

Notes

Prelims

1. Roland Barthes, "Death of the Author," in *Image—Music—Text* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1977), 148.

Introduction

1. Jacques Derrida, "Videor," in *Resolutions: Contemporary Video Practices*, ed. Michael Renov and Erika Suderburg (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 73.
2. Trinh Minh-ha, *Woman Native Other* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 23.
3. Martha Rosler, "Video: Shedding the Utopian Moment," in *Illuminating Video: An Essential Guide to Video Art*, ed. Doug Hall and Sally Jo Fifer (New York: Aperture, in association with the Bay Area Video Coalition, 1990), 31.
4. Beryl Korot, Phyllis Gershuny and Michael Shamburg, "Introduction," *Radical Software* 1, no. 1 (1970): 1.
5. It also specifically situated alternative media in the U.S. in the context of socialist and anti-imperial struggles, particularly in light of Mao Tse-Tung's articulation of revolution in *On Guerrilla Warfare* (1937). It is important to note also that questions of alternative media were raised in the global South, especially in the context of the New World Information and Communications Order proposed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers in 1973. See Rafael Roncagliolo, "The Growth of the Audio-Visual Imagescape in Latin America," in *Video the Changing World*, ed. Nancy Thede and Alain Ambrosi (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1991), 22–30.
6. Deirdre Boyle, *Subject to Change: Guerrilla Television Revisited* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), xv.
7. Lisa Nakamura raises the point that the appropriation of images of Native Americans as the archetype of the "cybernetic nomad" in counter-cultural movements focused on independence from mass culture was particularly problematic given, first, the exclusion of Native Americans from most counter-cultural movements, and second, the exploitation of Native labor on

Reservations to work in new electronics factories. Nakamura discussed her current research on race, labor and indigeneity at the workshop “The Politics of Visuality: Innovative Feminist Approaches to Race/Gender/Sexualities in Visual Culture and Social Media,” held at Rutgers University, January 20, 2012. I am grateful for her presentation for bringing to my attention the contradictions between the use of Native Americans in Shamberg’s manifesto.

8. This is true of activist video in the United States made by groups such as People’s Video Theater and projects such as The Disarmament Video Survey. It served also as a model for community video by, among other groups, Video SEWA (which trained members coming from the informal sectors in video production) and the Canadian National Film Board’s “Challenge for Change” activist documentary program, which ran from 1967 to 1980.
9. The term “Third Cinema” was first proposed by Argentinian filmmakers Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino in 1969. Third Cinema opposed Hollywood’s emphasis on “emotional manipulation”, as well as its heavy debt to commercial industries. Instead, it was charged with promoting a critical understanding of social dynamics. Although no specific aesthetic forms were prescribed, filmmakers who identified with the genre of Third Cinema sought to make films which brought about socialist consciousness and change. See especially Michael Chanan’s *Twenty-Five Years of the New Latin American Cinema* (London: BFI, 1983) for the original manifestos by Solanas and Getino, Julio García Espinosa, and Glauber Rocha.
10. Alain Ambrosi, “Alternative Communication and Development Alternatives,” in *Video the Changing World*, ed. Nancy Thede and Alain Ambrosi (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1991), 4–14. Although community video and indigenous self-representation are not the topic of this study, there are excellent studies in this field. See Faye Ginsburg, Lila Abu-Lughod and Brian Larkin, eds., *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); and Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart, eds., *Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics, and Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); among others.
11. Jim Pines and Paul Willemen, eds., *Questions of Third Cinema* (London: BFI Publications, 1989), 12–13.
12. The term “imperfect cinema” derives from the Cuban filmmaker Julio García Espinosa, who calls for an end to the division between art and life and between intellectuals and “the people.” See “For an Imperfect Cinema,” in *Twenty-Five Years of New Latin American Cinema*, ed. Michael Chanan (London: British Film Institute, 1983), 28–33.
13. Nevertheless, Laura U. Marks’s careful investigation of video art in the Arab world, and Beirut specifically, voices a word of caution also about the accessibility of video in certain cultural contexts. Her research finds that most Arab independent media is, in her terms, “intercultural,” that is, tied to global and diasporic exchanges. Laura U. Marks, “What is That *and* between Arab Women and Video? The Case of Beirut,” *Camera Obscura* 18, no. 2 (2003): 41–70.

14. Luis Camnitzer, Jane Farver and Rachel Weiss, *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s-1980s* (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999), viii.
15. László Beke, "Conceptual Tendencies in Eastern European Art," in Camnitzer, Farber and Weiss, 41–51.
16. Mari Carmen Ramírez, "Tactics for Thriving on Adversity: Conceptualism in Latin America, 1960–1980," in Camnitzer, Farber and Weiss, 66.
17. As such, video presages the debates surrounding and paradoxes inherent in the contemporary landscape of video art, activist and hacktivist media and experimental documentary.
18. Rosler, 43.
19. An important exception among others is Michael Renov and Erika Suderburg's edited volume *Resolutions: Contemporary Video Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
20. Michael Rush argues that 1997—the year when Sony released the first digital recorder in the U.S.—marks the definitive moment of media convergence for the field of video art. With this technology, cultural producers began using a combination of video, digital video, film, DVDs and computer-based imaging in their art projects. Michael Rush, *New Media in Late 20th Century Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999).
21. Lucy Lippard makes a distinction between activist and political art, noting that political art is socially concerned, its artistic process is frequently bound to genre traditions and conventional modes of display. Activist art, on the other hand, is socially engaged and fights for cultural democracy. Lucy Lippard, "Trojan Horses: Activist Art and Power," in *Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation*, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984). While many of the works included in this study may be considered "political art" rather than "activist art" by this definition, attention to the circuits of transmission, the context of display, and the conditions of viewership considerably blur the boundaries between these two forms. Thus, while Milica Tomić's *Belgrade Remembers* engages in a public provocation on repression and resistance in the city of Belgrade—and in this regard might more clearly be identified as an activist artistic practice—Tomić's debt to the languages of feminist body and performance art complicate the work's singularly activist identification (Tomić's work is discussed in Chapter 1 of this study). Conversely, while Emily Jacir's *Memorial to the 418 Village That Were Destroyed, Depopulated and Occupied by Israel in 1948* was located in a traditional museum setting, the Queens Museum, the fact that this museum had served as a temporary home of the United Nations in the 1940s, at the moment when the UN General Assembly passed the resolution to partition Palestine, clearly adds an activist dimension to the work (Jacir's work is discussed in Chapter 3 of this book). These examples demonstrate that, while works themselves trespass disciplinary boundaries, historical scholarship frequently works to reify the division through conventions such as artists' monographs and exhibition catalogues, by dealing with activist and community video along sociological or political axes, or through issue-based collections.

