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Experimenting with Representation: Iconoclasm and Making Things Public

Peter Weibel and Bruno Latour

A museum exhibition is deeply unrealistic: it is a highly artificial assemblage of objects, installations, people and arguments, which could not reasonably be gathered anywhere else. In an exhibition the usual constraints of time, space, and realism are suspended. This means that it is an ideal medium for experimentation; and especially for addressing the current crises of representation, as we discuss below.

A key feature of an experiment is that it can fail. Indeed, we argue that exhibition experiments should ideally be set up according to very precise principles in order to explore contradictory outcomes. Too often, exhibitions are not used in this way but act merely as a site for manifesting the autonomy of preformed curatorial tastes. As we show through examples below, however, exhibitions can be used to think how an assembly of totally improbable elements can be gathered to raise a question that can be proven wrong or right. The success of such exhibition experiments depends on careful planning and debriefing.

Such exhibition experiments cannot, of course, be accomplished without long preparation and an intense collaboration between the curators and the "experimentalists" (a term we prefer to "artists"). The main point

is that neither artists, nor academics, nor curators are putting their sacred autonomy first. Rather, in the experimental exhibition process, everyone submits to the risks and interests of *heteronomy*.

Exhibition Experiments at ZKM

In this chapter we discuss two examples of experimental exhibitions that we have curated at the Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie (ZKM), the Center for Art and Media, in Karlsruhe, Germany. The first, *Iconoclasm*, was staged between May and September 2002, the second, *Making Things Public*, between March and October 2005.

ZKM opened in 1997 with the objective of integrating the arts and new media. The Center continually analyzes the theory and practice of new media in order to be able to react to the fast developments of information technology and its social influences. ZKM considers itself a forum for bringing together the sciences, the arts, and politics. As a platform for experimentation and discussion, its goal is to be actively involved in working for the future, since the question of how to use technologies in a meaningful way is constantly redefined and asked anew.

ZKM comprises various museums and institutes, including the Media Museum, the Museum for Contemporary Art, the Media Library, the Media Theatre, the Institute for Visual Media, the Institute for Music and Acoustics, the Institute for Basic Research, and the Institute for Media and Economics. Together, these enable the Center to develop interdisciplinary projects and international collaborations. This model differs considerably from traditional museums, since it creates room for research and experimentation, and is concerned equally with classical art and new media. Unlike other museums that focus on collection and presentation, ZKM accommodates all the essential stages of new media art production: research, production, presentation, and collection, as well as publication and archiving.

*Iconoclasm*¹

Iconoclasm explored the question: Is there a way to suspend the iconoclastic gesture in order to interrogate it instead of extending it further? In other

words, could iconoclasm (so important in the histories of religion, art, politics, science, and literature) be turned from an unquestioned resource into an interesting and problematic topic? Once this abstract question is raised, the only way to experiment with it is by conducting a real experiment with real images brought into the imaginary and unrealistic space of a museum, in this case the marvellous set-up of ZKM. But the conditions of the experiment also dictate what should be gathered for the experiment in order to be able to falsify or confirm the hypothesis. If we had assembled only contemporary art objects and installations, we would have obtained only one set of attitudes and reactions. The same would have been true if we had shifted our interest to art history or religious studies only. So, instead, we brought these together (figure 4.1).



Figure 4.1 View of the exhibition *Iconoclash: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion, and Art*, ZKM, 2002. In the foreground is Elaine Sturtevant's "Duchamp Bicycle Wheel" (1969–73); in the middle replicas of Marcel Duchamp's "La boîte-en-valise" (1966, original 1936/1941) and "Bottle Rack" (1964, original 1914); in the background, from left to right, Kasimir Malevich's "Black Circle" (c. 1923), Alan McCollum's "30 Plaster Surrogates" (1982–90) and Kasimir Malevich's "Black Square" (c. 1923). Photography: ONUK, Bernhard Schmitt, Karlsruhe.

The exhibition aimed to display, in a systematic confrontation, three great clashes about representation – about its necessity, sanctity, and power – in the domains of science, art, and religion. Image wars are everywhere, from the Taliban destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas, to the controversy over the Danish cartoons of Mohammed, to doubts about scientific imagery. By linking the three domains of theology, art, and science all at once, the aim was not to increase the critical mood or to reinforce disbelief and irony. On the contrary, it was to transform iconoclasm from being an indisputable resource into a topic to be systematically interrogated.

