



ART, ACTIVISM, AND DEMOCRACY: WOCHENKLAUSUR'S SOCIAL INTERVENTIONS

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This essay explores the sociopolitical practice of the Austrian art group *WochenKlausur*. Since 1993, members of this collective have produced what they call “concrete interventions”; using funds provided by various cultural institutions, they enact long-term, problem-solving measures in the surrounding communities. Mobilizing their status as an “art” group, they are able to draw attention to otherwise overlooked social ills. Their practice foregrounds the critical issues that arise when art is paired with activism, including the crucial and much-contested differentiation between ethics and aesthetics. I ultimately find that this group’s practical successes productively, if only locally, intervene in areas that have traditionally been the purview of democratic governments, while their works that fail in these terms serve as a mirror to governments’ own failures to create and maintain programs of social betterment and to promote democratic inclusion.

INTRODUCTION

Since 1993, the activist art group *WochenKlausur* (“Weeks of Enclosure”) has staged sociopolitical interventions, using the infrastructure and resources of various cultural institutions to identify and enact productive problem-solving measures within the surrounding community.¹ *WochenKlausur*’s own involvement is transient, generally between three and twelve weeks. The name of the collective refers to the concentrated effort and finite amount of time given any art exhibition, but the intention is to catalyze longer-lasting initiatives sustained by local governments and organizations. The term “intervention” is key; Pascale Jeannée, a member of the group, explains “the concept of intervention, whose usage in art has undergone an inflationary trend in recent years, is often used for any form of change.”² She observes

that “in contrast, WochenKlausur, at the invitation of art institutions, develops and realizes proposals—small-scale, but very concrete—for improving sociopolitical deficits.”³ While other activist artists, such as the Yes Men, use culture jamming procedures such as setting up fake websites, participating in business summits under false identities, and posing as spokespeople for large corporations to highlight sociopolitical discrepancies in society, WochenKlausur attempts to go beyond simply calling attention to such issues by working to actually solve them, if on a micro level. By performatively drawing attention to a problem, WochenKlausur generates a media focus on issues that are often left unaddressed by mainstream outlets. As artists, the members of the group are able to create solutions to social problems that official circles of doctors, politicians, reporters, lawyers, businessmen, and other professionals generally do not envision.

The production of these projects, the frameworks surrounding them, and the results they attain point to the changing conception of art when paired with activism. This study situates such works amidst the longstanding questions surrounding the autonomy of art; contemporary conceptions of democracy; the necessity of art institutions, the media, and legal systems in the production of activist art; and the changing terms of reception and critique regarding art that purports to enact social change rather than merely participate in entrenched aesthetic epistemologies.⁴ I ultimately argue that activist artwork that succeeds in creating lasting positive social change intervenes in areas that have traditionally been the purview of government, while activist artwork that fails in these terms serves as a mirror to governments’ own failures to sustain policies of social inclusion and societal improvement. In the case of WochenKlausur, the group engages and encourages the participation of members of society frequently left on the periphery of governmental consideration—including homeless people, drug addicts, and the unemployed—and instigates projects that address “marginal” concerns such as providing mobile healthcare to the homeless, procuring a shelter for drug-addicted prostitutes, and providing economic opportunities for the “undeserving poor.” Safety nets such as these are generally considered to be the responsibility of the government (particularly in the more socialist-inclined countries of Europe), but tend to be overlooked in favor of policies that appeal to wider and more politically powerful constituencies. Enter WochenKlausur.

WOCHENKLAUSUR

WochenKlausur formed in 1992 when the Vienna Secession, an exhibition space for contemporary art, invited Austrian artist Wolfgang Zinggl to produce a work. He solicited eight artists to assist him in researching the history of the city to locate a social problem that the group could address.⁵ In so doing, the artists developed a process that would continue to characterize WochenKlausur's interventions. Within eleven weeks—that is, the time span of their commissioned “exhibition”—the group considered Vienna's social issues, selected a problem to address, and went about securing the means necessary to make a concrete, long-term intervention.⁶ They chose to tackle the lack of guaranteed medical care for homeless people in the city. As would be true of subsequent interventions, the scale of this project was neither so ambitious as to be impossible to complete, nor so insignificant as to provide negligible change. In other words, the artists recognized that eradicating homelessness in the city would be impossible, while providing yet another soup kitchen would be an ineffectual, if symbolic, gesture.

Homelessness itself had only recently become a major issue in Vienna, which had long had a consistent policy of supporting public housing. A decline in housing demand in the mid-1980s, however, brought fewer new residential buildings and waning restoration efforts. This meant that by the early 1990s there was a sudden deficit of single occupancy and small apartments—just as immigrants from the newly dismantled Eastern Bloc came to settle in Austria's cities. Many of WochenKlausur's subsequent interventions responded to the individual and social impacts of post-Cold War geopolitical shifts. In Vienna, the shock came from the sharp increase in the number of homeless people in these years, many of whom were asylum seekers from Romania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia.⁷ WochenKlausur noted that while the last Vienna census enumerated 6,000 homeless people, social workers estimated closer to 12,000, with only 2,000 beds in public and private shelters.⁸ The group's research also uncovered the insurmountable bureaucratic procedures homeless members of society were expected to maneuver to gain access to healthcare. As one of the artists, Erich Steurer, explained, “Theoretically, a homeless person could obtain a voucher from the state health insurance company and seek care from a general practitioner or hospital. In practice, it was

simply impossible for the homeless to handle these complicated bureaucratic procedures.”⁹

Realizing that a system that expected homeless people to make their own way to hospitals and doctors’ offices was ineffectual, WochenKlausur decided to provide an alternative; *Intervention to Provide Healthcare to Homeless People* was intended to bring care directly to the homeless, bypassing the need for a voucher. The group planned to hire a doctor to travel in a medically equipped bus that would make regular stops in the areas of the city frequented by homeless people (Figures 1 and 2). The purchase of this mobile clinic was quickly made possible by donations from sponsors, and Caritas, a social welfare agency, agreed to ensure the permanent operation of the bus as long as doing so would not entail additional costs for the agency. To guarantee this, WochenKlausur developed a proposal wherein the doctor’s salary would be paid by the city. However, the City Councilor for Social Welfare, Ingrid Smejkal, while displaying enthusiasm for the project, was hesitant to include this salary in the city budget.¹⁰

With the eleven-week exhibition quickly drawing to a close, the group had to strategize before time ran out. It was a hastily devised



Figure 1. WochenKlausur, *Intervention to Provide Healthcare to Homeless People*, Vienna Secession, Austria, June–September 1993. Image reproduced courtesy of WochenKlausur.