22. I am thinking here explicitly of Okwui Enwezor's curatorial model at *Documenta XI*, which took place in a series of "platforms" and international symposia whose topics (Democracy Unrealized, Experiments with Truth: Transitional Justice and the Processes of Truth and Reconciliation, Créolité and Creolization, Under Siege: Four African Cities—Freetown, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Lagos) sought to stretch the terms of the avant-garde and the emerging global public sphere. In doing so, it included film, video, digital installations and works that were conventionally located in the field of documentary or activist media. Another example of the kinds of curatorial interventions across these genres involves the artistic and curatorial work of the RAQS Media Collective.
23. T. J. Demos, "The Art of Darkness: On Steve McQueen," *October* 114 (Autumn 2005): 62–63.
24. Salah M. Hassan and Olu Oguibe, "'Authentic/Ex-Centric' at the Venice Biennale: African Conceptualism in Global Contexts," *African Arts* 34, no.4 (Winter 2001): 65.
25. For an excellent and detailed consideration of scale-making and globalization, see Anna Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).
26. In the British and North American context principally, artists' exploration of the medium of video emerged in relation to a newly emerging field of feminist film theory, and particularly Laura Mulvey's "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." Lynda Benglis, Dara Birnbaum, Coco Fusco, Lynn Hershman, Joan Jonas, Howardena Pindell, Adrian Piper and Martha Rosler (among many others) each addressed the structures of the gaze and the politics of representation with short video works. Further, artists associated with the Feminist Art Program at Fresno State College frequently used video to document performances, and thus associated video with the feminist political project of consciousness-raising.
27. Teresa de Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 39.
28. *Ibid.*, 48.
29. Although McLuhan certainly emphasized the contraction of the globe effected by electronic media, he by no means meant to suggest that village life would necessarily produce harmony or homogeneity. Nevertheless, his focus on the extension of perception and consciousness runs contrary to my focus, *per de Lauretis*, on both the binding force of imaging processes, their inscription of social and subjective processes in ideology, and the irruptive and eccentric positions open to different female subjects in the social, which construct a different measure of desire and frame of reference.
30. De Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't*, 39.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Teresa de Lauretis, "Eccentric Subjects," in *Figures of Resistance: Essays in Feminist Theory* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 152.
33. Rosalind Krauss, "The Aesthetics of Narcissism," *October* 1 (Spring 1976): 56.

34. *Ibid.*, 56–57.
35. *Ibid.*, 57.
36. De Lauretis, “Eccentric Subjects,” 152.
37. Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 2.
38. De Lauretis, “Eccentric Subjects,” 175.
39. *Ibid.*, 151.
40. *Ibid.*
41. In this regard, de Lauretis’s “eccentric subject” might be likened with the process of *décalage* articulated by Brent Hayes Edwards. In examining failed modes of black transnationalism, he emphasizes the subtle but indelible effects left behind, where “unevenness or differentiation marks a constitutive *décalage* in the very weave of culture.” *Décalage* involves the restoration of a prior unevenness or diversity, a gap in time or space. See Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 13. Kara Keeling takes up Edwards’s notion of *décalage* to posit a form of oppositional consciousness characterized as “I = Another,” a subject position which I will take up as central to the operation of prismatic media. See Kara Keeling, “I = Another: Digital Identity Politics,” in *Strange Affinities: The Gender and Sexual Politics of Comparative Racialization*, ed. Grace Kyungwon Hong and Roderick A. Ferguson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 53–75.
42. De Lauretis, “Eccentric Subjects,” 175
43. De Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender*, 18.
44. Mary Ann Doane, “Indexicality: Trace and Sign,” *differences* 18, no. 1 (2007): 4.
45. Tom Gunning, “Moving Away from the Index,” *differences* 18, no. 1 (2007): 33.
46. A focus on Peircian semiotics emphasizes this point by distinguishing between the icon, which involves a relation of resemblance between the representamen and the object it comes to represent, and the index, which includes the “general hailing and deixic functions of language and gesture.” See Gunning, 30.
47. Brian Winston characterizes direct cinema or *cinéma vérité* as including: minimal contact between filmmakers and their subjects; conformity between the documentary and the actual order of events filmed; long takes and jump cuts; low or no commentary or voice-over imposing a frame between subjects and audience; and no use of interviews. See Brian Winston, “Documentary: I Think We Are in Trouble,” in *New Challenges for Documentary*, ed. Alan Rosenthal (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 23.
48. Trinh Minh-ha, *When the Moon Waxes Red: Representation, Gender and Cultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 33.
49. Bill Nichols, “The Voice of Documentary,” in *New Challenges for Documentary*, 50.
50. *Ibid.*, 50.

51. *Ibid.*, 51.
52. Trinh, 42.
53. Homi Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders," in *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 110.
54. Trinh, 46.
55. This is certainly an ideological necessity, the basis for human rights claims generally. Nevertheless, as Spivak's argument makes clear, "the enablement must be used even as the violation is re-negotiated." Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Righting Wrongs" in *Human Rights, Human Wrongs*, ed. Nicholas Owens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 169.
56. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 117.
57. James Clifford, "Post/Neo Colonial Situations: Notes on Historical Realism Today," in *Literatura e Viagens Pós-coloniais*, ed. Helena Carvalhão Buescu and Manuela Ribeiro Sanches (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Comparatistas, 2002), 12.
58. *Ibid.*, 16–17.
59. *Ibid.*, 10.
60. *Ibid.*, 16–17.
61. *Ibid.*, 17.
62. In this regard, Caren Kaplan notes, with respect to the commercialization of romantic "safari" travel images, that literal and figurative representations of travel "[enable and reproduce] a dangerous 'global-sisterhood' model that asserts similarities based on essentialized categories." See Caren Kaplan, "A World Without Boundaries: The Body Shop's Trans/National Geographics," in *With Other Eyes: Looking at Race and Gender in Visual Culture*, ed. Lisa Bloom (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 141.
63. Trinh, 47.
64. *Ibid.*, 48.
65. *Ibid.*
66. Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 72.
67. *Ibid.*, 75. This is not to say that many of the video works examined in this study do not employ narrative forms that are literary or filmic; indeed, it is to note that—insofar as video works organize narrative time—they borrow from the expressive capacities of other genres as a formal residue. When narratives cycle into looping mechanisms, real time, and collage, they articulate a form of mediation Jameson calls "video."
68. Jameson, 86.
69. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 107–9.
70. Donna Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan[®]_Meets_OncoMouse[™]: Feminism and Technoscience* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 16–17.
71. *Ibid.*, 16.

72. While Karen Barad takes up Haraway's notion of diffraction at length, her commitment to what she calls "nonrepresentational methodological approaches" or "material practices of intra-acting within and as part of the world" is specifically at odds with my articulation of an aesthetic strategy for representing complex and emancipatory feminist coalitional politics. See Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 88–90.
73. Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 44–61.
74. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York: Continuum, 1993), 411.
75. De Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't*, 38–39. In this regard, the conceptual and aesthetic strategy of refraction or diffraction allies certain media with the feminist articulation of standpoint theory, and especially with its focus on multiplicity and complexity, on the incorporation of multiple and competing views as a strategy for knowledge and cultural production. Mary Hawkesworth asserts that feminist standpoint analysis "acknowledges that claims about the world are theoretically mediated and value-laden—constructed in relation to a range of partial perspectives and determinate interests." See Mary Hawkesworth, *Feminist Inquiry: From Political Conviction to Methodological Innovation* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 178.
76. I thank Laura Christian for bringing this example to my attention in our conversations around reflexivity.
77. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 13.
78. De Lauretis, "Eccentric Subjects," 152.
79. Teresa de Lauretis, "Aesthetics and Feminist Theory: Rethinking Women's Cinema," in *Female Spectators: Looking at Film and Television*, ed. E. Deirdre Pribam (London: Verso, 1988), 181.
80. This is not to say that standpoint theory resolves the question of "standpoint"—nor that refraction necessarily redirects media contents in politically fruitful directions. Wendy Brown, in problematizing standpoint theory and the category of experience, argues, "When the notion of a unified and coherent subject is abandoned, we [...] cease to be able to speak of woman or for women in an unproblematic way [...] dispensing with the unified subject does not mean ceasing to be able to speak about our experiences as women, only that our words cannot be legitimately deployed or construed as larger or longer than the moments of the lives they speak from." See Wendy Brown, *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 40–41. Similarly, Hawkesworth asks, "If the experiences of situated knowers are identified as the grounds for the construction of competing standpoints, how can feminists avoid forms of subjectivism, which sustain both an unshakable conviction in the veracity of