Instead of mocking once more those who produce images or simply being furious with those who destroy them, the show aimed at placing the viewer in a quandary: "We cannot do without representation. If only we could do without representation." Monotheist religions, scientific theories, contemporary arts, not to forget political theories, have all struggled with this contradictory urge of producing and also destroying representations, images and emblems of all sorts. Through many works of ancient, modern, and contemporary arts, and through many scientific instruments, the show explored that quandary – a quandary which has been so important for the self-understanding of the Western world. It aimed at moving beyond the image wars by showing that behind this dramatic history of the destruction of images, something else has always been going on: a cascade of image production, which was made visible throughout the exhibition, in traditional Christian images as well as in scientific laboratories and in various experiments of contemporary art, music, cinema, and architecture. While the great struggles of iconoclasts against icon-worshippers were going on, another history of iconophilia has always been at work. This alternative history of the Western obsession with image worship and destruction allows the establishment of less biased comparisons with other cultures influential in the rest of the world, where images may play a very different role.

Neither an art show, nor a science and art show, nor a history of art show, *Iconoclash* offered a bewildering display of experiments on how to suspend the iconoclastic gesture and how to renew the movement of images against any freeze-framing. With numerous documents, scientific objects, religious idols and artworks, the exhibition made clear that the word "image" includes all sorts of representations and mediations. The show became experimental only when it was decided to gather entirely different repertoires of images that had never been juxtaposed before: in contemporary arts, reformation, and science. It became even more so once it was resolved to let visitors decide whether they were being faced with

copies or originals from these various sources. And it became more experimental still when it was decided to involve not one or two curators, as is usual in exhibition-making, but seven, who would meet regularly for three years, visit other exhibits together, and work collectively not to come to an agreement but to settle on the best ways to produce what could be called interference patterns between all those segments of iconoclastic histories.

It is not for us to decide whether the experiment failed or succeeded as a show, but it is clear that it was neither a traditional show nor simply a *mêlée* of disjointed elements. We had proven that iconoclasm, which until then was considered the unquestionable basis for any advanced critique, itself deserved to be suspended, examined, and transformed into a topic (cf. Besancon 2001).

*Making Things Public*²

Making Things Public aimed at pushing exhibition experimentation even further, this time by creating a really impossible space by making an installation of installations created entirely for the purpose of the experiment. The topic was apt: a parliament of parliaments, an assembly of assemblies, an exploration into the techniques of representation. The idea once again was to explore crises of representation, this time not by probing the reasons for the iconoclastic urge, but by taking stock of the very results of the *Iconoclasm* experiment. If, as the subtitle of that show indicated, we could move “beyond the image wars in science, religion and art,” then an obvious consequence was to explore the implications of this for politics.

Without a doubt, this was an unusual exhibition. It aspired to nothing less than a renewal of what constitutes an art show as well as of ways of thinking about politics and methods of establishing new forms of collaboration between artists and academics. The reason for such an undertaking was that we live in rather discouraging times as far as political life is concerned. Just the right moment, then, to make a fresh start by bringing together three modes of representation more usually kept apart: How to represent people? Politics. How to represent objects? Science. How to represent their collective gathering? Art.

The main idea behind this show was that politics is all about *things*. It's not a sphere, a profession, or a mere occupation; it essentially involves a concern for affairs that are brought to the attention of a *public*. The public

is not cast in stone for all time. We're not talking here about the people as represented by their elected officials. The public has to be created for each new issue, for each new matter of concern. So the question we explored was: “What would happen if politics were made to revolve around disputed states of affairs?” This is why the show began with a section entitled NO POLITICS PLEASE, which introduced visitors to other types of assemblies in several different cultures. Politics is not universal and nor is democracy, but collecting people and things undoubtedly is. This issue of collection was crucial to the next sections, THE PUZZLE OF COMPOSITE BODIES and GOOD AND BAD GOVERNMENT. At the end of the first part the question has become: WHICH COSMOS FOR WHICH COSMOPOLITICS?

It turns out that the oldest meaning of the English and German word for “thing” concerns an assembly brought together to discuss disputed matters of concern. Hence the choice of the slogan “From Realpolitik to *Dingpolitik*,” a neologism invented for the show. This major shift was reflected in the aesthetic of the show, in the ways in which its one hundred-plus installations and works of art were presented, and in the general physical and virtual architecture. What we attempted to do was to compare modernist with non-modern attitudes to objects: a move FROM OBJECTS TO THINGS.