Figure 2. WochenKlausur, *Intervention to Provide Healthcare to Homeless People*, Vienna Secession, Austria, June–September 1993. Image reproduced courtesy of WochenKlausur.

“media trick” that forced the councilor’s hand. Members of WochenKlausur had been in touch with a correspondent from the magazine *Der Spiegel* throughout the project, in the hope that he would write an article on the intervention. He never did, but he nonetheless agreed to do WochenKlausur a favor; in a meeting with the councilor, he pretended that such an article was indeed in the works and asked her point-blank whether she would approve the funding of the doctor’s salary.¹¹ Steurer recalls that “since she did not want to be a spoil sport, she had no choice but to say yes. On the day before our closing press conference she approved the subsidy.”¹²

This manipulation via the media aligns WochenKlausur’s methods with those of contemporary tactical media practitioners who subvert and intervene in mainstream media outlets not just to jam culture, but to change it. As David Garcia, one of the original theorists of tactical media, has explained: “In place of the hit and run guerrilla activism, the direct opposite is now required, ‘duration.’” It’s a time for longer-term commitments and deeper engagements with the people and organizations networked around contested issues.¹³ Rather than hijacking a radio station, WochenKlausur ensured that radio discussions around

the project produced sentences like this one: “Now it’s up to the City whether the bus providing healthcare to the homeless will also be carrying a doctor.”¹⁴ City officials, fearing negative publicity, agreed to fund the doctor, and buses have been in operation ever since, providing care for over 600 people each month.

The duration achieved in this intervention can be compared to Rick Lowe’s *Project Row Houses*, which Creative Time curator Nato Thompson describes as “a nonprofit organization initiated by an artist.”¹⁵ Lowe wanted to make a long-term commitment to a neighborhood in Houston’s Northern Third Ward, which was on the verge of being demolished. In 1992, he bought twenty-two row houses along an abandoned block and a half, transforming the structures into artist exhibition and residency spaces, houses for young mothers, office spaces, and a community gallery. Since Lowe’s initial purchase and renovation, Project Row Houses has seen the construction of nine low-income housing structures, and the organization is in the process of procuring additional property for rental and home ownership.¹⁶ Thompson notes that the project, like WochenKlausur’s interventions, avoids the “hit and run style” that characterized the “discreet [sic] and short-lived” relational esthetics—and, I would argue, tactical media—of much contemporary art in the 1990s.¹⁷ Instead, activist works mark a “strategic turn where we find works that are explicitly local, long-term, and community based.”¹⁸

Of course, the local and community-based aspect of such projects also means that a shift has occurred in terms of audience. The work of WochenKlausur and Lowe not only exists outside of the museum framework (a move already made by the historical avant-garde in the 1920s and resuscitated as a strategy by postminimalist artists in the 1960s and 70s), their work also exists outside the ever-growing circuit of biennials, triennials, and other short exhibitions populated by cosmopolitan artists and the collectors and curators that depend on them. The audience for WochenKlausur’s interventions, on the other hand, consists of the populations the group is attempting to aid; the politicians, businessmen, and legal experts with whom WochenKlausur members must communicate to do so; and the readers of local newspapers, whose editors are more likely to include a blurb on WochenKlausur than are editors of art journals. (Now that WochenKlausur has become established, the art world has taken note, and the group’s interventions are more likely to be reported, but this certainly was not the case in the early 1990s).

CONSENSUS, AGONISM, AND DEMOCRACY

The practical success of WochenKlausur's first project has led to thirty-seven subsequent interventions (the most recent being *Women-led Workers' Cooperative* at the ECONOMY exhibition at the Centre for Contemporary Arts in Glasgow in 2013), and the group always strives to produce sustainable, long-term improvements. Membership is always in flux, and the number of people involved on each project varies from approximately four to twelve, depending on the scope of the intervention. Zinggl, the unofficial founder of the group, has characterized its decision-making process in terms of "consensus." Describing early projects that involved nine or ten people, he observes:

[W]e had this strategy to discuss and research a lot of things from different points of view, and then we had one date, one day when we said, "Today it should all come to an end and we should all have consensus." And the rule was that we shouldn't go to bed until we have consensus and if one person goes to bed then she is with the consensus.¹⁹

Eventually, members invested in their ideas "get to a consensus or something similar."²⁰ Asked if there is nonetheless a hierarchy in the group, Zinggl replies: "On paper it's equal, but in the end I founded the group... and I'm the one who's still with the group so there's much more natural than formal hierarchy."²¹ However, he is less interested in discussing the hierarchy of the group than in emphasizing its decision-making process. In their description of this process, Zinggl and another member of the group, Claudia Eipeldauer, use the term "consensus" no less than six times in their description of WochenKlausur coming to a collective agreement before the start of each project.²²

The interventions they enact, however, are often also indicative of agonism, in that they facilitate interactions between individuals with opposing viewpoints without necessarily leading to agreement or compromise; that is, without leading to consensus. The differentiation between "enemies" and "opponents" is a key aspect of agonism, which promotes the interaction of the latter. This is clear in Michel Foucault's argument concerning agonism: "Rather than speaking of an essential antagonism, it would be better to speak of an "agonism"—of a relationship that is at the same time mutual excitement and struggle; less of a face-to-face confrontation that paralyzes both sides than a

permanent provocation.”²³ Agonism refers to a mutual respect between opponents rather than the antagonistic relationship between enemies. Political theorist Chantal Mouffe aligns her conception of agonistic pluralism against the forms of rational consensus that characterize deliberative democracy, noting that “the prime task of democratic politics is not to eliminate passions from the sphere of the public, to render a rational consensus possible, but to mobilize those passions towards democratic designs.”²⁴ Agonistic confrontation is not a threat to democracy, but rather a condition of its existence, and moreover, conflict can have positive dimensions. Mouffe argues that allowing for this tension rather than attempting to force a compromise allows for a multiplicity of voices within the hegemonic structures of social relations.²⁵

Two projects in particular demonstrate this tension in WochenKlausur’s work: their *Intervention to Aid Drug-Addicted Women* (Zürich, 1994) and *Intervention to Improve the Conduct of Public Debate* (Nuremberg, 2000). Following the success of *Intervention to Provide Healthcare to Homeless People*, curators at the Shedhalle invited WochenKlausur to realize a project dealing with drug issues.²⁶ The Shedhalle was an apt space for WochenKlausur; founded by a group of local artists who felt underrepresented by the established art system in Zürich, the institution evolved into an experimental space where new forms of cultural and artistic practice—particularly those involving sociopolitical issues—can be explored. For the project, nine WochenKlausur artists researched recent drug policies in Zürich and came to the conclusion that drug-addicted women who turn to prostitution to fund their habit are in a uniquely precarious situation, at risk of sexual violence, homelessness, and the dual societal stigma of being prostitutes and drug users.²⁷ WochenKlausur realized that the problem for these women was less the availability of shelters than the failure of most shelters to meet their needs. Homeless shelters’ operating hours are often restricted to the night, which is, of course, when prostitutes attract the majority of their clients. So the group devised a plan to buy a former hotel, renovate it, and provide daytime staffing for a women-only facility. When funding efforts fell short, the artists turned to an unusual plan: they rented a boat, invited aboard carefully chosen passengers—including politicians, journalists, and legal and medical specialists—explained their project, and then sent the passengers out onto Lake Zürich to discuss the plight of the women (Figures 3 and 4).²⁸



Figure 3. WochenKlausur, *Intervention to Aid Drug-Addicted Women*, Shedhalle Zurich, Switzerland, February and March 1994, February 1995. Image reproduced courtesy of WochenKlausur.

