on by the metanarrative of capital: the dream of civic harmony has been torn asunder by reification, producing built partitions between classes, races, cultures, sexes and generations. Communal and personal space allows people to exist in their own time, elicited from what

Walter Benjamin termed, 'the intoxicating results of boredom or vagrancy that allows the imagination to unfold'.⁴⁶⁵ A compatible place for art and citizenship exists as a non-calculable space, where capital becomes effaced and new ways of thinking emerge from the fracture of a world-view. This is the insertion of the artist and citizen as a constant localised figure whether they are male or female, or whether they are white, yellow or black. Such a position is not to undermine difference or the struggles that take place of the oppressed masses, rather to acknowledge that these struggles are best resolved at the level of the particular, which the central capitalist axiom cannot tolerate.

Despite the brand of AVL, I argue the insertion of an avant-garde into the model of *AVL-Ville* is a subversion that corporatism cannot colonize because *AVL-Ville* is defined by the gap that separates it from the capitalist axiom, by bringing non-calculable constituents and actions into a minor-philosophy.⁴⁶⁶ *AVL-Ville* demonstrates the concerns of neo-republicans by reinstating the community or communities of a determinate area, ordered under a common rule as a polity, or a united body politic, whether that is a nation state, city or regional council. This model proposes a ordering and re-organisation of communal duty through the development of self-realisation, reciprocity, social equity and social coherence.⁴⁶⁷ *AVL-Ville* expresses positive freedom as self-development, by the absence of external constraint and by the availability of social and material conditions to all, necessary for the achievement of broader social purposes or plans.⁴⁶⁸ Ray Pahl argues active citizenship is defined as, 'local people working together to improve their own quality of life and provide conditions for others to enjoy the fruits of a more affluent society'.⁴⁶⁹ This type of active citizenship is evident through community groups that are largely self-motivated.⁴⁷⁰ The ecological citizen is another expression of active citizenship, where green politics has become an increasingly important strand of political activism. Maurice Roche proposes the ecological citizen expresses aspirations of citizenship by fostering a culture of local, community activism and personal responsibility that is not divorced from global, environmental issues.⁴⁷¹

In this respect, art and citizenship has the capacity to dismantle the dominant historicism of Western civilisation, so the relationship is not anarchy versus organisation, nor centralism versus decentralisation, but a calculus of the problems of non-calculable people, which allows them to formulate their own compositions, organisations and centralisation's. Ian Heywood, reflecting upon Michael Philipson's, *Painting, Language and Modernity*, writes:

Art stands for an absolute discontinuity between the worlds of knowledge, practice and language. It stands beyond or at the limits of the social relationship of languages, it confronts other languages with their remoteness from its concerns.⁴⁷²

In other words, Heywood argues the particularity of art is a question to which social theory cannot respond, except by ceasing to be social theory and adopt the condition of art. Heywood points to the differences between language as phonocentric discourse (rationality) and the melding of art and language to indeterminate qualities (the articulation of an aesthetic paradigm). The articulation of art is weak in comparison to the power of phonocentric word-dominated practices. However, as a practice of signification, art is influential in the socio-political field because it is driven to self-subversion, towards constantly making itself problematic in the public sphere. The politics of art discourse is to maintain an articulation of disparate elements, where the threat of hegemony articulates and re-articulates the ideological struggle between domination, subordination and emancipation.

Even in *AVL-Ville*, the spatial colonization of the subject, in all its forms (the farm, medical room, arms and bomb studio and mobile home) receive an ordering, not just in relation to the inside/outside, margin/centre and public/private, but in the regimes of organization whereby problems of space become politically indexed. A history of space is a history of power upon the field of culture and politics. Foucault writes, 'There are no forms of freedom by definition ... I think that it can never be inherent in the structure of things to

guarantee the exercise of freedom'.⁴⁷³ The dichotomy between art and citizenship cannot guarantee freedom, but it does nurture a constant resistance to convivial homogeneity that is the mark of multinational corporate inscriptions.⁴⁷⁴ The relationship between art and citizenship is an agonistic social traverse and a hall of mirrors, reflecting 'inside' and 'outside', in which every surface attempts to reflect all the others, flickering at the crossroads of culture and politics. Foucault writes:

From the standpoint of the mirror I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there. Starting from this gaze that is, as it were, directed towards me, from the ground of this virtual space that is on the other side of the glass, I come back toward myself: I begin again to direct my eyes toward myself and to reconstitute myself there where I am. The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there.⁴⁷⁵

This research mirrors the practice of art and citizenship, they stand diametrically reflected, each exerting a counteraction on the position I occupy. Theory, practice is united in this research by remaining open to contingency, which allows me to act, suggesting the possibility of a voice for the artist and citizen within me. Ian Heywood writes:

Art's task is to find ways in which to achieve particularities that matter; the scope of the particular, for visual art, goes all the way from its materials and processes through to the artist's emotional and imaginative responses to people, places and things, and specifically to everyday life'.⁴⁷⁶

And,

The roots of art lie in the ways in which human beings give and receive value, particularly in the context of the life world of intimacy.⁴⁷⁷

The work of art transforms particular experiences into an event (exhibition) for others, united with citizenship by the need for dialogue and yet separated by a discontinuous relationship between the aesthetic and socio-political discourse. The foundation of this paradox is the realisation that the artist is also a citizen

(artist-citizen), which is the ability to address the complexity of one's situation and towards that which leads to a separation within the self. This separation is best revealed through the notion of an exhibition, which is an opportunity for the artist to comprehend cultural, socio-political realities of the citizen by the insistence on circumnavigating their co-ordinates in the search for a new aesthetic. In the search for the aesthetic the artist and citizen become activated by what is available and embody what might be possible by engaging in critical debate with others. It is dialogue and contestation with others that reveals the 'good life'. This research is not in itself a representation of the 'good life'; at least I do not mean it to be. It is a glimpse of two aspects of myself (as artist and citizen) that run parallel, displaying contrasting processes but convergent dreams.

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Thesis Notes and Appendixes

A Study of the Relationship between Art Practice and Citizenship

Stephen Swindells

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Thesis Notes

Introduction

Rationale for Art Practice and Citizenship

¹ Stuart Hall, 'Democracy, Globalization and Difference', in Documenta11_Platform 1: *Democracy Unrealized*, Hatje Cantz, 2002, p.31. Hall recounts how the nation-state remain the only appropriate terrain for political struggle against 'universal' globalization.

² Herbert Marcuse, *The Aesthetic Dimension*, Boston: Beacon Press, (1978) p.6. Quoted in Carol Becker (ed) 'Herbert Marcuse and the Subversive Potential of Art' in *The Subversive Imagination: Artists, Society and Social Responsibility*, London: Routledge (1994), p.116.

³ Sigmund Freud, *Civilisation and its Discontents*, [1930], New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1961, pp.51-52. Freud draws an analogy between the development of civilisation (by which he means the historical moment in modern Western (bureaucratic) society) and the development of the individual. Freud claimed in the principle of reality there is a deep contradiction between the need of civilisation, for order, control and cooperation, and the instinctual demands of the libido, for sensual gratification and aggressive drives.

⁴ Chantal Mouffe, 'For an Agonistic Public Sphere', in Documenta11_Platform 1, *Democracy Unrealised*, Kassel: Hatje Cantz, 2002, pp.87-96. See also: Parry, G et al, *Political Participation and Democracy in Britain*, Cambridge University Press, 1992 p.20; Broadening the sphere of the political beyond the general government of society to embrace other institutions, this broadening process becomes itself a political act. See also: Herbert Marcuse, *The Aesthetic Dimension*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1978, p.52. Quoted in Carol Becker (ed) 'Herbert Marcuse and the Subversive Potential of Art' in *The Subversive Imagination: Artists, Society and Social Responsibility*, London: Routledge, 1994, p.122. Marcuse, in defence of the aesthetic as an effective political tool wrote, 'the renunciation of the aesthetic form is abdication of responsibility. It deprives art of the very form in which it can create that other reality within the established one – the cosmos of hope'.

Content and Structure of the Thesis

⁵ Renato Rosaldo, 'Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy', in *Cultural Anthropology*, 9 (3), 1994, pp.402 – 411. Rosaldo discusses the 'right to be different' within Western democracy.

⁶ Morwenna Griffiths, *Feminism and the Self – The Web of Identity*, London: Routledge, 1995. A philosophy of the self involves an interconnectedness and plurality where language, values, personal experiences and relationships with others overlap and are not separated off.

⁷ Akeel Bilgrami, 'Identity, Relativism and the Liberal State', in Documenta11_Platform 1: *Democracy Unrealized*, Kassel: Hatje Cantz, 2002, pp.37-54. Bilgrami argues the fusion of the liberal state and notions of universality fail to provide the conditions in which different communities (Muslims in this case) can be self-critical.

⁸ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, (trans) Brian Massumi, London: Athlone, 1980.

⁹ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, Les presses du réel, 1998.

¹⁰ Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in Jonathan Rutherford (ed), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, (1990) p.227. See also: Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves' in *Identity, The Real Me*, London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.44. Hall argues what was

considered to be dispersed and fragmented experience of Modern life has paradoxically now become representative of the Postmodern experience.

¹¹ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, (trans) Brian Massumi, London: Athlone, 1980.

¹² Atelier van Lieshout, 'The Public Art of AVL-Ville', in *Public Art: A Reader*, Hatje Cantz, 2004, pp.54-65.

¹³ T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1982, p.13.

¹⁴ Brazon Brock, *The Plateau of Humankind*, Venice biennale catalogue, 2001.

¹⁵ JJ Charlesworth, 'Art & Beauty' in *Art Monthly* (September 2004, No. 279), p.7. Charlesworth highlights Adam Scrivener's (Collective Inventory) opposition to Nicolas Bourriaud's, *Relational Aesthetics* (1998). Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, Les presses du réel, 1998.

Chapter One Notes

¹⁶ Morwenna Griffiths, *Feminism and the Self – The Web of Identity*, London: Routledge, 1995. A philosophy of the self, involving an interconnectedness and plurality where language, values, personal experiences and relationships with others overlap and are not separated off.

¹⁷ D. Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner*, London: Basic Books, 1983. Practice research learning cycle has the potential to increase the amount a practitioner can learn consciously from their experience. The Practice research cycle can also be regarded as a learning cycle (see Kolb, 1984). Each cycle involves literature search, collecting data, interpretation and reflective practice. Using two or more sources of information the process creates a dialectic – argument and counter argument, leading to a synthesized deeper understanding. See also: G. Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, London: Sage, 2001. Using a cyclic approach: each cycle involves literature search, collecting data, interpretation. Using two or more sources of information (dialectic – argument and counter argument). The cycle leads to a spiral process, which converges to something more specific over time for both action and understanding.

¹⁸ Ruth Lister, *Feminist Perspectives*, London: Macmillan Press, 1997, p.66. Lister begins to attack the universalising aspects of traditional citizenship (based on race, gender, class, disability, age) but does not abandon citizenship as a universal goal.

¹⁹ Eric Wolff, *Europe and the People without History*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1982, p.5. See also: Stephen Castles and Alastair Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*, London, Palgrave, 2000, p.139. The re-Islamization of migrant communities is not just a religious phenomena but also a way group culture is formed in a situation of disempowerment.

²⁰ Sean Cubitt, 'In the Beginning: Third Text and the Politics of Art', in *the THIRD TEXT reader: on Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, 2002, p.1. Significant dialogue can only take place between equals. Cubitt asks in what way can global art practice be understood in relation to multiculturalism? In other words who has a voice in art, society and politics? Cubitt quotes Angel Rama (Uruguayan literary critic) to address these questions, Rama proposes,

'While European writers could address their audiences without worrying about marginal readers outside Europe', the non-European continues, '... to yearn for European readers and regard their reading as the true and authorising one'.

The danger is to maintain this colonized mentality within global art practices and promote differentiated sets of value within an imbalance of cultures.

²¹ Lister, R *Citizenship Feminist Perspectives*, London: MacMillan Press, 1997, (Introduction) p.1-10. See also: Anna Yeatman *Postmodern Revisionings of the Political*, London: Routledge, 1994. Yeatman re-conceptualises the role of Modern emancipation in relation to the politicisation of knowledge, the crisis of legitimacy for the Modern body politic, and the role of feminism in emancipatory politics and postcolonialism. See also: Stuart Hall *Minimal Selves—Identity, The Real Me*, London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.44. Hall argues what was considered to be dispersed and fragmented experience of Modern life has paradoxically now become representative of the Postmodern experience. Hall asks whether the centering of marginality really is the Postmodern experience, or this discourse of the Postmodern is a kind of recognition of where identity discourse was always at in the first place. In this sense Hall proposes the feelings of uncertainty within the Postmodern age is due to everyone feeling recently migrated.

Thesis-Writing Behaving as Art

²² Charles Harrison, *Conceptual Art and Painting: further essays on Art & Language*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001, p.27.

²³ Art & Language, *Memories of the Medicine Show, Art & Language new series, no.2*. 1998, pp.34-35. Mel Ramsden has described Conceptual Art as 'like modernism's nervous breakdown'. The emergence of Conceptualism in the late twentieth century began to renew art practice as a learned, self-conscious activity in Western culture. A key aspect of this renewal was to question the status of the optical as the sole basis for value in art: Conceptualism questioned the forms of art deemed as specialised unto itself. From this perspective Conceptualism emerged as a kind of social discomfort with the highly formalised models of individual artistic practice, which emanated from Minimalist tendencies. Rather than Conceptualism striving for a new art of 'ideas', Conceptualism might be thought of as recovering modern art's decorativeness, and thereby renewing a sense of scepticism, social politics and unease of exclusivity back into the long and purified world of art history.

²⁴ See the work of French Conceptual artist Bernar Venet around 1970.

Thesis in Practice and a Pictorial Voice

²⁵ Charles Harrison (ed) 'Making Meaningless – Art & Language in Practice', Vol 2, Barcelona [Fondacio Antoni Tapiés, 1999], pp.243-244, in Charles Harrison, *Conceptual Art and Painting: further essays on Art & Language*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001, p.27 Concrete Poetry. A concept launched at the São Paulo exhibition of 'Concrete Art' (1956) by a group of Brazilian poets and designers. The concrete poem is an 'object in and by itself' consciously using graphic space previously developed by Mallarmé and Guillaume Apollinaire. See: E. Williams (ed) *An Anthology of Concrete Poetry*, New York, 1967.

²⁶ Norman Bryson, *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime*, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p.27

Self-Identity, Europe and Multiple Voices

²⁷ Zygmunt Bauman, *Identity*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998. See also: Nikos Papastergiadas 2002, 'Restless Hybrids' in 'Third Text Reader: Art, Culture and Theory', Continuum, Areen, Cubitt and Sardar (eds) London: Continuum, 2004, pp.166–175. Papastergiadas discusses the concept of cultural hybridity as a theoretical concept, where cultural difference is foregrounded. In relation to Bakhtin's textual studies Papastergiadas proposes:

'The doubleness of hybrid voices is composed not through the integration of differences but through a series of dialogical counterpoints, each set against the other allowing language to be both same and different'.

Though all human beings are 'hybridized subjects' not all forms or articulations of hybridity are equally valued within European society.

²⁸ David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp.45-46.

²⁹ Rainer Baubock, *Blurred Boundaries: Migration, Ethnicity, Citizenship*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, p.17.

³⁰ Bhikhu Parekh, 'Contemporary Liberal Responses to Diversity' in *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy*, London: Routledge, 2003, pp.239-247. The issue of identity and forms of knowledge generates a dark underground where the struggle between reality and symbolism is waged. Human beings do share capacities and needs in common, but different cultures, groups and notions define and structure these differently. Equality therefore should not be grounded in human uniformity but in the interplay between uniformity and difference – so difference is built into the very concept of equality.

³¹ L. Martin, L. Gutau and P. Hutton (eds) *Technologies of the Self: a seminar with Michael Foucault*, London, Tavistock, 1988, p17-18; see also Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol 3, 'The Care of the Self', [1984], Robert Harley, New York: Pantheon. 1986.

³² Judith Butler, 'Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire' in Simon During, *The Cultural Studies Reader*, London: Routledge, 1993, pp.340-353. Butler is indebted to deconstruction in the sense that 'performative speech acts' can reveal descriptions like the utterances which describe the self actually begins to create the self.

The Responsibility of Our Situations

³³ Morwenna Griffiths and Maxine Greene, 'Feminism, Philosophy, and Education: Imagining Public Spaces', in *The Blackwell Guide to the Philosophy of Education*, Oxford, 2003, p.73. Griffiths and Greene argue there is no such thing as the 'gendered' or the 'feminist position', nor any philosophical position that is specifically feminist. In this sense, Greene and Griffiths argue the interconnectedness of personal experience, perspectives and subjectivity should not be left out of studying a specific situation – resulting in a situation that has multiple perspectives.

³⁴ Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991. Kristeva argues that only through a radical re-examination with our estranged self can we reconcile problems of self-identity within a fractured world and consequently give fair treatment to others.

³⁵ Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcade Project*, Cambridge Mass: MIT Press, 1989, p.89. Benjamin's aim was to create a visual image from words. In the 'dialectical image', Benjamin develops a means of condensing a critique into a 'verbal flash'.

³⁶ Angela McRobbie, 'The Place of Walter Benjamin' in Simon During, *The Cultural Studies Reader*, London: Routledge, 1997, p.77. McRobbie commenting upon Benjamin's contribution to cultural studies and his position in being able to engage with the European avant-garde.

³⁷ Hanah Ardent, *Between Past and Future*, London: Penguin, 1993, p.14

³⁸ P. Schlesinger 'On National Identity: some conceptions and mis-conceptions criticised', [1987] p.230 quoted in David Morley and Kevin Robins *Spaces of Identity*, London: Routledge, 1995 p.46. 'The maintenance of an agents identity is a continuous process of recomposition rather than a given one, in which two constitutive dimensions of self-identification and affirmation of difference are continuously locked ... identity is seen as a dynamic 'emergent' aspect of collective action'.

³⁹ Emmanuel Levinas, *Ethics and Politics: The Levinas Reader*, J. Romney and S. Hand (eds), Oxford: Blackwell, 1989, p.290. Levinas rethinking the concept and reality of the Other becomes concerned with the Other 'prior to any act'. In western thought the Other is always placed into conceptual form and universalised – an Other which Western thought needs. However, Levinas proposes the western Other is inescapably complex, as it is another version of the same, a formal Other, and not true alterity at all. Simultaneously it is also an infinite Other within the western self, to the extent that the Other brings about a rupture of the self as an entity identical with itself.

⁴⁰ Juliet Steyn, 'Painting Another: Other than Painting' in *Other than Identity: the subject and politics in art*, Juliet Steyn (ed), Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997, p.213

The Auto-biographical Self and the Group

⁴¹ Morwenna Griffiths and Maxine Greene, 'Feminism, Philosophy, and Education: Imagining Public Spaces', in *The Blackwell Guide to the Philosophy of Education*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2003, pp.75-76. Greene and Griffiths argue these points from the position of the gendered female body, in the context of overcoming the marginalisation of feminine philosophy, or philosophy from a specific female perspective. However, they also argue that there is no such thing as *the* gendered or *the* feminist position, nor any philosophical position that is specifically feminist. In this sense Greene and Griffiths argue the interconnectedness of personal experience, perspectives and subjectivity should not be left out of studying a specific situation.

⁴² Morwenna Griffiths, *Feminisms and the Self: the web of Identity*, London: Routledge, 1995, p.93

⁴³ Morwenna Griffiths, *Feminisms and the Self: the web of Identity*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp.66-67

⁴⁴ Morwenna Griffiths, *Feminisms and the Self: the web of Identity*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp.66-68

⁴⁵ Morwenna Griffiths, *Feminisms and the Self: the web of Identity*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp.66-68

⁴⁶ Morwenna Griffiths, *Feminisms and the Self: the web of Identity*, London: Routledge, 1995, p.179. The 'web' understood here as a tapestry, weaving, crochet and lace, rather than spiders web.

⁴⁷ Nicole Ward-Jouve, *Female Genesis: Creativity, Self and Gender*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998, p.8. Ward-Jouve writes:

Unless criticism springs out of a genuine analysis of the real world, and in its turn affects it (and in the 'real' world I include the self that lives out of and in history as well as writes), then it inhabits the realm of fantasy. It perpetuates a sterile state of fantasy, like cogs that no longer clutch into the dents of a wheel, and turn in the void, mad with their own unimpeded speed.

⁴⁸ Janet Wolff, *Resident Alien: Feminist Cultural Criticism*, Oxford: Polity Press, 1995, p.15

⁴⁹ Janet Wolff, *Resident Alien: Feminist Cultural Criticism*, Oxford: Polity Press, 1995, p.15

⁵⁰ L. Martin, L. Gutau and P. Hutton (eds), *Technologies of the Self: a seminar with Michael Foucault*, in, London, Tavistock, 1988, pp.17-18; see also Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol 3, 'The Care of the Self'*, [1984], Robert Harley, (1986) New York: Pantheon. The 'cultivation of the self' is a response to the 'stylistics of existence'.

⁵¹ L. Martin, L. Gutau and P. Hutton (eds), *Technologies of the Self: a seminar with Michael Foucault*, in, London, Tavistock, 1988, pp.17-18; see also Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol 3, 'The Care of the Self'*, [1984], Robert Harley, (1986) New York: Pantheon. The 'cultivation of the self' is a response to these 'stylistics of existence'.

Foucault writes:

'As a context we must understand that there are four major types of these 'technologies', each a matrix of practical reason: 1) technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; 2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols or signification; 3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivising of the subject; 4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality'.

⁵² L. Martin, L. Gutau and P. Hutton (eds), *Technologies of the Self: a seminar with Michael Foucault*, in, London, Tavistock, 1988, pp.17-18; see also Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol 3, 'The Care of the Self'*, [1984], Robert Harley, New York: Pantheon 1986, p.137. Foucault suggests that power relations are more complex and dynamic than his earlier ideas of power being enacted upon 'docile bodies'. This later work explores how the confession, amongst other 'technologies of the self' (religious confession, diaries, memoirs), marked one area of self-knowledge and self-definement. Patrick Hutton argues that psychoanalysis is a modern technology of self-care. Whereas Freud asks how our past experience shape our lives in the present. Past Experiences, Foucault argues, do not shape us irrevocably, as Freud believed. Rather, we continually reshape our past creations to conform to our present, creative needs.

⁵³ L. Martin, L. Gutau and P. Hutton (eds), *Technologies of the Self: a seminar with Michael Foucault*, in London, Tavistock, 1988, pp.17-18; see also Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol 3, 'The Care of the Self'*, [1984], Robert Harley (trans), New York: Pantheon, 1986, pp.17-18. In the care of the self, Foucault analyses the notion of self-control and outlines the way the Greeks devoted much effort to developing various systems of rules to be applied to a variety of conducts. Without care of the self, leading to greater self-control, access to society becomes limiting – the construction of the self becomes a factor in social practice.

⁵⁴ Lynne Segal, *Why Feminism?* Cambridge, Polity Press, 1999, p.134

⁵⁵ Janet Wolff, 'Resident Alien: Feminist Cultural Criticism', Oxford: Polity Press, 1995, p.17

My Art Practice

⁵⁶ Yve Alain Bois, *Painting as Model*, MIT Press, London, 1993, p.xviii. Bois reading Bakhtin redirects critical attention away from an over-dependence on semiotic analysis to an understanding of the ideological function of form in painting. Bois writes:

European formalism did not deny content, did not make content a conditional and detachable element of the work, but, on the contrary, strove to attribute deep ideological meaning to form to the simplistic realist view of it as some sort of embellishment of the content, a decorative accessory lacking any ideological meaning of its own.

See also: Briony Fer, *On Abstract Art*, London:Yale University Press, 1997.

⁵⁷ Peter Osborne, 'Modernism, Abstraction and the Return to Painting' in *Thinking Beyond Traditional Aesthetics*, ICA, London, 1991, pp.59-76. See also: Andrew Benjamin, *What is*

Abstraction, London: Academy Editions, 1996. Osborne considers post-conceptual abstraction with reference to Richter's 'second-order representational strategies', capable of registering a self-conscious condition of representation within a state of pluralism (pluralism as the progressive breakdown of the hegemonic modernist project). See also: Jon Thompson (ed), *Towards a Theory of the Image*, Maastricht: Jan van Eyck Akademie, 1996, p.8. Thompson proposes that a comprehensive and agreed theory of the image is 'a pipe dream', but a theory which is central to many artists, designers and visual theorists. Thompson makes the point that the tools used to define an image tend to be drawn from linguistics, literary criticism, semiotics and from the various branches of the social sciences. However, Thompson adds that such tools are often ill suited to the job.

⁵⁸ Jean-Francois Lyotard, *Representation, Presentation, Unpresentable*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991, p.15.

