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CONFLICT, CONTROVERSY, AND ART EDUCATION:

SOCIAL AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF TRAVELING

EXHIBITIONS OF CONTEMPORARY ART

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Abstract

Since the late 20th century, a new level of attention has been focused on inequality, difference, and struggles, putting Americans at center stage under the name of postmodernity. As visual culture has become a major player in this circumstance, this change has initiated doubt and protests over art, cultural representation, and freedom of expression. Nevertheless, the relationship between the form of outrage and conflict over artistic and revolutionary movements and community structure has still been under-analyzed. Moreover, it remains unclear as to why a single art event can receive different public reactions depending on the community in which it is held. Why do specific controversies erupt in some places but not in others? In response to this question, the empirical focus of this research is a case study of three high-profile traveling art exhibitions that were held at 12 different museums in 10 cities in the United States from 1988 to 2012. These cases gained prominence in local and national presses, drawing concern among scholars and the public about the exhibitions themselves, and encouraged increasingly public dialogue over religious and political entities and control. My research intends to provide a roadmap for the broader art world to understand the internal and external context-sensitive trajectories of social movement influences as public pedagogies while creating Temporary Autonomous Zone for an alternative public space. The importance of this research is to examine systematically neglected factors of art controversies that have had tremendous consequences for the art world and art education. As such, this research considers the emergent pedagogical implications associated between public outrage, community structures, and different museum outcomes and organizational systems.

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION

When do you feel something is "catchy"? Why does something appeal to you? What ignites you to take action? In what context does something mean enough to you? In the case of the *Charlie Hebdo* shooting, we pray for Paris. But why haven't we prayed for the all the casualties in Iraq, Palestine, Pakistan, Syria, and other countries? Shouldn't we be outraged at the attacks in Lebanon as well as those in Paris? What about the continued violence in Palestine, the refugee crisis in Syria and elsewhere in the world, and the students who disappeared in Mexico—all violent acts, domestic and international? But many of us would not know all of these events. Why are some tragedies considered major events while other events causing more deaths are neglected? Numerous forms of social inequality have become prime subjects for political, social, and academic investment. Scholars talk about a "better" society as the aim of research. However, I strongly argue that scholars need to stop romanticizing the harsh fact that people pay close attention to an inequality only when it becomes a major, provocative event fueled by the media and provoking their feelings. What catches the majority of people's attention is not a hundred-page dissertation but a provocative and controversial event, such as September 11 or the *Charlie Hebdo* shooting, or sensational media news. Those events shatter a community or strengthen its unity. If a controversial event would be the best way to receive more public attention, why don't we take advantage of the value of controversy? Why don't we research the ways to transform the controversy into pedagogy and use it for education? These questions are not easy to answer, but they are, I argue, the ones we ought to examine. Considering visual culture has become a major player in a new level of

attention to cultural struggles, my assumption is that revolutionary art movements and associated controversies have the most powerful initiatives of public pedagogy without severe violence. In an attempt to answer to those questions above, I intend to examine contextually neglected factors of the art movements and public outrages that have had tremendous consequences for public awareness. In so doing, I demonstrate how the controversial art movements work as transformative Poetic Terrorism for public pedagogy. Moreover most importantly, I demonstrate how controversies based on public outrage, community structures, and each museum's organizational system create Temporary Autonomous Zone as an alternative public space through creative movements.

Research Background

New Phase of Cultural Conflict and Visual Culture

There have been numerous cultural conflicts over the course of human history. However, since the late 20th century, a new level of attention has been focused on inequality, difference, and struggles, by putting them at center stage under the name of postmodernity. During the 1960s, conflict, fracture, and dissent were unavoidable because the culture wars were much more than merely "one angry shouting match after another" (Hartman, 2015, p. 2). Historian Andrew Hartman (2015) insisted that the real and compelling issues behind the incendiary debates regarding abortion, affirmative action, homosexuality, evolution, censorship, the Western canon, and so on, became central to political and societal discourse. With civil rights, antiwar protests, and the flowering of the counterculture, they were broadcast into American living rooms on the

nightly news. Thus, cultural disruption was no longer the exclusive province of little magazines, the occasional seminar room, and fringe political parties.

Hartman (2015) emphasized in particular that the New Left sparked the culture wars in the 20th century. The New Left describes a loose configuration of movements that included the antiwar, Black Power, feminist, and gay liberation movements, among others. They espoused anti-authoritarian individualism, an ideology that opposed authority or hierarchical organization. These radical progressives wanted to subvert those whom Hartman (2015) called "normative Americans" and who continued to believe in God, hard work, American exceptionalism (the idea that their nation was the best in human history), and "traditional" gender roles (Snyder, 2015). They sought to do so through social movements such as the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley in 1964. Before the 1960s, the irreverent, unsettling, sporadic messages of radical artists, academics, and politicians largely failed to reach normative America, and the New Left believed that they could forge new political arrangements by transforming American culture (Hartman, 2015). After the New Left's rise, another new group of prominent liberal intellectuals, the neoconservatives, moved to the right on the American 1960s political spectrum in opposition to the New Left (Hartman, 2015). They became the New Left's chief ideological opponents. Hartman (2015) illustrated a wide range of representative neoconservative arguments from the political context, media manipulation, gay liberation, and feminism to art controversies, such as debates over Daniel Moynihan's *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, the watershed moment of George McGovern's nomination in the 1972 Democratic primary, and winning over the Christian Right in 1980, among others. According to Hartman (2015), one of

conservatives' primary assumptions in the culture wars was that American culture was in decline, and neoconservatives believed that the decline resulted from much more recent phenomena because of the "acids of modernity" (p. 81).

Hartman also examined how opposition to mid-20th-century cultural changes among intellectuals, such as former liberals like political thinker Irving Kristol, became involved with the rising evangelical Christian Right. Neoconservatives "tapped into a powerful American political language that separated those who earn their way from those who do not," said Hartman (2015, p. 66), and by the 1960s, "Christian evangelicals forcefully began to assert in the political activities by finding themselves threatened by the acids of modernity" (p. 81). Harman (2015) argued that the traditional family was also a fundamental concern of conservatives such as Catholic Phyllis Schlafly, who led the anti–Equal Rights Amendment movement, and American pastor Jerry Falwell, who preached a powerful "family values" gospel at the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia. When Falwell founded his Moral Majority organization in 1979, it had enrolled 2.5 million members within its first year (Snyder, 2015). He argued that "holy war" threatened the very survival of the "traditional" family, highlighting that many of the early neoconservatives were members of "family" and that New York–based intellectuals were fundamentally concerned about the traditional family. They maintained that if men and women had equal rights, fathers would have no special legal obligation to provide for mothers and their children. Valuing religious institutions as central to the maintenance of normative America, the neoconservatives began to make common cause with evangelical Christians engaged in efforts to push back against secular relativism and the decline of White Protestant moral authority, which had been eroded through, among

other things, court decisions on school prayer (Hartman, 2015). Believing that secularization, feminism, abortion advocates, and the gay right movement imperiled the nation, neoconservatives intensified their involvement in political activism. The intellectual basis for each major battleground surrounding controversial issues, such as equal rights and homosexuality, became central to American political discourse during the late 20th century.

According to Hartman (2015), although each interest or political group played a significant role in shaking up normative America, their actions and attempts nevertheless became a commodity, no more, no less; such are the cultural contradictions of liberation. As to the cultural contradictions of liberation, it is also reconsidered the golden age of capitalism in accordance with Fordism, which emphasized minimum cost instead of maximum profit by combining human power into one unit. Fordism, which is named after Henry Ford who established a system of mass production with low unit price and high wages, is the first scientific management to use the assembly line in car manufacturing. The mass car manufacturing was the backbone of industry of the golden age of capitalism. American capitalism reconstituted itself to solve the internal and external problems brought about by World War II, the Great Depression, and the rise of fascism and Nazism. However, by the 1970s the fragile edifice of Fordism, which relied on the balancing of corporate, state, and union power, was crumbling (Lloyd, 2010). This circumstance turned the intellectuals' attention to the fragmented sectors of cultural conflict and what was supposed to be accounted for "the now." During the postwar era, when a political and social shift occurred, new radical intellectuals became more interested in a wider range of social reform, from education and art to culture and sexual

mores. In the book *The New Radicalism in America 1889–1963: The Intellectual as Social Type*, social critic Christopher Lasch (1965) attempted to explain that modern American radicalism was the expression of intellectuals:

> Their history would tell something, if not specifically about capitalism, about the peculiarly fragmented character of modern society, and beyond that, about what it means to pursue the life of reason in a world in which the irrational has come to appear not the exception but the rule. (p. xvii)

In Lasch's thought, the behavior of the radical intellectuals was a sign of their irrationality and false consciousness in that they failed to recognize that the true source of their anger was their undoing. In the same vein as Hartman's argument, Lasch believed that the radical intellectual class of the first half of the 20th century reflected the cultural fragmentation of postindustrial societies and the problematic consequences of such division. By documenting the careers of individuals in this class, Lasch (1965) tried to find the fundamental intellectual motifs in what he called "new radicalism." For example, as a spiritual leader and founder of Hull House in Chicago, Jane Addams became the most famous woman in America by seeking to replace the harmful consequences of industrialism with a new way of "culturalization" in settlement houses. Intellectuals seemed to see the same potential in subjects such as Mabel Dodge Luhans's "New Mexican Indians" of the Taos Art Colony and Norman Mailer's "White Negroes," who had adopted Black culture out of disappointment with the conformist culture. New radical intellectuals' free-floating anxiety stemmed from the breakdown of traditional family bonds and the economic shift that led to money becoming the basis of traditional family, courtship, and culturally constructed sex roles. However, as Lasch (1965) argued, none of

them could remain intellectuals, because the radical intellectuals ultimately adopted a manipulative solution to what they saw as moral problems, and their obsession with overcoming intangible repression made them nearly incomprehensible to others. Lasch (1987) also contended that the elitism of these new radical intellectuals consigned them to political ineffectuality, and their typical emotional needs made the once-alienated radical intellectuals recommit and become involved in manipulative American life, saying "the revolt of the intellectuals had no echoes in the rest of society" (p. 147). It parallels Hartman's (2015) thought that culture war debates were ultimately about the very idea of America itself, with little left but "lingering residues" (p. 285) in describing culture wars as an "adjustment period" (p. 285) during which conservatives struggled to accept new social norms. Millions of Americans were yet to adjust.

Although Hartman's argument is significant to systematically read the rise and fall of the American culture wars in the 20th century, some of his points are hard to agree with. He concludes his book by saying, "The logic of the culture wars has been exhausted. The metaphor has run its course" (Hartman, 2015, p. 285). This metaphoric conclusion is obviously incongruous with contemporary reality, as many other overt and covert battlegrounds of the culture wars, including same-sex marriage, sexuality, minority, racism, and abortion, have remained openly divisive, even violent, today. It is anticipated that in time, legislative changes on issues such as gay marriage will be more widely accepted, and a consensus regarding the idea of America will emerge (Bartho, 2015). Nevertheless, it is important to note that Hartman (2015) insisted that the history of the culture wars is "the history of America, for better or worse, [and] is largely a history of debates about the (very) idea of America" (p. 2). Given the changing nature of

society and our understanding of it, there is a need to restate and reexamine the dynamic of cultural conflict to address society's needs with the contemporary frame of mind. Some might think that the logic of the culture wars has been exhausted.

Are the culture wars really a thing of the past? Did the revolt, turbulence, and repulsion really not echo in the rest of society? When we look at the cultural conflicts based on visual culture in particular, the answer is clearly no. In the 1980s and 1990s, many American liberals argued that cultural representations were relatively powerless because visual images and ways of displaying a historical event sometime become the manifestation of a group's power rather than tools to educate the public. It is because, in the rise and fall of a culture, the power dynamics and each culture's way of displaying its values are contentious areas. Because of the symbolic role of public display and the presentation of art, the visual imagery produces both feelings of engagement and of estrangement. Sometimes, visual images become the showpieces of investors rather than tools to educate the public. This is because visual images are selected from a wide variety of sources in the past and are recreated or combined to carry new meanings within a contemporary framework, which inevitably leads to power and class struggles—this is what postmodern art is. Art controversies and controversial artists seeking to subvert agendas by shaking each community at both the individual and the institutional level. The 21st century began with discourse dominated by postmodernism, which is a very unclear and contested concept that lacks clarity (Barrett, 2008), and visual culture has been a battleground for the culture wars as a major player, either building or breaking an ideology. For examples, in 2004, a Dutch-Moroccan citizen killed Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands following Van Gogh's 2004 film *Submission*. Muslims have

found the film's criticism of the treatment of women of Islamic faith controversial and offensive. Then, on January 7, 2015, two Muslim gunmen killed twelve cartoonists at the Paris headquarters of *Charlie Hebdo*, a French weekly magazine featuring satirical cartoons of possibly "obscene" images of religious figures such as Muhammad with a yellow star in his ass, Holy sprit sodomizing each other, and reports about the extreme right, conservative religion, politics, and culture. It is no secret that in the rise and fall of a culture, the power dynamics in displaying cultural values is contentious in either silencing others or raising their voices. In this circumstance, scholars in various fields, including sociology, political science, and education, as well as visual studies, have studied societal conflict, struggles, and various types of group inequalities such as race, sexual orientation, religiosity, gender, and organizational competition. Despite the long-history of cultural conflict studies, there are several limitations and problems in the process and writing of the studies. In following section, I discuss the perceived problems in detail with three focuses; *ex post facto* attempts, locked in studies, and underanalyzed spatiotemporal context—the timing and place of controversy outbreak in art.

Perceived Problems

Ex Post Facto **and Locked-in Studies.** Although scholars in various fields have focused primarily on the conflict paradigm and struggles, as sociologist Richard Simon (2016) insisted, those studies fail to address fundamental questions concerning how and why inequalities are built into the social structure, because the efforts to combat social inequalities have largely been limited to *ex post facto* attempts at writing equality into social structure; the liberal welfare state is the archetypal example. Simon (2016) stated,

This (*ex post facto* attempt) produces a paradox, in which social conflict and inequality are understood to be a necessary consequence of social structure, *and yet* efforts are made to write equality into social structure, both in the form of actual resource transfers, and in the kinds of policy recommendations offered by conflict sociologists. The irony of this position is brought into high relief when attempts to alter social structure from those inequalities: Attempts at *ex post facto* resource distribution—managing social conflicts and their resultant inequalities *after* the inequality has already manifested—ultimately reproduce the conditions that create the inequality in the first place by reproducing the conflict of interest between those who benefit from social structure and those who are disproportionately shortchanged by it. (p. 3)

More to the point, in the book *Reproducing Racism* legal scholar Daria Roithmayr (2014) depicted the failure of ex post facto studies in a different language with the *lock-in model*, which states that competitive advantage can begin to automatically reproduce itself over time until the advantage eventually becomes insurmountable or locked in. For example, different theoretical interpretations that examine the contemporary cunning form of racism in changing racial attitudes in America are color-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2014); symbolic racism (Sears & McConahay, 1973; Sears & Henry, 2005); laissez-faire racism (Bobo, Kluegel, & Smith, 1997); and group-position racism (Blumer, 1958; Bobo, 1999). They create a covert and vicious circle of modern racial inequalities, and the approaches are another ex post facto because the inequality is essentially locked in to the deep-rooted history of racialization of "Whites." Members of the White power elite directly involve themselves in the federal government through White economic

advantage that has become institutionally locked in; much like a predatory monopolist, Whites form racial communities during slavery and Jim Crow to gain monopoly access to key markets (Roithmayr, 2014). Roithmayr (2014) located the engine of White monopoly in *institutional feedback loops* that connect the racial disparities of the past to the modern racial gaps in various institutional forms, including nonprofit organizations.

According to Roithmayr (2014), wealthy White neighborhoods that accumulated wealth through monopolization during the Jim Crow era fund public institutions that then turn out wealthy White neighbors. To explain this institutional feedback loop, the economists argue that "racial gaps persist because people for whatever reason have a taste or preference for discrimination, and imperfect market competition cannot drive those preferences out" (Roithmayr, 2014, p. 15). Roithmayr (2014) insisted that in a competitive market, those who have a taste for discrimination, and are prejudiced against non-Whites, for example, will be outcompeted by those without the taste, and they will end up paying a cost in a certain context for this exclusion. Although "class" and "power" are terms that make Americans a little uneasy, and concepts such as "upper class" and "power elite" immediately put people on guard, it is no secret that social upper class means a social class that most members of the society agree to be the "top," "elite," or "exclusive" class (Domhoff, 2005). According to psychologist and sociologist G. William Domhoff (2005), the upper class probably makes up only a few tenths of 1 percent of the population; it includes 0.5% to 1% of the population, and its members are overrepresented in corporations, nonprofit organizations, and the government. Members of the upper class live in exclusive suburban neighborhoods, expensive downtown co-ops, and large country estates (Domhoff). White elite domination of the federal

government can be seen most directly in the workings of the corporate lobbyists, backroom super-lawyers, and industry-wide trade associations that represent the interests of specific corporations or business sectors, and this special-interest process is based in varying combinations of information, gifts, insider dealing, friendship, and, last but not least, promises of lucrative private jobs in the future for compliant government officials (Domhoff). This networking inevitably generates a positive feedback loop.

The power relation can also be traced back to higher education through which the elites seemingly demonstrate the mastery of the specific field in the guise that they have been through a non-racialized process. Roithmayr (2014) demonstrated how the notorious circle of the institutional feedback loop is also linked to higher education. According to her, the institutional rules include admissions to most schools, especially to the elite institutions of higher education, such as Harvard, Yale, and Columbia, job selection for high-salary positions, and special opportunities for advancement, such as for museum board of trustees, politicians, and the board of directors of a cooperation. To get into an elite college like Harvard, the applicants should demonstrate, in addition to high grades and test scores, that they are well-rounded and that they are potential leaders who contribute to their communities. It is important to note that Harvard has had a complicated and somewhat dubious history of racial and ethnic politics in the admission process. Until the 1950s, the preferred students of Harvard admissions officers had been the "Harvard Men": well-rounded, athletic people who are potential leaders and captains of industry rather than talented scholars.

This is still true today. They sorted applicants using the "docket system," which is the admission criteria they developed and adopted to favor White Anglo-Saxon men, who

were the first to occupy most colleges in the nation because of the pervasive culture of exclusion (Roithmayr, 2014, p. 70). More to the point, Roithmayr (2014) illustrated three other examples of institutional admission processes in higher education: legacy admission, merit admission, and law school admission. First, in legacy axdmission, most elite institutions like Ivy League and most public universities favor alumni children in the admission process. Second, merit rules prefer potential captains of industry to outstanding scholars, which means the merit rules may still favor the first White movers who monopolized the economic system as it was in the past. Third, law school admission rules for better understanding of racial exclusion is another example of explaining the racialized history of the rules. Most law schools adopted and increasingly relied on the Law School Admission Test (LSAT) as part of exclusionary rules. The move to IQ and aptitude testing originated in racist assumptions about race and ethnicity, because the scientists who designed the earliest prototypes of IQ tests did so to prove that IQ correlated to White superiority (Roithmayr, 2014). The selected students are the future leaders of the society, who set policy, run major business, and control the market. The institutional practices that favor Whites over other groups have been locked in by way of ordinary bureaucratic processes that grow up around any other institutional system in the nation.

To reveal that cultural conflict produces a great deal of human frustration with symbolic roots of inequality, Karl Marx first analyzed the relations of production under capitalism in providing the model for which sociologists would understand social conflicts. In his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx (1992) argued that social interest groups compete for scarce resources, which results in inequality, and,

therefore, major structural changes in society result from the resolution of conflicts of interest between economic classes. Marx saw the history of social conflict and the existing society as the history of class struggles, insisting, "Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat" (as cited in Tucker, 1978, p. 473). Marx believed that abolishing the bourgeoisie would leave only the proletariat as society's productive class, and the dialectical process would end and therefore so would major structural transformations in society (Simon, 2016). Marx's characterization of groups in conflict is basically right, but his dialectical materialism failed in its predictions of a socialist society without class; there are more types of social groups in conflict besides economic classes, and the dynamics of cultural conflict are greater than economic relations and continue to become more complex in the 21st century.

By expanding the types of resources at stake in cultural and social conflict in developing Marx's view, Max Weber (1946) analyzed status and power stratification and investigated unequal social structures by distinguishing between economic classes, status groups, and political parties. He emphasized that status was fundamentally *symbolic*, because every typical component of man's fate in life was determined by a specific, positive or negative social estimation of *honor* (Weber, 1946), and status inequality was inexorably linked to the differential cultural meanings associated with the behaviors and material possessions available to individuals (Simon, 2016). That is, valuing their cultural traits and recognizing who possesses these traits ultimately results in a self-conscious society. The cultural traits associated with people's different lifestyles are of interest to the groups who acquire and/or maintain them, and real material and social benefits are

allocated to those with high status and denied to those with low status—what Weber called "status privileges" (Weber, 1946, p. 190). Additionally, Weber understood that competition for power dominance was a major dimension of social conflict. For him, power was the probability of influencing any kind of communal action, so it can never be exercised by individuals alone, but by parties, as one could not abolish inequality by abolishing capitalism (Weber, 1946).

In questioning how those who are subservient to power come to obey the power's injunctions, Weber (1946) comparatively analyzed the authority structure by distinguishing power from authority and legitimacy of power. Power is the sheer ability to force one's will upon another; authority is power acknowledged as appropriate or desirable by those subjected to it. Hence, according to Weber, people allow themselves to be ordered around by others because they believe in the legitimacy of rules, such as legal authority, where the rules are officially documented and traditional authority, where the rules are purely normative (Simon, 2016). This dynamic of people's belief in the legitimacy of rules implies how power inequalities remain stable and are built into the moral order of society as matters of right and wrong. Power and class struggles are never exercised by individuals alone, but by a certain type of group. Therefore, cultural conflict is fundamentally cultural. In this sense, it seems adequate that Marx and Weber were greatly concerned with and analyzed the social structure and dynamics of group inequality. However, those approaches still do not encompass the fact that conflict is happening every single moment in the daily life of an individual. Although cultural conflict theorists and scholars have the essential insight that social conflict and inequality are fundamental to social structure (Simon, 2016), most approaches to socially

constructed inequality and *ex post facto* resource redistribution fail to address fundamental questions of how inequalities are built into social structure and to suggest an alternative solution. To overcome the fundamental weakness of conflict studies and educational researches, it must be acknowledged that the persistent knowledge that what we believe and "know" is always in very deep need of revision, because each community and each generation has its own entelechy. There is no such a thing as "purity" in this respect, and thus their interpretation of the world and society is the result of the creative but biased transformation that is perceivable by human senses. Therefore, where and when an event takes place and the event is interpreted must be contextualized.

Underanalyzed Spatiotemporal Context. Sociologist Steve C. Dubin (2000) noted that hence the outbreak of conflict occurs when power is shifting and the relative status of different groups is in flux, and thus the timing of the crisis and following controversy are crucial. One specific culture cannot last forever, and thus timing in each case is a major factor for better discussion as rationality and irrationality change according to time, history, and spatial context. Moreover, Paul Diehl (1991) insisted that 'where' is a major source of conflict because the geographic factor is a facilitating condition for conflict. It suggests that the territoriality examination of site-specific conflict helps to analyze and evaluate the empirical controversies among communities. It also helps to explain why an art movement has received different reactions depending on when and where it was displayed. However, the spatiotemporal relationship between the form of outrage and conflict over revolutionary movements and community structure has been underanalyzed. As will be seen, the neglected factors, especially the timing and

place, are examined in my research, supplemented by relevant literature and previous studies.

Research Questions and Significance of Study

Some might think that the culture wars are over, but they exist now in a more uncanny form within the contemporary framework as discussed in the locked-in studies of contemporary forms of racism. Interestingly, the uncanny form has played a significant role in shaping dominant cultural discourse as a form of popular culture and everyday life while boosting educational research. Nevertheless, although several sociologists theorized the importance of site-specific contexts in the past, the influence of the relationship between cultural conflicts based on cultural representation and art, and preexisting conditions of a community and internal structure of each community's organizations and locked-in hierarchical social and organizational structure also remain unclear. Raised questions are as following:

- What is the nature of art controversy and how does it constitute public pedagogy?
- Why do specific controversies erupt in some places but not in others?
- How does art controversy serve in art and art education as rich curriculum?

This paper is an attempt to answer those raised questions above and to suggest an alternative way to transform the controversies into pedagogical areas. Cultural studies need to study human phenomena in terms of interaction, not final forms. The author of *Masters of Sociological Thought*, Lewis A. Coser (1977), said, "Sociology asks what happens to men and by what rules they behave, not insofar as they unfold their understandable individual existences in their totalities, but insofar as they form groups and are determined by their group existence because of interaction" (p. 179). In

examining art controversies associated with social struggles and cultural conflict, my research intends to provide what to be considered for art educators as well as the broader art world. Understanding internal and external context-sensitive trajectories of revolutionary art movements plays an important role in grasping conflict paradigm and the process of socially constructed discourses. My focus is in particular museum context because the goals of museums have a similar root with those of art world and school within the context of public pedagogy. The importance of this research is to examine systematically neglected factors of art controversies that have had tremendous consequences for the art world and art education. As such, this research considers practical implications of public outrage, community structures, and different museum outcomes and organizational systems so that art educators understand both the internal and external conflict paradigm and social movements that influence, change, and shape social discourse.

CHAPTER 2

TEMPORARY AUTONOMOUS ZONE, PUBLIC PEDAGOGY, AND POETIC

TERRORISM

This chapter provides the additional theoretical backgrounds of this study to address the pedagogical values of art controversy in association with recent literature. In the previous chapter, I emphasized the importance of the spatiotemporal context of each conflict, crisis, and art controversy and the perceived problems of studies on the issues. What is art controversy and how does it constitute a crisis? Aren't all controversies pedagogically public? What is "public pedagogy"? How do controversies function pedagogically? What difference does it make when a controversy is about art? Before the debate over art controversy and its educational value, first, we need to consider the nature of conflict and controversy itself.

Conflict, Solidarity, and Sociation

In this turbulent contemporary era, cultural conflicts have taken more manipulative and tactical forms since the development of new social movements and conflicts with advanced technology. When we turn on the TV or read newspapers, magazines, and other media, we see attacks, protests, and violence from the cultural conflicts, varying from seemingly small quarrels to terror attacks or massacres. The ubiquity of the Internet and easy access to diverse materials otherwise likely to be censored have had the greatest impact on more liberal attitudes about controversial issues, such as racism, sexism, religion, ethics, and orthodox academia in the public sphere. How can we read the pattern of cultural conflict with a contemporary frame of mind? Put simply, the fundamental of conflict is that everything in nature is perfectly real

with its own facelessness, like clouds, and there is nothing to worry about. When things become interactive, shared, and social, conflict always appears because it is a natural and fundamental part of culture. This is true even when it has material consequences, which is why sociologists interested in studying the dynamics of inequality have recently called for greater attention to be paid to how symbolic distinctions between persons become manifest as structural inequalities (Simon, 2016). Suppose that you are driving, which is a dynamic, privileged activity that always involves interacting with numerous unpredictable drivers and potential high-risk incidents. Drivers enjoy freedom and independence, but some drivers do not react properly when their freedom is interrupted by government regulation, restrictions, and the unexpected actions of other drivers. But it is obvious that they know what they are supposed to do in the situation according to the law or social norms. When you are stuck in traffic and late for your meeting, your anxiety builds up to escape the congested traffic. On one hand, the anxiety might cause you to perform aggressive maneuvers to get away from or ahead of others, especially when you have no control over the driving environment. The lack of control is frustrating and often leads to anger and pain. However, you might try to identify an alternative strategy to mitigate the situation. You would also be confronted with potential dangers because congested traffic is always filled with some impatient drivers who make unpredictable moves, which may cause collisions. Moreover, chances are that you would be late for the meeting. It is where you face either an inner or outer conflict, being at the crossroads. Although the situation is inevitable, the results of conflict are not predetermined by what path you take.

