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The Organizing of Participation in Contemporary Art
Holm, Ditte Vilstrup

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Ditte Vilstrup Holm

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Doctoral School of Organisation and Management Studies

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The Poetics of Participation

The organizing of participation in contemporary art

Ditte Vilstrup Holm

Main supervisor:

Timon Beyes

Department of Management, Politics and Philosophy

Copenhagen Business School

Co-supervisors:

Søren Friis Møller, Head of Studies, The National Film School of Denmark

Ole Winther, Head of Division, The Agency for Culture and Palaces

Ditte Vilstrup Holm
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The Doctoral School of Organisation and Management Studies is an active national
and international research environment at CBS for research degree students who
deal with economics and management at business, industry
and country level in a theoretical and empirical manner.

Summary

This thesis engages with the organizing of participation in participatory art that constitutes the so-called social turn in contemporary visual art. The purpose of the research project is to generate new knowledge about participatory art, in particular, by investigating the organizational processes involved in these practices. To this end, an in-depth, qualitative case study of the organizing of participation for a public work of art was conducted. Using sociologist John Law's notion of modes of ordering as a tool to sharpen an analysis of the patterning effects discerned from fieldwork observations, the thesis argues that the organizing of participation in contemporary art is an effect of four main interacting modes of ordering, termed *artistic autonomy*, *administration*, *the site*, and *public interest*. First, the thesis respectively explores the modes of ordering as singular ordering patterns in the networks of the social, and then describes how they interact and the effects of that interaction in the case study. The thesis thus contributes to a new 'organizational turn' in art theory that considers the way in which artistic practices are concerned with the organizing and reorganizing of social ordering processes, while themselves being embedded within and filtered into other organizing practices. The thesis also contributes to organization studies' interest in the relationship between art, aesthetics, and processes of organizing, suggesting that contemporary art theory and organization studies both ponder the question of how artistic practices generate new forms of organizing that counter society's prevailing economic rationale.

Resumé

Denne afhandling handler om organiseringen af deltagelse i den del af samtidskunsten. som også er kendt som den sociale vending. Formålet med dette forskningsprojekt er at skabe ny viden om deltagelseskunst, særligt ved at undersøge de organisatoriske processer involvereret i disse praksisser. Afhandlingen udgør et indgående kvalitativt casestudie af organiseringen af deltagelse for et offentligt kunstværk, som anvender sociologen John Laws begreb om organiseringsmåder til at præcisere feltarbejdets indledende observationer af mønstre som udtryk for effekten af særligt fire specifikke organiseringsmåder. Afhandlingen argumenterer for, at organiseringen af deltagelse i samtidskunsten er en effekt af primært fire interagerende organiseringsmåder, som benævnes henholdsvis *kunstnerisk autonomi*, *administration*, *stedet* og *offentlighedens interesse*. Først bekriver afhandlingen disse organiseringsmåder som individuelle organiseringsformer i det netværk, som casestudiet udgør. Derefter beskriver afhandlingen effekten af organiseringsmådernes interaktion i casestudiet. Afhandlingen bidrager til en ny organisatorisk vending i kunstteorien, som fremhæver, hvordan kunstneriske praksisser er optaget af at organisere og reorganisere samfundets organiseringsformer, mens de samtidig selv er indlejret i og udgør en del af andre organiseringsformer. Dermed bidrager afhandlingen også til organisationsstudiernes interesse for forholdet mellem kunst, æstetik og organiseringsprocesser, mens den påpeger, at aktuel kunstteori og organisationsstudier adresserer det samme spørgsmål om, hvordan kunstneriske praksisser genererer nye former for organisering, som modvirker samfundets dominerende økonomiske rationale.

Content

Introduction

Participatory art, relational aesthetics, new genre public art, dialogical aesthetics, socially engaged art, and social practice. These are some of the terms proposed to capture and discuss what appears to be a growing trend within artistic practice: to involve the audience or a community in developing, producing, or realizing art projects. Prominent examples include Rirkrit Tiravanija's transformation of art galleries into street-style kitchens where he serves pad Thai to visitors (1993-) and Suzanne Lacy's performance *The Roof Is on Fire* (1993-1994), for which she organized a radio-broadcasted conversation among teenagers to counter racial stereotypes. A third example is Jeremy Deller's *Battle of Orgreave* (2001), which used historical performers and some of the original strikers to restage a 1984 miner's strike on its original site, while a fourth is *Project Row Houses* (since 1993) in Houston, Texas, where Rick Lowe and his partners have bought houses and gradually transformed them into a community centre, combining neighbourhood regeneration, artist residencies, and educational programmes.

The lineage of participatory artistic work that engages audiences or communities goes back to the avant-garde experiments and social protest movements of the 1960s and – in some interpretations – all the way back to Futurist, Dada, and Surrealist counter-bourgeois-life experiments (Bishop 2012, Finkelpearl 2013). The legacy includes Joseph Beuys' notion of 'social sculpture', Allan Kaprow's spontaneous happenings, the Situationists and their role in the May '68 student revolt, as well as social protest movements like the civil rights and feminist movements (Bishop 2012, Pasternak 2012, Finkelpearl 2013). Thus, beyond involving people, participatory artistic experiments feature a political critique of contemporary society and a distinct engagement in social issues, as can be inferred from terms like 'socially engaged art' and 'social practice', and from British art critic Claire Bishop's description of these practices as constituting 'the social turn' in art (Bishop 2006). The involvement of people is one way that the artwork is opening up to a broader social sphere, challenging conceptions of artistic autonomy by including more people in the art-creating process. Another is the spatial move outside the so-called white cube of the art gallery to engage with particular sites and communities – either found or invented – for a particular project (Kwon 2004, O'Neill 2010). These movements away from a confined artistic space into the social evince an interest in social issues related to gender, ethnicity, health, and the environment (Lacy 1995, Thompson 2012).

Since the 1990s, these participatory practices have grown exponentially. From sporadic exhibition experiments and community engagements, these types of practices are becoming pervasive in

contemporary art (Bishop 2012, Kester 2015). Nevertheless, they continue to emit an aura of the avant-garde, and to confound art history. Since the 1990s, art historians have wrestled with analysing and defining participatory art, and the loosely defined field continues to produce new books, journals, and terms.[1] As curator Tom Finkelpearl, the current commissioner of the New York City Department of Cultural Affairs, expressed it in a recent encyclopaedia entry about participatory art:

> Discussion of participatory art seems to be in its infancy. A new crop of books, shows, funding opportunities, and debates has appeared since 2000. But a field that includes both a neighbourhood in Houston and a meal in a gallery in New York seems ripe for further classification. (Finkelpearl 2014)

For art history, the problem of participatory art relates to how such artistic practices engage with the social (Jackson 2011). It challenges art historical methods, theories, and conventions, and calls upon art history to reflect critically on its deep-seated biases and assumptions (Kester 2004, Kester 2011). In the essay 'Artistic Autonomy as Value and Practice', sociologist Rudi Laermans observes that any artist is able to reflect on their artistic practice in two distinct ways (Laermans 2010). On the one hand, they expect their work to be judged on its own merits as an autonomous work of art. On the other, they recognize that the work depends on a number of external factors, including finances, organizational support, and professional collaboration. Depending on the context, Laermans argues, the artist will discuss one or the other of these issues, but seldom conflate them.

The distinction between the artwork and the conditions of its making has also divided research fields. In the 20th century, art history concerned itself with interpreting autonomous artworks, leaving discussions of the organizational practices involved in art-making to the sociology of art (Tanner 2003). However, participatory art challenges this distinction by integrating the art development process into the completed work. The two are no longer unconnected. So, to answer the question of 'what' characterizes a particular participatory artwork, it is necessary to engage with the question of 'how' it was made, and this is only the first step of the expansion that participatory art forms set off for art history. The how of participatory art's making involves not only the *organizing* of a particular artistic process but also the project's further organizational support; it involves the question of who it was

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[1] In 2015, art historian Grant Kester launched the journal *Field: A Journal of Socially-Engaged Art Criticism*. A few years earlier a number of monographs were published on the subject, including Tom Finkelpearl's *What We Made* (2013), Claire Bishop's *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (2012), and Shannon Jackson's *Social Works* (2011).

made for and made with; and it involves the question of where it was made: the context or site of its creation. As such, participatory artworks induce art history to ponder the relationship between artworks and the broader economic, social, and political processes with which they are intertwined – including the potential instrumentalization or co-optation of artistic practices, as well as the matter of artistic autonomy itself.

Art history's problem with participatory art is conjoined to contemporary society's expanded interest in art, aesthetics, and creativity. Terms like 'the experience economy' (Gilmore & Pine 1999), 'the creative class' (Florida 2002), and 'the creative city' (Landry 2000) indicate that art and aesthetics have been integrated into our mainstream society, now characterized by intensifying aestheticization processes (Menke 1996). With regard to this 'generalized aestheticization of society', sociologist Andreas Reckwitz speaks of a contemporary 'creativity dispositif' that affects our self-understanding to the degree that everyone today must want to be creative (Reckwitz 2017). Creativity is no longer restricted to artistic practice, but defines contemporary work life, urban development, and self-improvement practices (Boltanski & Chiapello 2007, Reckwitz 2017).

Arguably, contemporary forms of participatory art partly differ from their historical predecessors because the more contemporary forms intertwine with the current intensification of aestheticization (Thompson 2012). To some extent, these aestheticization processes carry the exponential increase in participatory art since the 1990s within the expansion of 'the contemporary exhibition complex' (Steeds 2014) and today's culture-led urban development (Doherty 2009, Finkelpearl 2013, Miles 2015). Here, participatory art liaises with other interests in citizen engagement and co-creation (Bishop 2012, Harvie 2013). This is also the case for cultural institutions, where participation features prominently as a strategy for boosting audience and visitor numbers, democratizing access to arts and culture, de-authorizing the conservative cultural institutions, and – not least – legitimizing spending on art and culture (Andersen 2004, Lang et al. 2006, Knell et al. 2007, Simon 2010, Jancovich & Bianchini 2013, Sørensen 2014, Jalving et al. 2017, Jancovich 2017).

At the same time, the avant-garde legacy of artistic practice has prompted artists and art theorists to worry about capitalism's exploitation of artistic practices and – since the gradual dismantling of public welfare systems in the 1980s – about public governance's misuse of artists to cover up social ills arising from the decrease in public spending (Kester 1995, Jackson 2011, Bishop 2012). This concern extends to artists' precarious working conditions, which have only been exacerbated by the new millennium's

explosion of college-graduated artists and the austerity measures following in the wake of the financial crisis (Seijdel 2012, Sholette 2017). However, artists' critique also drives much of the artistic engagement with the social, which is fuelled by aspirations to oppose the effects of global neoliberal capitalism (Thompson 2012, Sholette 2017).

Research objective

The purpose of this research project is to investigate the organizing of participation in contemporary art. As such, the research process has been guided by the open, exploratory research question: how is participation organized in contemporary art? Four factors motivated this choice of question, the first being a desire to answer art history's call for further in-depth studies of the actual practices of organizing participation, especially through the long-term study of artistic processes (O'Neill 2010, Kester 2011, Bishop 2012, Kester 2015). This research interest follows the trajectory of art into the social and art history's corresponding shift from an emphasis on the completed work of art to the processes of its creation (Lacy 1995, O'Neill 2010, Kester 2011).

Second, the research question underpinned an aim to develop new knowledge about participatory practices. Broadly, the discourse about cultural participation is influenced by theories of participatory politics that emphasize citizen's direct influence in decision-making (Kelty et al. 2015). These theories have led art history to introduce ethical standards for participatory practices that tend to qualify or – as is more often the case – disqualify participatory artistic practices as not actually participatory (Gablik 1995, Bishop 2012). Rather than embark on my thesis with preconceived notions about what constitutes proper participation, I wanted to generate new knowledge about what happens in these processes of organizing participation in contemporary art. Established theories about participatory art formed part of my theoretical knowledge going into the field, but the plan was not to confirm or dismiss projects as participatory according to these theories. Rather the intention was to support the fieldwork in generating new knowledge about the organizing of participation.

Third, art history is interested in engaging in dialogue with social research methods and theories and thus furthering critical discussions of participatory practices, and this interest has also guided the research question (Bishop 2012, Kester 2015). As such, the research question emphasizes participatory practices as an issue of *organizing*, the aim being to suggest that theorization of participatory artistic practices might benefit from organization studies and the sociology of organization's theorizing of processes of organizing (Law 1994, Czarniawska 2008, Helin et al. 2014). For me, this entails an

understanding of organizing as a durational process with aesthetic, political, and ethical dimensions where organizing becomes another way of encapsulating what art history refers to as the social. More precisely, the term 'organizing' speaks about the ways in which art and the social are infiltrated in participatory art.

Fourth, and finally, the research question was framed in response to organization studies' interest in contemporary art and aestheticization processes (Beyes 2016). Participatory art's organizational practices speak of experiments in organization-creation that inform and intervene in an increasingly aestheticized society (Beyes 2015, Hjorth & Holt 2016). The explorative research into the organizing practices of contemporary art thus responds to this interest in investigating the contemporary relationship between art, aesthetics, and processes of organizing.

The thesis' contribution to art history

The thesis engages with the field of participatory art and its entanglement with and within contemporary social and aesthetic processes, thus developing an organizational analysis of the processes involved in organizing participation in a contemporary art project. It borrows methods and theories from organization studies and the sociology of organization to engage in an in-depth case study of the organizing of participation for a work of art. The case concerned is a public artwork for an inner city street in Copenhagen, Denmark, organized under the auspices of the Danish Arts Foundation. The commissioning process unfolded over a three-year period from 2013-2016 and involved a city administration, two commissioned artists along with their professional collaborators, and the local citizens in the street. One of the artistic projects will continue until 2019 with the support of a private foundation.

I initially chose the case because participation was a key feature in the commission brief for the public artwork, which fit with my interest in researching the organizing of participation in contemporary art. The commission brief called on the two invited artists to engage with the stories of the street and to involve as many residents and users of the street as possible.[2] It also included a competition between the artistic proposals, which was to be determined by local citizens. As such, the case involved various participatory forms testifying to an interest in experimenting with participation and to the increasing emphasis on participatory strategies beyond artists' practices and even the field of culture (Kelty et al.

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[2] See appendix 1.

2015). In other words, the case offered an opportunity to study artistic processes of organizing participation in the social that were themselves embedded within other social processes.

When referring to the process of organizing participation, I thus include the commissioning process as well as the two commissioned artists' development of their participatory projects in collaboration with citizens. In principle, the case study contains three embedded case studies: the commissioning process plus each of the two artistic projects. However, the choice of framing this as one case study of the organizing of participation is motivated by my research interest in participatory art's entanglement with and within contemporary social and aesthetic processes. The thesis thus situates the artistic work of organizing participation within a broader context that involves other social and aesthetic processes.

Framing the case study to include the commissioning process is aimed to contribute to art history. While art historians and art theorists have discussed the intertwinement between art and other political agendas, they have typically approached this intertwinement by either criticizing such agendas or cautioning artists against becoming complicit with them (Kester 1995, Bishop 2006, Bishop 2012, Thompson 2015, Sholette 2017). Alternatively, or concurrently, they have celebrated the autonomous artistic response to these political agendas (Bishop 2012, Thompson 2015, Sholette 2017). Broadly speaking, art history has operated on the assumption that artistic practices are best understood when somewhat severed from the heteronomous compound of what is otherwise going on within the social (Bishop 2006, Jackson 2011).

However, this thesis, to the contrary, situates participatory art in this compound through the detailed engagement with a single case study. In this way, the thesis endeavours to contribute to art history by analysing the relationship between artistic processes and contemporary social processes, as this relationship highlights their interdependency and intertwinement. As such, the thesis contributes to and furthers a recent 'organizational turn' in art history that is centrally concerned with the relationship between art, aesthetics, and processes of organizing, as they intermingle and interrelate with the organizing of the social (Jackson 2011, Gielen 2013, Thompson 2015, Sholette 2017).

In particular, I use the concept of 'modes of ordering' that sociologist John Law developed to address the question of social ordering processes, which he initially presented in a classic ANT study of organization entitled *Organizing Modernity* (Law 1994, Law 2003, Langstrup & Vikkelsø 2014). For Law, modes of ordering are a sense-making tool, a way of ordering fieldwork experiences by capturing what

he refers to as ordering patterns in the networks of the social (Law 1994). These ordering patterns attest to ordering processes that speak through practices, technologies, materials, and utterances to constitute blocks of reflexive and self-reflexive networks. In Law's argument, the dynamic interrelationship between various modes of ordering constitutes a given social ordering process (Law 2003).

In the thesis, I use the case study to develop the theory that four specific modes of ordering effect the organizing of participation in contemporary art. I call these four respective modes of ordering *artistic autonomy*, *administration*, *public interest,* and *the site*. On the basis of my fieldwork observations, I 'abduct' (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011) these four modes of ordering in dialogue with a broad range of theories, including organization studies, sociology, geography, urban studies, cultural policy, and art history. I argue that the organizing of participation in the case study is an effect of – at a minimum – these four modes of ordering that extends beyond the artist's involvement of people. I further argue that these modes of ordering are symptomatic, with certain caveats, for the organizing of participation in contemporary art.

The thesis' contribution to organization studies

This thesis also contributes to organization studies, whose general interest in and thus engagement with art – and aesthetics – has three aims: to promote creativity and innovation in businesses and organizations (Austin & Devin 2003, Guillet de Monthoux 2004, Jones et al. 2015, Jones et al. 2016); to encourage methodological innovation and experimentation in organizational research, including the epistemological question of what to pay attention to in an organization (Taylor & Hansen 2005, Strati 2010); and, most recently, to examine the organizing processes in our contemporary society, which is adapting artistic practices and intensifying aestheticization processes (Hjorth & Steyaert 2009, O'Doherty et al. 2013, Beverungen et al. 2013, Beyes 2016). The third position includes critical reflections about artistic infiltrations into the social and experiments with new forms of organizing (Beyes 2015a, Beyes 2015b, Hjorth & Holt 2016). The thesis seeks to contribute to this third engagement with art and aesthetics by conducting an organizational analysis of the case study and thus engaging with the relationship between art and other social processes. The thesis further contributes to organization studies by bridging the theoretical discussions within art history and organization studies, respectively. The first chapter in the thesis therefore reconfigures the art historical discussions of participatory art into a history of organizational models that frame the different conceptual ways in which art history has discussed the organizing of participation in contemporary art. To this end, art

history is conceptualized through an organizational lens that demonstrates how relevant engaging with participatory art is to organization studies.

The poetics of participation

The thesis seeks to investigate what one might call the drama of various social, organizational, and aesthetic processes coming together to organize participation in contemporary art. The drama of participatory art within a participatory culture can be inferred from the title of the thesis: *The Poetics of Participation*. The concept of poetics stems from Aristotle's formative work about dramatic and epic forms, in which he discusses their genre definitions as well as aesthetic qualities (Aristotle 2013). In English, poetics has thus become synonymous with 'the study of linguistic techniques in poetry and literature'.[3] The term, however, has also been used in another meaning, one that indicates a certain aesthetic quality of particular forms of practice. *The Oxford Dictionary* relates the concept of poetics to 'the art of writing poetry', which refers to the process of making something or simply to 'creativity', which is consistent with the broader meaning of the original ancient Greek term 'poesis'.[4] In this broader meaning, poetics has been used to indicate the aesthetic experience of space (Bachelard 1994) and the aesthetic qualities of open works that deliberately await their completion through the work of the audience (Eco 1962). Contemporary art theory shows an interest in how theatre is called on to revitalize the field of contemporary art as well as art institutions (Jackson 2011, Bishop 2012, Groys 2016). The scripted or non-scripted engagement of participants in various formats plays a major role in this transformation, which is also transforming the organizing of the art institution and our engagement with art, culture, and urban life (Beyes, Krempl & Deuflhard 2009, Bianchini & Verhagen 2016). I chose the title *The Poetics of Participation* to indicate the relationship between contemporary art and other organizational processes that today involves multiple aesthetic processes – artistic as well as in terms of general sense perception (aesthesis) – of engaging and summoning participants. The poetics of participation thus refers to the aesthetic experience of participation that extends beyond the field of artistic practice, but also to the dramatic relationship between various forms of organizing participation.

In addition, poetics indicates a level of generalizability with respect to the organizing of participation. Referring to Aristotle's *Poetics*, philosopher Jacques Rancière has developed a theory about 'the poetic regime of art' (Rancière 2007), which speaks of a particular conceptualization of artistic practices in

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[3] See Oxford Dictionary, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/poetics (accessed September 3, 2018).
[4] See Oxford Dictionary, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/poesis (accessed September 3, 2018).

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which art has to abide by certain rules and regulations. Such a rule-based conceptualization of art held a dominant position in the Ancien Regime in France, where hierarchized genres mirrored a hierarchical vision of society. Today I would argue that one might detect such conceptualization in the ethical discourse about participatory practices, in which participants' influence in decision-making is a key measure of such practices. However, I have not chosen the title *The Poetics of Participation* to stipulate new rules for the organizing of participation in art. For me, the poetics of participation speaks about a generalizability positioned not at the level of artistic practices themselves, but at the level of modes of ordering, thus forming particular aesthetic and social forces that run through and effect the organizing of participation in contemporary art. Rancière speaks of 'the aesthetic regime of art' as corresponding to the modern, democratic organization of society that emphasizes the possibility of all things and subjects being given new roles and meaning through, for instance, artistic experimentation (Rancière 2007). The poetics of participation framed in this thesis constitute the dynamic organizational processes of intermingling modes of ordering that effect the organizing of participation in contemporary art, thus constituting a particular contemporary poetics of participation.

Contents of the thesis

The thesis is organized as follows:

Chapter 1 situates the thesis' contribution to art history and organization studies by engaging with the literature within the two fields and building bridges between them. The literature review is called 'Art, aesthetics and processes of organizing' to indicate that the relationship between art and organizational processes is a joint interest within art history and organization studies to which the thesis seeks to contribute, and – in so doing – to construct a dialogue between the two research fields. While the bulk of literature discussed comes from art history, the chapter reconfigures this literature through the lens of organization studies and the recent 'organizational turn' in art history, thus contributing to both research fields.

Chapter 2 presents my methodological reflections about conducting the case study. I discuss the case study method and elaborate on my concern for practising what John Law refers to as 'a modest sociology' (Law 1994). The chapter also details the fieldwork I have conducted and my method for developing this into the empirical material for my case study (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011), as well as discusses John Law's concept of modes of ordering (Law 1994, Law 2003), which form the primary analytical concept in my thesis.

Chapters 3-5 concern the specific attributes of the four modes of ordering that I argue effected the organizing of participation in the case study. In Chapter 3 I introduce my fieldwork experiences and my initial reflections about the events I experienced. In Chapter 4 I use a hand-drawn illustrated process map to sketch out the four modes of ordering, and in Chapter 5 I specify each of the four modes in turn. For each mode I lean on fieldwork observations, but also reference literature from a broad range of fields, including organization studies, urban studies, cultural policy studies, and art history, using the method of abduction to determine the singular characteristics of the respective modes. These three chapters trace a gradual determination of the four modes of ordering that focuses on their singular features as ordering patterns in the network of the social.

Chapters 6-10 analyse the events in the case study as an effect of the relationship between the four modes of ordering. Chapter 6, entitled 'Balancing acts', discusses the effects of the *public interest* mode of ordering in the commissioning process, emphasizing how it generates a space for dissent. Chapter 7, 'It doesn't have to be green', describes a clash between the modes of ordering of *artistic autonomy* and *administration*. Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 delve into the two commissioned artworks and the artists' participatory organizing, framing these around the relationship between the *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* modes of ordering. Chapter 8, 'Artistic autonomy in the public interest', discusses the problems of aligning artistic ambitions with public interest, while Chapter 9, 'The aesthetic powers of persuasion', reflects on the possibility that the experience of aesthetic transgression contributes to generating public interest. Finally, Chapter 10, 'Learning from Istedgade', discusses the contemporary negotiation of Istedgade, including the commissioned artworks' contribution to this negotiation.