The next section, the ASSEMBLY OF ASSEMBLIES, showed the visitor that there are many other types of gatherings which are not political in the customary sense, but which bring a public together around things: scientific laboratories, technical projects, supermarkets, financial arenas – THE MARKET PLACE IS A PARLIAMENT, TOO – churches, as well as around the disputed issues of natural resources like rivers, landscapes, animals, temperature, and air – THE PARLIAMENTS OF NATURE. All these phenomena have devised a bewildering set of techniques of representation that have created the real political landscape in which we live, breathe, and argue. Hence, the question that can be raised in respect of all of them is: They may be assemblages, but can they be turned into real *assemblies*?

The next sections making up the third part of the show conveyed that PARLIAMENTS, TOO, ARE COMPLEX TECHNOLOGIES. Instead of saying that voting, talking, arguing, and deciding are quaint pieces of machinery, the visitor is prompted to consider them with great respect because of their delicate set of fragile mediations. Instead of looking for democracy only in the official “sphere” of professional politics, this section drew attention to the new technical conditions enabling things to be *made* public. NO MEDIATION, NO REPRESENTATION.

The next logical step was to imagine what representative assemblies could become if only they could benefit from all the techniques of mediation considered earlier. Hence, the fourth and last part of the show is concerned with imagining the future of politics by developing A NEW ELOQUENCE and NEW POLITICAL PASSIONS.

The exhibition made clear that the repertoire of attitudes and passions usually associated with taking a political stand is much too narrow. There are many other ways of reacting politically in non-Western traditions, in the old political philosophies, in most contemporary science and technology, in the new web-based spaces, and in the instruments of representation, of which parliaments are only a part. So why not try an "OBJECT-ORIENTED democracy" and "get back to things"?

Making the public

During a visit, without fully realizing it, you as a visitor will have become at once an actor in, and the screen of, an invisible work of art that has tried to put flesh on the bones of the new body politic. Collectively exploring the unintended and unexpected consequences of our actions was the only way, in the words of the great American philosopher, John Dewey, "for the Public to come into being" (1927). This is precisely what we tried to do with the visitors to this show: to reassemble them and make them part of a totally new *Thing*, a new assembly.

We know from Walter Lippmann's concept of "the phantom public" (1925) that the public sphere and the general public are not a biological body that remains the same forever, but something that is threatened with extinction if we do not constantly reactivate it. The issue of what constitutes public interest and the general public, or specific things and public opinion, is very broad. We could even paraphrase the title of Dewey's *The Public and its Problems* (1927) and say: the problem of the public is the public itself, because the latter is something that is made, made of countless other issues that are initially made public. For this reason, everyone – the mass media, the cultural institutions, politics – is busy hunting for the phantom that is the public. The question: "How are things made public?" is therefore a multiple question: How are things made? How is the public sphere made? How is the public made? How are things made public?

Once upon a time, the belief prevailed that reason ruled the public domain – a Kantian ideal for the public sphere. On the free market, the

new public space of the eighteenth century, the free exchange of opinions ensued, an intellectual marketplace. This free market for opinions was the expression of a liberal democracy and was used by the citizens as a weapon against the monopoly on opinion formation held by the aristocracy and the church. Sovereign citizens commit to rational consensual debates on matters of public concern in public spaces. In principle, the state was accountable to the citizens in public space. In the twentieth century, with public and private interests permeated by both the mass media and the government, this public sphere ceased to exist. As of 1920 the state bureaucracy and the market start to use the media to steer opinion. The public is transformed from a "reasoning cultural public into a culture-consuming public," as Habermas (1962) puts it, from active sovereign into passive consumer. Lippmann (1925), however, showed that the "omniscient, sovereign citizen," on whom the ideal of representative democracy is based, no longer existed. No citizen had access any longer to all the information and arguments necessary to make an informed judgment such as keeps the mechanisms of representative democracy in motion and justifies their existence. This raises the question of whether the notion of representative democracy had become illusory.