In a more socially interactive realm, it gets more complex. Conflict becomes a struggle between people with opposing beliefs, values, needs, or thoughts. We might think conflict is different from the solidarity that holds a society together, but solidarity and conflict are just two different names for what makes a society possible. Sociologist Émile Durkheim (2014), one of whose core ideas was the concept of solidarity, posited two kinds of positive solidarity: *mechanical solidarity*, in which the individual is directly linked to society through collective beliefs and ideas, and organic solidarity, in which the individual is linked to society because he or she is interdependent with other people in the same society. Mechanical solidarity connects the individual to society without any intermediary other than the reminiscence of that companionship whose image is used to convey the typical meaning of society. People may share similar experiences, have the same standards for gender roles, and be based on commonalities, similitudes, and likenesses. This is mostly relevant to premodern society, which was organized collectively and in which all community members shared the same beliefs. What bound the individual to society was the collective consciousness rooted in a shared belief system. This type of solidarity is fundamentally based on a strong homogeneity of personalities in the society. According to Durkheim (2014), if this solidarity becomes too strong, individual consciousness becomes weak enough to completely yield to the collective. People become a "collective being" rather than strive to be individuals. For example, in North America almost every Native American tribe had the same social capital and thus worked toward the same goals. Durkheim saw this form of solidarity as mechanical because "the individual consciousness is simply a dependency of the collective type and follows all its motions, just as the object possessed follows those

which its owner imposes on it" (Durkheim, 2014, p. 102). In other words, in mechanical solidarity, society is the owner of individuals who have become objectified.

On the other hand, Durkheim (1933) proposed that organic solidarity is social cohesion based upon the dependence of individuals in more advanced society. Although one specializes in one type of labor in the advanced society, the one will depend on others to do the labor required in other areas. People rely on each other who is unique from one another, but it also indicates that the collective consciousness would grow stronger because of interdependence (Raskoff, 2009). Simply put, a clock cannot work if only one part is broken, and no other part can replace the broken part. The individual and collective consciousness has an inverse relationship; how can they both increase at the same time? Durkheim (2014) argued that the division of labor was one example that enabled this to happen. When division of labor thrives in more advanced societies, it comes from the interdependence that arises from the specialization of work and the complementarities among people. If individuals become specialized in and can do only one particular form of work, they rely much more on the rest of the society for their own specialization to be more effective. In technologically advanced or industrialized societies, there is specialization, reinforcing differences among people. There is an expert and specialty for each job. Specialization creates social stratification and stratification in this respect, means, and functional interdependence (Durkheim, 2014). In examining the development of unity and discord in a community, both can usually be found in a specific case. For example, if there is a doctor, the doctor depends on other medical professionals including nurses and physician's assistants to complete his job, but the doctor also needs to rely on the mechanics that keep transportation working, and dry cleaners to keep

clothes pressed (Raskoff, 2009). "Here, then, the individuality of the whole grows at the same time as that of the parts," wrote Durkheim (2014, p. 102). "Yet social progress does not consist in a process of continual dissolution—quite the opposite: the more we evolve, the more societies develop a profound feeling of themselves and their unity" (p. 134). The division of labor increases as societies develop and is necessary for an advanced society. In thinking of the nature of specialization and division, which are the conditions of conflict, Durkheim argued that mechanical solidarity must disappear so that organic solidarity can take its place. Hence, the advanced solidarity stage is never unidirectional but is multidirectional. The more that human interaction and socialization occurs, the more chances for conflict are generated.

Innovative sociologist Georg Simmel also recognized that conflict between individuals and occasional open hostilities were a natural reaction against the homogenizing effects of solidarity and morality (Simon, 2016). In Simmel's (1971) thought, conflict makes a society possible because it is an inevitable consequence of social interaction and is thus essential. If the world would is in complete disharmony, a stable society would never exist. In contrast, if complete harmony existed in a society, that would be a dead society because there would be no impetus for continuing development. Therefore, disharmony based on cultural conflict is necessary for balance, not just for harmony, like love and hate. Simmel (1971) articulated:

> Just as the universe needs "love and hate," that is, attractive and repulsive forces, in order to have any form at all, so society, too, in order to attain a determinate shape, needs some quantitative ratio of harmony and disharmony, of association and competition, of favorable and unfavorable tendencies. (p. 72)

As conflict is aroused only through social interaction, Simmel (1908a) thought that achieving synthetic unity was an aspect of society itself, while it was a function of the observing mind in the case of nature. Although consciousness of the abstract principle that an individual is forming society is not present in the individual, every individual knows that the other is tied and connected to him- or herself—however much this knowledge of the other as fellow sociate, this grasp of the whole complex as society, is usually realized only on the basis of particular, concrete contents. Perhaps, however, this is now different from "unity of cognition." Simmel (1908a) wrote:

> As far as our conscious processes are concerned, we proceed by arranging one concrete content alongside another, and we are distinctly conscious of the unity itself only in rare and later abstractions. ... The sociological apriorities envisaged are likely to have the same twofold significance as those which make nature possible. On the one hand, they more or less completely determine the actual processes of "sociation" as functions or energies of psychological processes. On the other hand, they are the ideational, logical presuppositions for the perfect society (which is never realized in this perfection, however). (p. 9)

For Simmel, conflict is admitted to cause or modify interest groups, unifications, and organizations. It may sound paradoxical in the common view if one asks whether, irrespective of any resulting or accompanying phenomena, it itself is a form of sociation (*vergesellschaftung*) (Simmel, 1908c). The term sociation is the concept that implies the particular patterns or forms that human beings relate to and interact with each other. For Simmel society is not a thing or organism but an intricate web of multiple relations

between individuals who continue to interact with one another, and hence it is nothing more than all the individuals who constitute it.

> If every interaction among men is a sociation, conflict—after all one of the most vivid interactions, which, furthermore, cannot possibly be carried on by one individual alone—must certainly be considered as sociation. And in fact, dissociating factors—hate, envy, need, desire—are the causes of conflict; it breaks out because of them. (Simmel, 1908a, p. 70)

Every interaction among people is a sociation, and conflict is after all one of the most vivid interactions, so it cannot possibly be carried on by only one individual but must certainly be considered as sociation. It is obvious that dissociating factors, including hate, love, desire, and envy, are the causes of conflict. Therefore, conflict is essentially designed to resolve divergent dualisms and is a way of achieving a kind of unity, even through the annihilation of one of the conflicting groups—just as the most aggressive symptom of a disease represents the organism's attempt to free itself of the damages caused by the disease.

Following Simmel's (1908a) thought on sociation, *social* and *individual* are only two different categories under which the same content is subsumed, just as the same plant may be considered from the standpoint of its biological development, practical uses, or aesthetic significance. Sociation puts the individual into the dual position, which means that the individual is contained in sociation and, at the same time, finds him- or herself confronted by it. Simmel (1908a) insisted that the relationship between an individual and sociation is of an individual's existence that is partly social and partly individual but that also belongs to the fundamental, decisive, and irreducible category of a unity we cannot

designate other than as the synthesis or simultaneity of two logically contradictory characterizations of man. This characterization is based on the individual's function as a member, a product, and a content of society, and the opposing characterization is based on the individual as an autonomous being who views his or her own life from its own center and for its own sake. Simmel (1908a) said:

> He (She) is both a link in the organism of sociation and an autonomous organic whole; he (she) exists both for society and for himself. The essence and deepest significance of the specific sociological a priori which is founded on this phenomenon is this: The "within" and the "without" between individual and society are not two unrelated definitions but define together the fully homogeneous position of man as a social animal. (p. 17)

Accordingly, individuals are synthesized social beings, and thus human equality is impossible because of people's different natures, ways of identifying the self, backgrounds, and destinies. Society itself is a structure composed of unequal elements; the equality toward which democratic or socialistic efforts are directed—and which they partly attain—is actually an equivalence of people, functions, or positions (Simmel, 1908a).

Simmel was concerned with how individuals internalized and embraced cultural or personal conflict and moral order. He examined how people in a subordinate relation come to accept their inferiority and participate in their own subordination, and he discussed superordinates and subordinates to emphasize that mutual cooperation is required to maintain a relation of dominance (Simon, 2016). To examine the relationship between mutual cooperation and personal freedom, Simmel (1908a) portrayed the

dynamic of low-paid workers in modern giant enterprises where all effective competition among rivaling entrepreneurs was precluded for the services of these laborers. The difference in the strategic positions of workers and employers was so overwhelming that the work contract ceased to be a contract in the ordinary sense of the word; the former were unconditionally at the mercy of the latter, and it thus appeared that the maxim "Never use a man as a mere means" was actually the formula of every sociation (Levin, 1917). Even in the most oppressive and cruel cases of subordination, such as cases deemed as "having no choice" and "absolute necessity," based on the contract, there is still a considerable measure of personal freedom, because its condition is their desire to escape from the threatened punishment or from other consequences of their disobedience (Levin, p. 97).

Conflict itself requires an individual's participation in social life to be reproduced in any circumstance, and people continue to participate in social interactions (intentionally or not), even though sometimes the social relations are unfair and deceptive. People are incapable of an alternative arrangement for fear of losing their means of living. Sociologist Richard Simon (2016) argued that, in following Simmel's thought, resistance to subordination manifested as the domination–rebellion dialectic that had already been described as driving social change:

> Inequality is not internalized in all cases ... but when it is, it becomes *conscience*: super- and subordination are a matter of what is believed to be right and wrong. ... The contribution that Simmel has made to this insight is that social conflict and inequality are embedded in the moral order. This means that morality—that system of norms and values that coordinates human behaviors to serve social

functions—is little more than a mechanism for distributing scarce resources such as wealth, power, and status. (p. 12)

Because dominance is also another form of social interaction, socialization through the process of sociation is necessarily the reproduction of social inequalities. Even in the basic form of a social group such as a family, to call the self *father*, *mother*, *daughter*, or *son* means to learn how to dominate children or submit to parental authority, and by extension, it means to learn that to be an employee is to respect an employer. Respect for hierarchy as well as the hierarch itself is inherently embedded in socialization as a belief in the sanctity or appropriates of the inequality and as a natural consequence of society (Simon, 2016). Likewise, it can be understood that conflicts causing controversies are the inevitable products of socialization because of the dynamics within an individual, between individuals in the sense of the generational and cohort effect, and between different groups in the sense of symbolic interaction and group position.

An individual's feeling of offense is a necessary but insufficient condition to arouse controversy. According to cultural scholar Steven J. Tepper (2011), although an individual's offense is clearly personal and idiosyncratic, that offense can also be a community's shared property. Controversy is not a single kind of activity but is derived from socially constructed ideologies, values, and beliefs that share certain common features. With this respect, it is important to note that it implies the rejection or the termination of sociation. Conflict itself becomes a tool to resolve the tension between contrasts through awareness; in other words, conflict is designed to resolve divergent dualisms (Simmel, 1908c). As indifference is a more purely negative and evil element of a society, and the stagnant status with perfect harmony causes social deactivation like

highway hypnosis, the value of conflict is that it continues the way of recognizing what condition we are at, achieving some kind of unity, breaking the highway hypnosis, even if it does so through the annihilation of one of the conflicting parties. Hence, conflict itself is a driving force and impetus for a better, or at least different, society. As Simmel argued, both attraction and repulsion between groups are essential for social integration and continuity. Even the radicalism of intellectuals and their attempts to spur social change are essentially repetitive because those attempts are a dialectical battle with the collective. A healthy society maintains a balance of cooperative and oppositional relations. Therefore, if a society looks upon conflict as both friend and foe, it has a better chance to prevent harmful and costly types of conflict. Sitting at the vortex of the cultural and political conflicts, visual culture implicitly or explicitly champions the zeitgeist—the spirit of the age—in religion, ideology, and cultural and social relations, for instance. In this atmosphere, the art world has exposed controversial works to critique conventional historicism, to gain more publicity, and to fight against inequality, although some have become a type of propaganda. It indicates that the controversial approach to cultural history can be a powerful resource for creating pedagogical metaphors that critically responds to the dominant assumptions imbued in society. Therefore, in the following discussion I examine how the conflicts associated with visual culture work as a form of relation among individuals and communities as sociation and a pedagogical way of achieving a unity while gaining or loosing power and dominance.

Public Pedagogy of Art Controversy as Poetic Terrorism

Art, Controversy, and Community

Philosopher Richard Schusterman stated:

Postmodernism insists that art, aesthetics, visual cultures are too powerful and pervasive in our social, ethical, and political world to be considered on their own apart from their non-aesthetic influences. If it diminishes the sublime claims of high art, postmodernism compensates by making aesthetics more central to the mainstream issues of life. (As cited in Barrett, 2008, p.147)

The umbrella of postmodernism makes art more complex and inexorable. Postmodernism finds its clearest expression as an aesthetic movement in the cultural sphere by rejecting "high modernism," the movement in the late 19th and early 20th century that sought to redefine the visual culture. Accordingly, this change has initiated doubt about the freedom of expression, which has been the beginning of recent protests over art and cultural representation, either against freedom of expression or for it. Even witnessing a ritual ceremony that celebrates a different cultural or religious tradition may raise questions about which community's cultural traditions and values are more worthy of celebration. In addition to the postmodernity, partly due to the rise of information-sharing technologies such as the Internet, which allow people access to a much greater scope of information, art world, especially museums have been losing the confidence of the public because it has now learned how dependent museums are on financial endowments from wealthy corporations and politically powerful elites. Therefore, the foremost goal of art venues today is to gain back the public trust. It is a delicate balance: on the one hand, yes, they need money; but on the other hand they do not want to lose their public, which after all, also provides museums with money through admissions and word-of-mouth advertising. So museums must satisfy their patrons as well as the public, which is increasingly well-informed; and often these two groups have starkly conflicting

views and desires. This is why the art world has attempted to gain the public's attention with controversial exhibitions in the guise of neutral public venues.

Among communities, competition to gain power and dominance is a form of relation among individuals and groups. For example, in the period of social complexity and extensive division of labor after World War II, cultural accomplishments constituted an autonomous realm. In this realm, a conflict becomes either a threat for one group or an opportunity for another. Essentially, when established high-status groups (political, economic, and social elites) feel threatened by incoming groups (e.g., immigrants), they will attack the lifestyles of these emerging groups as a way to reestablish their own social and moral virtue. This phenomenon has the potential to create social change at the community level in the form of perceived threats (Tepper, 2011). The perceived threats to the lifestyle and values of the community also have the potential to generate social change at the community level.

In examining the dynamic of conflict in community context, in addition to the scholarly writings on the 20th century's chaotic cultural shift, visual culture has become a major arena of fierce conflict due to the invention of television, fashion magazines, newspapers, and other media, allowing easy access to various archives and materials. In contemporary society, individuals are exposed to enormous amounts of visual imagery through television, books, films, newspapers, magazines, and advertising. The explosion of visual culture has also blurred the line between high culture and popular culture. The soft demarcation between the two concepts leads to cultural conflicts and public controversy and outrage, both of which are rooted in external and internal pressures. Macdonald (1957) viewed popular culture as a threat to high culture because of its wide

circulation of shallow content and widespread popularity. For him, mass culture is the culture of mass society, which is characterized by vulgarity, kitsch, homogeneity, and standardization. His view was a common one during the years following World War II, which led the United States into the Cold War and marked the beginning of consumer society.

Entering into the postwar era with the baby boom generation, however, many cultural theorists backed away from Macdonald's conservative views on popular culture. Intellectuals began to argue that demarcating popular and high culture forces a dialectic power relationship in which popular culture's massive power would be seen as a threat to high culture. But high culture cannot exist without popular culture. Rosenberg and White (1957) strenuously asserted in their book *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America* that culture does not need to be lowered or undervalued to reach a wide audience. This is because culture is a paradoxical community; it is a form of human history that appears one way or another. Simmel (1918) contended, "In principle it is completely possible that a form which is perfect and meaningful purely as a form will represent a fully adequate expression of immediate life, clinging to it as if it were an organically grown skin" (p. 383). A culture is also an endlessly repeating dialectic in relation to power dominance. A form of popular culture often becomes popular among White intellectuals or powerful elites, who transform it into high culture. This is undoubtedly so in the case of the great classical works of art. Impressionism, abstractionism, pop art, and even jazz are exemplary because those are now possessions of mainstream art institutions, wealthy trustees, and "classic" or "high" culture, even though they began as subversive, avant-garde, and controversial artistic genres. "The old artistic form is not broken up; rather, it

is overpowered by something else, something which breaks forth from another dimension," said Simmel (1918, p. 378). Many scholars have argued that there is no inherent difference between high and popular culture; each is labeled as such depending on the settings in which they are consumed and presented as well as by the contemporary cultural critics who shape the social discourse. In contrast, some intellectuals do distinguish popular culture from high culture, worrying about the stature and future of the accomplishments made by Western culture and high art in the postwar era. As sociologist Max Weber (1973) pointed out, deferring to experts was a rational and efficient way to run modern societies, and he called this "associative relations." When cultural professionals use their expertise to diminish or sideline their critics by claiming to "know best," they may, willingly or not, dampen public engagement and diminish the voice of concerned citizens (Tepper, 2011).

Concerned about the art world's surrender or resistance to powerful intellectuals, political demands, and moneyed power, many sociologists and political scientists have extensively discussed the national political structure and external issues, such as the contemporary environment, to examine the dynamics of art controversies. For example, *The Transformation of the Avant-Garde: The New York Art World, 1940–1985* by sociologist Diana Crane (1987) featured the transformation of the postwar New York art world, which was rooted in the rise of abstract expressionism, both in the emergent artistic styles and their institutionalization during the period. She sketched out the historical and social background as well as the preexisting conditions in which artists worked, the influence of popular culture, and the institutional advantages of museums and art galleries. Crane (1987) discussed seven styles: abstract expressionism in the

1940s; pop art and minimalism in the 1960s; photorealism and figurative and pattern painting in the 1970s; and neo-expressionism in the early 1980s. Although the term "avant-garde" was first used in France in the 19th century and it remains highly ambiguous, Crane (1987) defined it as a cohesive group of artists who have a strong commitment to iconoclastic aesthetic values and who reject both popular culture and a middle-class lifestyle:

> According to prototype, these artists differ from artists who produce popular art in the content of their works, the social backgrounds of the audience that appreciates them, and the nature of the organizations in which these works are displayed and sold. (p. 1)

Crane also noted that the decades following World War II were eccentric in the history of American art. In the past, the American art world never influenced artists in other countries, especially those of Europe, but with the emergence of abstract expressionism, New York City became the acknowledged center of the avant-garde art world, disseminating styles that inspired a great number of foreign artists and that were coveted by museums and galleries. The avant-garde art produced in New York City underwent a major transformation between 1940 and 1980. There were three times as many galleries handling 20th-century American art in 1977 than there were in 1949 (Crane, 1987). In addition to the increase in the number of galleries, the emerging auction markets broadened the possibility of economic success for some artists, and funding from the government, corporations, and foundations for the arts increased dramatically.

In this atmosphere, the abstract expressionists considered themselves to be genuine avant-garde artists, and their successors, the minimalists, also dominated the

contemporary art world with partial support of the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York City (Crane, 1987). Then, in the 1950s when pop art appeared to criticize high art with the help of "star artist" Andy Warhol and his factory, it dominated the national and global art markets even though art critics initially disliked it. According to Crane (1987), there was a striking difference between the strong reception of abstract expressionism, minimalism, and pop art and the less passionate reception of those 1960s styles. The new and representational styles were primarily supported by regional and local museums and collectors. As Crane (1987) pointed out, this was because "over a period of decades, New York museums became gradually less responsive to emerging art styles" (p. 126) due to financial deficits and changes in the museums' conceptions of their constituency away from the informal network of collectors, patrons, critic, scholars, artists, and dealers.

Additionally, American bohemia materialized most prominently at the turn of the 20th century in New York City's Greenwich Village. The district was a bit trashy but was a hub of avant-garde art, hedonism, and dissent from bourgeois life in a sea of cultural populism. The Parisian prototype of the 1830s served as a model for self-understanding and action incorporated into avant-garde culture, providing a frame within which the aggregation in Greenwich Village can be seen. The neighborhood had low rents, allowing artists, political radicals, and various eccentrics such as Marcel Duchamp and Emma Goldman to live there. Although Parisian bohemians derided thrifty shopkeeper capitalism and engaged in their creative callings against the backdrop of arcades, boulevards, and occasional barricades, the New York avant-garde took shape in the context of the machine age: the birth of the skyscraper, the ascendance of industrial

capitalism, and later, the advent of technology of mass destruction in the World Wars (Lloyd, 2010). In this context, many noted that artists played a significant role as the vanguard of a distinctive form of gentrification, in which underused spaces inherited from the city's industrial past were reconfigured as spaces for work, living, art, and artistic performance.

This shift has been extensively studied with the richest artistic tradition in America. In the book *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, Sharon Zukin (1982) had already anticipated the trends of an artistic mode of production, focusing primarily on the SoHo neighborhood in the 1970s. Because New York became the heart of modern art in the Western world after World War II, several cultural scholars have studied New York's gentrification in depth. As it entered into the 1990s, the country was in a recession, and many people of Generation X, who were born between 1966 and 1975, were feeling somewhat disenchanted, even though they had unprecedented levels of education. Noshua Watson contended in a 2002 article in *Fortune* magazine that, "Ten years ago grunge musicians and college-aged Cassandras had never held a day job, preached that corporate America would crush their generation's soul and leave them without a pension plan" (as cited in Lloyd, 2010, p. 2). Alongside the rise of Generation X was a dramatic transformation in the structural foundations of urban development at the neighborhood level, a transformation based on deindustrialization, globalization, and the importance of immaterial labor in finance, technology, and media design, among other areas. The economic forces that drove urban growth and decline and led to new patterns of production that characterized the city and its neighborhoods allowed for the emergence of a new bohemia connected with culture and technology.

Shedding light on the nature of the contemporary bohemia and the cities that house them, Richard Lloyd (2010), in his book *Neo-Bohemia: Art and Commerce in the Postindustrial City*, ethnographically illustrated the atmosphere of the eventful 1990s, highlighting the Wicker Park neighborhood on Chicago's West Side. His work brings the study of the dynamics and trajectories of bohemian culture in postindustrial trends down to street level, contributing to an understanding of the broader urban historical and economic context. During the decade, Wicker Park transformed from a relatively obscure area into a celebrated center of hip urban culture, one that was appropriate to the hipster ethos attaching itself to a profit-oriented business culture claiming to transform the world.

According to Lloyd (2010), although New York City's Greenwich Village was the most studied American bohemia in the 20th century, it was not the only spot in a major U.S. city patterned on an artistic coterie living among the working classes. Harvey Warren Zorbaugh gleaned insights from the Towertown neighborhood, Chicago's own version of bohemia; as Stansell suggested, Chicago, no doubt, "had a strong claim to the spirit of the age: with its huge polyglot population, mammoth industrial base, and gorgeous skyscrapers, it was the newest city in the age of the new, the shock city of the early twentieth century" (as cited in Lloyd, 2010, p. 59). Lloyd contended that Chicago was also not only a center of industry rooted in Fordist affluence but also an emerging American literary hub, even challenging New York in the literary arts. However, once a necessary condition for large-scale industry, the density of the city became a disadvantage; forcing vertical factory construction that created assembly-line friction in older blue-collar neighborhoods that were sites of entrenched union participation and resistance to downward pressures on wages and more flexible work trajectories

(Kornblum, 1974). Lloyd (2010) described this decline of the city that led to a dramatic shift in manufacturing jobs from the center of Chicago to suburban locales and the loss of the jobs in the Chicagoland region.

Manufacturing production was reconfigured and multinational corporations in the apparel industry outsourced labor-intensive production to Third World sweatshops. In consequence, according to Lloyd (2010), Chicago suffered from a "White flight," which decimated its public sector and increased poverty, crime, and racial polarization. As a result of White flight, by the 1980s the Chicago West Side, especially the Wicker Park neighborhood, provided little to the mostly Latino immigrants who remained. The neighborhood increasingly lost its reputation as an industrial titan. Nonetheless, despite the decrease of public and media attention, local artists became interested in the area in the 1980s, and through the informal channels maintained by those who were concerned about finding the cutting edge, the neighborhood's reputation and its potential again spread. As a result, Lloyd (2010) described that, in the 1990s, the Wicker Park neighborhood became a staging ground for young, avant-garde artists, some of whom exported their talent into more established culture markets, leading to changes in the city's population, ethnic makeup, immigration rates, and residents' occupations—all of which attracted media coverage. Wicker Park supported new products in the flexible cultural production networks with intimate music venues such as Phyllis' Musical Inn and bands including Veruca Salt, which is a Chicago-based rock band, and it served as a strategic site for other economic interests that contributed an infusion of capital into the once-moribund neighborhood economy (Lloyd, 2010). Importantly, Lloyd (2010) emphasized the activities of artists that unfold not only in the context of a cultural

tradition but also in the context of the distinctive metropolitan dynamics in which they were embedded. Following Walter Benjamin's description in "the capital of the 19th century," which indicated that the very cradle of aesthetic modernism was a designation for the artists' quarter of 19th- and early 20th-century Paris, Lloyd (2010) devised the term "neo-bohemia" as a heuristic to examine the changes that took place in Wicker Park during and after the 1990s. Due to the rise of the new bohemian culture in the neighborhood, a wide range of venues, including bars, boutiques, art galleries, and performance art places, opened in accordance with the local ethos of creative, hip, and funky culture. Lloyd (2010) elaborated that in addition to the emerging arts and entertainment enterprise in the neighborhood, a number of small design companies and Internet firms like Buzzbait advertised their creative credentials with a Wicker Park address and employed local artists as their "creative labor." The neighborhood, in turn, became an interesting site, calling the attention of cultural scholars and theorists who were interested in urbanism and postmodernism. It also drew the attention of the film industry, various artist communities, contributing writers to local press outlets, such as the *Chicago Reader*'s Big Mike Glab, and media coverage. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a landscape of postindustrial decay began to be interpreted as glamorous, planting the seeds for new styles of economic development. However, Lloyd (2010) pointed out that the changes ultimately attracted increasing numbers of young professionals, or yuppies, to the local amenities of the newly hip culture, which dramatically escalated home values and rents. This phenomenon demonstrates the paradoxical aspect of culture. Consequently, sections of Chicago's West Side evolved into a glamour zone of warehouses-turned-nightclubs, new-wave restaurants, and noir-ish bars, integrating the

former industrial neighborhoods of the area into the "entertainment machine" of the global city, while satisfying the consumer demands made by the young, relatively affluent, and well-educated professionals, as well as the new urban tourists. Intellectuals also began to pay attention to the neglected factors of the city's leisure economy and the relationship between the concentration of artists in a given district and the presence of other crucial postindustrial enterprises.

To demonstrate how the artists became the useful economic labor of postindustrial enterprises in the area (or perhaps became degraded to "laborers" of capitalism), Lloyd (2010) examined the interplay between art communities and for-profit businesses. Hiring artists and connecting businesses to the art community enabled entrepreneurs in the neighborhood to tap into an ethos and to justifiably view themselves as creative scene makers in their own right. Lloyd (2010) pointed out that, "For all the demographic changes of the past ten years on Chicago's near West Side, there persists the allure of the cutting edge, on which local entrepreneurs capitalize, making use of local artists as standard-bearers in the process" (p. 133). Namely, the popularity of the neo-bohemian scene as a whole demonstrated its ongoing appeal to a new class of urban consumers because the gritty motifs belied the reality of a more upscale residential and consumption profile.