⁵⁹ Mick Finch, 'Supports/Surfaces', in *Contemporary Visual Art*, Issue 20, G + B Arts International, 1998. Supports/Surfaces were a group of French artists who explored the theoretical and practical issues of what constitutes a painting – their ideas were forming around the ideological questions emerging in France around 1968. Supports/Surfaces were suspicious of American formalism, working from Eisenstein's that 'form is always ideological'. It is argued that Supports/Surfaces is a branch of European formalism, opposed in principle to American formalism and its idealist insistence to painting.

⁶⁰ Andrew Benjamin, *Object-Painting*, London: Academy Editions, 1994, pp.27-34. Benjamin outlines the relationship of painting to time, and the continuing influence of Duchamp on the art object; involving the interplay of matter, meaning and objectivity leading to the problem of ornamentation. The use of the readymade becomes the supreme articulation of art without utility; it opens an ambivalent position by being without purpose.

⁶¹ Adrian Searle, *Unbound: Possibilities in Painting*, London: Hayward Gallery, 1996. Searle discusses the significance of painting in the 1990's in relation to crisis and the end of painting, painting, technique and materiality, the future of painting and its historical significance.

⁶² Jeremy Gilbert Rolfe, 'Cabbages, Raspberries and Video's thin Brightness', in David Moos (ed) *Painting in the Age of Artificial Intelligence*, London: Academy Group no.48, 1996, pp.14-23. The electronic image of technology, particularly video is now provocative to the historical position of painting, because of a realisation of a discontinuity between painting and technology, borne out by the non-hand made surface of the electronic image (technology) appearing alien to painting's historicism.

⁶³ Valerie Breuvart, *Vitamin P: New Perspectives in Painting*, London: Phaidon Press, 2002, pp.4-10

⁶⁴ Peter Burger, 'Aporias of Modern Aesthetics', in Andrew Benjamin and Peter Osborne (eds), *Thinking Art: Beyond Traditional Aesthetics*, London: ICA Publication, 1991, pp.3-15. Burger proposes art has outlived the realisation of its own utopian promise; it now knows what it is. In this sense it remains a mystery why some people still paint and write. The attempt and operation to assimilate art to political agitation remains an impossible goal but must continue.

⁶⁵ Walter Benjamin, *Understanding Brecht*, London: NLB, 1970, p.52.

⁶⁶ Jim McGuigan, *Culture and the Public Sphere*, London: Routledge, 1996. McGuigan addresses cultural policy not as an administrative concern but as a manifestation of cultural politics and cultural policy initiatives in Britain, United States and Australia. He argues a case for value judgements and strategies to implement value judgements in the arts and media against a background of plurality, relativity and postmodernism.

⁶⁷ Juliet Steyn, *Other than identity: The subject, politics and art*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1997.

⁶⁸ Alan Wallach, *Exhibiting Contradiction: Essays on the Art Museum in the United States*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999, p.106. Wallach is concerned with the role art institutions play in wider society, including how they come to represent and embody some of society's conflicts and contradictions. Wallach is also interested in the museum's role as producers and conveyors of ideologies, including versions of art history, and of the history of particular nation-states (of USA). Wallach states that the tradition of the nations museums, 'are profoundly conservative institutions, ... intended to produce an internal image of the past.'

⁶⁹ Kobena Mercer, 'Ethnicity and Internationality: New British Art and Diaspora-based Blackness', in Areen, Cubitt and Sardar (eds) '*Third Text Reader: Art, Culture and Theory*', London: Continuum, 2002, pp.116-123. Renee Green states;

There's a certain power dynamic that occurs in terms of how artists (sic. YBA) are positioned that disturbs me. I would like to restructure this dynamic so that it doesn't feel like art is merely a decorative element, something which is tagged onto the 'heavier ideas'.

Michael Bracewell also depicts New British Art as a loser in the continuing oscillations between a quintessential ambivalent Englishness and the bland multi-cultural commodification of 'difference' in US centred global capitalism. In other words multicultural Otherness remains an obstacle to the completion of English ethnicity. See also: Nikos Papastergadis (ed), *Art & Cultural Difference: Hybrids and Clusters*, Art & Design London: Academy Additions, 1995, pp.6-8. The volume examines how the notion of structured racism - modern/primitive, rational/irrational underpins the segregation of artists from non-artists. Ethno-specific 'others' and the notion of cultural identity in relation to Western universality are questioned against a background of deterritorialisation (the questioning of individual identity and community identity bound to a specific place). The structures of representation and the politics of recognition are examined within the production and interpretation of contemporary art of the mid-1990s. The fragmentation of the nation state and the emergence of a new-internationalism in art (at the time of writing) is examined in light of the 'stigmata' of migration within the European Union (and globalisation in general). The volume argues for a metaphoric artistic space (also real living space) where cultural and ethnic differences are not reduced to the negativity of identity and are allowed to operate on equal terms simultaneously.

⁷⁰ Ian Heywood, *Social Theories of Art: A Critique*, London: Macmillan Press, Chapter 3, 1997, pp.46-63. See also: John Fekete (ed), *Life after Postmodernism: essays on value and culture*, 1988. Fekete proposes that post-structuralist theory undermines the notion of value to the detriment of aesthetic, sociological and political discourse in art and culture. Fekete evaluates the work of Nietzsche to argue the re-introduction of value into aesthetic discourse, politics and sociology in an attempt to synthesise liberalism and Marxism.

⁷¹ Janet Wolff, *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983. See also: Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 1981. Wolff proposes that the generic term art classifies together different kinds of practices, such as film, painting, opera, literature and so on. However, Wolff makes the point that different creative practices are potentially ideological in different ways but 'The Social Production of Art' though it focuses upon painting and literature argues for a generic sociology of the arts.

⁷² Carol Becker (ed) *The Subversive Imagination: Artists, Society and Social Responsibility*, New York: Routledge, 1994. The book is an anthology of essays that addresses the relationship and the notion of responsibility between artists and the societies in which they operate. Becker argues that contemporary art and artists in North America have failed to address issues of censorship

and strategies for artistic freedom within a historical context. Becker proposes that international art and artists should explore issues of artistic freedom in relation to identity and political commitment.

⁷³ Stuart Hall (ed), *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, London: Sage Publications (The Open University), 1997. Hall edits a range of approaches to understanding representation. This includes semiotic theory, psychoanalysis, anthropology, sociology, feminism, art history and Foucauldian models of representation. Representation is presented as a signifying practice addressing themes of national identity, the 'racialised other' in popular media and photographic image, the construction of masculine identities, gender narratives and consumer culture. The book also discusses representation in relation to meaning, truth, knowledge and power.

⁷⁴ Arthur C. Danto, *After the End of Art: Contemporary Art and the Pale of History*, Washington: Princeton University Press, 1997. Danto attempts to re-enfranchise art by returning to the relation between art and interpretation in order to show works of art are reliant upon the philosophy of art interpretation.

⁷⁵ Suzi Gablik, *The Re-enchantment of Art*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1995. Gablik examines the effects of modernism in western society in relation to an art without purpose or moral authority. Gablik proposes that the modernist sense of isolation and antipathy has produced psychic and social structures, which are anti-ecological, unhealthy and socially destructive. Gablik proposes strategies to transform notions of modern personal indulgence to social, collective responsibility through cultural imperatives of renewed sense of community, an enlarged ecological perspective and spiritual renewal through mythic and archetypal discourses.

⁷⁶ Yve-Alain Bois and Rosalind Krauss, *Formless: A User's Guide*, New York: Zone Books, 1997. Bois and Krauss introduce new concepts on the understanding of the avant-garde and modernist art practices. They examine the opposition between form and content as a crude model for the understanding of modern art practices. Instead they propose the concept of 'formless' as a paradigm which stands outside the opposition of form and content and outside the concept of binary thinking which they see as a process of privileging formal mastery. They argue the notion of the formless has been suppressed within the history of modernism in order to service thematics and categories in art. They propose the future of the formless within contemporary art practices to maintain neither theme nor form but to explore the power of formless (*informe*) (Bataille expressed it as a job). Formless is seen not only as an adjective (having a given meaning), but also a word which serves as having no rights, goal or form.

⁷⁷ Denis Hollier, *Against Architecture: The Writings of Georges Bataille*, (trans). Betsy Wing, Cambridge, Mass; MIT Press, 1989, pp.87-88.

⁷⁸ Graham Gussin and Ele Carpenter (eds) *NOTHING*, London: August Media Ltd, 2001. The book catalogues the exhibition *NOTHING* (2001) curated by Gussin and Carpenter and extends to include a further material and exploration on the notion of nothing from other disciplines. Drawn from cinema, literature, science and philosophy as well as art the book provides a general body of thought about absence, formlessness, invisibility and the immaterial. Equally, the idea of nothing is illustrated through various texts and images which make reference to infinity, the void, the unknown, form, value, meaning, belief and so on – an open ended enquiry, which is seemingly impossible to quantify.

The Field of Citizenship

⁷⁹ T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, Cambridge Mass: Cambridge University Press 1950, pp.28-9. Marshall argued that, 'citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed'.

⁸⁰ Bryan. S. Turner, *Liberal Citizenship and Cosmopolitan Virtue*, in Andrew Vandenberg, *Citizenship and Democracy in Global Era*, London: MacMillan Press, 2000, pp.18-23. It is possible to distinguish between active and passive forms of citizenship, which arise from variations between the subject and the state. In England there has been a tradition of the passive citizenship, which was enshrined by John Locke's (1690) justification of constitutional social contract theory in *Two Treatises of Government* in 1690. The absence of a revolution from the working-classes in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries illustrates the history of 'gradualism' in civic, social and political changes. Halevy (1962) has argued that the Methodist Revolution in Britain was a substitute for a socialist revolution because Methodism (within modernity) created the conditions for social mobility of individuals out of working class positions. This Wesleyan theology spawned an inherent political conservatism and an ideology of acceptance. Hence the English citizen evolved and remained as a 'subject' of the monarchy. In historical terms citizenship creates a juridic identity that determines an individual's status within the political community, and the historic rise of modern citizenship in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was primarily associated with nation-states and nationalism. In this sense juridic identity generates strong racist characteristics in the creation of notions of 'British people', where national citizenship was associated with Occidentalism (as an adjunct to Orientalism), creating strong notions of Otherness as the boundary between inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion.

⁸¹ Adrian Oldfield,) *Citizenship and Community: Civic Republicanism and the Modern World*, London: Routledge, 1990. Citizenship as status includes both classical liberals, who confine citizenship to the formal (negative) civil and political rights necessary to protect individual freedom, plus those in the tradition of Marshall who include social rights as an element of positive freedom. Those who subscribe to 'citizenship as practice' are contemporary civic republicans, for whom the true citizen is actively involved in political and civil affairs as a element of their obligations.

⁸² Derek Heater), *Citizenship: the Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, Essex: Longman, 1990. Heater presents a wide-ranging account on the definition of citizenship to argue citizens should be aware of their status. Citizenship status is conceived of having five elements: identity, virtue, legal, political and social aspects. Heater argues the analysis of citizenship is complex when measured against the weight of history, which in turn complicates the defining and exercising contemporary citizenship. Heater argues the complexities need to be overcome if civic duties are to be performed and civic rights are to be exercised.

⁸³ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, New York: University Press, 1997, pp.13-17. Lister points out that seeking the appropriate balance and relationship between status and obligation is complex but necessary in order to reflect upon gender and other (marginalised) power relations; between the centre and the margins.

⁸⁴ T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, Cambridge, Mass: Cambridge University Press, 1950, pp.10-15.

⁸⁵ Derek Heater, *Citizenship: the Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, London: Longman, 1990, pp.314-319. A synthesis of the ideal aspects of modern citizenship are framed by six broad notions. Understood as the multiple-citizen.

- i. The republican, with emphasis on civic virtue and military service.
- ii. The cosmopolitan, vis-à-vis nationalist pride
- iii. The nationalist, with emphasis upon patriotic cohesion and civic pride
- iv. The liberal, respect for legal and political rights
- v. Rejection of totalitarianism
- vi. The socialist, respect for socio-economic rights

Multiple citizenship is defined through the adaptation of the above broad notions, what Heater describes as 'the Cube of Citizenship' (p.319). The model cube displays three sides: 1) a geographical level of functional networks, which include and understanding of the world, continent/region, nation-state and city/provincial/local. 2) the elements described above 3) Education, based on knowledge, attitude and skills.

⁸⁶ Derek Heater, *Citizenship: the Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, London: Longman, 1990, p.323. An internationalist perspective and the mobilisation of multicultural education to accommodate the model of multiple citizenship is seen as fundamental to contemporary life and its acceptance beyond the nation state definition, particularly as the EU develops a quasi-supranational entity. The question arises without a working model of citizenship sustained through appropriate education and governance can the notion of human dignity and secular morality thrive.

⁸⁷ Bernard Crick, *Essays on Citizenship*, London: Continuum, 2000. *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools* (QCA 1998) was set up by David Blunket the then Secretary of State for Education and Employment. This provided guidance for 'PSHE' (Personal Health and Social Education) for secondary schools statutory curriculum and 'PSHE and Citizenship' non-statutory for Primary Schools. The Citizenship Order 2000 applies to all schools in England. Historically the ethos of the school was felt to be sufficient and it was rare that subjects of the Crown to regard themselves as active citizens with rights to be exercised as well as agreed responsibilities.

⁸⁸ Raymond Plant and Norman Barry [IEA Health and Welfare Unit, 1990] p.43. Plant and Barry state, 'the existence of widespread public welfare arrangements may be, at least in part, a causal factor in the perpetuation of social problems and in the failure to generate good citizenship.' Though Plant is largely engaged in rejecting new right policies and placing citizenship at the forefront of new left thinking.

⁸⁹ David Selbourne, *The Principle of Duty*, London: Sinclair and Stevenson, 1994. Selbourne argues sustaining familial relations, duty to law and order, voluntary acts and public service, self-education and duty to work, respect for physical lives of others and the natural world should become sanctioned by a civic bond. The breaking of the bond results in curtailment of civic benefits and punishment through the law courts for more extreme breaking of the bond.

Citizenship as Rights

⁹⁰ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, New York: University Press, 1997, p.17. Citizenship is a process and not just an outcome, the process of full-membership and participation identifies the struggle to gain new rights and to give substance to existing ones. Lister claims that a more positive notion of freedom as the ability to participate in society as full citizens is not given much prominence.

⁹¹ Plant, R, 'Citizenship Rights and Welfare' in A. Coote (ed) *The Welfare of Citizens*, London: Institute of Public Policy Research/Rivers Oram Press, 1992.

⁹² Gould, C. *Rethinking Democracy*, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1988, p.32

⁹³ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, New York University Press. 1997, p.17

⁹⁴ David Held, *Democracy and Globalisation*, Global Governance 3, 1997, pp.251-267. There are seven clusters of rights corresponding to key sites of power: health, social, cultural, civil, economic, pacific and political rights. These rights are fundamental to the principle of autonomy and equal political participation.

⁹⁵ Doyal, L. and Gough, L. A, *Theory of Human Need*, Basingstoke: MacMillan, London, 1991, p.54. The notion of autonomy together with physical survival represents one of the most basic human needs.

⁹⁶ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, New York University Press, 1997, p.17. Traditional Marxist approach to citizenship social rights discourse has dismissed the idea on the basis of an individualistic bourgeois charade designed to obscure fundamental economic and social class divisions behind a veneer of equality.

⁹⁷ Catherine de Wenden, 'Changing Representations of the Other in France: The Mirror of Migration', in Baubock and Rundell, *Blurred Boundaries: Migration, Ethnicity, Citizenship*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1998, p.85. The presence of the Other is generally not well accepted – the Other attempts to reconstruct a distinct identity in contrast to national identity. Paradoxically, this is occurring at a time in contemporary Europe when immigration has become transnational renewing the definition of European citizenship.

⁹⁸ Taylor, D. *Political Theory and the Modern State*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989. See also: Taylor, 'Citizenship and Social Policy', in *Critical Social Policy*, (29), pp.19-31. This reflects citizenship general exclusionary tensions.

⁹⁹ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, New York: University Press, 1997, p.18. Gould argues that the right to social and political participation should be reviewed. This has led a call from several quarters to review social citizenship rights in the context of state welfare: Ignatieff (1989), The Sheffield Group (1989), Roche (1992), Beresford and Croft (1993). Their approach to the empowerment of welfare state users stand in contrast to that of the British Conservative government under John Major which introduced a Citizen's Charter exemplifying a consumerist, market-orientated conception of citizenship rights in which the citizen is transformed into a customer.

¹⁰⁰ Maurice Roche, 'Rethinking Citizenship: Welfare, Ideology and Change' in *Modern Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.

¹⁰¹ L. Prrott, 'Cultural Rights as Peoples: Rights in International Law', in James Crawford (ed) *The Rights of Peoples*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1988.

¹⁰² Nick Stevenson, *Culture and Citizenship*, London: Sage, 2001, p.22. Stevenson discusses the controversy of clitoridectomy practised in certain Muslim communities.

Citizenship as Obligation

¹⁰³ Lawrence Mead, *Beyond Entitlement: the social obligation of citizenship*, 1986, p.229. See also Michael Novak, *The New Consensus of Family and Welfare*, 1987. Neo-conservatives Mead and Novak argue that social citizenship should be contingent on the duty to engage in paid work. Both emphasise citizenship obligations over rights in the context of appealing to the common good.

¹⁰⁴ Lawrence Mead, *Beyond Entitlement: the social obligation of citizenship*, 1986, p.229. The intensification of work obligations as citizenship duty reflects the influence of new right thinking; the enforcement of this duty is measured by both its *intensiveness* (the type of work on offer and sanctions applied) and by its *extensiveness*, for instance how it treats lone parents.

¹⁰⁵ David Selbourne, *The Principle of Duty*, London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994, p.5. Selbourne is critical of dutiless rights – claiming that dutiless rights demonstrates indifference to the ethical (and natural) limits of politics. The new right (neo-republican) adopt an apocalyptic tone of rights over duties; evident through civic and moral breakdown, high levels of unemployment, urban violence, family breakdown, declining educational skills and idle consumption/waste and environmental degradation. Neo-Republicans propose a case for stoicism based upon individual

conduct in relation to the 'other' in society. This stoicism is framed as a performance of duty (to self, others and the civic order) which is positioned as morally superior, as well as historically prior constituent of human association when set against the claims of rights.

¹⁰⁶ Ruth Lister, *The Exclusive Society: Citizenship and the Poor*, Child Poverty Action Group, London, 1992, pp.19-21. In 1989 Douglas Hurd (Secretary of State) proposed, 'the government can remove the impediments to human endeavour, to help set the tone, the public ethos, within which we (sic citizens) conduct our lives.' (*Sunday Correspondent*, 12th November 1989). Lister argues the new right redefine citizenship using the language of obligation and responsibility as a means of combating the 'dependency culture'. Though in practice this tends to force people into low paid, unpleasant jobs as part of labour 'obligations'.

¹⁰⁷ David Selbourne, *The Principle of Duty*, London, Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994, p.20. The citizen is possessor of free will, in accordance with individual interests, but equally related to prior ethical and practical obligation as a member of a civic order to act in accordance with the principle qua citizen. "*Whatsoever is created on earth was merely designed, as the stoics will have it, for the service of man; and men themselves for the service of one another.*" (Cicero, *Offices*, I, vii).

¹⁰⁸ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, New York University Press, 1997, pp.20-21. Under conservative government in UK unemployment was replaced by job seekers allowance designed to make clear to unemployed people the link between receipt of benefit and obligations to job seekers agreement to except reasonable offer of work or training.

¹⁰⁹ Henry Tam, *Communitarianism: a New Agenda for Politics and Citizenship*, London: MacMillan Press, 1998, p.3. Communitarianism objects to 'market individualism' and the increased marketing of the public domain. In order to build inclusive communities citizens should understand the responsibility to work towards collective action for the 'common good'. This involves everyone working within the community in order to construct a collective society.

¹¹⁰ Geraint Parry, 'Conclusion: Paths to Citizenship' in Vogel. U and Moran. M. (eds) *The Frontiers of Citizenship*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991.

Citizenship Practice

¹¹¹ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, New York University Press, 1997.

¹¹² Ray Pahl, 'Prophets, Ethnographers and Social Glue: Civil Society and Social Order, in Mimeo': ESRC/CNRS Workshop on *Citizenship, Social Order and Civilising Processes*, Cumberland Lodge, UK. September, 1990. See also: Henry Tam, *Communitarianism: a New Agenda for Politics and Citizenship*, London: MacMillan Press, 1998, p.205. Community groups can exert power over the development of a local, social environment – hence interrelated powers and responsibilities should be looked at in terms of epistemological, economic and political implications. In other words co-operative interactions of community groups should provide the basis for discussing diverse knowledge claims about what should be done.

¹¹³ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, New York: University Press, 1997, p.21

¹¹⁴ Maurice Roche, 'Rethinking Citizenship: Welfare, Ideology and Change' in *Modern Society*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992, pp.52-53. Roche argues the ecological movement is clearly concerned with the politics and morality of duty.

The Political Citizen

¹¹⁵ Ann Coleman and Winton Higgins, 'Racial and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary Citizenship', in Andrew Vandenberg, *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*, London: MacMillan Press, 2000, p.67. The liberal version of the civic nation proposes the nation is a voluntary collection of individuals, which is a purely political and legal entity with no ethnic reference or cultural definition, and therefore offers a model of inclusive citizenship. However, Coleman and Higgins

argue we are born into a national and cultural identity. Though constituting a nation can never be a new, ethnically innocent beginning as the civic myth would claim. The idea that a modern nation state should in principle be neutral between different cultures is a liberal fantasy. By suppressing reference to real ethnic inequalities and cultural exclusions, the (fantasy) of the civic ideal (republicanism) actually creates a more dominating model of exclusion.

¹¹⁶ David Selbourne, *The Principle of Duty*, London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994.

¹¹⁷ John Rawls, *Political Liberalism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. See also Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. Participatory self-rule is instrumental to the rule of law and equality.

¹¹⁸ Marquand, D. *Civic Republicans and Liberal Individualists: the case of Britain*. Archive Europeenne de Sociologie, (XXXII), 1991, pp.329-344.

¹¹⁹ Carole Pateman, 'The Fraternal Social Contract', in R. E. Goodin and P. Pettit *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, pp.45-59. Pateman argues civil society is essentially masculine and this denies women equal access to the political.

¹²⁰ Parry, G et al, *Political Participation and Democracy in Britain*, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.20. Broadening the sphere of the political beyond the general government of society to embrace other institutions, this broadening process becomes itself a political act.

¹²¹ Anne Phillips, 'From Inequality to Difference: A Severe Case of Displacement', *New Left Review*, no 224, 1992, pp.143-153. Collective action can boost self-confidence for individuals to see themselves as political actors and effective citizens. Phillips challenges the sharp distinction between 'public' and 'private', which characterises civic republicanism, while sympathetic to civic republicanism's emphasis on active participation.

¹²² Pateman, C. *The Disorder of Women*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989, p.10. Pateman rejects the political sphere as an 'abstraction' separated from the rest of social life

¹²³ David Held, *Models of Democracy*, Cambridge Polity Press, 1987, p.275. Held writes, 'politics is about power; that is about the capacity of social agents, agencies and institutions to maintain or transform their environment, social or physical. Thus politics is the process of negotiation with welfare state institutions by individuals and groups.'

¹²⁴ Anne Phillips, *Engendering Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991. Phillips argues the popular notion of politics is a kind of activity which should not be dissolved into everything else

European Citizenship

¹²⁵ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, New York University Press, 1997, pp.36-37

¹²⁶ Stephen Castles and Alastair Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000, pp.2-7. Global trade has destabilized national industrial society so much so that economic life now transcends national borders. Globalization undermines distinct autonomous national cultures. See also: Bart van Steenbergen, *The Condition of Citizenship*, London, Sage Publications, 1996.

¹²⁷ John Cogan and Ray Derricott, *Citizenship for the 21st Century: An International Perspective on Education*, London: Kogan Page, 2000, pp.11-12. Environment degradation, population growth, war, famine and economic migrants make later 20th century early 21st century an 'age of migration'. The result is increasing numbers moving across borders making nation-states more multi-ethnic. Equally many countries are being challenged by a new politics of 'cultural difference'. See also: Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

¹²⁸ www.jeanmonnetprogram.org; Towards a Pluralistic Conception of a European Polity, Maastricht Treaty (1992)

¹²⁹ Allan Rosas and Esko Antola (eds), *A Citizens Europe: in search of a New Order*, London Sage Publications, 1995.

¹³⁰ *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools* (QCA 1998). Advisory Group, 1998, p.116. Citizenship education in secondary schools is based on three practical ideals. The government advisory group proposed:

Firstly, children learning from the very beginning self-confidence and social and moral responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and towards each other ... secondly, learning about becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community ... Thirdly, pupils learning about and how to make themselves effective in public life through knowledge, skills and values – what can be called ‘political literacy’, seeking for a term that is wider than political knowledge alone.