Chapter 11, 'The modes and the models', constitutes the thesis' concluding discussion with the literature and aims to frame and specify how the in-depth case study and the theorization of four modes of ordering effecting the organizing of participation increase our understanding of how participation is organized

Chapter 1: Art, aesthetics, and processes of organizing

How contemporary art engages with the social in participatory artistic projects is an issue of ongoing discussion in art history and art theory. In this thesis I seek to contribute to this discussion, but also to extend organization studies' engagement with artistic practices as critical reflections about organizational practices in contemporary society. This is because art history and organization studies share an interest in the relationship between art, aesthetics, and organizational processes, an interest further spurred by developments in the respective research fields, and it is this joint interest that motivates my aim of a dual contribution. On the one hand, art history has responded to the expanded field of artistic practices as they increasingly engage with the social and with questions of social organizing. On the other hand, organization studies have expanded beyond the study of bounded organizations to engage more broadly with organizational processes within society, processes that include artistic practices and processes of aestheticization. Thus, with such a joint interest as a backdrop, this thesis strives to add to the individual research fields, *and* – in the process – to establish a dialogue between the two.

I start the literature review by breaking organization studies' interest in art and aesthetics down into three key forms. Above all, this framing is intended to situate the thesis and its contribution in the most recent strand of research to explore the relationships between artistic practices and the intensification of aestheticization processes in contemporary society, thus rendering art not only as a critical cipher for reflecting on how contemporary society is organized but also as a partner in reimagining social organization. Next, I engage with art history's discussion of participatory art as a key site where art and organizational processes are becoming increasingly intertwined. I sketch out the problems that have concerned art history with respect to participatory processes, framing the sites of this dialogue and the form it takes. I subsequently propose that the art theoretical discussions can be structured into five different models conceptualizing how participation is organized in contemporary art. Using the lens of organization studies, I extract these models from the art historical literature. In the final and most comprehensive part of the review, I present and discuss these five art theoretical models that collectively draw a line from an emphasis on how participatory art organizes partici*pants* to a progressively more comprehensive reflection on the relationship between artistic practices and other organizational practices in society. I outline this progression with a view to specifying how the thesis contributes to this organizational development, or 'organizational turn', within discussions of participatory artistic practices.

Art and aesthetics in organization studies

Organization studies have taken a distinct, if minor, interest in artistic practices and aesthetic issues that encompass the broader notion of sense perception (aesthesis) (Strati 1992, Linstead & Höpfl 2000, Taylor & Hansen 2005, Strati 2010, Beyes 2016). Broadly, this interest is driven by three overall aspirations: 1) to promote creativity and innovation in businesses and organizations, 2) to encourage methodological innovation and experimentation within organizational research, and 3) to critically examine organizing practices in contemporary society. These three interests in art and aesthetics are not mutually exclusive, often intermingling within the literature. In fact, one might argue that it is symptomatic of organization studies' engagement with art and aesthetics that it has been motivated by a fascination both with art and aesthetics *and* with the possibility of challenging or supplementing the field's overriding emphasis on rationality, instrumentality and economic value (Taylor & Hansen 2005, Strati 2010, Hjorth 2013). The following compressed overview of the field's three types of engagement with art and aesthetics obviously simplifies the span and complexities of the research, but it serves the purpose of positioning the thesis' contribution to organization studies.

The first way in which organization studies engage with art and aesthetics is aimed at examining the practices, strategies, and processes involved in artistic and creative work. This interest characterizes the broad field of engagement with 'creative industries' (Jones et al. 2015, Jones et al. 2016) as well as a smaller cluster of studies focusing on the organizational practices of fine art practitioners (Austin & Devin 2003, Guillet de Monthoux 2004, O'Donnell 2013). Researchers focus both on individual artistic producers and on entire industries, exploring creative processes and innovation strategies as well as networks, institutions, and policy frames (Jones et al. 2015). Their studies build on Theodor Adorno's and Max Horkheimer's early analysis of the 'culture industry', Howard Becker's study of 'art worlds', and Pierre Bourdieu's study of the field of cultural production and they analyse the developments, challenges, and potentials arising in the cultural and creative industries (Jones et al. 2015, Jones et al. 2016). Researchers ground the motivation and relevance of their research – at least partially – on the increasing economic importance of creative industries and creative work and thus strive to gain knowledge about creative processes that can promote and strengthen innovation work in these industries as well as in other forms of businesses and organizations (Austin & Devin 2003, Guillet de Monthoux 2004, O'Donnell 2013, Jones et al. 2016). This first key form of interest has grown exponentially in step with a burgeoning emphasis on creativity beyond the field of artistic practice – a trend that is encapsulated by bestsellers like *The Experience Economy* (Gilmore & Pine 1999), *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Florida 2002), and *The Creative City: a tool-kit for urban innovators* (Landry 2000).

Thus, the expansion of creativity beyond the field of art and culture has served to nurture organization studies' interest in art and aesthetics.

The field's second motivation for engaging with art and aesthetics is connected with the potential inherent in expanding and experimenting with the methodological tools used to research organizations (Linstead & Höpfl 2000, Taylor & Hansen 2005, Strati 2010, Beyes 2016). Here researchers look to art and aesthetic theory to find inspiration for a research methodology that captures the emotional, material, and practice-based dimensions of organizational life, while also moving beyond the limitations of cognitive and discursive approaches to studying organizations (Strati 2010, Beyes 2016). Organizational aesthetics represents one such field of experimentation that has sought to challenge organization studies' preoccupation with the discursive level of organization and the focus on instrumental purposes (Taylor & Hansen 2005). Artistic forms have lent themselves metaphorically to the study of organizations, thus promoting new approaches to the interpretation of organizational practices (Taylor & Hansen 2005). These include the use of theatre (Goffman 1959), storytelling (Boje 1991), and narrative (Czarniawska 1998). In addition, works of fiction and literary theory have become prominent empirical places to study organization (De Cock & Land 2016). Engaging with art and aesthetics in this context also involves the epistemological question of what one should pay attention to when studying organizations (Gagliardi 2006, Strati 2010, Gherardi 2017). Antonio Strati has argued that organization studies should apply an aesthetic sensibility, especially aesthetic judgements aimed at understanding organizational life (Strati 2010). Steven S. Taylor and Hans Hansen suggest that the most promising path for organizational aesthetics is the use of artistic forms to research aesthetic issues, as artistic forms might better capture organizations as an aesthetic phenomenon (Taylor & Hansen 2005).

The third – and most recent – engagement with artistic practices and aesthetic processes springs from an interest in critically examining the organizational practices and processes of contemporary society (O'Doherty et al. 2013, Beverungen et al. 2013, Bialski et al. 2015, Karppi et al. 2016, Beyes 2016). The broader societal adaptation of artistic practices and aesthetic experimentation is seen as effectively shaping these practices and processes, and this adaptation is expressed in the proliferation and intensification of contemporary processes of aestheticization (Welsch 1996, Reckwitz 2017). Philosopher Wolfgang Welsh offered an early diagnosis of the profounder impact of aestheticization processes on the production of reality and our cognitive approach to the world (Welsch 1996), arguing that contemporary forms of aestheticization take place not only on a surface level but also on a deeper structural level. The marketing of goods and the aestheticization of urban areas are thus connected to

the effects of media on social reality and to the production of new material technologies (Welsch 1996). In a similar broad analysis, sociologist Andreas Reckwitz has argued that there is a contemporary norm of creativity – a creativity dispositif – that expresses itself in the impossibility for us not to want to be creative (Reckwitz 2017). While artistic aspirations were rare 100 years ago, creativity as a tool for personal and commercial success has become a new norm of today's society. Reckwitz traces the genealogy of the creativity dispositif through changes in the art field and in other social fields like psychology, urban planning, and management, emphasizing such effects as self-improvement-technologies, the culturalization of the city, and the development of the aesthetic economy (Reckwitz 2017). For organization studies, a particular site of interest when it comes to reflecting on the aestheticization of contemporary society encompasses the managerial adaptations of artistic practices and their effect on contemporary work life (Boltanski & Chiapello 2007, Beyes 2016). Another site is the development of the creative or entrepreneurial city (Beyes 2012, Michels et al. 2014, Bialski et al. 2015), and a third is the relationship between art, aesthetics, and entrepreneurship (Hjorth & Steyaert 2009). Importantly, rather than distancing aesthetics from cognition, this recent engagement with art and aesthetics sees sense-making as shaped by affect and sensation, thus rendering aesthetics an organizational force (Beyes 2016).

This movement towards critical reflection on contemporary processes of aestheticization is among the developments in organization studies that have propelled the field beyond the study of bounded organizations to the study of processes of organizing in which issues of affect, atmospheres and sensations are intertwined with and intrinsic to organizational processes (Steyaert 2007, Helin et al. 2014, Langley & Tsuokas 2016). Moving beyond typical business school agendas geared to optimize organizational performance (Perrow 2000), this emphasis on organizing processes also engages with the history of organizational formation and with the societal effects of organizational forms that historically underpin the broad, sociological interest in such forms of organizing (Perrow 2000). The process perspective also continues the interest in widening the methods of organization studies, while also supporting a renewed interest in artistic practices not only as key sites of aesthetic reflection but also as experimental organizational practices (Beyes 2016). Within organization studies, artistic practices have become cases of inquiry into organizational processes, including experiments with new ways of organizing. For example, Pierre Guillet de Monthoux has used cases of artistic experimentation to frame art as an issue of management and of using aesthetic strategies as a means of organizing (Guillet de Monthoux 2004). Bent Meier Sørensen took the case of an artistic intervention in weapons production and used it to frame the crisis of the event as the creation of new organizational

connections (Sørensen 2006). Invoking the case of Ai Weiwei, Daniel Hjorth, and Robin Holt argue that entrepreneurship could be conceptualized as organization-creation with a public perspective (Hjorth & Holt 2016). Finally, Timon Beyes has investigated artistic forms of urban intervention to critically reflect on the development of the creative city (Beyes 2015a, Beyes 2015b).

In these case studies, artistic practices come to serve as critical interventions in contemporary processes of organizing and as strategies for reimagining organization creation. This thesis seeks to contribute to this discussion, first, through an in-depth case study on the organizing of participation for a public work of art and, second, through a reconceptualization of the art theoretical discussions on participatory practices as five organizational models. As such, the thesis traces the contours of a broader field of artistic experimentation with organizing, thus suggesting further ways in which organization studies could explore artistic practices as experimental forms of organization creation that intervene in and criticize contemporary processes of social and aesthetic organizing.

Art history's problems with participatory practices

The social turn in art has sparked an ongoing discussion in art history about participatory and collaborative artistic practices (Bishop 2012, Kester 2015, Finkelpearl 2014). In the introduction I mentioned a number of terms proposed to capture this emergent form of cultural practice, including 'participatory art' (Bishop 2012), 'relational aesthetics' (Bourriaud 1996/2002), 'new genre public art' (Lacy 1995a), 'dialogical aesthetics' (Kester 2004), 'socially engaged art', and 'social practice'.[5] In the editorial for the first issue of *Field – a journal about socially engaged art criticism*, art historian Grant Kester commented that the general proliferation of terms to describe these practices and to differentiate between them testifies to a vibrant form of practice 'that has not yet been subject to art historical closure' (Kester 2015). Another way to state this is to say that the thesis enters into a dialogue with a network of critics, curators, artists, and art theorists currently engaged in the description, historical delineation, and theorization of how contemporary art uses various forms of participatory and collaborative practices to critically engage with contemporary society.[6] This discussion is conducted not only in academic journals but to a large degree also in monographs and edited volumes and through the staging of exhibitions, and I will now outline the discussion by framing it first as a problem

[5] To my knowledge the terms 'socially engaged art' and 'social practice' have not been invented by a particular author but are widely used within the discourse.
[6] Participatory art has been the topic of a number of exhibitions and edited volumes that I do not reference directly in this literature review, including Purves 2005, Drouin-Brisebois 2008, Malm & Wik 2012, Dezeuze 2012, Schmidt et al. 2014, Brown 2016, Cartiere & Zebracki 2016.

– or set of problems – confronting art history, and then as a story of how art history gradually came to approach participatory and collaborative practices as an organizational matter.

Art history's discussion of participatory art has been characterized by four interconnected problems, the first of which is how to identify and define a new form of artistic practice within what was otherwise conceptualized as a range of dispersed practice forms. To resolve this problem, art theorists reoriented the definition of art away from a reliance on established genres like painting, sculpture, photography, and performance and instead created a new 'genre' of artistic practices broadly defined by artists' 'involvement of people' and by the genre's political critique of contemporary society (Lacy 1995b, Bourriaud 2002). The latter aspect differentiates participatory practices from, for instance, installation art, which might involve people but not necessarily be framed around political issues, although the boundaries between installation art and participatory practices are porous in this regard (Bishop 2006a). A few art historians have conceptualized participatory practices in relation to the advent of digital media like the internet and, more recently, social media (Frieling 2008, Bianchini & Verhagen 2016). While these technological changes play a major role in how other research fields engage with participatory forms (Kelty et al. 2015), art history typically positions digital technologies as an effect of neoliberal capitalism on contemporary life (Bourriaud 2002, Thompson 2012). Digital technologies both contribute to the problem and are strategic weapons to be wielded against capitalist forces (Sholette 2017).

Art history's second problem has been to describe the specific artistic qualities of participatory practices – an exercise inextricably connected with the definition of art as such. This problem concerns both a politics of visibility in the art system, in which 'socially engaged art' has been regarded less highly than autonomous forms of expression, and the related limitations of inherited notions of art. Socially engaged art tends to be problem-focused and entails community building to an extent that leads it to resemble other kinds of public services, social work, or community engagement. However, if we accept such practices as artistic, then they inadvertently demand the expansion of theories and methods of art.

The third problem that art history faces is the political effect of participatory practices, which broadly speaking has resulted in discussions about the relationship between aesthetics, ethics, and politics. However, as key scholars involved in these discussions tend to rely on different political theories to support their interpretations of such practices, the analyses of their political effect differ greatly. Some

scholars argue that the relative autonomy of the artistic sphere creates a basis for political critique (Bishop 2012), while others argue that political effects require a site-specific – and preferably long-term – engagement with local communities outside the 'white cube' of art institutions (Lacy 1995b, Kester 2011). Still others argue that political effects require artists to exit the art institution altogether and thus transform artistic practices into direct political actions (McKee 2017).

Fourth and finally, art history has had to deal with and thus reflect on the relationship between art and other organizational processes in society. These reflections include discussions concerning how capitalist and governmental powers have co-opted and instrumentalized collaborative and participatory artistic practices (Kester 1995, Bishop 2012, Thompson 2015). This includes reflections about artistic autonomy and how artists contribute to society (Jackson 2011). In this instance the relationship between art and the social encompasses an organizational analysis of the way in which art is intertwined with other social forces (Jackson 2011, Thompson 2015). In fact, art history has increasingly focused on organizational issues, tracing the intertwinement of art and the social through the porous boundaries of an art field flanked by the creative industries on one side and political movements directed against society's dominant capitalist forces on the other (McKee 2017, Sholette 2017).

Gazing from the vantage point of the present and inspired by the recent organizational turn in art history and my own exposure as a PhD student to how organization studies engage with art and aesthetics, I suggest that one can discern five different models demonstrating how art history has conceptualized the organizing of participation in contemporary art. I call these models 'the relational model', 'the aesthetic-critical model', 'the ethical model', 'the durational model', and 'the organization-creation model'. I have chosen these terms for the purpose of organizing art theoretical discussions covered in this review into organizational models that frame particular ways of conceptualizing the *organizing* of participatory art.[7] Importantly, these models gradually progress from defining the genre towards reflecting on the relationship between art and the social, as well as from focusing on the way in which artists organize the partici*pants* towards interpreting participatory organizing as a context-specific, durational activity in which art and the social are interrelated and infiltrated in various ways. The question of organizing has thus been expanded from the question of activating and involving

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[7] The chosen terms also accord – at least partially – with the art theoretical terminology and, as such, are not of my own making. The conceptualization of these positions as organizational models is the only aspect constituting my particular way of addressing the art theoretical discussion and of aligning it with my emphasis on how participation is organized in contemporary art. When deviating from the art theoretical terminology, I make specific arguments for choosing a term other than that used by other scholars.

people to that of conceptualizing participatory practices as organizational processes that involve a network of institutions, sites, and participants.

The relational model

The French curator Nicolas Bourriaud introduced the first model, the relational model, in the mid-1990s, when he coined the term 'relational aesthetics' to capture what he saw as an interest that contemporary artists shared in human interaction and its social context (Bourriaud 1996, Bourriaud 2002). Instead of producing aesthetic objects, artists at the time were offering gifts and services to visitors, investigating communicative forms such as letters and business cards, and staging social events as integrated aspects of exhibitions (Bourriaud 2002). Bourriaud mentions a broad range of artists, including Felix Gonzales-Torres, who created minimalist-style squares of candy for visitors to pick from, and Christine Hill, who worked as a checkout assistant in a supermarket. However, Rirkrit Tiravanija and his street-style Thai kitchens have come to embody relational aesthetics in the ensuing discussions (Bishop 2004, Finkelpearl 2014). By offering pad Thai to visitors, Tiravanija used the occasion of a meal to create a space for potential relationships between visitors, and this is precisely the kind of work exemplifying the convivial spaces that Bourriaud finds characteristic of relational aesthetics.

Bourriaud positions this new relational art as descending from earlier avant-garde practices, but also as being distinctly unique and unlike any previous artistic practices (Bourriaud 2002). Leaning on a Marxist critique of capitalism, he sees the new relational aesthetics as a strategy for countering the effects of capitalism and the culture industry, which have served to actualize what the situationist Guy Debord called the *Society of the Spectacle*. Bourriaud speaks of a contemporary 'society of extras' in which human relations are no longer experienced directly but have become commodified (Bourriaud 2002). However, unlike with the earlier avant-garde, the new relational aesthetics does not foment revolutionary ambitions on a grand scale, but rather develops micro-utopias within exhibition spaces, thus forming counter-spaces for social engagement and human interaction. In other words, these new artworks are small models of sociality that implicitly criticize the lack of authentic relations in contemporary life:

> What they produce are relational space-time elements, inter-human experiences trying to rid themselves of the straitjacket of the ideology of mass communications, in a way, of the places where alternative forms of sociability, critical models and moments of constructed conviviality are worked out. (Bourriaud 2002, p. 44)

Using French psychoanalyst Felix Guattari's theory of subjectivity as 'produced' by various relations, Bourriaud argues that relational aesthetics is a strategy for producing new forms of subjectivity, for art might play a role in de-naturalizing and de-territorializing subjectivity and in 'seizing, enhancing and reinventing' it (Bourriaud 2002, p. 89). The aesthetic dimension of such new artworks thus refers to relational art's experimentation with new 'forms' of social encounters. These new forms ask us what kind of social relations we imagine, aspire to, and would want to be in. Relational aesthetics thus modifies the question of artistic form into a question of what form of social life and inter-human relationship we are practicing, and how art might help us reimagine that form. As such, relational aesthetics offers a more dynamic experience than the concept of form implies. Bourriaud suggests:

> In observing contemporary artistic practices we ought to talk of "formations" rather than "forms". Unlike an object that is closed in on itself by the intervention of a style and a signature, present-day art shows that form only exists in the encounter and in the dynamic relationship enjoyed by an artistic proposition with other formations, artistic or otherwise (Bourriaud 2002, p. 21)

Art theorist Jason Miller has remarked that Bourriaud's concept of relational aesthetics is not a 'full-throated theory of relational art, but rather (…) a curatorial vignette of emerging participatory art practices' (Miller 2016, p. 169). Nevertheless, the concept of relational aesthetics was initially subjected to harsh criticism, in particular because Bourriaud was prone to make somewhat grand rhetorical gestures and emphasized a select group of contemporary artists as practicing a new original form of art (Miller 2016, O'Neill 2010). Bourriaud's critics asserted that he failed to acknowledge their historical predecessors (Larsen 2005) as well as contemporary practitioners outside the art institution and in a global context (Kester 2011). For many artists and critics in the field, relational aesthetics looked a lot like a marketing stunt for a select group of artists (Thompson 2012). Art critic Hal Foster referred to it as 'Arty Party' (Foster 2003), and art historian Grant Kester argued that it promoted artists whose social engagement was only symbolic and catered to an elite class of art audience (Kester 2011).

Today, Bourriaud's early observation of a new artistic interest in inter-human relations has gained broader recognition (O'Neill 2010, Thompson 2015). Relational aesthetics' is typically presented as – at least – the starting point for the art theoretical discussions of such participatory art forms (O'Neill 2010, Finkelpearl 2014). For my purpose, relational aesthetics' feel-good take on social encounters through the artist's staging of convivial situations offers one model for addressing how artists' organize

participation. Other models have opposed the relational model, but – as I will later suggest – elements of Bourriaud's 'curatorial vignette' re-emerge within the organization-creation model, albeit with the added dimension of a more elaborate organizational analysis that goes beyond the art gallery.

The aesthetic-critical model

While the relational model of participatory art is characterized by the staging of small-scale social situations in which exhibition audiences can take part, the aesthetic-critical model emphasizes the *organizational* effects of artistic practices as aesthetic interventions into the social.[8] To some extent the aesthetic-critical model accords with the general art theoretical interpretation of avant-garde practices in 20th-century art, which frames these practices as the 'shock of the new' and as critical provocations of bourgeois culture (Hughes 1991, Kester 2004). In discussions of participatory art, I locate the aesthetic-critical model primarily in the writings of British art critic Claire Bishop (Bishop 2004, Bishop 2006b, Bishop 2012). Tom Finkelpearl has referred to Bishop's interpretation of participatory art as 'the antagonistic form' of participatory art, an understanding primarily grounded in her initial reflections about participatory art, which leaned on the political theories of Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau (Bishop 2004, Finkelpearl 2014). In her later writings, however, Bishop has shifted towards French philosopher Jacques Rancière's theorization of the relationship between politics and aesthetics and widened her perspective to include a greater variety of participatory art (Bishop 2006b, Bishop 2012). As a result of this shift, I have decided not to call this model 'the antagonistic model', but rather 'the aesthetic-critical model', thus emphasizing the weight Bishop puts on art's intervention into the social, which is predicated both on art's autonomy from the social and on the political forces of the aesthetic re-organization of the social in participatory art. Key to the aesthetic-critical model is a Rancièrian view of art as an aesthetic force with the potential to make the political organization of the social visible and thus to open up the possibility of reorganizing it.

Claire Bishop entered the participatory art debate through a critique she made of Bourriaud's concept of relational aesthetics (Bishop 2004). In particular, she emphasized Bourriaud's lack of normative criteria for evaluating the quality of relational aesthetics' human relations. Bourriaud's choice of art projects collectively presented a convivial interpretation of social encounters as exemplified by

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[8] In framing 'the aesthetic-critical model' as an organizational model I lean upon theorization of 'aesthetics' as an organizational capacity within the field of organization studies. In particular, the subfield of organizational aesthetics has convincingly argued that organization also takes aesthetic form and that aesthetic processes modulate and effect social organizing (Strati 2010, Beyes 2016).

Tiravanija's Thai servings. To Bishop, this choice looked as if Bourriaud presumed that all human relations are automatically good, but Bishop pointed to Chantal Mouffe's and Ernesto Laclau's political theory of radical democracy to argue for the critical potential of artistic projects that create '…sensations of unease and discomfort rather than belonging, because the work acknowledges the impossibility of a "microtopia", and instead *sustains* a tension among viewers, participants, and context' (Bishop 2004, p. 70, italics in original).

Two concepts are central to the political theory of Mouffe and Laclau: hegemony and antagonism (Mouffe & Laclau 2014). The concept of hegemony is adopted from Antonio Gramsci and indicates that any given social order conceals its contingent character and its origin in political struggles. In other words, it pretends to be the natural form of social organizing. Antagonism refers to the political struggles that hegemony seeks to conceal, thus pointing out the existence of fundamental differences in the values and opinions of contemporary societies. Laclau and Mouffe use the concept to contest liberalism because it is unable to think 'the political' (Mouffe & Laclau 2014). As Mouffe explains liberal thinking is:

> …a rationalist and individualist approach which is unable to adequately grasp the pluralistic nature of the social world, with the conflicts that pluralism entails: conflicts for which no rational solution could ever exist, hence the dimension of antagonism that characterizes human society. (Mouffe 2008, p. 8)

For instance, the theory of antagonism opposes Jürgen Habermas' theory of the public sphere as a place where deliberation aimed at rational consensus might take place (Mouffe 2008). In Mouffe's and Laclau's argument, a democratic society is characterized not by consensus but rather by its ability to sustain conflicts and bring differences to light (Laclau & Mouffe 2014). Thus, as Bishop summarizes their argument: 'Without antagonism there is only the imposed consensus of authoritarian order – a total suppression of debate and discussion, which is inimical to democracy' (Bishop 2004, p. 66).