The conversations thus engendered came to be called the “Boat Colloquies,” and they served the dual purpose of rendering the cause visible while providing a neutral space wherein individuals could perhaps speak in a less guarded manner than is generally the case in the public realm. While the former facilitated the generation of media interest, the latter too was crucial, as most of the participants had a significant investment in protecting their reputations. The public dialog around drug addicts was particularly fraught at the time; as Zingg noted, “a populist yellow-press campaign discouraged all of the various organizations that were attempting to help addicts or sought to discuss decriminalization. Every institution that has tried to help addicts was condemned for making drug use more attractive.”²⁹ Convincing public figures to address the issue was thus quite a feat, although it was not performed without some of the same trickery that had characterized the intervention in Vienna the previous year.³⁰

To secure the participation of two particularly prominent politicians, Zürich Mayor Josef Esterman and the Swiss Social Democratic Party’s National Secretary, André Dauget, WochenKlausur told the



Figure 4. WochenKlausur, *Intervention to Aid Drug-Addicted Women*, Shedhalle Zurich, Switzerland, February and March 1994, February 1995. Image reproduced courtesy of WochenKlausur.

mayor that the National Secretary had agreed to participate, but only on the condition that the mayor be part of the conversation. The flattered mayor agreed, at which point the group reversed the request in a call to the National Secretary, telling him the mayor had agreed to be a passenger on the boat on the condition that the National Secretary be one as well. WochenKlausur used a similar tactic to procure the participation of prominent Swiss newspaper editors, whose profiles garnered interest in the project and led to increased newspaper coverage. And as Zingg noted, after discovering the participation of these prominent figures, other “parties scented the threat of media coverage and did not want to risk missing the boat.”³¹

Art historian Grant Kester, who has influentially termed this and other conversation-based work “dialogic art,” has described these boat talks as “creating an open space where individuals can break free from preexisting roles and obligations, reacting and interacting in new and unforeseeable ways.”³² While he echoes Zingg in characterizing this aspect of the intervention as “designed to catalyze consensus formation,” I would argue that the talks are representative not of consensus,

but rather, agonism.³³ WochenKlausur brought together individuals whose opinions on the project at hand came from potentially different frameworks and value systems. Politicians from opposing parties were passengers, as were competing editors, experts from varying fields, assistance organization members, and even the drug users themselves. These conversations were productive in the way that a democracy characterized by agonism is productive; they allowed people from different backgrounds to freely discuss an issue as opponents, rather than enemies.³⁴ But these discussions did not actually lead to a decision, or consensus, for while the media attention garnered by the Boat Colloquies led to short-term funding success, a sustainable solution had not yet been reached by the close of the eight-week exhibition. (While this would indeed be secured a few months later, after seven successful years the city discontinued its financial contribution, forcing the facility to end its operations). These talks thus represent both the rhetorically productive potentiality of agonistic democracy as well as the problems that plague its concrete productivity.

Agonism also characterized WochenKlausur's *Intervention to Improve the Conduct of Public Debate*, a project undertaken in 2000 in Nuremburg.³⁵ The *Institut für Moderne Kunst* invited WochenKlausur to participate in the "Networking Greater Nuremburg" portion of the project "log.in." WochenKlausur members involved with the project researched issues that were often discussed in the media in Nuremburg, finding that for some disputes, "differences had only been fought out in the media and had never even been addressed in face to face conversations."³⁶ They decided to erect three small, pallet-lined pavilions in central locations in Nuremburg, Erlangen, and Fürth (Figure 5). They then invited pairs of people with differing opinions to have conversations in the buildings. The conversations were mediated by a third party, but no audience, press, or recording devices were present, the goal being to allow the participants to consider the position of the other side without fearing reproach from their own. As with the boats in *Intervention to Aid Drug-Addicted Women*, the pavilions gave the conversations a visible presence in the city, while protecting the privacy of the views expressed.³⁷ WochenKlausur considered facilitating face-to-face conversations, away from the mud-slinging media, to be a step in the right direction, whether or not rapprochements were reached.

In Jeannée's account of the project, she draws upon language that echoes the idea of agonism. She recalls that in the conversations,

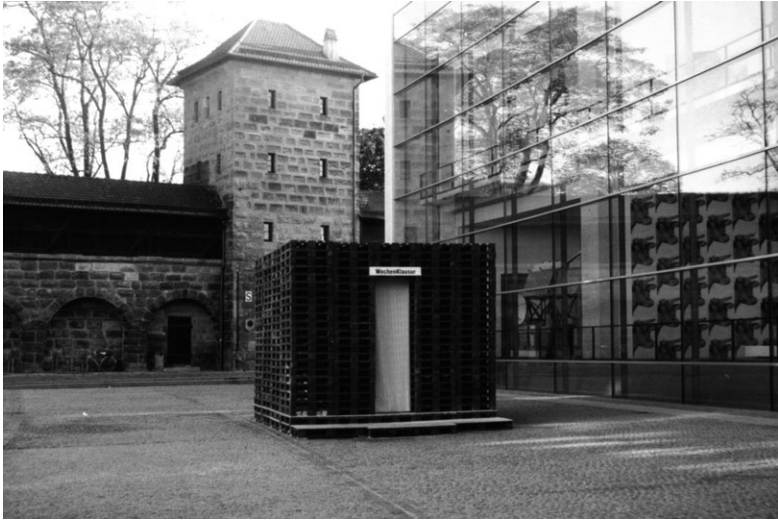


Figure 5. WochenKlausur, *Intervention to Improve the Conduct of Public Debate*, Institut für moderne Kunst, log.in, Nuremberg, Germany, October 2000. Image reproduced courtesy of WochenKlausur.