- one's own experience and relativist resignation concerning the impossibility of adjudicating incompatible, experience-based claims?" Hawkesworth, 202.
81. Mohanty, 111–12.
 82. Caren Kaplan, "The Politics of Location as Transnational Feminist Critical Practice," in *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, ed. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 138.
 83. *Ibid.*, 139.
 84. *Ibid.*, 148.
 85. Mohanty, 118.
 86. In this regard, it is important to acknowledge also the manner in which this study participates in the "traffic in accessibility," emerging out of the North American academy, examining works available to Western audiences, frequently translated or subtitled in English or French. In taking up the question of transnational circuits, in opening up to the effect of cultural production and transmission for feminisms in a globalized present, this study seeks to articulate a commitment to a feminism without borders that attends to frictions, ruptures, uneven privileges and the very terms of transmission. De Lauretis reminds us that feminist theory is itself also a technology of gender, that "the construction of gender is also effected by its deconstruction." This assertion stresses the implication of the feminist scholar, her complicity with ideologies, and argues that the work of feminist theory begins by recognizing our location, articulating the "situatedness—political-historical and personal-political—of its own thought." De Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender*, 2.
 87. James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth-Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 11.
 88. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *An Aesthetic Education in an Era of Globalization* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 1. It should be noted that this book was released shortly before the completion of the manuscript, and thus while the book's subject is captivating and utterly relevant to this study, I have been unable to fully consider the book's implications here.
 89. Tsing, *Friction*, 1.
 90. *Ibid.*, 5.
 91. Spivak, *An Aesthetic Education*, 12.
 92. Mohanty, 124.
 93. Norma Alarcón, Caren Kaplan and Mino Moallem, *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms and the State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 1.
 94. De Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't*, 39.
 95. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 34. In a much earlier text, Spivak fleshes out this imaginative mode: "[. . .] if we must think a relationship between the subject of onto/epistemology [. . .] and the object of onto/axiology (that disenfranchised woman, not even graduated into that subject, whose historicity or

subjectship we cannot imagine beyond the regulation ‘women’s union’ or ‘personal pain’ human interest anecdote) the hope behind the political desire will be that the possibility for the name [subaltern] will be finally erased [. . .] In search of irreducibles, after the chastening experience of coming close to the person who provides that imagined name, I want to be able not to lament when the material possibility for the name will have disappeared.” Like the seduction of the name “subaltern” in Spivak’s text, the seduction of visibility is foregrounded by the tensions between revelation and refraction that shape the works included in this study. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Feminism and Deconstruction, Again: Negotiations,” in *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 140.

96. I thank Prof. Gina Dent for drawing my attention to this unusual formulation and what it might mean, during an independent reading group organized around Gayatri Spivak’s work held at the University of California, Santa Cruz in Winter 2004.
97. Spivak, *An Aesthetic Education*, 3.
98. *Ibid.*, 4.
99. With regard to the “lure of the local,” Miwon Kwon has critiqued Lucy Lippard for presenting a holistic vision of place, tied to a sense of rooted identity. Instead of a retrieval and resuscitation of a sense of place (and the presumption that what was lost can be found again), Kwon argues for the possibility of engaging at once the desires for both “right” and “wrong” places, and the social conventions, ideological regimes and habits of familiarity which set distinctions between propriety and impropriety. See Miwon Kwon, “The Wrong Place,” *Art Journal* 59, no. 1 (Spring, 2000): 33–43.
100. Spivak, *An Aesthetic Education*, 28.
101. See Clifford, *Routes*.

Chapter 1

1. <http://milicatomic.wordpress.com/works/one-day-instead-of-one-night-burst-of-machine-gun-fire-will-flash-if-light-cannot-come-otherwise/>.
2. Although I examine both video installations and experimental documentaries in this chapter, my argument throughout will strive to show the common conditions of cultural production and similar strategies employed by both artists and documentarians in addressing the postwar representational landscape in Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia and internationally.
3. Cited in Expert Report of Renaud de la Brosse, “Political Propaganda and the Plan to Create “A State for All Serbs”: Consequences of Using Media for Ultra-Nationalist Ends,” compiled at the request of the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, 40, accessed April 27, 2006, http://hague.bard.edu/icty_info.html.
4. The Brosse Report cites five examples from different authors, all published in the major newspaper *Politika* from November 1998 to May 1990.

5. Anne McClintock, "No Longer in a Future Heaven: Nationalism, Race and Gender," in *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 353.
6. *Ibid.*, 353.
7. Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, *Women-Nation-State* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 7. Cited in McClintock, 355.
8. This is certainly the case with many of the texts included in the anthology *Mass Rape: The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, ed. Alexandra Stiglmyer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), and particularly Catherine MacKinnon's article, cited below in the chapter.
9. Beverly Allen, *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 87.
10. The malleability of ethnic categories is the subject of a work of art by Mary Kelly entitled *The Ballad of Kastroit Rexhepi* (2002). Here, Kelly was struck by a *Los Angeles Times* article in 1999 that described the situation of a young boy who had been left for dead as his Albanian parents escaped a sustained Serbian attack. When he was found alive on the battleground, he was given a Serbian name (Zoran) and left behind at a hospital. When the Serbs retreated, the young boy was renamed with an Albanian name (Lirim). While the news story had the tenor of a human-interest story, Kelly was marked by how it compressed large-scale historical events into the young boy's body. She created a wall text consisting of three stanzas, formed on collected drier lint, which she collected while drying thousands of pounds of black and white cotton clothing. The stanzas read, "Unnatural spring: metal seedpods germinating bloody flora anticipating the 'expulsions.' Still, there is no escape from the facile affirmation of the media: 'Summer, 1999 happy ending in the Times.'" In using drier lint, Kelly sought to make connections between the detritus of everyday life and the "waste of war." See Ernest Larsen, "About a Boy," *Art in America* (December 2002): 98–101. I would like to thank Jennifer González for bringing this work to my attention.
11. Vesna Kesić, "Muslim Women, Croatian Women, Serbian Women, Albanian Women . . .," in *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation*, ed. Dušan I. Bjelić and Obrad Savić (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2002), 311.
12. This view was most famously propounded by Catherine MacKinnon, who wrote an article published in *Ms. Magazine* in 1993, entitled "Turning Rape into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide." The article was reproduced in *Mass Rape: The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, ed. Alexandra Stiglmyer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 73–81.
13. Kesić, 317.
14. Catherine MacKinnon, "Turning Rape into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide." *Ms. Magazine* (July/August 1993): 24–30.
15. The *Ms. Magazine* article also followed on the heels of the 1992 Canadian Supreme Court ruling (the "Butler Decision"), which incorporated elements of Dworkin and MacKinnon's ordinances into existing Canadian obscenity laws. This ruling was controversial especially because the first case prosecuted under