Bishop highlights how the artist Santiago Sierra's framing of inter-human exploitation provides a counter-example to Tiravanija's cosy pad-Thai installations (Bishop 2004). For example, his work *250 cm Line Tattooed on Six Paid People* (1999) literally shows what people will submit to for the sake of some minimal pay. In Bishop's argument, the use of low-paid workers to perform demeaning tasks aesthetically exacerbates the instrumentalization of lives within neoliberal capitalism and the effective

social differentiation it creates between people. While relational art is open-ended and inclusive, the work of Santiago Sierra creates borders and thus visualizes exclusionary practices. A case in point is another of Sierra's installation, *Wall Enclosing a Space* (2003), which was made for the Spanish Pavilion at the 2003 Venice Biennial, and to which only visitors carrying a Spanish passport were granted entry. As Bishop argues,

> The work was 'relational' in Bourriaud's sense, but it problematized any idea of these relations as being fluid and unconstrained by exposing how all our interactions are, like public space, riven with social and legal exclusions. (Bishop 2004, p. 73-74)

Bishop has since modified her argument for this, as Tom Finkelpearl put it, 'tougher, more confrontational version of participatory art' (Finkelpearl 2014), perhaps in response to the critique of her use of the concept antagonism that – according to Jason Miller – has been criticized also indirectly by Mouffe herself (Miller 2016). At least, Mouffe has proposed the term 'agonism' to describe a softer and more democratically productive form of disagreement than that encapsulated in antagonism (Miller 2016). While antagonism indicates the valuation of confrontation for its own sake, agonism speaks of democratic debate where no consensus is reached, but the opponents recognize each other's legitimacy. Mouffe herself frames antagonism as a we/them relationship characterized by oppositions of friend/enemy, while agonism has another type of we/them relationship at stake:

> While antagonism is a 'we/them' relation in which the two sides are enemies who do not share any common ground, agonism is a 'we/them' relation where the conflicting parties, although acknowledging that there is no rational solution to their conflict, nevertheless recognize the legitimacy of their opponents. They are *adversaries*, not enemies (…) What is at stake in the agonistic struggle is the very configuration of power relations around which a given society is structured, it is a struggle between opposing hegemonic projects which can never be reconciled rationally. The antagonistic dimension is always present; it is a real confrontation but one which is played out under conditions regulated by a set of democratic procedures accepted by the adversaries. (Mouffe 2005, p. 157-158, italics in original)

Bishop's recent monograph on participatory art is titled *Artificial Hells* (Bishop 2012), and, although the title retains an antagonistic element, the book itself is more inclusive in its scope, broadly conceptualizing participatory art as art that 'involves many people'. Moreover, Bishop discusses a range

of artistic practices including community practices, site-specific exhibitions, delegated performances, and educational experiments. Taking examples from Eastern Europe, Western Europe, the USA and South America, she traces a lineage of participatory art throughout the 20ᵗʰ century, arguing for a distinct art history of these participatory practices that stretches from the historical avant-garde of the 1920s to today. Bishop argues that the 20ᵗʰ century saw a diversity of participatory experiments that revolved around '…a utopian rethinking of art's relationship to the social and of its political potential – manifested in a reconsideration of the ways in which art is produced, consumed and debated' (Bishop 2012, p. 3). In particular, she asserts that significant moments occurred in conjunction with 'political upheavals and movements for social change': the historic avant-garde in Europe circa 1917, and the so-called neo-avant-garde leading to 1968. Bishop positions the contemporary surge of interest in participation as a response to the collapse of a collectivist vision of society that began in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall.[9] In Bishop's words what collectively characterizes these contemporary forms of participatory art is:

> …a shared set of desires to overturn the traditional relationship between the art object, the artist and the audience. To put it simply: the artist is conceived less as an individual producer of discrete objects than as a collaborator and producer of *situations*; the work of art as a finite, portable, commodifiable product is reconceived as an ongoing or long-term *project* with an unclear beginning and end; while the audience, previously conceived as 'viewer' or 'beholder' is now repositioned as a co-producer or *participant*. (Bishop 2012, p. 2, italics in original)

This new characterization of participatory art is broad, but it rewrites the notion of participatory art in familiar art historical terms. Bishop's historicization of the field, her emphasis on the singularity of each artistic experiment with participatory formats, and the centrality of the issue of spectatorship consolidate her notion of the importance of art's autonomy. Whether one interprets this as the autonomy of the artistic field, as artists' freedom to experiment with participatory formats, or through the notion of aesthetic autonomy, Bishop's insistence on artistic autonomy makes her a controversial figure in discussions surrounding participatory art. In *Artificial Hells*, participatory art provokes a rethinking of artistic categories and the history of art – through the lens of theatre rather than that of

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[9] Within art history, the fall of the Berlin Wall is a generally accepted historical marker for the advent of contemporary participatory practices, as it marks the end of a socialist alternative to capitalism and the rise of a new neoliberal capitalist ideology with global reach (Jackson 2011, Thompson 2012).

painting or the readymade[10] – but does not challenge the inherited concept of art. In contrast, art historian Grant Kester has repeatedly argued that it is necessary to fundamentally rethink the heritage of art history to engage properly with participatory and collaborative artistic practices (Kester 2004, Kester 2006, Kester 2011).

For Bishop the importance of retaining the autonomy of art is tied to her insistence on the 'interventionist' potentials of aesthetic forms of organizing participation, which also accounts for her continued preference for artistic strategies embodying dissonance, subversion, and disruption. However, in her book-length argument for the political potentials of participatory art, she draws neither on Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau nor on Mouffe's more recent concept of agonism, instead employing Jacques Rancière's theorization of the autonomy of aesthetic experience and the relationship between aesthetics and politics (Bishop 2012). Rancière has tied politics to aesthetics – initially in the broad form of sense perception – by arguing that the distribution of the sensible is part and parcel of any political action (Rancière 2007). In other words, political action is tied to what is sayable and what is visible, and in principle therefore requires changing what is sayable and visible, which Rancière has famously phrased as the 'redistribution of the sensible' (Rancière 2010). In this context, artistic work – in the narrower sense of aesthetic as experimentation with the sayable and the visible, and thus of interventions in the sensible – plays a crucial role for Rancière: 'Artistic practices are 'ways of doing and making' that intervene in the general distribution of the ways of doing and making as well as in the relationships they maintain to modes of being and forms of visibility' (Rancière 2007, p. 13).

In his theorization of art, Rancière speaks about three regimes of art: 'the ethical regime', 'the representational regime', and 'the aesthetic regime' (Rancière 2007). These regimes are related to different historical periods and thus provide a loose historical progression with respect to how artistic practice and art's role in society have been conceptualized. However, the three regimes also constitute ways of conceptualizing artistic practice that all still exist today (Rancière 2007). Rancière describes the ethical regime of art on the basis of Plato's critique of imitation (Rancière 2007), in which artistic practice is seen as potentially corrupting the purity of ideas because it imitates simple appearances. As such, art not only corrupts the truth by distorting its representation but also morally corrupts the citizens of the state and is thus banished from Plato's ideal state (Rancière 2007). Rancière uses

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[10] Claire Bishop is not alone in emphasizing a correlation between the field of participatory art and theatre and performance. Grant Kester and Shannon Jackson offer a similar argument (Kester 2004, Jackson 2011).

Aristotle's *Poetics* as a basis for describing the next regime – the representational regime, or the poetic regime of art. In contrast to Plato, Rancière argues, Aristotle generates a space for art in society, providing that art abides by specific rules (Rancière 2007). Art is granted autonomy by being 'formally' isolated from society and by being organized according to specific rules that take the shape of genres with appropriate content and forms for each – a representational system characteristic of the Beaux Arts of French classicism. As such, the representational regime of art might separate art from society, but its organization of art accords with the hierarchical vision of community that characterized society in the classical age (Rancière 2007).

The aesthetic regime of art captures the field of artistic practice introduced with modernity, and thus marks the transition from the classical age to the modern age, or from a hierarchical social system to a democratic one (Rancière 2007). Within the arts, the transition from a representational regime to an aesthetic regime occurs when artists artistically render people, things, and events once deemed unworthy of artistic treatment, thus breaking the rules of the representational regime. Rancière says:

> The aesthetic regime of the arts is the regime that strictly identifies art in the singular and frees it from any specific rule, from any hierarchy of the arts, subject matter, and genres. Yet it does so by destroying the mimetic barrier that distinguished ways of doing and making affiliated with art from other ways of doing and making, a barrier that separated its rules from the order of social occupations. The aesthetic regime asserts the absolute singularity of art and, at the same time, destroys any pragmatic criterion for isolating this singularity. It simultaneously establishes the autonomy of art and the identity of its forms with the forms that life uses to shape itself. (Rancière 2007, p. 23)

In other words, the aesthetic regime of art blurs the boundary between art and life while also making the barrier in itself the very issue that each artist must individually confront in each individual work of art. Philosopher Joseph Tanke neatly summarizes Rancière's argument in this way: 'Aesthetic art is that which cannot but call into question the meanings assigned to roles, practices and capacities because it is what questions the process of assigning meaning as such' (Tanke 2011a, p. 73). This also implies that art has political potentials, because it might alter what can be seen and said: 'It is (…) one of the means by which the meanings of an object, a body, a policy or a group of people can be contested' (Tanke 2011a, p. 73). Or in Claire Bishop's words:

> The aesthetic for Rancière (...) signals an ability to think contradiction: the productive contradiction of art's relationship to social change, which is characterized by the paradox of belief in art's autonomy *and* in it being inextricably bound to the promise of a better world to come. (Bishop 2012, p. 29, italics in original)

For Rancière, however, artists cannot provoke specific political actions by explicitly making something visible (Rancière 2011). Rather, it is the spectator's – or participant's – unexpected and unpredictable aesthetic experience of a work of art that opens up the possibility of a redistribution of the sensible and thus of political action. The concept of equality is a pillar of Rancière's philosophy (Tanke 2011b), for which reason he has criticized philosophers, scientists, and artists who aspire to educate and enlighten the world, as such an aspiration is rooted in the fundamental misunderstanding that they possess superior knowledge to others (Tanke 2011b). He has specifically criticized certain ways in which participatory art has attempted to organize what might be thought of as empowering situations for audiences (Rancière 2006, Rancière 2011). For instance, he has argued that the notion of activating audiences constitutes a misinterpretation of the spectator as essentially passive, whereas spectating might be equally or even more active than bodily movement (Rancière 2011). In an early critique of relational aesthetics, Rancière also argued that relational art forms respond too simplistically to the loss of our 'social bond' (Rancière 2006). In short, he argues that replacing objects with situations cannot fix the problem of social relations. Rather, he sees a need to reinstall '…the very sense of the co-presence of beings and things that constitutes a world…' (Rancière 2006, p. 90). In other words, he believes in the potential of art to create new heterogeneous links that confuse and provoke the order of things, and it is this quality of bewilderment and disorientation that Bishop frames as a pivotal quality of participatory art.

For Bishop, a key example of a work with such qualities is Jeremy Deller's *Battle of Orgreave* (2001), which re-staged the violent confrontation between striking miners and the police during the protests against Margaret Thatcher's conservative government and the closing of British coal mines back in 1984 (Bishop 2012). Bishop sees the potency of this work as lying in how it defies easy description and evaluation. Carried out in the location of the original event, the artistic event involved historical enactment societies as well as former miners and local residents. Deller's decision to employ historical reenactors served to elevate the relatively recent conflict to the status of an important historical event also called 'The English Civil War Part II'. Some of the former miners and local residents found partaking in the event therapeutic, while others found their old wounds to be traumatically reopened, as the film

documenting the staging of the event so poignantly reveals. In Bishop's view *The Battle of Orgreave* carried an air of the village festival about it, but also threatened to turn chaotic as no one could predict how the many participants would respond to the situation. Bishop emphasizes how Deller himself expressed having lost control of the very event he had set in motion, and she also reflects on the multiple and sometimes contradictory critical judgements that have been levelled at the work as a testimony to its aesthetic-critical quality. She concludes that the quality of the work lies not in its exemplary character, but – mirroring Rancière's judgement of the aesthetic quality of art – in its very singularity (Bishop 2012).

In summary, the aesthetic-critical model suggests that participatory art be considered as an aestheticized situation that confuses established conventions and ways of seeing and saying, thus challenging the forces that attempt to normalize politically organized systems. While I have grounded my interpretation of this model in Claire Bishop's description of participatory art, I have also shown that it is indebted to, and picks up on, the political theories of Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau as well as on Jacques Rancière's philosophy, all of which have had wide appeal within art theory (Jackson 2011, Baroni 2017). What is particularly important about this model is that it acknowledges and highlights aesthetic situations as organizational forces with particular affects and effects. In the model attention is paid to the relationship between the artist and the participants, including what effect and affect the artwork has on the participants, but the organizing of participation is also read as a form of image viewed from the perspective of a secondary audience. Thus, in the aesthetic-critical model the organizing of participatory situations is interpreted as an innovative aesthetic formation that has an effect and affect on participants and spectators by confusing established systems and norms, in this way making the possibility of political action visible. The politics of the aesthetic-critical model thus involves the necessity of allowing experimentation in 'involving people', including their potential exploitation, provocation, and manipulation, but also – importantly – the participant's unpredictable response to or use of these aesthetic situations.

The ethical model

The third model I want to introduce is the ethical model, whose primary concern is the making of art in the public interest. As such, the ethical model revolves around artistic engagement with communities and the ethical implications of involving people. The model expresses itself in ways of measuring the participatory strategies for a work of art, which are considered more important than art's aesthetic qualities. The ethical model is not the same as Rancière's ethical regime of art, but it is related. In

naming this model 'the ethical model', I am partially relying on Claire Bishop's argument regarding an ethical turn in art criticism as regards participatory art, which she substantiates in part by referring to Rancière's philosophy (Bishop 2006b). However, I see the ethical model as combining Rancière's ethical and representational regimes in that it banishes some artistic practices from the ideal state, while introducing strict rules and regulations for those allowed to stay.

The ethical model gained recognition in the USA under the framing of a 'new genre of public art' in the early 1990s – more or less at the time Bourriaud conceptualized a relational aesthetics. As curator Tom Finkelpearl summarizes, a number of publications, events, and exhibitions back then collectively came to define a movement within public art that shifted away from the tradition of sculpture towards artistic practices interested in community engagement, collaborative practices, and social concerns (Finkelpearl 2013). Edited publications such as *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art* (Lacy 1995), *Art in the Public Interest* (Raven 1993), and *But is it Art?* (Felshin 1995) framed a body of previously under-recognized artistic practices that merged an activist politics with community engagement to create a new form of public art, while the 1993 exhibition *Culture in Action* – curated by Mary Jane Jacob – presented the first major exhibition programme of such participatory artistic practices (Jacob 1995, Kwon 2004, Decter & Draxler 2014).

The ethical model moves the discussion of participatory art into the field of 'art in public'. The relational and the aesthetic-critical models have primarily engaged with artistic practices within the white cube of art institutions, theorizing these practices as developing from being object-centred to situation-creating. In contrast, new genre public art reconfigured the field of art in public, specifically positioning itself as the antithesis of the tradition of public sculpture and its material interpretation of public sites (Raven 1993, Lacy 1995a, Felshin 1995). The artists practicing this new form of public art did not produce abstract sculptures arbitrarily placed in public spaces, as was common in the public art programmes of the 1960s (Kwon 2004). Neither did they produce site-specific installations, as artists producing formally advanced art have done since the 1970s (Kwon 2004). Instead, these artists developed artworks based on the social constituency of citizens at the site, thus reconceptualizing it as a social network of people (Kwon 2004). New genre public art signalled its political aspirations by being 'community-specific' and 'audience-specific', or even 'issue-specific' (Kwon 2004), tracing in particular its history from the social movements and avant-garde experiments starting in the 1960s and 1970s and continuing through the 1980s in the form of artistic projects versed in identity politics and community engagement (Lacy 1995b, Kwon 2004, Finkelpearl 2013).

New genre public art was framed as distinctly socially engaged, with the artist and editor of *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art*, Suzanne Lacy, arguing that the concept of new genre public art offers an artistic model of '…socially engaged, interactive art for diverse audiences…' (Lacy 1995a, p. 12). She went on to say that it is '…visual art that uses both traditional and nontraditional media to communicate and interact with a broad and diversified audience about issues directly relevant to their lives…' (Lacy 1995b, p. 19). This new genre public art, then, was characterized not only by its engagement with societal issues such as toxic waste, race relations, homelessness, and health as well as a plurality of artistic media that included traditional art forms like painting and sculpture but also, as Arlene Raven summarized it: '…street art, guerrilla theatre, video, page art, billboards, protest actions and demonstrations, oral histories, dances, environments, posters, murals…' (Raven 1993, p. 1). In other words, it constituted a reconfiguration of art from 'media-specificity' to 'issue-specificity'.

Many contemporary examples were highlighted, ranging from Judith Baca's community mural project *The Great Wall of Los Angeles* (since 1976) to Barbara Kruger's feminist alteration of commercial posters, which Nina Felshin conceptualized as constituting an example of 'public "participation through interpretation"' (Felshin 1995, p. 16). However, new genre public art deliberately embraced artists who had worked with participatory practices since the 1960s, perhaps most prominently figures such as Joseph Beuys and his 'social sculpture', Allan Kaprow with his happenings, and Mierle Laderman Ukeles' performative thematization of maintenance (Lacy 1995). In contrast to Bourriaud's emphasis on the originality of relational aesthetics, proponents of new genre public art were thus keen to demonstrate a longer tradition for this type of artistic practice and to suggest it as a sustained form of artistic engagement hitherto overlooked by the mainstream art institution.

A key concern within new genre public art was the relationship between the artist(s) and the community of participants, and many of the works in this genre took the form of community engagement, targeting communities deprived of political power (Kester 1995, Kwon 2004). For this reason, art historian Grant Kester argued that the new community-oriented artistic practice drew – explicitly or implicitly – on political theories of participatory democracy and theories of empowerment that stemmed from progressive urban reform history (Kester 1995). In this context, participation implies that communities should have an influence on decisions concerning the development of their neighbourhoods – and thus also on the artistic works developed for their communities (Kester 1995).

A normative guideline for this participatory ideal is 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', a model that planning theorist Sherry R. Arnstein developed and published in an architectural journal article in 1969 (Arnstein 1969).[11] The ladder has proven extremely influential in participatory art discussions and is a key instrument in the ethical measurement called for in the ethical model of participatory art (Bishop 2012). Arnstein specifies eight different rungs of citizen engagement, measuring each according to its level of citizen influence. The bottom rung holds the least participatory forms, 'manipulation' and 'therapy', followed by rungs involving forms of tokenism and respectively called 'informing', 'consultation', and 'placation'. At the top are 'partnership', 'delegated power', and, ultimately, 'citizen control', which is the model's implied ideal of participatory practices.

The ladder's ethical norms shine through in the defence for new genre public art, which was framed *simultaneously* as a critique of contemporary social policy *and* as a critique of traditional 'autonomous' artistic practices. For instance, art critic Suzi Gablik framed the potentials of new genre public art as contrasting with the practices and self-conception of the autonomous modernist artist (Gablik 1995), thus invoking the romantic myth of autonomous individualism that deliberately flees from society as in the dictum of 'art for art's sake', and she called modern art decisively 'non-participatory', 'non-relational', and 'non-interactive'. On the other hand, what Gablik referred to as 'connective aesthetics' characterizes new genre public art – an aesthetics that engages in dialogue, works through empathy, and aspires to contribute to communities (Gablik 1995).

In the 1990s, such arguments formed part of a broader struggle over legitimate art and culture in the USA. The cultural climate in which new genre public art came to be recognized is known as the 'culture wars' era (Kwon 2004), a time when fiscal conservatives had successfully mobilized public resentment towards a few artistic projects as a strategy for diminishing public art expenditure at large (Wyszomirski 1995, Kwon 2004). The most controversial cases were Andreas Serrano's *Piss Christ* and Robert Mapplethorpe's homoerotic photographs, which were exhibited in publicly funded institutions (Wyszomirski 1995). Within the field of art in public spaces, however, the conflict over Richard Serra's publicly commissioned work *Tilted Arc* looms equally large (Deutsche 1996, Kwon 2004, Cartiere & Willis 2008). Commissioned for Federal Plaza in New York City, *Tilted Arc* consisted of a large steel wall that cut across the plaza. Being site-specific, the work responded 'phenomenologically' to the site, but even more importantly it specifically attempted to alter the site and thus render it a function of the

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[11] See appendix 2.

work (Serra 1990). In 1989 *Tilted Arc* was removed from the plaza, following a highly publicized three-day public hearing over the course of which testimony for and against the sculpture was given (Deutsche 1996). Arguments raised against the sculpture concerned its oppressive presence in the plaza, claims that it had destroyed a once active public space, and security issues arising because the sculpture impeded surveillance (Deutsche 1996, Kwon 2004). Proponents of the work argued that the sculpture had high aesthetic merits and that removing it would be tantamount to destroying it, its being site-specific and thus tied to the site. They also argued for the freedom of artistic expression (Deutsche 1996, Kwon 2004).

However, the defenders of new genre public art used *Tilted Arc* to expose what they considered an out-dated model of public art commissioning that might be formally advanced but did not relate to the interests of the local community of users (Lacy 1995b, Gablik 1995). For instance, Suzi Gablik argued:

> What the *Tilted Arc* controversy forces us to consider is whether art that is centred on notions of pure freedom and radical autonomy, and subsequently inserted into the public sphere without regard for the relationship it has to other people, to the community, or *any* consideration except the pursuit of art, can contribute to the common good. (Gablik 1995, p. 79, italics in original)

To art historian Miwon Kwon, such statements show that the proponents of new genre public art utilized a situation in which public art programmes were being questioned to introduce a new kind of public art practice (Kwon 2004). They sought not only artistic recognition for a different kind of public practice but also political and institutional support by arguing for the relevance of this practice as a democratic and public good. In the 1960s, the political impetus for putting sculptures on public sites was predicated on a democratic ambition of giving the general public access to high-quality art (Kwon 2004). However, as Kwon argues, the ambition was often realized through an enlarged abstract sculpture originally designed for an art gallery and then placed 'arbitrarily' in a public space (Kwon 2004). During the 1970s, this strategy came to be seen as an unsatisfying contribution to urban environments, and a model of 'art-as-public-spaces' was instead introduced that enrolled artists in design teams to develop public spaces. The emphasis in this model, Kwon argues, was to make art functionally useful and to incorporate it into the grander aesthetic design of public spaces. Such art typically took the form of colourful decorations and artistically designed seating arrangements and thus, in Kwon's interpretation, conflated the social responsibility of the work with its utility (Kwon

2004). The defence of new genre public art or art-in-the-public-interest continued this discourse surrounding the public good embedded in the genre of public art. As Kwon phrases it:

> Foundational to this rhetoric of new genre public art is a political aspiration towards the greater "democratization" of art (a liberal humanist impulse that has always fueled public art.) Qualities such as pluralist inclusivity, multicultural representation, and consensus-building are central to the conception of democracy espoused by the practitioners and supporters of new genre public art. (Kwon 2004, p. 107)

In this way the discussions about new genre public art rhetorically framed an artistic practice that was centrally concerned with local community interests and involved local communities in the conceptualization and development of artistic projects. Proponents of these practices underlined their merits by distinguishing them from previous, modernist, and self-centred artistic practices while also emphasizing their contribution to the typically economically, politically, and socially deprived communities. However, by making ethical aspirations a key quality of community-engaged artistic practices, such practices also became susceptible to a critical analysis of their claim of working in the public interest.