The advisory group's report to the government recommended compulsory citizenship education in secondary schools and FE on the following considerations:

- i) Citizenship education in schools and FE colleges is a necessary condition for the success of constitutional reform, if part of its object is to create a more participative, self-sustaining and genuinely democratic society.
- ii) Citizenship education in schools and FE colleges is a necessary condition for a more inclusive society, or for helping to diminish exclusion from schools, cynicism, welfare-dependency, apathy, petty criminality and vandalism, and a kind of could-not-care-lessitude towards voting and public issues unhappily prevalent among young people.

¹³¹ A Davies and Andreas Sobisch (eds), *Developing European Citizens*, Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University Press, 1997.

¹³² Maurice Roche and Rik van Berkel (eds), *European Citizenship and Social Exclusion*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2001.

¹³³ Maurice Roche and Rik van Berkel (eds), *European Citizenship and Social Exclusion*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2001.

¹³⁴ Martiniello, M. ‘Citizenship of the European Union: a critical view’, in R. Baubock (ed) *From Aliens to Citizens*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1994, pp.29-47. A critical position on European Union citizenship as formulated in the Maastricht Treaty (1992) and revised in the Intergovernmental Conference of 1996/97 is summarised in the following;

- EU citizenship is of secondary concern in the process of European integration.
- EU citizenship constitutes a renewal of nationalism rather than the progression of post-nationalism.
- EU citizenship is more about identity construction and creating feelings of belonging to the EU than about political participation.
- EU citizenship sanctions a three-level structure of citizenship, distinguishing nationals, people living in another member state than their own, and extra-communitarians.

There is a close link between the development of European citizenship in relation to the development of a European political union both conditioned by the future shape of European society as a post-national entity.

¹³⁵ Elizabeth Meehan, 'Citizenship and the European Community', London: Sage, 1993.

¹³⁶ Martiniello, M. 'Citizenship of the European Union: a critical view', in R. Baubock (ed) *From Aliens to Citizens*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1994.

¹³⁷ Bernhard Giesen and Klaus Eder, 'Introduction': *European Citizenship* London: Sage, 1996, pp.2-5. The institutionalisation of European citizenship is an attempt to define who is an insider and who is not within a post-nation model. This emerges as a concept to thematise the problem of social integration across Europe. See also: Klaus Eder, *The New Politics of Class: social movements and cultural dynamics in advanced societies*, London: Sage, 1993.

¹³⁸ Floya Anthias, 'The problem of ethnic and race categories and the anti-racist struggle', in N. Manning and R. Page (eds) *Social Policy Review 4*, Canterbury: Social Policy Association, 1992. Issues of race and culture in policy and academic discourse may obscure the real issues on social inclusion and participatory democracy rather than clarifying them. Anti-racism issues tend to focus on the category of 'Blacks', as if racism was solely a Black issue, rather than dealing generally with community, ethnic and diaspora concepts. While the focus on culture tends to confuse culture and ethnicity, there is equally a risk that racism and ethnicity on the one hand and gender and class on the other are seen as disconnected debates on social inequalities and social exclusion. See also: Bill Jordan, *The Common Good: Citizenship, Morality and Self-Interest*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989. The best approach may take the form of a universal-rights discourse to combat social exclusion; EU policies have made a difference to social exclusion but EU legislation can only provide the legal framework for arbitrating between the claims of EU citizens and those considered 'outsiders'.

The Status of the Citizen 'Subject'

¹³⁹ The Maastricht Treaty, (1992) is still on trial in relation to the demarcation of European citizens from non-citizens, plus the continued links between citizenship and nationality, and workers and resident rights against citizen based rights begin to shape European identity. (Soledad Garcia). A tension arises between the strict nature of immigration policies as well as the more precarious nature of labour immigrants. This involves the policies of nation states to adopt closure towards immigrants and migrant workers on the one hand and the processes of economic and political internationalization penetrating national social policies. Nationalism provides the basic legitimization for the internal and external exclusiveness of citizenship in modern welfare states. This involves a confrontation of social and cultural distance or relatedness as part of a status-assignment process for new-comers, migrants and potential migrants. Though the development of EU citizenship policies the nation is not the only basis for claiming social rights, though the predominance of nationalism remains present in the restriction of citizenship to EU member states and privileged extra-communitari.

¹⁴⁰ A. Yeatman, *Postmodern Revisionings of the Political*, London: Routledge, 1994. Yeatman argues that civil and political rights are not a sufficient condition in themselves because they need to be supported by social rights as an antidote to the individualism of the classical liberal rights model. This is the foundation of human rights.

¹⁴¹ C. Gould, *Rethinking Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Individuals are understood to be social beings in the sense that individual self-development occurs in the context of social relations and in collective activity; the 'relational self' informs human agency.

Research Methodologies and PhD Submission

¹⁴² Candlin, A. in Anne Douglas, *Research Through Practice: Positioning the Practitioner as Researcher*, Centre for Research in Art and Design, Grays School of Art, Aberdeen, 2000.

Chapter 2 Notes: The Artist and the Polis

¹⁴³ Derek Heater, *Citizenship: the Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, London, Longman, 1990, p314-319. A synthesis of the ideal aspects of modern citizenship are framed by six broad notions, which derive from historical conceptions of citizenship. See also: Roche, Maurice, *Rethinking Citizenship, Welfare, Ideology and Change in Modern Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992, p.16. Citizenship as political obligation is still rooted to ancient civic republican traditions of classical Greece in which political participation as civic duty and the expression of the citizen's full potential as political being represents the essence of citizenship; as articulated by Aristotle.

¹⁴⁴ Donald Preziosi, *Rethinking Art History: Mediations on a Coy Science*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989, p.169. 'The Athenian akropolis [the polis] sustained a matrix of complementary and interrelated narratives becoming an ideology of the polis and its relationship to the individual. It operated as a prism through which the contradictions of Athenian social and political life might be resolved into an imaginary homogeneity ...It was a theory of the city, a 'theatron' for seeing the city and its history, a machine for the manufacture of history'.

¹⁴⁵ Page duBois, 'The Prehistory of Art: Cultural Practices and Athenian Democracy', in Carol Becker (ed), *The Subversive Imagination: Artists, Society and Social Responsibility*, London: Routledge, 1994, pp.1-10

¹⁴⁶ Baxandall, Michael, *Giotto and the Orators*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971. Baxandall has shown that 15th century Florentine painters were equally active in both commercial and artistic spheres – many of the painters themselves were business people. Piero della Francesca produced a mathematical handbook specifically for merchants. Artistic spheres are partly autonomous and partly regulated, both overlapping structures as characteristic of cultural development.

¹⁴⁷ Richard Wollheim, 'Ur Painting', in *Painting as an Art*, 1987. See also: *Art and its Objects: An Introduction to Aesthetics*, 1968, p.17. Wollheim proposes that whether painting is practised as an art is dependant upon the specific intentions that motivate the making of the work as an art object. The intentional nature to art, he proposes is an embodiment of a deeper social consciousness.

¹⁴⁸ Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Experience of Pictures*, Yale University Press, 1985. See also: Adrian Rifkin (ed) *About Baxandall*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

¹⁴⁹ Bal, Mieke, 'Seeing Signs: the use of semiotics for the understanding of the visual arts', in Mark Cheetham, *The Subjects of Art History*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

¹⁵⁰ Peter Williams, 'When Less is More, More or Less', in James Swearingen & Joanne Cutting-Gray 'extreme beauty: aesthetics, politics, death', London; Continuum. 2002

¹⁵¹ Victor Burgin, *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity*, London: Macmillan. 1986.

¹⁵² Roszika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, London: Pandora Press. 1981. Parker and Pollock build upon key aspects of Linda Nochlin's, *Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists*, by assessing the operation of ideology in art, art history, culture and society. Their work proposes cross-fertilisation between feminist critique and Marxist history, demonstrating twentieth century art historians, such as E. H. Gombrich, *Story of Art*, had

the resources to include women artists but choose not to. Thus they assert art history is not, and can never be an exercise of neutral 'objective' scholarship – it is always an ideological practice. Thus, Parker and Pollock argue that art history asserts a powerful myth that creativity is essentially male. Griselda Pollock's essay, (1988) 'Vision, Voice and Power: Feminist Art History and Marxism', in *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art*, London: Routledge, p.33. Pollock writes:

Masculinity and femininity are not terms which designate a [given] and separate entity, men and women, but are simply two terms of difference. In this sense patriarchy does not refer to the static, oppressive domination by one sex over another, but to a web of psychological relationships which institute a socially significant difference on the axis of sex, which is so deeply located in our very sense of lived, sexual, identity that it appears to us natural and unalterable.

See also: Victor Burgin, *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity* London: Macmillan, 1986, p.35. The notion of presence (working from Derrida) is the ideological effect that painting achieves when the mark of paint is understood as the index and trace of the body. The body being central to bourgeois humanism.

¹⁵³ Paul Strathern, *Plato*, London: Constable, 1998, p.20. Plato argues human beings live as if in a dark cave, facing a blank wall with a fire to our backs. All we see are flickering shadows playing across the cave wall, which is taken to represent reality. Only if we learn to turn away from the wall and escape from the cave (abstract thought) can we hope to see the true light of reality. See also: Donald Preziosi, 1989, *Rethinking Art History: Mediations on a Coy Science*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p.169.

¹⁵⁴ Paul Strathern, *Plato*, London: Constable, 1998, p.22. The physical world we perceive through the senses (perception) is in a continual state of change, whereas the universal realm of ideas, which are perceived by the mind, are unchanging and eternal. Thus seeing a particular black dog can be said to be derived its appearance from the universal form of dog, and from the ideal of blackness. Plato believed that true wisdom or knowledge requires a spiritual unveiling of the *ideal forms* that exist beyond external reality. The good painter is the one who paints a faithful representation of the absolute eternal images, bad imitation is conducted by the painter who, without reproducing the *ideal form*, paints what is false. Therefore good artistic representation merely reduplicates or imitates the universal, eternal images present in the soul.

See also: Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze*, London: Macmillan Press, 1985. Bryson argues against the conception that classical painting is an art of copying visual experience. Bryson proposes that what is distinctive about European painting is an immanent social character linked by the historical nature of the viewing subject in relation to the control of images and political authority. In this context Bryson explores the significance of particular technical features, such as, composition, colour, perspective, brushwork and the manipulation of narrative.

¹⁵⁵ Theodore Adorno, *The Culture Industry: selected essays on mass culture*, London: Routledge, 1991. Adorno distinguishes between "essence" and "appearance" in order to reject appearance (similar to Plato) because appearance in modernist capitalist societies is merely a surface and superficial. Adorno would argue that the freedom Simmel talks about through modernity is a myth because no one is allowed a liberated consciousness. Reification is a feature of capitalist society where goods are produced for monetary exchange and not for immediate use - these exchanges conceal social relations involved in production and distribution, and eventually lead to social alienation. See also: Georg Lukacs, *The Ontology of Social Being*, London: Merlin Press, 1978.

The Appearance of the Privileged in Art History

¹⁵⁶ Carolyn Gill (ed), *Georges Bataille: Writing and the Sacred*, London: Routledge. 1994. Bataille argues that 'low art' (in the form of popular obscenity and the 'kitschness' of things) can subvert the exchange value of the 'high art'. The concept of avant-garde strategies within Modernism

begins to embody the renewal of human value so even the simplest modernist art becomes a *tour de force* in opposing the market and the commercialisation of art.¹ Theodore Adorno *The Culture Industry: selected essays on mass culture*, London: Routledge, 1991. Scholars such as Lyotard argue that Adorno's support of the avant-garde is a last ditch attempt to maintain a boundary between *High Art* and popular culture at a time when the boundary was becoming untenable. Low art (in the form of popular obscenity and the 'kitschness' of things) can subvert the exchange value of the "high art" rather than the most charged works of the avant-garde until the avant-garde are forced to resort to the kitsch. See also: Pointon, M, *Art History: a students handbook*, London, Routledge, 1994. See also: Marcia Pointon, 'Pricing or Prizing Potential in 1990's' in *Art Bulletin*, March 1997: 17 – 21 (20). Pointon makes the point that art history is about writing despite the prior claim of sight.

¹⁵⁷ Paul Strathern, *Plato*, London: Constable, 1998.

¹⁵⁸ Paul Strathern, *Plato*, London: Constable, 1998. In the early dialogues Plato uses the figure of Socrates to endlessly question claims to knowledge as a method of defining fitness to rule. When Socrates asks, 'what is x' (virtue, justice, friendship etc.), he is shown as brushing aside mere examples of x in favour of pursuit the essence of or form of x, or that which makes things x. Fundamental to Plato's dialogues is apprehension of the forms is knowledge, whereas belief about the changing everyday world is at best opinion. The model of Socrates endlessly questioning claims to knowledge as a measure of good citizenship, I would argue, is significant for the artist in the sense that good art practice is one founded upon both visual and contextual investigations – investigations which are not wholly conditioned by scientific forms of knowledge.

¹⁵⁹ McGuigan, J, *Culture and the Public Sphere*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp.106 - 114.

¹⁶⁰ Paul B. Clarke, *Deep Citizenship*, London. Pluto Press, 1996, p.31. The notion of the *agon* arises from the Greek drama, it is the point in the play when the principal contestants enter the stage and engage in verbal confrontation. Speech, appearance, presentation and argument are crucial to the *agon* but so is the centre stage of the *polis*. The *polis* is central to ancient Greek city-states, it contains a space or domain (building) where agonistic action takes place; this is competitive discussion or an eagerness to win through an argument on how to govern. In the *Republic* Plato identifies the *polis* with *paideia*, which is the moral cultivation and education of its members. This process legitimises the citizen to become a member of the ruling *polis*. It also implies that any unwarranted extension of the *polis* would lead to the diminution of culture and virtue. Greek democracy (via a modern translation) is often held up in modern political theory as the ideal of participation in political life. The classical Greek world is divided into distinctive classes such as slaves, workers, and ruler's and so on, resulting in social strata defined by authoritarian dominance. Aristotle notes that in certain city-states some workers have benefits of full citizenship, but he goes on to argue that this is inappropriate because citizenship was deemed to be in accordance with philosophical knowledge and hence the capacity to govern. See also: Page duBois, 'The Prehistory of Art: Cultural Practices and Athenian Democracy', in Carol Becker (ed) *The Subversive Imagination: Artists, Society and Social Responsibility*, London: Routledge, 1994, pp.1-10

¹⁶¹ See also: Salman Rushdie, Imaginary Homeland, London Review of Books, October 1982, pp.7-20. Rushdie writes, 'those of us who have been forced by cultural displacement to accept the provisional nature of all truths, all certainties, have perhaps had modernism forced upon us'.

¹⁶² Castoriadas, 'The Real Me' in *Identity: The Real Me: Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*. Lisa Appignanesi (ed), London: ICA Documents, 1987, pp.40-42. A collection of essays from the ICA conference on identity. The document explores the problems of defining the self against a background of post-structuralism and artificial intelligence. The writings explore the notion of the de-centred self, the reassertion of the self through gendered centrality, and the self in relation to race, post-colonialism, psychoanalysis and politics.

¹⁶³ Page duBois, 'The Prehistory of Art: Cultural Practices and Athenian Democracy', in Carol Becker (ed), *The Subversive Imagination: Artists, Society and Social Responsibility*, London: Routledge, 1994, pp.1-10

¹⁶⁴ Paul B. Clarke, *Deep Citizenship*, London: Pluto Press, 1996, pp.28-29. The social imaginary is a kind of cultural mirror emerging from the expulsion from paradise, the fall of Adam and Eve which became the Augustinian accounts of history, transformed it became the humanism of Dante, transformed again it became the foundation of liberal individualism, and transformed latterly it became the foundation of history underlying Marxism and Fukayama's liberal triumphalism and the proposed end of history.

¹⁶⁵ Paul B. Clarke, *Deep Citizenship*, London: Pluto Press, 1996, p.40. Conceived in the image of God and the possession of free will was central to Christian theology and of the political accounts of being and responsibility related to that.

¹⁶⁶ Turner, B, *Citizenship and Capitalism*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1986, p.14. In his writings Plato presents a critical manner of the Greek gods, which provides the first example of critical thought. In Plato's writings' politics and theology exist in tension with each other for three reasons:

- i) It is a consequence of the critical attitude towards the gods out of which the political tradition emerged.
- ii) Worldly (evident) politics opposed to unworldly (transcendent) theology.
- iii) Political tradition or theological tradition emerges as a contest as to which course of action has the greater claim. The real everyday political, public tradition or some "higher" (divine) law.

Summary of Pre-Modernity

¹⁶⁷ Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze*, London: Macmillan Press, 1985. Bryson argues against the conception that classical painting is an art of copying visual experience. Bryson proposes that what is distinctive about European painting is an immanent social character linked by the historical nature of the viewing subject in relation to the control of images and political authority. In this context Bryson explores the significance of particular technical features, such as, composition, colour, perspective, brushwork and the manipulation of narrative. Bryson's position contests Gombrich's Art and Illusion, which he proposes is a realist position forced to deny the relationship between painting, society and political power because it is false at the level of theory in the continuing suppression of painting as a system of signs.

¹⁶⁸ Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze*, London: Macmillan Press, 1985, pp.84-90. As long as painting maintains contact with the discourses continuing to circulate in the social formation (world), it will generate new meanings, which he proposes are, "as valid an enterprise, in every respect, as the archival recovery of meanings that have previously arisen." [p85]. Bryson also proposes that the activity of writing within the social formation discourses, particularly those which aim to articulate painting are a kind of supplement to painting, sometimes of significant value sometimes of little value. Bryson also suggests that the supplement of writing to the perception of painting will never fully comprehend or articulate the meaning and recognition of what a particular painting comes to signify, but nevertheless the validity of writing about painting will continue for as long as a painted image circulates within society.

¹⁶⁹ Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, London: Macmillan, 1993. From a feminist perspective Wolff analyses key theories and discourses in relation to sociology, art history, feminism and literary and media studies. Wolff proposes an approach to the sociology of art and culture. This includes the nature of art and authorship, the role of the viewer/reader, and the possibility of cultural politics.

¹⁷⁰ Jon Thompson (ed): 'Introduction' in *Towards a Theory of the Image*, Maastricht: Jan van Eyck Akademie, 1996, p.11. Thompson discusses Regis Debray looking for visual meaning in relation to Guy Debord's world view, his view of contemporary society, 'society of the spectacle'. Debray's idea of the visual image reaches beyond purely philosophical questions to embrace the history of vision and of the technologies of vision – in to the mythological and theological domains on the one hand and the experience of lived social life on the other. See also: T J Clark, 'The Conditions of Artistic Creation', [Times Literary Supplement, October, 1974]

¹⁷¹ Gombrich, E, *Art and Illusion*, Oxford: Phaidon, 1980.

¹⁷² Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* [1966] London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971. Pre-modern legacies between art and culture, and citizenship (notions of civility, civilisation, humanity) begins to construct an 'essentialist world' view based upon the White European, heterosexual able bodied male. Sociology sought to distinguish modern concepts and notions of the modern social from pre-modern by the following divisions

<u>Pre-modern</u>	<u>Modern</u>
status	contract
community	association
religious	secular
hierarchical	egalitarian

¹⁷³ Gombrich, E *The Story of Art*, London: Phaidon, 1950

¹⁷⁴ Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 'Discourse on the Arts and Science' (1749) and Discourse on the Origins of Inequality (1755). Rousseau argued that apparent cultural and social progress has led to moral degradation. The arts and sciences has been formed from the desires of idleness and luxury. In *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality* (1755) Rousseau proposes human history is progressively corrupt and decadent, where the roots of inequality relate to private property.

The French Revolution and Modern Citizenship

¹⁷⁵ Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, (1764); Hobbes, *State of Nature*, (1642) and Locke; *Treatise on Government*, (1690).

¹⁷⁶ Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

¹⁷⁷ B S Turner, *Citizenship and Capitalism*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1986, pp.18-20. French Revolution is important for three reasons:

- 1) The revolution linked the idea of citizenship rights with the debate about human equality. The bourgeois leaders during the early stages of the revolution had limited ideas about what counts as equality; they tended to ally citizenship with the notion of community in the principle of social fraternity. The declaration of the Rights of Man and of the citizen sets a conventional view of individual rights within a much broader framework: that the universality of citizenship must incorporate the notion of equality and community together.
- 2) The French Revolution contributes an institutional development of the state as a separate entity (from the monarchy/church) with specific subjects called citizens. This also develops the idea of national citizenship since the declaration located sovereignty in the nation.
- 3) The revolution linked citizenship to the quest for political liberation and emancipation in general; for instance the transformation of the status of the Jews was an important element of this progressive dimension in French revolutionary conflict.

¹⁷⁸ Bryan Turner, *Citizenship and Capitalism*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1986

The Nation-State and the Weakening of Group Rights

¹⁷⁹ Otto Gierke, *Community in Historical Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. See also: Bryan Turner, *Citizenship and Capitalism*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1986, pp.22-24

¹⁸⁰ Otto Gierke, *Community in Historical Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

¹⁸¹ Isin, E, F, and P. K. Wood, *Citizenship and Identity*, London: Sage, 1999. An introduction to the key debates on citizenship and identity in relation to social, civil and the political theory on postmodernism and globalization. Using the model of citizenship proposed by T. H. Marshall to frame the discussion of how diasporic, technological, ecological, Cosmopolitan, sexual and cultural rights expand the definition of citizenship. Equally Isin and Wood demonstrate how civil, political and social rights have been transformed by postmodernism and global issues.

¹⁸² Derek Heater, *Citizenship: the Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, Essex: Longman, 1990, p.182. In the first part of the book Heater examines a historical account of citizenship; commencing with the Greek city-state, classical philosophy, Rome to the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment to modern conceptions of citizenship. In the second part Heater presents a wide-ranging account on the definition of citizenship to argue citizens should be aware of their status. Citizenship status is conceived of having five elements: identity, virtue, legal, political and social aspects. Heater argues the analysis of citizenship is complex when measured against the weight of history, which in turn complicates the defining and exercising contemporary citizenship. Heater argues the complexities need to be overcome if civic duties are to be performed and civic rights are to be exercised.

In the final part Heater proposes a synthesis of the historical complexities based upon the concept of multiple citizenship. A suggested pattern of multiple citizenship centres upon the adaptation and rejection of six broad notions:

- i) The republican, with emphasis on civic virtue and military service.
- ii) The cosmopolitan, vis-à-vis nationalist pride
- iii) The nationalist, with emphasis upon patriotic cohesion and civic pride
- iv) The liberal, respect for legal and political rights
- v) Rejection of totalitarianism
- vi) The socialist, respect for socio-economic rights

The Emerging Modern Art Institution and the Conferment of Art

¹⁸³ Matthew Collings, *This is Modern Art*, London, Seven Dials, 2000, pp.31-59. See also: Harris, J, *A New Art History: a critical introduction*, London: Routledge, 2002, pp.74-75.

¹⁸⁴ Castoriadas, 'The Real Me', *Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1989, pp.40-42

¹⁸⁵ Castoriadas, 'The Real Me', *Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1989, pp.40-42

¹⁸⁶ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, London, Routledge, 1976. See also: Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Volume One, London: Penguin, 1981, pp.92-93. Foucault was influenced by Nietzsche's nihilism; God is Dead, and history is nothing more than a series of struggles for power with no broader transcendental meaning. Foucault suggests history points to disjunctions and the arbitrary rather than identifying processes of evolution and continuity towards meaning.

¹⁸⁷ Jim McGuigan, *Culture and the Public Sphere*, London: Routledge, 1996. See also: Ollman & Vernoff (eds), 'Marxism and Art History', in *The Left Academy: Marxist Scholarship on American Campuses*, Vol. 2, New York: McGraw Hill 1984.

¹⁸⁸ Jim McGuigan, *Culture and the Public Sphere*, London: Routledge, 1996. See also: Ollman & Vernoff (eds), 'Marxism and Art History', in *The Left Academy: Marxist Scholarship on American Campuses*, Vol. 2, New York: McGraw Hill 1984.

¹⁸⁹ George Dickie, *The Art Circle: A Theory of Art*, New York: Havens, 1984, pp.80 – 82. Dickie writes, 'A work of art is of a kind presented to an artworld public'. Art belongs to the genus of complex, coordinated, communicative practices, along with showing some of the interrelated structures of these practices. Dickie proposed the following four propositions:

- I. An art-world public is a set of persons the members of which are prepared to some degree to understand an object that is presented to them.
- II. An art-world system is a framework for the presentation of a work of art by an artist to an art-world public.
- III. An artist is a person who participates with understanding in the making of an artwork.
- IV. The art-world is the totality of the art-world system.

Government and Cultural Policy

¹⁹⁰ Tony Bennett, 'Putting Policy into Cultural Studies', in Simon During, *The Cultural Studies Reader*, London: Routledge, 1993, pp.479-491

¹⁹¹ Burchill, Gordon & Miller (eds), 'Governmentality' in *The Foucault Effect – Studies in Governmentality*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991, pp.102-103. Embedded within these three definitions of governmentality are a number of Foucault's major themes: the discourse of administrative procedure, the complex patterns of power and knowledge and the implied critique of modern 'Reason' and scepticism of historical progress.

