

**WORKING:**

**a conversation between Andrea Geyer, Sharon Hayes, Ashley Hunt, Maryam Jafri, Kara Lynch, Ulrike Müller, Valerie Tevere, David Thorne and Alex Villar.**

As an artist I have always understood my work as a combination of different practices. One of them is the ongoing discourse that I have with my colleagues around working, teaching, politics, theory and of course the challenges of every day living. By its nature this discourse is rarely public. Being invited by Carlos Motta, to contribute to artwurl in form of an interview, I suggested that instead of generating a new conversation, I would invite some of my colleagues to formalize some of the already existing dialogues that we have and have had over the years to be contributed to the magazine. What brings this group of artists together, I think, is a shared agency in our work that I hope will become visible in some of its layers over the course of this conversation. Formally we decided to each ask one question which will be answered by everybody else. We will publish the questions in succession over the course of the next issues of artwurl. I would like to thank you Carlos Motta for his invitation giving us the opportunity to develop this dialogue.

— Andrea Geyer

**Stage 5:**

**Question - Kara Lynch:**

**“This is what democracy looks like.”**

**[A statement. A critique. A surrender. A question. An observation. A protest.]**

**Please respond to this sentence.**

**David Thorne:** In the midst of puzzling briefly over how to begin this round, and admittedly feeling a little perplexed by the “question,” I spent an hour going through my backlog of *New York Times* newspapers, from which I clip images for reference and possible use in my work. I am now at the start of July 2003. The “A Nation at War” section prominently featured in March and April has been downsized to a page spread or a single page, which in June (or at some point after the claim of “mission accomplished” had been made) was titled, rather optimistically, “After the War,” and now in July appears simply titled “Threats and Responses.” Coverage of the Iraq invasion and its aftermaths has taken its rightful place in a more complex mix of stories and reports from various fronts in the war on terror. Apart from thinking about the perversity of re-living, through a daily process of working chronologically through a sequence of brief recollections, the build-up to, and prosecution of the war, I am also thinking about images, about why I am cutting them out, about how I could possibly use them, that it might be impossible to use them – to repeat them again, and about the positions they invoke both within and outside of themselves, about the claims they make and that we make for or through or with them. I suppose I am having a little crisis of representation.



Tonight, above the fold on the July 5 paper I found an image that I have thought of several times since first seeing it when I read the July 5, 2003 edition on July 5, 2003. It was a pleasure to encounter it again over a year later, because it is a beautiful image. And I thought, as I looked at this image again, perhaps this is what democracy looks like. It is an image of children on the fourth of July participating in a sack race. The children are on a wide neat lawn, under a canopy of majestic trees, with a red barn in the background. The sacks have American flags printed on them. The sacks, held at the waist by their little hands, cover their legs and enclose their feet, making it difficult to walk or run. To complete the race, one has to hop along, stumble, fall, get up, and continue, like a real trooper, to the finish line. To win demands a little extra persistence. It is a nice picture. Perhaps though rather than making a statement or an assertion through it, and marking it with the claim as Kara has proposed it, I will ask a question: *Is this what democracy looks like?* For a moment I was quite sure that I could only answer in the affirmative. And, I thought if I were to give in to my tendency to the knee-jerk, I would run with this conviction that I know what democracy looks like, then go ahead and use this image in a piece, coupling it with an image (and there are many of them) of one U.S. soldier or another pulling a brown or black sackcloth over the head of some Muslim or another in a god-forsaken sandscape. That juxtaposition would bring the whole house of cards down, no? This would show those people, who run around making claims about democracy and about freedom being on the march, that they have their heads up their asses, or sackcloth over their heads, wouldn't it? This ironic binarism would foreground an unbearable contradiction and propels the masses to action, wouldn't it? These pictures don't lie, after all, do they?

But then I caught myself: how could I be so cynical? Or so darned angry?

Years ago, I would have made such a piece without thinking twice. Now I'm thinking it over, and thinking about letting the impulse go. Perhaps this is because at present I am more cognizant of something called "process" than I used to be – processes that are operative in politics, in images, in artistic practices, and so on. But there is still the little matter of living in a world filled with unbearable contradictions, not to mention irrepressible anger. "This is what my art practice looks like."