- the decision involved a story of consensual lesbian SM that appeared in a queer magazine entitled *Bad Attitude*.
16. Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Mythologies* (New York: Hill& Wang, 1972), 111.
 17. *Ibid.*, 113–117.
 18. *Ibid.*, 119.
 19. See, for example, the interview with Milica Pesić, director of the European Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, on National Public Radio's program *All Things Considered*. April 12, 1999.
 20. Brosse, 5–6.
 21. Cited in Roy Gutman, *A Witness to Genocide* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1993), x.
 22. The Brosse Report also noted that the SRNA, the Bosnian Serb television station, reported that Muslims fed Serbian women and children to hungry lions at the Sarajevo zoo: see Brosse, 77. Newspapers in Serbia also published reader's letters reporting that Albanians were raping hundreds of Serbian women in Kosovo: see Brosse, 50.
 23. Teresa de Lauretis, "The Violence of Rhetoric: Considerations on Representation and Gender," in *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers, 1989), 4.
 24. *Ibid.*, 5.
 25. *Ibid.*, 6–7.
 26. *Ibid.*, 1–2.
 27. Lynda E. Boose, "Crossing the River Drina: Bosnian Rape Camps, Turkish Impalement, and Serb Cultural Memory," *Signs* 28, no. 1, Gender and Cultural Memory (Autumn 2002): 71–96.
 28. *Ibid.*, 75–6.
 29. Kosovar Albanians (who are Muslim) are descendants of the Illyrians (who arrived in the Balkans around 8 B.C.E.) have been the target of a discreditation campaign by Serbian scientific, academic and political groups, who sought to revise and cast doubt on the primordiality of this group in the region: see Boose, 76.
 30. Boose, 78.
 31. *Ibid.*, 79.
 32. *Ibid.*, 85.
 33. Such a construction begs the question why Serbians do not act against Bosnian and Croatian men rather than against women. One might surmise that such acts would constitute, in the view of those committing these crimes, a threat to Serbian masculinity, the fear of being viewed as sodomites. Thus, it would seem that homophobia is partially responsible for the shifting gender (from Turkish men to Croatian women, for example) in "ethnic cleansing" campaigns, and thus the campaigns reconstitute a heteronormative gender binary through the sexual violence of rape and forced pregnancy.
 34. The mobilization of a technology of gender in the politics of ethnic nationalism is also true of the institutions of high culture. Tom Holert noted that,

- when the director of the Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade (MOCAB) was fired in 1993, the venue was transformed into a site for the articulation of Serbian nationalist culture. Holert mentions specifically MOCAB's new director, Radislav Trkulja, who "promulgated an invented history of Serbian art based largely on mythico-erotic painting that aimed to legitimize an official politics based on violence (and, implicitly, sex) in the name of ethnic superiority." See Tom Holert, "The New Normal," *ArtForum* XLIV, no. 6 (February 2006): 83–84.
35. De Lauretis makes clear the important ties between violence and rhetoric, reversing the phrase "the rhetoric of violence" to understand how rhetoric itself might also be the site of violence. Her understanding is central to the point I am making here about the representation of women in ethnic nationalism in the former Yugoslavia. See Teresa de Lauretis, "The Violence of Rhetoric."
 36. Strikingly, the question of mixed-race identity became repressed from the mythical narratives of forced pregnancies.
 37. De Lauretis, 2.
 38. *Ibid.*, 10–11.
 39. Marcia Vetrocq, "The 1997 Venice Biennale: A Space Odyssey," *Art in America* (September 1997): 76.
 40. *Ibid.*, 75. See also documentation of the Venice Biennale 1997 by the New School International Art Tour, accessed January 12, 2006, <http://www.online.newschool.edu/iat97/FPP/abram.html>.
 41. Vetrocq, 76.
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. Zoe Kosmidou, "Transitory Objects: A Conversation with Marina Abramović," *Sculpture* 20, no. 9 (November 2001): 31.
 44. Maureen Turim, "Marina Abramović's Performance: Stresses on the Body and Psyche in Installation Art," *Camera Obscura* 54 18, no. 3 (2003): 106.
 45. Kosmidou, 28.
 46. Barthes, 128. The mythical function of these images might also be read through Barthes's distinction between denotation and connotation in "The Rhetoric of the Image." In this re-reading, the three ways of reading myth might be articulated as follows: in the first case, one might focus on the denotative sign and mobilize it so as to connote another meaning (as the myth-maker does). In the second, one might separate out the original connotative message of the sign from its new connotative message (to return to the sign prior to its appropriation by myth and thus de-mythologize the sign). In the third, the connotative meaning is intimately tied to the sign itself, and one examines how this proximate relation is shaped historically and socially. While this later work is clearer on the question of connotative meanings, Barthes's attention to the filling and emptying of the mythic signifier is particularly relevant to the figuration of woman/nation that I am concerned with here, and particularly with the violent effects of such rhetorical moves. See Roland Barthes, "The Rhetoric of the Image," in *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art and Representation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 1–17.

47. Tomić also created a web-based artwork where the viewer is presented with a close-up of the same image of Tomić that appears in the video installation, except that the statements in various languages frame the image with a band of text. When the viewer clicks on the image, her statement appears in a particular language and the text is then replaced with a wound (such as a nose bleed, a gash in her chest or neck, or a trickle of blood from behind her ear). When the viewer clicks the wound, the image of Tomić fades behind the text, and a series of symbols appear: a baby pram, a pipe, a stick figure of a yogi, a finger sprouting leaves and two schematic female figures. Each of these figures covers a statement (“I am a mother,” “I am a smoker,” “I am a transcendental meditator,” “I am a homosexual,” “I am a vegetarian,”). The page then links to an article by Ernesto Laclau, entitled “Universalism, Particularism and the Question of Identity.” The “Question of Identity” becomes a link that returns the viewer to the original image of Tomić, unwounded. The declarative statements in different iterations of the work often contradict each other, destabilizing the truthfulness of the statements with respect to Tomić herself. The viewer is also placed in the awkward position of inflicting the wounds on Tomić as she navigates through the artwork. See *The Reality Check: I Am Milica Tomić*, accessed May 31, 2006, <http://realitycheck.c3.hu/milica/index.html>.
48. Emily Jacir’s work is discussed at greater depth in Chapter 2; Lida Abdul’s work is discussed in Chapter 4.
49. Maura Reilly, “Art Essay: Curating Transnational Feminisms,” *Feminist Studies* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2010), 156.
50. Barthes, “Myth Today,” 128.
51. Rita Manchanda makes this argument with regard to the naturalization of the relation between women and peace in South Asian conflicts. See Rita Manchanda, “Where are the Women in South Asian Conflicts?” in *Women, War and Peace in South Asia: Beyond Victimhood to Agency* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001), 16–17.
52. A later video work by Marina Abramović, entitled *The Hero* (2001), sought specifically to memorialize her late father as a Yugoslavian national hero. In it, Abramović sat on a white horse and held up a long staff topped with the Yugoslavian flag. Posed like a chivalric painting, Abramović sang the former Yugoslavian national anthem. The performance ended when she could no longer hold up the flag with her outstretched arm. In this work also, the figure of the father and of the “fatherland” are thoroughly entangled, and Abramović seems to be at once memorializing her father’s loss, and the loss of her country. The piece was exhibited, among other places, at the Cetinje Biennale V in 2004 under the theme “Balkans in the Balkan.”
53. Of course, the video itself loops continuously in the site of the installation. The viewer is then given a sense not of the doubling of the testimony, but rather of the repeated circulation of the traumatic narrative.
54. We might recall in this regard the force of the Serbian myth of Turkish impalement. Given the construction of gender through violence, the hole in the father’s chest can certainly be read as an emasculation of the father, similar