The key critical discussions pertaining to these practices revolved around the authority of the artist and the definition of community itself. In his essay 'The Artist as Ethnographer', Hal Foster emphasized the danger of artists' exoticizing the community in community projects, arguing that '...the quasi-anthropological role set up for the artist can promote a presuming as much as a questioning of ethnographic authority, an evasion as often as an extension of institutional critique' (Foster 1996, p. 197). Grant Kester stressed that the very relationship of community art to a history of urban reform should increase community artists' concern about the broader political field they play into (Kester 1995). In Kester's interpretation community practices tend to 'define the participants who make up a given project's community serially, as socially isolated individuals whose ground of interconnection and identification as a group is provided by an aesthetically ameliorative experience administered by the artist' (Kester 1995, p. 6). In such instances, the artist attempts to create a community experience and to empower participants' self-esteem as well as their consciousness of political agency. Although typically well-intended, Kester argues, this attempt creates a kind of paternalism that comes dangerously close to the Victorian model of social policy in which the moral improvement of the individual is seen as the key to fighting social ills. In other words, cultural, economic, and social

deficiencies are located in the 'depraved' individual rather than seen as the outcome of systemic problems. Thus, Kester concludes:

> Unless the artist works actively to discourage it, this focus on the primacy of individual transformation implies (1) that the individual *is* morally or emotionally flawed, (2) that this flaw bears a causal relation to their current (economically, emotionally, socially, or creatively) "disempowered" status, and (3) that the artist is in a position to remedy this flaw. (Kester 1995, p. 8, italics in original)

Hal Foster and Grant Kester both emphasize the artist's powerful position vis-à-vis the community of participants, thus questioning the idea that community art is made in the public interest. Miwon Kwon follows this trajectory in an extended analysis of the critically acclaimed programme and exhibition *Culture in Action*, which she sees as exemplifying new genre public art on a grand scale (Kwon 2004). In particular, she argues that the exhibition's funding organization and curators were instrumental in matching artists and communities and, as such, that the relationship between the artists and the communities was '…not based on a direct, unmediated relationship' (Kwon 2004, p. 141). Using the eight specific projects developed for *Culture in Action*, Kwon more specifically suggests that in these collaborative projects there is a crucial difference in the way in which community was defined and *organized*. Breaking down the various community projects into four categories, she differentiates between what she calls 'communities of mythic unity', '"sited" communities', 'invented communities (short term)', and 'invented communities (long term)' (Kwon 2004) – a differentiation since substantially used in the field of public art and participatory practices.[12]

In the first category entitled 'communities of mythic unity', Kwon positions Suzanne Lacy's *Full Circle*, a project that included the honouring of 100 Chicago women, among other things. To make this tribute, public installations involving large limestone boulders with memorial plaques for each woman were erected as a somewhat ironical comment on the traditional male sculptural presence in public spaces. For the selection process, Lacy set up a committee to nominate and vote for the women, but in Kwon's interpretation this did not make the project 'community engaging', as the artist still controlled the overall structure of the project and the distribution of power. Kwon also criticizes Lacy for working with

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[12] See, for instance, the influential British public art-producing organization *Situations* 'The New Rules of Art': https://studiotosituation.files.wordpress.com/2015/01/the_new_rule_of_public_art.pdf (accessed on July 5, 2018).

a model of community that uses an abstract concept of woman framed around the notion of providing 'service' and thus reinforcing a cultural myth (Kwon 2004).

The second category of '"sited" communities', which Kwon asserts is '…perhaps the most prevalent in community-based public art today…' (Kwon 2004, p. 120), consisted of projects in which the curators located existing communities to match the portfolio of the invited artists, as was the case for Simon Grennan's and Christopher Sperandio's collaboration with The Bakery Confectionary and Tobacco Worker's International Union of America Local No. 552. In this project, the two artists and the union produced and distributed a candy bar, but the idea for doing this came not from the community but from the artists, thus preceding the choice of community organization (Kwon 2004).

The third and fourth categories regarding 'invented communities' refer to projects in which a community group or organization is constituted and developed as part of the project itself. For example, Daniel J. Martinez' work composed – in Kwon's summarization – the new community called West Side Three-Point Marchers out of a network of existing organizations, including school groups, theatre groups, and neighbourhood arts centres (Kwon 2004). This formation was intended to carry out a one-day event – a grand parade through three West Side neighbourhoods. The project engendered a temporary, invented community that quickly dissolved after *Culture in Action* closed, which Kwon reads as symptomatic of the project's substantial need for institutional support from both the curatorial organizers and the local community organizations that came together in the project (Kwon 2004).

In the category of 'ongoing invented communities', the communities were sustained beyond the exhibition context and its institutional support. Kwon interprets this durational achievement as an indication of the artist's 'home-turf advantage', among other things (Kwon 2004). For example, the artist collective Haha's work established the volunteer network Flood around issues of AIDS and healthcare. In Kwon's analysis, Haha benefitted from its already existing Chicago base, using the occasion of *Culture in Action* to strengthen its network and build a hydroponic garden to grow food for AIDS patients. This collaboration was less dependent on the institutional support of the curatorial organization than the other projects were, and – importantly – it was able to sustain itself, although in different forms, after the exhibition ended (Kwon 2004).

Underpinning Kwon's critique of the community relations in *Culture in Action* is the ethical claim of an authentic relationship between the artist(s) and the community, which she also frames around the very

notion of community itself. In this regard Kwon's analysis builds on art historian Rosalyn Deutsche's seminal work on public art, in which she criticizes the way that notions of 'public space' and 'the public' are conceptualized as coherent unities within that discourse (Deutsche 1996). For instance, Deutsche discusses how public art commissioning has supported gentrification processes by invoking what she calls 'unifying banners' like 'historical continuity, preservation of cultural tradition, civic beautification, utilitarianism' (Deutsche 1996, p. 279), all of which suppress the fact that such visions serve to empower the state to remove homeless people from settings where they do not conform to the new unity.

Theoretically, Deutsche draws on the work of political philosopher Claude Lefort. According to Lefort, says Deutsche, democracy implies that the organizing of society has no grounding external authority; power no longer stems from a transcendent source like God, but from the people themselves, a situation that generates another democratic invention: the public space. Deutsche writes:

> Democracy, then, has a difficulty at its core. Power stems from the people, but belongs to nobody. Democracy abolishes the external referent of power and refers power to society. But democratic power cannot appeal for its authority to a meaning immanent in the social. Instead, the democratic invention invents something else: the public space. The public space, in Lefort's account, is the social space where, in the absence of a foundation, the meaning and unity of the social is negotiated – at once constituted and put at risk. What is recognized in public space is the legitimacy of debate about what is legitimate and what is illegitimate. (Deutsche 1996, p. 273)

In Deutsche's summary of Lefort's theorization of democracy, 'public space' and 'the public' are thus generated by negotiations of the social. Following Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau's theorization of democracy around the notions of hegemony and antagonism, Deutsche further argues that in democracy society cannot be considered a closed entity, since social identity as a hegemonic project is always developed through a constitutive outside that prevents it from establishing a final unity (Deutsche 1996, Laclau & Mouffe 2017). In other words, hegemonic powers are confronted with antagonistic positions: 'Antagonism affirms and simultaneously prevents the closure of society, revealing the partiality and precariousness – the contingency – of every totality' (Deutsche 1996, p. 274).

For Deutsche such an analysis of public space enables one to question the discourse of unity around public art. Public spaces and publics are not harmonious, all-encompassing unities – neither in their origin nor in their present or future constellations. Rather, they are products of conflicts, and they are constituted through political disagreement. Kwon bases her critique of the essentializing tendencies within community practices on a similar understanding of the public and of community as inherently partial and temporary constructions. Relying on the feminist theories of Iris Marion Young and philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy's argument for 'an inoperative community', Kwon further emphasizes that the idea of community is predicated on 'the isolation of a single point of commonality' (Kwon 2004, p. 151), suggesting that we underscore difference and the very impossibility of community understood as a whole. Of the four types of community projects in *Culture in Action*, Kwon is most sympathetic to the 'invented communities', which at least do not operate on the assumption of *a priori* given community identities. However, her closing argument does not advocate any kind of community practice, but rather collective artistic practice engaged in what she refers to as a 'projective enterprise' characterized by questioning its own legitimacy as a community:

> It involves a provisional group, produced as a function of specific circumstances instigated by an artists and/or a cultural institution, aware of the effects of these circumstances on the very conditions of the interaction, performing its own coming together and coming apart as a necessarily incomplete modeling or working-out of a collective social process. (Kwon 2004, p. 154)

The discussions sparked in response to new genre public art – from the ethical claim to work in the public interest to the ethics of defining communities – have made ethical issues a key concern in discussions about participatory art, rightly introducing cautionary reflections on what it might mean to involve people and on the artist's questionable right to define communities and to speak on the community's behalf. However, this ethical model of participatory art has a normative extremity that tends to tie artists to a particular organizational model encapsulated by the Ladder of Citizen Participation. Using the ladder to measure artists' collaboration with participants implicitly indicates that only projects that essentially hand over their revenues to the community of participants can be deemed ethically incorrupt. Bishop, I think, has convincingly claimed that equating an artwork's value with the degree of participation it entails is misguided (Bishop 2012), for it misrepresents the artists' position vis-à-vis the participants as exclusively centred on the notion of power, thus failing to see the value of more dynamic collaborative interaction between artists and participants. Commenting on how

the ladder of citizen participation has been used in art discourse to challenge artistic autonomy, Bishop writes:

> The equation is misleading and does not recognize art's ability to generate other, more paradoxical criteria (…) The artist relies upon the participant's creative exploitation of the situation that he/she offers – just as participants require the artist's cue and direction. The relationship between artist/participant is a continual play of mutual tension, recognition and dependency (…) rather than a ladder of progressively more virtuous political forms. (Bishop 2012, p. 279)

In addition to providing the normative criteria of an 'ethically spotless'[13] project, the ethical model tends to confine the issue of organizing participation to the issue of organizing partici*pants*. As I have shown above, the role of the artist and the definition of the participants, typically in the form of a community – whether found or invented – play a central role when one discusses participation through the lens of the ethical model. On this front, however, the ethical model differs only slightly from the relational and the aesthetic-critical models, which also primarily emphasize the changing relationship between the artist(s) and the audience that have now been conceptualized as participants in a staged situation. The two final models that I will shortly discuss, the durational model and the organization-creation model, constitute a development in the interpretation of participatory art as an organizational practice, spanning from the organizing of partici*pants* to participation as a context-specific organizational process that intermingles with and infiltrates the social in various ways. The criticism directed at the ethical model from Foster, Kester and Kwon – via Deutsche – already introduces this interpretative development.

The durational model

The durational model of participation is to some extent an outcome of the lessons learned in the discussions on the ethics of new genre public art. It also picks up arguments already introduced in those discussions. Above I have indicated that new genre public art and the ethical model are intimately related, but the ethical model only describes one way in which new genre public art was addressed. Another key aspect of discussions around 'new genre public art' has been to shift attention away from the ultimate artistic product to the collaborative process organized between the artist(s) and the

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[13] I owe this phrase to Camilla Jalving, who was responding to a paper I presented at the conference *Participatory Cultures*, Aarhus University, April 2018.

participants. Kwon, as I explained, emphasized this *organizational* dimension and the curatorial infiltration of artistic practices in her critique of *Culture in Action* (Kwon 2004). Suzanne Lacy even suggested that the process dimension of new genre public art had the potential to change the very definition of art:

> (...) new genre public art must be evaluated in a multifaceted way to account for its impact not only on action but on consciousness, not only on others but on the artists themselves, and not only on other artists' practices but on the definition of art. Central to this evaluation is a redefinition that may well challenge the nature of art as we know it, art not primarily as a product but as a process of value finding, a set of philosophies, an ethical action, and an aspect of a larger sociocultural agenda. (Lacy 1995b, p. 46)

Lacy herself proposed a dynamic model for the collaborative process that participatory artistic practices entail (Lacy 1995c).[14] The model was structured as concentric circles rippling outward from a core of 'origination and responsibility' (Lacy 1995c). The first circle around this centre was 'collaboration and codevelopment', followed by 'volunteers and performers', 'immediate audience', 'media audience', and finally, 'audience of myth and memory'. In contrast to the way that Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation has served as an ethical norm in art discourse, where artistic responsibility is equated with the graceful refusal of an authorial position, Lacy's model underlines the artist's responsibility as the originator of an idea and as the director of a process. The model is also conceived as being fluid and flexible, enabling people to variously partake in the project over time and thus occupy a range of positions over the course of the work's development.

In the mid-1990s, however, scholars addressed the process dimension of new genre public art primarily around notions of dialogue and conversation. Miwon Kwon spoke of new genre public art as part of a new 'discursive' form of site-specific art, and Tom Finkelpearl referred to it as 'dialogue-based public art' (Finkelpearl 2001, Kwon 2004). These notions emphasized the central role of conversation and dialogue in the practices of new genre public artists, while other terms like 'connective aesthetics' (Gablik 1995), 'conversational art' (Bhabha 1998), and 'dialogical aesthetics' (Kester 2004) also strongly criticized modernist art theory, art institutional practices, and even visuality as such.

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[14] See appendix 3.

Suzi Gablik and Homi K. Bhabha both leaned on the pragmatist philosopher Richard Rorty's criticism of visuality as being bound to the Enlightenment ideals of rationalism, scientism, and universalism and thus '…producing a tyranny of fact over value, logic over rhetoric' (Bhabha 1998, p. 41). In Bhabha's argument, 'conversational art' therefore questions the silence of the museum and the related distanciation between the viewer and the viewed. Moreover, conversation art creates a new and ongoing dialogue that explores what Bhabha refers to as 'contextual contingency', which involves '…articulating and negotiating cultural and social differences without the promise of some privileged and accurate representation of "totality" or a teleological resolution' (Bhabha 1998, p. 44). In a similar spirit, Gablik proposed the concept of connective aesthetics to argue for the qualities of artistic practices that emphasize the role of emphatic listening as opposed to the modernist artist's one-directional expressivity (Gablik 1995).

Grant Kester continued that thread in a longer argument put forth in his monograph *Conversation Pieces: Community + Communication in Contemporary art*, in which he outlined a theory of a 'dialogical aesthetics' for artistic practices that use conversation as a key element (Kester 2004). One of his examples is Suzanne Lacy's staging of the performance *The Roof Is on Fire* (1993-1994), in which teenagers engaged in conversations about racial stereotypes. The conversations began with workshops, and a performance that was broadcast live, and were eventually continued in a conversational project between the teenagers and police officers. Another example is the Austrian artist collective WochenKlausur's project *Intervention to Aid Drug-addicted Women* (1993-94), in which the group gathered politicians, journalists, sex workers, and activists from Zurich for a three-hour boat cruise to discuss the homeless condition of female drug addicts who had turned to prostitution to support their habit. In Kester's analysis, the gathering in a neutral space allowed for a more open and cross-partisan conversation that generated a concrete result: 'the creation of a *pension*, or boardinghouse, where drug-addicted sex workers could have a place to sleep, a safe heaven, and access to services…' (Kester 2004, p. 2). For Kester these works reflect a general emphasis in contemporary participatory and collaborative artistic practices on dialogue and discussion:

> … these projects all share a concern with the creative facilitation of dialogue and exchange. While it is common for a work of art to provoke dialogue among viewers, this typically occurs in response to a finished object. In these projects, on the other hand, conversation becomes an integral part of the work itself. It is reframed as an active, generative process that can help us

speak and imagine beyond the limits of fixed identities, official discourse, and the perceived inevitability of partisan political conflict. (Kester 2004, p. 8)

Kester's argument involves a detailed critique of what he refers to as 'mainstream art criticism' (Kester 2004, p. 10). Working his way through 20th-century art theory, starting with Roger Fry and Clive Bell, moving on to Clement Greenberg and Michael Fried, and ending with Jean-Francois Lyotard's notion of the sublime, Kester argues that art theory has retained a simplified model of communication. Despite differences and variations, avant-garde art has generally been conceptualized as a challenge to and interference with conventional systems of meanings conceptualized as created by the joint forces of a positivistic science and the capitalist market (Kester 2004). Art's indecipherability and ambiguity thus counters the legibility of market-driven visuality, while art's ability to psychologically shock the viewer out of complacency is theorized as a way to paradoxically sensitize the viewer to other, more authentic forms of experience, as Kester puts it with an ironic twist (Kester 2004). For this reason, he argues, art theory is blind to the potentials of collaborative, long-term projects that involve a more straightforward dialogical form between participants. Art theory maintains its emphasis on the art object as an instantaneous emancipatory force (Kester 2004, Kester 2011), whether this takes the form of formalist art criticism, 'the shock of the new', or – as Kester has most recently argued – the 'homogenized' form of French post-structuralism, which has become 'largely synonymous with critical theory per se' (Kester 2011, p. 54). However, Kester asserts that art's emancipatory force is simultaneously seen as largely symbolic and indirect, since direct critique of contemporary society is thought to be futile (Kester 2011). In his most recent monograph, *The One and the Many: Contemporary Collaborative Art in a Global Context*, Kester traces a history of modern art theory from Schiller's *Aesthetic Education* to the failed student revolt of May 1968, which results in a kind of third way:

> …to retain the purity and integrity of the revolutionary message [by working] indirectly, via the insulting protection of ancillary, quasi-autonomous, institutions (the arts, higher education) to develop covert, subversive "interventions" in the cultural sphere… (Kester 2011, p. 46)

The general thrust of Kester's argument, then, is that art theory has become tied to a few normative communicative forms that are essentially anti-discursive (Kester 2004, Kester 2011). Mainstream art theory emphasizes the idea that the experience of a work of art provokes a shock that immediately affects and changes the viewing subject. However, Kester makes the following argument referring to dialogue-based art:

An alternative approach would require us to locate the moment of indeterminateness, of open-ended and liberatory possibility, not in the perpetually changing form of the artwork qua object, but in the very process of communication that the artwork catalyzes. (Kester 2004, p. 90)

Despite his criticism of mainstream art theory, Kester is concerned about framing an aesthetic genealogy for dialogical works of art, since artists' engaged in dialogical works consider themselves to be such (Kester 2004). In particular, he is interested in establishing an aesthetic genealogy that adheres to an understanding of subjectivity as formed through discourse and inter-subjective exchange rather than through the mediating and instantaneous force of a work of art. To this end, he pools a mixture of theoretical sources that start from Immanuel Kant's aesthetic theory – an important point of departure as it is not necessarily attached to any work of art (Kester 2004), but rather frames aesthetic experience as the free play of our cognitive powers and the simultaneous recognition that this liberatory pleasure is implicitly universal and must be experienced by everyone. Thus, Kester concludes:

Kant's account of the aesthetic contains a radical promise: the calculating and defensive individual has the capacity to become more open and receptive, to view the world not as a resource to be exploited but as an opportunity for experimentation and self-transformation. (Kester 2004, p. 108)

Further developing his theory about a dialogical aesthetics, Kester draws on Jürgen Habermas' theory of the public sphere and rational deliberations (Kester 2004). In Habermas' work, Kester locates important reflections about the relationship between human identity and communicative interaction, thus offering a contextual grounding of Kant's universal and abstract sense of community. Summarizing Habermas' argument, Kester says that in the public sphere we engage in dialogue under certain performative rules that insulate the sphere from coercion and inequality and thus allow us to be more critically self-aware of our own position vis-à-vis that of others (Kester 2004). Kester is aware that Habermas' theory has been criticized for underestimating power relations, and he looks to Emmanuel Levinas, Mikhail Bakhtin and the feminist study *Women's Ways of Knowing* by Mary Field Belenky to add an empathetic dimension to the inter-subjective relationship that dialogical projects are able to facilitate. For Kester this theoretical framing of a dialogical aesthetics helps us to understand the WochenKlausur's *Intervention to Aid Drug-addicted Women* project. The group managed to facilitate a cross-party dialogue by creating a temporary public sphere in which various interest groups could

dispense with their own political agendas and join in finding a solution to the problem faced by homeless prostitutes. Understood as an artistic project, Kester argues, the work thus continues the modernist legacy '…in which aesthetic experience can challenge conventional perceptions (e.g., the sex workers as social pariah) and systems of knowledge' (Kester 2004, p. 3), but it does so by dialogical means with a durational quality.

Gablik, Bhabha, and Kester's argument for the qualities of dialogical works expresses an authentic belief in the potential of conversation to foster new social bonds and remedy social problems. For art theorists versed in what Kester refers to as the 'homogenized form of French post-structuralism', however, such a belief fundamentally disregards the existence of basic political differences and power inequality. Claire Bishop's theoretical foundation in the radical democratic theories of Chantal Mouffe and Jacques Rancière ultimately constitutes a completely different entrance into discussions of participatory art than one based on the work of Habermas or other liberal thinkers. Since Bishop and Kester are two of the most dedicated voices within participatory art discussions, their conflicting arguments have seriously coloured the discussions (Bishop 2006b, Kester 2006, Kester 2011). As curatorial theoretician Paul O'Neill has commented, the discussions that relational art stirred up turned into a game of 'policing the aesthetic borders of legitimate participatory practices', where one kind of artist was set against another kind, thus, 'curtailing the discussion' (O'Neill 2010, p. 2). If Bishop contrasted Santiago Sierra with Rirkrit Tiravanija, Kester could contrast WochenKlausur and Suzanne Lacy with Santiago Sierra. Who had a political impact and on what scale? Those that accommodated people or provoked them, or those that countered exploitation or staged it? Should art stay in the realm of the symbolic or attempt to make real changes, and what are the reality and scale of its effects if only a small local community or, alternatively, the small community of art audiences are affected?

To me, Kester's wholesale dismissal of modernist art and contemporary art theory pushes the argument for participatory and collaborative artistic practices too far, while the aspirations implied in dialogical practices suggests more than a naïve attempt to modify society. In Kester's defence, political artist and art theorist Gregory Sholette suggests that dialogical aesthetics is compelling by virtue of the very idea that certain artists are capable of making 'parenthetical spaces' in which dialogue and social justice might be possible (Sholette 2011). As Sholette argues, within the current situation of neoliberal capitalism and 'the growing reality of precarious risk and social fragmentation, the notion of a public sphere, even a compromised one, remains strongly appealing' (Sholette 2011, p. 168).

Emphasizing dialogue offered an initial approach to reconceptualizing participatory practices as durational activities. However, WochenKlausur's work embodies not only the boat trip in which the art collective brought people together but also the extensive preliminary work that also formed part of the project, work ranging from identifying a problem to locating the people necessary to negotiate a solution and then to facilitate the process of reaching it. Grant Kester has subsequently explored case studies of prolonged artistic engagements with specific communities around site-specific issues of concern (Kester 2011). In line with the curatorial explorations of Paul O'Neill and Claire Doherty, Kester's work has thus suggested that participation be reconceptualized as a durational activity involving a network of collaborators, negotiations with political powers, and engagements with as well as developments of various communities that also change over time (Kester 2011, O'Neill and Doherty 2011). O'Neill has expressed the conceptual change of participatory practices this involves in the following way:

> …we could consider duration-specific as a term for artistic interventions, in which artists, curators and commissioners contribute to sustaining a practice-in-place for a period of static, immobile time, with a view to leaving something behind that could not have been anticipated. If duration involves being together for a period of time with some common objectives, then durational praxis is the specific quality of a new mode of relational and participatory practice (…) By taking account of participation with art, and in art, as an unfolding and longer-term accumulation of multiple positions, engagements and moments registered in what we account for as the artwork, then we may be able to move beyond the individual participatory encounter of an eventful exhibition moment. (O'Neill 2010, p. 11)

For Kester, durational participatory art is characterized by a new conceptualization of work as a co-creative practice in response to site-specific concerns. Following his rhetorical strategy of framing his argument against mainstream art theory, he underlines how work is denigrated in contemporary art as exploitation, pure and simple – a denigration from which only the creative, autonomous work of artists or the interpretive work of viewers is exempted. Kester uses a number of case studies, including Park Fiction's interference in urban planning in Hamburg, Dialogue's work with the Adivasi communities in rural India, and Rick Low's establishment of a neighbourhood regeneration project, Project Row Houses, in Houston, Texas, to argue that these long-term engagements in specific communities are organized as reflexive artistic responses to local situations that also evolve over time. Thus, the artists

concerned engage in co-creative work with the local communities while also negotiating with political powers as an integrated part of the process.