¹⁹² Burchill, Gordon & Miller (eds), 'Governmentality' in *The Foucault Effect – Studies in Governmentality*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991

¹⁹³ Theodor Adorno & J. Bernstein (eds), *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, London: Routledge, 1991, p.107. Adorno is lamenting the fact that the intellectual expert is no longer providing a degree of criticism to cultural policy, which Adorno perceives as the death of criticism as well as the loss of culture's autonomy. Adorno proposes, 'culture suffers damage when it is planned and administered' but equally, 'when culture is left to itself ... threatens to not only lose its possibility of effect, but its very existence as well'.

Bottom-Up vs Top-Down

¹⁹⁴ Tony Bennett, 'Putting Policy into Cultural Studies', in Simon During, *The Cultural Studies Reader*, London: Routledge, 1993, pp.479-491 See also: D. Poulot, 'Identity as Self-Discovery: the eco museum in France', in D. Sherman and I. Rogoff (eds), *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, p.66. See also: Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks Volume 1 [1929-33]*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. Gramsci points to the links between politics, culture and socialist strategies. In his *Prison Notebooks* he argued that institutions like the church, trade unions are actually regulated by governmental agencies. Thus the state is not a disinterested, all consuming bureaucracy (as Weber might argue) but an instrument to represent the interests of capital and the bourgeoisie. In this sense culture becomes a major component of state power and potentially the control of

ideas, as well as the use and cultural acceptance of physical force (the police). Hegemony is the ability of the state and the ruling classes to regulate the beliefs within civil society. Hegemonic strategies involve the perpetual projection of dominant cultural motifs which reinforce but simultaneously disguise inequalities while also preventing attempts at critical thinking. This allows the dominant groups to rule more efficiently as it reduces the level of force to maintain social order.

¹⁹⁵ D. Poulot, 'Identity as Self-Discovery: the eco museum in France', in D. Sherman and I. Rogoff (eds), *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, p.66.

The Liberal State Polis and the Artist-Citizen

¹⁹⁶ D. Poulot, 'Identity as Self-Discovery: the eco museum in France', in D. Sherman and I. Rogoff (eds), *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, p.79. Poulot is referring to the ecomuseum as a 'bottom up' approach to the development of museum culture, the aim is to foster self-knowledge on the part of the community by providing resources through which it can come to know and participate in its culture in a more organised and self-conscious way.

Art, Power and Citizenship

¹⁹⁷ Tony Bennett, 'Putting Policy into Cultural Studies', in Simon During, *The Cultural Studies Reader*, London: Routledge, 1993, pp.479-491. See also: Jim McGuigan, *Culture and the Public Sphere*, London: Routledge, 1996. See also: Ollman & Vernoff (eds) 'Marxism and Art History', in *The Left Academy: Marxist Scholarship on American Campuses*, Vol 2, New York: McGraw Hill, 1984.

¹⁹⁸ Burchill, Gordon & Miller (eds), 'Governmentality' in *The Foucault Effect – Studies in Governmentality*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991

¹⁹⁹ Isin, E. F., and P. K. Wood, *Citizenship and Identity*, London: Sage, 1999. Though the development of these entities (civil, political, and social) give a useful guide as to their historical period, this 'periodization' should be seen as elastic because such developments overlap and formulate in one or more centuries. See also: Maurice Roche, *Rethinking Citizenship: Welfare, Ideology and Change in Modern Society*, Cambridge: Polity, 1992, p.19.

For the purpose of clarification the terms *civil*, *political* and *social* are defined as follows:

- 1) Civil: 18th Century. Civil citizenship included individual freedoms of speech, thought and faith, rights to property, contract and justice. To be civil is generally used to describe an achieved state or condition of organized social life. To be civil has been used in English language since the 14th century (which corresponds to the classical ideals of civic pride demonstrated by 14th Century Italian artists), and by the 16th century the term refers to the acquired senses of being orderly and educated, which in turn corresponds to Plato's ideas on fitness to rule. By the 17th century civility is used in opposition to barbarity, though emphasised not so much as a process but as a state of social order and refinement of cultural consciousness in contrast with barbarity. By the 18th century it is seen as a historical process outlining progressive human development encapsulating the general spirit of the Enlightenment. In modern English use civility is tied with civilization but still refers to a general condition or state contrasting savagery or barbarism. Reflected in the use of civilizations the word now attracts some defining adjective: western civilization, modern civilization, industrial civilization, technological civilization (see also Williams, 1988).
- 2) Political: 19th Century. Political citizenship included the right to vote and some participation in public decision making. A political culture is formed by the practice of politics. It is the sum of the dispositions created by the regular operation of the political system of a particular society. A political system can encourage participation and involvement of decision making by the

citizens, which tends to be the case with democratic societies. A political system in modern democratic society will largely depend upon the support of other social institutions within the concept of governmentality. In modern society, there is a complex and sometimes contradictory relationship between the attitudes and values developed in political practice, and those formed in other institutions such as family, education, religion and mass media (Bullock, Stallybrass, Trombley, 1988)

- 3) Social: 20th Century. Social citizenship consisted of the right to security and welfare and to share in the 'social heritage' of the state – to live the life of a 'civilised' being according to the standards prevailing in society. In 17th century the social was seen as either being associated or sociable within civil society, hence it was used as a synonym for civil society. By the 18th century the social was mainly general and abstract: '(hu)man is a social creature, that is, a single (hu)man, or family, cannot subsist, or not well, alone out of all society ...' In social contract theory, as per Rousseau, people enter into a social contract with each other whereby they surrender their absolute individual freedom to a third party (nation-state) which acts to guarantee social order, and stability – and thus welfare in 20th century. Parsons (1937) attempted to show that the fundamental basis of society is not a social contract and the coercive apparatus of the state, but the existence of a consensus over values and norms. The classical theory of the social contract has thus been replaced in sociology by theories of consensus, reciprocity and exchange (Abercombe, Hill, Turner, 1994).

An Unreasonable Avant-Garde

²⁰⁰ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Volume One, An Introduction, London: Penguin, 1981, pp.92-93.

²⁰¹ Derek Heater, *Citizenship: the Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, Essex: Longman,

²⁰² McGuigan, J, *Culture and the Public Sphere*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp.106 - 114. McGuigan refers to Wallach, noting there are two interrelated aspects to modern museum and gallery perception. First, the kind of relations (historical and ideological) that are established *within* a museum between viewers and artefacts on display; concerning where the object stands in relation to the viewers present. Second, how the building itself is a kind of representation of modernity that has evolved in relation to contemporary life. See also: Ollman & Vernoff (eds), *Marxism and Art History*, in *The Left Academy: Marxist Scholarship on American Campuses*, Vol 2, New York: McGraw Hill, 1984.

²⁰³ McGuigan, J, *Culture and the Public Sphere*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp.106 - 114.

²⁰⁴ Clark, T, J, *Image of the People, Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1973, pp.13- 15. Clark states:

What use did the artist make of pictorial tradition; what forms, what schemata ... enabled to see and depict? It is not the only question ... but a crucial one ... when one writes about a social history of art one is bound to see it in a different light; one is concerned with what prevents representations as much as what allows it; one studies blindness as much as vision.'

²⁰⁵ Clark, T, J, *Image of the People, Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1973, p.16 See also: Harris, J, *A New Art History: a critical introduction*, London: Routledge, 2002, p.72

²⁰⁶ Clark, T. J. 'Cubism and Collectivity', [1985, Ch 4, p.187], in *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism*, London: Yale University Press, 1999.

²⁰⁷ Clark, T. J. 'Cubism and Collectivity', [1985, Ch 4, p.187], in *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism*, London: Yale University Press, 1999. See also: Yve-Alain Bois, *Painting the Task of Mourning*, 1990. Bois proposes the sign of the hand in painting could not compete with the development of photography and the means of mass production through mechanical processes. This tension between the manual gesture and mechanisation begins to form the base of much modernist painting. Bois suggests that this essentialism for the end of painting by correspondence to mechanical processes is also part of a much larger historical crisis; that witnessed by the fragmentation and alienation of society through capitalist modes of production. Bois argues that the notion of mourning is an abstraction to obscure the latest development of advanced capitalism (Jameson: *New Left Review* 1984). This desire to re-open 'dead' or past issues creates a spectacle of simulations in which the participants or spectators of the loss become more detached and enslaved by the spectacle, and are therefore unable to intervene socially or politically in events if they are constantly simulated or replaced by pseudo-events.

Yves-Alain Bois argues this historical condition in modern painting becomes a sign of the repressed in modern art. The argument Bois proposes is to suggest painting is locked within the rhetoric's of its own end-point so that contemporary painting is nothing but a simulacrum of past works and therefore lost its status and significance in contemporary art and art criticism.

Art and the Representation of Humanity

²⁰⁸ Derek Heater, *Citizenship: the Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, London, Longman, 1990, p314-319. According to Aristotle the main criteria for citizenship was the capacity to govern and be governed in relation to self-discipline (duty) and education (philosophy), plus having full ownership of property. Aristotle states that the true citizen knows how to obey and command, this tended to exclude slaves (manual workers), women and children. The best government, he goes on to comment, will not include manual workers under the category of citizen, since to be a manual labourer means you could not devote yourself fully to public service. By being a property owner it is assumed you are not a manual labourer and therefore a citizen proper. The beginnings of exclusivity in citizenship.

²⁰⁹ Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, London: Harmondsworth, 1981, p.96. Foucault does not aim to produce a politics any more than a history. He writes, 'Just as the network of power relations ends by forming a dense web that passes through apparatuses and institutions, without being exactly localised in them, so too the swarm of points of resistance traverses social stratifications and individual unities.' See also: Burchill, Gordon and Miller (eds), 'Governmentality', in *The Foucault Effect – Studies in Governmentality*, 199, pp.102-103, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

²¹⁰ Solomon R, and Higgins K, *Reading Nietzsche*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, p.133.

²¹¹ Robert C Solomon, *Continental Philosophy Since 1750*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

²¹² Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, London, Routledge: 1976. All we have are material effects and material acts; there is no essential meaning to things, no essential subject behind action, nor is there any essential order to history. Foucault proposes order is the writing of history itself. Nietzsche showed there is no intrinsic problem in history, but only areas of material interest – history is written from the perspective of the present. Foucault's histories inspired by Nietzsche's anti-idealism avoid projecting meaning into history, even the notion of cause is suspect – like the actor behind the act. In this sense the speaking person becomes erased, 'like a face drawn in the sand at the edge of the sea'. [p.387].

²¹³ Panofsky, E. 'The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline', in *Meaning and the Visual Arts*, [1940], Chicago: University Press, 1982, p.22. See also: Stephen Melville, 'Positionality, Objectivity, Judgement' in Gilbert-Rolfe and Stephen Melville (eds), *Seams: Art as a Philosophical Context*, 1996, p.76. The legacies of serving particular devotional, cultural and/or

political requirements, have been labelled by some scholars as a 'sanctimonious historicism'. The tradition and development of Western art created a specific illustrational (didactic) sensibility in communicating accepted forms of belief and knowledge; particularly during the Renaissance and its legacies within the canon.

²¹⁴ Christopher Norris, *Derrida*, London: University of Chicago Press, 1987. See also: Jaques Derrida, 'Dissemination', Barbara Johnson (trans). Chicago: University Press, 1982. Derrida studies Plato's dialogue, where Socrates speaks of two kinds of mimesis, good and bad. Plato believed that true wisdom or knowledge requires a spiritual unveiling of the *ideal forms* that exist beyond external reality. The good painter is the one who paints a faithful representation of the images already written in our souls. The bad type of imitation is the conducted by the painter who, without reproducing the *ideal form*, paints what is false. Therefore good artistic representation merely reduplicates or imitates images eternally present in the soul. But Derrida analysing Mallarme's text '*Mimique*' begins to subvert Plato's classical concept of Mimesis, of good imitation (virtue) by doing away with the idea of an original, ultimate principle to be imitated. Derrida begins to deconstruct between the binary oppositions of literature and philosophy, between fiction and a search for truth. Derrida shows that Plato's philosophy describes the good type of mimesis as a kind of painting, writing and art. Though Derrida also shows that literature and literary criticism are deeply infected with Platonic philosophy – that mimesis appears to have meaning and virtue. But Derrida also shows that there is no proper meaning to mimesis, the image or representation no longer has a single truth, nor is it polysemic (having many meanings). It is pre-semantic, it is prior to meaning.

²¹⁵ Rosalind Krauss, *In the Name of Picasso*, 1980, pp.23-40. See also: Krauss and Yve-Alain Bois, *Formless: A Users Guide*, Zone Books, 1997. Rosalind Krauss argues Picasso's collages belong to the canon of art because they deal with '*the representation of representation*', that is they belong to the canon, because the collage of a violin does not refer to a violin, or the idea of a violin, rather the collage is part of the canon of western art because it refers to the activity of visual representation itself.

²¹⁶ Rosalind Krauss, 'Olympia' in Rosalind Krauss and Yve-Alain Bois, *Formless: A Users Guide*, Zone Books, 1997, pp.147-151. Krauss discussing Olympia (between Manet and Twombly) proposes Manet's painting inaugurated the whole history of modernist ambition; a utopian drive to close off the illusionistic or virtual space of painting, to challenge the falsehood of the third dimension. But Twombly's work does not say Olympia it says 'Fuck Olympia' which begins to both debase the multitude of classical narratives which spring up around the word and simultaneously plays with the axis that links the viewer / reader. The space of painting is converted from the always accepted imaginary plenitude to one that transforms the pictorial medium to its surface, flatness and visual only.

A Crisis of Representation

²¹⁷ Jon Thompson (ed): 'Introduction' in *Towards a Theory of the Image*, Maastricht: Jan van Eyck Akademie, 1996, p.9. Thompson introduces and edits a series of texts from a symposium held at the Jan van Eyck Akademie. The texts attempts to define and understand the meaning of images and explore the notion of the visual and visual theory against a background of media, advertising and communications in western society, world economics, globalisation and image-making technologies. Approaches are made from philosophy, psychology, semiotics, theories of perception to reception theory; from theoretical sociology to more open ended cultural criticism.

²¹⁸ Christopher Norris, *Derrida*, London: University of Chicago Press, 1987. See also: Jaques Derrida, 'Dissemination', Barbara Johnson (trans). Chicago: University Press, 1982.

²¹⁹ Rosalind Krauss, 'The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum', in Krauss, Michelson, Bois, Buchloh, Foster, Hollier, Kulbowski (eds) *October: The Second Decade*, MIT Press, 1997, pp.427-439. Merleau-Ponty directs us to what could be called a lived bodily perspective, which Krauss proposes Minimalism became committed to in the reformulation of the subject as a kind of

utopian gesture. See also: R. Krauss, *The Originality of the Avante Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, Cambridge: Mass, 1985.

²²⁰ Jaques Derrida, '+ R (Into the Bargain)' in *The Truth in Painting*, London: Chicago Press, 1987, pp.151-181. See also: Moshe Barassch, *Theories of Art: from Plato to Winckelmann*, New York University Press, 1985, pp.310-340. The legacies of the Renaissance was maintained in the 'Academy of Art', between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries the influence and the impact of the Academies within European culture and national identities, tinged by the conditions pervading in each country, was unprecedented.

²²¹ Jaques Derrida, '+ R (Into the Bargain)' in *The Truth in Painting*, London: Chicago Press, 1987, pp.151-181. Derrida's deconstruction strategy argues that truth cannot be discovered through language, as language is 'slippery' and there is an inevitable excess of meaning. Deconstruction explores the border between the work of art and what lies outside of it; it seeks neither to reframe art with some perfect and appropriate, truthful border, nor to maintain the illusion of some pure and simple absence of a border. Deconstruction shows that the border is, in a sense *inside* art. The border is what produces the object of art as an object of art – an aesthetic object. For without the border, the work of art is not a work of art, but at the same moment the border encloses the work in its own protected art enclosure, it becomes merely *ornament* and external to the work of art. Thus the border between art and what lies outside of it, is neither simply inside or outside art, inside and outside, nor inside, nor outside. In the final analysis Derrida proposes the border does not even exist. Underpinning Derrida's approach is his claim that social, political and economic issues always intrude in the work of art and its subsequent analysis. In writing about the Italian artist Valerio Adami's, *Studies for a Drawing after Glas* (1973) Derrida outlines the tendency for art discourse wanting to enclose the work of art, and how art resists being contained within the text. Derrida shows how neither the text and the actual drawing are never fully, originally themselves, because they are continuously divorced from their beginnings.

Modern Art and Liberal Government

²²² Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History*, London, Routledge, 2002, pp.10-29. Since the 1970's 'New Art History' has included forms and objects of study which would have not been recognised to be within the 'canon' of traditional art history. For clarification the *canon* refers to a set of artefacts which are deemed worthy of study, and legitimate within the discipline of art. The original sense of the term canon referred to sacred biblical scripture, though now broader contexts. See also: Frank Kermode, *Forms of Attention*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985, pp.76-79. Also R. Krauss, *In the Name of Picasso*, 1980, pp.23-40. Krauss & Yve-Alain Bois, *Formless: A Users Guide*, Zone Books, 1997. The conventions and legacies of representation (illusionism) within the canon of western art will not go away despite showing the particular means used to generate likeness (universal natural perception) is shown to be untrustworthy in postmodernism. Movements such as Cubism, surrealism, Abstract Expressionism or Minimalism may negate illusionistic conventions in different ways but they cannot surpass or transcend those conventions, or the art-world which they were originally produced for and the interests which they continue to serve.

²²³ Norman Bryson (ed), 'Introduction', in *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp.xx-xxv. Bryson proposes perception presupposes competence of codes of recognition within the social, this is to relocate painting within the field of power because painting is an activity of the sign, which unfolds in the social formation from the beginning.

²²⁴ Paul B. Clarke, *Deep Citizenship*, London: Pluto Press, 1996. Fukayama's argument (of triumphant Liberalism) may rest too heavily upon one single universal Hegelian model of history.

²²⁵ Bryan Turner, *Citizenship and Capitalism*, London: Allen and Unwin. (1986), Postmodernism in western culture and the globalization of politics have rendered much of the literature on

citizenship inadequate. Postmodernism attacks the traditional divisions between high and low culture that might be transmitted by public institutions. The diversification and fragmentation of public tastes and life styles begins to undermine an assumed cultural consensus. Turner proposes the development of transnational sphere's of governance, global networks and new social movements questions the assumed connection between citizenship and nation-state. See also: Ulrich. K. Preub, 'Citizenship and Identity: Aspects of a political Theory of Citizenship', in Bellamy, Buffachi and Castiglione (eds), *Democracy and Constitutional Culture in the Union of Europe*. London: Lothian Foundation Press, 1995. See also: Heater. D, *Citizenship: the civic ideal in World history and politics*, London: Longman, 1990, p.185. Heater proposes one can have a conceived sense of nationality without being a citizen in an effective political or legal sense. Though nationality is associated with the ideology of nationalism and popular sovereignty, it makes sense for cultural nationality and legal citizenship to correspond.

²²⁶ www.culture.gov.uk That art institutions and artists are reliant upon government funding and agreements. See: Department for Culture, Media and Sport web site. 'Arms length principle'. The Arts Council (regional arts board) operate at 'arms length' from Government in deciding funding for individual artforms and arts organisations. The principle is to ensure that decisions on how much support should be given to particular artists are taken by the Arts Council, and not by ministers in DCMS. This principle has been in place for the last 50 years. The government does however set overarching goals for the arts and agrees these with the Arts Council in its funding agreement. The Arts Council of England does have to show through a series of performance indicators, set out in the agreement, that it is working to fulfil the government's goals for the arts. The Arts Council Web Site. States:

We will adopt a more modern definition of the arts, one that is open to current trends in emerging (and often challenging) arts practice, in arts and technology, and in breaking down the boundaries between art forms, and between the arts and other disciplines.

We will be unabashed about excellence in the arts. By excellence, we mean the highest possible achievement, not a value system placed on one group by another.

We will take a contemporary, international approach to the arts. We will promote our artists internationally, encourage international exchange and co-production, and do all we can to ensure that audiences and artists in this country benefit from the best of the arts from outside the UK.

We will argue that being involved with the arts can have a lasting and transforming effect on many aspects of people's lives. This is true not just for individuals, but also for neighbourhoods, communities, regions and entire generations, whose sense of identity and purpose can be changed through art. We will create more opportunities for people to experience and take part in life-changing artistic experiences, through:

- making, doing and contributing
- watching, viewing, listening and reading
- performing, playing and publishing.

We believe that access to the arts goes hand in hand with artistic excellence. Participation, contribution and engagement in the arts are the bridge between access and excellence. That bridge is especially crucial in a society which is itself subject to ongoing change: more culturally and ethnically diverse; more educated and informed but also more distracted and cacophonous.

Placing artists at the centre

The artist is the 'life source' of our work. In the past, we have mainly funded institutions. Now we want to give higher priority to the artist.

We can do this indirectly through training, legislative change, or in stimulating the

economy for artists. Or we might provide direct assistance through more funding, or help with spaces to work, with equipment, time, or travel and opportunities for international exchanges.

We believe artists, at times, need the chance to dream, without having to produce. We will establish ways to spot new talent; we will find ways to help talent develop; we will encourage artists working at the cutting edge; we will encourage radical thought and action, and opportunities for artists to change direction and find new inspiration.

Our relationship with arts organisations

Most of our funding will continue to go to our portfolio of 'regularly funded organisations'. We are looking for a new, grown-up relationship with arts organisations; one that is based on trust, not dependency. We will expect hopes, aspirations and problems to be shared openly with us. We consider this new relationship to be fundamentally important to the future of the subsidised arts.

Arts organisations provide the foundation for the arts in this country. Because of this, these organisations must play a leadership role in terms of artistic innovation and experimentation, as well as in how they are managed and governed. They are crucial to all our priorities and we will ask them to make a major contribution to our ambitions in cultural diversity.

At the same time, we will not ask them to take on any agendas that are not consistent with their fundamental purpose and ambition. We want to lighten rather than add to their burden. We want a new relationship with arts organisations based on mutual trust. We have changed, and will change more, but they must also.

We will be fair in what we expect of organisations. We will help provide training for their employees and we will help to produce more cultural managers and leaders for the future. We will help organisations make the most of their capacity, but we will not ask them to do more than their funding allows. In return, we expect arts organisations to be open and clear in their dealings with us. We expect them to be well managed and to deliver using our investment. We want them to thrive and not just survive. But we will exercise the right to withdraw our investment from those who repeatedly mismanage or fail to deliver.

Cultural diversity

The arts provide spaces to explore differences. The results can be greater understanding and tolerance or, at their best, a sense of shared excitement and celebration of the miraculous richness and variety of cultural identity and endeavour. We want cultural diversity to be a central value in our work, running through all our programmes and relationships.

The term 'cultural diversity' can be interpreted in many different ways. We will take the broadest interpretation - as meaning the full range and diversity of the culture of this country - but with a particular focus on race and ethnic background.

We can achieve much in cultural diversity through persuasion, illustration and by identifying and sharing good practice. But we also need to take positive action if we are to share our riches and achieve greater equality of opportunity. We will at the very least make more funding available specifically for culturally diverse arts. We will also take steps to change the employment profile, governance and activities of both the Arts Council and the funded arts sector.

Chapter 3 Notes

²²⁷ Bryan Clarke, *Deep Citizenship*, London. Pluto Press, 1996. Fukayama's argument (of triumphant Liberalism) may rest too heavily upon one single universal Hegelian model of history.

²²⁸ Ulrich. K. Preub, 'Citizenship and Identity: Aspects of a political Theory of Citizenship', in Bellamy, Buffaci and Castiglione (eds) *Democracy and Constitutional Culture in the Union of Europe*. London: Lothian Foundation Press, 1995.

²²⁹ Heater. D. *Citizenship: the civic ideal in World history and politics*, London: Longman, 1990, p.185. Heater proposes one can have a conceived sense of nationality without being a citizen in an effective political or legal sense. Though nationality is associated with the ideology of nationalism and popular sovereignty, it makes sense for cultural nationality and legal citizenship to correspond. See also: Bryan S. Turner, *Citizenship and Capitalism*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1986, pp.22-24. See also: Twine F, *Citizenship and Social Rights*, London: Sage, 1994.

²³⁰ Edward Soja, 'History: Geography: Modernity', in Simon During (ed) *The Cultural Studies Reader*, London: Routledge, Chapter 8, 1999, pp.113-125. Soja proposes a sociological position on history as space and an increasingly impregnable global system which moves in an irreversible direction. Soja argues that modernity has been interpreted too quickly, proposing it as a complex reorganisation of temporal and spatial relations; academic study has privileged time and history over space and geography. For instance modernity itself becomes increasingly global synchronous particularly in technological and economic spheres, and postmodern social relations involve the reordering of space: speed and accessibility govern distance. See also: Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air*, 1982.