“emotionally charged enemies were in fact able to become opponents who expressed themselves using objective argumentation.”³⁸ Moreover, Jeannée explains that the project “was intended toward letting heated animosities become dialectical democratic processes” and that “in democratic systems, differing views, ideologies and positions should also be able to exist unlinked next to one another and still be part of the greater network.”³⁹ However, much like the Boat Colloquies, this intervention proved unsustainable. While WochenKlausur tried to ensure that these face-to-face conversations would be held annually, the practice petered out quickly when locals lost interest, and the event was only repeated once.

ART AND POLITICS

WochenKlausur’s emphasis on democracy is particularly noteworthy given the political career of founding member Wolfgang Zinggl. As artist and writer Gregory Sholette has noted, the group’s “blurring of artistic representation together with actual social services and signi-

fications may help to explain the actual election of [...] Zinggl to a seat in the Austrian parliament in 2001 as a member of the Green Party.”⁴⁰ This party, dedicated to environmental and social issues, had entered the Austrian National Parliament in 1986 with just eight seats (out of a total of 183), but it steadily grew in power and numbers.⁴¹ In the year that Zinggl won a seat, the party passed a new program outlining its investment in ecology, solidarity, autonomy, grass-roots democracy, nonviolence, and feminism. The Green Party agenda echoes WochenKlausur’s own approach to social interventions, and Zinggl’s dual role is perhaps less surprising when the political goals of his party are delineated. He himself sees no conflict of interest in taking on both of these roles. In 2004, Zinggl became the Deputy to the National Council of the Green Party, and he also currently serves on the Federal Council and the European Parliament.⁴²

Despite these commitments, Zinggl continues to list himself as both a freelance artist and a member of WochenKlausur on his official Parliament biography, and he has participated in twelve of the twenty-three projects that WochenKlausur has undertaken since his initial election in 2001.⁴³ In an interview conducted that same year, Jeannée was asked about the implications of conducting interventions in realms generally considered to be the purview of governments (an issue to which I will return). She responded: “If an artist has an idea of how to decrease poverty in an area, should they first become a politician to realize their vision, or should they drop the idea because it’s apparently not up to them to deal with these sorts of issues?”⁴⁴ The answer to her rhetorical question is obviously meant to be “no,” and she declares, “WochenKlausur believes that every human being has responsibilities.”⁴⁵ Nonetheless, her colleague’s movement into the Austrian political system should not be overlooked in the consideration of WochenKlausur’s interventions, since his artistic interventions no doubt shape or at the very least reveal his political goals just as his actions in Parliament reflect his agenda for his activist art.

Indeed, Zinggl’s anonymously cleaved position between activist art and leftist politics recalls the “social sculpture” of his German predecessor, Joseph Beuys. Beuys has been variously described as a Fluxus, happening, and performance artist, who produced a number of sculptures, installations, and graphic works. He declared that everyone is an artist and that only art can dismantle repressive social systems, a theory that clearly informs the interventions of WochenKlausur. During the early 1980s, Beuys became one of the founding members of

the Green Party, the very political party under whose rubric Zinggl himself was elected to office over two decades later. Beuys viewed his political activities as part and parcel of his artistic ones; in describing his notion of social sculpture (which can be compared to the Wagnerian *Gesamptkunstwerk*), he noted:

Only art is capable of dismantling the repressive effects of a senile social system that continues to totter along the deathline: to dismantle to build “A SOCIAL ORGANISM AS A WORK OF ART”... EVERY HUMAN BEING IS AN ARTIST who—from his state of freedom—the position of freedom that he experiences at first-hand—learns to determine the other positions of the TOTAL ART WORK OF THE FUTURE SOCIAL ORDER.⁴⁶

If Zinggl’s position can be compared to that of Beuys, then it can also be considered in light of the “legislative theater” of Augusto Boal, a Brazilian playwright who ran for a City Council seat in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.⁴⁷ Upon winning, he declared that voters should be the authors of legislation, and he and his staff assembled citizens into “nuclei,” groups defined by geographical location or shared interest. Each nucleus, aided by a facilitator known as “the joker,” created a performance through which citizens articulated social concerns and suggested legislative actions.⁴⁸ Boal declared that “perhaps the theatre is not revolutionary in itself, but it is surely a rehearsal for the revolution.”⁴⁹ This statement points to the difference in Boal’s and Zinggl’s artistic alliances; Boal was invested in shifting the governmental framework of power, whereas Zinggl is more interested in targeting forms of oppression via concrete interventions that are carried out within existing frameworks. Both, however, have used their positions as artists to affect the juridical realm in their respective countries. Boal, for example, despite his desire to shift the legal framework itself, spearheaded efforts that led to the passage of thirteen laws within that system, the most important being a law that protects the witnesses of crimes.⁵⁰

Zinggl too has been influential in the Green Party’s proposed legislations, but for the purposes of this study I am more interested in how he has applied his knowledge of the European legal system to the interventions undertaken by *WochenKlausur*, which are frequently enacted within the framework of a country’s laws. For example, in a 1995 work, *Intervention in Immigrant Labor Issues*, seven *Woc-*

WochenKlausur members researched labor laws concerning foreigners in Austria.⁵¹ They found a stringent system in which the number of work permits issued to foreigners (from non-EU countries) could not exceed nine percent of the total number of employed Austrian citizens, whether or not positions were open. WochenKlausur took particular interest in the plight of immigrants who could not, for various reasons, return to their home countries, but were also prevented from gainful employment in Austria. After searching for legal loopholes, the group realized that there was an exception to the immigration law made for artists: "Foreigners need no work permit as long as their income derives from their artistic activity and no other."⁵² The loophole was that the provision never stipulated what the job "artist" entails; thus, WochenKlausur concluded that a fitting "art" occupation for these immigrants, many of them refugees, would be the procurement of relief materials to be sent to their home countries or other areas in need. In total, WochenKlausur facilitated the production of seven such works, including a Bosnian "artist" procuring children's clothes for a refugee camp in Tuzla and a Vietnamese "artist" gathering toys for an orphanage in Sarajevo (Figure 6).

Of course, making a living from the production of art is difficult for the most highly trained practitioners, and it is harder still for immigrants with no experience in the arts. Funding was necessary, and WochenKlausur set up a system whereby various cultural institutions were solicited to pay sponsors, who asked relief organizations what kind of supplies they needed. The sponsors then approached artists to produce the relief materials, which were couched as works of art. To heighten the legitimacy of the materials as art, WochenKlausur staged an exhibition of them before sending them to the countries in need. In a tongue-in-cheek reference to Beuys, the group dubbed the works "Social Plastics." Clearly, this was a small-scale intervention, and, more troublingly for WochenKlausur, unsustainable.