The ideology of bohemian culture has been constituted as oppositional to the propertied classes, which means the repudiation of the bourgeoisie by bohemian artists. This was reflected in animosity to the presumed dictates of the corporation whose shape in the new bohemian imagery derived from the distinctive forms of bureaucratized capitalism of 20th-century America. As Lloyd (2010) posited, in any case, bohemia has

long been assumed to be antithetical to the instrumental and rationalized strategies of capitalism, and past bohemian congregations were marginal aspects of an urban economy. It must also be noted that Wicker Park might have been understood in the context of the mythic tradition of bohemia; it was used by both media observers and local insiders as shorthand for both a distinctive sort of urban district and an associated lifestyle, which was similar to 1920s Paris. Although some scholars thought that the artists working in 1920s Paris may have made a central contribution to the modernist canon, their effect on the Parisian economy of the time was likely negligible (Lloyd). Therefore, while Wicker Park's emergence as a center of hip, bohemian culture has similarities to 1920s Paris, it is, at the same time, distinguished from this predecessor because of its profitable encounter with a distinctive and dynamic urban landscape. As Lloyd observed, bohemia itself is not just a cliché deployed by media observers, and resistance to the term reveals its influential resonance with the community's identity, scene, and participants. The traditions of the artists in the community, shaped both by material exigencies and by cultural identifications, created a blueprint for contemporary action in a community like Wicker Park (Lloyd, 2010). It is because Wicker Park's local creative aspirants confronted many challenges that were likely to be similar to those faced by their bohemian predecessors, and because even where those participants might have fiercely or implicitly resisted identifying with the term *bohemia*, their ideas about what constituted an appropriate artist's lifestyle remain profoundly influenced by its legacy.

Lloyd (2010) argued that if we insist on understanding the neighborhood's transition in the context of past practical activities and mythic bohemian imagery, the

noted link between artistic concentration and capitalist strategies would present itself as paradoxical. Becoming aware of themselves adopting and being adopted to the new capitalism of the area, bohemian artists' alternative was to cling to their ideology of living for art's sake and to persist in their illusions. As Lloyd discussed how virtually all participants of any given bohemia bemoaned the passing of better times, bohemia was always over because it has always already fallen short of its adherents' fantasies of social autonomy, as expressed in the vaunted ideology of *art pour l'art*. Bohemian culture is subject to external and internal pressures from its very beginning.

Sadly, as with Paris, although adherents evinced a strong streak of fidelity to the autonomy of the aesthetic, both in New York and Chicago they could not entirely escape the practical realities of the cities they inhabited. As Crane (1987) and Lloyd (2010) argued, the conflicts and contradictions of industrial capitalism marked the contours of bohemia and avant-garde cultures, and the critique of the cities was mixed with thrill at the liberation offered by urbanism as a way of life. Antagonism toward capitalism initiated each community's deviant cultures, but ironically, it is dialectic in the sense that although the new detoured culture originated in the bureaucratized capitalism, by genuinely threatening the economic order, it was the scaffold from the beginning and became an integral player in the next round of capitalist restructuring. It is in line with Adorno and Horkheimer's argument (2002) in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* that culture is a paradoxical community. In other words, culture had become just another Fordist commodity following the same principles of production: "The technology of the culture industry confines itself to standardization and mass production and sacrifices what once

distinguished the logic of the work from that of society" (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 95).

The dramatic shift created by the emergence of new social movements and identity politics signaled an ethos of creativity, of experimentation, and of spatial context-sensitive cultural movements that emphasize the subjective nature of territorial division. Borrowing the terms *modernity*, which has been characterized as a "mode of vital experience" that unfolded in the West over several hundred years and now encompasses the globe, and *bohemia*, which has been used since the 1830s to describe the activities of artists and lifestyle eccentrics as they cohere in and around distinct urban districts, the modernist avant-garde reflexively repudiates the notion of boundaries, rhetorically if not in actual practice (Lloyd, 2010). Additionally, people in any given district who evince the bohemian lifestyle are mostly minorities of a transient sort, with the local cast of characters being in constant flux. The chaotic interrelation in a specific time and spatial context makes the "state of mind" of each city, whether declining or rising, the persistent emergence of recognizable urban districts as privileged platforms for artistic experimentation and lifestyle eccentricity. It demonstrates that time and place do matter, despite the fact that the boundaries of bohemia might be spatially and conceptually porous. Cultural scholars move between several cultural events, often emphasizing local actors, which results in sweeping arguments about the nature of social change in society (Tepper, 2011). However, although several sociologists in the past theorized about the importance of site-specific contexts, such as organic solidarity (Durkheim, 1933), urbanism (Simmel, 1971), and associative relations (Weber, 1946), it remains ambiguous

how these broad-based struggles and changes get translated into local action—or why national movements take hold in some places during certain times but not others.

Since the postwar era, the contested repertoire of cultural fragmentation has cunningly subdivided arenas from academia and art to sexual mores and media coverage. Crane's sociological approach in laying out the connections between the different artistic styles and their institutional support system is provocative and decent. But certain factors require more explanation because knowledgeable readers will question Crane's characterization of the movements chosen to reflect different aspects of avant-garde art, as well as her interpretive summaries of their aesthetic concerns. Also, both Crane's and Lloyd's data do not sufficiently support their arguments that the artistic movements in each city changed and altered the possibilities for the success of more recent styles. Nevertheless, their works clearly show that tracing the changes and dynamics of the art scene is a great way to understand the comprehensive patterns of industrial, cultural, social, and political rising and falling of a society.

Since the beginning of human history, the symbols of power have played an important role in gaining humanity's loyalty with either propaganda or subversion in the form of sculpture, monuments, architecture, and religious and/or political paintings. Those visible symbols record victories in history, glorify a version of national history or events, or commemorate the deeds of great men and women. For example, the pilgrim monuments and other monuments commemorating Christopher Columbus's first landfall in the New World in 1492 and the first New England settlers are offensive to Native American society. From their perspective, the invaders harmed their people, destroyed their culture, and stole their land. Why were the monuments built, and why did some

people donate their money for those monuments? It is a method of justification and blame avoidance by brainwashing people through word of mouth and visual impact.

Due to the complexity of postmodernism, a new phase of revolutionary art movements that have connections to the community-oriented resistance and reproduction has emerged to encourage critical public dialogue by calling for political dimensions and more attention to popular culture as a terrain of contestation. For example, artist Andres Serrano created *Piss Christ*, which was considered profane by religious and political conservatives, but he shattered the nation's views on religion, politics, and art as a whole. In 1995, the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum (NASM) cancelled the exhibit *Crossroads: The End of World War II, the Atomic Bomb and the Cold War*, also called *Enola Gay*, marking the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II and featuring the refurbished Enola Gay B-29. This too was a result of fierce attacks by veterans groups and members of Congress. Simply put, stubborn moral crusaders want to control society so their status as authoritative entities can't be threatened. In this circumstance, controversial artists and progressive groups have voiced their rights and convictions against the moral entrepreneurs (Shim, 2015).

In Dewey's (2005) thought, *art* usually denotes the process of making something out of physical material that can be perceived by the senses. Within art a distinction is drawn between production and appreciation, and the chief honor usually goes to the former on the ground that it is "creative," whereas taste—aesthetic value—is relatively possessive and passive, dependent for its material upon the activities of the creative artist (Dewey, 2015, p. 357). But "receptivity is not passivity", according to Dewey (2005); "It, too, is a process consisting of a series of responsive acts that accumulate toward objective

fulfillment" (p. 54). "Aesthetic" simply refers to experience as appreciating, perceiving, and enjoying; it denotes the consumer's rather than the producer's standpoint, which simply means that it is on is the side of the consumer (Dewey, 2005). It is sometimes used to designate the entire field and sometimes just the perceptual side, yet production and consumption should not be seen as separate. We are given to supposing that the viewer merely takes in what is there in finished form, instead of realizing that this taking in involves activities comparable to those of the maker. Perception and enjoyment of art are often seen as having nothing in common with the creative act. The artist may have an idea that is brilliant and original, profound and moving, or trivial and banal long before actually making the work, or the idea may arise in the process of working, for all practical purposes indistinguishable from the thousands of other ideas produced by others equally untalented or uninterested in what they are doing (Becker, 2008). Every way of producing art works for some people and not for others. However, as seen in the case of Mapplethorpe, the act of appreciation has played an equally significant role in establishing the meaning of art in a community.

Because of the different aesthetic approaches to art, there must be a certain type of crisis. Crisis is not the stuff of daily life. It seems hardly unanswerable to what crisis is all about because of the many different kinds of unpleasant situations each individual can get into. Nevertheless, a crisis always involves a certain degree of pain because of the lack of understanding of the law of cause and effect in daily life. In the case of driving, it is something that the individual must "overcome," as if drivers need to "escape" the confines of congested traffic at any point. It is like when you see a monster feasting on people at the entrance of a tunnel and must pass through the tunnel. What would be your

strategy to pass through the tunnel? Interestingly, crisis creates conflict, and the decision associated with the conflict is frequently followed by another crisis. Although we are all free beings, either by law or by the socially constructed way of contextualizing democracy, we are at the same time debtors of the past who pay the price of the unrealized stupidity of the past. Cause, effect, and situations are varied and multicolored. Each case becomes a crisis with conflict when it involves pain. People make mistakes, feel pain, get help, learn, and teach, which is the never-ending cycle of societal development. Learning from this cycle can set us free or trap us. We all experience conflict and crisis in our lives, and we know that the experiences shake our expectations and show that our lives are not always well ordered. Conflict and crisis encompass complex phenomena of human interactions that must be examined and understood to identify the better strategies for resolution. Going back to Simmel's argument, because his interest was in the fundamental nature of cultural conflict as a particular form of social relation, he thought conflict of interest inherent in social relations should be examined in their own context, independent of the individuals and community involved in the specific conflict. While social facts are rooted in individuals' experiences and feelings, they cannot be understood at the level of individuals but rather through collective and social explanations, especially in examining how those beliefs and thoughts are constructed, especially from educational perspectives.

Public Pedagogy

Educational researchers have historically conducted the study of a subgenre of inquiry of within and beyond schooling in concerned with educational activity and learning in extra institutional spaces including museums, media, commercial spaces, and

the Internet, and discourses. It is commonly known as *public pedagogy* as a concept focusing on various sites of education and learning occurring beyond formal schooling. Although the term public pedagogy itself is given a variety of definitions and meanings by those who employ it, I examine informal terrains as pivotal sites of public pedagogy with an emphasis on popular culture and everyday life, as public pedagogy. As the dynamic of conflict and sociation are essential human relations, the relations have own pedagogical potentials. The idea of public pedagogy is often used to an analytical concept aimed at researching the educative 'force' of media, popular culture, and society more generally (Biesta, 2014). Henry Giroux describes his interest in public pedagogy, saying "the diverse ways in which culture functions as a contested sphere over the production, distribution and regulation of power and how and where it operates both symbolically and institutionally as an educational, political and economic force" (as cited in Biesta, 2014, p. 15). This statement reflects, in following Biesta's (2014) thought, one of the main areas identified by Sandlin, O'Malley, & Burdick (2011) in their historical analysis of pubic pedagogy scholarship, one being 'informal institutions and public spaces as sites of public pedagogy.' They insisted that throughout history of the North American discussion, there is prudent recognition of more activist and political strands of "education and learning beyond schooling" and in emerging work that explores "the performative and activist dimensions of public pedagogy as possibilities for advancing democratic projects" (Sandlin et al., 2011, p. 357). Biest (2014) emphasized the importance of study on public pedagogy beyond school context, stating, "What is less present in the discussion is the rich history of adult, community, and popular education and also the Continental tradition of what, with a rather limited translation of the German

word *Sozialpädagogik,* might referred to as 'social pedagogy'" (p.15). The social pedagogy operates outside the confines of educational institutions such as schools including universities and colleges but at the same time it conceives of itself as intentional educational 'work' (Biesta, 2014). Therefore, understanding the idea of public pedagogy as a specific 'form' of pedagogy and of doing educational works, in which pedagogy functions in a public way. Scholars who have devoted to public pedagogy study, such as William H. Schubert, tend toward locating outside curricula in relation to improving school curriculum (Sadlin et al., 2011). The scholars see inquiry in public educational research area as advancing a public curriculum in which participants become their own curriculum coordinators, and thus this is the moment to ask new questions about the possibility that comes to us in the moment of intellectual, emotional, and moral discomfort (Sandlin et al., 2011), and to investigate the processes of public pedagogy outside schooling, particularly in terms of the learner's perspective. In focusing on informal institutions and public spaces as sites of public pedagogy, it is critical to acknowledge that educational institutions are in particular quite often exploited as *proximate targets* for distant structural or political issues, such as free speech and civil liberties, war, and other more encompassing issues of social or economic justice (Walker, Martin, & McCarthy, 2006). Among various types of educational institutions my focus is primarily on museum context because of its symbolic role for public education and entertainment, which I will examine in detail in following section.

Museums as *Proxy Targets*

As part of lager educational entities, museums representing various cultural ideologies have become an important implication for public education with their

financial responsibility for their national and local affiliates, through which they gain broad supports with bureaucratic membership, maintaining the use the name of the national organization and their publicity in return for financial contributions and cooperation in joint campaigns (McCarthy, 2005). Due to their education, mission-driven and tax-exempt status, museums also have been proxy targets by various interest groups and communities, because struggles and battles over art and cultural representation are inevitable due to Americans' national identity and moral authority with patriotic meanings. During the 20th century and the early years of the 21st, most aspects of museum administration and operation were reexamined for the clarity of a specific focus and function pertaining to the advanced role of museum as a public educational institution. Unlike in the past when museums had been criticized in the press for improper associations with moneyed interests, contemporary museums have been reinvented from cloistered venues deemed as churches or temples into central players in their communities, from voices of authority to forums for multiple viewpoints, and from information providers to facilitators of new knowledge and creative dialogues (Shim, 2015). Museum consultant Gail Anderson (2012) insisted that survival for museums today requires understanding the external forces that impact them coupled with institutional reflection to define a museum's strategic direction. It has been a challenge for museums to offer that which would be both pedagogic and meaningful for the public in a complex, ever-changing world. The interplay of complex issues creates a distinct reality for each museum, but the path that is ultimately chosen rests with the leadership of the governing board and staff who must balance the choices carefully (Anderson, 2012, p. 1). Although the authoritative position that museums once held seemed robust when they

were first founded, when the first museums were established in the United States, the relationship between art and moral uplift began to disentangle almost simultaneously. Entering the new phase of the museum world along with the new level of social intention to controversial issues, because of historically deep-rooted power of the white privileged, some museums remain visual instruments that have the power of propaganda whereas other museums are trying to break out controversy within the war of ideologies, especially in the context of the United States. In looking at the promising future, the latter museums' focus has been on the idea that revolutionary and contentious art simultaneously raises new opportunities for transformative and creative dialogue. In this respect, controversial exhibitions have been great sources to gain public attention because people are craving novelty and sometimes they are weary of more traditional styles of museum exhibitions, which show artists' works and their lives in a very conservative manner. Whereas museums had been perceived as public-oriented, scandal-free venues in the past, they are today faced with losing public trust due to taking money from, and generally being heavily influenced by, people and companies whose desires run contrary to art for art's sake, and who do not care about educating the public but merely desire to promote their own vested interests through museum exhibits. Hence, museum exhibits have become the mouth-pieces of investors rather than art as education for the public good, and the public is becoming increasingly aware of this phenomenon, which leads them to turn away. This is the dilemma faced by museums today. For example, the National Air and Space Museum (NASM), Smithsonian Institution's planned exhibit, *The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and The End of World War II,* commonly called *Enola Gay*, resulted in fierce controversy centering on how the exhibition was representing the

history of the U.S. dropping two atomic bombs on Japan. This exhibition was planned to mark the fifth anniversary of the end of World War II in 1945 and to feature the refurbished B-29 Enola Gay. Before and after the announcement by the NASM about its plans to exhibit the *Enola Gay*, vicious protests erupted by opponents, including veterans and military historians, causing Martin Harwit, director of the NASM, to appoint a team to consider the criticism leveled by the Air Force Association (AFA) of the first draft of the exhibit. The struggle climaxed with the production of the fifth and last draft, under a new title, half a year later: *Crossroads* became *The Last Act*. Conflicts centered on the issue of museums as celebratory venues for victories in war as opposed to being venues for the generation of more complex views of American history. The discussion of postmodernism, revisionism, racism, and political and economic policies related to the exhibition skyrocketed:

> The amount of commentary generated by this exhibition is unprecedented.
> The *Journal of American History* devoted approximately three-quarters of
> its space in one issue to this matter, reflecting the concerns of professional
> historians over exhibitions, history's many interpretations, and the
> increasingly public dialogue over how historians do their work. (Dubin,
> 2000, p. 191)

Martin Harwit and his staff had revised several drafts to mollify critics, and the executive committee of the Organization of American Historians (OAH) wrote the Smithsonian Board of Regents urging them to support the NASM staff: according to the OAH, resisting political pressure and censorship efforts were at issue. Some historians fiercely defended the museum, but the Smithsonian's new chairman, Michael Heyman,

announced the resignation of Harwit and the cancellation of the exhibition in 1995. At that time, Harwit was criticized for unbalanced organization of the exhibition and problems with staff management. Although Heyman remounted the exhibition later, it was a much simpler version and his decision was viewed by other museum professionals and those who stood for the First Amendment as a surrender of the museum to outside pressure. With this scenario, we risk obstructing museums' development and depriving the public of invaluable opportunities to learn and experience through exposure to a wide variety of art and subject matter.

The recent shift in museums making efforts to host more controversial art shows is partly due to increasing popularity in the notion that the public should be aware of varied views of history and should understand the past as well as present in relation to a variety of culture, political and social perspectives. Largely due to the information sharing provided by recent technologies, the degree to which vested interests can exert control over what people know as the truth has greatly diminished, thereby supplementing what museums might present. In this climate of postmodern era, what museums must focus on is multi-directional education works while securing funding with public support, quenching the thirst of the public for novelty, and entertainment by hosting meaningful but perhaps controversial exhibitions and programs and preparing for pressure from the outside. As Dubin (2000) stated, "If museums stray from 'making nice,' they risk a confrontation with those who have a certain image to shield or an alternative image they would prefer to project" (p. 3). However, as I have discussed earlier, the kind of confrontation always happens and following conflict or controversy has a potential to be beneficial and pedagogical for the community in a public way. Some
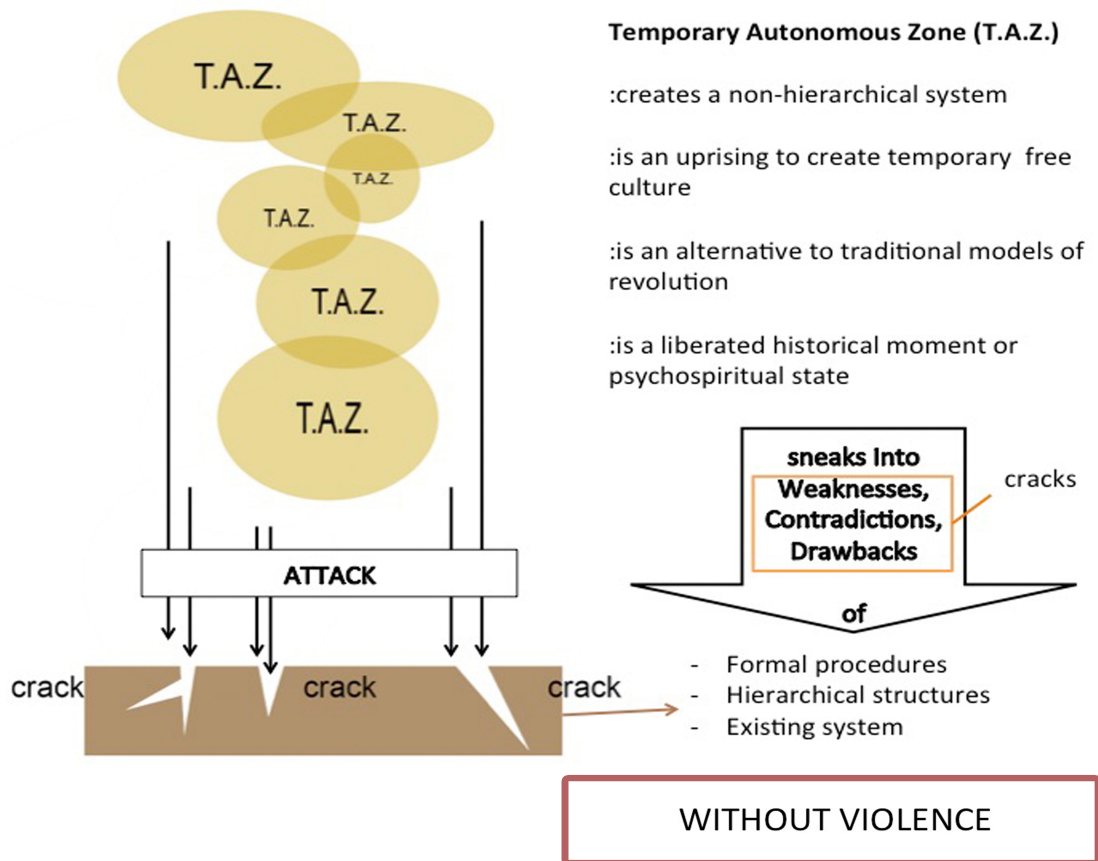
might think the 'white' and intimidating museums would only have one directional way of educating those who 'go' museums. But, why those exhibitions should be 'controversial' is explained in the trait of public pedagogy in museum context where viewers become their own creative educators and learners trying to figure out new ways of doing educational works in a public and, importantly, multi-directional way by creating visitor-centered and learner-centered spaces. What would be the spaces and how would an exhibition create those spatiotemporal spaces that have potentials of public pedagogy? To form a pedagogical space for the public there must be an alternative public space. The individuals who are unsatisfied with existing system or structure should make a different and creative a zone that transcends time and space of that structure. In following sections, I examine what the zones would be and how to create those types of zones.

Temporary Autonomous Zone (T.A.Z) and Art

In the book *T.A.Z.: The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism*, American anarchist writer Peter Lamborn Wilson, also known as Hakim Bey (2003), argued that the Temporary Autonomous Zone (T.A.Z.) is the alternative to create a non-hierarchical system of imposed social relations. As seen in Figure 1, it is an uprising that creates free and ephemeral enclaves of autonomy in the here-and-now as an alternative to traditional models of revolution. While leading counter culture movements, Bey established the concept. Although at first glance the concept might look fictional such as 'Pirate Utopia' which is a secret island where pirates operated beyond the reach of governments and embraced unrestricted freedom, when carefully looking at it, it is a liberated area of land, time or imagination without erupting

inevitable violence that has been the reaction to most revolutions throughout history. It is where new ways of being human together can be explored.

Figure 1) Temporary Autonomous Zone

Temporary Autonomous Zone (T.A.Z.)

: creates a non-hierarchical system

: is an uprising to create temporary free culture

: is an alternative to traditional models of revolution

: is a liberated historical moment or psychospiritual state

sneaks Into Weaknesses, Contradictions, Drawbacks ← cracks

of
- Formal procedures
- Hierarchical structures
- Existing system

WITHOUT VIOLENCE

The basic notion of the T.A.Z. was meant as a contribution to a desired third way, a kind of evasion of the dialectic, and an alternative to both capitalism and ideology (Bey, 2003). We live in democracy but what is the real freedom? Have we experienced it even once? Bey (2003) thought that an eruption of free culture is where life is experienced with intensity and T.A.Z. is an exceptional party where our desires are made manifest even for a brief moment. In the zone we all become the creators of the art of everyday life. Bey (2003) gives an example of T.A.Z. as following:

With the collapse of the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) in 1989, the old historical dialectic also imploded, although no one really seemed to notice till about 1991 and the first Gulf War. In 1994 the Zapatistas of Chiapas offered the world a new politics of resistance to Globalism, but the rebellion has so far failed to spread: no "urban Zapatismo" has appeared. Instead we now have a new phase of neo-liberalism: hegemonic globalism or "Imperium." This signals the apparent failure of all third ways such as Third World neutralist socialism and non-aligned leftism, including even the hippy/punk anarchism that informs T.A.Z. In fact, even the "Third World" has disappeared. How can there exist a Third World without a Second World? What we've got is one world—a dismal parody of the old liberal and internationalist dream; one world, but with some excluded zones, and a single superpower that doesn't have to obey the rules. (p. x)

Then, how to create T.A.Z.? As mentioned before, T.A.Z. always exists. Some turn into permanent or others disappear. Bey (2003) later emphasized that not all existing autonomous zones are temporary, but become more or less permanent, which are Permanent Autonomous Zone (P.A.Z.). For a simple example, early Impressionists such as Eugène Delacroix and J. M. W. Turner violated the formal 'rules' of academic painting, using freely brushed colors that took precedence over lines. The world of academic painting valued historical subjects, portraits of nobles, and religious themes, and portraits. It also preferred carefully finished realistic images made up of precise brush strokes and restrained color. In the 1860s, young artists such as Claude Monet, Pierre Auguste Renoir thought that the academic art style would not be of what art meant to be, and thus discovered the interest in still life, landscape and contemporary life. Their

attempt to recreate the sensation in the eye that views the subject was harshly criticized by art critics and art communities. However, the impressionists kept going on with what they believed and the public gradually came to believe their fresh and visionary way of representing world to communicate through art. Despite the criticism toward Impressionist art, in 1890s Impressionist painting had become commonplace in art world, and the community of Impressionist artists developed big and solid. They first tried to sneak into the weakness of the formal procedures of 'what art must be' and created their own creative area. The attempt to free from what taken for granted in art world eventually became another genre and community of 'high' art, which turned into permanent. The community became autonomous from the generally recognized authority structure in which it was embedded, which is a type of P.A.Z. How to create or form the T.A.Z.? Figure 2 explains it as following:

Figure 2) Formation of Temporary Autonomous Zone
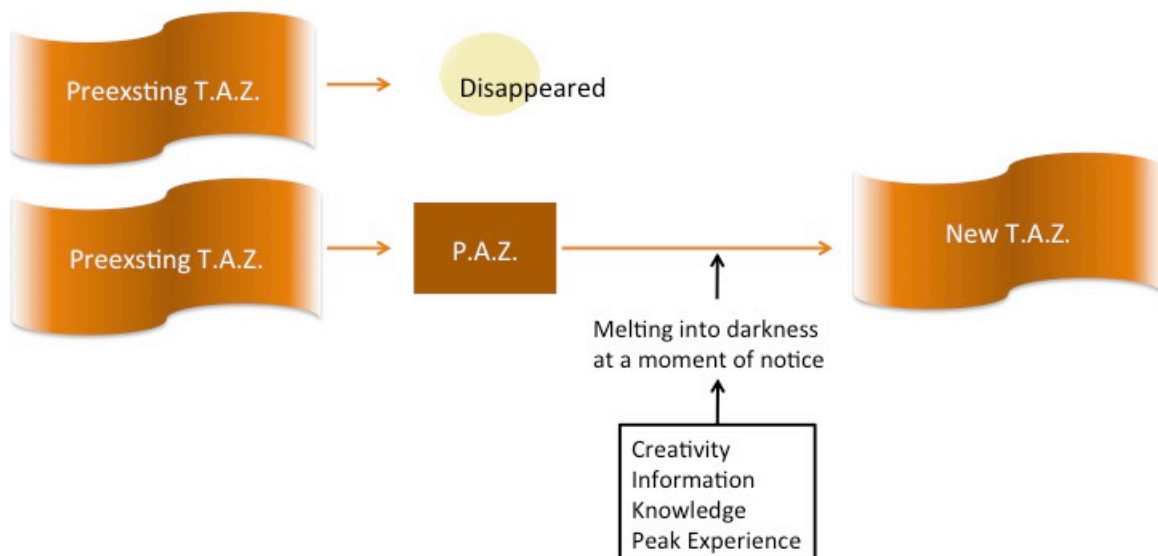
The key in the formation of T.A.Z., is to remain mobile, relying on stealth and the ability to melt into the darkness at a moment's notice, which might last hours, days, or

years, depending on how quickly it is noticed by authorities, according to Bey (2003). T.A.Z. demands "peak experience" of autonomy shared by cohesive groups—"free freedom" not only in imagination, but in real space and time to give value and meaning to society (Bey, 2003). In the formation of the new territory of the moment, which is T.A.Z., individual creativity works as real empowerment because every attempt at permanence goes beyond that moment, and thus it shatters a structured social system that blocks individual creativity. In the case of Impressionist art, the artists captured the momentary and transient effects of sunlight by painting in fully open air by portraying overall visual effects with short rush strokes of mixed and unmixed color to express intense color vibration, instead of details.