- to the actual practice (reportedly widespread) of actual castration of prisoners in detention camps.
55. A clear example of this is Catherine MacKinnon's, "Rape, Genocide and Women's Human Rights," in *Mass Rape: The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, ed. Alexandra Stiglmayer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 183–197. In this article, MacKinnon argues that the politics of "ethnic cleansing" by Serbian forces is simply a manifestation of the "rape, forced motherhood, prostitution, pornography, and sexual murder, on the basis of sex and ethnicity together, that is inflicted on women every day in every country in the world." She further argues that the explosion of pornography in post-Socialist Yugoslavia led to the forms of sexualized violence committed against women during the genocide in the 1990s. Throughout her argument, she relies on a totalizing and singular category, "woman," that violently excludes how women are constituted through difference in specific historical and social contexts, and by particular semiotic and socio-cultural apparatuses.
 56. Jennifer A. González, "Autotopographies," in *Prosthetic Territories: Politics and Hypertechnologies*, ed. Gabriel Brahm Jr. and Mark Driscoll (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 136. González notes that this reflects also the distinction, in Marcel Proust, between intellectual and involuntary memory (*mémoire involontaire*).
 57. For example, the use of actors to represent those in captivity disrupts the relay of testimony, and thus the figure of the witness. This is most pointedly revealed by the fact that Steve Buscemi, Jo Andres's partner, appears in the video as one of the people in hiding in the theater basement. This recognizable actor reinforces the artifice of the video, not in the service of the psychic life of objects, but at an excessive remove from the actual conditions and social relations of Sarajevo under siege.
 58. Mandy Jacobson is originally from South Africa, where she was a community worker, specializing in gender issues and urban development, and an activist, producing community videos for various progressive organizations. Karmen Jelincić was born in Croatia and raised in the United States. She has been active with Bosnian refugees in New York and Croatia, and has worked for the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights specifically in relation to the work of the International War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.
 59. The documentary emerged at a time when feminist human rights activists were pushing for wartime rape to be tried as a rape crime. Also at this time, other documentarists were using testimonial video documents in human rights work; for example, Ellen Bruno's *Satya* (1993), based on the experiences of Tibetan Buddhist nuns who were imprisoned and tortured for their protests against the Chinese occupation of Tibet. *Calling the Ghosts* was screened around the United States, and Cigelj and Sivic were present for discussions following the viewing. HBO organized a meeting between Cigelj and Sivic and the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, with the Undersecretary of State for Human Rights John Shattuck, the Chair of the Committee to Protect Journalists Kati Marton, and the executor of the Dayton

- Accord Richard Holbrooke. The documentary was also screened at film festivals in Toronto, Sarajevo and Minsk. See <http://www.centerforsocialmedia.org/documents/callingtheghosts.pdf>.
60. Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 5.
 61. Katarzyna Marciniak, "Pedagogy of Anxiety," *Signs* 35, no. 4 (Summer 2010), 871.
 62. From *Calling the Ghosts*, cited in Marciniak, 871.
 63. Their campaign was ultimately successful, and in June 1996, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague indicted eight Serbian men for sexual assault as a war crime.
 64. In "Aesthetics and Feminist Theory," Teresa de Lauretis notes how Chantal Akerman's *Jeanne Dielman* (1975) constructs a picture of female experience that "addresses the spectator as female." De Lauretis argues that "narrative suspense is not built on the expectation of a 'significant event' [. . .] but is produced by the tiny slips in Jeanne's routine, the small forgettings, the hesitations between real-time gestures as common and 'insignificant' as peeling potatoes, washing dishes or making coffee—and then not drinking it." Abramović's and Andres's attention to cooking, cleaning, gathering water, and so on also recall this specifically female experience of war. See Teresa de Lauretis, "Aesthetics and Feminist Theory: Rethinking Women's Cinema," in *Female Spectators: Looking at Film and Television*, ed. E. Deirdre Pribram (London: Verso, 1988), 178–9.
 65. Marlise Simons, "Milošević Died of Heart Attack, Autopsy Shows," *New York Times*. International Section. March 13, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/13/international/europe/13milosevic.html>.
 66. Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 20.

Chapter 2

1. Elahe Massumi, *A Kiss Is not a Kiss*, 2000.
2. Ross Kauffman and Zana Briski, *Born into Brothels*, 2004.
3. Elahe Massumi, *The Hijras*, 2000.
4. The central instrument, the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989), mandates countries to protect children from trafficking and any forms of sexual exploitation and abuse, and to prevent the abduction, sale or trafficking of children. Since 2000, however, a series of protocols have been passed to address the exploitation of children, including the *Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography* (2000), the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* (2000) and the *Internal Labour Organization Convention 182 Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst forms of Child Labour* (1999). See UN General Assembly, "Preamble," *Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights*

- of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography* (May 2000), accessed May 13, 2012, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b38bc.html>.
5. See, for example, the emphasis on indigenous self-representation in Faye Ginsburg, Rene Vautier, Jean Rouch, Wapikoni Mobile, Vincent Carelli, the Medvedkin Group (Chris Marker), among others.
 6. Hal Foster, *The Return of the Real* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996).
 7. *Ibid.*, 174.
 8. Patricia Thomson, "Transforming Young Lives in Calcutta," *American Cinematographer* 86, no. 2 (February 2005): 91.
 9. Kauffman and Briski.
 10. *Kids with Cameras* is an NGO that was founded by Briski in 2002 as a result of the photography workshops she organized in Kolkata's red-light district. The foundation seeks to raise money for children by selling photographs, as well as through exhibitions and film festivals. Funds are used to teach children photography "to empower them, building confidence, self-esteem and hope." Workshops have been conducted in Kolkata, Haiti, Jerusalem and Cairo. See "Mission," Kids with Cameras, accessed May 13, 2012, <http://kids-with-cameras.org/mission/>. Sarah Brouillette stresses that "Key to the film, the charity and each piece of attendant media is this linking of the production and circulation of art to a comprehensive global aid program that helps secure disadvantaged children's right to education." Sarah Brouillette, "Human Rights Markets and *Born into Brothels*," *Third Text* 25, no. 2 (March 2011), 172.
 11. The film's ending is nevertheless lukewarm. While Avijit chooses to enter the Future Hope School, inspired by his trip to Amsterdam, the film ends by recapping the situation of the other children: Suchitra, who is being pushed by her aunt to "join the line," is unable to leave the brothel. Two of the three girls who were placed in boarding school return to the brothel. One boy refuses to go to the school altogether.
 12. Renée Green, "Slippages," in *Radiotemporaire* (Grenoble: Magasin, 2002), 12.
 13. Jennifer A. González, *Subject to Display: Reframing Race in Contemporary Installation Art* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008), 12.
 14. See Coco Fusco, "Ethnicity, Politics, and Poetics: Latinos and Media Art," in *Illuminating Video*, ed. Doug Hall and Sally Jo Fifer (New York: Aperture, in association with the Bay Area Video Coalition, 1990), 304–316.
 15. Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake, eds., *Global/Local* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), cited in Green.
 16. Serena Nanda, *Neither Man Nor Woman* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing, 1999). Nanda explains that hijras join particular households through a mentor who both introduces them to the community and collects a portion of their earnings throughout their lives.
 17. Elahe Massumi, conversation with author, New York, June 20, 2004.
 18. Walter Benjamin, "The Author as Producer," *New Left Review* I, no. 62 (July/August 1970): 2.
 19. Trinh T. Minh-ha, "Outside In Inside Out," in *Questions of Third Cinema*, ed. Jim Pines and Paul Willemsen (London: BFI Publishing, 1989), 137.