²³¹ Yves-Alain Bois, 'Painting the Task of Mourning', in *Painting as Model*, London: Zone, 1990.

²³² Alan Swingewood, *Cultural Theory and the Problem of Modernity: Theorising Culture*, London: Sage, 1992 pp.146 –149. Weber's notion of separate spheres corresponds to Enlightenment thought, such as Kant's three sphere's of science, morality (law) and art. See also: D. Frisby and M. Featherstone, *Simmel on Culture*, London, Sage, 1997, pp.174-175. In *The Metropolis and Mental Life* [1903] Simmel proposes that living in the contemporary city (Berlin circa 1900) the citizen is constantly bombarded by information and there is an 'intensification of nervous stimulation'. Everything is new, rapid and ephemeral and citizens are surrounded by strangers. See also: Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks Volume 1*, [1929-33], New York, Columbia University Press, 1992. According to Gramsci the state was growing rapidly in power and invading civil society. In this sense the state began to represent the interests of capital and the bourgeoisie. The notion of culture also becomes a major component of state power and the control of ideas. Gramsci proposed the re-conceptualising the autonomy of institutions in civil society, such as the church, would create a form of resistance by providing moral and intellectual leadership for subaltern classes.

²³³ Krishnan Kumar, *From Post-Industrial to Post-Modern Society*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1995. See also: Philip Smith, *Cultural Theory*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2003. The concept of modernity implies an opposition to something, and particularly to a historical epoch that has passed and been superseded. Deriving from the Latin word *modernus* (and *modo*, meaning recently) modernity comes to characterise the Christian epoch (from the writings of St. Augustine in the fifth century), in contrast to a pagan past. The Renaissance as a modern age, was understood in relation to the preceding 'middle ages', but not to the re-valued pagan epoch (or Antiquity). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, modernity came to be associated with the Enlightenment, which was a revision of the historical understanding of the present. Habermas argues that modernity is not just technological but more importantly political in the emancipation from the superstitions and

unquestioned authority of the past. In this context modernism in the arts can be seen to emerge in the political revolutions of 1848. This modernism may be taken to refer to the development of self-reflective art forms towards the end of the nineteenth century, which are seen to break away from convention and tradition at unprecedented levels. The crisis in modernism arises in its aspirations to *universalism* (and thus its tendency to dictate from a privileged position).

²³⁴ Chantal Mouffe, 'For an Agonistic Public Sphere', in Documenta11_Platform 1, *Democracy Unrealized*, Kassel: Hatje Cantz, 2002, pp.87-96. Mouffe argues for antagonism in political life to overcome the homogenizing tendencies of global capitalism and liberal politics. See also: Bryan S. Turner, 'Liberal Citizenship and Cosmopolitan Virtue', in Andrew Vandenberg, *Citizenship and Democracy in Global Era*, London: MacMillan Press, 2000 pp.18-23. In historical terms citizenship creates a juridic identity that determines an individual's status within the political community, and the historic rise of modern citizenship in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was primarily associated with nation-states and nationalism. In this sense juridic identity generates strong racist characteristics in the creation of notions of 'British people', where national citizenship was associated with Occidentalism (as an adjunct to Orientalism), creating strong notions of Otherness as the boundary between inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion. See also: Adrian Oldfield, *Citizenship and Community: Civic Republicanism and the Modern World*, London: Routledge, 1990. Citizenship as status includes both classical liberals, who confine citizenship to the formal (negative) civil and political rights necessary to protect individual freedom, plus those in the tradition of Marshall who include social rights as an element of positive freedom.

Background to the Critiques of Modern Culture

²³⁵ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 'The Communist Manifesto'[1848], in R. Tucker (ed) *The Marx Engels Reader*, New York: Norton, 1978, pp.473-500. Marx argued that the real motor in capitalist society was the mode of production (economy) that was concerned with providing material needs. A key aspect of this argument is the private ownership of the means of production (factories, machine technology) and the system of relations of production that pivoted around the exploitation of productive labour. Marx and Engels argued in the Communist Manifesto that which seems conventional and socially constructed, such as wage labour and purchasing commodities seem natural and inevitable. It has been transformed into, '*eternal laws of reason, the social forms springing from [the] ... present mode of production and form of property*'. Marx also argued that capital modes of production engenders a distorted view of reality. This condition sometimes known as *false consciousness*, makes people content to accept manipulative social relations. Religion, for example, was an '*opium*' which prevented the formation of class consciousness (awareness of a common class identity) among the proletariat (workers).

²³⁶ Max Weber, 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' [1904], New York: Charles Scriber and Son's, 1958.

²³⁷ D. Frisby and M. Featherstone, *Simmel on Culture*, London: Sage, 1997, p.177. Georg Simmel argued that society is the product of the ceaseless interactions of individuals, and the task of sociology was to look at patterns of concrete interaction rather than developing abstract models and elaborate conceptual categories. Simmel proposes the self has become more free through the modernization of society freeing action. Yet at the same time relationships have become more anonymous, and life is now mediated by science, technology, commodities and other social phenomena which appears alien. Simmel argued that the economy was really about interactions focused on exchange rather than production, thus providing an alternative view to Marx, yet at the same time agrees contemporary life is characterised by alienation. Simmel's work is seen as a founding work on *interactionism* as a critical theorist of modernity and as a pioneer in the cultural analysis of consumerism. He influenced Max Weber, particularly his thinking about the protestant ethic, he also influenced Georg Lukacs (student of Simmel) and Walter Benjamin on characteristics of life in the metropolis.

²³⁸ Max Weber, 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' [1904], New York: Charles Scriber and Son's, 1958, p.181. Weber argues against materialism as the origins of capitalism, asserting that religious beliefs also play a part. Weber studied predestination, a doctrine held by early protestants. This argued that fate was determined before birth and salvation could not be earned by good deeds. According to Weber, protestants looked for signs that they had been chosen by God, and economic success was one such sign. The unintended consequence of predestination was a rational and planned acquisition of wealth through methodical and disciplined hard work. Over time the religious foundation of capital accumulation faded, leaving a legacy characterised by an economic order of 'pure utilitarianism' organised around thrift, profit and constraint. Weber states, 'The puritan wanted to work in a calling; we are forced to do so ... the modern economic order is now bound to the technical and economic conditions of machine production which today determine the lives of all the individuals who are born into this mechanism'.

²³⁹ Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, New York; Bedminster Press, 1968, p.25. Weber drew attention to two contrasting forms of action; value-relational action was driven by cultural beliefs and goals, such as the search for religious salvation. This is a belief in ethical, aesthetic, religious or other form of value for its own sake. Goal-orientated action (purposive rationality in cultural theory) is driven by norms of efficiency. This involves the need to calculate precise means of attaining specific ends, but lacks the ability to identify overarching moral decisions and cultural specified goals. Weber proposed in modernity goal-orientated action was becoming more common.

²⁴⁰ Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, New York; Bedminster Press, 1968. See also: Talcot Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* [1937], New York: Free Press, 1968. Parsons claimed that human action has a normative and non-rational dimension. He saw human action guided by ideals and common understandings, which were internal to the individual and therefore provided the basis for voluntaristic model of action rather than a deterministic one. Parsons was impressed by Durkheim's understanding of society as a moral force, and from Weber he took particular note of the religious sociology and the concept of value relational activity. Parsons attempted to develop a multidimensional model of human action where competing interpretations of action (idealism, materialism, rationalism etc.) with a model that could be incorporate aspects of each in a more complex, voluntaristic understanding of action.

²⁴¹ Georg Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness*, London: Merlin Press, 197, p.92. Between 1918 and 1930 Lukacs argues capitalism was colonising subjective dimensions of social life. He claims commodity relations have impoverished society, which simultaneously denies authentic meaning to social relationships. Drawing on Marx's analysis on wage labour the workers fate becomes a transformation of human function into commodity revealing the dehumanised and dehumanising function of commodification. Weber's differentiation and autonomisation has the effect of separating the individual from the world of objects – thus promoting cultural pluralism and distinct autonomous cultural forms. But cultural forms are transformed from artefacts, which express human values and expression into external facts and things (monetary value). Thus development of modern culture leads to alienation and fragmentation.

²⁴² Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks Volume 1* [1929-33], New York: Columbia University Press.

The Modern Industrial Citizen

²⁴³ D. Frisby and M. Featherstone, *Simmel on Culture*, London, Sage, 1997.

²⁴⁴ D. Frisby and M. Featherstone, *Simmel on Culture*, London, Sage, 1997, p.189. Simmel in the *Philosophy of Fashion* [1905] argues that the primary function of fashion is social and not material. Fashion is a response to the desire to modulate the tension between the expression of the individual self and belonging to a larger collectivity. 'Fashion is ... a product of class division and operates ... the double function of holding a given society together and at the same time

closing it off from others'. Fashion therefore responds to the needs of high-status groups to symbolise their difference from those of lower status, and allows those of lower status to make claims to higher status – the result is a never ending game of catch-up. Consumer goods and cultural tastes therefore become used as a marker of distinction

²⁴⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977. Bourdieu identifies three kinds of capital at play in capitalism. Economic capital describes financial resources; social capital is about who you know and mobilising social ties towards individual or group advantage. Cultural capital is a concept that has several dimensions. These include:

- Objective knowledge of the arts and culture
- Cultural tastes and preferences
- Formal qualifications (eg. educational, professional)
- Cultural skills and technical know how (how to make art)
- The ability to be discriminating and to make distinctions between 'good' and 'bad'.

See also: Frederic Jameson, 'Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism', London, Verso, 1991, p.x. Jameson states:

Culture has become a product in its own right; the market has become a substitute for itself and fully as much a commodity as any of the items it includes within itself: modernism was still minimally and tendentially the critique of the commodity and the effort to make it transcend itself. Postmodernism is the consumption of sheer commodification as a process.

See also: Peter Wollen, 'Thatcher's Artists', in *London Review of Books*, 30th October 1997, p.8. Quoted in Julian Stallabrass, *High Art Lite*, London: Verso, 2001, p53. Wollen states 'Canary Wharf and Freeze are not so unconnected as one might assume. Or to put it another way, Charles Saatchi" prospecting trips to the East End in search of art were not as alien to that other aspect of his life as we might at first imagine.'

The Poets Modernity

²⁴⁶ Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, [1935-38] London: Verso, 1997, p.36. See also: Foucault (1981), 'The History of Sexuality', Volume One, An Introduction, London: Penguin. Foucault discusses the arch-modern French Poet Charles Baudelaire (1821-67) who strove to seize the heroism of everyday life, so the dandy in the modern crowd shows a modern relationship to oneself. The dandy makes him/herself a work of art. Foucault shows that the attitude of modernity, the high value of the present is indissociable from a desperate eagerness to imagine it. To imagine it otherwise than it is, and to transform it, not through destruction, but by grasping it in what it is. Therefore the relationship to the modern self should be one of creative (Nietzschean) activity, of giving style to one's own strength and weaknesses, and not trying to reveal a 'true-self'.

Baudelaire's modernity therefore is a critical weapon against the legacy of Enlightenment thought. Foucault is sceptical about the very notion of modernity, he argues that referring to a present empty of goals is a comprehension of the present without any recourse to transcendent principles (the present without purpose does not account for real difference).

²⁴⁷ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, London: Routledge, 1976. See also: Michel Foucault (1981), *The History of Sexuality, Volume One, An Introduction*, London: Penguin, 1981, p.92-93. Foucault was influenced by Nietzsche's nihilism; God is Dead, and history is nothing more than a series of struggles for power with no broader transcendental meaning. Foucault suggests history points to disjunctions and the arbitrary rather than identifying processes of evolution and continuity towards meaning. In this sense Foucault focuses upon 'marginal' people like the insane and the criminal, foregrounding the ways and

processes of inclusion / exclusion, and power relationships which become central to historical constructions of one true history that can transcend all human perspectives.

²⁴⁸ Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire [1935-38]*, London: Verso, 1997, pp.36-55. Benjamin shows how Baudelaire's poems reflect a new urban experience of fleeting interpersonal contacts, decadent sensuality, poverty and flashy commodities. Benjamin proposes the flaneur as a wandering urban spectator in the capitalist city. The flaneur becomes an alienated individual seeking superficial solace in the anonymous crowd, the fetish of the commodity and the relentless quest for novelty.

A Positivist Modernity

²⁴⁹ Adorno and Horkheimer in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* [1947] 1972. Adorno and Horkheimer argue that the project of the Enlightenment has reached a dead end. It was supposed to bring human freedom and encourage critical thinking. Yet they claim rationality, reason, and scientific knowledge have brought with them the instrumental control of social life. Instead of leading to a caring and intelligent society, the Enlightenment created a world that is shaped by a narrow, pragmatic form of rationality. Bureaucratic, technological, and ideological forces limit human freedom and create a mass society of passive uniform thinkers. See, Perry Anderson, *Considerations on Western Marxism*, London: Verso, 1979.

²⁵⁰ Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* [1947], 1972 p.xvi. According to Adorno and Horkheimer major entertainment and media organisations (today's comparisons: Disney, Time Warner, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation) produce goods with the intention of maximising profit rather than enhancing critical thinking and human freedom. In doing this they are guided by a narrow means-end rationality, which takes the characteristics of bureaucratic and industrial sensibilities rather than true artistic creativity. There has been, 'A regression of enlightenment to ideology which finds its typical expression in cinema and radio. Here enlightenment consists above all in the calculation of effectiveness and of the techniques of production and distribution'.

²⁵¹ Alan Swingewood, *Cultural Theory and the Problem of Modernity: Theorising Culture*, 1992, pp.146–149. The Frankfurt School propose (generally) formal rationality (positivistic action) is detrimental to society because it focused upon means rather than human goals. The 'School' attacked the idea of value-free social research because it lacks critical reason and is nothing more than a bureaucratic domination of the cultural industries for the purposes of maintaining consumerism. Hence the impact of modern technology on the private sphere and social life, evident in the reproduction of popular culture, becomes a major concern. However, Talcott Parsons, *The System of Modern Societies*[1966], Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1971, pp.114-116. Parsons argues in favour of modernity in contrast to Weber and critical theory. He argues in pre-modern society people would be loyal to kinship or traditional ruler (made legitimate by religion). Modern society is committed to institutionalised individualism as an aspect of market value. Thus people are evaluated according to their achievements rather than their caste or class, which respects democracy and inclusiveness.

Modern Artist Thinking and a Summary of Modern Culture

²⁵² Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, London, Macmillan, 1993. Wolff proposes a dehumanisation of art took place in the early decades of the 20th century as a response by artists to distance themselves from capitalist and totalitarian societies.

²⁵³ Nikos Stangos, *Concepts of Modern Art: from Fauvism to Postmodernism*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1994, p.47.

²⁵⁴ Andrew Benjamin, *What is Abstraction?*, London: Academy Editions, 1996. Benjamin refers to Clement Greenberg, *Avant-Garde and Kitsch* [1940] Greenberg was writing on the conditions of how fascism can intervene in society through art forms, particularly at the level of mass and

populist space. Greenberg viewed Kitsch as part of that populist space and thus something for art to oppose in response to fascism.

²⁵⁵ Lucy Lippard, *The Dematerialisation of the Art Object from 1966–72*. Lippard argues against Greenberg's formalism and insists that art must respond to social meaning and morality. She was seriously concerned in the shift from radicalism into aestheticism that characterises much late modernist works, claiming art had to be more socially responsible otherwise a irreconcilable tension emerges between ethics and aesthetics.

²⁵⁶ Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire* [1936-8], London: Verso, 1997, p.36. Benjamin proposes a pivotal concept in modern vision is that of the *flaneur*, a person who seeks out life of the city and surrenders to the 'intoxication of the commodity' seeking superficial desires in the anonymous crowd, and a relentless quest for novelty. In this sense Benjamin emphasises the close links between the *flaneur* and capitalism. Foucault's rendering of modernity is self, energy and the microcosm of the everyday contextualised within institutions of social relations. Foucault highlights the strengths and weaknesses of Baudelaire's modernity via its rejection of a finalising discourse of cultural development (strength) and its sense of culture as contained as a timeless present (weakness). Foucault asks: What is the meaning of this present unfinished self? Is it the fulfilment of Enlightenment principles (rationality, science and the power of knowledge in everyday life) embedded within the modern European?

²⁵⁷ Daniel Bell, *The Cultural Conditions of Capitalism*, New York: Basic Books, 1976. The social unit is no longer the group or the city but the individual. Though the modern-self dislikes any finished notion of the modern-self.

European Citizenship and European Culture

²⁵⁸ Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, pp.127-167 (chapter 7, *On Foreigners and the Enlightenment*). Kristeva discusses Montesquieu (1689-1755) *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748) as a thinker affirming human sociability through cosmopolitanism. Montesquieu proposes human sociability and the expansion of modern trade restores the 'general spirit' as the political fabric of the globe that governs human species. Mankind is untied by the ethic of the political thinker supporting (a historically specified) international society made possible by the expansion of trade (the regulation of goods and currency), which is dominated by Europe. Montesquieu proposes '*Europe is no more than a Nation made up of several others, ... and the state that thinks it increases its power through the downfall of its neighbour, usually weakens along with it*'. Continuing from Montesquieu writings Kristeva argues against distinguishing the 'rights of man' from the 'rights of the citizen' because the 'general spirit' (cosmopolitanism) includes the totality of all human beings. So 'the duty of the citizen is a crime when it leads one to forget the duty of man'. Kristeva's point is the construction of a Nation should also lead to a care of its borders, founded upon cosmopolitanism as a concern to turn politics into freedom; a rejection of a unified society for the sake of a unified diversity through the *rights of man* for all beyond the *rights of National citizens*.

²⁵⁹ Jules Steinberg, *Locke, Rousseau, and the Idea of Consent*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978, p1–10. Steinberg outlines characteristics of liberal and liberal-democratic political tradition. The liberal tendency is to distinguish between law and politics on the one hand, and morality on the other. Liberal theorists tend to conceptualise political obligation in between law and morality, to question whether the individual has a moral obligation to perform a legal obligation. To overcome any discrepancy between these two areas of concern liberal political theorists propose that the individual agrees to 'consent' to obey the law, so consent is intended to moralise the act of obedience to law. And by consenting the individual gives himself/herself moral reason to obey the law freely. Consent, coercion and 'sense of duty' obviously become a complex mix. Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, pp.127-167. (chapter 7, *On Foreigners and the Enlightenment*). Edmund Burke (1790) *Reflections of the Revolution in France*. The National Assembly debated and declared the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*, August 20th – 26th 1789. Composed by the heirs to the Enlightenment and to

the philosophes reflections on the natural and political man. The Declaration was drawn up in order to affect the existing political institutions so they might show respect for '*simple and indisputable principles*'.

²⁶⁰ European Centre, *Welfare in a Civil Society*, Vienna, 1993. European Centre for Social Welfare. See also: European Study Group (1981). The social base is predominantly realised through two types of variables:

- i. That people were concerned with feelings that derived from numerous religious experiences but they were not necessarily attached to any religious institution.
- ii. That people were concerned with religious orthodoxy, ritual participation and institutional attachment.

²⁶¹ Doyal L and Gough I. *The Changing Population of Europe*, Oxford: Blackwells, 1993. See also: Grace Davie, *Social Europe: God and Caesar in a Changing Europe*, 1992.

²⁶² Eric Wolff, *Europe and the People without History*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1982, p.5. See also: Stephen Castles and Alastair Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*, London, Palgrave, 2000, p.139. The re-Islamization of migrant communities is not just a religious phenomena but also a way group culture is formed in a situation of disempowerment. See also: Edward. W. Said, *The Mind of Winter: Reflections on Life in Exile*, London: Harpers, 1984.

The Cultural Citizen vs European Identity

²⁶³ Charles Westin, 'Temporal and Spatial Aspects of Multiculturalism', in Rainer Baubock, John Rundell (eds) *Blurred Boundaries: Migration, Ethnicity, Citizenship*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp.53-57. Westin refers to Clifford Geertz *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books. 1973. In English there is no appropriate noun to define a specific category of people to apply the corresponding adjective *ethnic*. The term 'ethnic group' is often used but group might lead to underestimation of scale. Equally the term *collective* doesn't capture the sense of belonging and commitment that accompanies a people's ethnic awareness and solidarity to each other. Anthony Smith uses the French term *ethnies* to refer to a wide and large-scale conglomerations of people that imbue the individual with a sense of belonging. *Ethnies* vary in scale and complexity, and different commitments to territorially based bodies of people on their way to forming a nation and state, to communities in diaspora which may only have a myth or some elements of culture in common. Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford: Blackwell. 1986.

²⁶⁴ Urwin D W. *The Community of Europe : A History of European Integration Since 1945*, London: Longman, 1991.

²⁶⁵ Donati in B. Giesen & K. Eder (eds), 'European Integration through Citizenship' in *European Citizenship*, 2000, p.306 suggests 'societal citizenship' as relational, contextual and more focused on particular social aspects as an alternative to the universalising liberal concept of EU strategies. This he proposes involves a more self-managed model of European politics in the framework of a welfare state that ensures the smooth operation of a citizens rights and duties through a relation orientated management involving non-monopolistic and non-residual policies.

²⁶⁶ B. Giesen & K. Eder (eds), 'European Integration through Citizenship' in *European Citizenship*, 2000, pp.1-7. Citizenship is commonly considered as an interface relating the state and civil society, government and the people, territorial political organisations and its members. Most of these relationships can be subsumed under three major paradigms: the *individualist paradigm* which focuses upon legal guarantees for the pursuit of individual interests; the *political paradigm* which supports the ideal of participation for all in public debates; and the *collective identity paradigm* which links citizenship to a common culture or tradition.

²⁶⁷ Roger Scruton, 'In Defence of a Nation', in D. Matravers and J. Pike (eds), *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy*, London, Routledge, 2003 p.271. If territory becomes a common and divisible right of ownership there must be a contented collected 'we', which settles boundaries, belonging and laws. Therefore a cultural citizenship is formed by the conception of itself. This we can be defined as:

- A shared language, there is nothing more distinctive than a stranger who cannot speak the same language as the collective 'we'.
- Shared associations. The development of places, buildings, institutions to give membership.
- Shared history. United by territory, language and association. A historical narrative becomes manifest in the associations which come to serve them, and the memory of it is attached to the land, shared symbols and buildings/institutions.
- Common culture. United by language, history, faith and ritual which marks triumph and suffering together.

Bryan S. Turner, 'Liberal Citizenship and Cosmopolitan Virtue', in A. Vandenberg (ed), *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*, London: Macmillan Press, 2000, p.18. Turner identifies cosmopolitan virtue as a good combination of thin democracy (Benjamin Barber) and cool loyalty to a community (Marshall McLuhan) to something like Richard Rorty's postmodern liberalism as a viable strategy against tribalism, political parochialism and global consumerism.

²⁶⁸ P. Schlesinger, 'On National Identity: some conceptions and mis-conceptions criticised', quoted in David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity*, London: Routledge, 1995, p.230. See also: Bhikhu Parekh, 'Contemporary Liberal Responses to Diversity' in *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy*, London: Routledge, 2003, pp.239-247: The issue of identity and forms of knowledge generates a dark underground where the struggle between reality and symbolism is waged. Kobena Mercer, 'Ethnicity and Internationality: New British Art and Diaspora-based Blackness', in Areen, Cubitt and Sardar (eds), *Third Text Reader: Art, Culture and Theory*, London:Continuum, 2002, p116-123.

²⁶⁹ A report on the functioning of the Maastricht Treaty released on 5/10/95 broadens the meaning of the Treaty to all Union's external dealings "where it will have to bring a genuine European identity to bear" – through European Defence. Article F of the Maastricht Treaty reads "the Union shall respect the national identities of its Member States" creates a segmentation type model of belonging. The different "hierarchical levels of belonging" also propose the Union is to get a consciousness and a culture to equal individual Nation-States. The Commission for Europe advocates the insertion of a policy on tourism in the European Union Treaty (Green paper of 6/20/95). It argues that "tourism contributes to promoting a European identity."

²⁷⁰ Hans Ulrich and Jessurun d'Oliveira 'Union Citizenship: Pie in the Sky?' in A. Rosas & E. Antola, *A Citizens Europe; In Search of a New Order*, London: Sage, pp.58-61. The Spanish document 'Towards European Citizenship' (*Europe Documents*, 2nd October 1990, Maastricht Summit) urged a major qualitative step towards European citizenship with five areas of rights:

- 1) Full freedom of movement, free choice of residence, and free participation in the political life of the place of residence.
- 2) In parallel to EU policies EU citizens acquire rights to social relations, health, education, culture, environment protection, consumer protection etc.
- 3) EU citizens receive assistance to diplomatic and consular protection by other member states.
- 4) Open access to community institutions, the right to petition EU parliament, and the setting up of a EU Ombudsman for EU citizen rights.
- 5) Recognition and validity of obligations, such as military service or alternative service.