**Andrea Geyer:** Democracy and Art, no, not as art about democracy, or *democracy now!* Or *democracy when?* but more like what democratic principles are part of an artistic practice, is what comes to mind. In the midst of the numbing scenario of class war, capitalism at its worst, religious extremism, fiction and fraud that the 2004 US presidential election has left behind, it seems helpful for a moment (and longer) to focus on the micro structures that are, represented or not, the base of a larger picture. Without falling into the trap of claiming oneself as the sole source of one's destiny, it seems a field helpful to restart one's own ability to act. Within the highly segregating and individualizing context of the contemporary art scene in which we work, we need to locate the fascisms and hypercriticism in ourselves, challenge our thought, language, acts, work with the claims of our own beliefs. I am continuing, or joining David's thought about the politics of one's own production toward the part of one's work that becomes public. The exclusion and inclusion in that field— as we know is not necessarily based on quality — that facilitates the power/value of the market and access to visibility are mainly discussed as being in the hands of curators, galleries, writers and collectors. Though as artists we also have to ask ourselves how do we facilitate that machine through our unreflected participation that is not only but often induced by the enormous workload that most

of us bear and that eats away the time and space of the (necessary) critical reflection of our own actions? We have to always ask ourselves: What would a desired context for artwork look like? What does one call successful in terms of work? Can we at all imagine an adequate representation of interesting, challenging work being done within a supported and visible field? We need to resist being complicit with values that we don't share, not only in the moment itself, but structurally. What are our roles as acting individuals towards a collective that unmistakably forms us and I would claim always sustains us? To reference Gregg Bordowitz, we will have to make choices that will harm our careers and ask: Are we as artists doing enough to support the work that we believe in, to see the actions, exhibitions, teachings, books, symposia etc. that are so urgently needed in the current hostile political environment in which we work (and doing this not for the *art world* but for an audience or a public.) I know I seem awfully polemic— and I know that these are all questions that cannot be answered generally, or only once, but have to be asked over and over again. Interestingly relevant here, and yet again, seems Foucault. In his introduction to the 1983 *Anti-Oedipus*, he summarizes the book itself into a guide for every day life:

- Free political action from all unitary and totalizing paranoia.
- Develop action, thought, and desire by proliferation, juxtaposition, and disjunction, and not by subdivision and pyramidal hierarchization.
- Withdraw allegiances from the old categories of the Negative (law, limit, castration, lack, lacuna), which western thought has so long held sacred as a form of power and an access to reality. Prefer what is positive and multiple, difference over uniformity, flows over unties, mobile arrangements over systems. Believe that what is productive is not but nomadic.
- Do not think that one has to be sad in order to be militant, even though the thing one is fighting is abominable. It is the connection of desire to reality (and not its retreat into the forms of representation) that possesses revolutionary force.
- Do not use thought to ground a political practice in Truth; nor political action to discredit, as mere speculation, a line of thought. Use political practice as an intensifier of thought, and analysis as a multiplier of the forms and domains for the intervention of political action.
- Do not demand of politics that it restores the rights of the individual, as philosophy has defined them. The individual is the producer of power. What is needed is to "de-individualize" by means of multiplication and displacement, diverse combinations. The group must not be the organic bound uniting hierarchized individuals, but a constant generator of de-individualization.
- Do not become enamored of power.

What Foucault describes is 'the serious process of tracking down of all the varieties of fascism, from the enormous ones that surround and crush us to the petty ones that constitute the tyrannical bitterness of our everyday lives.' This is a book often referred to within the arts, I wonder, if artists would truly enact these ideas so many are attracted to, would that be what democracy looks like?





**Sharon Hayes:** "This is what democracy looks like." As the quotes tell us, this is speech. These are words that are, were or have been spoken. The chant has been used in various protests (from the 1999 WTO protests to the most recent counter-RNC protests), as have other chants and slogans, as a performative of sorts to incite unity, to energize, to make a claim, as Alex points out, in a rhetorical and ideological battle.