In this context various art movements based on individual creativity are dedicated to creating art events in T.A.Z. The nature of art has the powerful potential to give 'that' experience without malice. Philosopher John Dewey (2005) believed that *art* is the most effective mode of communicative discourse that exists in human society. "Art is a mode of prediction not found in charts and statistics, and it insinuates possibilities of human relations not to be found in rule and precept, admonition and administration," (Dewey, 2005, p. 363). Art is shaped by social discourse as part of the social system, but at the same time, art goes against the pervasive social discourse through breaking what is taken for granted and creating new types of cultural perspectives. In this respect, analyzing the dynamics of art controversies would be a practical implication to trace the rise and fall of cultural conflict associated with social inequality and to suggest a pedagogical alternative to mitigate the harmful cost of conflict. It is based on the belief that art is one of the best tools of communication. Dewey (2015) argued that communication is wonderful for

passing from the plane of external pushing and pulling to that of revealing ourselves to others. And there by to ourselves. For him, art is also the most effective communicative tool for democracy. Dewey (2015) insisted, "The fruit of communication should be participation, sharing, is a wonder by the side of which transubstantiation pales," "When communication occurs, all natural events are subject to 're'consideration and 're'vision; they are 're'adapted to meet the requirements of conversation, whether it be public discourse or that preliminary discourse termed thinking" (p.166). Communication is uniquely instrumental, as its congenial objects are worthy as means because they make life rich and varied in meaning and uniquely final, as the congenial objects are worthy as ends. Dewey (2015) said:

> In such ends we are lifted from our immediate isolation and share in a communion of meanings. It liberates us from the otherwise overwhelming pressure of events and enables us to live in a world of things that have meaning. It is final because it is sharing in the objects and art precious to a community, and through sharing, meanings are enhanced, deepened, and solidified in the sense of communion. (pp. 204–205)

One of Dewey's most significant contributions to the theory of aesthetics in this context is his concept of "*an* experience" (Dewey, 2005). "*An* experience" is marked off from other experiences that are non-aesthetic and are thus just a function of loose succession or mechanical connection of parts. For him, works of arts are important examples that illustrate "an experience," because separate visual and abstract elements are fused into a unity without disappearing, while each identity is enhanced, unlike ordinary language. Dewey (2005) added that art potentially contributes to the

development of community by creating and reinforcing commonalities through shared experience. Materials from memory and experience enter into art, and art makes these materials common; thus, a work of art expresses to people their common experiences and shared histories (Mattern, 1999).

> Artistic expression strikes below the barriers that separate human beings from one another. Since art is the most universal form of language, since it is constituted, even apart from literature, by common qualities of the public world, it is the most universal and freest form of communication. (Dewey, 2015, p. 282)

If we do not have any common sense, we cannot even start to communicate. As long as we can see and perceive something visible, we have that something in common in front of us to generate a creative dialogue. Therefore, the 'an experience' is the beginning of 'peak experience.' As the most universal and free form of communication, art integrates and reinforces a community's identity by clarifying the meaning of community life. We have seen that conflict is the inevitable means and ends of democracy if we pursue diversity. In this respect, it is important to note that shared experience is the greatest of human goods, and in communication, such conjunction is capable of infinite idealization; the shared experiences and communication become symbols of the very culmination of nature. Humans are a species of sign, and thus moral situations entailed in an art event are always at the center of culture wars because of the essential method of living life—through experience. For artists and viewers, no matter whether the mood is such that they are paying no attention to the world or challenging the world, they are always a being in the history of the world and a being situated within a specific context of history. Communication is a means of establishing cooperation, domination, and order and art,

especially controversial art, initiates multidimensional dialogues because of its instrumentality—agency. Dewey (2015) argued that

> because of its characteristic agency and finality, communication and its congenial objects are objects ultimately worthy of awe, admiration, and loyal appreciation. They are worthy as means, because they are the only means that make life rich and varied in meanings. They are worthy as ends, because in such ends man is lifted from his immediate isolation and shares in a communion of meanings. (p. 205)

Language involves the interaction of a speaker and a listener, and it presupposes an organized group to which these creatures belong and from whom they have acquired their habits of speech, but a work of art depends for its effectiveness on visibility and so has multiple directions of communication. Following Dewey's thought, art is a form of direct experience in that art expresses meanings that are not accessible through words, and it does this through creating a new experience without forcing a certain direction. Then, how does the experience through art relate to T.A.Z.? As mentioned earlier, according to Bey (2013), to form a T.A.Z., getting information becomes a key tool that sneaks into the cracks of formal procedures, because a possible new territory of the moment is established on the boundary line between established regions. It always resides in the space between knowledge and ignorance relating to gaining information. Some might think ignorance is contrary to knowing. However, "a" specific knowing is the very culprit of ignorance because knowing is a step of 'learned' to acquire given knowledge that was socially constructed by previous and existing generations. Hence, it is facilitated depending on the access to knowledge by enhancing social networks, which means that a

shift from "know how" or "know what" to "know whom"(Gilpin & Murphy, 2008). In

the book *Crisis Management in a Complex World*, cultural critics Dawn Gilpin and

Pricilla Murphy (2008) argued that "knowing" is inextricably linked to a given place and

time and to the people who take part in it, whereas knowledge is an object that can be

possessed by individuals or a group; application of knowledge is dynamic, concrete, and

relational.

> "Knowledge" involves possession, whereas "knowing" involves interaction
>
> between one or more knowers and the world; its significance is found in
>
> relationships. Conceptualized in this way, knowledge becomes a tool for
>
> knowing. In turn, the practice of knowing is disciplined by constraints of
>
> knowledge, as well as the physical and social environment. (Gilpin & Murphy,
>
> 2008, p. 64)

Knowing and knowledge influence each another through a series of generative

micro interactions where the interaction between knower and domain allows both the

acquisition of knowledge and its use, so it has potential to create new knowledge.

However, according to Gilpin and Murphy (2008), lack of knowledge is at least as

important in the crisis context. One salient characteristic of crises is their high level of

uncertainty or 'lack of information.' Understanding not only knowledge but its absence—

ignorance, is a critical process to create new knowledge, and the recognition of ignorance

is the very vital component or way of combining knowledge. The question then is: how

do we recognize our own ignorance? According to Gilpin and Murphy (2008), the

concept of *learned ignorance* describes the recognition of ignorance as a pivotal

component of wisdom, a reasonable way of combining knowledge and ignorance through

awareness of limitations of knowledge. In addition, reasoning from a position of ignorance, or understanding both what is not known and what is necessary in order to fill the gap, is vital to rapidly reframe volatile contexts for decision-making and mind control.

Poetic Terrorism

I emphasized that to form Temporary Autonomous Zone (T.A.Z.) first individuals need to 'notice' the darkness or cracks of structures even for a moment. How do an individual realize the cracks and weaknesses of formal system? How could a individual have the moment of 'notice'? How would people to get the information to create T.A.Z.? To free the trapped public opinion to gain a broader perspective, something unknown or ignored must be "outed." There must be a shocking event to catch people's eyes. For example, the term Ground Zero was first used to designate the site at the Japanese city of Hiroshima where an American B-29 bomber dropped an atomic bomb on August 6, 1945, and at Nagasaki, where a second B-29 dropped an A-bomb. The atomic bombing annihilated almost all traces of life, killing more than 120,000 people and wiping out approximately 90% of each city. The aftereffects of the explosions caused tens of thousands of people to later die of radiation exposure, and their descendants still suffer from its effects. However, the United States continues to censor all photographic and visual evidences of the atrocities in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, thereby reducing the most formidable demonstration of "terror bombing" on civilians to a dark secret, internalized yet unacknowledged in the public domain (Ray, 2015). However, with September 11, this secret—but in a different context—has been finally "outed" by the strange appropriation of Americans claiming their "victimhood" through an implicit, yet unacknowledged,

comparison to the Japanese people on whom their own government dropped the world's first nuclear bomb had been dropped. The term "September 11" itself symbolizes the construction of an event that has always been cited and affirmed in a hegemonic way as a "major event" (Derrida, 2003, p. 87) in the global public sphere. However, this way of making something really matter frequently involves a violent tragedy on the scale of September 11. Then, what would be the best aesthetic shock to increase awareness without such tragedies? First, the spatiotemporal context should be considered to be 'shocked,' because something one culture considers ordinary can be turned into something valuable, rare, unpredictable, and precious when placed in a different culture.

To have a critical eye about how ideology distorts communication and undercuts the validity of knowledge, the first step must be the awareness of what is unknown and worth knowing. In this respect, it is important to note that crisis always involves a certain degree of pain due to a lack of understanding of the law of cause and effect. An individual's feeling of offense and pain is clearly personal and idiosyncratic, but that feeling is also be the shared property of a community (Tepper, 2011). Controversy starts when some groups or individuals do not agree with the interpretation and approach of others or when some perceive certain art works as offensive and are willing to take action against them. Controversy erupts when visual elements threaten the dominant values or beliefs in a certain context, and when a mechanism of power is roused as a direct reaction to the threatened values (Dubin, 2000). The value of controversy is not just the outcome of cultural conflict but a matter of aesthetic value that contains educational perspectives.

Among Bey's illustrations of T.A.Z., art controversy is one of the best initiatives of Poetic Terrorism, which is a subcategory of T.A.Z. Bey (2003) described Poetic

Terrorism as shocking, provocative, subversive, dark, and funky. "Agents of chaos cast burning glances at anything or anyone capable of bearing witness to their condition, their fever of *lux et voluptas*," said Bey (2003, p. 4). People are awake through light and pleasure although it would be painful unless it is useless. In other words, people are awake when they are experiencing what they desire, love, and are interested in "to the point of terror—everything else is just shrouded furniture, quotidian anesthesia, shit-for-brains, sub-reptilian ennui of totalitarian regimes, banal censorship and useless pain" (p. 4). In this respect, controversial art works become a type of Poetic Terrorism serving to this society as a thought-provoking social agent. Thought-provoking art movements throughout history have been dedicated to spreading aesthetically shocking acts. Bey (2003) said:

> The audience reaction or aesthetic shock produced by Poetic Terrorism ought to be at least as strong as the emotion of terror-powerful disgust, sexual arousal, superstitious awe, sudden intuitive breakthrough, dadaesque angst—no matter whether the Poetic Terrorism is aimed one person or many, no matter whether it is "signed" or anonymous, if it does not change someone's life it fails." (p. 5)

According to Bey, although Poetic Terrorism arts are sometimes kind, but those differ from the concept of "random acts of kindness" in that its acts are not always kind, but its ultimate goal is not malice but the broadening of minds. Poetic Terrorism acts may, of course, be kind—they may also be weird, funky, shocking, provocative, countercultural, anachronistic, subtle, subversive, mischievous, dark, creative, and fey (Bey, 2003). Controversial art has the potential to play a significant role for aesthetic shock as an appallingly direct yet subtle action-as-metaphor. Artists who are poetic terrorists do their

works for change and for people even though they would not realize that what they are seeing is art—at least for a few moments. Bey (2003) said, "Avoid recognizable art categories, avoid politics, don't stick around to argue, don't be sentimental; be ruthless, take risks, vandalize only what must be defaced, do something children will remember all their lives—but don't be spontaneous unless the Poetic Terrorism Muse has possessed you" (Bey, 2003, p. 6). As an example of Poetic Terrorism art, Bey (2003) cited graffiti art that lends grace to ugly subways and rigid public monuments no matter it is considered crime or not. Poetic Terrorism art can also be created for public places, such as poems scrawled in courthouse lavatories, small fetishes abandoned in parks and restaurants. Poetic Terrorism art is categorically divorced from all conventional venues for art consumption, including museums and art galleries. In Bey's thought (2003), art sabotage is the dark side of Poetic Terrorism —it is creation through a form of destruction. Just as the banishment of illusion enhances awareness, so the demolition of aesthetic blight sweetens the air of the world of discourse, of the "other," so that the controversial art serves consciousness, attentiveness, and awakeness for creation through destruction. It is the time of the pedagogical recognition of ignorance and time of creation of another pattern or form of sociation through human interaction is created. Figure 3 briefly shows how T.A.Z., Poetic Terrorism and Poetic Terrorism art are interrelated and the important concepts in the formation of T.A.Z. Lots of T.A.Z.s already exist in different ways and forms, and some would later disappear or turn into permanent forms. In a T.A.Z. or a Permanent Autonomous Zone (P.A.Z.), a type of Poetic Terrorism works as an initiative to create another type of T.A.Z. Due to Poetic Terrorism activity followed by aesthetic shock, individuals acquire information and realize unknown or neglected

side—cracks or faults—of existing structure and system of society. As I examined in Temporary Autonomous Zone section, here individuals' creativity plays a significant role in formation of T.A.Z. It is noticeable that Poetic Terrorism art is the initiative of T.A.Z. but it is also generated within a preexisting T.A.Z. Hence, the trajectory of T.A.Z. is circulating. Important, the new type of T.A.Z. develops into an alternative public space, which I will examine later in case studies.

Figure 3) Dynamic of Temporary Autonomous Zone & Poetic Terrorism
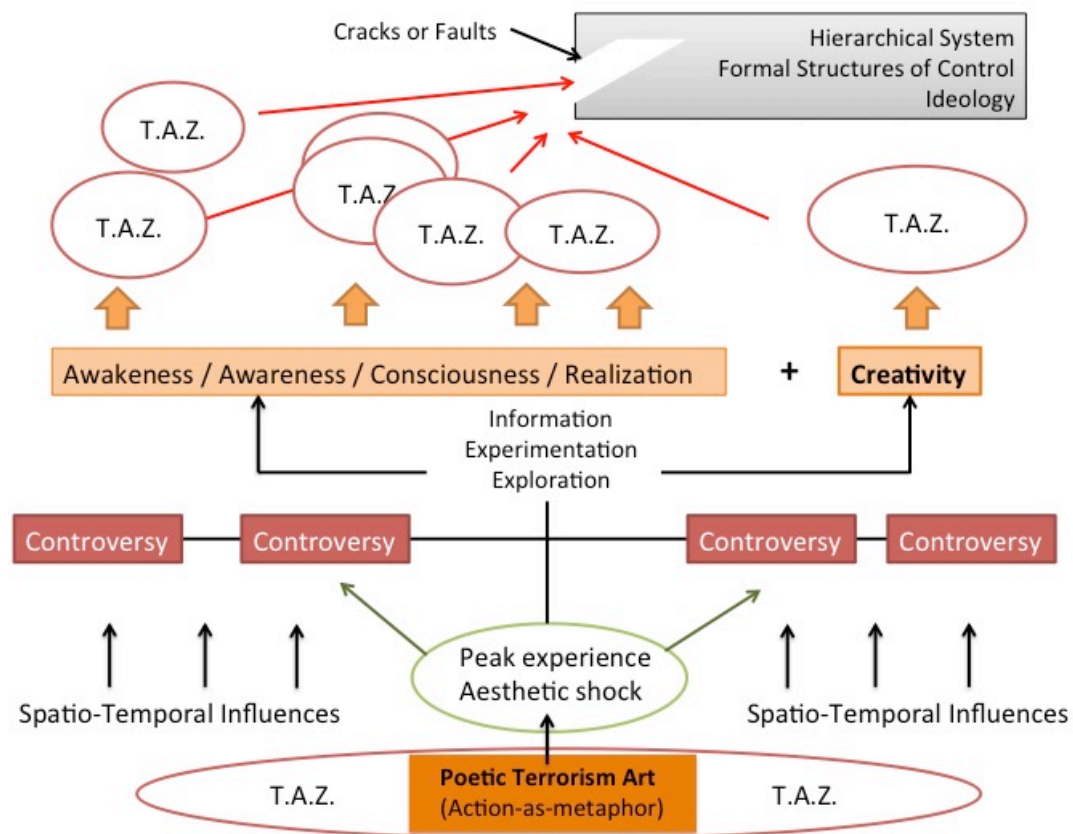
The destruction also means *re-construction* through challenging the already established social system and norm. In 1987, Native American performance artist James Luna performed *Artifact Piece* at the San Diego Museum of Man in the section about the Kumeyaay Indians, the first inhabitants of San Diego County. For the piece, Luna

installed himself in an exhibition case. He challenged the way contemporary American

culture and museums have presented Native American (his race, despite the fact that race

itself is a socially constructed idea) as essentially extinct (Shim, 2015). Luna, dressed

only in a leather cloth, was a living and breathing object. Labels informed viewers about

his scars—wounds suffered when drunk and fighting. There was a commentary

attributing the scars, the literal "inscriptions" on his body, to the circumstances of his

excessive drinking (Garoian, 2002, p. 166). This performance at the history museum was

a strong criticism of racialized stereotypes of Native Americans throughout the history of

the United States and its influence on history museums in the nation. Viewers expecting a

museum exhibition of Native American cultures as "dead" were "shocked" by the living,

breathing, "undead" presence of the Native American artist on display (Shim, 2015). The

artist's decision to exhibit the piece was a bitter satire not only Native American

stereotypes but more broadly the museums' representation of non-White representations

of society. To critique historicism by exposing its cultural inscription, Luna used not only

his body but also the museum itself to broaden the subject matter of real-time activity.

In theorizing the significance of a personal memory and history work, art educator

Charles Garoian (2002) explained that the exhibit of Luna's scars, the consequences of

his drinking, doubly expose and enable the reexamination and parody of stereotypical

representations such as "drunken Indian," and the impact of such oppressive metaphors

on the rampant alcoholism of Native Americans. Luna, in *Artifact Piece*, performs his

body as an object of display to disrupt the modes of representation in museum exhibitions

of native others and to (re)claim subjectivity for the silenced voices eclipsed in these

displays (Garoian, 2002, p. 167). Museum visitors would not expect the living human

being in the glass case of the museum and the artist developed this aspect of happenings with an emphasis on an aesthetic shocking in the context of place—the museum in particular. Although it was not an extreme case of Poetic Terrorism art, Luna's performance does nevertheless critique the institutionalization of the body and its identity by museums.

As seen in Luna's example of Poetic Terrorism, the controversial approach to cultural history can be a powerful resource from which to create pedagogical metaphor that critically responds to oppressive representations in society. Furthermore, it indicates that time and space are crucial factors to efficiently form a T.A.Z.. An art event that causes uproar in one community is often met with indifference or rousing acceptance in another. This means that Poetic Terrorism art is not always predictable but depends on the socially and culturally constructed. Individuals' perceptions toward the present are continually influenced by their lived experiences and memory of the past. Every moment of time is in reality more than a point-like event because it is always experienced by several generations at various stages of development. Although our everyday experiences form an important location where our attitudes, common sense, knowledge, and beliefs are shaped without our conscious awareness, these experiences are implicitly rooted in a democratic ethos that focuses on lived experience with the intention to disrupt, resist, subvert, contest, and transform systems of oppression to varying degrees (Darts, 2004). Considering the specific time frame, a further idea is that each generation builds an entelechy of its own. A multitude of autonomous zones could be linked by dispersed networks of generational communication freed from political control. The multidirectional or dimensional web would not be an end in itself but a weapon without

which autonomous zones would perish. It indicates that if we figure out the different factors of each event between time and space, there is a possibility to find a pattern of cultural conflict and a way transform a controversy into public pedagogy.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In the previous chapters, I provided theoretical backgrounds of this study from the 20th century's theories, because the intellectual flow of the 20th century included the establishment of today's sociology and social science. There is so much potential to create ideas and increase knowledge through crises when so many vestiges of unreality burden our habitual modes of judgment and taking action. Again, the importance of this research is to systematically examine the neglected factors of art controversies that have had tremendous consequences for the art scene from educational and administrative perspectives.

Case Study

The aim of Poetic Terrorism artists is not money but *change*. As discussed earlier, Temporary Autonomous Zone (T.A.Z.) locates itself in the cracks and faults lines in formal structure such as the grid of control, dominance, and alienation. Therefore, it is creative eruption of free culture to sneak into the cracks of a structured social system to change. It is an emancipated space where people who dream a new world gather and experience beyond the existing system. When the T.A.Z. continues in real spaces, it evolves from a momentary happening to an alternative public space. I apply this concept to the cases that artists and communities voluntarily and extemporaneously gather and make an attempt to create diverse cultures. In doing so, I demonstrate how a Poetic Terrorism art initiates the movement of creating a new T.A.Z. and, by extension, an alternative public space where public pedagogy occurs.

A same art event can receive different reactions from the public depending on where it is held, and different exhibitions on controversial themes have been cancelled or held successfully depending on the community in which it is held. For example, in the case of *The Perfect Moment*, the traveling exhibition found no controversy in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Hartford, but a storm of outrage descended on the Cincinnati Contemporary Arts Center, leading to the indictment of the center's director on charges of obscenity, and the gallery director was forced to resign at Washington's Corcoran Gallery of Art. Why do specific controversies erupt in some places and at some times but not in others? In an attempt to answer the question along with other questions brought up in Chapter 1, the empirical focus of this research is a set of three high-profile traveling art exhibitions that occurred from 1988 to 2012, held at 12 different museums in 10 cities (see Table 1).

Table 1) Cases

Year	Case	Type	Location
1988–1990	*The Perfect Moment*	Traveling Exhibition	The Institute of Contemporary Art, Philadelphia*** Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago*** Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.* Washington Projects for the Arts, Washington, D.C.*** University of California, Berkeley, CA*** The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, CT*** The Institute of Contempoary Art, Boston*** Contemporary Arts Center, Cincinnati**
1997–1999	*Sensation*	Traveling Exhibition	The Royal Academy of Art, London** The Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York** The Hamburger Bahnhof Museum, Berlin***
2010–2012	*Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*	Traveling Exhibition	The Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.* The Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York***

*Failure/prosecution/ officer resignation. ** Huge controversy, but success. *** No controversy and success.

It is important to reexamine the traveling exhibitions to answer the research questions, because while the T.A.Z. must exist in a geographical (odorous, tactile, tasty) physical space, the T.A.Z. exists in a more fluid relation to time than to space (Bey, 2003). It is truly temporary but also periodic, like the recurring autonomy of the vacation. Moreover, the relationship between the form of outrage and conflict over artistic and revolutionary movements and community structure has been underanalyzed and remains unclear. For further research into cultural conflict in the art world, it is necessary to examine the influence of the relationship between public outrage and changes of community structure and the link between different museum outcomes and organizational systems. These cases gained prominence in the national and local press, drawing concern among scholars about the exhibitions themselves, the increasingly public dialogue over religious and political structures, and what people would consider typical art controversies.

Most of the literature about high-profile museum controversies has focused on the most visible and aggressive battles at the national and macro levels; because the media have focused disproportionately on high drama spectacles, scholarly writings also are likely to examine these well-publicized cases (Tepper, 2011). However, it remains unclear whether the well-known battles are related to specific local controls and organizations as well as each museum's specific contexts such as the location and interplay with politics or governing entities. Therefore, by opening with a brief overview of national-level characteristics of art controversies in museums, I will bring a much-needed local emphasis and analysis of the external and internal characteristics of each

museum's structure. Through the use of these cases, I will develop theories and generate hypotheses rather than test refined theories based on the context of culture wars.

Data Collection and Analysis

The first thrust will focus on community-level analysis of the preexisting conditions of cities that are more or less susceptible to public outcry or are more or less tolerant of controversial exhibits. To demonstrate that heterogeneous values within each community's context create conditions for outrage, I will employ a diverse set of sources to gather information, including newspapers, magazines, social media services, the Exhibiting Public Value Survey conducted by the Institute of Museum and Library Services, the Museum Audience Insight Survey, and previous scholarly writings about the cases. Using these sources, I will examine each community's political and educational factors that may have influenced the formation of public opinion.

My additional focus is on the internal structure of each museum with an emphasis on the governing leadership and financing sources for each museum's public programs, because museum outcomes are influenced by each museum's leadership, director, and board of trustees. In addition to it, I examine the comprehensive structure of museum operation and management in association with local control and community standards; its website; press releases from its archives; annual reports of each museum; financial statements; and a directory of directors, the board of trustees, and the board election process. These listings will also provide detailed information about each museum's reaction to public outrage and the final decision-making process.

Internal and external dynamics of art controversy reflect established public orders and the social ethics of the community's leaders; these disputes can demonstrate the

goodness of a state or showcase private donors and corporate sponsors. Based on the systematic analysis of community and national levels with a primary focus on political and community control and standards, my research provides a roadmap for the broader art world to understand both the internal and external context-sensitive trajectories of revolutionary art movement influences that change and shape art and social discourses through practical implications.

CHAPTER 4

CASES

Case I. *The Perfect Moment*

In 1989, Christina Orr-Cahall, the director of Washington's Corcoran Gallery of Art, cancelled artist Robert Mapplethorpe's retrospective *The Perfect Moment,* a traveling solo exhibit of the artist's works, because of a huge attack of conservative politicians including then-Senator Jesse Helms. As a result, the gallery director at the gallery was forced to resign. Helms was attempting to limit taxpayer support for what he termed "indecent" and "obscene" imagery by introducing a constitutional amendment to disallow the use of tax dollars for the "offensive" project. *The Perfect Moment* was also actually exhibited in Philadelphia, Chicago, Hartford, Berkeley, and Boston without controversy while a storm of outrage descended on Washington's Corcoran Gallery and the Cincinnati's Contemporary Arts Center.