In the 1993 anthology edited by Bruce Robbins, entitled *The Phantom Public Sphere*, the authors argue that the ideal of the omniscient citizen was only drawn up in order to be able to denounce it as a phantom and phantasm, and thus relativize the very ideal of democracy. For this reason, they distance themselves from proposing general solutions to social problems and prefer instead to offer solutions to actual problems on the basis of human rights. The fleeting nature of the public and of public space – its phantom quality meaning that the public cannot be pinned down as a thing – is actually what constitutes its democratic character. Hence, the idea that the public is a phantom, a powerful intellectual concept which shifts the definition of politics from a *substance*, which is always there no matter what we do, to a *movement* that can be interrupted at any moment if we fail to carry it further. The changing "Public Phantom" or "Phantom Public" is thus an expression of democracy. In democracy all power emanates from the people, but they cannot be pinned down as an entity and identified, although they are likewise not an amorphous mass. Thus, the power actually belongs to no one but has to be reconstituted and legitimized each time anew. You cannot speak of democracy without speaking of the public sphere and the general public. Nevertheless, this public sphere is not lost, as some

sociologists bemoan; its absence is only a matter of a change in representation. If the bourgeois public sphere has perhaps been lost, then this does not also mean that the public sphere as a whole has been lost; it only means that we can no longer find it where we are accustomed to seeing it and must therefore hunt for it in another shape and another place, or even perhaps on the move as Derrida (1991) has suggested. Moreover, even if the public sphere is no longer a universal entity valid for all members of society, it may exist in many sub-spheres (such as “the proletarian public sphere” outlined by Negt and Kluge (1972)). The task of democracy today, then, is no longer to speak of minorities and majorities, of dominant opinion and deviant, but to respect the multiplicity of opinions in multiple public spheres (Warner 2002).

Since it is in the mass media, in particular television, that an extremely anti-democratic impulse prevails (Bourdieu 1996), new forms of and forums for the public sphere, ranging from interactive media art to the virtual laboratory, are the places that now occupy the role once reserved for coffeehouses, clubs, debating societies, and leagues in the early days of the public sphere. This makes them immensely important for the new democracy. If constitutional democracy seems about to collapse along with the welfare state and what Alfred Müller-Armack branded the “social market economy,” then confidence in democracy will disappear along with it. This makes it all the more important to restimulate the idea of the democratic.

The Phantom

To try to explore such ideas, we invited digital artists Michel Jaffrenou and Thierry Coduys to design an exhibit. Their brief was to convey to visitors the idea of a mobile, changing public sphere in which individuals both are caught up in the consequences of others’ actions and may themselves trigger (often unintended) effects. The result was “a quasi-invisible work of art” (Jaffrenou & Coduys 2005, p. 218) called the *Phantom Public*. Rather than being an exhibit located in a specific area of the exhibition, the *Phantom Public* involved a set of audio-visual effects distributed throughout *Making Things Public* (figure 4.2). Thus, the workings of the *Phantom Public* were evidenced by alterations in lighting and sound effects, and by particular exhibits in different areas of the exhibition being switched on or off (sometimes in patterned sequences).

Each visitor to the exhibition was given an individual Radio Frequency Identification on their ticket. This made it possible to track visitor

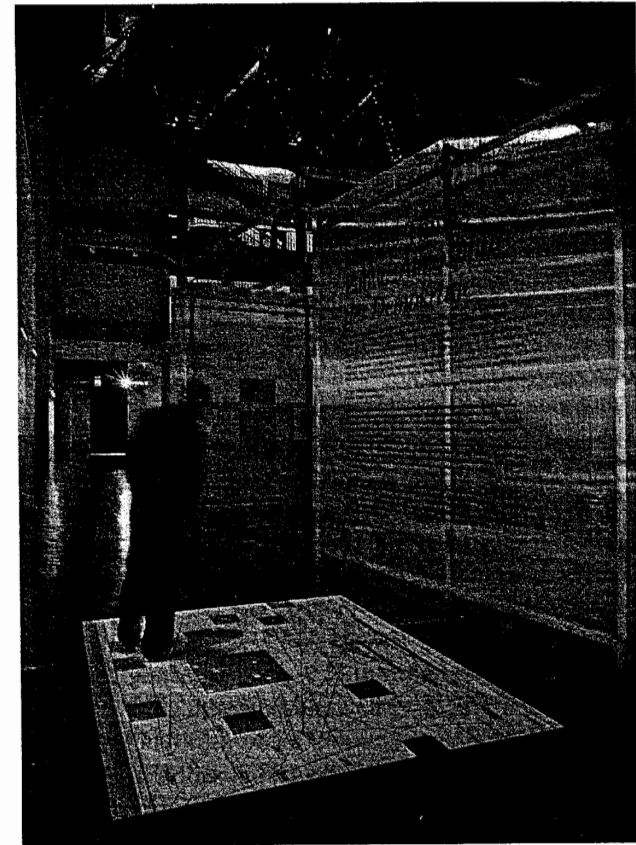


Figure 4.2 View of the exhibition *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, ZKM, 2005. Featuring Michel Jaffrenou and Thierry Coduys’s *The Phantom Public* installation: interactive, virtual, variable scenography, based on the behavior of the visitors of the exhibition. Photography by Franz Wamhof.