Within this intervention, WochenKlausur also attempted to have the uninsured, low-wage jobs that immigrants frequently took extra-legally, such as housekeeping, window-cleaning, and lawn mowing, legalized by reclassifying them as "freelance professions." The foreign labor laws that set employment quotas did not pertain to self-employment, and foreigners with residency permits could practice a freelance trade once they had been granted parity with natives. Parity would be granted if such employment was proven to be in the interest of the national economy, which had to be established by the Chamber of



Figure 6. WochenKlausur, *Intervention in Immigrant Labor Issues*, steirischer herbst, Graz, Austria, August–September 1995. Social Plastic 7, Artist: Ahn Tam Nguyen (Vietnam), Social Plastic: Toys for an orphanage in Sarajevo, Sponsor: Forum Stadtpark (Sabine Achleitner), Shareholders: Office of the Styrian Provincial Government (Dreibholz), Relief Organization: Caritas of the Diocese Graz-Seckau. Image reproduced courtesy of WochenKlausur.

Commerce (which represents Austrian businesses) and the Labor Market Service (which represents Austrian workers). WochenKlausur felt that the benefits were quite clear: legalizing previously illegal services undertaken by immigrants would produce new tax revenue for the state, small businesses employing them would be eligible for tax deductions, and providing a legal source of income for foreign immigrants living in Austria but barred from employment would ease pressures on the national budget. However, the Chamber of Commerce refused to sign off on the project, citing a potentially uncontrollable surge of foreign workers on the market. The Labor Market Service,

after creating two separate advisory boards to come to a decision on the matter, refused to make a statement.⁵³ In her review of the project, Stefania Pitscheider notes that “[w]ith parliamentary elections on the way, officials were avoiding any risks,” and WochenKlausur had to abandon this prong of the intervention.⁵⁴

AUTONOMY OF ACTIVIST ART

Despite its lack of success in practical terms, *Intervention in Immigrant Labor Issues* foregrounds an aspect of WochenKlausur’s interventionist process that is crucial to a consideration of the group; that is, the autonomy of art. By this I mean not the typical characterization of art as autonomous from social life, but rather art as assigned a position autonomous from the institutions that structure social life, which is thus an art that can intervene in ways unavailable to other organizations. This autonomy is granted to artists in many European countries, and Zinggl believes this to be socially beneficial, although he questions why such broad freedoms should specifically be given to artists while being withheld from other citizens.⁵⁵ If *Intervention in Immigrant Labor Issues* represents the legal autonomy of art, works like *Intervention to Provide Healthcare to Homeless People* are indicative of the autonomy of art in the larger sociopolitical sphere. Zinggl has noted, “the mythos *art* is of assistance when one is interested in helping realize an intention—in the political field, for example,” acknowledging that “the media reports less about the most exciting social work than about the dullest cultural events.”⁵⁶ Or as Thompson has put it, “relationships with mediation are the basic components by which political—and thus social—decisions are made.”⁵⁷ Due to media attention, WochenKlausur has the leverage to persuade politicians to get into a boat to discuss the situation of drug-addicted prostitutes and to convince staunch advocates on two different sides of an issue to discuss their differences in small, pallet-paneled pavilions, in addition to their ability to challenge restrictive laws via their legal autonomy as a group of artists.

WochenKlausur posed such a challenge in 2006. In *Choice of Work*, they did not so much find a legal loophole as convince policy-makers to amend their application of a recently instituted law in Germany.⁵⁸ In a face-saving bid to reduce official unemployment rates, the German government had passed a law stipulating that both public institutions and private enterprises could requisition long-term unem-

ployed people to work in a capacity “that serves the public good.”⁵⁹ The unemployed would be assigned to these jobs, dubbed “one-euro jobs,” for six months, whether or not they had the skills or training for the tasks. Despite the characterization of this policy as serving the public good, most unemployed peoples affected by the change saw the law as coercive, particularly since refusing the one-euro jobs could lead to the cancelation of their unemployment benefits.

WochenKlausur decided that people should be able to design their own publicly beneficial one-euro jobs. The group assembled unemployment organizations, neighborhood initiatives, and alumni associations of the University of Leipzig at the *Galerie für Zeitgenössische Kunst* (the host institution for this project) to meet with a group of long-term unemployed people with the aim of developing ideas for one-euro jobs. Eventually, four projects were outlined: technical assistance for seniors, a literature outpost, a neighborhood gallery, and a reading café.⁶⁰ After what WochenKlausur describes as “several rounds of negotiations,” the Leipzig Employment Agency agreed to implement these four pilot projects and also guaranteed the continuation of these independently developed jobs.⁶¹ As the group recounts: “Thus it was possible, within the relatively inflexible new employment law, to make more options available to people categorized as long-term unemployed.”⁶²

This intervention was made feasible by the autonomous, outside perspective of WochenKlausur. The group is invested in using its status as an art organization ostensibly removed from decision-making sociopolitical institutions to generate and exert influence in a manner that is beneficial for members of society—be they unemployed, homeless, drug-addicted, or others whose voices often go unheard. In an interview conducted by artist Sam Durant, WochenKlausur explained that the organization attempts “to find ways to see behind established structures and to give... a voice to those who usually do not have a lobby or a platform to make themselves heard.”⁶³ This aspect of the group’s work has come under close scrutiny both in terms of the aforementioned autonomy assigned to art, as well as concerning the collaborative and/or participatory element in their practice.

COLLABORATION AND PARTICIPATION

Kester has divided WochenKlausur’s interventions into two groups: “collaborative” and “advocacy-based.” The former, which

would include *Intervention to Improve the Conduct of Public Debate*, “involve the generation of new institutional and spatial arrangements in consultation with specific groups, communities, and individuals.”⁶⁴ The latter would include *Intervention to Provide Healthcare to Homeless People* and *Intervention to Aid Drug-Addicted Women* and “involves working through existing political and administrative systems to change conditions for a given group.”⁶⁵ Crucially, Kester describes the latter projects as less collaborative, developed instead “on behalf of this constituency through a network of official representatives.”⁶⁶ While his distinction is helpful in thinking through the different characteristics of the interventions WochenKlausur has enacted, I would argue that the advocacy of the group often permeates the works that Kester would deem “collaborative,” in that participation is always dependent upon an invitation from WochenKlausur. Authorial power ultimately lies with the group, whether the project is “collaborative” or “advocacy-based” in Kester’s terms.