20. Benjamin, 8.
21. Gayatri Spivak, "Woman in Difference," in *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 78.
22. *Ibid.*, 82.
23. I am thinking specifically of Joan Jonas's *Vertical Roll* (1972), discussed in the Introduction.
24. Spivak, 82.
25. Bill Nichols, "Axiographics: Ethical Space in Documentary Film," in *Representing Reality* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 76.
26. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure in Narrative Cinema" (1975), in *Feminism and Film*, ed. E. Ann Kaplan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 34–47.
27. *Ibid.*, 40.
28. Nichols, 83.
29. Laura U. Marks, *Touch: Sensuous Theory and Multisensory Media* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 3–4.
30. *Ibid.*, 4.
31. *Ibid.*, xii.
32. *Ibid.*, 13.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Linda Williams notes that pornography is a "moving" medium, regardless of whether it provokes pleasure (for its audience) or outrage (for its detractors). In fact, Williams traces how this moving quality has stood at the basis of pro-censorship definitions of pornography (Does it provoke outrage? It must then be pornography). See Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the 'Frenzy of the Visible'* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
35. Marks, 12.
36. I showed *A Kiss Is not a Kiss* to students in my Histories of Video in the U.S. class in the summer of 2004. They were extremely discomforted by the images, even as I performed a formal analysis of the movement between cinematic and digital modes of viewing. This reaction emphasized for me how uncomfortable the viewer is made to feel in watching Massumi's work.
37. Alicia Murriá, "Elahe Massumi: Fiction and Veracity," in *Narraciones: Elahe Massumi* (Madrid: Fundación Telefónica, 2004), 116–117.
38. James T. Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Twentieth-Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 34.
39. *Ibid.*, 38.
40. Jean-Léon Gerôme was a French painter and sculptor, a student of Paul Delaroche, who traveled extensively in Turkey, Egypt and North Africa. He is best known for his Oriental scenes, including "The Guard of the Harem," "The Great Moorish Bath" and "The Dance of the Almeah," all of which include central nude female figures in bathhouses, public markets or harems. The texture of Massumi's *mise-en-scène* closely resembles—indeed appears to cite—these Orientalist paintings, evoking the history of colonial and imperial representations of colonized bodies.
41. Among these were the Sundance Film Festival, Seattle International Film Festival, Full Frame Documentary Film Festival, Cleveland International Film

- Festival, Bermuda International Film Festival and U.S. Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature, all in 2004.
42. Pooja Rangan, "Immaterial Child Labor: Media Advocacy, Autoethnography and the Case of *Born into Brothels*," *Camera Obscura* 75, 25, no. 3 (2011), 144. Rangan also draws the reader's attention to the letter of protest by Swapna Gayen, the secretary of the Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee, an activist organization working on health and labor issues among sex workers in the Sonagachi neighborhood, which critiqued Kauffman and Briski first for not sharing the film with their ethics committee and second for their portrayal of sex workers as unconcerned for the future of their children.
 43. The final scene is strikingly similar to the end of Mahasweta Devi's short story "Douloti," where a sex worker, her body riddled with disease, dies over a map of India drawn by the school children in the district. For Spivak, Douloti's death (she is "all over India" in the story's final words) signals a critique of nationalism based on the super-exploitation of a gendered subaltern subject. Not only this, though, her name, Douloti, can also mean "traffic in wealth." Hence, both the body of woman (no longer producing value but instead disease) and the social conditions of her exploitation are both figured by the image of the woman dying over the postcolonial national map. See Spivak, "Woman In Difference," 95.

Chapter 3

1. Indeed, these questions articulate precisely Edward Said's "predicament" (in James Clifford's terms), that he envisioned and was invested in a non-absolutist Palestinian "state." I thank James Clifford for raising this important point with me.
2. Edward Said, "Reflections on Exile," in *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 176.
3. Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg, *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 12.
4. This crisis in rights-based structures is very clear in the shifting conceptualization of the "refugee problem." In April 2006, the UN Human Rights Commission's Refugee Agency published a report entitled *The State of the World's Refugees 2006*. In its introduction, the Report pointed out that "States have serious concerns about 'uncontrolled' migration in today's era of globalization." In the post-WWII era, displaced populations in Europe and elsewhere were managed through a three-pronged approach: repatriation, local integration and third-country resettlement. The two key actors in implementing this approach were national governments and international (UN-based) agencies. The 2006 UNHCR Report, by contrast, voices a concern with the large-scale "mixed migration" caused by the forces of globalization, and the difficulty in sorting out political refugees, migrant workers (economic refugees) and emigrants more broadly. It has thus sought to shift the scale of its response to include NGOs, experts on refugee issues and multi-lateral bodies. See

- UNHCR, "The State of the World's Refugees 2006: Human Displacement in the New Millennium," accessed August 15, 2006, <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/template?page=publ&src=static/sowr2006/toceng.htm>
5. The condensation of messages in these objects is evident in the multiple names for the wall being constructed in Israel on the border (and into the territory) of the West Bank. It has been referred to as a "security barrier," a "protection wall" and an "Apartheid wall."
 6. The term "borderlands" deploys (with a difference) Gloria Anzaldúa's terminology in *Borderlands = La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987).
 7. See Kathryn Kanjo, *La Frontera/The Border: Art About the Mexico/United States Experience* (San Diego: Centro Cultural La Raza and the Museum of Contemporary Art of San Diego, 1993), and Guillermo Gomez-Peña, *The New World Border: Prophecies, Poems & Loqueras for the End of the Century* (San Francisco: City Lights, 1996), among others.
 8. See Smadar Lavie, "Blowup in the Borderzones" in *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity*, ed. Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 69.
 9. Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg, eds., *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 16.
 10. Alarcón, Kaplan and Moallem, 6–7.
 11. Lavie and Swedenburg, 20–22.
 12. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 2.
 13. In this regard, Radhakrishnan Rajagopalan draws out the gendered implications of Partha Chatterjee's analysis of the join between the binaries inner/outer and home/world. Chatterjee argues, "The world is the external, the domain of the material; the home represents our inner spiritual self, our true identity. The world is a treacherous terrain of the pursuit of material interests, where practical considerations reign supreme. It is also typically the domain of the male. The home is its essence and must remain unaffected by the profane activities of the material world—and woman is its representation." Radhakrishnan Rajagopalan, "Nationalism, Gender, and the Narrative of Identity" in *Diasporic Mediations: Between Home and Location* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 192.
 14. Irit Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography's Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 88.
 15. Jaleh Mansoor, "A Spectral Universality: Mona Hatoum's Biopolitics of Abstraction." *October* 133 (Summer 2010), 56.
 16. Mona Hatoum, interview with Michael Archer in *Mona Hatoum*, ed. Michael Archer, Guy Brett and Catherine de Zegher (London: Phaidon, 1997), 26–29.
 17. Hatoum, interview with Archer, 26.
 18. It was also installed at the Third SITE Santa Fe Biennial in 1999 and the exhibit "Around the World in Eighty Days" at the South London Gallery in 2006, among others. It is in the permanent collection of the L.A. Museum of

Contemporary Art. It is important that the piece, which figures a precarious world system, has itself moved and been reconstructed in so many locations. To move the work, of course, is to reconstruct it; thus, its very routes through the global system involve processes of destruction and construction in order to figure its precariousness.