²⁷¹ Klaus Eder, 'Integration through Culture': in *European Identity: A Theoretical Approach to an Empty Symbolism*, 2000, pp.223-230. The problem lies in the search for a common denominator that is different from the model that underlies the construction of national identities. The EU Commission's Work Programme for 1993/94, (dated on 2/14/93) addresses the continuation of an "active audio-visual policy designed to promote more extensive cultural exchanges which will accentuate the European identity". The idea of a European audio-visual policy to lay the foundations of European identity is deeply rooted on the Union project since the Single European Act (1986). Even minor proposals towards a single Europe, such as that of Luxembourg on providing access to European Union Institution Libraries (3/7/95) emphasises it as, 'an important contribution to fostering the spirit of European cohesion and identity in a way which will strengthen the sense of a common European identity amongst all the citizens of the Union'.

272 Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.

²⁷³ Soledad Garcia, 'European Identity and Citizenship', in M Roche and Van Berkel (eds) *European Citizenship and Social Exclusion*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997, pp.201-207. Identity as a problem manifests itself in situations of uncertainty and when people are prevented from having multiple combined identities. Nation-states have been "the necessary vehicle for the establishment of the modern social contract", which provides the frame for belonging, law and the institutions to sustain it. So far the EU has portrayed a sense of a community with a mystique which few understand rather than a society of citizens who understand well-defined body of rights and duties. A lack of coercion of EU level of performing functions may be seen as functional for the protection of liberal values, and access for participation-based human liberties. See also: Shore (1994) p.792 Scholars such as Shore argue the single European identity model of citizenship follows the familiar historical-linear model of Western civilisation: Greece-Rome-Christianity-Renaissance-Western democracy, which has been called the route "from Plato to NATO"

²⁷⁴ Rainer Baubock, 'The Architecture of European Union Citizenship', (1997) <http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/papers/97.html>. See also: Ann Coleman & Winton Higgins, 'Racial and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary Citizenship' in A. Vandenberg (ed), *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*, London: Macmillan Press, 2000, p.51 See also: Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, London: Macmillan Press, 1997, p.5. The disabled people's movement in the UK presents itself as a movement for full citizenship rights: "To be disabled in Great Britain is to be denied the fundamental rights of citizenship to such an extent that most disabled people are denied their basic human rights". See also: M. Oliver, *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996. The lesbian and gay rights movement has not always used the language of citizenship but the values it embodies and the discourse of inclusion and equality shapes the theorisation of lesbian and gay politics.

Citizenship Beyond Racial and Ethnic Issues

²⁷⁵ Rainer Baubock, 'The Architecture of European Union Citizenship', (1997) <http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/papers/97.html>. See also: Ann Coleman & Winton Higgins, 'Racial and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary Citizenship' in A. Vandenberg (ed), *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*, London: Macmillan Press, 2000, p.51

²⁷⁶ Anna Yeatman 'The Subject of Democratic Theory and the Challenge of Co-Existance', in A. Vandenberg (ed), *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*, London: Macmillan Press, 2000, pp.95-109 Liberalism offers a particular kind of compromise between ethical demands of co-existence for the relationship between sexes, groups and different peoples. In the history of the modern democratic state difference has often been repressed and suppressed in order to secure a shared civic national culture. National culture often means the imposition of hierarchical authorities of the modern state rather than a tradition of democratic nationalism that has a positive acceptance of cultural difference within institutional protocols.

²⁷⁷ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, London Macmillan Press, 1997, p.94. The focus of equality and difference between men and women, individuals and groups begins to construct *relational feminism*, derived from women's capacity to bear children and their nurture of them. *Maternalist* politics has focused on improving the maternal conditions of women as mothers and on enhancing their political position and projecting their values into political life as a legitimate basis for women's citizenship. Equality and difference are better understood as simultaneously incommensurate and complementary rather than antagonistic. See also: Zillah Eisenstein, *The Female Body and the Law*, Berkley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988, p.2. Zillah Eisenstein argues for the pluralisation of difference to mean diversity rather than 'homogeneous duality'. Within a 'radical pluralist methodology' diversity becomes a starting point while also recognising similarities. Otherwise, Eisenstein argues, to accept the equality-difference straightjacket is to accept a male yardstick against which the female is measured: "In neither instance does the female body displace the silent privileging of the male body ... a male body which is implicitly White, middle-class, heterosexual and non-disabled".

²⁷⁸ Jenny Morris, *Pride against Prejudice*, London: Women's Press, 1991, p.25. Morris states that as a disabled woman she, "knows that entry into the public world will be dominated by stares, by condescension, by pity and by hostility".

²⁷⁹ A. R. Wilson (ed), 'Which Equality? Toleration, Difference or Respect' in J. Bristow & A. Wilson, *Activating Theory: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Politics*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, (1993) p.188. Within queer theory Wilson argues that, "the equality which satisfies lesbian and gays must reflect not monolithic heterosexual values, but instead must reflect the variety of values which result from our differences".

²⁸⁰ D. Richardson, *Theorising Heterosexuality*, Buckingham, Open University Press, 1996.

The Ambivalent Local-Cultural Citizen

²⁸¹ David Morley and Kevin Robins, 1995, *Spaces of Identity: global media, electronic landscapes and cultural boundaries*, London: Routledge, pp.10-17. The overriding objective of new media corporations is the logic of profit against a background of competition. The intention of new media corporations is to get their product to the largest number of consumers. Such an expansionist strategy which creates enlarged audio-visual spaces and markets begins to break down old boundaries and frontiers of national communities. Audiovisual geographies are thus becoming detached from the symbolic spaces of national culture, and realigned on the basis of more 'universal' principles of international consumer culture.

²⁸² A. Yeatman, *Post-modern Revisionings of the Political*, London: Routledge, p.84. Feminism deconstructs the 'normality' of citizenship, and has lifted the false veil of universalism to make visible a more ambivalent notion of the citizen. Further groups defined as 'other': Black peoples, disabled and older people, gays and lesbians are seen as "*unable to attend the impersonal, rational and disembodied practices of the model citizen*". American Republicans defined the civilised republican life in opposition to the uncultivated and wild nature of the "red and black people in their territories", and with women outside the domestic realm.

²⁸³ David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity: global media, electronic landscapes and cultural boundaries*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp.18-19. There is some resistance to the imperatives of globalisation and new media corporations formed by a resurgent interest in regionalism and more situated meaning within Europe. This regionalism seeks to retain the value of diversity and difference of identities by conserving cultural and national heritages. In support of the European Community concerns with representing different European identities the argument has been put that "...in the particular case of regional TV programming in the European vernacular languages, the criteria should not be based on audience ratings ... nor on strict economic cost-effectiveness". Public service broadcasting has therefore acted as the focus, not only for national culture, but also for political and democratic life where questions of identity and citizenship become bound together.

The Defence of a European Administration

²⁸⁴ Bryan Turner, 'Postmodern Culture / Modern Citizens' in B. Van Steenbergen, *The Condition of Citizenship*, London: Sage. 1994. Turner argues the understanding of cultural citizenship is still poised or in transition. An inter-culturalist view sets out individuals as bearers of more than one culture, and many individuals function both in a minority culture into which they were born and in the dominant public culture.

²⁸⁵ Bryan Turner, 'Liberal Citizenship and Cosmopolitan Virtue', in A. Vandenberg (ed), *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*, London: Macmillan Press, 2000, p.19. In historical terms citizenship creates juridic identity that determines an individual's status within the political community. Citizenship itself becomes one of the most important resources which a society ascribes to an individual as a legal personality.

²⁸⁶ Rainer Baubock 'Citizens and Aliens: the traditional borderline', (1997)

<http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/papers/97.html>

See also: B Giesen and Klaus Eder, European Citizenship, London: MacMillan Press, 2000. See also:

Juan M. Delgado-Moreira (Ministry of Education Spain): *Cultural Citizenship and the Creation of European Identity*, <http://www.sociology.org/vol002.003/delgadomoreira.article.1997.html>

²⁸⁷ Iain Chambers, 'Unrealized Democracy and a Posthumanist Art', in Documenta11_Platform 1, Democracy Unrealized, 2002, p.170.

²⁸⁸ Francis Mulhern, *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change: a European Home*, London: Routledge, 1993. See also: Edward Soja (1999) 'History: Geography: Modernity', in Simon During (ed) *The Cultural Studies Reader*, London: Routledge, Chapter 8, pp.113-125. Soja argues academic study has privileged time and history over space and geography. For instance modernity itself becomes increasingly global synchronous particularly in technological and economic spheres, and postmodern social relations involve the reordering of space: where speed and accessibility control distance and spaces (geography).

See also: Rainer Baubock 'Citizens and Aliens: the traditional borderline', (1997)

<http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/papers/97.html>

²⁸⁹ www.timesnews.com. For instance, the United States constitution as the supreme law of the land is 829 words, whereas a recent law document on the selling and use of Duck eggs in the EU amounted to 33,000 words.

The Emotions of European Citizenship

²⁹⁰ Agnes Heller, 'Self-Representation and the Representation of the Other', in Rainer Baubock, John Rundell (eds) *Blurred Boundaries: Migration, Ethnicity, Citizenship*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp.340-350. "In the case of both artistic representation and political representation as ... a delegate of the self the question emerges, whether or not the representation of the other by another falsifies the image, opinions, acts and needs, and wishes of others. In other words, whether there is a true kind of representation and if yes, which is the one". Everyone is another for another other.

²⁹¹ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, 'Globalization and Democracy', in Documenta11_Platform 1: Democracy Unrealized, 2002, pp323-336.

Local-Cultural Power Vacuum

²⁹² Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, 'Globalization and Democracy', in *Democracy Unrealized*, Documenta11_Platform 1, Kassel: Hatje Cantz, 2002, pp.323-336.

²⁹³ G. Majone (ed), *Regulating Europe*, London: Routledge, 1996.

²⁹⁴ Francis Mulhern, *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change: a European Home*. London: Macmillan, 1993. A single European identity belongs to the romances of imperialism because the reality within Europe is a complex and variable situation of stressed politics and culture. The tensions between political spheres, advanced capitalism and a diffused socialism are still the poles through which European politics identifies with.

²⁹⁵ B. Giesen & K. Eder (eds), 'European Integration through Citizenship' in *European Citizenship*, 2000, p.11. The recalling of a common European history reveals a history of conflict and tensions between nations. There is hardly a common European cause or mission which would be accepted by all Europeans. Neither Christianity nor Enlightenment are unanimously acclaimed, nor medieval and early modern defence against Muslim invasions, nor the heritage of the French Revolution or the East European uprising against the Soviet empire will today unite all Europeans. The only reference which comes close to a common collective memory of Europeans is the defeat of Nazism and Fascism but even this is contested within some circles. However the issue of membership to European citizenship might turn out to be the key, which focuses the debate. For instance Papcke (1992) stresses the historical interconnection to individual free will and the notion of political liberty through the emergence of civil society as typically European. Heller (1992), p.12-15 does not hesitate to name the project of European identity as '*a revival of European Enlightenment*'. See also: Urwin D W. 'The Community of Europe : A History of European Integration Since 1945" London: Longman, 1991. See also: Van Steenbergen E. *The Condition of Citizenship*, London: Sage, 1993.

B. Giesen & K. Eder (eds), 'European Integration through Citizenship' in *European Citizenship*, 2000, p.11. The recalling of a common European history reveals a history of conflict and tensions between nations. There is hardly a common European cause or mission which would be accepted by all Europeans. Neither Christianity nor Enlightenment are unanimously acclaimed, nor medieval and early modern defence against Muslim invasions, nor the heritage of the French Revolution or the East European uprising against the Soviet empire will today unite all Europeans. The only reference which comes close to a common collective memory of Europeans is the defeat of Nazism and Fascism but even this is contested within some circles. However the issue of membership to European citizenship might turn out to be the key, which focuses the debate. For instance Papcke (1992) stresses the historical interconnection to individual free will and the notion of political liberty through the emergence of civil society as typically European. Heller (1992), p.12-15 does not hesitate to name the project of European identity as '*a revival of European Enlightenment*'. See also: Urwin D W. 'The Community of Europe : A History of European Integration Since 1945" London: Longman, 1991. See also: Van Steenbergen E. *The Condition of Citizenship*, London: Sage, 1993.

²⁹⁶ Ann Coleman & Winton Higgins, 'Racial and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary Citizenship', in A. Vandenberg (ed), *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*, London: Macmillan Press, 2000. p.51. Coleman and Higgins take up communitarian, Foucauldian and critiques of liberal individualism to set out social and cultural embedded liberalism in postmodern and global era. The liberal tradition of social contract from Locke to John Rawls promotes European imperialism in the past and a deceptive multicultural tolerance today. They argue the central problem of racism and intolerance is not to prevent the Holocaust ever happening again; it is how to stop long standing ethnocide of disadvantaged cultures that proceed in Western societies. See also: Raymond Williams, 'Towards 2000' 1983, The political maps are mis-projections of real social geographies. The factors facing a single European identity are formulated in complex overlapping and interlocking geographical blocs:

- Western islands
- Mediterranean group

- Western Europe
- Central Europe
- Former Ottoman territories and Slav peoples

²⁹⁷ Francis Mulhern, *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change: a European Home*, London: Macmillan. Mulhern contrasts with Rainer Baubock (1997) 'Citizenship and European Integration', <http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/papers/97.html>. The political and social changes require a rethinking, not only of traditional national citizenship but also of the nature and balance of rights and duties of individuals and collectives within the balance of local, national and European. It is the complex multi-level democratic system. See also: Maurice Roche, *Rethinking Citizenship : Welfare, Ideology and Change in Modern Society*, Oxford: Polity Press, 1992, p.219. Roche identifies the problem of making multi-level democratic systems working and accountable because it will require legitimacy from different defined electorates.

The Issue of Postmodernity

²⁹⁸ Stephen Castles and Alastair Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*, London: Palgrave, 2000, pp.134-136. Religion is one of the most important forms of ethnic expression and ethnic identity. For certain groups, such as Croats, Serbs, Greeks and Armenians nationalism becomes the key rallying factor. Nationalism involves symbolic understanding, shared language, shared history, folklore, a sense of place and ways of life. See also: James Clifford, 'The Others: Beyond the Salvage Paradigm' in *The Third Text Reader*, Araeen, Cubitt & Sardar (eds), London: Continuum, 2002, pp.160-163. Clifford argues most non-western peoples are marginal to the advancing world-system in the sense they 'enter' into the modern world. Whether celebrated or lamented such entry begins to erode paths through modernity; there is a Third World in every First World and vice versa. Yet these histories are still dominated by the capitalist West, old ideologies, religious and ethnic factions and by technological socialisms. See also: Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, [1962], (trans). Colin Smith, , London: Routledge, 1992, p.148 (also Irigaray: 1993 & 2001). Nikos Papastergiadas, 'Restless Hybrids' in 'Third Text Reader: Art, Culture and Theory', Continuum, Areen, Cubitt and Sardar (eds) London, Continuum, 2002, pp.166 – 175

²⁹⁹ Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991. See also: Jean-Francis Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: a report on Knowledge*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986. Postmodern experience encapsulates the decline of faith in political institutions and electoral cynicism, the rise of consumerism, fragmentation and pluralization of lifestyles, and the proliferation of multiple identities. The term postmodernism frames these changes, implying both a fundamental change in our era as well as the emergence of a new way of thinking about that change.

³⁰⁰ Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, London: Verso, 1991, p(ix).

³⁰¹ Benita Parry, 'Signs of Our Times: Discussion on Homi Bhabha's The Location of Culture', in *The Third Text Reader: On Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, pp.243-255. Parry quotes Christopher Norris (1993) *The Truth About Postmodernism*, Oxford: Blackwell. Parry's point is Norris is an exponent of deconstruction yet critical of its 'facile textual' position of postmodernity within real-life concerns.

³⁰² Iain Chambers, *Border Dialogues: Journeys in Postmodernity*, London: Rotledge, 1990, p.7. Chambers identifies that critique is no longer transparent, but this is not unique to postmodernity. For instance Nietzsche's critique of analytical enquiry and its relation to metaphysics, Wittgenstein's reflections on the limits of language, psychoanalytical enquiry by Freud identifying the repressed language of the unconscious and the ideological critique of Marxism all point to reality as an unstable proposition. See also: Nelson Goodman, 'Ways of World Making', Indianapolis; Hackett, 1978, p.21. Difference between peoples must be accepted both as

simultaneously incommensurate and complementary to cosmopolitan values rather than antagonistic; coordinated difference rather than settling for 'homogeneous duality'.

The Transition of Modernity to Postmodernity

³⁰³ Peter Williams, 'When Less is More, More or Less', in James Swearingen & Joanne Cutting-Gray 'extreme beauty: aesthetics, politics, death', London; Continuum, 2002, p.43. Williams discusses the work of Frank Stella to counter-claim Adorno's stance that, 'in every work of art something appears that does not exist'. Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, p.121.

³⁰⁴ Yves-Alain Bois, 'Painting, The Task of Mourning' in *Painting as Model*, London: Zone Books. Bois states that abstract painting is but a preparation for the end of painting or the significance of painting in art history coming to an end. He argues as industrial capitalism begins to replace manual labour with the expansion of mechanisation then artists initially felt compelled to demonstrate the exceptional manual handling nature of their mode of production through the gesture or the sign of the hand. Bois proposes the sign of the hand in painting could not compete with the development of photography and the means of mass production through mechanical processes. This tension between the manual gesture and mechanisation begins to form the base of much modernist painting. Bois suggests that this essentialism for the end of painting by correspondence to mechanical processes is also part of a much larger historical crisis; that witnessed by the fragmentation and alienation of society through capitalist modes of production. Bois argues that the notion of mourning is an abstraction to obscure the latest development of advanced capitalism (referring to Jameson: *New Left Review* 1984). This desire to re-open "dead" or past issues creates a spectacle of simulations in which the participants or spectators of the loss become more detached and enslaved by the spectacle, and are therefore unable to intervene socially or politically in events if they are constantly simulated or replaced by pseudo-events.

³⁰⁵ Peter Williams, 'When Less is More, More or Less', in James Swearingen & Joanne Cutting-Gray 'extreme beauty: aesthetics, politics, death', London; Continuum, 2002, p.43. Williams quotes Frank Stella in William Rubkin, *Frank Stella*, New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1970, pp.41-42.

³⁰⁶ Arthur Danto, *The Transfiguration of the Common Place: A Philosophy of Art*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1981, p.52. Danto asks what is the difference between indiscernible(s)? For instance using the example of Duchamp's Urinal (1913) Danto asks why is it different from other urinals? Danto's answer is to propose that all objects presented as works of art are *about* the world in a manner identical which other objects are not. Danto concludes that art is always representational in some form, not just in the sense that it refers to something but it also conveys the artist's way of seeing, viewing and understanding the world.

³⁰⁷ Victor Burgin, 'The Absence of Presence: Conceptualism and Post-modernisms', 1984, Burgin's essay was written for a catalogue to an exhibition, *When Attitudes Became Form: 1965 to 1972*, Kettles Yard, Cambridge in 1984. Reprinted for (1986) 'The End of Art Theory : Criticism and Postmodernity' London. Macmillan. Burgin's position (left-wing post-structuralism) attacks conservative attitudes in contemporary art, art criticism, and British capitalist society in general, then in its second term of right-wing government of Margaret Thatcher. The resurgence of 1980's painting is seen by Burgin as a symbol of conservatism and therefore did not offer any resistance to the critical platitudes of bourgeois humanism and formalist art criticism.

³⁰⁸ Clement Greenberg writings in, M. Schapiro, *Modern Art*, George Braziller: New York, 1994, p.215. See also: Andrew Benjamin (1996) 'What is Abstraction', London: Academy Editions, pp.9 – 17. Greenberg's arguments in 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch' (1939-40) makes references to opposing Stalinism and fascism by opposing art to the totalitarian occupation of mass space. Traditional art history and formalists such as Greenberg, propose the art object par excellence is

human essence made into form, it is civilisation made into substance and it is the individual (subject) made into realisation. This is the object that Greenberg wanted to preserve and some conceptualists wanted to blow it apart.

³⁰⁹ Victor Burgin, *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity*, London: Macmillan, 1986, pp.37-38. Burgin sees traditional painting as representing major ideological aspects of capitalist, patriarchal, and imperialist western culture, with a history which begins in the Renaissance. The principles of commodity exchange and individuality are embodied in the easel. Enlightenment thought, Modern universality was totally reliant upon masculine hegemonic practices, which post-structuralism, conceptual art, and the multiple voice and histories of the Other attempt to counteract. The concept of 'hegemony', deriving from Antonio Gramsci's analysis of class relations, refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life. Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of White, middle-class, heterosexual, able bodied male.

³¹⁰ Victor Burgin, 'The Absence of Presence: Conceptualism and Post-modernisms', in *When Attitudes Became Form: 1965 to 1972*, Kettles Yard, Cambridge, 1984. Reprinted: *The End of Art Theory : Criticism and Postmodernity*, London: Macmillan, 1986. Burgin's claim is conceptual artists working during the late 1960's and 1970's were producing a 'socio-semiotic' critique of both humanism and formalism. Burgin's concern that such radicalism in art was in danger of being consumed into the institutional machinery of museum curation and traditional art historical practices. Traditional art history is trying to process the diversity of conceptual art's artefacts and practices into a unified 'movement', which will then be portrayed as undermining 'modernism', thus paving the way for 'post-modernism' and a return to painting. This revival of a market for painting in the early 1980's is linked to the ideology of male bourgeois critics.

Art History, Liberalism and the Fetish

³¹¹ Iain Chambers, *Border Dialogues: Journeys in Postmodernity*, London: Rotledge, 1990, p.7.

³¹² Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, pp.157-163. Derrida shows how speech is seen as central and natural, while writing is marginal and unnatural. Western thought thus favours speech and the spoken word over writing and the written word. This favouring Derrida calls logocentrism (logos from Greek meaning truth, reason, law). Logocentrism is the belief that truth is in the spoken word or the expression of a central absolute cause or origin.

³¹³ Victor Burgin, *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity*, London. Macmillan, 1986. Postmodern Condition Victor Burgin proposes the underwriting of patriarchal principles is to reaffirm the primacy of presence in the object. This insistence of presence in the object is to get rid of the threat of narcissistic self-integrity. In other words, traditional art history argues - to deny presence in the object is an attack on the body of patriarchal principles – it is an attack on humanism, citizenship and on the body of art and the body politic

³¹⁴ Victor Burgin, *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity*, London. Macmillan, 1986. Burgin cites both Freud and Lacan's critique of the fetish with the equation of presence within art. The moment we are expelled from the womb and suffer that first physical separation from the mother's body our lives become a continuous experience of loss. The next painful experience is being weaned from the breast or its substitute. Much of our behaviour is to compensate this sense of continuous lack through over-valuing some thing, person or idea. The fetish is unique among signs (signifiers) it exists as a paradox – mainly to deny the absence of the female penis (the fetish is that which stands in for the absent female penis), this reassures the male in his anxiety that the same loss could happen to him but hasn't – but the hasn't is always short lived. The fetish exists to deny the very thing to which it refers.

See also: B. Benvenuto and Roger Kenedy, *The Works of Jaques Lacan*, London: Free Association Books, 1986. Lacan broadens the Freudian notion of castration anxiety to include both men and women. Lacan sees sexual difference (the presence or absence of the penis) as a simple organising metaphor for all other experiences of lack. Lacan differentiates the "phallus", the symbolic of the penis, from the understanding of the penis as organ. Phallocentrism is quite simply the symbolic organisation and lived experience of Western society. The fetish is revered and is irreplaceably unique, it cannot be reduced, diffused or extended in space or time – it is framed forever and indelible within its original making experience.

³¹⁵ Iain Chambers 'Unrealised Democracy and a Posthumanist Art', in *Democracy Unrealised* Documenta 11-Platform 1, Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2002, pp.169-179.

³¹⁶ Iain Chambers, 'Unrealised Democracy and a Post humanist Art', in Documenta 11-Platform 1, *Democracy Unrealised*, Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2002, pp.169-179. See also: Dick Hebdige 'Staking out the Posts' and 'Post-script 4: Learning to Live on the Road to Nowhere', in *Hiding in the Light: On Images and Things*, London: Comedia, 1988. Hebdige argues if Postmodernism is to be given critical status it needs to be rescued from its status as mere style label (which Burgin proposes it is). Postmodernism has become a buzzword because it reflects and constitutes important inter-related changes in art, society, and intellectual understandings – its meaning becoming stretched across different debates, different disciplinary and discursive boundaries. As such it is used to describe a plethora of incommensurable objects and tendencies in art, sociology, politics, history and mass-media. It becomes a way of seeing almost any object in relation to a set of 'endings' within the traditions of Western liberalism. Though Hebdige argues not all endings is a good thing, a sophisticated 'critical' Marxism needed to replace what Hebdige describes as 'crude' Marxism (solely) based on class struggle – but even this is seemingly disappearing as a popular socialist movement in Europe connected to forms of activism in art and society. See also: Roszika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, London: Pandora Press, 1981.