Kester focuses on proving the local effects of artistic practices that spill over into social work, developmental work, and urban development (Kester 2011), while Paul O'Neill and Claire Doherty are concerned with reconceptualizing artistic and curatorial approaches to working in public spaces (O'Neill & Doherty 2011). Their cases include Jeanne van Heeswick's *The Blue House* (2004-2009), a cultural house established in a newly developed suburb to Amsterdam, and Kerstin Bergendal's 12-year curatorial project *Kunstplan Trekroner*, which strove to include art in the development of a new area in Roskilde, Denmark (O'Neill & Doherty 2011). They contrast these projects with the 'nomad' artist, who gained a reputation for a hit-and-run approach to site-specific work and was invited by curators of biennials to do short-term projects in local contexts of which the artist had no prior, let alone profound knowledge (O'Neill & Doherty 2011). Instead, O'Neill and Doherty frame the potentials of long-term investment in specific sites around the necessity of building trust and the possibility of staying open to opportunities that might arise in the process (O'Neill & Doherty 2011). O'Neill constructs a theoretical frame for durational participatory practices by combining geographer Doreen Massey's argument about a progressive, plural sense of place and STS-scholar Bruno Latour's notion of public time as co-habitation time (O'Neill 2010). O'Neill also references the work of philosopher Henri Bergson, emphasizing Bergson's argument that duration implies a creative evolution in which those partaking in the process change as a result (O'Neill 2010).

The emphasis in these studies is not to pull together a range of generalizable findings that can be applied to other artistic practices. What is generalizable in these studies is that artists work for long periods of time in the same location, respond to particular situations that will differ from site to site, and remain open to adjusting and renewing their response over time while also engaging with a network of collaborators and local communities, including individuals and institutions that hold political power (Kester 2011, O'Neill & Doherty 2011). The durational model thus emphasizes time and open-ended processes as the key elements in a successful participatory engagement. According to O'Neill and Doherty, it also opens up the possibility of bridging the contradictory arguments of Claire Bishop and Grant Kester, simply by having time to work both from a position of solidarity while also allowing for antinomies (O'Neill & Doherty 2011).

Without dismissing the qualities of these durational approaches, the art theorist Dave Beech has argued that such reflections show the ideology of duration in contemporary art theory, a situation that needs to be addressed for the simple reason that it constitutes yet another policing of the borders of legitimate art practice (Beech 2011). In other words, the ideology of duration assumes that duration in itself is valuable and thus *a priori* considered the best possible strategy for all artistic work. Beech ties the idea of the value of duration to new genre public art's dual legacy in the *endurance* of performance work and the *demateralization* of the work of art. He argues that, while new genre public art specifically renounced the monumentality of sculpture, it introduced another kind of monumentality in the form of the monumentality of time:

> Having rejected the monumental object of public art, new genre public art does not sacrifice monumentality altogether but converts it from being a quality of the object into a quality of the temporal experience of community arts projects. Duration asserts itself in the 'monumental time' of the dematerialised public work. The dematerialised monument is a monument to the community built out of the social relations of the community itself. Time becomes monumentalised within an ethic of the artist's prolonged engagement with the public. (Beech 2011, p. 319)

Beech's argument is not intended to dismiss the qualities of durational approaches, including the value of artist's prolonged and intensive engagement with particular communities, but time itself becomes a new scale for evaluating participatory practices, which he views as problematic. For me, this ideology carries with it a reconceptualization of artistic autonomy. Paul O'Neill refers to these artists as post-autonomous because they have relinquished their ambitions of creating an autonomous work of art in favour of carrying out more collaborative forms of practice (O'Neill 2010). However, the ideology of duration indicates an enthusiasm for the expanded reach of artistic practice into the social. Whether these practices take the form of self-organized alternative spaces or have a durational impact on urban planning schemes, the value of artistic projects is tied to their 'monumental' impact on society – relative to other art projects – and thus to the artist's ability to establish different, artistically generated, spaces in society. Artistic autonomy is no longer tied to the creative work of artists, but to their ability to expand the space of art into the social. Kwon implies as much when she stresses that the long-term durational projects under *Culture in Action* are more autonomous with respect to the curatorial organization, reading it as an indicator of the quality of such community engagements (Kwon 2004). Kester goes a step further by indicating that the long-term investments of the artists he is

investigating have been financed not by a block of public art funding, as was the case for the European relational aesthetics, but, for instance, by the artists' selling their work or seeking ad hoc support, which thus enabled these artists to operate more autonomously (Kester 2011).

In summary, the durational model implies an emphasis on long-term engagement and intensive investment in particular sites with respect to issues of local concern. It indicates an interpretation of participation that extends beyond the organizing of partici*pants* towards a context-specific interaction and intertwinement with a network of organizations, collaborators, and local participants. Despite its normative assumptions, it thus underscores a more comprehensive interpretation of participation as a durational activity that involves dialogue and co-creative work and that is modified over time in a way that makes the process a more important element to study than the result itself. The model folds the organizing of an artwork into the fabric of an artwork, thus acknowledging that the collaborative work involved in art projects is, indeed, an integrated part of these projects.

The organization-creation model

The final model I want to introduce is the organization-creation model. Like the durational model, it carries an understanding of participatory organizing as more than the organizing of partici*pants*, but it also offers a more elaborate reflection about the relationship between artistic practices and other organizational processes in society. In this model the social turn in art forms part of a reconceptualization of artistic practice as centrally concerned with mending, reconfiguring, and changing the organizing of society, and – as an integral aspect of such ambitions – with reflecting on the very role of artistic practice within society. I borrow the term 'organization-creation' from organization studies (Hjorth 2013) to breach the span of art history's contemporary theorization of artistic practices that discusses the issue of art's organizing and reorganizing of the social. Current terms within art theory include 'activism', 'social practice', and 'instituting', all of which attest to an interest in social organizing.

The term 'activism' was introduced into art discourse by Lucy Lippard and used by proponents of new genre public art to frame their practice (Lacy 1995b, Sholette 2017). However, the term has re-emerged in recent discussions of contemporary art to emphasize a connection between art and new political protest movements such as the Alter-globalization movement, the Movements of the Square, Occupy Wall Street and Black Lives Matters (Sholette 2011, Sholette 2017, Mckee 2017). The term 'social practice' has become the new preferred term for artists' participatory engagement (Jackson 2011,

Sholette 2017), while *instituting* was introduced by Gerard Raunig to describe a third-wave institutional critique that forms part of contemporary curatorial reflections about exhibition-making as an organizational practice (Raunig 2006, Wilson 2018). In the organization-creation model, then, artistic practice is not interpreted primarily as an autonomous artistic practice, but as a social practice that might interfere with and alter other social practices. In other words, artistic practice is not promoted simply for expanding art into the social, but rather for its ability to interfere with and challenge the organizing of society. The quality of a work of art lies in how it modulates the organizing of the social.

Theoretically, the organization-creation model draws on a number of political and philosophical sources in the post-Marxist tradition, including Gilles Deleuze and Jacques Guattari, Michel Foucault, Antonio Negri, Paolo Virno, and Chantal Mouffe (Wilson 2017, Beech 2017). Two positions in particular seem to characterize the discussions: an activist-exodus-perspective that emphasizes the potentials of organizational forms outside the art institution or that stresses organization-creation as self-organizing practices, on the one hand, and, on the other, an institutional emphasis that underlines the need to interact with and reorganize existing institutions. In the following I introduce some of the key voices within this 'thought collective', to borrow a phrase from the recent edited volume *How institutions think* (O'Neill et al. 2017). Interestingly, the field no longer restricts itself to art historians, art theorists, or even artists, but directly engages philosophers, political theorists, and social scientists, thus testifying to the expanded field of practice.

Collectively, these theories question the hegemony of neoliberalism and its effect on contemporary society, while also suggesting strategies for countering its dominance. The organization-creation model emphasizes this political struggle and thus exacerbates what has been a subjacent discussion in every other participatory model: the way in which participatory practices involve an implicit or explicit critique of the dominant forces of neoliberal capitalism and its effects on the politics of democracy, the organizing of public welfare systems, and the production of culture (Jackson 2011, Thompson 2012, Thompson 2015, Jackson et al. 2016, Sholette 2017, McKee 2017). The model also emphasizes a concern with the potential collusion between participatory art and neoliberal interests. As previously mentioned, Grant Kester cautioned community artists against feeding a conservative politics set on impoverishing social systems in favour of individual charity (Kester 1995). Claire Bishop's antagonistic position and critique of community art was fuelled by the UK New Labour Government's strategies of using arts and culture to promote social inclusion that served the goal of making individuals more self-reliant and thus economically beneficial for society (Bishop 2012). The organization-creation model

links these concerns to a legacy of institutional critique in contemporary art where artists confronted both the conservatism of the art institution and its capitalist relations (Jackson 2011, Gielen 2013, Sholette 2017). Within the organization-creation model, however, the entire art world or art system becomes the subject of critical scrutiny (Gielen 2013, Sholette 2017, Mckee 2017).

For artist and theorist Gregory Sholette, neoliberalism and the contemporary art system are not only intimately intertwined but also basically identical (Sholette 2017). In both systems, the minority exploits and capitalizes on the majority. While in the neoliberal economy the 1% profit from the 99%, as Occupy Wall Street slogans proclaim, the stars of the art system depend on what Sholette refers to as the 'dark matter' of the art world, by which he means the amateurs, failed artists, and dissident artists that also reside within it (Sholette 2011). These are the nameless workers who support the production of art luminaries and who are the principal members of the art gallery audience (Sholette 2011). According to Sholette, however, this is hardly new; the art world has always been this way. Neoliberalism has only made this fact obvious – in Sholette's words 'illuminating the dark matter' (Sholette 2011). He calls the current situation 'bare art', indicating that the mystifying and enchanting veil of the art world has been lifted to expose the art world as just another profit-driven business. Neoliberal enterprise culture has adopted the artistic practices – not so much because of creative thinking within the arts, Sholette argues, but rather because of

> …the way the art world as an aggregate economy successfully manages its own excessively surplus labor force, extracting value from a redundant majority of "failed" artists who in turn apparently acquiesce to this disciplinary arrangement. (Sholette 2011, p. 134)

Leaning on the early work of Antonio Negri, in which he argued that capitalist processes of value extraction inadvertently push workers into spontaneous acts of direct resistance, Sholette suggests that the same acts of resistance are evident in today's art world. The art world may have been monetized, as manifested in the growth of the museum sector, climbing auction prices for artworks (despite the recent economic meltdown), and the discourse around the surplus of art students destined never to have the means to pay off their student loans. However, acts of resistance are also on the rise (Sholette 2017). For example, art workers are organizing to demand better working conditions and greater economic justice in the art world, and some artists are simply leaving the art world, typically to engage in social and political causes beyond it.

As Sholette and McKee have argued, there is an intimate relationship between particular forms of progressive, left-wing artistic practices and political protests movements such as Occupy Wall Street (Sholette 2017, McKee 2017). In fact, artists were key initiators, incubators, and organizers of Occupy Wall Street, which leads Yates McKee to conceptualize Occupy Wall Street as a genuine artistic event, also because of the potential such a conceptualization holds for the interpretation of contemporary art in general (McKee 2017). While the mainstream story of contemporary art discusses the new and exciting artworks displayed within the art institution, McKee's story of contemporary art is based on the intimate relationship between political struggles and radical artistic practices. He traces a history of radical art in the USA from the late 1980s to 2011 that emerged in specific political protest actions, exhibitions, and study programmes and culminated with Occupy Wall Street (McKee 2017). The outcome of this re-writing of art history is that it locates the political potentials of artistic practice outside the art system. As McKee argues, the pre-Occupy Wall Street situation was characterized by the fact that progressive minded contemporary artists were:

> …haunted by at least three contradictions: the proximity of left-aspiring art to the actual forces of capital; the constriction of those aspirations to the norms and protocols of art institutions; and (…) the economic inequalities traversing the art system itself. (McKee 2017, p. 17)

For McKee, Occupy Wall Street marks the culmination of a radicalization process within art that has unleashed unknown possibilities and impassioned energies for the present, and he traces the effects of the movement to Occupy the Museum and G.U.L.F. (a protest against the art institution), and to political protest movements like Black Lives Matters. For Mckee, then, Occupy Wall Street was a radical moment that illuminated a way for political art to go forward, especially by exiting the art institution. Sholette is less optimistic, preferring to emphasize a continuous process of what he calls 'sublimation and resistance' to what he, following Mark Fisher, calls the 'delirious reality of capitalism' (Fisher 2009, Sholette 2017).

Sholette and McKee both recognize socially engaged art or social practice as a legacy of political protest movements, and see the potential in employing aesthetic strategies that differentiate their position from the typical left suspicion of the spectacle as being indistinguishable from the cultural industry. The same agenda has driven the work of curator Nato Thompson, whom Sholette and Mckee also both position as pivotal in bringing radical protest movements into the art gallery and, essentially, thus aligning the goals of radical art and politics (Sholette 2017, McKee 2017). In the exhibition *The*

interventionist, Nato Thompson showcased political art together with artistic strategies employed by the alter-globalization movement in connection with the WTO meeting in Seattle 1999 (Thompson & Sholette 2004). The 2012 exhibition *Living as Form*: s*ocially engaged art from 1991-2001* continued that thread, but with a more inclusive range of artistic as well as activist practices. The exhibition contained work by some of the artists already mentioned in this literature review, including Suzanne Lacy, Haha, Jeremy Deller, WochenKlausur, Rick Lowe, and Jeanne Heeswick. Thompson even included the work of Rirkrit Tiravanija, although not by way of the Thai-meals he served in galleries, but rather through *The Land*, a long-term project with Kamin Lertchaipraisert in rural Thailand, where they have invited artists to come and experiment with sustainable practices (Thompson 2012). *Living as Form* also included activist practices such as *Women on waves*, where a boat registered in the Netherlands and equipped with an abortion clinic sailed to nations where abortion was illegal, causing more of a political stir rather than any actual abortions (Thompson 2012). Thompson also added Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt, for the mass protests there in January 2011, and even the celebration in Harlem, New York, occasioned by the election of Barak Obama as president of the USA in 2008 (Thompson 2012).

These wide-spanning contemporary practices across disciplines and global venues are meant to end the unproductive game of policing the borders of legitimate art – as well as legitimate political work – and thus to unite a number of art and activist practices under a joint cultural movement of the 21st century that is protesting what Thompson refers to as 'neoliberalism and the rise of spectacular living' (Thompson 2012, p. 29). Spectacular living refers to the growth of the culture industry, today called 'the creative industries', which has become all-encompassing (Thompson 2012, Thompson 2015). In his subsequent book-length engagement with the topic, *Seeing Power: Art and Activism in the 21st century*, Thompson uses Adorno's and Horkheimer's early critique of the emerging culture industry ('before it consumed us so to speak') to diagnose our contemporary situation as one of total co-optation: 'Today, any culture that sticks around for more than a few months becomes a cultural product – there is nothing that is outside the culture industry's grasp, no matter how authentic it may seem' (Thompson 2015, p. 12). Thus, he argues: 'While we are free to critique the conditions of cultural capitalism, we must nonetheless sleep, work, play and dream in the mystifying world it has built' (Thompson 2015, p. 4).

For Thompson, whether practiced by artists or not, activism today must use the tools of the spectacular world to exploit and challenge the normative ways of living offered by neoliberal capitalism. This means that artistic form must be freshly conceptualized as aimed at contemporary *forms* of living. He argues:

For the first time, the importance of *forms of living* seems to be questioned altogether by the conceptualization of *living* as *form*. Whatever has a certain form can be measured, described, understood, misunderstood. *Forms of living* can be criticized, disintegrated, assembled. (Thompson 2012, p. 29, italics in original)

The curatorial frame of *Living as Form* thus proposes a socially engaged, cultural practice that is concerned with intervening in and developing alternative forms of living, thereby reconceptualizing the question of artistic form into a question of forms of living. In its overall framing *Living as Form* comes close to repeating the curatorial vignette of Bourriaud's relational aesthetics, which also emphasized artistic strategies in 'formations' of new ways of living. It additionally emphasizes the importance of aesthetic tools, thus paying indirect homage to Claire Bishop's argument for the organizational capacities of art as aesthetic-critical interventions into the social. However, Thompson is more attuned to the relationship between these artistic practices and the organizing of the social, emphasizing interventions outside the white cube and in the social, where artistic and activist formations are described under headings such as 'types of gathering', 'types of communications', and 'structural alternatives' (Thompson 2015).

In his book *Seeing Power*, he argues that although we are immersed in and live in the culture industry, we now have the advantage of being more skilled at 'seeing power', which also enables us to effect political change, challenge the forces of power. He speaks of power as 'infrastructures of resonance', which are:

…the set of material conditions that produces a form of meaning. It is, to put it as directly as possible, the collection of structures (newspapers, social networks, academic institutions, churches etc.) that shape our understanding of any given phenomenon – including ourselves. Anything that circulates meaning is thus a part of an infrastructure of resonance. (Thompson 2015, p. 60)

Recalling Walter Benjamin's essay 'The Author as Producer', Thompson argues that the important thing today is not how art responds to or interprets the social, but how it is situated within 'the infrastructures of resonance' (Thompson 2015). In other words, the issue at stake is to identify the contemporary infrastructures of resonance and find ways to alter them, by interfering with them or by establishing alternative infrastructures organized differently than neoliberal capitalist society has done.

Issues of organizing are thus tied to questions of meaning, and art's involvement in the social becomes an engagement with and an adjustment of contemporary infrastructures of resonance. Some of the artists partaking in Occupy Wall Street have coined a phrase for this practice, also referencing Benjamin. They speak of 'the artist as organizer' (Bookchin 2013).

By staging exhibitions and organizing the annual seminar *Creative Time Summit*, – centred on artistic strategies for social justice – Nato Thompson has played a key role in legitimizing political artistic practices within the art institution. For Sholette and Mckee, however, the art institution's increasing interest in participatory practices and socially engaged art indicates an evening of their radical qualities (Sholette 2017, McKee 2017). For Sholette these practices have become convivial situations that no longer question the system but are a symptom of it. He speaks of a de-radicalization of oppositional art '…that, by 2015, was morphing into tools for "creative cities" planning and urban "place-making"-programs' (Sholette 2017, p. 164). For instance, he targets the celebrated 'Dorchester project' by artist Theaster Gates on Chicago's South Side. Sholette sees the project, which is a mix of urban regeneration, community project and artistic branding, as essentially identical to contemporary urban entrepreneurial projects and thus as fusing art with neoliberal capitalist reality. While not questioning the positive effect on local communities, he sees 'social practice' as just that – social practice – like any other form of social practice in contemporary society, complete with the associated problems of organization building, legal requirements, and unionization of the 'dark matter' work force (Sholette 2017).

The work of performance scholar Shannon Jackson presents a different perspective on the intertwinement of art and the social, for her the key issue being how artists might contribute to reimagining social systems (Jackson 2011, Jackson et al. 2016). In her book *Social Work*, she investigates the participatory and collaborative experiments that characterize post-dramatic theatre as well as post-studio visual arts, and she argues that the two borrow from each other's aesthetic traditions, which serves as a strategy of renewal within the respective disciplinary trajectories (Jackson 2011). While theatre is ever slowing its pace to become tableaux or still images, visual art is activating its audience by way of spatial and participatory strategies. However, the reception of these renewals depends on one's disciplinary perspective: what seems refreshing from one disciplinary perspective appears conventional from another (Jackson 2011).

Jackson takes this cross-disciplinary reflection a step further, including the relationship between contemporary artistic experiments with the social and the social systems that support these experiments (Jackson 2011). In her analysis, the way that theatre and visual arts mutually borrow aesthetic forms and practices becomes an occasion to reflect on the age-old discussion of *ergo* and *parergon* – between what is inside and what is outside the work. She thus extends the issue of autonomy and heteronomy to the relationship between the artistic engagement with the social and the social systems that support not only the work but also the life of the artist. In other words, she reframes the question of *ergon* and *parergon* into a question of the relationship between art and its social support systems.

For Jackson, whether a work of art takes the form of a theatre play, a participatory engagement in an art institution, or a community project is not the issue; it is the social system conceptualized by an artistic project that concerns her. As she points out, artistic autonomy does not oppose but instead depends on social systems, and this imbrication of art within the social demands further attention in theorizations of 'social practice'. In Jackson's opinion, political art is too quick to attack institutions from its safe perch of artistic autonomy, all the while forgetting its own reliance on a social support system to sustain its practice. Jackson argues that social practice along with other forms of 'art-making' in the late 20th century might best be understood as '…a warning, reaction, compensation and questioning of changing historical contexts that were developing very specific ambivalences toward concepts such as institution, system or governance' (Jackson 2011, p. 23). Tracing the legacy of the 1960s and early 1970s counter-movements as it turned into the 'new spirit of capitalism', or what we broadly attribute to the effects of neoliberalism and globalism, she points out a conflation of anti-institutional attitudes within the arts and critical humanities:

> In art worlds and other contexts of the critical humanities, lay discourses of individual choice and flexibility interacted unevenly with critical discourses that valued agency and resistance. Indeed, sometimes a discourse of flexibility and a discourse of critical resistance could work in unwitting mutual support. If institutions were not to be trusted, if regulation constrained, if bureaucracy was a thing to be avoided, and if disciplining systems of subjugation were everywhere, then a generalized critique of system pervaded not only neoliberal policy circles, but also avant-garde artistic circles and critical intellectual ones where freedom was increasingly equated with systemic *in*dependence. (Jackson 2011, p. 24, italics in original)

Jackson does not dismiss artistic autonomy, but actually spends most of her monograph promoting the criticality of autonomous artistic practices that highlight the interdependence of art and the social – or autonomy and heteronomy. As such, she emphasizes artists that in their artistic practice reflect on their autonomy as socially embedded and dependent on social support. By underlining the imbrications of art and social systems, however, she emphasizes how the relationship between art and the social is characterized not only by power struggles and oppositions but also by mutual caretaking. Jackson's emphasis on the impoverished conceptualization of the social in art, frames the need for a more detailed reflection about what constitutes the social in social practice. In broader terms she launches a discussion of the social as something other than a monolith of neoliberal capitalism that might be criticized, effected or modulated by artistic practices, asserting that the radicality of artistic practices stems from their ability to thematize and contextually make space for a reimagination of social systems.

Jackson's reflections align with a broader field of curatorial reflection and theorization of a third wave of institutional critique centrally concerned with how to reimagine the relationship between art and its institutions. The first wave of institutional critique sought to distance itself from the art institution by criticizing institutional power structures, a prominent example being Hans Haacke's documentation of museum board members' problematic financial and political interests. The second addressed the inevitable imbrication of artists in the institution, including their subjectivity, with Andrea Fraser's performances of museum roles as a prominent example. Art theorist Gerald Raunig introduced the third wave through his suggestion for *instituting* practices that merges the other two waves into a dynamic processual model in which institutions are grasped as processes in order to bypass the conception of institutions as either fully closed systems or as something it is possible to escape altogether (Raunig 2006). However, as artist and theorist Mick Wilson argues, Raunig's proposal is still marked by certain exodus tendencies in its process emphasis, as this seems to evade the question of institutionalizing forces, which Wilson specifies as '…the necessarily 'institutionalized' nature of institutions…' (Wilson 2017, p. 119).

Within the third wave of theoretical reflections about the relationship between art and its institutions, many art theorists strive not to liquidate the institutions, but to emphasize strategies of reimagining institutions with and within an already institutionalized landscape. In the article 'Institutional Imagination', sociologist Pascal Gielen addresses the issue of how to reimagine new institutions in the art world (Gielen 2013), tracing two movements that have led to the current 'flattening' of the art institution: neoliberalism's regime of numerical measurement and institutional critique, both of which

were directed at the vertical modern institution with its hierarchies, traditions, elites, and canons. In Gielen's argument, claustrophobia fuelled institutional critique, as artists wanted to liberate art and creativity from their institutional confines. However, the critique was predicated on the shelter provided by the very same institution. In particular, the modern institution of art once offered an autonomous space where artistic values were developed and protected, but now, according to Gielen, the art institution has succumbed to the neoliberal machine, which operates at a much 'higher velocity' than institutional critique, thus becoming subjugated to the only value system that exists today – numbers. Gielen thus argues that a new wave of institutional critique will need to liaise with what remains of the art institution in order to support and develop alternative value systems. In an independent continuation of this argument, artist and art theorist Dave Beech points to the necessity of having a room of one's own to foster creative development, and proposes that we situate the political struggle against neoliberal forces within an infrastructure rather than look for its realization in any individual institution (Beech 2017).