19. See for example an *ArtForum* review noting that Hatoum's map "seemed to invite visitors to 'explore' the world by literally taking a stand in it, at the very perceptible risk of dispersing the whole thing—and possibly breaking a few bones in the process." See Miriam Rosen, "Orbis Terrarum," *ArtForum* 39, no. 4 (December 2000): 155. An *Artnet* review also noted that "visitors to the show repeatedly found themselves literally stumbling into the piece, sending bits of the world skittering across the concrete, in what is a convincing metaphor for the various human deprivations of Mother Earth." See Walter Robinson, "Theater Santa Fe," *Artnet Magazine*, July 9, 1999, http://www.artnet.com/magazine_pre2000/reviews/robinson/robinson7-9-99.asp. A blog post noted specifically the displacements I refer to above. See "Mona Hatoum's Map Around the World in 80 Days," *Rodcorp*, July 20, 2006, accessed August 20, 2006, http://rodcorp.typepad.com/rodcorp/2006/07/mona_hatoums_ma.html.
20. Urs Steiner and Samuel Herzog, "The Idea is What Matters! Interview with Mona Hatoum," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, November 20, 2004, reproduced on *Quantara*, accessed August 18, 2006, http://www.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-310/_nr-144/i.html
21. James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth-Century* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 2.
22. Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA) Los Angeles, "Press Release: Mona Hatoum," accessed August 20, 2006, http://www.moca.org/museum/exhibitioninfo_printable.php?useGallery=1&id=333
23. Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, "Fantasy and the Origins of Sexuality," in *Formations of Fantasy*, ed. Victor Burgin (London: Routledge, 1989), 27.
24. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, "Introduction: Transnational Feminist Practices and Questions of Postmodernity," in *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, ed. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 1–36.
25. I have unfortunately been unable to re-view the piece *Border* for this chapter, although its deconstruction of the Israeli/Lebanese border as a site of affect and phobia by those security guards who patrol the "good fence" surely contributes to the kinds of resistance to abstraction I am discussing here.
26. The "good fence" is the name given to the 80-mile stretch of border that separates Israel and Lebanon. From Israel's foundation to the 1970s, the border between Israel and Lebanon was relatively peaceful. With the start of the Lebanese civil war in the mid-1970s, Israel sought to "neutralize" the border region from attacks by PLO guerrillas or Syrian military units. The fence that had been created to keep out Palestinian guerrillas also included gates through

which Israeli forces could conduct raids on PLO bases in Southern Lebanon. As part of its Good Fence Policy, then Israeli Defence Minister Shimon Peres in turn opened those gates to Lebanese seeking food or medical assistance in Israel. The Good Fence Policy also stipulated that Israel would launch heavy retaliatory raids across the Lebanese border should the opening of the gates encourage guerrillas to enter the area of Southern Lebanon. In 1978, Israel launched the Litani Operation, and in 1982 the Operation Peace for Galilee to create a “buffer zone” in Southern Lebanon and to attack and destroy the PLO. Rovner’s site-specific installation was created four years before Israel’s withdrawal from Southern Lebanon.

27. This piece recalls a project by Carmela Castrejón. When a 13-mile long steel fence was built on the Mexican-U.S. border in 1991, Castrejón hung a row of blood-stained garments along the fence. Coinciding with the year of the Gulf War, Castrejón sought to represent “the dead in the Middle East, as well as those over here, victims of another type of slow war, silent and without any truce.” This reflected not only on the coincidence of borders, but also the fact that the fence was being built with leftover materials from the Gulf War. See María Eraña, “From a Border of Canyons and Sand,” in *La Frontera/The Border: Art About the Mexico/United States Experience*, ed. Kathryn Kanjo (San Diego: Centro Cultural La Raza and the Museum of Contemporary Art of San Diego, 1993).
28. Rogoff, 7.
29. *Ibid.*, 113.
30. Menick notes that she could only distribute the pamphlet if it were specifically requested, and that it needed to include a label reading “I reprinted this brochure from the 1964 World’s Fair as my artwork—Emily Jacir.” See John Menick, “Undiminished Returns: The Work of Emily Jacir 1998–2002,” in *Emily Jacir Belongings: Arbeiten/Works 1998–2003*, ed. Martin Sturm (Linz: O.K. Center for Contemporary Art Upper Austria/O.K. Books, 2004), 39.
31. Between the proposal of the project and its final installation, Jacir was challenged by the time-consuming labor involved in embroidering the 418 names into the fabric of the refugee tent. She sent emails to friends and listservs asking for help with the project. John Menick argues that, as a result of this, the project took on new social dimensions: “On some nights, over a dozen people would participate in order to sew the letters. A few of these who showed up wanted to find the villages where their families came from; several people learned of the expulsion for the first time. Palestinians, Israelis, Americans, Egyptians, Syrians, Yemenis, Spaniards and others sewed, told stories, joked and gossiped.” The piece was installed unfinished at PS1’s Clocktower Gallery, emphasizing the importance of the process of production over the final installation. The installation included a day-by-day roster of sewing participants along with texts they had written about their experiences in the studio. See Menick, 24.
32. It is important to emphasize also that Jacir does not work with literal maps. Because of her focus on lived experience, the relation between the body

- traveling through space and the objects that frame conditions of belonging/unbelonging, she refuses transcendental viewpoints. In this sense, Jacir is on to the trick Hatoum identifies in *Present Tense*, that the abstract ceding of pockets of territory will mean cementing Palestinian space as a space of violence, fragmentation and isolation. Her dedication to understanding national space through the lived experience of specific bodies thus both articulates the experience of fragmentation and loss of Palestinians, and refuses solutions that instantiate that very fragmentation.
33. Rovner's installation was presented by Deitch Projects in collaboration with the Chase Manhattan Art Program. It is caught, therefore, as many contemporary site-specific art works are, in the position of both depending on and critiquing the conditions of its exhibition all at once—something I believe Rovner does successfully in this work.
 34. Edward Leffingwell, "Michal Rovner at 410 Park Avenue," *Art in America* 88, no.11 (November 2000): 169.
 35. Michal Rovner, "In conversation with Leon Golub," in *Michal Rovner: The Space Between*, ed. Sylvia Wolf (New York: Whitney Museum of Art; Göttingen: Steidl Verlag, 2002), 165.
 36. Michael Rush, "'There Will be Silence': The Video Art of Michal Rovner" in *Michal Rovner: The Space Between*, ed. Sylvia Wolf (New York: Whitney Museum of Art; Göttingen: Steidl Verlag, 2002), 196.
 37. Rovner, In Conversation with Golub, 161.
 38. Clifford, 9.
 39. Emily Jacir, "Interview with Stella Rollig," in *Emily Jacir Belongings: Arbeiten/Works 1998–2003*, ed. Martin Sturm (Linz: O.K. Center for Contemporary Art Upper Austria/O.K. Books, 2004), 28.
 40. Jacir, Interview with Rollig, 9.
 41. Said, 177.
 42. Teresa de Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 38.
 43. Clifford, 10.
 44. Laplanche and Pontalis, 27.
 45. Alarcón, Kaplan and Moallem, 14.
 46. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 71.
 47. Lefebvre, 73.
 48. Jacir, Interview with Rollig, 18.
 49. This is also true of Akram Zaatari's *This Day*, which carries the viewer along through his multiple modes of travel in the Syrian Desert, through Beirut and Amman. Often, Zaatari shoots through the front windshield of a moving car, the windshield framing the scene unfolding before him, and the rearview mirror capturing the driver's eyes. Zaatari also sometimes includes his own reflection, in the screen of the television set he uses to edit the video, as well as in the glass of a cable car he shoots from. In all these scenes, Zaatari, like Jacir, makes clear that the camera moving through space is also the body