The artist of *The Perfect Moment*, Robert Mapplethorpe, was an openly gay individual. He was born in 1946 in Floral Park, Queens and left his Catholic home in Queens in his mid-teens. It was mostly because conflict between he and his father. Mapplethorpe's father was a retired electrical engineer and lived in a vastly different world from the one his son belonged to. The father and son were immensely different people, from matters of decorative taste to social beliefs and sexual practices (Dubin, 1992). According to sociologist Steven C. Dubin, the elder Mapplethorpe had very little interest in his son's works with even less tolerance of the homosexuality that was such an important theme of his son's photographs. Dubin (1992) characterized the difference between these two men of different generations and from the same family in ways that

suggest different species. "Robert Mapplethorpe, like most openly gay individuals, was forced to refashion a radically new identity for himself. This process requires casting off many elements from the past and embracing new beliefs, values, and modes of behavior," said Dubin (1992), "But it is doubtful whether this ever entails a total renunciation of one's origins. His life was once summed up as 'the middle of a contradiction—part altar boy and part leather bar. Blend this mixture of influences with society's widespread rejection of homosexuality, and you find that gays are generally familiar with the condition of marginality" (p. 171). This conflict nourished his creative and artistic sensibility as he entered into 1970s and 1980s gay society and drifted into New York City's avant-garde community where he met singer Patti Smith who became his close friend. He personified flowers into erotic figures such as *Two Tulip* (1984) (the rightmost of Figure 3) that two blossoms try to reach for one another against a stark black background, one yearning with receptivity as the other sensually descends from above, and objectified human beings, literally putting them on pedestals or isolating body parts as objects to be admired (Dubin, 1992). Mapplethorpe's practice was not unique in its depiction of sex, but certainly pioneering in its emphasis on alternative sexualities. His self-portraits were initial attempts at cross-referencing the codes of sadomasochism with black and white art photography. In 1975 he took a photo of himself with outstretched his arm and his boyish face. In his 1978 work *Self Portrait with Whip* (see Figure 4), he wore leathers with a bullwhip stuck into his rectum. He confronted the viewers with threatening stare and twisting the whip behind as a tail. While the conventional self-portrait's claim to phallic mastery, Mapplethorpe's work showed the sadomasochistic potentials and pleasures of the artist's opened rectum and its erotic possibilities. Before

Figure 4) *Self Portrait with Whip* by Robert Mapplethorpe

Image © The Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation

the *Perfect Moment* controversy, Mapplethorpe had already gained notoriety when he published the infamous limited edition series of photographic prints themed homoerotic and sadomasochistic sexuality titled *X Portfolio* in 1978. He made *Y*, which contained flower photos, and *Z portfolio* that illustrated Black men's sexuality. The images of *X Portfolio* in particular led to an infamous obscenity trial and furious debate in the American Congress as to whether Mapplethorpe's work should be considered art or pornography. Several critics who arose in response to Mapplethorpe's work insisted that his work was over-aestheticized (Dubin, 1992). In an article entitled "Aestheticizing the Perverse" there was "a hot emotional point to the cool visual tale Mapplethorpe tells," but one that largely was glossed over, sometime in elaborate custom-designed frames incorporating mirrors and expensive fabrics (Dubin, 1992, p. 172). Despite the controversy, he kept accelerating his creative efforts by broadening the scope of his photographic inquiry while accepting increasingly challenging commissions. Through the images, he captured a sense of post-Stonewall exuberance that pushed sexual frontiers. In

1986, he was diagnosed with AIDS and in 1989 died of complications arising from the disease. In 1988, one year before his death, the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City mounted his first major American museum retrospective. Mapplethorpe's art, life, death and the exhibition extended the debate in part by a new generation of cultural critics. The credentials of the critics derived as much from their political as their artistic concerns (Dubin, 1992). Art critic Hilton Kramer characterized what was actually a "tamer" retrospective at the Whitney Museum as "this bizarre exhibition" (as cited in Dubin, 1992, p. 175). Kramer fiercely criticized Mapplethorpe's work that the artist attempted to force the public to accept "loathsome" sexual values by publicly exhibiting images "designed to aggrandize and abet erotic rituals involving coercion, degradation, bloodshed and the infliction of pain" (as cited in Dubin, 1992, p.175). His and confederates' attack intensified after *The Perfect Moment* was planned and held.

The Perfect Moment most comprehensively featured more than 150 images of Mapplethorpe's works including floral still life images (see Figure 5), erotic and homosexual images (see Figure 6), celebrity portraits, self-portraits, etc. The show was first organized by curator Janet Kardon at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in Philadelphia in 1988 with partial support from the federally funded National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in Philadelphia. The traveling exhibition was scheduled to be held in 7 cities during the next year and a half. Although some of the photographs were inherently scandalous and controversial, at the Institute of Contemporary Arts at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia the range of critical response was initially enthusiastic and critically acclaimed. After the show's Philadelphia run, it subsequently traveled to the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago. It also generated no

unfavorable public or critical attention while continued to attract record-breaking crowds to the museum. Then Washington D.C. was next on the list. From there at Washington's Corcoran Gallery of Art in 1989, the exhibition became the centerpiece of a controversy concerning federal funding of the arts and censorship.

Figure 5) Floral still life images by Robert Mapplethorpe

Images © The Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation

Figure 6) Homo-erotic images by Robert Mapplethorpe
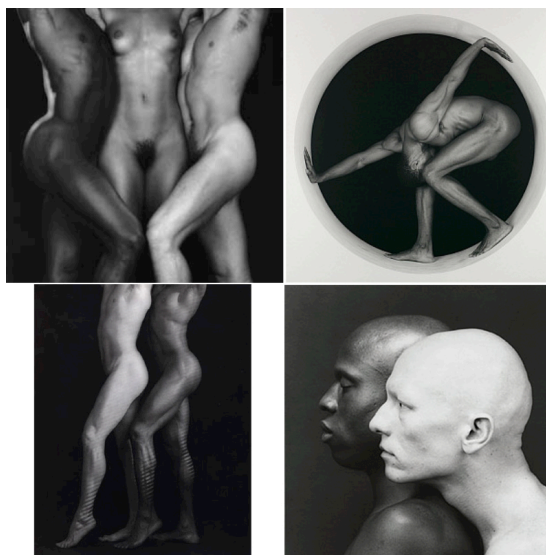
Images © The Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation

Due to this ever-worsening dispute, however, director of Corcoran Gallery of Art Christina Orr-Cahall cancelled the Mapplethorpe exhibition, announcing that the heated political climate in Washington made it unwise for the museum to host the Mapplethorpe retrospective (Dubin, 1992).

One of main players of the controversy was then-Senator Jesse Helms, who fiercely took offense at the images that broached both interracial and homoerotic themes: "There's a big difference between *The Merchant of Venice* and a photograph of two males of different races (in an erotic pose) on a marble table top" (as cited in Dubin, 1992, p. 174). According to Dubin (1992), Helms's reaction was critical in setting the terms of acrimonious debate because of his political power as five-time elected Senator, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, and later long-time chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1995 to 2001. He had a major voice not only in national decision of domestic policy but also in foreign policy. His voice caused cancellation of plans at the museum, and extended legal and congressional battle throughout the country. Helms pulled a surprise amendment out of a stack of papers to tack on to the $10.9 billion Interior Department appropriation bill and he approved in a voice vote his proposal to bar Federal money for "obscene and indecent'" art and for any work that denigrates, debases or reviles a person, group or class of citizens on the basis of race, creed, sex, handicap, age or national origin" (Dowd, 1989). Helms said, "If someone wants to write ugly nasty things on the men's room wall, the taxpayers do not provide the crayons" (as cited in Dowd, 1989). In this political firestorm, Orr-Cahall felt that the appearance of such controversial images in close proximity to Capitol Hill would put the NEA's future in jeopardy for fear of adversely affecting the NEA's congressional appropriations. Moreover, the Corcoran itself was vulnerable because it has no endowment of its own and relied on a federal program for a significant infusion of money (Dubin, 1992), which led the museum to surrender to the political pressure.

When the museum surrendered to political entity, the announcement of the exhibition cancellation created a firestorm of its own. The reaction of the artistic community was unprecedentedly creative. A few days after the cancellation was announced, local artists formed the National Committee Against Censorship in the Arts which circulated petitions in protest of the cancellation; the D.C. Gay and Lesbian Activist Alliance, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, and Oppression Under Target coordinated a demonstration with about one hundred protestors. Approximately one thousand artists and gay activists picketed outside the Corcoran while slides of Mapplethorpe's photographs were projected on the museum's façade in a 40-foot format. The projected works were not allowed to be seen inside to be shown outside instead. Moreover, artists and supporters dropped their Corcoran memberships and boycotted the Corcoran. Artist Lowell Nesbitt decided to withhold a bequest to the museum that would be over one million dollars upon his death, and Annette Lemieux cancelled her solo show, and a next group show of Soviet and American painters was endangered (Dubin, 1992). Because the Corcoran received critical disrepute as an unreliable art institute, other planned future events and shows in progress were also threatened and its reputation was significantly sullied. The Corcoran tried to redeem itself by mounting an exhibition on censorship including Mapplethorpe's photographs and contacted the New York-based artists community Group Material to organize it, but the group declined the offer. As a result of three months of intense criticism, the museum decided to issue a statement of regret and apology for its cancellation. After the museum had issued the apology, Orr-Cahall relinquished her position as the Corcoran's director.

As a reaction, Washington Project for the Arts (WPA), a small and artist-run non-profit organization in Washington, D.C., stepped squarely into the national debate over artistic freedom and censorship. They became a new sponsor of the exhibition with the support of private donors and public funding from visitors. The WPA decided to host the show after its board of artists and members voted in agreement. Jo Ann Lewis of WPA said, "The most shocking thing about the Robert Mapplethorpe… show is how good it is" (as cited in Washington Project for the Arts, 1989). WPA director of programs Philip Brookman added, "we wouldn't normally show work. ... It's too safe, too well known" (as cited in Washington Project for the Arts, 1989), because the show became familiar to the public and tame. According to the record of WPA (1989), tickets for the opening reception raised $125,000 for the Design Industries Foundation Fighting AIDS, attendance figures reached a record high of nearly 49,000, roughly 30 times the norm for the WPA, and visitor donations topped $40,000. Despite the WPA's exhibition location in the District of Columbia, and its close proximity to the Corcoran, there was little protest. When the exhibition moved from Washington D.C. to the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art in Hartford, Connecticut, there was no unfavorable public attention or criticism. And the controversy seemed over, but it had not. In 1990, when the show arrived in the Contemporary Arts Center (CAC) in Cincinnati, Ohio, there was a great deal of negative public outrage and attempts to close the exhibit citing the Ohio obscenity statute, which makes it illegal for any person to promote, display or exhibit any obscene material. The city indicted CAC and the institution's director, Dennis Barrie, for "obscenity" in the exhibition. The 1990 trial became the nation's first criminal trial of an art museum over content of an exhibition.

The city is the home of Simon Leis who charged Dennis Barrie, the director of CAC for hosting *The Perfect Moment.* Although Barrie was eventually found innocent of the charges, it was only after Cincinnati had emerged in the national spotlight as a "bastion of traditional values" and the "smut free capital of the country" (Tepper, 2011, p. 157). Because Cincinnati was more conservative than average by most measures of peep shows prohibited, adult bookstores censorship, etc., Barrie and the museum's board decided to take precautions. Barrie attended a conference of museum directors several months before *The Perfect Moment* was scheduled to open in his museum. "All of us who were directors of museums recognized that a door had opened up for hostile censorship against our organizations," said Barrie (as cited in Palmer, 2015). The CAC played offense by lobbying community members for public support for the show, reaching out to politicians and media outlets while preparing their defense by securing the services of public relations professionals who had dealt with arts-related controversies in the past, as well as first-amendment lawyer H. Louis Sirkin (Palmer, 2015). However, the museum and Barrie underestimated the forces amassing against works of art, stoked by figures like Jesse Helms, and the Citizens for Community Values launched a publicity and letter-writing campaign against the show, calling it "child pornography" and sending thousands of letters demanding the exhibition to be cancelled and that funding to be pulled from the Fine Arts Fund, an umbrella campaign to raise funds for eight cultural organizations in the city (Palmer, 2015). The museum's board chairman resigned when local companies threatened to pull business from his employer despite the fact it had no connection to the show, and the city's law enforcement officials announced that they would personally review the retrospective to see if it violated the obscenity law. On the day of a members

preview night drew much higher attendance to the museum than previous events, with more than 4,000 people in attendance and coverage by local and national media (Palmer, 2015). Although there were some protestors, the preview went off peacefully and successfully. Barrie said, "I thought we dodged a bullet, ... But it was the next day, when we technically opened to the public, that the vice squad decided to come in" (as cited in Palmer, 2015). A grand jury issued four criminal indictments—two against the museum and two against Barrie for pandering obscenity and illegal use of a minor in nudity oriented materials, which was followed by demonstrations by hundreds of people gathered outside the museum, carrying signs both for and against the display of the work. However, there was no arrest made on opening day and no photos seized (Palmer, 2015).

It depended on Cincinnati jury to decide whether or not Barrie and the museum were guilty no matter how the public criticism was high-rocketing. The museum had an experienced Cincinnati-based lawyer H. Louis Sirkin, fortunately, who knew his way around the First Amendment in cases of oft-targeted adult bookstores and video shops, litigating against the Citizens for Community Values a few times before they set their sights on Mapplethorpe (Palmer, 2015). As the trial was the first trial of a museum against criminal obscenity, Sirkin argued that art does not have to be pretty, and it might make one uncomfortable and might not be appreciated until much later, stating, "I wanted to show that this was a really critical time in American history, ... You don't have to like it, you don't have to come to the museum" (as cited in Palmer, 2015). As the trial began, anticipating the difficulty to win this case due to the conservative climate of the city, Sirkin took the case to the federal level and tried to appeal to the local jurors' sense of individual freedom while focusing on the selection of jurors, because a pivotal factor to

obscenity cases is what to do in picking the jury. While the prosecution presented the photos in the most salacious way possible while the defense played down the sensationalism and emphasized the images' artistic value (Palmer, 2015). As a result, Sirkin was able to pull from a deep bench of expert witnesses' eager to make the case for art—especially art that challenged conventional values and tastes, in the help of art experts including the heads of museums in Cleveland, Philadelphia and Minneapolis (Palmer, 2015). After several days of testimonial, the jury's final verdict was 'No guilty on all charges.' Sirkin's pitch that people should be able to view what they wanted proved as effective as the case for Mapplethorpe's artistic value (Palmer, 2015). Some viewers said that the show was really quite tame, because people got to see his works in a certain way and got used to the debates over the exhibition. In any case, the powerful impact of the controversial art exhibition would become less interesting. Nevertheless, the subsequent impacts on reshaping community standards are still facilitating multidirectional public dialogues as this exhibition and controversy attracted unprecedented level of national attention to an art exhibition.

Case II. *Sensation*

"When elephant fight, it's the grass that gets trampled." Steve Dubin (2000) started Afterword of his 2000 book *Displays of Power* with this American proverb, saying, "The wisdom of this adage transcends time and place: in September 1999 a major public battle erupted over the exhibition *Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saachi Collection*, hosted by the Brooklyn Museum of Art (BMA)" (p. 246). This exhibition raised questions about public funding for art deemed controversial, providing the opportunity to analyze larger questions about the authority of government withholding

funds for art, and about the interpretation of the First Amendment (Rothfield, 2001). The *Sensation* exhibition was first shown from September 18 to December 28, 1997 at the Royal Academy of Art in London; from September 30, 1998 to January 30, 1999 in Berlin at the Hamburger Bahnhof Museum; and it opened on October 2, 1999 in New York City. Each country responded differently to this show. Whereas there was no controversy in Berlin, there was unprecedented uproar regarding two specific works in the exhibit in London and in New York. *Sensation* included around a hundred new generational works of 42 British artists. The works mostly addressed potentially controversial hot-button issues such as death, sexuality, and human body itself. In London, *Myra* (see Figure 7), a portrait of the murderer Myra Hindley, made in 1995 by Marcus Harvey was at the epicenter of controversy.

Figure 7) *Myra* by Marcus Harvey

Image from http://illusion.scene360.com/art/64162/10-disturbing-artistic-creations/

This image of a notorious murderer who killed five children in Britain was made up of numerous prints from a plaster cast of a child's hand. This work was mainly attacked by

the Mothers Against Murder and Aggression, a protest group which picketed the show, accompanied by Winnie Johnson, the mother of one of Hindley's victims. A man was apprehended after two canisters of ink were thrown at the painting and minutes later an egg was thrown. British *Independent News* reported that outside the museum, the queues were forming, largely students and backpackers (Blanchard, 1997). As they queued they were picketed by megaphone by the pressure group Mothers Against Murder and Aggression, urging them not to view the Hindley picture, yelling, "They used to hang killers on the gallows. Now they hang them in the gallery" (as cited in Blanchard, 1997). Nevertheless, the visitors' waiting line was lengthening and the first visitors were emerging from their view of the provocative, ironic and striking mixture of the challenging, but because the outrage and demonstration from only one interest group did not erupt huge controversy. A similar story unrolled during the controversy over the show at the BMA. However, in New York, the main controversial piece was *The Holy Virgin Mary* (see Figure 8) by Chris Ofili who was raised as a Roman Catholic. The painting included mixed media, including elephant dung and a collage of pornographic images, and a black Madonna. The two main players in the controversy were Rudolph Giuliani, Mayor of New York at that time, and William A. Donohue, President of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights. Donohue said the work "induces revulsion" (as cited in Sensation sparks New York storm, 1999). Giuliani, who had seen the work in the catalogue but not in the show, called it "sick stuff" and "blasphemous" (as cited in Dubin, 2000, p. 247) and threatened to withdraw the annual City Hall grant from the BMA for hosting the show, because "You don't have a right to government subsidy for desecrating somebody else's religion" (as cited in Sensation sparks New York storm, 1999). Finally,

Giuliani demanded the museum either remove the piece, or it would be evicted, which
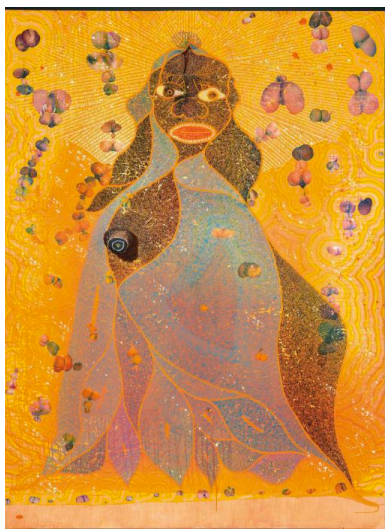
Figure 8) *The Holy Virgin Mary* by Chris Ofili

Image from http://www.culturetype.com/2015/07/01/chris-ofilis-holy-virgin-mary-make-news-again-this-time-setting-auction-record/

was followed by the prompt action of Arnold Lehman, Director of the BMA, who filed a

federal lawsuit against Giuliani for a breach of the First Amendment.

The United States House of Representatives passed a resolution to end federal

funding for the museum in October 1999, and New York City did stop funding to the

BMA the next month (Sensation sparks New York storm, 1999). The show also came in

under criticism for its funding from Saatchi himself and Christie's (Duray, 2011).

Fortunately, the BMA won this case. But this not-for-profit organization was supposed to

be supported by the government and the public, and it had been attacked by the mayor.

As a result, while the case was in process, the impact on the museum's staff was

significant. As Lehman fought accusations of cynicism and crassness from the beginning

of his tenure in Brooklyn, thanks largely to *Sensation*, the exhibit actually made the

director physically ill from all the criticism he received (Duray, 2011). Even when I

asked for an interview with Lehman over a decade later, Sally Williams, the Public

Information Officer at the museum, replied, "I regret that Museum Director Arnold L. Lehman does not discuss the *Sensation* exhibition with press, students, and others, nor do any other staff members of the Brooklyn Museum" (personal communication, August 11, 2011).

Besides Giuliani's attack on the painting, many attacks from religious people also endangered the painting and the museum. Dennis Heiner, a seventy-two- year-old Christian who was incensed by *The Holy Virgin Mary*, threw white paint across the work and proceeded to smear the paint over the canvas. Heiner made no attempt to escape and when asked by one of the security staff "Why did you do it?" and the man replied, "It is blasphemous" (as cited in Mcfadden, 1999). When he was arrested within minutes, his wife described her husband as a devout Roman Catholic and believed that the painting was sacrilegious, saying, "The painting was offensive; he's absolutely right about that" (as cited in Mcfadden, 1999). And Scott LoBaido, an artist from Staten Island, was arrested on 30 September 1999 for throwing horse manure at the museum. He accused Chris Ofili's work of "Catholic bashing" (The Holy Virgin Mary, n.d.). However, on the contrary, a group of Brooklyn Museum guards uttered in unison, "It's not the Virgin Mary. It's a painting" (as cited in The Holy Virgin Mary, n.d.), as they stood in front of the work.

Ofili publicly commented, "elephant dung in itself is quite a beautiful object" (Sensation, n.d.). To understand how and why the artist made it, *Afrodizzia* (1996), another his work, needs to be looked at. It was also on view at the Brooklyn Museum. A psychedelic rainbow ground of dots, lazy paisleys, and the faces of Richard Pryor, Little Richard, and Louis Armstrong (among others) was also ornamented with elephant dung.

These clumps were adorned with the names of Miles Davis, Diana Ross, James Brown, and Cassius Clay. However, the black community was not up in arms over this work; it was not branding the painting offensive." Jerry Saltz (2000), an art critic, explained, "Maybe that's because black viewers know that all so-called black art (Ofili is Black and of Nigerian origin) doesn't have to be serious. They also know that government officials love exhorting them to get insulted" (Saltz, 2000). He continued:

> Ofili is a serious artist but he's also playful and ironic. His paintings discharge as much psychic energy as they generate; they create a temporary feedback loop of perpetual metaphysical motion. Those exasperated by his *Holy Virgin Mary* may be responding not to the dung but to the Africanization of an icon, the hybridization of a face that has almost always and only been white." (Saltz, 2000)

The difference reaction from each group toward same material reflects that each community has its socially and historically constructed beliefs and standards.

On the opening day, hundreds demonstrators gathered to protest the exhibition, and there was also a larger and more fired-up crowd rallying in support of the museum. The demonstration of supporters was planned by the New York Civil Liberties Union, and demonstrators heard passionate speeches by luminaries such as Susan Sarandon, Wendy Wasserstein, Jane Alexander, and Judy Blume (Dubin, 2000). They were terrified that Giuliani had threatened the BMA to abridge the exhibition or to transfer it to a private venue. Giuliani had tried to terminate the city's annual contribution of $7.2 million to the BMA for operating expenses, which was about one-third of its yearly budget), withhold a promised $20 million for capital improvements, and dismiss the

museum's dollar collection of art and artifacts homeless, arguing that *The Holy Virgin Mary* represented "hate speech" (Dubin, 2000. P. 247).

The most mobilized group of the public criticism was the Catholic League. Although Ofili's intention to use elephant dung was a representation of regeneration and veneration (Dubin, 2000), the opposing demonstrators fiercely criticized it as disgusting. William Donohue, the presidents of the Catholic League, said, "It's disingenuous, ... to pretend that Americans like to send each other packages of excrement, let's say, at Kwanzaa (a celebration of African American, not African, origin), to show how much they love each other. The idea that dung has a positive connotation is racist on the face of it" (as cited in Dubin, 2000, p. 250). Although we would not understand the depth of their emotion and their feelings of loss and confusion, it is obvious that such people constitute a deep reservoir of discontent that can be mobilized and exploited, according to Dubin (2000). Besides the offended people, media made the battle more intense. Leading New York dailies such as the *Post*, the *Daily News*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Times*, etc. reported the fight between religious and political entities and the museum. The story hit the news, television shows, and radio. The sensational media effect about the battle and the outrage had fueled the people's (even non-museum-goers') desire to see the show. As a result, according to Dubin's (2000) research, there were about 9,200 visitors on the opening day, which was record-breaking attendance for the museum. The exhibition continues to attract more people and finally approximately 170,000 individuals who opted to see the exhibition and appreciate or judge the works on their own. This record marked another milestone for a museum that suffers from being located outside

Manhattan. Moreover, the painting was sold at auction at Christie's in London in 2015 for around $4.6 million.

Case III. *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*

On December 19, 2010, in front of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, artists and activists for free speech rallied holding picket signs and pictures of the work of the late multi-media artist David Wojnarowicz. The protest was not related to any event in New York City, but was against the removal of Wojnarowicz's video, *A Fire in My Belly*, from the National Portrait Gallery (NPG), part of Smithsonian Institution's exhibit, *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*, in Washington D.C (see Figure 7). The *Hide/Seek* exhibition is one of the most recent examples in a

Figure 9) Protest against censorship of *A Fire in My Belly*

Image from
http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/11/arts/design/11ants.html?adxnnl=1&pagewanted=1&adxnnlx=132622
9520-XNx3DV2qofKV7oKrUoStfA.

long-history of censorship of controversial art. This exhibition was the first major museum exhibition to focus on themes of non-normative sexuality in American portraiture. It included more than one hundred works in a wide range of media, including paintings, photographs, works on paper, film, and installation art. This show emphasized

the under-documented role that sexual identity has played in the making of modern art, and highlighted the contributions of gay and lesbian artists to American art. *Hide/Seek* was hosted at two major museums: the NPG and the Brooklyn Museum of Art (BMA).

In Washington, *Hide/Seek*, which was co-curated by David C. Ward from the NPG and Jonathan D. Katz, Director of the doctoral program in Visual Studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo, ran at the NPG from October 30, 2010 to February 13, 2011. This exhibition was aimed to show how questions of gender and sexual identity dramatically shaped the artistic practices of influential American artists. The artists—including Thomas Eakins, Romaine Brooks, Marsden Hartley, Georgia O'Keeffe, Charles Demuth, Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, Andrew Wyeth, Andy Warhol, and Robert Mapplethorpe—both resisted and capitulated to society's attempts to proscribe them and their expression. With a focus on new scholarship in the history of American sexuality and new research in American portraiture together, *Hide/Seek* charted the heretofore hidden impact of gay and lesbian artists on American art and portraiture and created the basis for the reassessment of the careers of major American artists—both gay and straight—as well as of portraiture itself.

The homosexual-themed exhibition attracted conservative and religious ire for its images of homosexuality and Christianity. Curiously, even though more museums and galleries have increasingly put homosexual-themed art works (or even art created by artists who happened to be gay) on exhibit, and gay and lesbian communities have become increasingly visible, this particular show sparked an archaic type of homophobic controversy. The exhibition addressed artists of extraordinarily high market value, and

here the problem was that the museum had extremely valuable commodities. Jonathan

Katz stated:

> This is in some sense often about money. The Jasper Johns paintings are insured
>
> in $50 million. When you talk about the homosexuality of figures like Jasper
>
> Johns or Robert Rauschenberg or Agnes Martin, these are very important artists
>
> and so everybody steps back because if you have got an investment of $50 million
>
> in a painting you don't want anybody talking about something that may make that
>
> painting less valuable. (personal communication, January 9, 2012)

From among a number of debates surrounding the more than one hundred pieces of art in

this exhibition, only one piece, a four-minute video titled *A Fire in My Belly* by David

Wojnarowicz, was removed because of an image of ants crawling over a crucifix (see

Figure 10).

Figure 10) Still from *A Fire in My Belly* by David Wojnarowicz

A contrast to it is how the NPG decided to continue to display *Felix, June 5, 1994* by AA

Bronson. *Felix* (see Figure 11) is a photograph that shows the body of Bronson's partner

shortly after the partner died of AIDS. The partner was Felix Partz, to whom the

Smithsonian artwork was dedicated. In fact, the NPG was trying to remove the work in

conjunction with the removal of *A Fire in My Belly*, but Bronson made a strong stand by speaking out on several media platforms, including social network media. The museum had invited Bronson to make a formal statement of his views, which would be installed next to his work for visitors to see, together with other public comments. The museum's online audience was also invited to comment on its blog, face2face.si.edu. Bronson had also been invited to speak at a symposium on *Hide/Seek* at the NPG scheduled for Jan 29, 2011. After all of these procedures, with the supportive voice from the participants and public, the museum decided to keep *Felix*. But Wojnarowicz had died of AIDS-related complications at the age of thirty-seven in 1992, and thus he was not able to defend his work. It is important to note that the two pieces had similar tragic themes in relation to AIDS and homosexuality.

Figure 11**)** *Felix*, June, 1994 by AA Bronson

Image from http://www.aabronson.com/art/mirrormirror/lookingglass/felix1.htm

One, *A Fire in My Belly*, was removed, and the other, *Felix*, remained on the wall. Bronson expressed his regret about the removal of Wojnarowicz's work in an interview, saying, "We wanted to really put together a group representing all the different views and try to create some dialogue with the hope of creating even some kind of reconciliation. Maybe that's far too ambitious" (as cited in Green, 2010). Bronson eventually asked the

National Gallery of Canada, which owned the version of *Felix* in *Hide/Seek,* to remove the artwork from the exhibition. Bronson thought that each artwork made from separate history and different place, but in fact art history was very much interwoven with gay or queer history. With this respect, his idea was that in a way the two cannot be separated, and thus both Bronson and Wojnarowicz should go together. He added, "America doesn't like anything uncomfortable… I realized that just from a position of solidarity with an artist who's not here to defend himself I had no choice but to withdraw the piece from the show" (as cited in Green, 2010). In 1990, when Wojnarowicz was alive, his solo show, *David Wojnarowicz: Tongues of Flame*, at the University Galleries of Illinois State University fired up conservatives. Reverend Donald Wildmon, a Methodist minister and founder of the American Family Association, mailed a pamphlet he had made reproducing details from collages by the New York artist to every member of Congress, to various news media outlets, and to religious leaders across the country. He had copied them from the catalog for an exhibition partly supported by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), the real target of his attack. He cut out images from the exhibition's catalog, distorted them to depict only pornographic details, and mailed thousands of fliers with titles like "Your Tax Dollars Helped Pay for These 'Works of Art'" (Fox, 2011). Wojnarowicz was furious at having his work selectively edited and sued Wildmon for misrepresenting his art.