The New Indigenous Citizen

³¹⁷ D. Frisby and M. Featherstone, *Simmel on Culture*, London: Sage, 1997. Simmel argued against the totalisation of society made by Marxism. Simmel sought to recover the concept of society as a product of socially mediated human action and values. He argued in "Money in Modern Culture" (1896) that the ultimate source of cultural life was not material production but metaphysical desires.

³¹⁸ Alan Swingewood, *Cultural Theory and the Problem of Modernity: Theorising Culture*, 1996, pp.146 – 149. Weber's notion of separate spheres corresponds to Enlightenment thought, such as Kant's three sphere's of science, morality (law) and art. This is the formal rationality of society, which perfects the institutions of capitalism and the free market, plus its administrative apparatus. Weber states that it is this formal rationality which threatens the emancipatory potential within the different spheres themselves. Thus, this dialectic of modernity leads to disenchantment of the world and a deep pessimism. Donald Kuspit, 'European Sensibility Today', in *A&D: New Art International*, 1990. Kuspit proposes this deep pessimism is a Eurocentric reality, evident in European artists but not one that is shared by non-Europeans. For Weber the differentiation of social spheres suggests autonomy and the potential of emancipation but the conflict between substantive and formal rationality within each sphere leads to a pessimistic conclusion. Thus Weber sees modernity as Enlightenment principles split in two.

³¹⁹ Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, London, Verso, 1991, p(ix). Modernism thought about the new and tried to watch it coming into being, the moderns thought about such changes in utopian or essential fashion.

³²⁰ David Morley, 'EurAm, Modernity, Reason and Alterity', in David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, Stuart Hall: *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, London: Routledge, 2003, p.329.

³²¹ Robert Dunn, *Identity Crisis: A Social Critique of Postmodernity*, Minnesota: Minnesota University Press, 1998, p.17.

³²² Bhikhu Parekh, 'Contemporary Liberal Responses to Diversity', in D. Matravers and J. Pike (eds) *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, London: Routledge, 2002, pp.239-245

³²³ Daniel Weinstock, 'How Can Collective Rights and Liberalism be Reconciled', in Rainer Baubock and John Rundell (eds), *Blurred Boundaries: Migration, Ethnicity, Citizenship*, Ashgate: Aldershot, 1998, pp.281 – 384.

³²⁴ Nicholas Greenwood Onuf, 'Sovereignty: Outline of a Conceptual History', *Alternatives* 16, No 1, [1991], p.437. Quoted in Paul Patton, 'Indigenous-Becoming in The Post-Colonial Polity', in J. Swearingen & J. Cutting-Gray, *extreme beauty: aesthetics, politics, death*, London: Continuum, 2002, p.154.

³²⁵ Ian Heywood, 'The Art of the City/Art's City', in *Social Theories of Art: A Critique*, London: MacMillan Press, 1997, pp.1 – 8. Heywood discusses Lorenzetti's frescoes *The Allegory of Good and Bad Government* (1337 – 1339). Heywood proposes the scenes of Siena contado (governed region) demonstrate the working of the land, and the working of the people on the land in interrelationship to the working of the city, and the working of the people in the city - it is not only the harmonious scenes of internal/external forces of good government but also the fulfilment of art.

³²⁶ E. A. Marias, 'Mechanisms of Protection of Union Citizens Rights', Allan Rosas and Esko Antola (eds) *A Citizens Europe: In Search of a New Order*, London: Sage. 1995, p.207. The issue remains whether Europeans should strengthen the mechanism of the ethno-national border and allow national, economic or legal inequalities to penetrate and shape the idea of a European citizenship? If so, Europe may face the escalation of nationalism, the reconstruction of traditional divisions by violent means, and the grounding of economic and social inequities in cultural and even biological differences. Switzerland is an example of how common politico-cultural self-image stands out against the cultural orientations of different nationalities. According to Habermas there is a tension between citizenship and national identity in the sense that their connection in history is accidental.

³²⁷ Donald Kuspit, 'European Sensibility Today', in Andreas Papadakis (ed) *Art & Design, New Art International*, London: Academy Editions, 1990, pp.15 – 19. European art and culture is embedded within phylogenetic recapitulation in order to achieve a new ontogenesis. Kuspit proposes that American artists envy European artists for their dynamic growth around the orientation towards memory and historical density. In short, Kuspit states that in 1990 European backward-lookingness (Burgin's archeological repression) has replaced American forward-lookingness. European historicism despite the ruins is rather more civilised than the brash present of America. Kuspit proposes that American cultural knowledge does not seem to be related to any sense of historical depth. That the American sees a fact as an end in-itself and as a structure in it-self for cultural development. According to Kuspit Americans do not reflect and re-evaluate knowledge. Rather than the re-evaluation of history and culture, they are merely sentimentalised in a Disneyland and Hollywood style. Whereas, Europeans see knowledge as steeped in historical representational significance and contaminated by memory. See also: Norman Bryson (1988) 'The Gaze in the Expanded Field', in Hal Foster (ed) *Vision and Visuality: Discussions in Contemporary Culture* No2, Seattle: DIA Art Foundation/Bay Press, 1988, pp.87 – 108. See also: Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze*, London: Macmillan Press, 1985. Bryson argues the individual's gaze (viewing subject) is related to social structures and power relations. Bryson appropriating Lacan's psychoanalytic theories suggests the relationship between the individuals gaze and the traditions of representation in art, orders identities, desires and actions demonstrating a larger social order. Bryson's takes a Marxian

position by wishing to relate representational form to social ordering – so vision adopts ideological tendencies.

³²⁸ Bhikhu Parekh, 'Contemporary Liberal Responses to Diversity', in D. Matravers and J. Pike (eds) *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, London: Routledge, 2002, pp.239-245. Solving the problem of difference between peoples, so people are accepted as simultaneously incommensurate and complementary to cosmopolitan values rather than antagonistic to liberal ideal; co-ordinated difference rather than 'homogeneous duality'. Postmodernism articulates a language that liberalism must turn life into a solvable puzzle; it cannot avoid the complex reduction of alterity into homogeneity.

³²⁹ Zuidervaart L. Adornos' Aesthetic Theory: The Redemption of Illusion, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1991. Theodore Adorno's aesthetic theory is paradoxical in that it struggles between an avant-garde that risks being normalised and consumed into a capitalist exchange value. Adorno's art object is an art in which the detail defies conceptualisation and contextualisation making criticism redundant

³³⁰ Paul Patton, 'Indigenous-Becoming in The Post-Colonial Polity', in J. Swearingen & J. Cutting-Gray, *extreme beauty: aesthetics, politics, death*, London: Continuum, 2002, p.152. Deleuze and Guattari actually refer to post-colonial subject, but this can also be applied to Postmodern subject.

³³¹ Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism: or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, London: Verso, 1991, pp.84-87. Jameson argues that Marxism is unique because it does not have to totally reject other theories, it can utilize them dialectically (Hegel's approach) in the process of transcending them. Jameson has specialised in bringing together different forms of Marxism so that they 'all ultimately complete each other, their apparent inconsistencies dissolved into some vaster dialectical synthesis. Part of the 'ultimate synthesis' is the attempt to 'always historicise', which is held in tension to post-structuralist thought. Jameson's strategy is to empower Marxism against poststructuralism by rolling all Marxisms as one grand aegis of history, or 'History itself'. However, Jameson does acknowledge that the traditional point outside the dominant culture which Marxist or left-liberal critic customarily adopts is no longer available, 'The cultural critic and moralist ... along with the rest of us, is now so deeply immersed in postmodernist space, so deeply suffused and infected by its new cultural categories, that the luxury of the ideological critique, ... becomes unavailable'. It is because we are inside postmodernism that a critical distance becomes abolished. As the 'anti-aesthetic' logic, the postmodern poses serious political and intellectual problems for the left, which conventionally assumed the possibility of an aesthetic and therefore a critical distance.

³³² Jean Baudrillard, *Forget Foucault*, London: Verso, 1987. See also: Jean-Francis Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984. Both Baudrillard and Lyotard have found the notion of fragmentation and differentiation within the postmodern experience to be potentially promising and even liberating.

³³³ David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity: global media, electronic landscapes and cultural boundaries*, London: Routledge 1995, p.115. New media corporate organisations are generating new electronic cultural spaces, which is also a 'placeless' geography of image and simulation reflected in the postmodern thinking of Baudrillard and Virilio. In a cultural sphere, localism, meaning and value come to play an important role in the struggle for place in tension to the electronic decentered space. Local space is at the heart of urban regeneration and the built environment. There is a strong sense that modernist urban planning was associated with universalising abstract tendencies, whilst postmodernism is about drawing on the sense of place, about revalidating and revitalising the local and the particular.

Chapter 4 Notes

³³⁴ John Cottingham, *Descartes*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1986. René Descartes proposes his thinking is inseparable from his existence. The most he can show from the *Cogito* is that the 'I' is essentially a thinking thing. The *Cogito* is the first step Descartes takes in rebuilding knowledge that he had demolished with his 'Method of Doubt'. Ultimately, to understand things in the world, one has to resort to a mathematical and geometrical analysis of it.

³³⁵ Kobena Mercer, 'Welcome to the Jungle: Identity and Diversity' in Jonathan Rutherford (ed) *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990, pp.43-55. Mercer discusses British politics at the end of the 1980's and start of 1990's. Mercer characterises the hegemonic white male subject whose identity is de-centred to be replaced by the struggle for identity within multiple subject positions. The white male bourgeois subject of Western universality depended upon the othering of subordinate class, racial, gendered and sexual subjects who were excluded from the category of human and marginalised from the democratic right to political representation.

³³⁶ Kobena Mercer, 'Welcome to the Jungle: Identity and Diversity in Postmodern Politics', in Jonathan Rutherford (ed) *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990, pp.43-55. Social identities are structured like a language in that they can be articulated into a range of contradictory positions from one discursive context to another, since no element in ideology and consciousness has no necessary representation.

³³⁷ Chantal Mouffe, 'Hegemony and New Political Subjects: Toward a New Concept of Democracy', in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, London: MacMillan, 1988, p.100. See also: Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London: Verso, 1985.

Psychanalysis, Fantasy and the Feeling of Belonging

³³⁸ A. Elliot, *Psychoanalytic Theory: An Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1994, p.71. Elliot provides a summary of Giddens's position on social relations.

³³⁹ Maurice Blanchot, *L'Entretien Infini*, [1969], translated by Susan Hanson as, *The infinite Conversation*, Minnesota: Minnesota University Press, p.264, 1993. How can a turn in thought resist an already present determination in advance to find another determinant form? Within this question 'style of thought' is freed from the hold of meaning, and with this freedom, style forms an integral part of 'the turn of thought's' work, which is linked to signification. Maurice Blanchot asks: 'Will you allow as a certainty that we are at a turning point (*un tournant*)?' To which he answers (himself), 'If it is a certainty it is not turning'.

³⁴⁰ M. Rustin, 'Lacan, Klein and Politics', in A. Elliot and S. Frosh (eds) *Psychoanalysis in Contexts*. London: Routledge, 1995, p.226. Rustin summarises the positive aspects of British 'school' of psychoanalysis, in opposition to the 'negativity' of the French Lacanian tradition, he states:

The idea of the negative focuses attention on the inherent limits of human self-understanding and the inherent traditions and falsifications involved in representation ... the unending investigation of the inauthentic ... The [British] tradition regards psychoanalytic investigation not only as a method of recognition of illusions and self-deceptions, but also as a source of grounded understanding of 'authentic' states of feeling and object relations, conceived as the foundation of creative forms of life.

³⁴¹ H. Segal, *Introduction to the Work of Melanie Klein*, London: Hogarth Press, 1973, p.14. Freud and Lacan describe fantasy as occurring in the space between the wish and the lost object, so that it is always a substitute for reality. Kleinian psychoanalysis present it as 'Phantasy' as simply what the mind does, Klein states, 'Phantasy is not merely an escape from reality, but a constant and unavoidable accompaniment of real experiences constantly interacting with them.'

³⁴² Stephen Frosh, 'Psychoanalysis, Identity and Citizenship', in Nick Stevenson (ed), *Culture and Citizenship*, London: Sage, 2001, p.67. Frosh quotes Slavoj Zizek (1990) from, *East European Republics of Gilead*, in *New Left Review*, 183: p.51-52. Zizek (Slavenian 'Lacanian' cultural critic) writes about the new nationalism found operating in the collapse of the former Yugoslavia. Writing at the time the Bosnian war had taken full hold Zizek describes how the complex relationship between fantasies of survival and destruction have the effect of perpetuating the fear of the Other in the very moment in which that Other is attacked and destroyed. Arguing that hatred is not limited to the 'actual properties of its object' but instead targeted at what the Other represents in fantasy. The more the Other is destroyed in reality, the more powerfully 'its sublime kernel rises before us'.

³⁴³ David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, London: Routledge, 2003, pp.78-90. See also: Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves', in *Identity, Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.76.

Identity and the Public Stage of the Competent Citizen

³⁴⁴ Jonathan Rutherford, *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990, p.10. See also: Gilbert, *Identity, Culture and Environment*, London: Routledge, 1996. It is difficult to discuss identity in a contemporary world, Rutherford states,

The great mythical concepts that serve as identity's foundations – people, nation, community, class, territory and so on are placed in doubt'. There are three competing models, where identity as historically been thought: 1) Ontological (essentialising) model. 2) Oppositional model 3) Identity as necessarily plural and constantly shifting.

³⁴⁵ Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath, Glasgow: Fontana Collins, 1979. The subject is constructed when the semiotic (text) is able to break through the symbolic, when the structures of patriarchal meaning become unstable or are undercut by ambiguous, irrational and emotional embodiments of human experience; to go beyond the structuring power of the symbolic order. See also: Roland Barthes, *The Empire of the Signs*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.

³⁴⁶ Margaret Whitford, *The Irigaray Reader*, Cambridge, Mass: Basil Blackwell, 1991, pp.128-136. Irigaray argues systems of representation that privilege the masculine and evaluate women according to male discourses are phallocentric. Irigaray aims to release phallocentrism from its present position so that the 'masculine text' would no longer represent 'everything'. That the male text can no longer, all by itself, define and characterise the properties of anything and everything. Irigaray celebrates the language of paradox, ambivalence and sensuality in contradiction to hierarchy, logic and power characterised by phallocentric systems of representation. With such a language, Irigaray states:

There is no longer subject or object ... that syntax would involve nearness, proximity, but in such an extreme form that it would preclude any distinction of identities, any establishment of ownership, thus any form of appropriation.

See also: Luce Irigaray, *The Sex Which Is Not One*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985. See also: Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horrors*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, pp.44-56 Kristeva drawing from Freud suggests that the pre-Oedipal male infant identifies strongly with its mother, before it develops a coherent sense of the self it thinks of itself as at one with its mother. In the development of the infant-self it comes to realise its separation from the mother and has to

suppress its feminine side as the symbolic (language-coherence, authority, stability) and Lacanian 'Law of the Father' takes control. A feminine 'voice' remains repressed beneath this layer of power-language, where a contest between the semiotic and the symbolic is at play. Kristeva's interests lie in teasing out subversions of the phallocentric symbolic order through transgressive texts: the insane, the sensual, the disgusting and the religious. Kristeva proposes Lacan demonstrates culture is patriarchal and that gender and sexuality are constructed by language and society rather than biology. However, in Lacan's theory, as in language generally, men are and remain positioned in terms of power discourse; women also remain as the absent Other because women are framed as having an absent phallus so there is no female conceptual space. However, Irigaray proposes Kristeva also is subject to such criticism because she sees the semiotic as a characteristic of male writing, which writers like Irigaray attempt to contest and contradict.

³⁴⁷ Iris Marion Young, 'Polity and Group Difference: a critique of the ideal of universal citizenship', in D. Matravers and J. Pike (ed), *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, London: Routledge, 2003, p.219. See also: Isin and Wood, 'Citizenship Practices: (Cultural, Ethics, Consumer, Liberalism)' in Shapiro and Kymlicka (eds) *Ethnicity and Group Rights*. New York: New York University Press, 1996, p.33. Group rights must be seriously considered in an age of Postmodernisation and globalisation. Isin and Wood argue that individual dichotomy is not just a product of Postmodernity but goes back to pre-capitalism.

³⁴⁸ Paul Rabinow (ed) 'Introduction' in *The Foucault Reader*, London: Penguin, 1986, p.12. A Foucault concept of liberalism emerges as a series of technologies of government (Governmentality).

³⁴⁹ Derek Heater, *Citizenship: the Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, London: Longman, 1990, p184.

³⁵⁰ W. Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Kymlicka argues that modern liberalism is at best ambiguous about group rights, and its future as a credible philosophy will depend upon its ability to accommodate such rights. Modernity is built upon the obliteration of group rights. The sovereign individual and the sovereign state becomes a flawed conception of modern political life. The modern idea of social unity becomes a mythical entity because political life embodies irreducible multiplicities, which are expressed via different group identities and membership, groups within groups. Democracy is suspect unless public law recognises group rights, that also mediates between state-form and individual. The individual cannot exist before or independent of the group he/she belongs to. Group identity is as real as individual identity and they are socially and morally constructed through the inter-subjective process of mutual recognition.

³⁵¹ A. Oldfield, *Citizenship and Community: Civic Republicanism and the Modern World*, London: Routledge, 1990, p.110.

³⁵² Susan Mendus, 'Losing the Faith: Feminism and Democracy', in John Dunn (ed), *Democracy the Unfinished Journey 508BC to AD1993*: Oxford University Press, 1992, p.216.

Identity Politics and Representation of the Authentic Artist-Citizen

³⁵³ John Lechte, 'Introduction to Bataille: the impossible as a practice of writing', in *Textual Practice*, No 7 (Summer: 1993) pp.173-194. See also: Andrew Benjamin, 'Figuring self-identity: Blanchot's Bataille': in Juliet Steyn (ed) *Other than identity: the subject and politics in Art*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997, p.9. Bataille proposes the particularity of thought articulates identity in relation to the self. The conception of a singular voice is linked to authenticity, which pertains as much to self as language (and national culture). Blanchot proposes the complex play between authenticity and language is at its most intense within poetry. Bataille's 'turn of thought' splits language by introducing different possibilities of thinking and in so doing robs language of its essence, in this sense authenticity is linked to the power of the

negative. Derrida also proposes poetry as a vehicle to plot the nature of the difference between his work and Heidegger's, Derrida states:

The difference resides outside of philosophy, in the non-philosophical site of language; it is what makes the poets and writers that interest me (such as Mallarme and Blanchot) totally different from those that interest Heidegger (Holderlin and Rilke). My profound rapport with Heidegger is also and at the same time a non-rapport.

[Jacques Derrida, 'Deconstruction and the Other', in *Dialogues with Contemporary Continental Thinkers*, Richard Kearney (ed), Manchester University Press, 1984, p.110]

³⁵⁴ Jonathan Rutherford (ed) 'Interview with Homi Bhabha' in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2001, p.207.

³⁵⁵ Richard Rorty, 'Mirroring' in *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979, pp.162-163

³⁵⁶ Roland Barthes, 'The Imagination of the Sign' in *Critical Essays*, Illinois: Northwestern UP, 1972, p.207.

³⁵⁷ Roland Barthes, 'The Imagination of the Sign' in *Critical Essays*, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1972, p.206.

³⁵⁸ Maurice Merlou-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986. Summarising Merlou-Ponty: The symbolic consciousness which gives the sign of identity its integrity and unity, its depth, is located in the dimension of doubling; which is a spatialisation of the subject, that is anchored to the illusory perspective of the mimetic frame (third dimension) or the visual image of identity. The figure of the double cannot be contained within the analogical sign of resemblance.

³⁵⁹ Andrew Benjamin, 'Figuring self-identity: Blanchot's Bataille': in Juliet Steyn (ed) *Other than identity: the subject and politics in Art*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997, p.9. How, given the absence of any determining form of essentialism, is an authentic identity to be understood. In other words what allows for self-identity? The answer must acknowledge the interplay and boundaries of self, identity and authenticity, which is integral to the writings of both Maurice Blanchot and Georges Bataille.

³⁶⁰ Andrew Benjamin, 'Figuring self-identity: Blanchot's Bataille': in Juliet Steyn (ed) *Other than identity: the subject and politics in Art*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997, p.10. Questions addressed to either identity or self can no longer be held apart. The possibility of a singular interpretation of the self becomes the complex site where the interconnection between self and cultural identity is staged.

Private-Corporate Identity versus Public Democracy

³⁶¹ E. F Isin & P. K. Wood, *Citizenship and Identity*, London:Sage, 1999, p.88.

³⁶² Pierre Bourdieu 'The Production of Belief' in *The Field of Production*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, p.82

³⁶³ Magali Sarfatti-Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Façade*, Berkley: California University Press, (1993) pp.303-304, Sarfatti-Larson quoting Eisenman from 1982.

³⁶⁴ Derek Heater, 'Citizenship: the Civic Ideal' in *World History, Politics and Education*, London: Longman, 1990, pp.200-210.

³⁶⁵ James Clifford, 'The Others: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm', in *The Third Text Reader: on Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, 2002, p.160. See also: Anna Yeatman, 'Beyond Natural Right: The Conditions for Universal Citizenship', in *Postmodern Revisionings of the Political*, London: Routledge, 1994, p.57.

³⁶⁶ Ruth Lister 'Private-Public: the Barriers to Citizenship' in *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, London: MacMillan, 1997, Chapter 5, pp.119–144.

Sexual Identity and Citizenship

³⁶⁷ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley, London: Allen Lane, 1979, pp.4–8. Foucault argues the essential thing about sexual regulation is not just an economic factor but the existence in the Modern era of a discourse in which sex as a revelation of truth, the overturning of global laws, the proclamation of a new day to come is linked to pleasure. Thus it is sex that serves as the ancient form of preaching. Though Foucault also argues the repression of sex to a particular space and time within a capitalist and bourgeois society actually benefits a regime of unchanging liberty, where the linkage of power-knowledge-pleasure sustains the discourse of the Modern democratic state.

³⁶⁸ Slavoj Žižek, 'The Prospects of Radical Politics Today', in Documenta11_Platform 1, *Democracy Unrealized*, 2002, p.86. Žižek recounts the experiences of the radicals of 1968. Daniel Cohn-Bendit wrote about his sexual experience (or sexual fantasy) as an educator in a child kindergarten.

³⁶⁹ Anne Phillips, 'From Inequality to Difference: A Severe Case of Displacement', in *New Left Review*, no 224, 1992, pp.143–153. Collective action can boost self-confidence for individuals to see themselves as political actors and effective citizens. Phillips challenges the sharp distinction between 'public' and 'private', which characterises civic republicanism, while sympathetic to civic republicanism's emphasis on active participation. See also: C. Pateman, *The Disorder of Women*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989, p.10. Pateman rejects the political sphere as an abstraction separated from the rest of social life.

The Perception of a Fixed-(un)-Fixed Identity

³⁷⁰ Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, Solidarity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1989) pp.33–41. See also: Richard Rorty, 'Mirroring' in *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979, pp.162–163

³⁷¹ Norman Bryson, 'The Gaze in the Expanded Field', in Hal Foster (ed) *Vision and Visuality, Discussions in Contemporary Culture No.2*, Seattle: DIA Art Foundation/Bay Press, 1988, p.89. Norman Bryson's argument is partly based on a reading of Raphael's 'The Marriage of the Virgin' (1504). Bryson links the act of looking to some psychoanalytic accounts, in particular Jacques Lacan. Looking can refer to empirical acts undertaken by particular people in particular places making particular observations. However, in psychoanalytic and structuralist writings the terms 'gaze', 'vision' and 'the subject' refer to abstract processes or faculties believed to have universal significance within embodied human consciousness and unconsciousness.

³⁷² Norman Bryson, 'The Gaze in the Expanded Field', in Hal Foster (ed) *Vision and Visuality, Discussions in Contemporary Culture No.2*, Seattle: DIA Art Foundation/Bay Press, 1988, p.89.

³⁷³ Richard Feldstein, Bruce Fink, Marie Jaanus, Reading Seminar xi: Lacan's Return to Freud, Albany: SUNY, 1995. Lacan identifies the 'ideal ego' is the image a person assumes and the 'ego ideal' is the symbolic point which gives a person a place and supplies the point from which one feels to be looked at.

³⁷⁴ Jimmie Durham, 'Cowboys and ...' in R. Araeen, S. Cubitt, Z. Sardar (eds) the *Third Text reader: on Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, 2002, p.104. Jimmie Durham is an artist who investigates the available options open to self-representation of marginalized populations

because they have been denied the opportunity to represent themselves. Durham argues the Europeans regard the 'Other' as a person from another place – it cannot follow that the 'Other' is the colonized person 'here at home', because that calls into question the very legitimacy of the colonial state. Durham recalls the tropes of colonial expansion – the encounters with those referred to as non-peoples (wild-man or savage). The colonial 'pioneer-civiliser' makes habitable the 'empty land'. The innocence of the 'pioneer-civiliser' argues Durham is a denial of invasion and murder.