Chantal Mouffe is likewise concerned with reimagining democratic institutions, proposing a model of democracy as 'agonistic pluralism' (Mouffe 2013). This model is built on the theory of an antagonistic ontology that she and Ernesto Laclau developed in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategies* (Laclau and Mouffe 2017). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategies* theorized a political ontology marked by antagonism whereby all forms of social order were considered hegemonic attempts to conceal their origin in political struggles. The concept of agonism refers to the practices of politics that aim to coordinate human existence. In other words, she distinguishes between the ontological level of 'the political' and the practical level of 'politics', but the two levels are connected: 'Politics' […] refers to the ensemble of practices, discourses and institutions that seeks to establish a certain order and to organize human coexistence in conditions which are always potentially conflicting, since they are affected by the dimension of 'the political'' (Mouffe 2013, p. 2-3). Agonistic pluralism is thus a sphere of politics characterized by the recognition of political difference.

Mouffe defines her model of democracy in opposition to liberal theories of democracy, on the one hand, and to post-operaist theories, on the other. Both of these positions, she argues, are incapable of understanding the fundamental ontology of antagonism. Liberal theories of democracy operate as if consensus can be reached through rational argument, which in her conceptualization is impossible, even as an expressed ideal. The post-operaists, in turn, conceptualize the people as a multitude without recognizing that this multitude is fundamentally characterized by difference. Furthermore, the operaist

position on representative democracy is simply that of exodus, says Mouffe, and such a strategy fails to recognize that currents forms of institutions should not simply be dismantled but also reimagined: 'The critique and disarticulation of the existing hegemony cannot be conceived in terms of desertion because it should go hand in hand with a process of re-articulation' (Mouffe 2013, p. 74). For Mouffe, the urgency of such reimagination is connected with the development of society under neoliberalism. In an interview Mouffe comments that the situation today differs completely from the circumstances that prevailed when she and Laclau wrote *Hegemony and Socialist Strategies*. Back then, they were criticizing the shortcomings of the social democratic parties, but now, she argues, we find '…ourselves in a situation where we are obliged to defend basic institutions of the welfare state that we earlier criticized for not being democratic enough' (Mouffe 2013, p. 134). For Mouffe, artistic practices as well as art institutions might offer contributions to the reimagining of institutions, but they are not in and of themselves effective. Rather, she argues, continuing the argument already set out in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 'a radical democratic politics calls for the articulation of different levels of struggle so as to create a chain of equivalence among them' (Mouffe 2013. p. 99).

Mouffe's model for an agonistic institution has proven highly influential, but, according to curatorial theorist Bassam El Baroni, it has also operated as a franchising of democracy in which 'the value of political conflict as an abstract force upholding pluralist democracy is the only content in the license obtained by the art sphere; everything else is considered as form and technicality' (Baroni, p. 234). In other words, Mouffe's democratic model has the disadvantage of being based on the conflictual us versus them relationship, thereby instituting a model of democracy that is a permanent battlefield. The problem with her model is that it necessarily limits how we might think of art institutions as organizing the social, since it has always excluded other forms of institutional practices such as dialogue, intersubjective reasoning, and the design of alternative democratic models.

In summary, then – and despite the wide array of perspectives on the issue – the organization-creation model conceptualizes art and its institutions as involved in organizational practices. It is specifically interested in pursuing how art reimagines ways of living and organizing society that counter the dominating organizational processes of neoliberalism. However, it situates artistic practices within the organizing of the social, and thus entails reflections about the infiltration and intermingling of artistic practices and other organizational processes. While some theorists follow the trail of artists that exit the art institution to engage in political protest movements, others frame social-practice artists' work of organizing participation as alternatives to neoliberal value systems. Deploying various collaborative and

participatory strategies, as well as engaging in different institutional relationships, the artist – as well as the art institution – emerges as an organizing capacity centrally concerned with the way in which society and art is organized and could be reorganized.

Concluding remarks

This literature review has traced the art theoretical development of five different models for conceptualizing the organizing of participation: the relational model, the aesthetic-critical model, the ethical model, the durational model, and the organization-creation model. As I have argued, these models gradually progress from 'defining the genre' towards a broader reflection on the interrelationship between art and the social. The models also gradually progress from focusing on how artists organize the partici*pants* to interpreting participatory organizing as a context-specific durational activity in which art and the social are interrelated and infiltrated in various ways. The question of participatory organizing has thus expanded from the issue of activating and involving partici*pants* to an embracing of participatory engagement as an organizational process that involves and infiltrates networks of institutions, sites, and participants.

This progression in the art theoretical conceptualizations of participatory processes illuminates the porous borders between art and the social, and thus the very reason why art history and organization studies will benefit from a mutual engagement. The progression also indicates that such a mutual engagement will need to address how art and the social interrelate, and how artistic processes of organizing participation engage with, infiltrate and are themselves infiltrated by other organizational processes. The thesis aspires to develop such a mutual engagement between art history and organization studies through an in-depth case study analysis empirically framed to emphasize the interrelations between artistic processes and other organizational processes. As such, the thesis moves a step further into the social to analyse the organizational processes that form part of the organizing of participation in contemporary art. Following the organization-creation model, the thesis seeks to understand the interrelationship between various organizational processes in and around the organizing of participation in contemporary art, and in this way contribute to furthering the understanding of these processes.

Chapter 2: From fieldwork to theorization

One and a half years before submitting my thesis, I began the work of crafting my research into a monographic text. Before then, I had written short drafts and stories based on my fieldwork and produced minor texts for work-in-progress presentations that reflected on aspects of my research process. This writing encompassed various strands of existing literature, methodological reflections and the analysis of certain events that emerged in my fieldwork. As such, the writing constituted preliminary bits of texts that I needed to compile to form the extended argument of this thesis. However, this undertaking involved more than connecting the myriad pieces, as I also had to work out a way of fundamentally revising and rearranging them by cutting them up, changing their form, dismissing some drafted text, and, increasingly, adding new parts to form a systematic analytical argument of what might be learned from a case of organizing participation in contemporary art projects.

I present my thesis writing process in this manner to convey my writing experience, but also to talk about the continuous reflections that arise from having to negotiate methodological, theoretical, and ethical issues in the process of doing fieldwork and crafting research texts. Such a presentation offers insight into how I conducted my analysis while writing and how this analysis is the outcome of a writing process that went from bits and pieces to chapter drafts and a restructuring of content, to added chapters, and, ultimately, to revision upon revision as I strove to develop my analysis and clarify the thesis argument. As such, this presentation also explains my methodological approach to research, which emphasizes empirical material as being crafted in the course of research through a process of gradual sense-making and a reflexive relationship to theories. To this I also add what sociologist John Law calls 'modest sociologies' and explains as:

> …relatively aware of the context of their own production, and the claims that they make tend to be relatively limited in scope. In addition, they are non-reductionist, concerned with social interaction, empirically grounded, and tend to be symmetrical in their mode of sociological investigation. Finally, they make a serious attempt to avoid starting off with strong assumptions about whatever it is they are trying to analyse. (Law 1994, p. 9)

For me, a modest sociology entails a number of things, most explicitly a concern not to overstate the unique contribution of this thesis with respect to an argued gap in the literature. Instead, I prefer to

situate its contribution as a way of joining and extending the conversation about participatory art. This modest sociology also involves a decision not to start out with normative preferences that are either for or against a participatory agenda or for or against the importance of preserving artistic autonomy, which seem to be the prevalent positions taken in the broader field of contemporary art and participatory practices as well as in the research fields studying them (Gablik 1995, Simon 2010, Kester 2011, Bishop 2012, Jancovich & Bianchini 2013). Finally, such a sociology involves ethical concerns about the possible use or misuse of the thesis analyses with respect to the organizations and individuals that allowed me access to their processes of organizing participation. I will return to these discussions below.

The thesis is developed on the basis of a single qualitative case study (Stake 2005) regarding the process of organizing participation for a public artwork in Istedgade, a street in central Copenhagen. The public artwork was commissioned in collaboration between the Danish Arts Foundation and the City of Copenhagen. The case study involved the commissioning process as well as the two commissioned artists' development of their participatory projects together with citizens in Istedgade. In this chapter, I first discuss the origins of the thesis and its relationship to cultural policy, which lie in my employment as a public industrial PhD student at the Danish Agency for Culture.[15] Next, I discuss my approach to case study research and reflect on case study methodology. I then proceed to detail the fieldwork I conducted in researching the case and my own implication as a researcher in gathering fieldwork and constructing it into empirical material (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011). Finally, I discuss my analysis strategy and how I developed the thesis argument on the initial basis of my fieldwork observations and experiences and then further refined the argument by utilizing John Law's notion of 'modes of ordering' (Law 1994, Law 2003) and by maintaining a reflexive relationship to theories from a broad range of research fields (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011).

Origins of the PhD project
The thesis has several points of departure. One was my research interest in participatory strategies in contemporary visual arts and their relationship to broader social trends of user involvement. Another was the funding opportunity offered by the Danish government to support the work of public industrial

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[15] The Danish Agency for Culture was a governmental agency under the auspices of the Danish Ministry for Culture that was responsible for cultural policy implementation, including providing secretarial support to the Danish Arts Foundation. In 2015, the Danish Agency for Culture merged with the Agency for Cultural Properties to form the Agency for Culture and Palaces. In the thesis' case study, I refer to the Danish Agency for Culture, or simply the agency, as the origin of my thesis, and the case study itself developed under this agency.

PhDs[16]. Third was the Danish Agency for Culture's strategic interest in generating research-based knowledge about cultural participation and in fostering strategic alliances with external partners such as Copenhagen Business School.[17] When I started my position as a PhD researcher, cultural participation was a joint strategic focus across the agency's specialized areas. This manifested itself in an internal taskforce called 'Alliance with the Danes', which aggregated cross-organizational expertise about participation and user involvement (r.n.Mar13.14, r.n.Apr24.14, r.n.May12.14). This focus also manifested itself in the fact that participation and user involvement were the overall topics of the agency's annual conferences for two years in a row.[18] The agency was – and continues to be since its merger into the agency for culture and palaces – responsible for implementing national cultural policy, for which reason an emphasis on participation can be discerned across the spectrum of Danish cultural institutions, as it can similarly be in other Western countries. Cultural policy researcher Anne Scott Sørensen has referred to the current era of cultural policy as participatory, (Sørensen 2015), and during my PhD employment, I participated in a Danish network on participatory culture called *Take Part*, which involved more than 100 researchers and cultural practitioners, thus testifying to the broad interest in the topic.[19]

Research projects are often implicated in policy issues in various ways (Czarniawska 2014), not least when it comes to public industrial PhD projects.[20] The agency's interest in supporting my PhD project was part of its strategic interest in participation, but for several reasons, the agency did not steer my research project in other ways. First, I came to the agency from an external position and had thus not developed my research project at the agency. Second, the director who supported my PhD position resigned nine months into my PhD project, and shortly thereafter I had a year's maternity leave. Moreover, I was positioned in the museum team, but decided – somewhat prompted by issues of access and availability – to work with a case in the visual arts team, which served to institute a certain

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[16] In Denmark, the government offers private companies and public organizations the possibility of applying for funding for PhD projects. The funding pays for the PhD education and subsidies for the PhD-student's salary during the three-year PhD project. While university-employed PhDs are required to teach for what amounts to half a year of their three-year PhD employment, industrial PhD's and public industrial PhD's, instead, conduct six months of PhD-related work for their company or organization. See https://innovationsfonden.dk/sites/default/files/2018-08/opdateret-retningslinjer-for-erhvervsphd.pdf (accessed October 5, 2018).

[17] See the Danish Agency for Culture's 2013 Annual Report, p. 20, https://slks.dk/om-slots-og-kulturstyrelsen/aarsrapporter-og-brugerundersoegelser (accessed November 28, 2017).

[18] The topic for the 2014 annual conference was 'Digitalization and the Cultural Users of Tomorrow' (in Danish: 'Digitalisering og fremtidens kulturbrugere'). The topic for 2015 was 'How Do the Users Change the Cultural Institutions?' (in Danish: 'Hvordan forandrer brugerne kulturinstitutionerne?').

[19] See http://projekter.au.dk/takepart/ (accessed November 28, 2017).

[20] See above, note 2.

space between my position in the organization and my research project. Thus, as I experienced it, my research interest and not the agency's policy interests guided my research project.

Choosing a case

When I initiated my research process, my objective was to find one or two art exhibitions or art projects that explicitly worked with participatory practices and to investigate these practices by following the processes and interviewing the participants. During the first year this research design was gradually modified into a single, in-depth case study of the organizing of participation for a public artwork for Istedgade, a street in central Copenhagen, in which I not only researched the artists' practices in organizing participation, but also the commissioning process, which thus pragmatically necessitated an exclusive focus on one particular case. Several issues motivated this modification of the research design, all of which attest to the learning experience of doing case studies (Flyvbjerg 2006).

One reason for choosing this particular case had to do with access and timing. The public artwork for Istedgade was commissioned in collaboration between the Danish Arts Foundation and the City of Copenhagen, with the Danish Agency for Culture providing secretarial support. Being at the agency, I was thus institutionally, and geographically, closer to the foundation's practices than to those of an exhibiting art institution. From my time as an art history student, I was acquainted with many of the agency's employees who supported the foundation's work. When I told them about my research interest, they were quick to suggest that the public artwork for Istedgade would match that interest. The invited artists were just about to come on board and discuss the assignment, and I was invited to attend the meeting. The Istedgade case thus came at a timely moment in my research process, with both the case and my project being in their early stages.

Another reason for my choice was my interest in the relationship between participatory art and a broader societal interest in participation and user involvement. While cultural participation was high on cultural institutions' agendas, as reflected in their ongoing experiments with activating and engaging audiences through exhibition design and public programmes, the field of art history rather spoke about participatory art as guided by a political critique of contemporary society and the ethics of citizen empowerment (Andersen 2004, Lang et al. 2006, Knell et al. 2007, Kester 2011, Bishop 2012, Jalving 2017). These discussions seemed to reflect parallel interests in participation, although also potentially different ones.

The Istedgade case offered an opportunity to investigate this relationship in more detail and to research these relations as they unfolded in practice. For one, the organizing of participation for a public artwork for Istedgade involved two competing artists along with two cultural policy institutions and a city administration, thus extending beyond the cultural sphere to relate to other societal interests in participation. Secondly, it involved several 'participatory' forms, including a public competition between the two project proposals and a request that the artists involve local citizens in their projects. The complexities of participatory forms and interests in the case played a role in my decision to research both the commissioning process and the artistic processes as part of the same case of organizing participation for a public artwork for Istedgade.

Finally, the decision to include the commissioning process was motivated by events in the commissioning process itself, where every meeting seemed to generate new directions for the process. Within the first two months of my following the process, for instance, one artist declined the invitation to compete for the assignment, a steering-group member died and had to be replaced, and the competition between the two project proposals was cancelled. As such, the events of the case study guided my choice of how to frame the case study. In particular, the events emphasized my initial suspicion that the commissioning process was equally important to analyse in the pursuit of understanding the organizing of participation in contemporary art.

Case study methodology

Sociologist Robert Stake differentiates between intrinsic and instrumental case studies, establishing that intrinsic case studies are studied for their own sake, while instrumental cases are studied to generate knowledge of a particular class of phenomenon (Stake 2005). In the past, art history researchers were prone to do intrinsic case studies where the specific details of a particular artwork merited an independent study. However, as a growing number of philosophical and political theories have been imported to the field since the 1980s, art history research has increasingly moved towards studying instrumental cases to underline a particular theoretical argument. The model of three instrumental cases seems prevalent in contemporary art history theses, and my own research proposal followed this model.

In changing my research project into a single, in-depth case study, I have retained an emphasis on studying the case as instrumental in terms of the knowledge it might generate about a particular class of phenomenon, here 'the organizing of participation in contemporary art', but I argue that this

knowledge is better gained through a single, in-depth case study than through several, more superficial ones. My argument for this leans on recent participatory art discussions that have collectively underscored the need for in-depth durational case studies that can help us understand what actually happens in participatory artistic processes (O'Neill & Doherty 2011, Bishop 2012, Kester 2015). I also draw on methodological reflections about case study research developed in the social sciences and organization studies (Stake 2005, Flyvbjerg 2006, Alvesson & Kärreman 2011).

In the article 'Five Misunderstandings of Case-Study Research', sociologist Bent Flyvbjerg argues for the merits of qualitative, in-depth case study research on the basis of its learning potential (Flyvbjerg 2006). For instance, he argues that case studies noticeably tend to challenge preconceived notions and thus facilitate the work of theoretical falsification. While this argument is made in part to rebut the typical criticism of case studies as prone to verification due to 'the subjectivity of the researcher', Flyvbjerg's argument to the contrary is that case studies confront researchers with the complexities of real-life situations, thus forcing them to move from the rule-governed use of analytical rationality to what Flyvbjerg refers to as expert knowledge based on intimate experience with concrete cases (Flyvbjerg 2006).

Flyvbjerg argues in particular for the value of qualitative, in-depth single-case studies. Within the social sciences, a classic line of division has been drawn between quantitative and qualitative research, with quantitative studies being regarded more highly than qualitative research (Flyvbjerg 2006). Although quantitative studies still statistically dominate the social sciences and organization studies, the merits of qualitative studies are not questioned today as they were 10, 20 or 30 years ago (Yin 2014). Rather, the issue at stake is the epistemological reflections of any given study and the ontological status ascribed to its empirical material (Alvesson & Skjöldberg 2009). Quantitative studies tend to operate according to a hypothetico-deductive model of explanation and require a carefully pre-planned research design (Flyvbjerg 2006, Alvesson & Skjöldberg 2009) – a research model that has been widely adopted by researchers practicing and teaching qualitative studies (Flyvbjerg 2006, Yin 2014). However, several researchers argue that this model neither demonstrates what goes on within qualitative studies, nor would it deliver particularly interesting research results if it did (Flyvbjerg 2006, Law 2010, Alvesson & Skjoldberg 2009, Alvesson & Kärreman 2011).

A reflexive model of case study research that is attentive to empirical material as a source for generating new knowledge is actually what is required. Flyvbjerg emphasizes the learning process of

engaging with the complexities of real-life situations that require the researcher to amend their analytical strategies in the process, and he argues for the force of single-case examples, especially if they are presented in a way that allows various research disciplines and fields of practice to draw their own conclusions (Flyvbjerg 2006). Mats Alvesson and Kaj Skjöldberg together with Mats Alvesson and Dan Kärreman refer to the research process as abduction, to emphasize the continuous dialogue between empirical material and theory (Alvesson & Skjöldberg 2009, Alvesson & Kärreman 2011). They also speak of a second-wave social constructionism – which I interpret to include their own research position – that stresses the value of empirical material and the careful execution of fieldwork, but that does not consider fieldwork methods in themselves to be a road to the truth of real-life situations (Alvesson & Skjöldberg 2009). Rather, empirical material is co-constructed by the researcher in terms of their research interest, selective choice of empirical evidence, and the manipulation of the empirical material into the format of a research output (Alvesson & Skjöldberg 2009). However, while acknowledging that empirical material is crafted, second-wave social constructionism still maintains that it is working with real-life situations out-there and not simply fabricating stories. This constructionism involves reflections about the politics of crafting research, without over-emphasizing these reflections as more important than the analytical and theoretical engagement with the empirical material and the kinds of research contributions such engagement might foster (Alvesson & Skjöldberg 2009, Alvesson & Kärreman 2011). Sociologist John Law makes the particular point that the complexities and fuzziness of empirical material do not testify to an error in our gathering and interpretation of the material, but rather to the fact that reality is never as clear as our still limited theoretical concepts and theories would have us believe (Law 2010). Thus, although these social scientists have different emphases, they all speak of the value of empirical material in challenging and fostering the development of new theories through processes of analytical and theoretical reflections. I have adopted this approach to research, which can be seen in my choice of a relatively open research question: how is participation organized in contemporary art? It can also be seen in the way I have adjusted my research sites in response to the events in the case study.

For Flyvbjerg the ongoing reflections in a case study also concern the characteristics of a case within its class of phenomenon (Flyvbjerg 2006). He argues that while sampling might be a good strategy for multiple-case study designs, one needs to conduct single-case studies by first determining which type of case will generate the most interesting research results. A case might be selected because it is 'typical' or 'unusual' within a class of phenomenon, or because it is a 'critical' case that is the most likely to either verify or falsify a certain theory. Flyvbjerg also talks about 'paradigmatic' cases, which serve to

define a field of practice – such as Michel Foucault's case of the panopticon prison – and of 'extreme' cases, such as his own study of a planning project in Aalborg (Flyvbjerg 1998). He initially chose this case because he thought it was the most likely to verify or falsify whether power or rationality was the most important factor in planning projects, but it turned out to be an extreme case in which rationality and power co-existed as formative (Flyvbjerg 2006). However, in his opinion it is not unusual for case characteristics to change in the course of a research process, this all being part of the learning process of doing case studies.

In my research process, the status of the chosen case changed several times. First, I chose the case because it promised to generate richer material with respect to my interest in participatory practices. It was an unusual case in the arts foundation's practice because of its strong emphasis on citizen-involvement and mixed participatory forms. At the same time it was somewhat typical of the broad cultural and societal focus on participatory strategies. When the competition between the two artistic project proposals was cancelled, I doubted my initial judgement that the material gleaned from the case would be richer than that of other cases, for the case's participatory dimension had now been delegated exclusively to the artists. However, the very fact that the competition was cancelled also generated an important analytical event when it came to the very question of how participation is organized in contemporary art. The cancellation pointed to problems related to the relation between several participatory strategies, which I will argue to be a typical effect of the ordering logics at work in the organizing of participation in contemporary art.

The case also turned out to be extreme in several respects. For the foundation's committee members, it was the toughest commissioning process they had handled in their two-year service as committee members. At a meeting to hand over the committee work to the next group of appointed members, the outgoing members were asked which specific project had been their nightmare case, and they answered the Istedgade commissioning (r.n.Feb29.16). This sense of adversity had to do with various complications in the case, including the city's withdrawal of funds and the issues surrounding one of the artist's application for additional project funding from a private foundation (r.n.Feb29.16). The situation was also complicated by the very fact that the members themselves had inherited the project from another committee and thus had to jump into a commissioning process not of their own design (r.n.Feb29.16).

Neither was the commissioning process a success for the other parties involved. One of the commissioned artists realized her artwork and received critical acclaim, but the work had entailed an unexpected and protracted period of waiting for the city to finally accept the projects, which also gave rise to financial insecurity as well as a conflicting relationship with a professional partner. For the other commissioned artist, the project looked at first to be a dream scenario of developing a grand artistic project with a social and green profile, but it turned into a drawn-out conflict with the city administration that diminished the project's scope and ambitions. In my analysis of the case I came to see the case as extreme because of the many complications and conflicts it generated, but its extreme characteristics, I would argue, serve the purpose of emphasizing the conflicting organizational practices that 'typically' collide in the organizing of participation in contemporary art, thus throwing these characteristics into high relief.

The Istedgade case, with its many complications and failed expectations, constitutes an interesting case for a sociological analysis, but does not necessarily enhance the reputation of the individuals and organizations involved in the process. In my analysis, I will also emphasize certain conflicts and point to issues open to critique – an emphasis that is not meant to reflect the general professional competency that I recognized in everyone involved in the case study. As the thesis is published online and thus will potentially show up in online searches unrelated to the research focus, I have been concerned about my analysis and quotes being used out of context and thus damaging the reputation of the individuals involved in the case. For this reason, I have chosen to superficially anonymize the names of the case study participants. I say 'superficially' as references will reveal the identity of these participants, and a complete anonymization has not been possible to do while still adhering to research standards. For me, however, the primary purpose of this anonymization is to minimize the risk that excerpts from the thesis are used out of context. I would like to stress that I alone have made this choice independently and not at the request of any participant. In addition to ethical considerations, the decision to anonymize the names of the participants serves the methodological purpose of directing attention away from the particular artists and individuals involved in the process towards the theoretical contribution the thesis endeavours to make. The focus of the research project is not the organizing practices of any particular organization or individual, but rather the case study as a means of theorizing organizational practices that are generally in effect in the organizing of participation for contemporary art.