- moving through space, and that the body is both discursively apprehending space (as already existing) and actively producing spaces (the sites of social encounter).
50. See Smadar Lavie, "Blowup in the Borderzones" in *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity*, ed. Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 69.
 51. In this regard, Emily Jacir's *Memorial to 418 Palestinian Villages which were Destroyed, Depopulated and Occupied by Israel in 1948* (2001) might more closely be allied with the historical project of Zaatari. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to see Zaatari's project as purely historical and retrospective.
 52. Given the violence that has erupted since 2003 in Beirut, and most recently in 2008, *This Day* might be seen as presaging the continued explosive tension within the landscape of Beirut.
 53. Rogoff, 113.
 54. Ibid.
 55. Ibid.
 56. In his introductory remarks to "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis (1918)," Freud argues that "The length of road over which an analysis must travel with the patient, and the quantity of material which must be mastered on the way, are of no importance in comparison with the resistance which is met with in the course of the work, and are only of importance at all in so far as they are necessarily proportional to the resistance. The situation is the same as when to-day an enemy army needs weeks and months to make its way across a stretch of country which in times of peace was traversed by an express train in a few hours and which only a short time before had been passed over by the defending army in a few days." Sigmund Freud, *Three Case Histories*. (New York: Touchstone, 1996), 167.
 57. Hatoum, "Interview with John Tusa, BBC Radio 3," accessed August 4, 2006, http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio3/johntusainterview/hatoum_transcript.shtml.
 58. Clifford, 3.
 59. Jacir, Interview with Rollig, 18.
 60. This impossible but necessary demand resembles Said's call for a secular and multi-ethnic state solution to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict.
 61. Jacqueline Rose, *States of Fantasy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 5. Rose is committed to Freud's understanding of fantasy prior to Freud's abandonment of the seduction theory, however, and thus makes a quick move from fantasy to morality ("how subjects tie themselves ethically to each other and enter a socially viable world") through forms of transgenerational haunting, guilt for crimes not committed, and so on. This leaves to the side Freud's later development of fantasy which, in Laplanche and Pontalis's detailed elaboration, speaks more readily to the prismatic mediations that are at issue here.
 62. De Lauretis, 56.
 63. This is true not only of the social worlds that form the basis of this chapter, but also in the art world where the ink spilled on the art world's global character

at times blots out the complex social relations and longstanding histories of exchange, collaboration, influence, resistance and exploitation that constitute the domain of the cross-cultural.

64. Jacir, Interview with Rollig, 9.
65. Ibid.
66. Clifford, 3.
67. Theodor Adorno and Thomas Y. Levin, "On the Question 'What is German?'" *New German Critique*, no. 36 (Fall 1985): 121–131, cited in Rogoff, 6.
68. De Lauretis, 39.

Chapter 4

1. Anne McClintock, "Paranoid Empire: Specters from Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib," *Small Axe* 13, no. 1: 52.
2. Robert Stam, "Mobilizing Fictions: The Gulf War, the Media, and the Recruitment of the Spectator," *Public Culture* 4, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 102.
3. Finbarr Barry Flood, "Between Cult and Culture: Bamiyan, Islamic Iconoclasm, and the Museum," *Art Bulletin* LXXXIV, no. 4 (December 2002): 641.
4. Cornelia Brink, "Secular Icons: Looking at Photographs from Nazi Concentration Camps." *History and Memory* 12, no. 1 (2000): 141–44.
5. Lila Abu-Lughod, "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others," *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (September 2002): 784.
6. Ibid., 784.
7. Donna Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan[®]_Meets_OncoMouse[™]: Feminism and Technoscience* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 16.
8. The video is available on the CBC's website at http://www.cbc.ca/national/blog/special_feature/fighting_ghosts/. It has also been posted on *YouTube* at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BE7ANG2HS-w>.
9. McClintock, 55–57.
10. Ibid., 62.
11. Saskia Sassen, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: The New Press, 1998), 177.
12. Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 46.
13. Ibid., 47.
14. Teresa de Lauretis, "The Violence of Rhetoric: Considerations on Representation and Gender," in *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers, 1989), 5.
15. Most notably, it represented Afghanistan at the Venice Biennale in 2005 and was included in the *Global Feminisms* exhibit at the Brooklyn Museum in 2007.
16. Andreas Huyssen, "Nostalgia for Ruins," *Grey Room* 23 (Spring 2006): 6–21.

17. Mariam Rawi, "Betrayal," *Reproductive Health Matters* 12, no. 23 (May 2004): 118.
18. It is worth noting also that, following 9/11, the U.S. military appropriated some of the RAWA images for use in flyers dropped by U.S. warplanes over Afghanistan.
19. The names of these, taken together, highlight the rhetorical force of bringing into visibility: Undercover Social Worker, Post Office Undercover, Undercover Debt Collector, Undercover Mosque, Undercover Mother, Undercover in the Secret State, Undercover with New Labour, Iran Undercover.
20. Gareth McLean, "TV Review: To hell and back," *The Guardian (London)*, Features Pages (June 27, 2001): 22.
21. See, for example, Janelle Brown, "How a Taliban enemy fights beneath the veil: An underground resistance group of Afghani women risks torture and execution to alert the world to the regime's atrocities," *The Ottawa Citizen*, October 6, 2001 (Saturday Final Edition), News, B4.
22. This impression is further confirmed by the fact that one of Shah's visits (to what she calls "the most subversive place of all") is to a secret beauty parlor. For Shah, this is the location where women are able to maintain their dignity, providing resistance to the regime of the Taliban and its curtailment of women's freedoms.
23. Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, trans. Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich, intro. Barbara Harlow (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).
24. Flood, 641.
25. Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 10.
26. Bert Cardullo, "An Afghan Is a Woman," *The Hudson Review* 58, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 302.
27. *Ibid.*, 305.
28. André Bazin, "An Aesthetic of Reality: Neorealism," in *What Is Cinema?* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 24–25.
29. It is important to note that the foreign filmmaker emerges only diegetically at the end of the film, put on trial on the same day as Osama, convicted and led away to be executed by a firing squad.
30. Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 33.
31. *Ibid.*, 37.
32. Cardullo, 304.
33. This point is elucidated further by contrasting *Osama* with Samira Makhmalbaf's *At Five in the Afternoon*, also produced in 2003, whose central character, Nogreh, must negotiate the complex shifting structures of female identity in the post-Taliban era, both the sites of possible liberation and the persistent forms of traditionalism that bind contemporary Afghanistan.
34. Arifa Akbar, "Jewel of Afghan Cinema Saved from the Taliban," *The Independent*. May 9, 2009, accessed April 22, 2012, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/jewel-of-afghan-cinema-saved-from-the-taliban->

- 1681824.html. The article mentions also that the film was rescued, alongside up to six thousand others, by the archivists at the National Film Archive, who concealed the film reels behind a hastily constructed false wall prior to the Taliban's campaign against the archives. Siddiq Barmak is quoted in the article as saying, "It was created in the first private studios in Afghanistan and it was about a historical, classical subject that every Afghan learnt at school. I remember seeing the posters and wanting to go and see it in a movie theatre. It had the most famous names of the day but it also faced a lot of problems in its making, with four directors working on it and no government funding."
35. Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter, Antigone has been raised in contemporary critical thought as a figure for ethico-political (and specifically feminist) acts. Antigone must either obey the laws of the state or follow her sense of justice, bury her brother Polyneices's body and publicly declare her act of defiance. This defiance transgresses not only state edicts but also the circumscribed role of women as non-citizens, as well as proper kinship relations (she desires, after all, to lie down in the ground with her brother). In revealing her act to Creon, she asserts the ethical choice she makes, and invites the punishment the edict requires. Creon thus banishes her to a cave (a permutation of the sentence of death by stoning).
 36. There are multiple instances of this response throughout the film, either in order to acknowledge the right of a director or official to make decisions, or to resist the implication that one is a mouthpiece for a specific group or interest. The repetition of this response itself indicates the nature of free speech in the political climate of Afghanistan.
 37. George W. Bush, "The State of the Union: Present Bush's State of the Union Address to Congress and the Nation," *New York Times*, January 30, 2002, Section A, 22.
 38. Sandra Schäfer, *Stagings. Kabul, Film & Production of Representation* (Berlin: b_books, 2009).
 39. Judith Butler, *Precarious Life the Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2004), 146.

Epilogue: The Political Exigency of the Oblique

1. "Mona Hatoum," Interviewed by Gray Watson, *Audio Arts Magazine* 13, no. 4 (1993).
2. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Politics of Translation" in *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 181.
3. *Ibid.*, 182.
4. *Ibid.*, 187.
5. Teresa De Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), 2.
6. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 118.

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