For me there are two curious aspects to the statement Kara offers: one is that as speech, the grammatical construction of the indefinite pronoun "this," makes the entire phrase dependent on an object in order to signify. The statement itself is empty, it means nothing. Something has to be added to complete the "this." It requires a body (or bodies) to stand in, point at something to direct our attention to the "this" that is democracy. It is perhaps the authorship bound up in this utterance that makes it such a pleasurable protest chant. It contains the euphoric belief that not only can we, as the chanting body, fill in and define the empty signifier "democracy," but that we can in fact be "democracy," or at least look like it. It seems symptomatic of this moment that we must remind others and ourselves that public protest is, as Alex puts it, "allowed by the democratic system." I think such direct confrontation with the rhetorical claims of the right is simultaneously necessary and debilitating in that it distracts us from the more difficult questions about how to form effective modes of resistance to the social, political and economic conditions that allow Bush and company such unbounded power. (Something of a bait and switch dilemma perhaps.)

As there are more and more people ready to assemble and chant "This is what democracy looks like" my engagement is pulled toward the other set of questions, related to what David calls the processes operative in politics, images, art practice, etc. And this is where I am led to the second curious element in Kara's statement,

located in the notion of resemblance, something that "looks like" something. Even in her associative provocation there is a list of resemblances that posit the utterance as neither a statement nor question but an association. David's response works at this resemblance— ironically posing the activity as if we could literally see democracy in a photo, an exchange, or a collective action. But the statement asserts not that we are "seeing" democracy but seeing something look like, or resemble, democracy. So David's photo is not democracy itself but a resemblance to democracy. The "looks like" brings me then to three literary references that I offer as my own associations: the first is Christopher Robbins' with an umbrella walking around the pages of Winnie the Pooh exclaiming "tut-tut, looks like rain." As if democracy, most definitely predicted, must be just about to fall. The other reference is Gertrude Stein's "Rose is a rose is a rose." Stein herself asserts about the line, that there were a time when, in language, "the poet could use the name of the thing and the thing was really there" but that memory had taken over and that the relation was lost. Democracy is an empty signifier, which does not mean I claim it as meaningless. Rather the empty signifier "democracy" is radically disconnected from a signified and in the desire to fill in the term is constantly being worked through various signifiers, various metonymic resemblances.

Lastly (it always comes to the most superficial), I was standing in the children's section of a bookstore tonight, looking for a picture book to give my niece as a gift. While moving through various options, I came across a book titled "D is for Democracy." Following David's model of searching, I wondered if, in the title of that children's book, I found the closest thing I can find to resemble democracy. It is perhaps too cynical, too academic, and probably hardly what I mean at all, but at that moment, feeling radically disconnected to any notion of democracy, the only resemblance I can bear is d.e.m.o.c.r.a.c.y.



**Ashley Hunt:** The first time I recall this sentence was on a t-shirt worn by a young woman riding a Manhattan subway in 1999. I hadn't been able to go to Seattle for the protests, but I knew others who had; I'd heard stories, slogans, and read

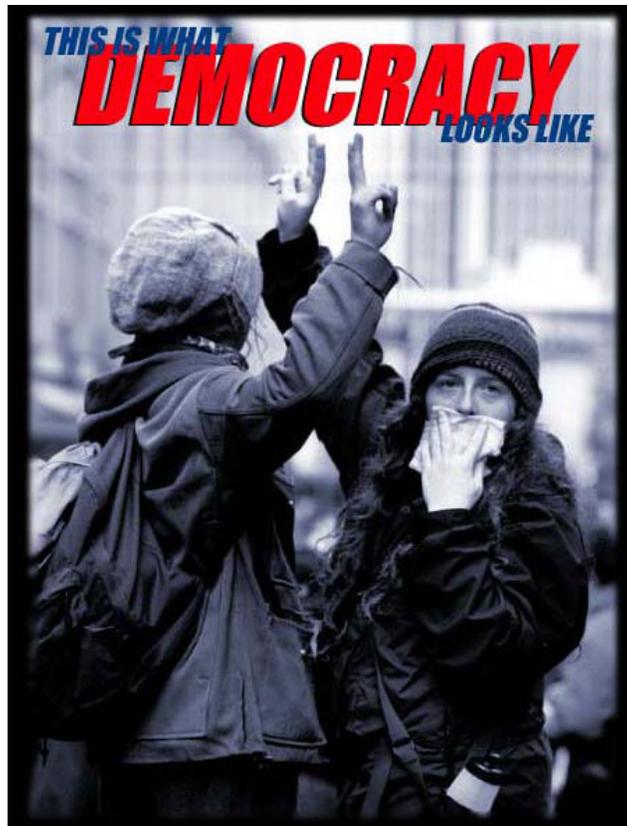
countless emails and dispatches. Scrawled onto this woman's t-shirt, it was accompanied by an image from the protests. But rather than an image of "victory" of some sort, in which an arrangement of "the people" appeared to claim, assert or embody "democracy," the image resembled more an image of combat.