movements and build information – such as visitor numbers and distribution – into the complex software governing the behaviour of the *Phantom Public*. The *Phantom Public*’s behavior was also shaped by a number of other factors, such as “the climate in Karlsruhe, the time of the day and the ‘mood’ of the *Phantom Public*” (Jaffrenou & Coduys 2005, p. 220), as well as in some cases by visitors pressing particular buttons within the exhibition. The idea was to give visitors a vague and uneasy

feeling that “something happens” for which they were at least sometimes responsible – sometimes in a direct way, but mostly in ways not directly traceable – just as politics passes through people as a rather mysterious flow. In this way, not only did visitors shape the exhibition that they visited – no two visitors or visits being at all likely to be the same – they were also the screen onto which the workings of the Phantom were projected. In other words, the artwork purposely eschewed a strategy such as showing the collective behavior of visitors on a monitor or screen, but left each visitor to experience individually the effects generated.

Whereas Hobbes’s *Leviathan* represented on its frontispiece a body represented in turn by a multitude of bodies, the frontispiece of a contemporary book on democratic society would show Jaffrenou and Coduys’s *Phantom Public*. For here the public is not represented but is itself part of the system that it observes. The whole exhibition is an interactive participatory artwork that is what it shows: an assembly of assemblies, a parliament of parliaments, a new type of political gathering. The entire exhibition responds to the visitors’ behavior. The visitors act as representatives of the public sphere and they construct the public sphere.

Object-oriented democracy

The exhibition itself was a real commonwealth and the model for a commonwealth that arises from the relationship between “things.” It showed that implicitly any exhibition is an assembly – an assembly with a political character. It also showed dramatically and transparently what essentially constitutes every public assembly that is “thing”-based: a complex set of technologies, interfaces, platforms, networks, media, and “things,” which gave rise to a public sphere. Precisely in this way, the exhibition itself becomes the model of an “object-oriented democracy”: a “gathering,” a “thing” in itself. The visitors’ behavior triggers influences, responses, and changes at every moment, repeatedly creating new public spheres.

* To this extent, the exhibition and its design were not only the image of an “object-oriented” democracy and not only the model of *res publica* but themselves constituted a democratic “gathering.” Precisely by virtue of being not some giant body consisting of many small bodies but a Phantom, composed of many things and a diversity of mobile and variable visitors who move through the space, the exhibition visualized the exact opposite of the historical, political body, the massive crowned

giant Leviathan, hierarchically composed of many bodies. The democratic public sphere is not a “body” or an organism made up of bodies. Democracy is a phantom of bodies, a deceptive illusion of bodies, a dynamic network of moving and acting subjects. The art of democracy at the pinnacle of democracy is no longer an anatomical image of the body but the behavior of subjects as kindled by an emerging system. The focus of the show was thus not on representing the enchanting spirit of democracy through images or on captivating beholders but on *enacting democracy* (Weibel 1999). Democracy cannot be represented, it can only be “enacted.” The same is true of democratic art, as the *Phantom Public* shows.

At the same time, the visitor no longer enjoys the privilege of being a special visitor. No visitor is a sovereign. Yet each visitor’s behavior influences the surroundings and thus the perception of the other visitors. Here, visitors are indeed equals. In other words, this exhibition presents a counter-image of a “state without a state,” precisely because this is one of the features of global society today: the fact that the state is no longer that artificial being invented in order to protect and defend natural persons, as Hobbes once thought, for the modern state itself may become the enemy of man (Neumann 1942). Today it seems that the state exposes people to the powers of the market, rather than protecting them from it.