The artist won the case. But after about twenty years, history was repeated, with differences. At the center of the attack on the video *A Fire in My Belly* was William Donohue, who was the main attacker against Ofili's *Holy Virgin Mary*, president of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, as well as several members of Congress.

The decision to remove *A Fire in My Belly* from the NPG was made by Smithsonian Secretary G. Wayne Clough. Martin Sullivan, Director of the NPG, expressed his regret by releasing the statement, "I regret that some reports about the exhibit have created an impression that the video is intentionally sacrilegious" (as cited in Cotter, 2010). He emphasized that the images may be offensive to some, but in fact, the artist's intention was to depict the suffering of an AIDS victim. "It was not the museum's intention to offend. We are removing the video today. The museum's statement at the exhibition's entrance, 'This exhibition contains mature themes,' will remain in place," said Sullivan (as cited in Cotter, 2010).

The removal led to the mobilization of supporters and opponents. Protests against the decision were raised in New York and Chicago, more than one thousand comments were posted on the Internet, and other art organizations and foundations reacted. "I appreciate that people have different standards of decency, but we don't elect representatives to act as curators or arbiters of what is considered culture and art" (as cited in Judkis, 2010), said Lisa Gold, director of the Washington Project for the Arts. Donors to the exhibit, including The Calamus Foundation, The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, The John Burton Harter Charitable Foundation, and The Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation, decried the decision as well. "It amounts to censorship" (as cited in Judkis, 2010), said Michael Ward Stout, president of the Mapplethorpe Foundation. "It amounts to the Christian Right's idea that they should become curators, and it's not acceptable in this country. Leave it in the hands of the arts professional" (as cited in Judkis, 2010). Joel Wachs, president of the Andy Warhol Foundation, wrote a letter to Wayne Clough, stating:

After careful consideration, the board voted unanimously to demand that you restore the censored work immediately, or the Warhol Foundation will cease funding future exhibitions at all Smithsonian institutions. I regret that you have put us in this position, but there is no other course we can take. For the arts to flourish the arts must be free, and the decision to censor this important work is in stark opposition to our mission to defend freedom of expression wherever and whenever it is under attack. (Wachs, 2010)

Referring to the attack on the art, Jack Sullivan, adviser to the John Burton Harter Charitable Foundation, noted that "whenever there is this sort of knee-jerk reaction it tends to place more focus on the work than it ever would have received otherwise" (as cited in Judkis, 2010), and he could not say whether or not the foundation was likely to donate to future NPG exhibitions. "It is always kind of sad to me when people who don't have a full appreciation of what the artist is trying to do try to censor an artist's work. I don't know if the people so offended by this bothered to find out what the artist was trying to say" (as cited in Judkis, 2010).

What is most surprising is that Clough's decision was made before he had even seen the film or the exhibition. When the NPG prepared the exhibition, curators and staff were already anticipating controversy surrounding the theme of homosexuality due to previous experience. Katz stated, "It was not unexpected for us that there would be political controversy around the first major national gay and lesbian exhibition. We knew there was going to be something" (J, Katz, personal communication, January 9, 2012). Curators and other staff made those plans internal to the NPG, and thus they anticipated potential controversy and reactions. Then, they prepared for the attacks. However, what

really happened inside the gallery was not about the work itself, but rather, about the authority of the gallery. Katz noted:

> The issue here is that the National Portrait Gallery is part of a larger museum structure in which Wayne Clough stands at the top. So, Wayne Clough was not party to our discussions, because our discussions were around the museum itself. What happened is Wayne just reacted without any knowledge, any real sense of the history of this issue. (personal communication, January 9, 2012)

According to Katz, Clough was offered several alternatives to removing the Wojnarowicz film: putting it behind a curtain, put up a sign, asking people to sign that they knew that they were seeing something controversial. However, instead of dealing with those alternatives, Clough just pulled the video.

The artist is gone, and no one can hear from him what he really intended. However, is the image of ants crawling over crucifix really anti-Christian or denigrating religion? As mentioned, ants crawling over the crucifix was intended to express suffering and tragedy in Wojnarowicz's video. Wojnarowicz went to Mexico during the celebration of the "Day of the Dead," not because it was a Catholic ritual, but because it was a day when Mexicans integrate death into life. For a gay man living through the AIDS epidemic in the early 90s, death was pervasive, but it was like living in two societies. According to Katz,

> At that time, death was everywhere and you couldn't miss it, but then I would go to the straight world, and it was like business as usual, nothing, no recognition that there was this plague.]So, what David does is he goes to Mexico to find a culture in which death and life are interlinked and that's Mexico during "Day of

the Dead" and it's a Catholic ritual, but its Catholicism wasn't the point, it's relation to death was the point. (personal communication, January 9, 2012).

One Facebook user named Russ Johnson stated on the Facebook page of the Brooklyn Museum of Arts that the problem is only if a work (in any show) is included, then removed once the show is up. It becomes a game of power and the art is lost to the sideshow. This was not about the art; it was about the right wing in America having won the midterm elections, and wanting to once again create a type of culture war. As a number of artists and art works relating to homosexuality have come to the surface in fascinating forms of art, the conservatives knew that the old homophobia was not going to work anymore, so they looked for a different angle. Katz observed, "Instead they embraced the new homophobia which is kind of covering old homophobia, in something else. In this instance of course, the whole idea of anti-Catholic (like the case of *The Holy Virgin Mary*). It's still homophobia, but it's in a new bottle" (personal communication, January 9, 2012). To maintain their stance, the key words that the political and religious leaders kept throwing around were "money," and "tax-payer," sugarcoating their objections as if all they were doing was for the sake of the public. Chris Edwards, director of tax policy studies at the Cato Institute, told *CNSNew.com*, "If the Smithsonian didn't have the taxpayer-funded building, they would have no space to present the exhibit. In my own view, if someone takes taxpayer money, then I think the taxpayers have every right to question the institutions where the money's going" (as cited in Judkis, 2010). The *Fox News* reported that congressmen were vowing to review funding for the NPG (Smithsonian to remove ant-covered Jesus on cross video from exhibit, November 30, 2010). The report indicated that *The Hill* reported that House Speaker John Boehner and

Majority Leader Eric Cantor called for the closing of the exhibit. "Absolutely, we should look at their funds," Jack Kingston, a member of the House Appropriations Committee, told *Fox News*. "If they've got money to squander like this—of a crucifix being eaten by ants, of Ellen DeGeneres grabbing her breasts, men in chains, naked brothers kissing—then I think—we should look at their budget" (as cited in Smithsonian to remove ant-covered Jesus on cross video from exhibit, November 30, 2010). Kingston said he was not sure what form a congressional investigation would take, but he said some options included "calling them up in front of the Appropriations Committee, asking for some resignations, auditing all their budget—all their books" (as cited in Judkis, 2010). At that time, the NPG did not respond to Kingston's statement. The exhibition at the NPG closed February 13, 2011.

Although the museum finally gave up a meaningful artwork dealing with homosexuality due to pressure from outside the show was not dead. This exhibition in fact continued one year later at another museum which has a strong reputation for integrity in regard to its view of a museum's responsibility to fight for freedom of expression: The Brooklyn Museum of Art (BMA) in Brooklyn, New York, where the *Sensation* exhibition was hosted over a decade earlier. The exhibit at the BMA was reorganized so as to be almost the same as it was at the NPG, and was coordinated by a project curator of the BMA, Tricia Laughlin Bloom. It opened on November 18, 2011, and closed on February 12, 2012. The revival of *Hide/Seek* was the choice of neither Jonathan Katz nor David Ward. It was the museums' choice. When the exhibition was first constituted, curators sent proposals to various museums trying to get them to take the show, but none was interested. Then the BMA stepped forward. The reason the other

museums refused to host the show was that it had been fiercely attacked when it was held at the largest museum-community, the Smithsonian, and they feared similar attacks. But the BMA wanted to have it due to their understanding of what they should do for the arts, standing for freedom of expression through the experience of the *Sensation* exhibition. However, it was not easy, and was in fact a wallet-breaking process for the BMA, because at the end of the exhibition at the Smithsonian all the works went home, and thus the museum had to contact the owner of each work, and all the works had to be shipped back individually. This process was twice as expensive as it had been for the NPG. However, they were determined to open the show based on their artistic integrity – and the show was a success.

The biggest difference between the original exhibit and this one is that the BMA exhibition made a point of highlighting *A Fire in My Belly*. The museum remounted the NPG exhibition in its original form, with the full curatorial vision as originally intended—although not all of the art works were available and some substitutions were made, which included the 4-minute edited version of *A Fire in My Belly* (see Figure 12).

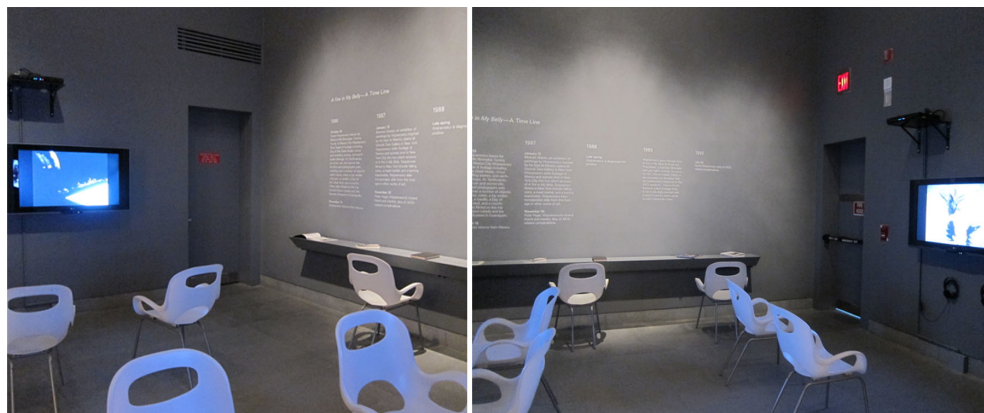Figure 12) *A Fire in My Belly* section at the Brooklyn Museum of Art

Photo taken by the author at the Brooklyn Museum Art on November 17, 2011

To answer the question that I asked on Facebook, "Why has Brooklyn Museum decided

to host David Wojnarowicz's *A Fire in My Belly*, even though Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery made the decision to remove it from their exhibition last year?" The Smithsonian said, "the way in which the artwork was being interpreted by many overshadowed the importance and understanding of the entire exhibition" (personal communication, November 18, 2011). According to Tricia Bloom, "we wanted to honor the original conception of the show, and also to present a fuller picture of this unfinished film, which exists in multiple versions" (personal communication, November 18, 2011).

The curators and museum executives continued to host dialogues about various forms of queer arts with literary professionals, interest groups against or for gay artists, museum professionals, and entertainers through panel discussions and symposia. Well-organized programs had been running as a way to facilitate discussion of this exhibition and comprehensive issues in relation to the show. While running the exhibition, "The Round Table Discussion: Sexuality and the Museum" was moderated by Katz and the BMA staff. This discussion of issues surrounding the exhibition featured curators, museum directors, and some of the exhibition's artists discussing the role of museums and other cultural institutions in presenting sexuality in art. The main participants were Thom Collins, Director of the Miami Art Museum; Norman Kleeblatt, Chief Curator at the Jewish Museum; Risa Puelo, Assistant Curator of Contemporary Art at the Blanton Museum of Art at the University of Texas at Austin; artists; art writers, and independent curator Harmony Hammond; Jim Hodges, New York-based installation artists; and artist Deborah Kass.

The main topic was *why* and *how*. The participants including myself explored the complex roles, responsibilities, challenges, and triumphs that museums and cultural

institutions have faced in presenting and representing sexuality and queerness in art. The program looked at the history and current state of the people against queerness in museums and asked the question, "Where do we go from here?" The answer was not about right and wrong, but this discussion encouraged museum administrators to think about the importance of queer culture in the art world, and gave some people the opportunity to look at the arts from different perspectives. Museum administrators wanted to share their ideas and listen to others' ideas, then talk about why the museum hosted this exhibition, which was deemed so controversial. Face-to-face meetings were also developed as an opportunity to abate the fury of political and religious entities. In *Hide/Seek*, although it would appear at first blush that there was no protest or movement of censorship before or after the opening of this show at the BMA, actually there was. It was from the Catholic Bishop of Brooklyn, Nicholas DiMarzio. He has called *A Fire in My Belly* disrespectful and tried to close down the exhibition. The Bishop of Brooklyn, who had not seen the show, wrote to the Director of the museum and said that it was improper to be showing the film, which was "anti-Catholic." At the press conference held at the BMA one week before the opening of the exhibition, Katz actually offered to sit down at any point with the Bishop of Brooklyn and informed DiMarzio about inextricable relationship between gay and straight in the course of American arts according to one or another sexuality, and that the exhibition was not about a collection of gay art by gay artists, but it was a much more complex and realistic examination of the continuum of human sexuality, because the Bishop clearly did not know what was in the exhibition. The conversation looked like a discussion between the museum professionals and their opponents, but in fact, it was an opportunity for the museum to inform the

conservative that what the museum was doing is important for the art world and to give them an opportunity to view the exhibition from different points of view (J. Katz, personal communication, January 9, 2012).

As the BMA experienced huge controversy over the *Sensation* exhibition and they were aware of potential threats because of the removal of *A Fire in My Belly* at the NPG prior to it, and the museum staff decided to show *A Fire in My Belly*, they were more careful in designing this controversial exhibition. The curators Katz and Ward first wrote the official brochure for this exhibition, which explained its purpose and why they planned to host it.

> Arching from the turn of the twentieth century, through the emergence of the
> modern gay liberation movement in 1969, the tragedies of the AIDS epidemic,
> and to the present, Hide/Seek openly considers what has long been suppressed or
> tacitly ignored, even by the most progressive sectors of our society: the influence
> of gay and lesbian artists in creating American modernism. (Katz & Ward, 2010,
> cover page).

Instead of an unexpectedly shocking or alarming design, the museum staff chose to gradually and progressively display each work and each section with detailed comments and explanations in order of the history and the artists' lives. It had six themes: Before Difference; Modernism; The 1930's and After; Consensus and Conflict; Stonewall and After; and New Beginnings. Museum staff described in the exhibition's press release that it was its intention in the Before Difference section especially to follow Walt Whitman in lifting the veil on what has been hidden in the discussion of American art history. The exhibition began in the 1880s, with Whitman and Thomas Eakins and the

world "before difference," before the division of sexual preferences into "normal" and "deviant," with the legal codification of "homosexual." The section entitled Modernism dealt with the crisis of the turn of the twentieth century in most aspects of human history including World War I and the rapid growth of American cities, where people could reinvent themselves and escape from the restrictions of small town or urban life. More importantly, historian George Chauncey had chronicled the gay subculture that developed in New York, a counter culture that encompassed drag balls in Harlem, emerging demimonde in Greenwich Village, and the influence of a largely male transient labor force. The 1930's and After has another title, Abstraction, in *Hide/Seek*'s official booklet. The first decades of the twentieth century saw the rise and consolidation of modernism in American art and culture, an establishment to which many gay and lesbian artists made important contribution. In this era, Hart Crane, Charles Demuth, and Agnes Martin were all gay, and one can link their use of abstraction as an artistic way of figuring their gayness. This section focused on their interrelationship and its contribution to the art world in America.

The Consensus and Conflict theme is also depicted as Postwar America; Accommodation and Resistance was mostly about the 1950s. After World War II, most American cities seemed filled with placidity and comfort. But, in fact, the government's attempt to destroy homosexual culture because of the idea that they could be security risks escalated fear and persecution of homosexuals, and this was called the "Lavender Scare." Several artists expressed their opposition to the prevailing cultural and political atmosphere through their art works. This included the renowned works of Larry Rivers, Andy Warhol, Paul Cadmus, Jasper Johns, Wynn Chamberlain, David Hockney, Beauford

Delaney, Robert Rauschenberg and so forth. In particular, George Platt Lynnes' silver print of dancer Ralph McWillians and *Oedipus* (the Elvis series) by Ray Johnson mirror society's disdain towards sexual difference and gay men's double lives within the straight community.

Stonewall and After (More Modern Identities) focused on the Stonewall Riot of the gay and lesbian community in 1969 and its impact overall. In this section, audiences could see important photos by renowned artists such as Robert Mapplethorpe, Peter Hujar, David Wojnarowicz, Nan Goldin, Yyoi Kusama, Lucas Samaras, paintings by Andrew Wyeth and Keith Haring, multimedia works by Tee Corinne, Felix Gonzalez-Torres, AA Bronson, and more. The section entitled New Beginnings deals with postmodernism including the topic of AIDS with a focus on a heightened sense of vulnerability and mortality.

The most important part of this show was displayed at the end. Curators set up an educational space in a side gallery and screened multiple versions of *A Fire in My Belly*. The space was separated from other parts of exhibition, and at the entrance there was a warning sign with a brief explanation about the works. The place was designed with a main wall on which the political history of the work is written according to a time-line. Also included were four books with interviews with artists as well as documents relating to historical and educational aspects of this work, to help the public better understand why it was so important to show this work in museums.

When *Hide/Seek* was running at the BMA, an unprecedentedly wide range of public programs with consultation from various groups and education programs were operated in order to communicate with the public. These programs were presented in

conjunction with exhibitions for the entire family, teens, even young children, and educators. Among variable programs at the BMA, despite the exhibition's controversial topics and images, teens could visit the exhibition and discuss the role of art in exploring gender identity through several workshops and education programs such as the Teen Night Event designed in partnership with We Are the Youth, performance events, and even dance party events. The group We Are the Youth is one of the biggest and most powerful LGBTQ youth communities in the United States. Although controversy surrounding homosexuality was not a familiar subject for a main museum, there were many groups focusing on gender and sexuality, and thus museum could benefit from consulting them, which in return can be useful mouth pieces for these people and groups in order to educate the greater public about their cause. Due to partnership and consultation with We Are the Youth, other interest groups and organizations who had been working with the group such as The Door, Torch, The Oxbow School, The Center, Housekeeping, and even a music band, Shadow Lovers, could join in supporting the museum.

There were several events making connections between this exhibition's topic and other fields, such as film, literature and culture. One of the continuous programs for the special exhibition, the Film Screening event, featured the film *Pink Narcissus*, which was rarely viewed in the past because of its homosexual theme and images. After watching the movie, the audience was able to have a conversation with the director, James Bidgood. The director explained the context of the age in which he made the film in 1971, and why the movie was not able to show the real names of the actors or production people; most staff names were referred to as "anonymous." Another connection that the

museum was trying to make was with living witnesses of AIDS with the program, In Conversation to Commemorate AIDS Day. The guest was Larry Kramer, a playwright and author. He shared his authentic story of tragedy, the advent of AIDS, saying that it was the history of the world for anyone who lived through it. He recalled it as the worst of times. Through this conversation, the audience could realize how important this topic is, and how the disease seriously impacted culture and communities as well as the art world. In addition, there was a panel discussion entitled Gender and Sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance, a book talk titled Book Club, several Artist Talks, various Curator Talks and so forth. All staff working for these programs were deliberately prepared with thorough planning and consultation. Although the early events were not filled with people, as time went by, most events gained tremendous attention from the LGBTQ community as well as the wider public. Most events observed and examined by me, such as panel discussions, the Film Screening, Teen Night, In Conversation, and so forth, were filled to capacity, and a discussion with Jonathan Katz was packed. Through the process that connected the art and museum to the broader community, the museum could bring in more understanding from the public by reflecting its diverse perspectives.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND OUTCOMES

In examining the three cases and conducting further relevant research, I have developed two significant findings that indicate the pivotal factors and the spatiotemporal context of the art controversy breakout: the influences of community control and media effects, and the external and internal structural issues of American museums. Importantly, I have also identified the pedagogical impacts of controversy and its consequences on other institutions and public discourse in the context of public pedagogy as Temporary Autonomous Zone (T.A.Z.).

Influences of Community Control and Media Effects

Political scientist James L. Gibson (1992) remarked that, whether one is looking at antibusing activism, gay rights activism, sex education, or pornography, "if political culture does not reinforce political diversity and respect nonconformity, individuals with unpopular views may perceive significant repercussions for expressing their opinions" (p. 343). Because "community standards" play a strong role in an individual's decision to join a censorship campaign, citizens who are offended by what they consider obscene material will not speak out in certain cities for fear of being labeled "crank, censors or members of the lunatic fringe" (Tepper, 2011, p. 383). The protests over *The Perfect Moment* in Cincinnati were predicable in light of the city's preexisting moral standards and its history of local control in association with law enforcement.

According to Tepper (2011), Cincinnati has a conservative climate of opinion characterized by general agreement on the city's dominant values. This city is typical of a medium-sized city in the Midwest and is known for its conservatism and commitment to

family values with active local antivice groups and a history of moral crusades against pornography and obscenity. Residents are well aware of this climate of opinion, and elected leaders and activists proceed as if there are agreed-upon standards of decency shared by most residents (Tepper, 2011, p. 154). This city tends to be relatively homogenous with low levels of population change.

Tepper (2011) pointed out that Cincinnati established its national reputation for cracking down on "obscenity" with law enforcement through several high-profile cases: police raided a local gay bookstore and confiscated the Italian art film *Salò: Or, the 120 Days of Sodom*; a local county prosecutor pressured Barnes & Noble bookstores to remove the magazine *Playboy*; county commissioners demanded the local library to get rid of the gay newsmagazine *The Advocate*; a local university disavowed an exhibition organized by its art department titled *Immaculate Misconceptions,* which featured Catholic artists reflecting on their childhood impressions of Catholicism; and the school board overruled the superintendent of a local school district and ordered Maya Angelou's autobiography *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* removed from the reading list for a 10th-grade college preparatory class because the book describes Angelou's trauma of being raped as a child. Steven Dubin (1992) also explained the Cincinnati's "tendency to push different matters from public view" by "regulating sexual information and conduct" (p. 183), which requires a strong and mutually supportive relationship between "decency groups" and local officials (Tepper, 2011). According to Dubin (1992), "What makes the decisive difference in Cincinnati are seasoned moral crusaders and key government officials who can mobilize against anything that violates their sense of propriety" (p. 183). Because of the city's long history of censorship, local conservative groups have

more experience. It was here, for instance, that officials of the archdiocese of Cincinnati founded the Legion of Decency in 1934 to fight for Christian morality in films. In 1956, local Cincinnati businessman Charles Keating founded Citizens for Decency through Law, whose mission and intent lives on in the contemporary organization Citizens for Community Values (CCV), which was founded in 1983, and began a crusade against *Playboy* magazine. The executive director of CCV Phil Burress has led numerous high-visibility pro-Christian and anti-gay campaigns. CCV partnered with the local chapters of the American Family Association and the Christian Coalition in an attempt to get the county library aboard to remove *The Advocate* magazine. Although the library board decided to keep the magazine, CCV and allies succeeded in passing a resolution demanding the library to remove the magazine: a public hearing on the matter, attracted 300 community members and resulted in a front-page headline: "Gay Magazine Panned at Forum" (Tepper, 2011, p. 161). Cincinnati is also the headquarters of the National Coalition Against Pornography and the place where Larry Flynt was convicted on obscenity charges for distributing *Hustler* magazine.

These conservative activists and organizations' efforts, along with a history of notable obscenity prosecutions, have created in Cincinnati an atmosphere where citizens and local proprietors understand and respect the "climate of opinion" and perceive decency as simply the "way things are" (Tepper, 2011, p. 161). The citizens and officials of Cincinnati proudly referred to the city's reputation for being tough on homosexuality and pornography. A local newspaper's editorial board publicly extolled the city's "zero tolerance for pornography culture" and backed the efforts of the local sheriff to bring charges against both Barnes & Noble and the Contemporary Arts Center (CAC) because

these prosecutions would help "crystalize community standards" (Tepper, 2011, p. 163). According to Tepper (2011), elected officials, law enforcement officers, managers, and administrators tend to be extraordinarily receptive to demands from offended groups, often removing artworks after just a few complaints, even when elected officials lack the legal authority to remove the cultural presentation.

Political structures constrain or enhance the opportunities for social movement activities (Snow & Soule, 2010). Political structure entails the freedom for individuals and groups to express their grievances and pursue their interests publicly through various communication channels—such as electronic media, press, and the Internet—and through assemblage in various public places (Snow & Soule, 2010).Negative media coverage can have an impact on the reputation of a museum. For British audiences, the primary flashpoint of the *Sensation* controversy was *Myra*. Besides onsite protests at the *Sensation* exhibition in London, the largest impact was caused by the media. Because many media are profit-driven organizations, they made the painting *Myra* the subject of a fierce tabloid campaign because it made good copy. After the media fueled this frenzy, some audiences threw ink and eggs at the painting. According to two witnesses at the show, "the painting was kicked from the wall by a man and he splattered the canvas with red and blue ink. They then watched the second man throw an egg" (as cited in Blanchard, 1997). This event was reported by numerous media outlets, which created a sensation out of *Sensation*. As Dubin (2000) observed, "Controversy represents more than new wine in old bottles. It enlarges our understanding of the pivotal role of the media in shaping and sustaining these battles" (p. 246).

Likewise, in the case of the *Hide/Seek* exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery (NPG), the censors used the media to look good. Katz noted that the censors were deeply manipulative and cynical, and created a controversy where there was none to gain attention. As soon as *Fox* picked up the exhibition, John Boehnerin, and Eric Cantor held a press conference about the *Fire in My Belly* within less than 4 hours (personal communication, January 9, 2012). In a similar case of the media creating controversy, a week ahead of the Brooklyn opening of *Sensation*, the tabloid *Daily News* released an article with the inflammatory headline "Bklyn Gallery of Horror/ Gruesome Show Stirs Controversy." The reporter wrote it by strategically planting information that the reporter could be sure would germinate rapidly (Dubin, 2000). William Donohue had heard nothing about the exhibition before a *Daily News* reporter called him, told him about the works and the exhibition, and asked him for an interview. Dubin (2000) observed how this controversy over *The Holy Virgin Mary* provided abundant, fresh grist for the tabloid mill:

> Among the peppy headlines appearing in the *Daily News* and the *Post* were these gems: "Dunga Din," "One Stink-ular 'Sensation," "Comedy of Manures," "Dung-Ho Museum," and "No Dung Deal." This war of words played an important role in demonizing Chris Ofili and denouncing his work. In various accounts The Holy Virgin Mary was in accurately described as "smeared," "spattered," "splattered," "smattered," and "stained" with elephant dung. It was "dotted," "spotted," "dappled," "daubed," and "laced" with it. Mary was "immersed," "splashed," "splotched," "studded," "covered," and "festooned" in dung, after it allegedly had been "flung," "hurled," and "thrown"—in lumps. The painting was reported to

"blaspheme" the Virgin Mary and "disparage," "degrade," "desecrate," and

"bedevil" her image. (p. 265)

These words worked as obvious distortions of the painting's appearance and the artist's

intentions. What is worse, in spite of the imprecision of these terms, those words

reappeared in several news reports for months.

The notoriety of *Myra'*s subject matter did not extend to the United States; thus,

American audiences were not put off by the work because it failed to disturb Americans

as deeply it did people in Britain. When the exhibition opened in Brooklyn, however,

two men vandalized *The Holy Virgin Mary*. The Brooklyn Museum of Art (BMA), the

second-largest museum in the nation and one of the oldest, had been adorned with

banners and enveloped in controversy. The Catholic League, the main player in

demonstrations against the museum, was aware of it, and their attack was forthcoming.

Dubin (2000) stated that some demonstrators handed out "vomit bags" to the show's

visitors, suggesting (along the lines of the museum's own publicity campaign) that the

exhibition would prove stomach turning. The bags were embossed with the sword and

shield of the Catholic League.