³⁷⁵ Norman Bryson, 'The Gaze in the Expanded Field', in Hal Foster (ed) *Vision and Visuality, Discussions in Contemporary Culture No.2*, Seattle: DIA Art Foundation/Bay Press, 1988, pp.90 - 109.

Cultural Heritage and British Identity

³⁷⁶ David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, London: Routledge, 2003, p.88. See also: Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves', in *Identity, Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.72.

³⁷⁷ David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen 'Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies', London: Routledge (2003) p.88. See also: Stuart Hall, Minimal Selves, in *Identity, Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.76.

³⁷⁸ Anne Coombes, 'Representation: Introduction', in R. Araeen, S. Cubitt, Z. Sardar (eds), *Third Text reader: on Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, 2002, p.89. The legacies of misrepresentation of a culture run deep.

³⁷⁹ Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves', in *Identity, Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.74. Hall quotes Gramsci in proposing, 'the state is always educative' and Hall quoting Foucault, 'there is no power relation without the relative constitution of a field of knowledge nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute ... power relations'.

³⁸⁰ Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves', in *Identity, Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1990. Hall quotes David Scott (Jamaican anthropologist), p.75.

³⁸¹ Anne Coombes (2002) 'Representation: Introduction', in R. Araeen, S. Cubitt, Z. Sardar (eds), *Third Text reader: on Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, 2002, p.89. See also: Stuart Hall 'Representation and Culture', in R. Araeen, S. Cubitt, Z. Sardar (eds), *Third Text Reader. Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, 2002.

³⁸² Stuart Hall 'Representation and Culture', R. Araeen, S. Cubitt, Z. Sardar (eds), *Third Text Reader. Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, 2002, p.73. Hall poses the question, whose Heritage? The 'Ministry of Culture' enters the nomenclature of modern British Government only when sandwiched alongside more populist terms of media and sport.

³⁸³ Stuart Hall 'Representation and Culture', R. Araeen, S. Cubitt, Z. Sardar (eds), *Third Text Reader. Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, 2002, p.73.

The Presence of Democracy

³⁸⁴ Cited by Silvia Vegetti Finizi, 'Female Identity, Between Sexuality and Maternity' in Bock and James (eds) *Beyond Equality and Difference*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989, p.128

The Masculine-Self and Civil Society

³⁸⁵ Juliet Mitchell, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1975, p.405

³⁸⁶ Jules Steinberg, *Locke, Rousseau, and the Idea of Consent: An Inquiry into the Liberal-Democratic Theory of Political Obligation*, London: Greenwood Press, 1978, pp.44-48. Locke's empirical view proposed there are ideas (such as God, mind or body) whose truth could be

recognised by the light of reason alone. Locke argues that every person has a rational obligation, defined by the law of nature, to preserve his/[her] own life. Locke claims that in the state of nature, the requirements of self-preservation mean that every individual has the right to punish anyone who violates the law of nature. It is the existence of violations of the law of nature, together with the individual right to punish the violators of the law of nature, that generates the conditions which necessitate the institution of law and government.

³⁸⁷ Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women*, London: Polity Press, 1980, pp.33-57.

³⁸⁸ John Berger, 'The Beginning of History', in *Comment & Analysis*, *The Guardian*, Tuesday 12th 2004.

Migrating and Placed Identity

³⁸⁹ Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves', in *Identity, Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.44. What was considered to be dispersed and fragmented experience of modern life has paradoxically now become representative of the Postmodern experience. Ironically the other has become centered within academic discourse. Hall asks whether the centering of the marginal other really is the postmodern experience, or whether this discourse of the postmodern is a kind of recognition of where identity discourse was always at in the first place.

³⁹⁰ Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves', in *Identity, Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.44.

³⁹¹ James Clifford 'Travelling Cultures' in L. Grossberg, C. Nelson and L. Treichler (eds) *Cultural Studies*, London: Routledge, 1992. Stuart Hall in discussion with James Clifford.

³⁹² David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen 'Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies', London: Routledge, 2003. See also: Stuart Hall, Minimal Selves, in *Identity, Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.45.

³⁹³ Philip Sheldrake, *Human Identity and the Particularity of Place*, Sarum College, www.philipsheldrake.sarumcollege (1997). A semiotic approach emphasizes that culture is a text, with many layers of meaning. It demands sophisticated reading rather than relatively straightforward classification and explanation.

³⁹⁴ Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy; Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London: Third Impression, 1989, p.23.

³⁹⁵ Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves', in *Identity, Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.45

The Politics of Being at Home

³⁹⁶ Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, (trans) Albert Hofstadter, New York: Harper & Row, 1975, p.154. See also: 'An Ontological Consideration of Place', in *Martin Heidegger, The Question of Being*, (trans) William Kluback and Jean T. Wilde, New York: Twayne Publishers, 1958, p.26.

³⁹⁷ Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves', in *Identity, Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents. 1990, p.46.

³⁹⁸ Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, Solidarity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, p.64. See also: Richard Rorty, 'Mirroring' in *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979, pp.168-169.

³⁹⁹ Ticio Escobar, 'Identity and Myth Today', in R. Araeen, S. Cubitt, Z. Sardar (eds) the *Third Text reader: on Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, 2002, pp.144-148.

⁴⁰⁰ Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves', in *Identity, Postmodernism and the Question of Identity*, London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.47.

⁴⁰¹ Jorge Larrain, 'Stuart Hall and the Marxist Concept of Ideology', in David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (ed) *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, London: Routledge, 2003, pp123-134. Larrain quotes Hall from (1981) 'The Whites of Their Eyes: racist ideologies and the media', in G. Bridges and R. Brunt (eds) *Silver Linings*, London: Lawrence & Wishart.

⁴⁰² Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism: or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, London, Verso 1991, pp.84-87. Jameson argues that Marxism is unique because it does not have to totally reject other theories, it can utilize them dialectically (Hegel's approach) in the process of transcending them. Jameson has specialised in bringing together different forms of Marxism so that they 'all ultimately complete each other, their apparent inconsistencies dissolved into some vaster dialectical synthesis. Part of the 'ultimate synthesis' is the attempt to 'always historicise', which is held in tension to post-structuralist thought. Jameson's strategy is to empower Marxism against poststructuralism by rolling all Marxism's as one grand aegis of history, or 'History itself'. However, Jameson does acknowledge that the traditional point outside the dominant culture which Marxist or left-liberal critic customarily adopts is no longer available, he writes:

The cultural critic and moralist ... along with the rest of us, is now so deeply immersed in postmodernist space, so deeply suffused and infected by its new cultural categories, that the luxury of the ideological critique, ... becomes unavailable'. It is because we are inside postmodernism that a critical distance becomes abolished. As the 'anti-aesthetic' logic, the postmodern poses serious political and intellectual problems for the left, which conventionally assumed the possibility of an aesthetic and therefore a critical distance.

⁴⁰³ Michael Clifford, 'The Politics of Fascism, or Consuming the Flesh of the Other', in James Swearingen & Joanne Cutting-Gray (eds), *Extreme Beauty: aesthetics, politics and death*, London: Continuum, 2002, pp.125-135.

⁴⁰⁴ T O'Regan, '(Mis)taking Cultural Policy', notes on Cultural Policy Debate, in *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 6, no3. 1992, p.107.

⁴⁰⁵ Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in Jonathan Rutherford (ed), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990, p.227. Stuart Hall refers to Caribbean identity rather than Postmodern identity, though the experience of continuity/dis-continuity has some similarity in both, but I would not claim Postmodern experiences in Western Europe having the same weight of trauma as the experiences of slavery and colonisation. Though there are examples of peoples in Western Europe who have been 'cut-off' from their direct access to the past through war and famine (and more brutal processes to achieve state homogenisation): Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, Irish, plus others. See also: Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves' in *Identity, The Real Me*', London: ICA Documents, 1990, p.44. Hall argues what was considered to be dispersed and fragmented experience of Modern life has paradoxically now become representative of the Postmodern experience. Hall asks whether the centering of marginality really is the Postmodern experience, or this discourse of the Postmodern is a kind of recognition of where identity discourse was always at in the first place. In this sense Hall proposes the feelings of uncertainty within the Postmodern age is due to everyone feeling recently migrated.

Conclusion

⁴⁰⁶ Ian Heywood, *Social Theories of Art*, London: MacMillan Press, 1997, p.183. Heywood refers to Michael Philipson's, *Painting, Language and Modernity*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, (1985). Heywood states Philipson's approach to writing is seen as a sustained attempt to write 'between' theory, practice as a kind of cultural politics.

⁴⁰⁷ Michael Foucault: *an Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, [1966], London: Routledge, 1990. Foucault focuses not on texts but on 'fields', such as economics or natural history and the conventions to which things were classified and represented. Foucault uses discourse, not as linguistic systems or just texts but as a practice that reveals institutional, philosophical and scientific levels. In this sense, Foucault excavates shifts in 'intellectual archaeology', emphasising stress on relations between the discourses of one social practice and other social practices.

Humanism and Art

⁴⁰⁸ Peter Williams, 'When Less is More, More or Less', in James Swearingen & Joanne Cutting-Gray (eds), *extreme beauty: aesthetics, politics, death*, London: Continuum. 2002.

⁴⁰⁹ Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, (1964), London: Abacus, 1974, p.71.

⁴¹⁰ Anthony Elliot, *Psychoanalytic Theory*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1994, pp.102-103. Elliot refers to the work of Freud and Lacan, arguing in Western civilization the suppression of desire and the illusion of reality are understood to reproduce inequalities because they are constructed on symbolic structures that are, in turn, shaped by relations of power.

⁴¹¹ Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, (1964) London: Abacus, 1974.

⁴¹² David Held, 'Democracy: From City State to Cosmopolitan Order', in Robert E Goodin and Philip Pettit (eds), *Contemporary Political Philosophy*, 2003, pp.78-102.

⁴¹³ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, 'Globalization and Democracy', in *Democracy Unrealized*, Documenta11_Platform 1, Kassel: Hatje Cantz, 2002, pp.323-336.

⁴¹⁴ Ann Coleman & Winton Higgins, 'Racial and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary Citizenship', in A. Vandenberg (ed), *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*, London: Macmillan Press. 2000, p.51. Coleman and Higgins take up communitarian, Foucauldian and critiques of liberal individualism to set out social and cultural embedded liberalism in postmodern and global era. The liberal tradition of social contract from Locke to John Rawls promotes European imperialism in the past and a deceptive multicultural tolerance today. They argue the central problem of racism and intolerance is not to prevent the Holocaust ever happening again; it is how to stop long standing ethnocide of disadvantaged cultures that proceed in Western societies. See also: Raymond Williams, *Towards 2000*, (1983). The political maps are mis-projections of real social geographies. The factors facing a single European identity are formulated in complex overlapping and interlocking geographical blocs:

- Western islands
- Mediterranean group
- Western Europe
- Central Europe
- Former Ottoman territories and Slav peoples

⁴¹⁵ Amy Gutmann, 'Communitarian Critics of Liberalism', in *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy*, (eds) Derek Matravers and Jon Pike, London: Routledge, 2003, pp.182-194.

⁴¹⁶ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, 'Globalization and Democracy', in *Democracy Unrealized*, Documenta11_Platform 1, Kassel: Hatje Cantz, 2002, pp.323-336. See also: Charles Taylor, 'Invoking Civil Society', in R E Goodin and Philip Pettit, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, 2003, pp.66-77. In Western society a web of associations autonomous from the state have been woven into contemporary politics (trade unions, Greenpeace, the Soil Association or Amnesty International). These associations are mainly independent of the state, yet able in a democratic way to have an effect on public policy. See also: Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, [1968-87], Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993, pp.70-115.

Relational Aesthetics and Citizenship

⁴¹⁷ JJ Charlesworth, 'Art & Beauty', in *Art Monthly*, Patricia Bickers (ed), Arts Council England, September 2004, Issue 279. pp.7-10.

⁴¹⁸ JJ Charlesworth, 'Art & Beauty', in *Art Monthly*, Patricia Bickers (ed), Arts Council England, September 2004, Issue 279. p.9.

⁴¹⁹ D Meredyth & J. Minson (ed), *Citizenship and Cultural Policy*, London: Sage. 2000. The treatment of Aboriginal art by Western galleries and cultural institutions is a case in point.

⁴²⁰ Julian Stallbrass, *High Art Lite*, London: Verso, 1999, pp.171-174.

⁴²¹ David Christopher, *British Culture*, London: Routledge, 1999, p1. Christopher discusses the social and cultural context of British society.

⁴²² www.culture.gov.uk That art institutions and artists are reliant upon government funding and agreements. See: Department for Culture, Media and Sport web site. 'Arms length principle'. The Arts Council (regional arts board) operate at 'arms length' from Government in deciding funding for individual artforms and arts organisations. The principle is to ensure that decisions on how much support should be given to particular artists are taken by the Arts Council, and not by ministers in DCMS. This principle has been in place for the last 50 years. The government does however set overarching goals for the arts and agrees these with the Arts Council in its funding agreement. The Arts Council of England does have to show through a series of performance indicators, set out in the agreement, that it is working to fulfil the government's goals for the arts.

The Arts Council Web Site States:

We will argue that being involved with the arts can have a lasting and transforming effect on many aspects of people's lives. This is true not just for individuals, but also for neighbourhoods, communities, regions and entire generations, whose sense of identity and purpose can be changed through art. We will create more opportunities for people to experience and take part in life-changing artistic experiences, through:

- making, doing and contributing
- watching, viewing, listening and reading
- performing, playing and publishing.

We believe that access to the arts goes hand in hand with artistic excellence. Participation, contribution and engagement in the arts are the bridge between access and excellence. That bridge is especially crucial in a society which is itself subject to ongoing change: more culturally and ethnically diverse; more educated and informed but also more distracted and cacophonous.

⁴²³ Julian Stallbrass, 'Famous for Being Famous', in *High Art Lite*, London: Verso, 1999, pp.17-48.

⁴²⁴ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, (trans) Brian Massumi, London: Athlone, 1980.

⁴²⁵ Tim Jackson, 'Is this Real or is it Art?', in *The Big Issue*, 31st August – 7th September 1998.

⁴²⁶ Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, pp.65-67.

⁴²⁷ Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, (1935-38) London: Verso, 1997, p.36.

The New Constituents of Micro-Politics

⁴²⁸ Amy Gutmann, 'Communitarian Critics of Liberalism', in Derek Matravers and Jon Pike (eds) *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy*, London: Routledge, 2003, pp. 182-194. Gutmann refers to Aristotle in Michael Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p31.

⁴²⁹ Amy Gutmann, 'Communitarian Critics of Liberalism', in Derek Matravers and Jon Pike (eds) *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy*, London: Routledge, 2003, pp. 182-194.

⁴³⁰ Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Things', See also: Diacritics 16 – 1, Spring (1986). Foucault uses the term 'heterotopia' as a disorder of an encyclopaedia, which produces fragments of definitions which weaken (logical) syntax, so the syntax which constructs sentences through the alignment of words and things (to hold together) is destroyed. Heterotopia is in opposition to utopia, which means non-place (rather than 'good place', which is eu-topia).

⁴³¹ Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Things', See also: Diacritics 16 – 1, Spring (1986).

⁴³² Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, (trans) Simon Pleasance & Fronza Woods, les presses du réel, 2002, pp. 88-89.

⁴³³ Georges Bataille, L' Art Primitif', Documents No7. (1930).

⁴³⁴ Nikos Papastergiadas, 'An Introduction into the Aesthetics of Deterritorialization' in *Art and Cultural Difference: Hybrids and Clusters*, London: Art & Design, Academy Groups Ltd. 1995, pp.6-7. Papastergiadas argues the paradox of art is to fall between estrangement and assimilation in order to maintain critical distance.

⁴³⁵ Philip Goodchild, *Deleuze & Guattari: An Introduction to the Politics of Desire*, London: Sage, 1996, Glossary.

⁴³⁶ Marcel Mauss, (trans). W. D. Halls, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, London: Routledge, 1990, p.65

⁴³⁷ H J Massingham, *The Essential Gilbert White of Selbourne*, London: Breslich & Foss, 1983

⁴³⁸ Ian Heywood, *Social Theories of Art: A Critique*, London: MacMillan Press, 1997, pp.2-8. Heywood describes Ambrogio Lorenzetti's, *The Allegory of Good and Bad Government* (1337-1339). In the scene the image is marked by a wall that divides city and country. Heywood proposes the dancing women in the city signify art and the countryside within the contado (known territory) signify cultivation but on the horizon are unknown borders. The spectator's view of the fresco allegorizes not only 'inside' and 'outside', but also the practices of art and social theory are in either a genuine conversation of discourses or, 'perhaps more realistically, in a somewhat distanced relationship of mutual respect – of a position which belongs fully to neither, but which nevertheless defined them.' See also: Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, pp.172-173. Kristeva describes at the core of cosmopolitanism is difference and coexistence, separation and union; cosmopolitan becomes something beyond secular and spiritual that, 'achieves the practice of rights for everyone, everywhere? ... '

⁴³⁹ Ann Birmingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1987, pp.102-146.

⁴⁴⁰ Charles Harrison, *Conceptual Art and Painting: further essays on Art & Language*, Cambridge: MIT Press, p.27.

⁴⁴¹ Ian Heywood, *Social Theories of Art: A Critique*, London: MacMillan Press, 1997, pp.46-63. Heywood argues critical theory has conducted a form of violence against art. The accusation here is an aggressive form of theorising is less to do with the critique of a subject and more to do with a form of colonization. See also: Socialist Realism: L. Aragon, *Pour un Réalisme Socialiste* Paris, (1935). Socialist Realism was the official formula for the Communist Party that demands artists to represent realist (mimetic) techniques in the portrayal of exemplary Soviet characters.

⁴⁴² Juliet Mitchell, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1975, p.405

⁴⁴³ Georges Bataille, *L'Art Primitif*, Documents No7. (1930).

Social Action or Art

⁴⁴⁴ Harald Szeeman (ed), *The Plateau of Humankind*, Venice Biennale Artists, Milan: Electa Press. 2001, p.158.

⁴⁴⁵ www.mediamatic.net/cwolk/view/16280

⁴⁴⁶ www.womenonwaves.org/

⁴⁴⁷ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, (trans) Simon Pleasance & Fronza Woods, les presses du réel, 2002, pp. 92-95.

⁴⁴⁸ Felix Guattari, *Chaosmosis: An ethicoaesthetic paradigm*, Indiana Press, Quoted in Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, (trans) Simon Pleasance & Fronza Woods, les presses du réel, 2002, p.101.

⁴⁴⁹ Atelier van Lieshout, 'The Public Art of AVL-Ville', in Florian Matzner (ed) *Public Art: a Reader*, Hatje Cantz, 2004, p.56.

⁴⁵⁰ Henry A Giroux, 'Benetton's World Without Borders: Buying Social Change', in Carol Becker, *Artist and the Subversive Imagination*, 1996, pp.189-197.

⁴⁵¹ Brazon Brock, 'Introduction', in *The Plateau of Humankind*, Harald Szeeman (ed), Venice Biennale Artists, 2001, Milan: Electa Press.

⁴⁵² Iain Chambers, 'Unrealized Democracy and a Posthumanist Art', in Documenta11_Platform 1: *Democracy Unrealized*, Hatje Cantz, 2002, p.174.

⁴⁵³ Jimmie Durham, 'The East London Coelacanth' (video) London: ICA, (1993) quoted in Iain Chambers, 'Unrealized Democracy and a Posthumanist Art', in Documenta11_Platform 1: *Democracy Unrealized*, Hatje Cantz, 2002, pp.169-179.

The Cohabitation of Art and Citizenship

⁴⁵⁴ David Held, 'Democracy: From City-States to a Cosmopolitan Order', in R E Goodin and Philip Pettit, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, 2003, pp.78-102.

⁴⁵⁵ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, (trans) Simon Pleasance & Fronza Woods, les presses du réel, 2002, p.31.

⁴⁵⁶ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, (trans) Simon Pleasance & Fronza Woods, les presses du réel, 2002, p.31.

⁴⁵⁷ D. Poulot (1994) 'Identity as Self-Discovery: the eco museum in France', in D. Sherman and I. Rogoff, *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p79. Poulot is referring to the ecomuseum as a 'bottom up' approach to the development of museum culture, the aim is to foster self-knowledge on the part of the community by providing resources through which it can come to know and participate in its culture in a more organised and self-conscious way.

⁴⁵⁸ David Held, 'Democracy: From City-States to a Cosmopolitan Order', in R E Goodin and Philip Pettit, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, 2003, pp.78-102.

⁴⁵⁹ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, (trans) Simon Pleasance & Fronza Woods, les presses du réel, 2002, p.17. Gabriel Orozco selected exhibitions: 1993, 'Projects 41: Gabriel Orozco', Museum of Modern Art, New York, USA; 1996, Kunsthalle Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland; 1996, 'The Empty Club', Art Angel Project, London, England; Documenta X, Kassel, Germany; 1998, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, Paris France.

⁴⁶⁰ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, (trans) Simon Pleasance & Fronza Woods, les presses du réel, 2002, p.31.

⁴⁶¹ Rasheed Araeen, 'A New Beginning: Beyond Postcolonial Cultural Theory and Identity Politics', in *The Third Text Reader: on Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, 2002, pp.333-346.

Hetrotopia needs Art

⁴⁶² Norman Bryson (ed), *Calligram*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p.xxviii

⁴⁶³ Francesco Bonami and Daniel Birnbaum, *Dreams and Conflicts: The Dictatorship of the Viewer*, Venice Biennale, Venice: Marsilio, 2003. See also: Documenta X: the book on Politics and Art.

⁴⁶⁴ Slavoj Zizec, 'Against the Double Blackmail', in *The Third Text Reader: on Art, Culture and Theory*, London: Continuum, 2002, pp.309-315. Zizek proposes; non-Western barbaric rulers (Milosevic, Saddam Hussein, the Taliban) are creatures of the global powers for multilateral agreements on investments. Elevated to their position before they became the enemy of the West. Zizek states, Milosevic was able to exploit the fundamentalist religious and regional reactions formed by globalization itself.

⁴⁶⁵ Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, New York: Schocken Books, 1969, p.237

⁴⁶⁶ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, (trans) Brian Massumi, London: Athlone, 1988, p.442. What defines a minority is not the number, but the relations internal to the number. For instance the minority can be the largest in number but constituting an indefinite majority. A minority can be infinite, but remain 'fuzzy' by remaining as non-axiomable sets or multiplicities of flux.

⁴⁶⁷ David Selbourne, *The Principle of Duty*, London, Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994 p.20. The citizen is possessor of free will, in accordance with individual interests, but equally related to prior ethical and practical obligation as a member of a civic order to act in accordance with the principle qua citizen. 'Whatsoever is created on earth was merely designed, as the stoics will have it, for the service of man; and men themselves for the service of one another.' (Cicero, *Offices*, I, vii).

⁴⁶⁸ Gould, C *Rethinking Democracy*, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1988, p32

⁴⁶⁹ Ray Pahl, 'Prophets, Ethnographers and Social Glue: Civil Society and Social Order' in Mimeo: ESRC/CNRS Workshop on Citizenship, Social Order and Civilising Processes, Cumberland Lodge, UK. September 1990. See also: Henry Tam, *Communitarianism: a New Agenda for Politics and Citizenship*, London: MacMillan Press, 1998, p.205. Community groups can exert power over the development of a local, social environment – hence interrelated powers and responsibilities should be looked at in terms of epistemological, economic and political implications. In other words co-operative interactions of community groups should provide the basis for discussing diverse knowledge claims about what should be done.

⁴⁷⁰ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, New York University Press, 1997, p.21

⁴⁷¹ Maurice Roche, 'Rethinking Citizenship: Welfare, Ideology and Change in Modern Society', Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992 pp.52-53. Roche argues the ecological movement is clearly concerned with the politics and morality of duty.

⁴⁷² Ian Heywood, *Social Theories of Art*, London: MacMillan Press, 1997, p.183. Heywood refers to Michael Philipson's, *Painting, Language and Modernity*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, (1985). Heywood states Philipson's approach to writing is seen as a sustained attempt to write 'between' theory, practice as a kind of cultural politics.

⁴⁷³ Michel Foucault, *Diacritics* 16 – 1, Spring, 1986

⁴⁷⁴ Iain Chambers, 'Unrealized Democracy and a Posthumanist Art', in Documenta11_Platform 1: *Democracy Unrealized*, Documenta11_Platform 1, Hatje Cantz, 2002, p.174.

⁴⁷⁵ Michel Foucault, *Diacritics* 16 – 1, Spring, 1986

⁴⁷⁶ Ian Heywood, *Social Theories of Art*, London: MacMillan Press, 1997, p.186.

⁴⁷⁷ Ian Heywood, *Social Theories of Art*, London: MacMillan Press, 1997, p.186.