To show the difference between the myth of the state and democracy, another metaphor helps: that of the blind leading the blind. Pieter Breughel’s *Parable of the Blind Man* (1568) refers to the Bible: “Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch” (Matthew 15: 14). The painting shows a chain of blind men, each with his hand on the next man’s shoulder, following a blind man leading them toward an abyss. The customary reading would have it that whosoever is not part of the Christian faith will be blinded to the truth and fall into the abyss. Yet it is not only an iconography of belief but a political iconography, in which we see how people are blinded by the absolute power of the state. The blind leading the blind: there is no better image for totalitarian systems, and yet the recognition that no superior power is able to see better and farther than the common folk is also what allows democracy to thrive. This painting poses the question of competence. For this reason, what is needed is a democratization of politics in the service of competence. We are all blind, legally incompetent persons, but we can help each other to become competent, to become seeing with

the help of new tools and media. We wish to advance the very tools of democracy, to expand the laboratory of democracy to include artistic and scientific tools, techniques, devices, apparatuses, and methods, in other words to achieve a surplus of parliamentarianism, but less by representation and more by new technologies and interfaces to the parliamentary. So the crisis of political representation is a complementary phenomenon to the crisis of representation in art. The crisis of democracy today is a crisis of competence.

The Power of the Performative

Why should museums be used to stage such exhibition experiments? Is this not the role of social science and political philosophy? And if the question is to stage politics, how can a show be more than a mock-up of real political “demonstration” in the street? If it is not able to do politics for good, can a show of the sort we have outlined be anything but a boring demonstration of some *a priori* ideas? This is where the notion of experiment should be taken seriously. There is no other way to test an idea in advance of its realization than by means of a simulated space such as that we attempted to create in *Making Things Public*. But did our experiment succeed or fail? Was this assembly of assemblies a realistic anticipation of things to come – *the Parliament of Things* – or a mere mumbo-jumbo of accumulated junk? We did not gather visitor feedback ourselves, but what we did do was to stage a final experiment in which visitors could put our exhibition on test for themselves. The key question of the show was the ability of artists, politicians, philosophers, scientists, and the visitors themselves to shift from the aesthetics of objects to the aesthetics of things. Perhaps it will be initially puzzling to learn that the two final walls of the show were occupied by Otto Neurath Isotypes – an archetypically modernist combination of philosophy of science (logical positivism), and politics (the socialism of Red Vienna), and aesthetics (Bauhaus) brought together in the statistical data form of the Isotype (see also Henning, this volume). Well, here is a good case of how you can stage a *falsifiable* exhibition experiment. If the visitor who quits *Making Things Public* concludes that Neurath’s modernist solution to the quandary of our age is much more efficient, rational, pleasing, and politically correct than what is presented in the show – in other words, that objectivity is much more

forward-looking than “thingness” – then our show has failed. If, on the other hand, the visitor looks at the final Isotype section with a bit of nostalgia for the modernist style but grasps that the quandaries of our age can no longer be tackled by such a philosophy, politics, and design, then our experiment has succeeded. If so, visitors have hopefully been stimulated to inquire into how to assemble, through whatever means, the parliament of parliaments, the assembly of assemblies, that we have anticipated in this exhibition experiment.

The aesthetic object of Modernity was a closed object. Modernity itself was the response of art to the machine-based Industrial Revolution. The Postmodern is art’s response to the post-industrial computer-assisted information revolution. In the information society, not only does the aesthetic object become Eco’s “open artwork” (1962) but the work as such disappears and is replaced by instructions for enactment, for communicative action, and for options for action. Open fields of enactment mean new alliances arise between author, work, and observer, in which new actants such as machines, programs, multiple users, and visitors operate on the same level.

Contemporary avant-garde artists respond sensitively to social changes by changing the structure of their approach to their work and entering into new alliances with new forms of enactments. Forms of enactment for sculpture, images, texts, and music define their practices, and we can therefore speak of a “performative turn.” The technical arts, the computing arts, play the pivotal role here. In the interactive artwork, the viewer becomes another actant in the field of enactment, and has the same rights as all others. The artwork is no longer the dream of autonomy, of the absolute, and of sovereignty, but a practice of service.

The aesthetic object thus collapses, and its place is taken by the field of enactment, which, of course, does not consist solely of linguistic instructions or performative acts, for the things themselves are also actors *for action*. The object options and object fields serve as the medium for actions. Art as a social construct helps to construct the social. The aesthetic product is replaced by an artistic practice that can be object-based or object-free but nevertheless expands the scope for enactment. Therefore this complete, interactive, physically visitor-dependent exhibition mirrors our concept of an “object-oriented democracy.” It is an exhibition experiment that is what it shows: performative democracy, for the first time in history.

Notes

- 1 <http://www.iconoclash.de/> (accessed August 2006).
- 2 <http://makingthingspublic.zkm.de/> (accessed August 2006).

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