In the context of the history of censorship, the reaction of the Catholic League

was not an absurd or strange; the group had frequently targeted contemporary culture and

organized campaigns against works in many genres. Dubin (2000) noted that the

organization had also orchestrated the protest against Terrence McNally's play *Corpus*

Christ, which retold the life of Jesus through the exploits of a contemporary gay man and

his friends; tried to convince the sponsors of the ABC's 1997 series *Nothing Sacred* to

withdraw their financial support for it; censured the movie *Priest* in 1995, objecting to its

portrayal of a priest having casual gay sex; and, late in 1999, protested *Dogma*, a film comedy about fallen angels the League did not find funny. The League's stated reason for protesting all of these productions was that they were "Catholic bashing."

Meantime, some people argued that the BMA was manipulated by Charles Saatchi, or that the museum needed the money from Saatchi. The museum's director, Arnold Lehman, strongly dismissed the accusations, stating that the BMA did not breach ethical or common procedural practices in presenting the *Sensation* exhibition. In fact, Saatchi had not wished to give financial support to underwrite the museum and agreed to do so only after Lehman informed him that the museum had been unable to secure the money to host the exhibition by other means—a problem endemic to contemporary art exhibitions (Dubin, 2000).

Some religious people stubbornly target contemporary culture and try to erase anything that contradicts their massage or has the potential to threaten their power to any degree. Some conservative Christian clergymen—such as Reverend Donald E. Wildmon, Jerry Falwell, Dr. James Dobson, Pat Robertson, and the Reverend Louis Sheldon—along with political conservatives such as Senator Jesse Helms, and Jack Thompson, insist on social traditionalism, and attacking homosexuals, AIDS, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), sexuality, and anything they deem anti-Christian. Dubin (1992) stated:

> Such modern moral entrepreneurs have concentrated primarily on different
> creative domains, where repressive structures have never been erected.
> Although some of the most important recent art controversies have resulted

from spontaneous actions, others have been cannily managed by familiar

commanders and established organizations. (p. 227)

Dubin's point should be considered in examining the main players of these art-world

controversies—moral crusaders, in Dubin's words—and their unspoken desire to further

a repressive social agenda:

> The social world has indeed changed in the past several decades. But, like
>
> the small-town, religious temperance crusaders who were repudiating the
>
> mores and political ascendance of new immigrant groups in the cities,
>
> today's religious fundamentalists are fighting a retrograde action to salvage
>
> idyllic yet obsolete and romanticized social arrangements. For
>
> fundamentalists it cannot be a question of coexistence with unconventional
>
> social conduct; there is *a* correct mode. . . . Several characteristics of the
>
> fundamentalists—their prudishness, anti-intellectualism, denial of reality or
>
> preference for repression, and their intense desire to guard children against
>
> moral corruption and restore a sort of collective social innocence—incline
>
> them toward revulsion and rejection of many artists currently at work. (p.
>
> 227)

Major players of controversy against artworks often decontextualize a few elements—

specific words, titles, part of a design—and threat them as if they embody the entire work

of art. However, as we learned in the battles over art controversies, artworks of all kinds

are more than the sum of their parts (Dubin, 2000). With Ofili's *Holy Virgin Mary*, for

example, "spectators would not necessarily identify his subject but for the revealing

title—which is also inscribed on the dung elements on which the canvas rests" (Dubin,

2000, p. 254). Dubin (2000) described the myopic vision of the attackers against *The Holy Virgin Mary*:

> Those who personally viewed Ofili's eight-by-six-foot painting of the Madonna saw a colorful, gleaming, dynamic portrait. Clad in flowing blue robes, stepping forward from a celestial yellow-background that mirrors a Renaissance portrait, she exudes presence and dignity. Surrounded by small cutouts from pornographic magazines—whose shape many commentators noted duplicated the wings of the familiar *putti*, angel-like figures appearing in art over millennia—this figure can command respect from some while it shocks others, can charm the eye as much as cause some to avert their gaze. Even zealot such as Dennis Heiner conceded that absent the title, this painting would not be troublesome. (pp. 254-255)

Conflict over cultural representation is part and parcel of American life, and public acceptability and tolerance play into ongoing attempts to maintain community standards and values through public protest over art and visual culture.

Influences of External and Internal Structure of Museums

In appearance, museums have taken the lead in reinventing their own structure as well as the art world in general by straying away from thinking in terms of totality, genre, or system, as a gigantic institution for freedom of expression, which need to maintain their funding prospects and sustain public trust. Unlike in Europe, where museums began as the private collections of elite men with high social status, American museums were founded in the mid- to late nineteenth century by associations with the dual aims of fostering the creation of art elevating public taste (McCarthy, Ondaatje, Brooks, & Szántó, 2005). As the twentieth century came to a close, the 1990s brought economic

booms, ubiquity Internet, and easy access to materials—factors that have put museums in a marketing frame of mind because despite its status as public sphere, museums as nonprofit organizations must be supported by public funding. More than 70% of museums in the United States are nonprofit entities (Exhibiting Public Value, 2008). Like for-profit business, museums show remarkable diversity in its management and operation. The diverse sectors in any given museum are reflected in the various sources of revenue streams. To be a tax-exempt nonprofit organization, which falls under category 501(c)(3) by law, a museum needs different combinations of revenue from the government, earned income, and private and institutional investments. Museums receive a huge amount of funding from federal, state, and local governments as well as private and corporate entities. In 2006, federal support across the five sources amounted to slightly more that $149 million; 44% of that was made up of congressional earmarks to museums, 23% came from the National Science Foundation (NSF), 21 % from the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS), and 8% and 4% from the NEA and National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), respectively (Exhibiting Public Value, 2008). When the economy is stalled, the federal government debates whether to reduce or even eliminate funding for federal appropriation institutions such as the NEA and NEH. Even when the economy is healthy, funding for the arts remains vulnerable, often for ideological purposes. William J. Bennett, former chairman of the NEH—a major source of public funding for museums in the United states—complained that the endowments of the federal government for the NEA and NEH were less for creating art or fostering knowledge and more for "ridiculing, provoking, and antagonizing mainstream American value" (as cited in Cuno, 2004, p. 11). This is why the political and religious entities keep

throwing around the key words "money," and "tax-payer." As a main player in the controversy surrounding *The Perfect Moment*, Jesse Helms was attempting to limit taxpayer support for what he termed Mapplethorpe's "indecent" and "obscene" imagery by introducing a constitutional amendment to disallow the use of tax dollars for "offensive" projects. Loss of funding would be a fatal condition for a museum; this is one of the best strategies for the players the controversy. In the *Sensation* case, Rudolph Giuliani and his constituents criticized *The Holy Virgin Mary* as "obscenity" and "disgusting" in an attempt to revoke the museum's license; when the political entities are offended or irritated by a museum's way of representing a certain culture or art, they try to cut off funds to the museum. In addition, in Cincinnati, the state's obscenity legislation worked as a weapon for the opponents of the exhibition. Government policy and legislative action always affect the life and death of a museum for either internal or external reasons.

More importantly, because censorship in the context of museums is always related to public funding for the arts, there is a bigger issue of museums' high propensity visitors. Because museums have a public mission as an educational venue, many people may visit with children, friends, parents, colleagues, or alone. Another major source through which museums can gain money is from individual museum membership and admission fees. Black and African American people make up 13% of the national population, but account for only 3% of museum attendees, and for Latinos, the numbers are only slightly better—15% and 5%, respectively (Museum Audience Insight, 2010). A study conducted by the American Association of Museums shows that non-Hispanic White Americans were over-represented among adult art museum visitors in 2008; they

were 78.9% of visitors, but just 68.7% of the U.S. population (Farrell, 2010), whereas Hispanics and African Americans were significantly underrepresented. Between 1992 and 2008, the gap between the percentage of White and non-White Americans who visited art museums also grew steadily (Farrell, 2010, p. 12). The difference between the general public and the museum-going public is clear and striking. Museums are essentially stuck at a 80% white attendance, despite the fact that Whites have now shrunk to only 66% of the US population (Heaton, 2014). The high propensity visitors are mostly White and well-off, which is a result of the accumulation of wealth from generation to generation. Research shows that the gap in wealth between Black and White families increased from $20,000 to $75,000 between 1984 and 2007, which represents a quadrupling over the course of the last generation (Roithmayr, 2014, p. 2).

Ethnic disparities in cultural participation in the museum context are not just about the wealth gap but relate to serious problems with education. The disparities between White and non-White have brought about a severe long-term problem because of learning effects and self-fulfilling prophecies; that is, as people in a given institution accustom themselves to the system, they become more efficient an familiar with the system (Roithmayr, 2014, pp. 72-73). This is a notorious problem, generating a loop in the cognitive education process. Sociopsychologist Lev Vygotsky stated:

> Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of

concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relationships between individuals. (as cited in Zuckerman, 2003, p. 186)

Vygotsky also argued that parents, caregivers, peers, and the culture at large are responsible for the development of higher-order functions. This demonstrates that cognitive abilities have important implications for interpersonal behaviors and relations associated with possible prejudice in reading the world. Psychologist David Shaffer (2009) stated:

> Vygotsky claimed that human cognition, even when carried out in isolation, is inherently sociocultural because it is affected by the beliefs, values, and tools of intellectual adaptation passed to individuals by their culture. And because these values and intellectual tools may vary dramatically from culture to culture, Vygotsky believed that neither the course nor the content of intellectual growth was as "universal" as Piaget had assumed. (P. 91)

Parents go to museums with their children, and the children spend time with their cohorts, contributing to public opinion, prejudice, and the overall social atmosphere. The museum's way of representing a dominant or victorious culture influences patrons' way of thinking and seeing the world. During the cognitive learning, this effect influences the children and adults, and perspectives on cultural and social conditions are mentally constructed self-evident truths. This triggers a self-fulfilling prophecy—a situation wherein people define circumstances as real that then become real in their consequences (Roithmayr, 2014). This tells us that certain kinds of definitions of a situation—when we focus on the important class of public prophecies, beliefs, and expectations—become an integral part of the situation and thus affect subsequent development (Merton, 1948, p.

185). This arises, for example, in the correlation between race and investing skills; if people of color expect that they will not be hired based on their race, then they rationally will choose not to strive to get into a college. Here, importantly, Roithmayr (2014) emphasizes "mental models" that are the internal stories that people use to make sense of their world and interpret their environment. These eventually create racial prejudice or other types of prejudice. Latinos do not feel welcome at museums or almost all the other informal educational institutions, and so members of minority racial and ethnic groups are less likely to participate in the arts across the full range of activities (Heaton, 2014). According to research conducted by James Heaton (2014) on racial and ethnic disparities in cultural participation, an African American woman explained she would rather take her son to the local park, with its limited educational value, than risk the trip to a major cultural institution where she was fearful her son might misbehave, and in doing so, not only embarrass her, but inadvertently reinforce negative stereotypes about her race (Heaton, 2014). Whites' monopolization and the accumulation of wealth throughout the Jim Crow era is intertwined with the history of capitalization and operation of museums, and the effects continue on the current and next generation—creating an institutionalized feedback loop. This vicious circle maintains the social and economic inequality in museum world.

In addition to the government-economy relation external entities have linked to museum funding prospects, the internal structure and spatiotemporal conditions of museums have also played a significant role in museum funding and policy. The Corcoran Gallery of Art is the U.S. capitol's oldest art museum, located just a few blocks away from the White House; the institution's motto is "Dedicated to Art" (Dubin, 1992).

Before the summer of 1989, when the museum decided to cancel the Mapplethorpe's show, it had already weathered other controversies. According to Dubin (1992), in 1851, the founder of the collection displayed a copy of American sculptor Hiram Power's *Greek Slave,* one of the most popular American nude statues of the nineteenth century. This piece shocked contemporaries; men and women were admitted separately to view it. The carnal painting *Sailors and Floozies*, which depicts three sailors meeting their girlfriends (floozies) in Riverside Park near the Sailors and Soldiers Memorial, by American painter Paul Cadmus—a Mapplethorpe for his times—was removed from a show at the Corcoran by government officials at the demand of the United States Navy. The painting was very controversial in its day, and was considered repulsive and unpatriotic because of its depiction of drunk sailors at the beginning of the World War II. For the museum's 16th biennial, surrealist artist Peter Blume's *The Eternal City* (1937)— the artist's attempt at an allegorical take on fascism, in which Benito Mussolini is pictured as a jack-in-the-box—was castigated and rejected for reasons both pictorial and thematic. There was an accusation of political pandering. The curator explained, "*The Eternal City* may have been rejected because the jury considered it political propaganda and out of place in an art exhibit" (as cited in Dubin, 1992, p. 177). This decision prompted the American Artists' Congress and other groups to protest. *The Eternal City* was eventually acquired by the Museum of Modern Art in New York City after having been rejected for display by the Corcoran Gallery. Additionally, when the museum planned to publish the catalogue *Recent Graphics from Prague*, it deleted the preface because of pressure from the Czech government, which wanted to avoid attracting diplomatic attention to its repressive policies.

It is no secret that the arts have long been a punching bag for politicians, depending on the spatiotemporal context of each. When the Corcoran announced the cancellation of *The Perfect Moment*, then-U.S. representative Dick Armey had collected over 100 signatures on a letter calling for a review of NEA procedures, and copies of the exhibition catalogues were shared with Congress (Dubin, 1992). When the *Perfect Moment* controversy broke out, the Corcoran Gallery's internal structure's bureaucratic shambles also came to the forefront. It turned out the board of the Corcoran had difficulty reaching a consensus in most matters, and it remained unclear who had authorized the cancellation of *The Perfect Moment*. Three other major curatorial and administrative positions were vacated within a year of the cancellation, and staff morale in general was low (Dubin, 1992). Reconstruction of the unsystematic and disorganized governance procedures was immediately necessitated. A museum's structure consists of a board of trustees who actually set the rules and policies of each museum and a board of directors who run the museum and are considered experts in the museum's field of specialization or some related field. The composition of the boards in mainstream museums is extremely White-dominant. Members of the White power elite directly involve themselves in the federal government through White economic advantage that has become institutionally locked in; much like predatory monopolists, Whites formed a racial community during slavery and Jim Crow to gain monopoly access to key markets (Roithmayr, 2014). Roithmayr (2014) located the engine of White monopoly in "institutional positive feedback loops" that connect the racial disparities of the past to the modern racial gaps in various institutional forms, including nonprofit organizations. Wealthy White neighborhoods that accumulated wealth during the Jim Crow era through

monopolization fund public institutions that primarily benefit their wealthy White neighbors. To explain this institutional feedback loop, economists have argued, "racial gaps persist because people for whatever reason have a taste or preference for discrimination, and imperfect market competition cannot drive those preferences out" (Roithmayr, 2014, p. 15). That is, in a competitive market, those who have a "taste" for discrimination—who are prejudiced against non-Whites, for example—will be outcompeted by those without the taste, and they will end up paying a cost for this exclusion. Museums are no exception. A museum suits the tastes of the powerful moneyed interests and political entities for survival and to avoid losing funding prospects.

In contrast to the *Perfect Moment* case at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, *Sensation* at the BMA provides a solid example of a museum, its board, and its employees refusing to yield to outside demands to alter the show by demonstrating how an institution can withstand substantial threats while preserving its professional vision. The BMA staff was aware of the potential for controversy. When the director, Arnold Lehman, and his staff had a meeting with the advertising company it had retained to promote the exhibition, they requested something unusual, something with a sense of humor and a sense of irony (Dubin, 2000). The museum staff did not want *Sensation* to be viewed as "the same old same old." The board of trustees of the museum was at first put off by the behavior of Giuliani's representatives, and felt threatened when they met (Dubin, 2000). The board then revealed its mettle. Lehman said:

> This is neither a social board, a monied board, or an elitist board in any way. The
> one thing I think is paramount is how this board stuck together. If there were

differences, they put them aside for the institution's sake. They stuck together, they defended the institution, they defended freedom of expression. (as cited in Dubin, 2000, p. 270)

In addition to banding together to fight for what they were supposed to, the museum staff focused on getting information and feedback about the controversy; this proved a significant factor in mitigating the damage done by the controversy while maintaining the museum's reputation.

Although unexpected controversy may occur when a museum hosts any exhibition, it is easy to anticipate which exhibitions might become controversial such as those with works that tackles religious or sexual themes, which have historically been targeted by would-be censors. Preparation and deliberate planning must be conducted to address sensitive exhibitions and mitigate fierce attacks. Before planning an exhibit, a museum must consider its understanding of the topic(s) at hand and its institutional position on the related issues. In the case of *Hide/Seek* at the BMA, the clarity of the museum's position on *why* it should exhibit the show was a key factor in its success. The revival of *Hide/Seek* at the BMA represented the museum's choice to rededicate itself to its understanding of what it should do for the arts, standing for freedom of expression through the experience of the *Sensation* exhibition while other museums refused to host the show because of fear of attacks from outside. The show at the BMA was a huge success, and the museum itself has received public recognition as a powerful venue for freedom of expression. According to Jonathan Katz, "Brooklyn Museum understands themselves in distinction to the mainstream as doing the most progressive, the dangerous, the kinds of things that the other museums won't touch" (personal communication,

January 9, 2012).

The museum is where scholarship meets the public, and thus the institution's understanding of itself is critical to being a mediator. The BMA was trying to understand its position as a mainstream museum in America. This understanding provides a solid foundation for planning controversial exhibitions. Understanding means having comprehensive knowledge not only of the subject matter, artworks, and potential controversies, but also about the museum's role based on its mission and resources. Staff must learn how to interface with media and opponents. For example, one huge difference between the *Hide/Seek* exhibitions at the NPG and at the BMA is that the BMA listened to feedback. The curators of *Hide/Seek* wanted to address the politics of LGBTQ-themed exhibitions, and to specifically look at why the exhibition happened in Brooklyn and why this type of exhibition should happen in other museums. The BMA invited other museum directors to talk about gay art and museums' role in promoting it. Katz talked about these discussions:

> It is not about only the exhibition. We have the idea that the museum is a
> progressive institution, but for those of us like me who work in Lesbian and Gay
> studies it's been a series of closed doors. So I really wanted to bring in a bunch of
> people and have them to address and share the thoughts that the museum is still
> very uncomfortable with questions of sexuality. (personal communication,
> January 9, 2012)

The BMA staff also gathered feedback from social media and e-mail. They measured the exhibition's success through feedback both from attendees and online commenters. They continued to ask the public about homosexual topics and each program relating to

Hide/Seek throughout its showing using multiple Facebook sites, such as the main Facebook page of the Brooklyn Museum and the Brooklyn Museum Teens page. There was also onsite feedback. During the Teen Night Education program, they send out a survey to all participants, asking the participants what they thought of the show, what activities they would like to see in the museum, how the museum could better teach the general population, and how to be more open-minded.

Controversy as Creation of T.A.Z. and Alternative Public Space

The BMA successfully held the *Hide/Seek* exhibition, stepping in with little time to plan after exhibition artwork was damaged in Washington, DC; another small gallery in Washington took a step forward to fight for freedom of expression and hosted *The Perfect Moment*, breaking attendance records in the process. There are always unpredictable movements in the area of controversy in an implicit or explicit way. When the Corcoran Gallery announced the cancellation of *The Perfect Moment*, local artists formed several new interest groups, including the National Committee Against Censorship in conjunction with the DC Gay and Lesbian Activist Alliance, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, and Oppression Under Target—more than 100 protestors altogether. Numerous artists and activists created an alternative way to hold an art exhibition by projecting the prohibited Mapplethorpe works onto the museum's façade. Those acts demonstrated not only bravery but also innovative movement. The main players of the controversy ironically opened the door for a broader range of the public to see these works. The extemporaneously generated creative movement that formed after the controversial art—Poetic Terrorism art—was only possible because the participants

worked together. If just one isolated individual had realized the unsatisfactory and contradictory aspects of a system, the creative movement would not be possible.

In the Cincinnati case, the battle over *The Perfect Moment* has left a positive legacy for the CAC. "People see the CAC as a champion of the arts . . . We're still always trying to be challenging and topical, to draw on work that's relevant and of the moment," says the CAC's curator Steven Matijcio (as cited in Palmer, 2015). The CAC honored the 25th anniversary of the controversy with a symposium in 2015. Barrie, Sirkin, Platow, and officials from other museums spoke on a panel, discussing the case and its impact (Palmer, 2015). Furthermore, the case led to the opening of *After the Moment: Reflections on Robert Mapplethorpe*. Instead of simply restaging the original *The Perfect Moment*, the CAC's curatorial team chose five local artists to present work that explored Mapplethorpe's impact on their practices. "With this exhibition, we didn't want a mirroring of a historic event, but instead something that took into consideration the slippages and mutations over time," said Matijcio. "We were interested in human memory and performances that transform that legacy" (as cited in Cohen, 2016). The curatorial team of the CAC realized the Mapplethorpe photographs needed to be present to create a conversation that crossed 25 years. The exhibition included five guest curators who had been showing various works inspired by the original Mapplethorpe retrospective, including a subsection of images from photographers connected with the Images Center for Photography at around the time of the trial whose own shows were cancelled or otherwise affected by the controversy. Although some argued that Robert Mapplethorpe subverted sexual and racial stereotypes, others insisted the artist regularly reinforced them. Although political and local pressure exiled his work from the Corcoran

Gallery of Art in Washington, this punitive act also incited his defenders to appropriate the outside of the building for an uncommon, affirmative display (Dubin, 1992). By the late 1980s, Mapplethorpe's work had lost its impact to shock people in the art world as his style became more familiar: "Elegance spoils it as pornography," a critic remarked, "and avidity wrecks it as fashion" (as cited in Dubin, 1992, p. 173). However, the controversy of *The Perfect Moment* still influences the arts in various ways. The city of Cincinnati itself, at the time seen as overtly hostile toward the arts, has grown into an unlikely advocate for the arts. The city has seen the beginning of an act of reperception— recognition, in which Mapplethorpe's art controversy played a visionary role in bringing other worlds into focus by helping people see new worlds they did not know or did not want to know, as they were introduced to new experiences expressed through art. There has been no public outrage in Cincinnati over *After the Moment*, which indicates that the community is gradually growing more tolerant and accepting of otherness. Cohen (2016) insisted that *After the Moment* is about more than the legacy of a single artist who provoked controversy in a small Midwestern city during the culture wars; it is a celebration of the infinite ways in which a viewer can internalize and interpret art with his or her own creativity. According to Palmer (2015), ArtWorks—an ambitious public-arts campaign—has erected dozens of murals by local artists throughout the city, and launched an initiative posting reproductions of classic pieces from the Art Museum of Cincinnati all around town. The museums in Cincinnati addressed the works in shows such as one at the University of Cincinnati's Philip M. Meyers Jr. Memorial Gallery focusing on the police shooting of Samuel DuBose. Although the editors of *Cincinnati Magazine* once fretted that the Mapplethorpe controversy might "forever brand us as

small-town bluenoses" (Palmer, 2015), the city continues working to change this perception. Although the cultural battle lines have shifted in the last quarter-century, Matijcio emphasized that some things still have not changed: Mapplethorpe's work, he says, retains its power: "Those photos are still challenging . . . They continue to reverberate" (as cited in Palmer, 2015).

The cultural battle over controversial art has led to the formation of various T.A.Z based on creative empowerment to reshape the community atmosphere and institutional structure. The impacts on and changes in each community influenced by controversies of art moments demonstrate how the dynamics of a T.A.Z. circulate in different ways depending on the context. When the T.A.Z. keeps its creativity continual and gradually reshapes the communities in the change of time and space, it finally becomes an alternative space for public pedagogy.

CHAPTER 6

IMPLICATIONS FOR ART EDUCATION

Implications for Educational Institutions as Sites of Public Pedagogy

According to liberal philosophers, especially John Rawls (1971), each generation has a duty to preserve general knowledge and culture as part of its bequest to the next generation. Although preservation of ancestors' way of understanding the world is important, Rawls (1971) emphasized, "The social resources necessary to support associations dedicated to advancing the arts and sciences and culture generally are to be won as a fair return for services rendered, or from such voluntary contributions as citizens wish to make" (p. 329). We should regard the structural aspects of community as well as general culture as themselves worthy of study and attention, and thus should identify the richness of a cultural structure that has multiple distinct possibilities and opportunities for creating value. With this in mind, realizing the context of each controversy in association with what a museum decides to exhibit and who the potential attackers would be is key to gaining a full understanding of how to handle an exhibit. A museum needs to ask, "What are the strengths and weaknesses of our institution, and in what conditions—political, social, cultural, and economic—are we living now?" Examining and understanding existing conditions for better preparation is necessary to lead museums to creative alternatives and programs that present fewer risks of attacks from outside (Shim, 2015). Realizing the context in which a controversy is located is another key step toward gaining a full understanding of how to handle it. Specifically, it is an issue closely related to timing and place, which are the main characteristics of controversy. Recall what Dubin said about the fertile period of shifting power. In this

respect, timing is either an advantage or—if a museum does not comprehensively understand it—a disadvantage. The *Hide/Seek* exhibition at the affiliate of the Smithsonian Institution was a victim of timing in the context of political conditions. At the NPG, the timing issue was more complicated because it was influenced by political power as well. Katz said:

> The timing is so complicated. I do think that had Obama not been the nominee and a Republican was the nominee 4 years ago then it may have been the case that my exhibition would not have gone forward. The issue is that the Smithsonian nonetheless elected to do this exhibition in the first place whereas the Metropolitan Museum of Art or the Museum of Modern Art—the major institutions that have no connection to Congress and have, freedom right— wouldn't touch it. (personal communication, January 9, 2012)

The cultural atmosphere and social power structure always change—anyone can be a censor, and anything can be censored. The fires of conflict could go out at any moment and at any place, either by chance or intentionally. Dubin (1992) characterized censorship as the following:

> Those who try to quash expression are seldom completely successful, nor is their success for all time. Their targets have a knack for springing back, even though this may occur after the deaths of the creator, the judge, or the originally intended audience. This temporal feature must continually be borne in mind, for "censorship" often connotes a drastic act, good for eternity. In actuality, incidents of censorship in non-totalitarian countries typically are emergency measures, and rarely are they the last word. And as recent events have taught us, not only do

totalitarian regimes fail to completely regulate culture, but their entire repressive

apparatus can abruptly collapse. (p. 10)

Democratic Education in Practice in the Museum Setting

Every museum should understand its unique and specialized culture, from

internal and institutional traits to external and contextual culture such as the time and

place in which it operates. Before planning of any special exhibition that could be

deemed controversial, every museum needs to seek a deeper understanding, internally

and externally, of its own priorities as well as those of the community in which it is

situated.

The use of the term *public* refers not to a physical site of educational phenomena

but rather to an idealized outcome of educational activity. It is the socially constructed

"will of the people." Hence, the *public* sphere where *public* pedagogy is supposed to

happen implies the value of collective interest, not as a physical location but as a certain

quality of social interaction (Habermas, 1962/1973). The public sphere is the domain of

our social life where public opinion forms. *Public opinion* refers to the ways in which the

public uses criticism to control organized state authority, both informally in everyday life

and formally during periodic elections (Habermas, 1962/1973). As mentioned in the

previous chapter, the difference between the general public and the museum-going public

is clear and striking: museums are essentially stuck at around 80% White attendance,

despite the fact that Whites have now shrunk to only 66% of the U.S. population (Heaton,

2014). Nevertheless, museums now recognize multiple publics—this is, diverse

audiences with different needs, interests, and stakes in the museum.