The t-shirt image showed two subjects divided into foreground and background by a spatial segregation, across which the meaning of the sentence—*this is what democracy looks like* (here as a caption rather than chant)—seemed to oscillate and slip, back and forth. The point of view of the image is that of a protester amidst fellow protesters ("the people" or a "multitude" presumably) staring across a barricade at a volatile line of baton-wielding riot cops (in other words, the state). By way of Sharon's analysis, we can read the two meanings that Alex proposes by shifting the "this" between these two subjects: from *protesters/the people* to *cops/the state* and back; from an affirmation, a legitimizing utterance accompanying the "bursting moment of public protest," to an indignant phrase, operating through "parodic displacement," critiquing the "currently unsustainable state."

But then there is a third figure in the image, in the space of the barricade, which separates these two subjects. In the middle of this foreground and background is a *mêlée* between the police and protesters. Interestingly, I can't remember if the *mêlée* is an actual physical confrontation pictured within the image, or if in my memory, I have given form to the violence immanent to their arrangement, their partitioning through a relation of violence; the violence which, acted out at the moment or not, is the founding force of their separation and distinction, wherein the threat of violence remains implied permanently. This figure of violence would seem to lend itself to the second of Alex's two reads, whereby we see the violent repression of political (democratic) speech: "This is what the powers who claim democracy *really* look like."

But from the figure of violence also comes a third read: not protest as the embodiment of democracy, its "real" so to speak; not the enlightening "reveal" of state repression against those who attempt to "speak"; but instead, that the "this" which democracy looks like is in fact the confrontation within the *mêlée* itself.

And if this is the read we choose to focus on, then to which aspect of the confrontation does it refer—to violence? Does democracy look like a matching of the state's violence with violence? Since we generally understand violence as a type of coercion antithetical to democracy, accepting this would assume that violence would then be a means to an end—the end being democracy, implying democracy to be a stable place to get to, to arrive at (once you're there, you're there). Hopefully we don't see democracy so much as a state of being, or the property or domain of a specific state or national/cultural affiliation, but rather we identify it as a process, one which cannot be claimed but only performed, continually under contestation and crisis. Democracy not as a process of "getting to" democracy, but democracy as the very process itself, in which those who constitute power are confronted by those excluded from it. This is precisely where the resonance of the t-shirt lay when I read it on the subway, carrying with it some residue of the protests, but more so provoking the notion that democracy "looks" something like the willingness and courage to confront established power.



But to take this briefly beyond the theoretical, I'll recall the main instance in which I remember chanting this statement myself. This was at an anti-war rally in Los Angeles at the very launching of the invasion/decimation of Iraq. I was shooting video and close to the front of the march, which, after arriving back at its starting point, decided to continue past this starting point and transgress its permitted borders. The police were incapable of stopping this, but a block or so down, they were finally able to line themselves into a riot-ready barricade, and as the marchers tried to push on they pushed back, tension built, and suddenly one cop started swinging wildly his baton. The other young, probably rookie and reserve cops looked confused and nervous as if wondering whether they too should swing, while the police leadership grappled with the swinging cop and the marchers all around were pointing and yelling frantically for someone to witness his aggression and make him stop. Protest leaders who perhaps recognized what this might become began to order everyone to sit down, sit down, sit down. Almost immediately every protester was seated on the ground as if rehearsed. The police leadership were struggling to pull this out of control cop to the sidewalk while the veins pulsed in every other cop down the line in case this would become that moment they'd trained for (this woman's face is not the face that I pictured I'd have to beat); helicopters thundered above and the press cameras buzzed in anticipation of a defining moment: where either the protesters would become criminalized, marginalized in their point of view; or the LAPD blows it Rodney King style. Within a moment of hitting the ground, the crowd of seated marchers began to chant, "...this is what democracy looks like, this is what democracy looks like..." This was not a gesture of symbolic representation but a strategy (through a representational gesture of course) both political and for protection. Here the crowd enunciated itself, characterized itself before power and before the media as the subjects of democracy, which accompanied by the peaceful