I draw this distinction by relying on artist and writer Dave Beech’s useful differentiation between participatory and collaborative art. He argues that participants are subject to the parameters of the projects set forth by artists, whereas collaborators share authorial rights and are involved in making key structural decisions about the works.⁶⁷ The rhetoric of WochenKlausur reinforces its role as primary author: “The decision regarding what we are going to do is taken by the group, but it is most important for us to include institutions or people who work in the addressed field as well as concerned people from the very beginning.”⁶⁸ In other words, WochenKlausur takes into account the opinions and input of others, but the group members ultimately render the decision. Art historian Eva Fotiadi has recognized this characteristic of their work at a structural level, noting that “in the projects’ published narratives, members of the target groups themselves hardly ever appear as team participants or anyhow as acting subjects beyond activities delegated to them by WochenKlausur.”⁶⁹ She is dissatisfied with the manner in which “the protagonists in their collaborative interventions are above all else the artists themselves,” particularly since the projects are now only available via the publications authored by WochenKlausur, never members of the target groups.⁷⁰ Addressing the projects that deal with immigration, Fotiadi complains that the accompanying “publications’ content focuses primarily on WochenKlausur and its approach to art-

activism and migration, rather than the approach of the migrants themselves.”⁷¹

Her discontent places her squarely at odds with the critical agenda of contemporary art historian and critic Claire Bishop, who argues that “socially engaged projects are on the whole rather formulaic and predictable, placing greater emphasis on the participants’ creativity than on rethinking the conventions of participation.”⁷² She positions herself against the common notion that art practices in which the artist relinquishes authorial intention to collaborators are more ethical or democratic than practices wherein artists impose their own agenda upon their participants.⁷³ Instead, Bishop privileges the tensions that arise from a give-and-take relationship between artist and participants (as opposed to collaborators): “The artist relies upon the participants’ creative exploitation of the situation that he/she offers, just as participants require the artist’s cue and direction. This relationship is a continual play of mutual tension, recognition and dependency [...]”⁷⁴ Perhaps most importantly, Bishop insists that such projects be critically considered *as art*. Collaborative, participatory, socially engaged, and so on they may be, but she remains invested in value judgments based on the critical analysis of socially engaged practices as art in addition to social practice.

Zinggl too is invested in the designation “art”; he considers the interventions of WochenKlausur to be part of an art practice, although his framework for judging the value of these works is very different from Bishop’s. While Bishop bemoans the lack of critical consideration when authorial intention is privileged over the social and esthetic implications of a work, Zinggl, conversely, declares that “the quality of WochenKlausur’s art can be recognized by comparing the results achieved with the intentions declared.”⁷⁵ He explains the efficacy of the group thus:

Often deficiencies can only be recognized from an outside perspective. Through certain freedoms that art has been granted, an area is opening for art where the deficiencies of codified politics can be pointed out and their resolutions can be paradigmatically demonstrated.⁷⁶

Noting the degree of organization around such demonstrations, Shollette has termed groups like WochenKlausur “mockstitutions,” observing that with this strategy, a “seemingly fixed institutional

participant... is confronted with a miniature replica of institutional cohesion and legitimacy. Because all the correct significations of organizational value are artfully displayed there is no other option except to take them seriously and provide governmental support."⁷⁷

INSTITUTIONAL IMBRICATION

For the most part, Sholette views the mockstitutionality of groups like WochenKlausur as a positive if profane coupling of simulator (the art organization) and simulated (the socio-political organization), emphasizing "the degree to which they breathe vitality back into the corpse of civic society and radical politics."⁷⁸ However, many scholars have questioned this resuscitation, basing much of their critique on two concerns: the institutional imbrication of groups like WochenKlausur, and the potential repression of structural change by their small-scale interventions within current, flawed frameworks. In terms of WochenKlausur, the former concern centers on its initial impetus for undertaking an intervention; every project begins with an invitation from a cultural institution. Usually, the institution simply invites WochenKlausur to undertake whatever project the group members find suitable for the surrounding community, although occasionally WochenKlausur is asked to address a specific concern, as with the *Intervention to Aid Drug-Addicted Women*, where the group was asked to respond to drug issues. This institutional invitation is a prerequisite for every project, for as Zinggl has noted, it "provides WochenKlausur with an infrastructural framework and cultural capital." I would argue that, somewhat paradoxically, cultural capital is indicative of the autonomy granted art from socio-political institutions, while the infrastructural framework foregrounds art's reliance on other institutional bodies, namely museums and galleries—which are themselves often the recipients of government subsidies, rendering this differentiation superficial, and shifting Zinggl's description of *cultural* capital to *actual* capital. By relying on art institutions that are themselves part and parcel of the larger social systems WochenKlausur ostensibly seeks to subvert, the interventions cannot escape institutional parameters.

This boundedness is related to the second concern raised frequently in discussions of activist art; that interventions enacted within the boundaries of the current sociopolitical framework preclude the possibility of overhauling the framework itself. Some progressives fear that minor reform measures enacted or approved by those in power

neutralize revolutionary sentiments in those out of power. Small-scale efforts at improving the quality of life of the powerless may offer a transient sense of equalizing social forces, but their overall situation will not only remain unchanged but unchallenged due to the false sense of improvement that Band-Aid fixes insidiously supply.

Zinggl has addressed these kinds of concerns directly, countering that “there is a still greater danger that neither the symptoms nor their causes get treated.”⁷⁹ In terms of the ongoing political debate concerning the efficacy of reform versus the need for revolution, Zinggl is more invested in reform agendas than in revolutionary rhetoric. He justifies his position—and by extension WochenKlausur’s actions—with the following reasoning: “All problems can be traced back to more fundamental ones. The conviction that it one day will be possible to change the absolute fundamental basis—if only these small helping measures were not always delaying the coming of this final day—remains an illusion that prevents the small steps.”⁸⁰ This assertion is related to his analysis of the shift in activist art from the 1970s to the present:

In contrast to the thinking of the seventies, today’s Activists are no longer concerned with changing the world in its entirety. It is no longer a matter of mercilessly implementing an ideological line [...] At the beginning of the new century, Activist Art no longer overestimates its capabilities. But it does not underestimate them either. It makes modest contributions.⁸¹

While the overarching utopian ambitions espoused by artists in the 1970s largely failed at a practical level, the smaller, more manageable goals of WochenKlausur are more likely to be concretely met. For Zinggl, small but actual change in the present serves a greater common good than the mere *potential* for larger structural change in the future.