It is no secret that since the 1960s, cultural disruption as a form of public pedagogy has entered deeply into everyday life, as a tool for contesting oppressive ideologies or as a site of resistance. In his collection of essays *Publics and Counterpublics,* Michael Warner (2002) expanded this understanding to include the concept of *counterpublics*, or groups that have been excluded from the public sphere and are left to create their own spaces, norms, and realities largely within the private sphere. Warner (2002) emphasized the agency of culture in the forms of public discourse, art, and media while exploring the concepts of publicity, publicness, and mediators to how to make oneself public without necessarily aligning with politics. Counterpublics include, but are not limited to, documented and undocumented immigrants, the incarcerated, youth, the differently abled, and those with divergent sexual identities or practices, such as transgender or polyamorous people (Junkin, n.d.). The public is not a cohesive entity but is composed of multiple reflexive counterpublics that respond to "the" public that excludes the interests of potential participants. Counterpublics are rarely considered legitimate audiences by museums and other institutions, so their needs largely go ignored. This means that museums, as so-called "neutral" institutions and agents of "truth," are often complicit in marginalizing the very publics they should be serving (Junkin, n.d.). The controversy in museums starts when some groups or individuals disagree with a museum's approach, or when groups or individuals perceive certain artworks as offensive and are willing to take action against them.

Dubin (1992) proposed two conditions that must be met to arouse controversy: art must threaten some dominant value or belief of the audience, and a mechanism of power must be roused as a direct reaction to the threatened values. There have been many cases

of art controversy and censorship in the last decade. The Smithsonian Institution's Arthur M. Sackler Gallery canceled the exhibit *Shipwrecked: Tang Treasures and Monsoon Winds*, which had been scheduled to open in spring 2012, after consulting with an international advisory committee. The objects in the exhibit had been unearthed in 1998, when sea cucumber fishermen discovered the Belitung shipwreck, also called the Tang shipwreck. The shipwreck discovery was considered one of the greatest finds ever, and over 600,000 china and ceramic objects were recovered. Although the findings from the exploration were shown at the Art Science Museum in Singapore, the exhibition became the subject of much debate due to ethical concerns over the looting of shipwrecks among archaeologists, and historians and critics contended that a commercial company's recovery of the finds from the Tang dynasty did not conform to best practices and high scientific standards. Earlier, the Brooklyn Museum canceled plans to mount a controversial exhibition of graffiti art, *Art in the Streets*, citing financial constraints; when the show opened in 2011 at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles, it drew large crowds but also attracted criticism for prompting an increase in graffiti in the surrounding neighborhood. *The Aesthetics of Terror*, an exhibition scheduled to launch November 2012 at the Chelsea Art Museum, was canceled when its subject matter was deemed distasteful. As seen, there have been various cases to demonstrate Dubin's two conditions of controversy. Contentious artworks may offend audiences initially, but at the same time, they can spark interpretive discussions and dialogues regarding the subject matter and the museum's approach. As more artists explore cultural, social, and political topics as a form of expression, taboo or marginalized issues—including gender and

sexuality, homosexuality, AIDS, racism, crime, drugs, religious expression, and political affairs—come to the surface.

Figure 13) Segregating strategy example

Photo taken by the author at the Brooklyn Museum of Art on November 17, 2011

Museums can also use strategies to mitigate outrage from various publics. One example is a "segregating strategy" (see Figure 13 above) that physically segregates potentially controversial art with written warnings that alert visitors that they may find the artworks on display offensive. Visitors are therefore given the opportunity to circumvent the exhibition at that point; this protects museums from social, political, and economic risk. Conflict between several parties requires negotiation in various ways. Even in designing the physical format of an exhibition that is potentially controversial or offensive to certain people, the museum is offering visitors the opportunity to decide to bypass certain works. Art historian Reesa Greenberg said,

> [T]he transformational potential of the exhibition experience can be conceived in
> terms of a developmental learning model that is gradual and slow. Risk, surprise,
> and confusion are reduced; the unexpected, destabilizing encounter is minimized

to allow a safer distance from contemplation. (as cited in Kleeblatt, 2002, p. 90) This indeed seems like a happy compromise to placate all parties, and is certainly a better alternative than shutting an exhibition down or shying away from hosting it. Segregating strategies are especially important for museum educators in youth programs. To answer the question: "What educational strategies have you found to be effective in addressing people's anger or misunderstanding of artworks?", Kimberley Mackenzie, associate director of the High School Program at the New Museum in New York City, said she is always struggling with it because the museum likes controversial art (personal communication, November 30, 2011). She stated, "we don't have a collection so what's up is what's up and you have to deal with it. There's nothing you can sort of divert your group to" (K. Mackenzie, personal communication, November 30, 2011). This situation seems to make it difficult for educators to prepare for the discomfort of young people or their parents. The New Museum employs a segregating strategy by leading visitors to noncontroversial spaces. Mackenzie stated, "My strategies for dealing with that [controversial art] have just been to focus on specific floors, focus on specific objects that I know are not too difficult for the kids, that are not too controversial, and that will not upset parents or teachers" (personal communication, November 30, 2011).

American museums have employed new and varied approaches to communicating the message of their exhibitions to advance their mission of putting sources in context to drive their interpretive function as mediators and mission-driven institutions. They try to interpret specific issues or events in a variety of ways. Museum strategies in negotiating the public interest constitute a public curriculum. The change leads to more dialogue between museums and the public on all sides of the issues. It need not be prohibited or

avoided, because through these impassioned dialogues the public and museums can share ideas that are hard to discuss in ordinary circumstances; these dialogues can sustain the relationship between art and the public. This networking within the broader community—both as a part of multiple publics and as a partner and consultant—is another key to preparing for controversy. Networking and communication are especially important after controversy breaks out, as a tool for crisis management. However, dialogue on controversial issues should always include communities that are closely involved in the topic. The staff who prepared the *Hide/Seek* exhibition at the BMA made every effort to involve art experts, community leaders, interest groups including both majority and minority groups, and youth groups, while continuing formal and informal discussions and communications with numerous venues and entities to convince them these topics and the exhibition had educational value and significance for current and future generations. Such advocacy for the public elevates a museum's reputation and broadens public attention to art and the educational power of art in the community.

Democratic Education in Practice in the Classroom

Recognition of multiple publics is a concern not only for museums but for schools. School is another *proxy target* for censorious political and religious entities; since the advent of public schooling, the debate over the American curriculum has centered on what values are fulfilled via schooling, with particular attention to the good of the public and the needs of the market economy (Sandlin, O'Malley, & Burdick, 2011). According to Sandlin et al. (2011), scholars in public pedagogy have seen schools as sites where critical values are inculcated in various types of public, and where those values can be transformed to publicly pedagogical acts. For John Dewey (1897), the

school was an integral part of community life and an instrument for social reform. Dewey stated that contemporary education largely fails because it neglects the fundamental principle of the school as a form of community life (Dewey, 1897, p. 36); school is instead regarded solely a place where certain information is to be given, certain lessons are to be learned, or certain habits are to be formed. Most importantly, it is the place where social identity is established. We often think of identity as being innate, but sociologists stress that the taken-for-granted view should not be considered true. Therefore, the purpose of school education is to lead to the development of national identity and citizenship. Moreover, improving school curricula has been the root of much work on public pedagogy, critical media studies, and arts-based modes of educational activity, with the goals of advancing a public curriculum in which participants become their own curriculum coordinators and fostering a means of responding to oppressive aspects of cultural life (Sandlin et al., 2011).

In an interview conducted by Dubin (2000), Dennis Heiner said he experienced a dizzy spell when he approached *The Holy Virgin Mary*. Then he hurried past a Plexiglas shield erected to thwart acts of vandalism, and smeared the canvas with the white paint. Heiner said he wished to "efface" the painting; his wife told the press that her husband meant to "clean" it (as cited in Dubin, 2000, p. 253). He had no regrets—in his words, "anything that treats the mother of God with disrespect is automatically blasphemous"— defending what he did as a "minor but necessary thing" (as cited in Dubin, 2000, p. 253). According to Dubin (2000), this illustrates the "social construction of acceptability," whereby various audiences respond to the same set of works in vastly different ways; one person's creative vision becomes another's target when one of them cannot concede the

legitimacy of the other's view. However, in the context of school, empowering one's creativity is hardly expressive. Unlike self-identity derived from talking about oneself in a psychoanalytical context what students identify for themselves in the classroom is social identity viewed through multiple filters such as stigma, stereotype, socially pervasive assumptions, and so forth.

In the classroom context, what matters is the curriculum. A curriculum lies at the heart of every learning institution. However, a curriculum is not a static thing but a dynamic process and a learning experience for individuals, not only in formal education but also, in its broadest sense, society because of shifting trends of curriculum development associated with historical and societal progress. Hence, changes in curriculum have played a significant role in generational transition. The notion of postmodernism or radical modernism has shifted, and the landscape of American schooling has changed dramatically due to federal policies such as No Child Left Behind. Given these changes, educators and committed citizens have learned over the years that, very often, the question of "What knowledge should we teach?" has changed to "Whose knowledge should we teach?" (Hess, 2009). Although there are numerous complicated and vexing issues associated with these questions, it is clear that curriculum is part of what Raymond Williams called "the selective tradition" (as cited in Hess, 2009, p. xi). In contrast to the technocratic, product-oriented view, in which educational success is measured in terms of predetermined and objective standards, there is another tradition in which the learner is the center of the educational process (Berding, 1997). According to Joop Berding (1997), in that tradition, education is seen as a process, and thus the standard of success cannot be determined a priori. One might call this the process-

oriented view of education and curriculum. Ralph W. Tyler (1949) asserted that this is the process through which meaningful education occurs, his caveat being that one should not confuse "being educated" with simply "knowing facts." It is important to acknowledge that, out of a vast possible range of knowledge, in schools, only selected knowledge and perspectives tend to be considered absolute truth or legitimate (Hess, 2009). The curriculum has always been subject to intense debates among scholars and teachers, as have the ways in which teachers organize and teach it. Thus, the belief that the knowledge selected to be taught in schools should be unquestioned is an increasingly untenable one (Hess, 2009). It is obvious that in this postmodern era, when debate over what and whose knowledge should be represented in the school curriculum has become crucial, controversial issues such as global warming, social illness, economic inequality, racism, immigration, sexuality, gender roles, war, and terrorism—and how these issues should be dealt with—are always centered around teachers. As a result, what should role should teachers and school administrators play in dealing with those vexing debates and powerful concerns for students and, further, for democracy? How should teachers engage with such issues while exploring their pedagogical implications for the curriculum? Given the changing nature of society and our understanding of or perspective on it, what teachers should notice is the fundamental structure of a society in which ideological differences influence the numerous answers to these questions. As curriculum scholar Diana Hess (2009) stated, schools have become the center of political and societal conflicts as a proxy target in the debate over what values a society should uphold. A number of surveys of groups from across the ideological spectrum indicate that schools and teachers provide students with ways of understanding the realities and dilemmas they

face and will continue to face, but much of this kind of research overlooks what youth think (Hess, 2009), meaning how students think and see, and what they do to make sense of new situations and new ideas—things that are perhaps out of teachers' common-sense comfort zone. As I emphasized in examining the importance of preparation and deliberate planning in the museum context, a similar curriculum plan must be enacted to address sensitive topics even before the teacher's individual understanding of the topic(s) at hand and his or her position on the related issues.

"Democratic education" is different from "civic education," as Hess (2009) argued, in that civic education prepares students to fit into society as it currently exists, whereas a democratic education addresses the dynamic and contested dimensions inherent in a democracy. School is an essential place to break the zeitgeist, especially in a conservative area with cultural differences. It is where social identity is established. If schools fail to teach youths how to engage with socially controversial issues—or if they suppress, ignore, or deny the important role of controversial issues in the curriculum— they send a host of dangerous and wrongheaded messages. One such message is that the political realm is not really important in comparison to other content on which schools have traditionally focused; another is that such issues are taboo and thus dangerous for youths to encounter.

Hess (2009) emphasized some unique features that make schools a good place for learning how to talk about highly controversial issues. One such feature is opportunity, which is closely related to generational entelechies the curriculum can provide for the inclusion of such issues. A second feature is teachers, who have their own zeitgeist; they may fear to break zeitgeist in the classroom, but they have developed expertise in

fostering deliberation and inquiry among students. Third is the degree of ideological diversity among students and teachers, which is greater in the school setting than in most other venues where young people congregate. Classes constitute a more heterogeneous community, along dimensions of gender, religion, and ethnicity, than students will encounter in their homes. This diversity in schools makes them particularly good places for democratic education, as it fosters interactive discussion.

Democracy itself has an intrinsic equality; for example, Dahl (1998) pointed out that the virtue of democracy is that it sees the good of every human being as intrinsically equal to that of any other. This point explains why democracy demands discussion. It ideally implies that all members of a community are politically, socially, religiously, and even economically equal and qualified to participate in discussions and in the decision-making process. Therefore, you cannot have authentic democracy without discussion. To be against discussion is akin to opposing democracy because democracy involves public discussion of common problems, not just silent counting of individual hands. Listening and talking represent a main goal of democracy: self-governance among equals (Hess, 2009). In this respect, controversial art, if it is well addressed, can be a transgressive way to form multiple T.A.Z. for students.

As mentioned before, the strategy of the antagonists in any art controversy is usually decontextualization of a few elements. Of course, an image or a word can cause pain; however, artworks of all kinds are more than the sum of their parts. What if the diverse elements of an artwork could be addressed in a classroom context? Multiple forms of T.A.Z. might be created within and between the individuals. Art depends on the interplay of constant and transient factors. The constant factors include ideology,

hegemony, civilization, religious faiths, family, and individuality, while the transient factors are the entelechies: the realization of individuals or a group's potential. Every major civilization has had a visual arts tradition that reflected the broader culture from which it arose. As those cultures have changed, so too have the purposes, styles, and organizational features of their visual arts systems (McCarthy et al., 2005). Changes in the arts environment have been myriad and complex; changing patterns stem from such factors as more fragmented leisure time, a more diverse population, shifting pervasive political and religious ideologies, and new technologies. Visual culture is inherently pleasurable because of its transgressive nature; paradoxically, it is conformist in nature. Today, students are heavily influenced by mass media, and that the range of images they see in that visual culture constitutes an acceptable expression of widely shared social assumptions; thus teachers try to address popular culture in classrooms. Notwithstanding that, teachers do not actually pay attention to the gap between irrational aspects of popular culture and the rationality that characterizes a typical education. This may be because they fear losing their authority, or may be unsure how to handle a moral dilemma caused by a transgression. They may want to stay in a safe environment within the well-ordered educational curricula and system, or they might not want to be bothered by controversial topics.

In the art theory classes I have taught, I do not hesitate to expose students to sensational or disturbing images. The feeling of being disturbed is relative and interdependent. For example, I showed one class David Wojnarowicz's video *A Fire in My Belly*. I asked the students several questions. "What do you think of the coupling of democracy and Christianity in America? Why does it matter is someone is moved to

censor the image of a crucifix with ants crawling on it? What are the crawling ants symbolizing? What if the work were an actual performance rather than a video, allowing the artist and audience to have a dialogue about the work?" Most important, "What do you think of the images?" and "What would you feel and do when you see those image?" My students and I both became more aware of otherness as it relates to the chasm of interpretation, which serves as a trigger for further discussion, contestation, conflict, negotiation, and mediation among all participants in the pedagogical dynamic. Each participant became a representative of his or her respective culture, with the assumption that conformity is the hindrance of freedom and the enemy of growth in democracy. The realization of the "dominant value" of each student is a good starting point for realization of his or her position in an ideational group sense to explore the unheard voices and unknown cultural identities of others. I chose to trigger the curiosity of each student with a sensational classroom atmosphere. My pedagogical strategy was to create a crisis of knowledge and beliefs my students and I would navigate together.

This strategy is parallel to what museums are attempting to do pedagogically with their publics. Personal and environmental factors contribute to an individual's ability to pay attention by creating the conditions of controversy through the controversial work. As more artists explore cultural, social, and political topics as a form of identity expression, taboo or marginalized issues—including homosexuality and gender—come to the surface. Thus, students could have the opportunity, at least temporarily, to experience the generational differences and the power of visual images at that time of transition. Viewing an artist's work and learning the historical and cultural contexts in which the art was created conditions for learning, and a controversy sparked within one's mind

stimulates curiosity. Through the examination of controversial exhibitions, students can start discussing their own and others' perspectives, and compare their perspectives on the historical event with those of the older generation, seeking and perhaps achieving a connection between their own culture and other cultures and between contextual boundaries. The exhibit becomes a place for the students to understand why and what has been repressing them, and to get a sense of how to better react to socially and generationally constructed ideological beliefs.

By examining the many dimensions of controversial art in relation to a curriculum, we transform the classroom into a forum for creative dialogue about otherness. Artworks—unlike natural objects such as trees and rocks—are always *about* something. Therefore, unlike trees or rocks, artworks call for interpretation (Barrett, 2003). Barrett (2003) pointed out that works of art provide insights, information, and knowledge only if people attempt to interpret them. The subjectivity of the interpretation process is a decentralizing force that prevents our understanding of the visual pedagogy from being dominated by a single ideology. In the book *Ways of Seeing*, Berger (1972) stated, "We never look at just one thing; we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves." He also concluded that "our vision is continually active, continually moving, continually holding things in a circle around itself, constituting what is present to us as we are" (pp. 8–9). Changing or broadening our ways of seeing and thinking engenders flexible hybridity, so the lived experiences of students actually become lived knowledge for themselves and others. Although the nature of hybridity brings confusion and chaos to students and teacher alike, it becomes a door to a broader space of different perspectives on the world.

I taught at a university that is well known for its queer-friendly atmosphere. Despite the university's reputation, the awareness of queer culture is still very low. I spoke about LGBT culture in the art world because numerous queer artists express who they are by identifying themselves as part of queer community, as well as individually, through their art. I did not try to identify queer students in the classroom because it would prejudice the students' acts of speaking; I only asked them to talk about their own interpretations. The first piece I showed to students was Catherine Opie's four chromogenic prints, made in 1991. Although her work was informed by her identity as an out lesbian, I did not mention it. Some students asked, "Is she a lesbian?" Instead of giving an answer, I asked them, "What makes you assume she is a lesbian?" The question was the stimulus. Sensing the work's imbued images of sexual minority due to manipulation of mass media, students talked about masculinity and femininity, bigotry and collective identity; I engaged in the conversation not as an instructor but as a facilitator while positioning myself between the intimacy and the formality of the classroom. Following Pinar's argument that the positionality of a practicing teacher serves as a bridge between the past and present and the self and otherness (cited in Mannheim, 1927/1928), I eventually witnessed as the classroom became, simultaneously, a civic square and T.A.Z. in its own right.

According to Mayo (1999),

There is no such thing as a neutral education process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of generations into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes the

"practice of freedom," the means by which men and women deal critically with

reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (p. 5)

Controversial artworks are not typically images students have seen in their homes.

Taking advantage of the classroom setting, the students no longer pass by the images, but

instead perceive those images through themselves with reflection on what they have

heard, known, and been taught. The more conflicts and contestations that take place in

interpreting controversial art, and the more they listen to the thoughts of others, the less

confident students become about their own opinions. As South African artist Gavin

Jantjes said, "There are no uncontaminated peripheries full of authentic others" (as cited

in McDaniel & Robert, 2010, p. 48). Whether or not both teachers and students

successfully absorb the meaning and intent of the visual, they are motivated to give new

meaning to the visual in any case in which the opportunity for entelechy is given. If

educators want to be safe, the next generation will not have the chance to thoroughly

explore and therefore know what is really out there, which will make our citizens more

prone to accepting ideologies and authority.

Implications for Public Policy as Sites of Public Pedagogy

Redefining Freedom of Expression

Because museums are mission-driven organizations, they usually argue for

"freedom of expression" when coping with censorship, as we saw with the case of the

Sensation exhibition at the BMA: immediately after Mayor Giuliani sued the museum to

cancel the show on the grounds that it was anti-Catholic, BMA director Arnold Lehman

filed a federal lawsuit against Giuliani, insisting Giuliani's action violated the First

Amendment. Although Giuliani was able to freeze the museum's funding, the city was

ordered to restore it after a federal judge later ruled that the mayor had indeed violated the First Amendment (Judkis, 2010). Judge Nina Gershon wrote, "There is no federal constitutional issue more grave than the effort by government officials to censor works of expression and to threaten the vitality of a major cultural institution as punishment for failing to abide by governmental demands for orthodoxy" (as cited in Judkis, 2010). Often, players in a controversy are not willing to engage in dialogue because they feel the only acceptable action is taking artworks down. Although invoking the First Amendment was an effective way to keep the exhibition in this case, it is not always a sufficient response to criticism and cannot always mitigate outside pressure. Svetlana Mintcheva, Program Director at the National Coalition Against Censorship (2006), argued that the only exception to First Amendment protection occurs when hateful speech constitutes a direct threat. In practice, though, it is notoriously difficult to distinguish a threat from purely expressive activity (Atkins & Mintcheva, 2006). In the United States, the First Amendment protects, among other types of expression, speech that might offend particular social groups. The amendment is partly responsible for a recent, notable shift regarding the government's assumed right to censor and prohibit expression in advanced industrialized democracies. No law can cover all the circumstances of each case. There are numerous unprecedented and unpredictable cases due to complicated distinctions of the notion of fair use and copyright issues. In the United States, the drafters of the U.S. Constitution found unpalatable the idea of the government controlling expression, whether political or religious. This stands in contrast to governments in Europe, which even today actively convict artists, curators, and writers accused of invoking religious hatred or of hate speech. What is to be censored is always relative and subjective;

community- or local-level social disruptions call into question established notions and standards of community life, and community precipitates symbolic actions.

Let us reconsider that the freedom of speech is an authentic freedom in our world. The freedom of expression that the First Amendment protects as a "virtue" comprises the freedom of speech, of the press, of association, and of any other assembly necessary for liberation and sloughing off the power of domination. As seen in the case of Ground Zero, the pilgrim monuments, and other monuments commemorating Christopher Columbus's first landfall (as discussed in Chapter 2), freedom of expression is not always a virtue but sometimes a tactic—as is terrorism. This is because free speech sometimes becomes a tool for manipulation, displays of power and authority, and propaganda in shaping social discourse, especially in the construction of the authority to control and its secret love affair with manipulative displays of power.

With the publication of the 1962 book *The End of Ideology*, which has become a landmark in American social thought, sociologist Daniel Bell (2000) anticipated that the exhaustion of older humanistic ideologies derived from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would cause the rise of new parochial ideologies. The phrase "the end of ideology" first entered widely into English circulation between Stalin's death and Khrushchev's secret speech denouncing him in 1955; and with the symbolic end of communism (albeit not the actual end), Bell's theory of ideology called attention to the surrogates emerging in place of the declining nineteenth-century ideologies (Bell, 2000). Bell's work was partially influenced by Lewis Mumford, whose first premise was that old political ideologies had exhausted their capacity to explain events and inspire humans to constructive action. Considering the existing structures or systems of authority and the

role of system builders, Mumford (1973) anticipated large hierarchical organizations as megamachines—that is, machines using humans as their components. Mumford's model explains the Taylorism of the United States' industrial evolution, and its doctrine of scientific management for production efficiency. In relation to the theory and processes of civilization, the most recent megamachine has manifested itself in modern technocracy, particularly in nuclear power, war, and terror. Mumford used the examples of the Soviet and United States power complexes, the builders of systems and authorities, and the armies of the World Wars. He also explained that the meticulous attention paid to accounting and standardization and the elevation of military leaders to divine status were spontaneous features of megamachines, as shown throughout the history of symbolic visual forms. He cited such examples as the repetitive nature of Egyptian paintings, which feature enlarged pharaohs, and the large public portraits of Communist leaders Mao Zedong and Joseph Stalin (Mumford, 1973). As anticipated, visibility and invisibility of authority have been a story about power: losing it and gaining it, exercising it and resisting it.

Why have the visuals mattered for any power structure or authorities? The art world perpetuates an institutional theory of art, which means that an object's status as an artwork is not something intrinsic to the object itself; rather it is an artwork because of the particular way it is received in the social, political, and cultural context. Moreover, members of the art world who are capable of designating an object as (or as not) an artwork are individuals with preferences and different perceptions that have been collectively and socially constructed; therefore, there should be practical reasons in the art world to justify art-hood with certain forms of guidelines. There are always neglected

factors in art controversies that have had tremendous consequences for the art world from both administrative and educational perspectives. The question of how the art world developed its current position in relation to national, community, and even micro structures, and the strategies it uses to maintain that position, will prove an interesting direction for future research. This is because the battles over controversial art, or indeed the artworks themselves, function as Poetic Terrorism in creating T.A.Z. where freedom culture and an individual's creativity are empowered at their best.

Also, it is crucial to most debates on funding that controversy is the perceived role of the art world. Some people hate controversy, and some argue that "perfect harmony" should be the goal of society. Yet, as Simmel (1908) insisted, if complete harmony existed, the society would be dead because there would be no impetus for continuing development. Such harmony would likely cause a "highway hypnosis" condition. Highway hypnosis is a mental condition related to drowsy driving. If there is no traffic when driving a long, straight route, hour after hour, drivers are likely to fall asleep or enter a state of inattention. T.A.Z. shatters preexisting conditions and structures in favor of another way to go, and thus cultural conflicts and chaos always happen in our daily lives to bring about a creative movement and the balance to take a step forward, for better or worse.

The museums, artists, and communities of each city creatively stepped forward and gathered together—either to go for the art or not—due to the controversies surrounding the art exhibitions. If there were no such creative movements as reactions to art controversies, each artwork would be regarded as just a one-time happening. These creative movements have opened alternative public spaces and changed the atmosphere

for pedagogy in a public way. Because those communities do not have an exact direction to go in the future and have the potential to create another type of alternative public spaces for the public, about the question defining their future is not what to teach but how to learn and teach together. Therefore, it is exactly an alternative and creative zone the public pedagogy establishes. Artist Vincent van Gogh once said that normality is a paved road and it is comfortable to walk on, but no flowers grow on it. How can we raise splendid social flowers? What would the flowers be?

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Curriculum Vitae
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Education
2017   Ph.D. (with Minor in Social Thought), Art Education, Pennsylvania State University
2012   M.A., Arts Administration, Columbia University, Teachers College
2008   M.F.A. Western Painting and Printing, Ewha Womans University, Korea
2006   B.F.A. Western Painting and Printing, Ewha Womans University, Korea
        B.A. in History of Art, Ewha Womans University, Korea

Teaching Experience
2014-2016   Instructor, Pennsylvania State University, U.S.
2013   Instructor, Line Art Studio-Learning Center, U.S.
2006-2008   Instructor, E-Hoo Art Academy, Korea
2005-2006   Instructor, Ye-won Art Institute, Korea

Work Experience
2014   Art Curator, Aqua Miami Art Fair, FL, U.S.
2013   Art Curator, Spectrum-New York Art Fair, Javits Center, NY, U.S.
2012   Project Director, *Crossing the Thresholds: Difference & Desire*, NY, U.S.
2012   Chief Curator & Manager, Gallery Chun, NY
2011   Senior Communication Intern, Tally Beck Contemporary, NY, U.S.
2009-2010   Assistant Intern Curator, Lumiere Gallery, Seoul, Korea
2008-2009   Art Director, Dae-Sung Art Advertisement Agency, Seoul, Korea

Scholarly Activities
2016   Panel Chair,"Reconceptualizing Terrorism"
2016   Presenter, "Terror and Manipulated Visual Culture"
2016   Presenter, "Navigating Spatio-temporal Transgression in Museums"
2015   Presenter, "Getting inside controversy in visual art as a construct to reveal the
        potential of public pedagogy"
2014   Presenter, "Reading the World of Children with Autism"
2014   Presenter, "Museums Taking Step Forward"

Award
2014   Selected artist of the Juried International Photography, City, PH21, Hungary
2014   Special Recognition Award for All Women Art Competition, U.S.
2014   Honorable Mentioned Artist, 2014 International Art Festival IAF, U.S.
2013   Selected Artist of The Exposure Award, Digital Exhibition, See.Me, U.S.

Publication
2015   *Museums Taking Steps Forward: Pedagogical apparatus requiring strategic
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