Fieldwork

In the second part of this methodological chapter, I discuss how the research process developed from fieldwork to theorization. I start by describing how I conducted my fieldwork, including the sites I visited and the material I gathered and engaged with. I then describe how I constructed my fieldwork into the empirical material that I analyse in the case study. As an analytical tool, I employed the sociologist John Law's notion of modes of ordering (Law 1994, Law 2003), for which reason I introduce Law's work before proceeding to specify how this notion aided and shaped my case study analysis. I end the chapter by sketching out the content of the analytical chapters that follow.

Ethnographic methods inspired the way I conducted my case study, which is why I refer to my research as originating in fieldwork (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011, Czarniawska 2014). My fieldwork started two months into my PhD project, in February 2014, and ended a month before I submitted my thesis, in August 2018. I started by following the commissioning process for a public artwork in Istedgade, and then from the summer of 2014 also followed the two commissioned artists' organizing of participation. One of the artists extended his project into 2019, but for this particular project my fieldwork ended in August 2018 when he terminated one of his sub-projects for Istedgade. However, I followed the final stages of the project, primarily through updates on websites and Dropbox project folders.

My ethnographic inspiration manifests itself in various ways. First of all, I kept a research diary and refer to it in my case analysis. Second, I emphasized practices as they unfolded, thus participating in as many meetings and events in the case as possible, and in the thesis I occasionally present 'thick descriptions' written on the basis of my on-site observations. Third, the ethnographic inspiration is apparent in my open, exploratory research question: how is participation organized in contemporary art? My intention with such a research question is to support the fieldwork in generating new knowledge about processes of organizing participation in contemporary art. Unavoidably theoretical ideas about participation seeped into my observations, but the plan was to resist the temptation to confirm or dismiss the projects as participatory according to established theories and instead to follow the events in the case and let them guide my analysis of the organizing of participation in contemporary art.

My inspiration from ethnographic methods is further reflected in my expansion of the fieldwork. First I decided to incorporate the commissioning process in addition to the artists' practices of organizing participation. Second, I expanded my fieldwork into the site of Istedgade as well as into the practices of

the Danish Agency for Culture and of the Danish Arts Foundation's committee for artistic stipends. These fieldwork expansions were carried out in response to field observations and reflections about my fieldwork. In other words, I did not strictly define my research site and types of material from the outset, but adjusted them in the light of my preliminary and ongoing analyses of fieldwork experiences, thus employing a reflexive approach to empirical research (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011).

In constructing the case study's empirical material, I used a range of strategies to sort through the fieldwork material (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011). I compared and triangulated the material, which included a mixture of materials found in the field, such as events, meetings, documents, visual material and archives, as well as material produced specifically by me, in particular interviews with the key participants. I looked for patterns in the issues and conflicts that kept surfacing in the fieldwork, including, for example, references and practices intended to ensure artistic autonomy, or the multifarious ways in which the public was mobilized to become actively involved. I paid attention to surprises with respect to existing theories, thus adhering to the method of abduction (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011). I also engaged in what Alvesson and Kärreman refer to as 'broad reading', which for me entailed engaging with other research fields, such as sociology, cultural policy, and urban studies in order to support and refine my observations and analyses (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011).

Generally, I hold to the understanding that I have co-constructed the empirical material through my choice of which material to highlight and emphasize. In the specific case of interviews, I consider them to be constructed situations in which the interviewee is engaging in various forms of sense-making about the situation of being interviewed (Alvesson 2001). As Alvesson argues, the interviewee's sense-making might take the form of reflections about the social situation of being interviewed, the cognitive problem of understanding what interests the researcher, and the identity problem related to the interview's being a site for identity work. To this he adds the institutional problem of interviewees' using cultural scripts, the self-esteem problem related to the interview as impression management, the motivation problem that reflects the issue of why someone would want to participate in an interview, and the representational problem related to the interview as a particular craft in which interviewees might be differently skilled.

Below, I present an overview of the details of my fieldwork. Following this overview, I introduce the work of sociologist John Law and his notion of modes of ordering, which proved to become a key theoretical tool as I explored the organizing of participation in the case study, moving the research

process from the initial recognition of patterns and surprises into a theorization of particular modes of ordering that effected the organizing of participation in this case. For the sake of simplicity I have divided this fieldwork overview into four parts covering 1) the commissioning process, 2) Artist 2's work *Inside Out Istedgade*, 3) Artist 1's work *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*, and 4) additional fieldwork. I supplement this overview with a series of attached tables that provide more detailed insight into my fieldwork. Broadly, I rely on a mixture of direct observations, interviews with the key participants, documents, images, and, finally, reflections noted in my research diary. In the case study I refer to fieldwork observations as research notes, using the following format: (r.n.date). Research notes occasionally take the form of quotes jotted down at meetings, but these quotations are based on my notes, not recordings. I refer to interviews in the format (i.name.date), and when these are presented as quotes, they come from interview transcripts. Emails are referenced as (e.sender.date) and diary notes as (d.n.date). All quotations in English are my translations from Danish, and all quotations have been cleared with those quoted. All participants have been anonymized in the main text, for the key participants by way of reference to their function in the case, and for those playing a minor role, I have chosen pseudonyms. All quotations in English to Danish references are also my translations from Danish.

The commissioning process (2013-2016)

For the commissioning process, I participated in most meetings, observed the events at them, and took notes on the conversations. I did not observe the earliest meetings, as they took place before my PhD project commenced. For those meetings I rely on interviews and conversations with the participants.[21] I also reviewed the formal documents pertaining to the case that are filed in the Danish Agency for Culture's administrative records, and, to my knowledge, all email correspondence about the case. Secretary 2 compiled the correspondence for my perusal – a total of more than 500 emails, including doodles to schedule meetings, meeting agendas, minutes, clarifications of particular concerns, contract discussions, etc. I have relied on these emails to reinforce my knowledge of the case, but rarely reference them directly in the thesis text if they simply confirmed decisions or events that had transpired in the meetings I attended, or were discussed in interviews. Finally, I interviewed the key participants in the commissioning process, including past participants from the period before I commenced my PhD project.[22] The interviews had several objectives, the first of which was to gain

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[21] See appendix 4 for an overview of the commissioning process meetings.
[22] See appendix 5 for an overview of my interviews with participants in the commissioning process. Here I also detail the short-form of each interviewee by which I refer to the interviews in the case study.

information about the early part of the commissioning process that I had not observed. Another objective was to support or challenge my initial interpretation of the events in the commissioning process, and a third was to gain insight into the various participants' experience and interpretation of the process. I designed the interviews with a particular view to encouraging storytelling and personal reflection.[23] All face-to-face interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Inside Out Istedgade (2014-2016)

For *Inside Out Istedgade*, I conducted repeated interviews with the artist and interviewed her professional partners.[24] I also interviewed about half of the local citizens who participated in the project. The artist did not want me to shadow her as she interacted with participating local citizens, and after repeated attempts to persuade her otherwise, I settled for a series of interviews and further reconstructed local citizen participation via interviews with the artist, her professional partners, and with the local citizens themselves.[25] I used the interview situation to observe the artist and the participants, and made further observations about the project and its participants at the project events (Czarniawska 2014). I also reviewed the artworks, their publicity, and reviews, and I had access to two of three Dropbox files in which the artist and her partners exchanged material for the artworks. The interviews with the artist and her partners were taped and transcribed, as were the majority of interviews with the local participants. To get as diverse an understanding of the participatory processes as possible, I chose to interview a broad range of participants. However, I made a special effort to talk to those who had contributed heavily to the project, those photographed for it, and those who had dropped out of it.[26]

Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours (2014-2018)

To research *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*, I made observations and took notes at the many project meetings I attended.[27] I also had access to the artist and his team's joint calendar and their extensive Dropbox file, in which they collated and filed documents throughout the project. I interviewed the artist a single time (i.A1.Feb12.16), as well as one of his initial team members

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[23] See appendix 6 for my semi-structured interview guideline.

[24] See appendix 7 for an overview of my interviews with the artist and her professional partners.

[25] See appendix 8 for an overview of my interviews with the project participants and appendix 9 for the semi-structured guideline I used in these interviews. This interview guideline contains experiments in asking them to draw on their experience of the public projections as well as contextual questions in regard to other similar experiences and knowledge of art, which I do not use explicitly in the thesis analysis.

[26] See appendix 10 for my analysis of the different ways in which the local citizens participated, which is based on my analysis of the project material in the Dropbox files and my analysis of the finished artworks.

[27] See appendix 11 for an overview of the meetings in *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*.

(i.Edith.Feb2.16), but the artist preferred to be shadowed and engage in brief conversations at meetings and events rather than to be interviewed, which he found time-consuming. With two exceptions I had generous access to all meetings. One exception was a particularly precarious meeting with a City of Copenhagen department head, which took place when the artist and his team feared the project would be terminated (d.n.Feb2.15), and the other was the team's initial process of training volunteers from the drug-related community in green maintenance, where they were careful to minimize the number of other attendees (early spring 2017).

Additional fieldwork (2015-2017)

To substantiate my knowledge and insight into the practices of the Danish Arts Foundation, especially those of the committee for artistic stipends, I attended a number of meetings at which they discussed public art projects. These meetings grounded my knowledge of the types of applications and considerations that constituted the committee's work. Another point of interest for me in attending the committee's meetings was the transition from one group of elected committee members to another, since such a transition had occurred during the Istedgade case.[28] I also attended the five introductory courses given to all new employees at the Danish Agency for Culture, which served to ground my interpretation of what the agency considers key organizational knowledge for its employees. I extended my fieldwork into Istedgade itself, visiting the street regularly during the research process, in particular to observe the effects of the actual rebuilding. As a result, I became aware of other artistic and cultural events in Istedgade, and I also interviewed some of those involved in these events, for instance, the editor and two contributors to the local publisher Byens' book about Istedgade as well as a curator of a street-art event.[29] Finally, I interviewed two additional members of the Vesterbro neighbourhood council who had not directly taken part in the steering group for the public artwork in Istedgade but were long-standing council members and a head of an apartment association who had suggested a work of art in connection with the rebuilding of Istedgade.[30]

John Law

As an analytical strategy, I chose to work with John Law's notion of modes of ordering (Law 1994, Law 2003, Law 2007). I made this choice for several reasons. First, Law has emphasized organization as a process and used the concept of modes of ordering to describe organizational processes (Law 1994,

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[28] In particular I attended a meeting in which one committee discussed its experience as committee members with a new group of appointed committee members (r.n.Feb29.16).

[29] See appendix 12.

[30] Ibid.

Law 2003, Law 2007). The concept thus matched my emphasis on organizational processes and the turn within organization studies from studying organizations to studying processes of organizing (Helin et al. 2014, Langley & Tsoukas 2016, Czarniawska 2016). The concept also offered a particularly helpful theoretical tool as I delved into an organizational process I had experienced as changing at every turn, which thus led to unexpected developments and, increasingly, to various forms of conflicts. In my early reflections about the case, I sought to understand how these changes came about and how they influenced the organizing of participation. John Law's notion of modes of ordering enabled me to further sharpen, but also shape, my fieldwork experiences into a theoretical argument. The notion of modes of ordering thus became a reflexive tool for thinking through the patterns and surprises I had encountered in my fieldwork and for developing the theoretical argument presented in the subsequent chapters. Before describing how I used the notion of modes of ordering, I will introduce John Law's work and how he developed the notion and later reflected on its usefulness and potential blind spots.

John Law is associated with science and technology studies (STS) and with 'the plural diasporic field of actor-network-theory' (ANT), which he has played a key role in developing (Law 2007, Langstrup & Vikkelsø 2014, Czarniawska 2016). While STS focuses broadly on the social, political, and cultural influences on science and innovation, ANT is a specific approach to STS that borrows from the fields of ethnography and semiotics to study the construction of scientific truths, thus – controversially – questioning the truth value of scientific facts (Law 2007, Langstrup & Vikkelsø 2014). The ANT argument is that science does not discover truths, but rather constructs them by using a wide variety of material, technological, and semiotic tools. STS and ANT analyse the processes of this construction in order to investigate how certain facts become established (Law 2007). STS and ANT both originate in the study of natural science practices, and have since been used to study other empirical phenomena, including organizational practices (Langstrup & Vikkelsø 2014, Czarniawska 2016). As such, John Law's book *Organizing Modernity* – in which he develops the notion of modes of ordering – constitutes a classic ANT analysis of different practices and collaborations within an organization (Langstrup & Vikkelsø 2014).

Like most formative practitioners of actor-network theory, John Law argues that ANT is not a specific theory (Law 2007, Langstrup & Vikkelsø 2014). The refusal to label ANT 'theory' relates to ANT's critique that sociology relies on foundational principles such as class, gender, or the nation to explain the organizing of the social (Law 2007). ANT researchers talk about the organizing of the social – and

thus of class, gender, and the nation – as particular effects of social-material relations. In Law's expanded, abstract, but more precise definition, ANT is presented in this way:

> Actor-network theory is a disparate family of material-semiotic tools, sensibilities and methods of analysis that treat everything in the social and natural worlds as a continuously generated effect of the webs of relations within which they are located. It assumes that nothing has reality or form outside the enactment of those relations. Its studies explore and characterise the webs and the practices that carry them. Like other material-semiotic approaches, the actor-network approach thus describes the enactment of materially and discursively heterogeneous relations that produce and reshuffle all kinds of actors including objects, subjects, human beings, machines, animals, 'nature', ideas, organisations, inequalities, scale and sizes, and geographical arrangements. (Law 2007, p. 2)

For Law, ANT overlaps with other intellectual traditions such as symbolic interactionism, the philosophy of science, and specific elements of post-structuralism (Law 1994, Law 2007). It shares the empirical grounding of social studies with symbolic interactionism; shares the investigation into the construction of scientific truths with the philosophy of science; and shares the understanding of the social as a non-foundational network with post-structuralism (Law 1994, Law 2007). In fact, Law suggests that ANT might be seen as '…an empirical version of post-structuralism' (Law 2007, p. 6). He prefers the term 'material semiotics' to actor-network theory, as it '…better catches the openness, uncertainty, revisability and diversity of the most interesting work' (Law 2007, p. 2), and, although he has specifically addressed the topic of ANT and his engagement in this field, he currently refers to his work within the broader category of STS.[31]

John Law's book *Organizing Modernity* – in which he initially developed the notion of modes of ordering – is based on an ethnographic study of Daresbury SERC Laboratory, a scientific facility in the UK, as it operated in the Thatcherism era (Law 2010). The book deals with the question 'What is social order?' (Law 1994), or, more generally, with what holds an organization together (Law 2007). According to Law, modernity is marked by a normativity of ordering or an intensification and systematization of it (Law 1994). In its worst manifestation, this ordering process tends towards purity, claiming one order to capture the whole of the social. Law seeks to refute this claim in *Organizing Modernity* by means of

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[31] See, for instance, his website: heterogeneities.net (accessed October 10, 2018).

what he himself calls 'a modest pragmatic sociology' that reflects on how different processes of organizing are performed within an organization. Politically, such a study is aimed to resist the tendency to insist that any particular social order might capture the whole of the social and instead to insist on the necessity of a multiplicity of organizing practices (Law 1994).

A modest sociology is based on a number of assumptions that Law describes under the headings 'symmetry', 'non-reductionist', 'recursive process', and 'reflexivity' (Law 1994). Symmetry relates to the idea that everything deserves explanation and that nothing should be privileged from the start. It indicates that if something is considered important, powerful, or larger than other things, this is an effect of the actor-network and cannot be established a priori (Law 1994). '…The principle of symmetry suggests that there is no privilege – that everything can by analysed, and that it can (or should) be analysed in the same terms' (Law 1994, p. 12). Non-reduction relates to the common sociological assumption that a small class of phenomenon drives everything else (Law 1994), while a modest sociology is relational and does '…not distinguish, before it starts, between those that drive and those that are driven' (Law 1994, p. 13). As Law argues, the question is settled empirically and treated as effects (Law 1994). This also changes the research focus from order to ordering or from organization to processes of organizing.

The third issue of recursive processes relates to a modest sociology's interest in imputing patterns from the generative relationships of the social. It also relates to the issue of who drives social processes, which Law resolves by asserting that they drive themselves, or that they are 'self-generating' (Law 1994, p. 15). To substantiate this argument about self-generative or recursive processes, Law turns to Foucault and develops the concept of modes of ordering, which I will return to shortly. The fourth and final issue of Law's modest sociology is what he terms reflexivity, which relates to the practices of researching and writing about social processes. As he states: 'There is no reason to suppose that we are different from those whom we study' (Law 1994, p. 16). We also want to order. To counter this tendency, *Organizing Modernity* includes intermediary reflections, to '…expose some of the contingencies and uncertainties – ethnographic, theoretical, personal and political – with which I have wrestled along the way' (Law 1994, p. 17).

Modes of ordering

In *Organizing Modernity*, Law responds to the question 'What is social order?' or, more specifically, 'What holds an organization together?' by developing the argument that four particular modes of

ordering organize the laboratory. For Law, these modes are '…contingent but coherent reflexive and self-reflexive patterns that may be imputed to the networks of the social' (Law 1994, p. 96). In other words, such modes are ordering logics or *implicit* strategic material-semiotic forces that have specific effects on the networks of the social. At the same time, modes of ordering are a sense-making tool for the researcher (Law 1994, p. 84). They offer a way to unravel the complexities of the networks of the social.

Law first describes the modes of ordering by referring to how they are represented in stories about the laboratory. He then locates them as performed in practice. Next he moves on to describe some of the effects they produce, which include the performance and embodiment of specific hierarchies and dualisms in the organization, but also particular agents and material forms. The four respective modes of ordering at work within Daresbury SERC Laboratory are *enterprise*, *administration*, *vision*, and *vocation* (Law 1994). Enterprise is the mode of ordering injected into the laboratory under Thatcher, when New Public Management (NPM) was also implemented. Law makes references to 'cowboys', and talks of entrepreneurial agents that bend the rules and take chances. *Enterprise*, in other words, celebrates '…opportunism, pragmatism and performance' (Law 1994, p. 75), while *administration* is the mode of '…smooth running, legality and rationality' (Law 1994, p. 78). It is the mode of ordering that speaks of a slow evolution of the laboratory, of small day-to-day adjustments, and is the mode studied by Weber to become his theory of bureaucracy. *Vision* indicates the role of charisma and genius as an ordering factor that somehow transcends rules, while *vocation* is the scientist's mode of ordering, as it denounces all goals other than the scientific. It speaks of how people '…embody expertise and skill' (Law 1994, p. 81).

But what exactly is a mode of ordering? In *Organizing Modernity*, Law refers to the concept of modes of ordering as a theoretical development of the ANT concept 'translations'. Translation, argues Law, '…is the process in which putative agents attempt to characterize and pattern the networks of the social: the process in which they attempt to constitute themselves *as* agents' (Law 1994, p. 101). In other words, it has to do with how networks maintain power, and more generally, with how they work. However, Law also draws on Foucault's concept of discourse to underline the structural argument that agents do not drive a process, but are in themselves produced by it. 'This, then, is what my 'modes of ordering' are about: they represent a way of imputing coherences or self-reflexive 'logics' that are not simply told, performed and embodied in agents, but rather speak through, act and recursively organize the full range of social materials' (Law 1994, p. 109). More specifically, Law describes his modes of

ordering as an adaptation of Foucault's concept of discourse that stresses its material dimension, but also insists on a multiplicity of modes of ordering rather than a single overarching discourse:

> Thus, bending Foucault, I want to say that *the networks of the social carry and instantiate a series of intentional but non-subjective reflexive strategies of social ordering*. They are, in other words, identifiable *strategies of modernity*. They are variable. They are incomplete. They come and they go. They are certainly not exhaustive. And they are, of course, defeasible imputations. On the other hand, they are contingent but coherent reflexive and self-reflexive patterns that may be imputed to the networks of the social, patterns that generate effects to do with distribution, deletion, perception and accounting. (Law 1994, p. 96, italics in original)

In other words, Law's modes of ordering are implicit strategies that speak through materials and practices, generating agents and technologies and distinctions of various kinds. While *Organizing Modernity* identified four different modes of ordering, these were not located in particular agents, but rather spoke through them. Law also phrased it this way with respect to the agents he studied: 'Sometimes they were entrepreneurs, sometimes bureaucrats, sometimes Kuhnian puzzle-solvers, and sometimes they dabbled in charisma' (Law 2007, p. 10). Neither were the modes of ordering located at particular levels of the organization, but ran through the entire organization, without distinguishing between managers, scientists, technicians, or secretaries, or between the macro- and micro-levels. Modes of ordering thus constitute a kind of cross-organizational block of ordering logics that differentiates them from a multitude of other ordering logics in the heterogeneous networks of the social.

Organizational scholar Signe Vikkelsø situates John Law's form of actor-network theory, together with that of Annemarie Mol, as a 'multiplicity-oriented ANT' with respect to the 'strategy-oriented ANT' of Bruno Latour and Michel Callon (Vikkelsø 2007). While a strategy-oriented ANT follows the movements of actors as they gather strength, a multiplicity-oriented ANT is characterized by studying the '…ways in which coexisting and partly connected versions of reality are enacted' (Vikkelsø 2007, p. 301). *Organizing Modernity* constitutes a kind of transitional work from a strategy-oriented ANT to a multiplicity-oriented ANT (Law 2007). In his later reflections on *Organizing Modernity*, Law discusses the 'strategy-oriented' perspective of his analysis, saying that he was indebted to Foucault's thinking and thus the understanding of 'power as enabler, constructer and making possible', where modes of ordering constitute such a power actor-network within the organization (Law 2003). However, his

perspective has since shifted to the asymmetries of power, for which reason he reflects on what might have escaped his notice in his study of Daresbury Laboratory. For instance, he overlooked gender and the issue of class, not to mention that of post-colonialism, his not being aware at the time that such a problem existed (Law 2003). This leads him to ponder what other modes of ordering he might have overlooked or that remained invisible within the modern episteme and the theorization of modes of ordering. Law suggests that although he has identified four *different* modes of ordering, they are ontologically all alike, which is to say operate similarly (Law 2003). They all operate within the logic of 'strategy and return on investment' encapsulated in Foucault's notion of discourse. In other words, the fact that they share certain traits is perhaps the reason why they have become powerful and, at times, also happily work together. Others issues such as gender, class, and post-colonialism might equally become visible, he argues, as they too might be imputed into this logic of return on investment, which leads him to wonder whether other ordering practices are perhaps invisible because they are ontologically different (Law 2003).

These reflections indicate the relationship between knowledge and power, but also the limitations of modes of ordering as a theoretical construct. They identify and emphasize the effects of particularly powerful modes of ordering or blocks of ordering practices as against other, less visible, ordering practices. The strength of the notion of modes of ordering, however, is that it underlines the existence of multiple organizing logics and thus points to the complexity of organizing that arises from the relationship between these different modes. One of Law's key arguments is that the different modes of ordering engage in complex relations (Law 2003). He specifies: 'Sometimes these may undermine one another. Sometimes by contrast, they prop each other up' (Law 2003, p. 2). Referencing his study of Daresbury Laboratory, he in fact goes on to argue that organizations work precisely because they are non-coherent. For example, a laboratory based purely on *enterprise* would have had nothing to sell because it relied on *administration* to secure its business plans and on *vocational* puzzle-solving to even have a product to sell. Likewise a laboratory based purely on *vocation* or *administration* would also have failed (Law 2003, p. 5). In other words, without several different modes of ordering, the organization would simply have collapsed.

Abducting modes of ordering
John Law's work and his notion of modes of ordering gave me, not a theory to be applied, but a tool with which I could sharpen my fieldwork observations and reflections into a theoretical argument about four particular modes of ordering effecting the organizing of participation – a tool with which I came to

make sense of the patterns and conflicts I had encountered in the case study. Thus, the notion of modes of ordering sharpened my reflections and observations, but also shaped them. It emphasized organization as an ongoing process, stressed the existence of multiple organizing processes, and heightened my attention to their ability to coexist while also clashing at times. The notion also focused my attention on the function of material forms and on technologies that take part in the processes of organizing participation.