gesture of sitting, pre-defined any attack or mobilization upon them as anti-democratic and repressive. This strategic articulation took control over the moment, quelling the violence but maintaining the confrontation nonetheless, as the bulk of the protesters stayed seated and were, one by one, handcuffed and arrested “by the book,” under the protective light of the cameras. It remained an act of civil disobedience, which drained state resources and shut down entirely that section of a major artery of Los Angeles for hours, a straining challenge to the existing power’s legitimacy and ability to run the city.

I’m not suggesting that this event matches the t-shirt use of the phrase, but I am interested in how, as artists concerned with representation and knowledge but also with change, how we reconcile the two examples whereas I often wonder if we have a tendency to judge protest chants and strategies through “art” criteria and assumptions (I’ve heard *that one* so many times). What would it look like to use the Foucault passage quoted by Andrea in order to move between the two?



**Valerie Tevere:** I'll start by saying that I find this conversation to be quite constructive – how a question or a prompt systematized can minutely focus a conversation and simultaneously explode it into considered fragmentary thoughts.

It seems fitting that much of the discussion thus far has focused on the imaging of democracy, the idea as if something tangible helps us to reach an understanding of it while we concurrently critique its construction. And as Sharon pointed out, this something that I mention as tangible or an embodiment is none other than an appearance or perhaps a façade - as if democracy is intangible and only referred to in likeness or association.

So I'll begin my association through song. “Ain't democracy wonderful, let's us vote someone like that in.” For all the contemporary links it may bear, I choose this phrase from a 1989 XTC song because it was released very close to the moment of when I understood democracy to be what it is not. As a somewhat idealistic undergraduate, I enrolled in a general political science course that focused on US electoral politics (the two are not uniquely correlative). The Electoral College confounded me. What? My vote only counts if my candidate wins the state within which I voted? A president can be elected without a plurality? Continuing on as a student of political science I learned that US style *democracy* had been exported, imposed, and enforced upon the 'non-democratic' nations of the world. Yet, it wasn't democracy, but US capitalism at its worst (to cite Andrea, and ask - was it ever at its best?), Chicago Boys economics, Military Juntas, repression, neo-liberalism, and then years later, once the US backed dictator was deposed, a 'democratic' election of

which the US takes credit in supporting.

Perhaps though it was democracy in one of its many iterations, like the earlier reference of an empty signifier in which its meaning shifts depending upon who uses it and for what purpose. That shift seems to me an ongoing process used ideologically on the left and the right (thus the empty signifier). I guess this makes me wary about open-ended formulations that Alex mentions. Couldn't it as well be like Rumsfeld's current iteration (one of many I am certain)? – A democracy that exists for part of the population, as long as elections can happen in 70% of the Iraqi districts... *"You go to the elections with the country you've got, not the one you wish you had... the process may well be imperfect... Is it better than not having an election?"*

While I consider how to end my irresolute response, I think about the last two contested and fraudulent US elections, and about *the country I've got* which is not the one I will accept nor lament over, but evaluate and resist daily in life and work.



**Ulrike Müller:** I appreciate much of what has been said before about democracy as a continuous process, or an empty signifier, a contested and ideologically charged notion. I do not have an idea of what democracy looks like. All I know is that democracy on the level of state politics hasn't felt good to me in a while.

It feels like "we" are on the losing end, "we" being whatever collective identity I can possibly come up with to include myself. I do not feel that my ideas or I are represented and put to action. Benjamin Franklin said that democracy is two wolves and a lamb voting about what to eat. The problem is that there are always weaker ones, minorities that the majority is not necessarily right, and voting is not such a great tool for decision-making. Democracies are defined by multiple contesting, contradictory interests, not all of which will ever hit the margin of majority.

There is a history of democracy being used in ideological and real battles. It peaks these days with the election in Iraq. George W. Bush said last week, that it is not so important what people vote; important is only the fact that elections are being held. Is there a more direct way of stating that democracy is totally hollowed out, a cover up for other interests?