While I would agree with Zinggl’s reasoning concerning the abandonment of an idealistic, Marxist-influenced—and ultimately impractical—rhetoric of revolutionary change, another cause for concern is less easily addressed: WochenKlausur is intervening in societal problems that governments ought to be addressing themselves. Zinggl’s response is that “most of the art institutions that invite WochenKlausur are supported by government subsidies. Public obligations are thus in fact being called in when these funds are then used to bring

about improvements.” But placing the onus on the art institution to allocate funds for the arts toward projects that produce concrete social betterment is problematic. Some contention has arisen over whether activist groups like WochenKlausur should base their art practices on the political practices of democratic systems to the extent that activist art fulfills duties that should be the responsibility of governments. Bishop warns that it is crucial for such practices “to tread a careful line between social intervention and autonomy, since demonstrable outcomes are rapidly co-opted by the state.”⁸²

CONCLUSION

Bishop asserts that “at a certain point, art has to hand [responsibility] over to other institutions if social change is to be achieved: it is not enough to keep producing activist *art*.”⁸³ WochenKlausur’s practice literalizes this statement, initially intervening in societal problems via artistic means, but then leaving the continuation of the projects to civic and/or community bodies. In a way, its interventions can be seen as mirroring the flagging democracies of Europe within whose frameworks the group generally works. WochenKlausur both subsumes its participants to the consensus of the artists and offers an alternative, mini-model of democracy, not in the conception of the projects, but in their implementation. Democracy becomes a privilege handed down rather than a right assumed, pointing to the parallel demise of larger sociopolitical systems. If WochenKlausur improves upon an aspect of the society in which it intervenes, so too does it participate in the framework that led to the need for improvement in the first place. And if the group creates a space in which agonistic democracy is possible, this often proves unsustainable. WochenKlausur’s interventions thus function on a knife edge between critique and reification, unknowingly aping the demise of democracy while pointing to potential alternatives.

NOTES

1. I characterize WochenKlausur’s interventions as “activist” with Lucy Lippard’s differentiation between political art and activist art in mind. She states: “Although ‘political’ and ‘activist’ artists are often the same people, ‘political’ art tends to be socially *concerned* and ‘activist’ art tends to be socially *involved*. . . . The former’s work is a commentary or analysis, while the latter’s art works *within*

its context, *with* its audience.” See Lucy R. Lippard, “Trojan Horses: Activist Art and Power,” in *Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation*, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984), 349.

2. Pascale Jeannée, “WochenKlausur,” in *WochenKlausur: Sociopolitical Activism in Art*, ed. Wolfgang Zinggl, trans. Christopher Barber (New York: Springer-Verlag/Wien, 2001), 7. Pascale Jeannée was a crucial member of the group, participating in every project from 1995, the year she joined WochenKlausur, to 2002, when she unexpectedly died of a sudden heart disease. The group came close to disbanding after her death, so traumatic was the loss.

3. Ibid.

4. This turn towards the social can be seen on both a global scale and within the German-speaking world; see, respectively, Nato Thompson, ed., *Living as Form: Socially Engaged Art From 1991–2011* (New York: Creative Time Books, 2012); Holger Kube Ventura, *Politische Kunst Begriffe in den 1990er Jahren im Deutschsprachigen Raum* (Wien: Edition Selene, 2002).

5. The artists involved in this project were: Martina Chmelarz, Marion Holy, Christoph Kaltenbrunner, Friederike Klotz, Alexander Popper, Anne Schneider, Erich Steurer, and Gudrun Wagner. They were Zinggl’s students at the time, at the Vienna Academy of Applied Arts.

6. The group took one week to research, and devoted the remainder of their allotted time towards the implementation of the proposed intervention. This format has continued to characterize the majority of WochenKlausur’s projects.

7. In 1989, Poles, Hungarians, and Romanians constituted over half of the 21,882 asylum seekers that year. In 1990, 22,789 people applied for asylum, half of them Romanian, and in 1991 and 1992 (with 27,306 and 16,238 asylum seekers, respectively), the majority came from former Yugoslavia. As a result of asylum seekers and other immigrants in this period, the number of non-nationals in Austria doubled, from 344,000 in 1988 to 690,000 in 1993. See Micahel Jandl and Albert Kraler, “Austria: A Country of Immigration?” *Migration Policy Institute*, March 1, 2003, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/austria-country-immigration>. See also Bernhard Perching, *Österreich 1995 – Bericht für RIMET – Migrationspolitik und Förderung der Freizügigkeit der Arbeitnehmer*, Kommission der Europäischen Gemeinschaften GD V (Wien, 1996), 8.

8. Erich Steurer, “Intervention to Provide Healthcare to Homeless People,” in *WochenKlausur*, 23.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 25.

11. Interestingly, WochenKlausur does not include the name of this reporter in the account of this project, whereas it has no compunction in identifying the politicians involved in this and other projects. This could be professional courtesy, or it could point to the reception of WochenKlausur as an incendiary collective locating the ills of society, rather than as a benevolent group simply trying to undertake good deeds. In actuality, the group resides somewhere between these two descriptions.

12. Steurer, 25.

13. David Garcia, “Learning the Right Lessons,” *Mute*, January 25, 2006, <http://www.metamute.org/editorial/articles/learning-right-lessons>.

14. Steurer, 25–26.

15. Thompson, 27.
16. See "About Project Row Houses," n.p. <http://projectrowhouses.org/about/>.
17. Thompson, 32.
18. *Ibid.*, 31. Moreover, as in WochenKlausur's interventions, Lowe's participation was transient; while he initiated the project, it is now community-run.
19. Wolfgang Zinggl, interview by Temporary Services, "WochenKlausur," in *Group Work* (New York: Printed Matter, Inc., 2007), 35.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, 34.
22. *Ibid.*, 35.
23. Michel Foucault, *Power*, ed. James D. Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley and others (New York: New Press, 2000), 342.
24. Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox* (London: Verso, 2000), 103.
25. *Ibid.*, 105.
26. The curators, Sylvia Kafehsy and Renate Lorenz, were invested in demonstrating the institution's new acceptance of political and activist art.
27. The artists involved in this project were: Monique Benz, Katharina Lenz, Petra Mallek, Stefania Pitscheider, Isabelle Schaetti, Mathias Schellenberg, Nina Schneider, Simon Selbherr, and Wolfgang Zinggl.
28. Each trip out onto the lake lasted for three hours, and WochenKlausur eventually obtained the participation of sixty passengers.
29. Zinggl, "Intervention to Aid Drug-Addicted Women," in *WochenKlausur*, 29.
30. This hesitation to aid politically unpopular and thus underserved groups perhaps explains why WochenKlausur's initial interventions took place in Austria, a small, wealthy country dedicated to social welfare – that is, a place that would not seem to need extra-governmental impetus for addressing social issues like homelessness.
31. Zinggl, "Intervention to Aid Drug-Addicted Women," 33.
32. Grant Kester, *Conversation Pieces: Community + Communication in Modern Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 6.
33. *Ibid.*, 8.
34. This is a distinction discussed by Chantal Mouffe. See Chantal Mouffe, "An Agonistic Model of Democracy," in *Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism* (Vienna, Austria: Institute for Advanced Studies, 2000).
35. The artists involved in this project were: Geraldine Blazejovsky, Dagmar Buhr, Pascale Jeannée, and Wolfgang Zinggl.
36. Jeannée, "Intervention to Improve the Conduct of Public Debate," in *WochenKlausur*, 121.
37. The pavilions, made out of pallets, were placed in oft-frequented areas to heighten their visibility. In Nuremberg, the pavilion was sited on the Klarisenplatz in front of the museum of art and design, in Erlangen it was placed on the Schlosplatz, and in Fürth it was built near the open-air stage in the Stadtpark.
38. Jeannée, 121.
39. Jeannée, 123 + 122.
40. Gregory Sholette, *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture* (New York: Pluto Press, 2011), 169.
41. The Austrian Green Party was founded in 1986 under the name Grüne Alternative, representing the merging of two older Green parties, the United Greens