Already, during the years of the Cold War – at a time when states in the West and states in the East called themselves “democracies”, democracy was from both sides of the wall regarded as what each side had and the other side missed. The others therefore were to be pitied and inferior. With the abrupt integration of the former Eastern European socialist states into capitalism, an important aspect of that rivalry got lost: Eastern European democracies were built around notions of justice and equality, whereas the West stressed freedom, something that seems to me way less tangible as a concept, especially since being free (to move, for example) is so tightly tied to the question whether one is in the economic position to do so or not. In George W. Bush’s inauguration speech, “freedom” became the key term to represent an eerie transformation of democracy – there are no more contesting interests, no more minorities, his speech even did away with racism. The nation and its allies are to be united in the interest of “freedom.” Democracy has become the codeword for supremacy. I cannot help but feel reminded of how misguided socialism in Germany and Austria morphed into National Socialism in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

I am grateful to Andrea for quoting Foucault’s “one does not have to be sad to be militant.” However in the current situation, the challenge to me seems to lie in being politically active and involved despite all the terribly sad things that are going on, and to also acknowledge that the effects of global politics strike us on the level of moods. I force myself to be aware of what is happening in the world and keep what I know in mind, both the bleakly simple (people are torturing and killing, people are being tortured and killed) and the utterly confusing (people are torturing and killing, people are being tortured and killed). We have to live with that and, as artists, make art, I suppose.



**Mary am Jeri:** Picking up on Ashley, I think that democracy should perhaps be discussed in the plural i.e. democracies, because there are different models, certain models such as the USA which with its electoral college system, functions vastly different from parliamentary democracy such as in many countries of western Europe. Indeed the right to define democracy, like the right to define the term terror, is one node of the power struggle today. For example, Saddam in Iraq ran regular elections and claimed certain legitimacy in that the majority of people regularly (so he claimed) ratified his presidency in these popular referendums. Similarly plenty of Americans are proud of our so-called democracy, but plenty of critics don't consider the US with its two-party system and the Electoral College in any way democratic. A person's vote in Wyoming has four times the weight that a person in California has. Plenty of law and political scientists have called for the abolishment of this slave-era structure because, if democracy means one person/one vote then we haven't got that here. Furthermore, in agreeing with what Ulrike says and in a way touching upon Chantal Muffed and going even further, I would like to see democracy redefined not just as a political structure but as an economic and social structure. The definition of democracy as a purely political structure – a form of government – is not natural but historical and ideological. Ideological in that during the modern era when the first so called democratic ideals were resurrected. It was the bourgeoisie that resuscitated this ancient concept and today continues to refine/redefine it but again, for ideological reasons, never seeing it as a principle/structure to be extended to the economic sphere. Democracy in the work place would mean worker self-management –closer to anarchy-syndicalism—not capitalism (or to use the imperialist/neo-liberal jingoism of Bush & co. –“free” markets). Before praising the potential of democracy too much, I wish to sound a note of caution. A political structure whose unit of function is the rational individual – i.e. the presence of an individual voter who is able to identify his/her self-interest – is part of the same logic that underpins our economic system. The consumer, the entrepreneur, and the voter are an unholy trinity bounded together it is said, by rationality, but instead we understand it as bounded through desire and interpellation. Thus like Ulrike I share a skepticism but I also believe, like Muffed that the principles, if extended to other arenas are potentially useful.

#### **CVs and weblinks:**

**Andrea Geyer** lives and works in New York. Her work stresses the possibility of defining complex fluid identities in opposition to mechanisms which attempt to form and control static collective identities. Big cities are recognized as sites for projected images and fantasies, places of diverse political, ethnic, religious and social realities, integrating relations between human beings and their surroundings. Her work has been exhibited internationally, including the Whitney Museum of American Art, Serpentine Gallery, Secession, Manifesta4, PS1 Contemporary Art Center, Parlour Projects and White Columns. She is a 2000 participant of the Whitney Independent Study Program. In 2003 she received a NYFA fellowship as well as a IASPIS residency. She is currently a resident at the Woolworth building LMCC space program. Over the recent years she has been involved in various curatorial and organizational projects among them Nomads and Residents, New York. <http://www.davidreedstudio.com/andreageyer.html>

**Sharon Hayes** is an artist who employs conceptual and methodological approaches

borrowed from practices such as theater, dance, anthropology and journalism. In her most recent work, she has been investigating the present political moment through a critical examination of various historic texts, including a speech from the 1968 democratical convention in Chicago and the transcripts from the audio tapes made by Patti Hearst and the Symbionese Liberation Army in the 1970s. Her work has been shown in gallery spaces and theatrical venues including the New Museum of Contemporary Art, P.S.1 Contemporary Art Center, Andrew Kreps Gallery, Dance Theater Workshop, Performance Space 122, and the WOW Cafe in New York City. Hayes was a 1999 MacDowell Colony Fellow. She also received a 1999 New York Foundation for the Arts Fellowship and a IASPIS residency in 2003.

**Ashley Hunt** is a Los Angeles based artist who works primarily in video and multi-media. His main project of the last five years has been the "Corrections Documentary Project", exploring the political economy and relations of U.S. prison expansion.  
<http://ashleyhuntwork.net>  
<http://correctionsproject.com>  
<http://prisonmaps.com>

**Maryam Jafri** is a video artist based in New York and Copenhagen. Her work centers on performance, narrative and gender. Her work has been shown in numerous exhibitions and screenings both in the US and abroad.

**Kara Lynch** is a time-based artist stretching her limits into space. Her work crisscrosses media, but she will own performance as her discipline and point of departure. Recent works include: 'Black Russians' 2001 117min documentary video; 'Mi Companera' 2002 12min video; 'Xing Over' 2003 6hr performance/2.36min 3 channel audio piece; 'Invisible: episode 03 meet me in Okemah, Ok circa 1911' 2003 7day audio/video installation. En exilio in La Jolla California, she retains a post office box in Nueva York and a storage space in Western Massachusetts. She is a gemini monkey born in the momentous year of 1968.

**Ulrike Müller** lives and works in Vienna/Austria and in New York. She studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and in 2002/2003 was a participant in the Whitney Independent Study Program. As an artist she is interested in a critical feminist perspective on social, political and economic developments and their impact on everyday life.

**Valerie Tevere** - Driven by discursive practices, Tevere's work has looked to the public sphere as a condition and framework for inquiry and discourse. Recent projects permeate the urban environment as temporal public works and performances that rely upon structured yet spontaneous encounters with city inhabitants. Tevere's solo and collaborative projects have been exhibited internationally at venues throughout North and South America and Europe. She was a fellow of the Whitney Independent Study Program in 2000, a recipient of a Mellon Humanities fellowship at the CUNY Graduate Center 2002/03, and, as part of the radio collaborative neuroTransmitter, is currently in-residence at Eyebeam Atelier, NYC. <http://www.neurotransmitter.fm>

**David Thorne** lives and works in Los Angeles. His recent work has addressed the conditions of so-called globalization; notions of justice shot through with revenge; and memory practices in a moment of excessive rememorations. Current projects include "The Speculative Archive" (with Julia Meltzer); the ongoing series of

photoworks, "Men in the News" (1991-present); and "Boom!" a collaboration with Oliver Ressler.

<http://www.speculativearchive.org>

**Alex Villar** lives and works in New York. His work draws from interdisciplinary theoretical sources and employs video, installation and photography. His individual and collaborative projects are part of a long-term investigation and articulation of potential spaces of dissent in the urban landscape that has often taken the form of an exploration of negative spaces in architecture. His work has been exhibited internationally, including at the Institute of International Visual Arts in London, Museu de Arte Moderna in Sao Paulo, Paco Imperial in Rio de Janeiro, Tommy Lund and Overgaden in Copenhagen, Contemporary Art Centre in Vilnius, the Goteborg Konstmuseum in Sweden, Joanna Kamm in Berlin, Arsenal in Poland, Lichthaus in Bremen and Halle für Kunst in Luneburg, Exit Art, Stux Gallery, the Art Container and Dorsky Gallery in New York. He holds an MFA degree from Hunter College and is a 2000 graduate of the Whitney ISP. In 2003, he received a NYFA fellowship.

<http://www.de-tour.org>