of Austria (Vereinte Grüne Österreichs), a more conservative green party active since 1982, and the Alternative List Austria (Alternative Liste Österreichs), also founded in 1982. There are still some differences between former members of these two parties, but their groups became much more politically effective upon merging.

42. For the Austrian Green Party's platform, see "About the Party" *Austrian Greens*, n.p. <http://greens.org.au/about>.

43. "Wer ist wer," *Republik Österreich Parlament*, n.p. http://www.parlament.gv.at/WWER/PAD_22573/.

44. Jeannée, interview by Variant, "Concrete Social Interventions: Interview with Pascale Jeannée of the artists' group WochenKlausur" *Variant* 2 no. 16 (Winter 2002): 24–25. (While the results of this interview were published in 2002, the conversations took place in 2001).

45. *Ibid.*, 25.

46. Joseph Beuys, statement dated 1973, in Caroline Tisdall, *Art into Society, Society into Art* (London: ICA, 1974), 48.

47. "Legislative theatre" is an extension of Boal's internationally influential "Theatre of the Oppressed," a technique that uses theater to promote social and political change. The term "legislative" only came to characterize their performances when Boal was actually elected to office.

48. Frances Babbage, *Augusto Boal* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 143.

49. Augusto Boal, *Legislative Theatre: Using Performance to Make Politics*, trans. Adrian Jackson (New York: Routledge, 1998), 105.

50. *Ibid.*, 104.

51. The artists involved in this project were: Barbara Baier, Martina Chmelarz, Andreas Leikauf, Katharina Lenz, Stefania Pitschelder, Erich Steurer, and Wolfgang Zinggl.

52. Stefania Pitschelder, "Intervention in Immigrant Labor Issues," in *WochenKlausur*, 45. For the original text of the law, see Katharina Lenz, "Projektverlauf" in *9 WochenKlausur: Eine konkrete Intervention zur Integration von Ausländernä*, ed. Horst Gerhard Haberl (Graz: reha-drucke, 1996), 30.

53. *Ibid.*, 47–48.

54. *Ibid.*, 48.

55. Zinggl, "Kunst und Regelbruch," n.p. http://www.wolfgangzinggl.at/Archiv/index.php?main_pressed=1&sub_pressed=48.

56. Zinggl, "Frequently Asked Questions," in *WochenKlausur*, 132.

57. Thompson, 24.

58. The artists involved in this project were: Norbert Bacher, Claudia Eipeldauer, Bertram Haude, Hans-Christian Lotz, Martina Reuter, Barbara Seifert, Karl Seiringer, and Wolfgang Zinggl. It is notable here that the group has abandoned the term "intervention." By the early 2000s, this had become an art world buzzword uncritically used to describe any work of art that dealt with sociopolitical issues, whether or not a concrete, sustainable solution was attained or even sought. Irrked by this cooption, and not wanting their own work to be seen in this light, WochenKlausur ceased using the term to describe their projects, and retroactively removed it from the titles of all previous projects on their website.

59. WochenKlausur, "Choice of Work," 2006, n.p. <http://www.wochenklausur.at/projekt.php?lang=en&cid=23>.

60. The neighborhood gallery project, in which three out-of-work artists organized exhibitions of local artists and conducted various workshops, echoes WochenKlausur's *Intervention in Immigrant Labor Issues*. In both projects, art is legally deemed a valid occupation, and art activities are mobilized for a greater good, organized around relief materials in the 1995 intervention and around local cultural programming in the 2006 project.

61. WochenKlausur, "Choice of Work," n.p.

62. Ibid.

63. WochenKlausur, interview by Sam Durant, "Sam Durant and Wochen Klausur," 102, accessed May 10, 2013, <http://www.samdurant.net/files/downloads/Shifter.pdf>.

64. Kester, 98.

65. Ibid., 99.

66. Ibid.

67. Dave Beech, "Include Me Out" *Art Monthly* (April 2008): 3.

68. WochenKlausur, "Sam Durant and WochenKlausur," 102.

69. Eva Fotiadi, "Doing Language: Narratives from an Activists' World in the Austrian Art World of the 1990s" *RIHA Journal* 0062 (10 December 2012): n.p. <http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2012/2012-oct-dec/fotiadi-doing-language>.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

72. Claire Bishop, interview by Jennifer Roche, "Socially Engaged Art, Critics and Discontents: An Interview with Claire Bishop" (An interview with Claire Bishop for the American Community Arts Network) *American Community Arts Network* (September 2010): n.p. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/45545670/an-Interview-With-Claire-Bishop>.

73. Ibid.

74. Bishop, "Participation and Spectacle: Where Are We Now?" in *Living as Form*, 41.

75. Claire Bishop, "The Social Turn: Collaboration and Its Discontents" *Artforum* (February 2006), 181; Zinggl, "Frequently Asked Questions," 130.

76. Zinggl, "Frequently Asked Questions," 132.

77. Sholette, 169.

78. Ibid., 170.

79. Zinggl, "Frequently Asked Questions," 135.

80. Ibid., 135–136.

81. Zinggl, "From the Object to the Concrete Intervention," in *WochenKlausur: Sociopolitical Activism in Art*, edited by Wolfgang Zinggl, 11–17 (New York: Springer-Verlag/Wien, 2001), 16.

82. Bishop, interview by Roche, n.p. Bishop is specifically referencing British New Labour politics here, but her trepidation concerning such art practices is relevant to a larger sphere of contemporary art production.

83. Bishop, "Participation and Spectacle," 44.