In *Organizing Modernity*, Law provides what he calls a 'checklist' of patterning effects that we might look for to locate modes of ordering (Law 1994, p. 110-111). These include the characterization and generation of different *materials*, including agents, devices, and social relations. Modes of ordering, Law argues, might also make *dualist* distinctions and distinctions in terms of *size*. They may perform patterns of *deletion*, embody specific forms of *representation*, and perform specific forms of *distribution*. They may generate a specific *set of problems* and embody specific *resources*. Finally, Law argues, modes of ordering might generate a characteristic set of *boundary relations* with respect to other modes of ordering. He writes:

> Remember that they are never fully performed. Neither do they exist in a vacuum. Accordingly, they interact. Indeed, one way of looking at this is to say that the networks of the social are *all* interactive boundary effects, and treat them accordingly… (Law 1994, p. 111, italics in original)

In my analysis of the case study's empirical material, I noticed such patterning effects, and when I further searched for them in my fieldwork material, I saw them represented in discussions as well as performed in practices. I noticed how they engendered materials, agents, and visual representations. For instance, an illustrated process map presented at a meeting in the commissioning process provided a clue to the modes of ordering and became a depiction to which I kept returning in my analysis of the fieldwork material. I will use this map in Chapter 4 to provide an initial sketch of the four modes of ordering that I argue effected the organizing of participation. However, there were other clues, including repeated references to artistic autonomy that somehow needed to be announced and protected and to the public, which constituted a particular problem, something requiring attention and resources. There was also the formality of the commissioning process, with its meeting agendas, minutes, and an emphasis on formal decisions that contradicted the otherwise informal tone between the participants, many of whom knew each other from other collaborations. Moreover, there was the

matter of legal acts and contracts, as well as the question of aesthetic form and whether that trumped citizen involvement.

Over the course of the next three chapters, I describe how I abducted four modes of ordering from the case study. Chapter 3, which introduces the events in the case study, is written with the specific intention of providing the first clues to the persistent patterns that I will subsequently argue to be effects of four modes of ordering. The chapter includes reflexive passages in which I comment on my early reflections about the case in order to indicate the gradual process of moving from fieldwork to empirical material to theorization, but also to highlight how I as a researcher have contributed to honing the fieldwork into a particular argument. Chapter 4 then uses the illustrated process map to provide an initial sketch of the four modes of ordering, which I go on to describe in more detail in Chapter 5.

In Chapter 5 I specify each of the four modes of ordering in turn by referring to how they were performed and invoked in the case study. In the process I also engage in dialogue with a broad range of theories, including from research fields such as sociology, cultural policy, and urban studies. In other words, I lean on observations from my fieldwork, but also connect them to the history of the fieldwork sites as well as to the contemporary theorization of these sites, my aim being to consolidate the modes of ordering as material-semiotic forces that effect not only the case study's network of the social but also the theoretical discussions of participatory art. The chapter also seeks to indicate that the specified modes of ordering extend beyond the case study to connect with other researchers' observations, which could provide valuable theorization for other case studies. I end the chapter by reflecting on the status of the modes of ordering, connecting my theorization to Law's concern for the limitations of modes of ordering as a theoretical tool.

Like John Law, I work with four modes of ordering – not to copy his analysis but to respond to what I experienced in my empirical sites. I call one of my modes of ordering *administration*, but while this mode resembles Law's *administrative* mode of ordering, it is not exactly identical. My mode partly, but not wholly, accords with Weber's theorization of bureaucracy, which Law also references. However, *administration* also encapsulates a particular emphasis on budgets and financial responsibility that Law did not dwell on in his discussion of an *administrative* mode of ordering. For me, the very fact that Weber and Law have imputed administration as a particular organizational practice serves to convey how theories contribute to rendering modes of ordering visible and powerful within the material-

heterogeneous network of the social. They consolidate and contribute to the effect of modes of ordering.

The collective purpose of the next three chapters is to show how I gradually developed the notion of four particular modes of ordering effecting the organizing of participation in the case study. I endeavour to show how these modes originated from my fieldwork, initially through observations of certain patterning effects and conflictual situations that caught my attention and thus led me to conceptualize the modes. However, the modes of ordering are also already infused with theory, which is partly what makes them visible. As such, they originate from the fieldwork, but also from the theorization of the sites of the fieldwork. I refer to my method of determining the modes of ordering as abduction, indicating their gradual refinement through a dialogue between fieldwork observations and theoretical engagement. In other words, I use the term abduct to specifically indicate that this process involved a reflexive relationship with a broad range of theories (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011).

After determining the features of each of the four modes of ordering as a singular ordering practice, I engage with the effects of their interrelation in the case study. As Law argues, ordering processes are never singular, but always multiple, engaging in complex relations in which they both support and confront each other. Chapters 6-10 thus engage with how particular relationships between the modes of ordering effected the organizing of participation in the case study, thus testifying to conflicts and differences, but also to mutually supportive implicit strategies. I engage with situations in the commissioning process as well as with the artists' organizing of participatory practices, thus endeavouring to show how the modes of ordering traverse the various parts and levels of the case study. In my analysis I will refer to particular agents' statements, but one should see them as examples of how modes of ordering generate the networks of the social, including the agents that partake in its organizing. Ending at the site of Istedgade, I reflect on the commissioned artworks' contribution to the current negotiation of the street, and then engage in a concluding discussion with the literature – a discussion intended to emphasize the thesis' contribution to the theorization of the organizing of participation in contemporary art and the broader research interest in the relationship between art, aesthetics, and processes of organizing.

Chapter 3: A work of art for Istedgade

In this chapter I will introduce the sites, organizations, and agents involved in the organizing of participation for a public artwork in Istedgade. The purpose of this introduction is threefold: my first aim is to present the events of the case study; my second is to provide an initial indication of the persistent organizational patterns that I later argue are modes of ordering; and my third is to give insight into an additional mode of ordering involved in the case study – that of research. For this reason, the chapter is structured partly as a story about how I was introduced to the case and what I became alerted to. However, I have written this story with the retrospective knowledge of the thesis argument, thus paving the way for issues I will address more closely in subsequent chapters.

The multiple origins of a public artwork

In April 2013 the City of Copenhagen submitted an application to the Danish Arts Foundation's committee for art in public to obtain funding for a public artwork in Istedgade, a street in a central city district called Vesterbro.[32] More precisely, one should say that the project manager submitted the application. It was not the city at large that came up with the idea. It was not the proposition of an administrative head, let alone of an elected official. The project manager had, of course, discussed the application with his immediate superior, who had approved of the plan, but it was the project manager who drove the initiative (i.PM.Jan12.15).

Or, perhaps, it was the initiative of a few local residents in the street. The project manager was responsible for a project to rebuild the physical street, and during the citizen hearings organized in that connection some local citizens had expressed an interest in a public artwork. At least, the project manager referred to his correspondence with groups of citizens as what spurred him to write the application to the arts foundation (r.n.Mar24.14, i.PM.Jan12.15). The application also stated that the city itself would be unable to financially support an art project, but that a local cooperative housing association might be willing to lend a hand. The application stated that this would also mean that an art project had local support. However, these local citizens were not involved in the commissioning process for the public artwork in Istedgade, as the city instead opted to nominate their Vesterbro neighbourhood council to represent local citizen interests in the commissioning process.[33]

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[32] See appendix 13.
[33] In fall 2016, the project manager tracked down an email correspondence with the head of a local cooperative housing association in which the possibility of a work of art was discussed. When I contacted the head of the

On the other hand, perhaps it was not the local citizens who initiated the application but the street itself, or so I began wondering as I researched the case. The street features the slogan 'Istedgade never surrenders', which originates from World War II when the street was a site of resistance to the German occupation. During the widespread protests against public curfews in June and July of 1944, flyers were ostensibly thrown from the upstairs apartments, carrying the declaration: 'You may take Rome and Paris – but Stalingrad and Istedgade never surrender' (Fabricius 2014). Every year on May 4, Denmark's liberation day, Istedgade's resistance is celebrated with a large public procession that stops at the sites where citizens were killed during the war.[34] A large banner replicating a poster mounted in Istedgade when Denmark was liberated is also suspended across the street to mark the occasion.

Although the statement 'Istedgade never surrenders' has its conceptual origin in World War II, its contemporary interpretation embodies a specific self-understanding among many citizens in the street that not only concerns a historical era for the street but also proudly proclaims the street's general reputation. The image of the street is one of difference, a difference marked by a strong sense of autonomy, by a certain disregard for authority, and by a special social cohesion that harks back to its long history as a working-class district (Fabricius 2014). People in Istedgade refer to this social cohesion as the 'Istedgade spirit' or the 'Vesterbro spirit', which also encapsulates the spirit of 'Istedgade never surrenders'. In the words of Ivan, the current manager of Mændenes Hjem (the Men's Home), a social-welfare house offering social and health services to drug addicts and homeless people: 'The Vesterbro spirit (…) is characterized by curiosity, tolerance, and a fighting spirit (…) You don't condemn, you're open to conversation, ready to give a helping hand, to smell a spice or try a new kind of coffee' (Christensen 2015, p. 174).

However, the area has changed substantially in the last 20 years. The renovation of the Vesterbro tenements in the 1990s initiated a gradual transformation in the constellation of citizens, a transformation since furthered by housing market deregulations (Larsen & Hansen 2008). Vesterbro has shifted from being an area dominated by unemployment and social problems related to substance abuse to becoming – also – a neighbourhood populated by well-educated, young families (Larsen &

association, he clearly had no idea what had been set in motion as a partial result of this email correspondence (i.Gilbert.Feb1.17). In 2009, the City of Copenhagen instituted local neighbourhood councils in all the city districts. These councils consist of representatives from local organizations as well as political parties, and their representatives are up for election every four years. The councils are the city's formal partners in matters concerning their specific neighbourhoods. See https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/migrated/sc/Kommissorium-for-Lokaludvalg1.pdf (accessed September 25, 2018).
[34] See http://4maj.dk/?page_id=761 and http://4maj.dk/?page_id=421 (accessed November 30, 2017).

Hansen 2008). The application for a public artwork in Istedgade addressed how these demographic changes had challenged the social cohesion:

> Istedgade has always had a special place in the consciousness of Copenhagen's citizens. Everyone has an opinion about the diverse street that starts among pushers and porn shops and ends in equity and family idyll. Istedgade is the nexus for an area of the city that has a large concentration of retail and convenience stores as well as an emergent café and restaurant milieu. At the same time Istedgade today is a street in many ways marked by physical and social challenges. For various reasons Istedgade has become a living room for many people. For some it even serves as the only place to meet and a living room. The history of the street has its roots in the classical working class, which contrasts with the expensive renovated apartments of today and modern urban life. In recent years the street has become attractive to young citizens with good resources, often families with children that have chosen to stay in the city. Throughout its history the street has encompassed a broad spectrum of people. If the pressure from one group has become too large, a counter pressure comes from another. This balance is now changing. The oppositions have increased at the same pace as tolerance has decreased. The fight for these few square miles has intensified.[35]

Against the backdrop of this 'fight for these few square miles', the city's application to the arts foundation suggested that a work of art might aid in protecting Istedgade's social cohesion by communicating the stories of the street. As such, an artwork would support a stated goal of the street's renewal, which was to 'strengthen Istedgade as a place where the people of Vesterbro can meet',[36] and thus materially contribute to 'rebuilding' the street's social cohesion. In the commission brief, these social aspirations were translated into an emphasis on participatory strategies:

> The intention with the artistic assignment is to involve Istedgade's historical and contemporary layers and stories, and to reflect the street's great diversity. The steering group wants the artistic assignment to create connections between past and present and between the many different citizens and users, by way of the maximum visibility and involvement of as many citizens and users of Istedgade as possible.[37]

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[35] See appendix 13.
[36] Ibid.
[37] See appendix 1.

In the commission brief the emphasis on citizen involvement featured not only in the designation of the artistic assignment itself but also in its set-up. Two artists were invited to compete for the assignment, and the plan stated in the commission brief was to organize a public competition in which the local citizens would vote between the artistic proposals. In my early reflections about the case, the organizing of a public artwork for Istedgade thus seemed to include two forms of citizen involvement, or two 'participatory' forms (d.n.Mar25.14): the requisite citizen involvement in the artistic projects and the public competition between the two project proposals. To me, this duality mirrored the differentiation between participatory artistic practices and the participatory strategies of cultural institutions. It also reflected a similar differentiation described in a publication about art in public that the Danish Agency for Culture was preparing at the time.[38] In this publication a distinction was made between artistic practices that involved citizens and practices of citizen involvement that a city or public institution might employ before or during the process of commissioning art in public. While these distinctions are maintained in the publication, the two types of citizen involvement are also brought together into a co-existence and mutual reinforcement that potentially disregard fundamental differences between how citizens are conceptualized as participants.

My introduction to the case

As part of my fieldwork I would eventually become more immersed in the site of Istedgade, but I was introduced to the case at another location – the Danish Agency for Culture. The agency is situated only about one kilometre from the entrance to Istedgade, and in May 2014 the two commissioned artists were given an onsite tour of the – at the time ongoing – rebuilding of the street (r.n.May5.14). Otherwise the commissioning process meetings took place at the agency. I was two months into my new employment as a public industrial PhD student, when two of my colleagues at the agency introduced me to the case, suggesting that it would fit my research interest in contemporary art and participation (d.n.Feb24.14). Three weeks later, on March 24, 2014, I sat in on the first meeting at which the invited artists had come to discuss the assignment with the project manager and the so-called steering group (r.n.Mar24.14). The steering group comprised two representatives from the Danish Arts Foundation's committee for artistic stipends and three representatives from the City of

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[38] A draft of the publication was presented to the artists in the spring of 2014 (r.n.May5.14). It was published online in February 2015 as an inspirational catalogue entitled *Kunsten at skabe forankring: om deltagelse i og formidling af kunstprojekter i det offentlige rum* [*The art of integration: about participation in and communication of art in public spaces*]. See https://www.kunst.dk/fileadmin/_kunst2011/user_upload/Dokumenter/Billedkunst/Kunst_i_det_offentlige_rum/1_-__Kunsten_af_skabe_forankring_.pdf (accessed September 25, 2018).

Copenhagen: the caretaker of the city's monuments, the city's chief architect, and a representative from the Vesterbro neighbourhood council. These five representatives were collectively responsible for delineating the artistic assignment and subsequently approving – or rejecting – the artists' project proposals.

As a temporary organization set up to produce a public artwork, the group of people involved in the commissioning process thus comprised the artists and their teams plus representatives from four organizations: the Danish Agency for Culture, the Danish Arts Foundation, the City of Copenhagen, and the Vesterbro neighbourhood council. The arts foundation is an arm's length organization that distributes funds politically earmarked for artists, including for commissioning art in public. The foundation includes twelve committees, covering the fields of visual arts, theatre, literature, architecture, and crafts, each with running boards of appointed art experts, the majority of which are practicing artists themselves. These experts evaluate artistic quality and talent and on that basis determine whom to support.[39] To aid in its work, the arts foundation receives secretarial support from the agency for culture, in this case initially delivered by Secretary 1 and then by Secretary 2, who introduced me to the case.[40] On the face of it, the foundation and the agency appear to merge. In my fieldwork, the two organizations were often collectively referred to as the arts foundation or the art agency, which discursively reflects their earlier organizational forms and names.[41] During the commissioning process, the agency, the foundation, and the City of Copenhagen all underwent organizational changes.[42] The various representatives were also exchanged, and some did not always show up for the planned meetings. Two new representatives from the Danish Arts Foundation's committee for artistic stipends, for instance, inherited the project from the foundation's former committee for art in public, thus entering the process at the point I did, when the artistic assignment had been described and the two artists invited for the competition (r.n.Mar24.14).

For the first meeting with the commissioned artists, Secretary 2 had reserved one of the large glass-walled meeting rooms on the fourth floor of the agency. She had also ordered coffee and soft drinks from the canteen. The two new arts foundation representatives were present, as was the city's project

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[39] See https://www.kunst.dk/statens-kunstfond/om-statens-kunstfond/arbejdsgrundlag/lovgrundlag/ and, in particular, the Act of the Danish Arts Foundation: https://www.retsinformation.dk/forms/r0710.aspx?id=146622
[40] Ibid.
[41] This occurred, for instance, in my interviews with the caretaker of the city's monuments and the project manager (i.CCM.Jan13.15, i.PM.Jan12.15).
[42] I will return to these changes later in the thesis as they testify to the effects of modes of ordering.

manager, but he arrived with terrible news – the steering group member from the neighbourhood council had died, and the cause was suicide (d.n.Mar24.14). The other two steering group members from the city never showed up for the meeting. The project manager was apparently tasked with requesting their attendance at the meetings, but so far they had never all been present at the same meeting (d.n.Mar24.14). At this meeting, however, the city was also represented by a communications consultant brought in to assist with organizing the planned competition between the two artistic proposals. A representative from the Museum of Copenhagen was also present, serving in a similar supportive role. The museum was a potential host for an exhibition of the project proposals, as well as a source of archival material about Istedgade that might be useful to the artists in developing their projects. The two artists had also arrived, with Artist 1 bringing along his collaborating partner. Everyone was casually dressed in jeans and shirts. I was the only one wearing a jacket, slightly overdressed for the occasion (d.n.Mar24.14), which reflected my inexperience both with attending such a meeting and in performing the role of researcher. Access had, however, been easy and continued to be so. I was simply one of many attendees at the meeting, with Secretary 2 introducing me as a researcher during the initial introduction round (d.n.Mar24.14).

An illustrated process map

Before the meeting started, I helped Secretary 2 tape a hand-drawn illustrated process map onto a glass wall in the meeting room (d.n.Mar25.14). It was rather large – about one by one-and-a-half metres – and offered the headline 'Process for a collaborative project'.[43] The map featured project participants in terms of their organizational relations and roles; five different steps in the process, illustrated by the interactions of small abstractly drawn people; and the final product of such a process, depicted in the form of the iconic Danish sculpture *The Little Mermaid*. The map also contained project milestones positioned along the process road, which was drawn as a number of arrows and stops with varying degrees of straightness and turns.

At the meeting, Secretary 2 referred to the map only briefly in her introductory comments, explaining that it provided an overview of how collaborative processes for a public artwork are normally organized (r.n.Mar24.14). The map was used to distance the case in question from the normal procedures for a public art commissioning, as the public competition between the two art projects was not standard, and to point out that the current meeting with the commissioned artists was represented in the

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[43] See appendix 14.

process map as step three of five (r.n.Mar24.14). In my immediate interpretation, the illustrated process map performed the role of a communicative tool aimed not only at the invited artists but also at the other participants in the commissioning process, such as the newly appointed members of the arts foundation. It provided a simplified overview of the process that everyone at the meeting was expected to take part in, and it seemed intended to ease the work of communicating the details of such a process to those present in the room (d.n.Mar24.14).

Initially I reflected on the commissioning process as a form of management. I considered whether the case study could be discussed according to a dichotomy between the organizing *for* participation and the organizing *of* participation (d.n.Apr1.15). This dichotomy mirrored a discussion within museum studies and arts management in which leaders rhetorically embraced participatory ambitions, but in practice often delegated their execution to individual sub-parts of the organization rather than integrating participatory strategies into the entire organization (Hein 2012, Møller 2012). The issue related to the question of whether institutions possess an authentic interest in organizing participation, and to the question of who does the actual work of organizing participation. My reflections in this case concerned the question of whether a similar differentiation characterized the steering group and the artists. However, I abandoned this dichotomy as an explanatory model. For one, the artists preferred the autonomous responsibility of organizing participation themselves, but it also seemed questionable to speak of a managerial level within the temporary organization of the commissioning process. To me, a number of organizational practices are at play in the process, but these do not fall neatly into managerial and executing levels. The steering group members changed in the course of the commissioning process, some occasionally failed to show up, and they were not necessarily united in their concerns and interests. As such, they consistently relied on the supportive work of the secretaries and the project manager as well as on the recorded documents of decisions.

The illustrated process map represents the way the commissioning process was administratively organized for the purpose of reaching such decisions. As the map also illustrates, these decisions were organized to be made at meetings. Except for a few complications, the process map accords with the commissioning process for the public artwork for Istedgade. The administrative complications originally stemmed from the plan to organize a competition between the two artistic projects. However, further complications cropped up in the process. In the fall of 2015, I drafted a story about the events in the commissioning process (d.n.Sep.15). The draft reflected my attention to the sudden changes in the process. For instance, the public competition between the two project proposals was cancelled

(r.n.May14.14). The city also withdrew its funding, and the process of obtaining the city council's political approval was unexpectedly lengthy (r.n.Sep24.14). These changes led me to focus on conflicts in the case and eventually to form my argument regarding the various modes of ordering that effected the case. In the early draft, I organized the process into three organizational phases entitled 'The promises of participation', 'The ethics of citizen participation', and 'The monumentality of time' (d.n.Sep.15). The first phase captured the initial enthusiasm for elaborate citizen involvement that encompassed both the participatory work of the commissioned artists and the staging of a public competition between the two art projects. 'The ethics of citizen participation' concerned the situation in which the artists' challenged the idea of a public competition as a corruption of the promises of citizen participation. The final phase that I outlined, 'The monumentality of time', referred to the situation in which the Artist 1 team's interest in organizing an open process of citizen involvement without a predetermined outcome clashed with the city's administrative interest in calculating the maintenance costs involved in receiving the artwork.

The ethics of citizen participation

In May 2014, only two months after the steering group's first meeting with the artists, the competition between the two artistic proposals was cancelled (r.n.May14.14), with the funds being instead divided between Artist 1 and Artist 2. The steering group made the decision in response to a letter signed by both artists. In the letter, the artists stated that their particular method of working with citizen participation made a competition problematic:

> In our working method we involve citizens and develop our projects in dialogue with them. In the process of developing our projects we will thus be in contact with many people, associations, businesses, and institutions in Istedgade in order to sketch out the ideas for our projects. Both of us will thus be visible in the local area in a way that raises expectations of collaboration with each of us and with our projects. However, if we retain the format of a competition, one of our projects will not be realized. A lot of people are therefore likely to be disappointed! The competition format thus has*, in this particular situation, with our very specific artistic practices*, an unfortunate ramification that contradicts the intention of the art project. [44]

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[44] See appendix 15. Italics in original.

The artists expressed their suggestion of dividing the funds as their 'willingness to compromise with the financing of their projects' in order to maintain their artistic practice. They also promoted the idea of a collaborative effort between the two projects, sharing networks and hosting joint meetings to 'allow the citizens of Istedgade to experience a fruitful collaboration rather than a competition'. The steering group agreed to the suggestion, but not for the reasons argued by the artists. In particular, the arts foundation representatives were interested in eliminating the competition because it had become a consuming obstacle in a process already pressed for time. 'We needed to get some energy into the process,' Arts Foundation Representative 1 said (r.n.May14.14). 'But, of course,' as Arts Foundation Representative 2 explained, 'it would have been a nightmare if the competition ended up dividing the street between those who wanted one thing and those who wanted another, rather than forging a bond between the citizens' (r.n.May14.14).

The competition had been organized to empower local citizens to decide which artwork they would receive. The first representative from the Vesterbro neighbourhood council had ostensibly been instrumental in promoting the idea of a public competition.[45] Rather than having a committee of art experts or higher-ranked city officials decide on the artwork for Istedgade, he wanted the local citizens to make the decision themselves. This request challenged the artists in interesting ways. While it straightforwardly demanded that they win the public vote in order to carry out their project, it also indirectly implied that they were not necessarily acting according to the interests of the local citizens. In other words, unless the artists had to convince the local citizens of the value of their artwork, the artists would not care about the citizens' interests. However, the artists implied that setting up a competition between the two projects would counter the aim of supporting local citizens' interests and could challenge the already precarious Istedgade cohesion by generating dissent. Thus, the two artists suggested that the alternative of delegating the responsibility for organizing participation to them would ensure local citizens' interest. In other words, their artistic practice would ensure citizen involvement. At the time of the competition's cancellation, I interpreted this gesture as a defence of artistic autonomy (d.n.May5.14). When Arts Foundation Representative 1 referred to the need for more 'energy', she was suggesting that the simple fact of freeing the artists from the onus of a public competition would boost the development of better works of art. A number of other references to artistic autonomy that I had found strangely prevalent in the commissioning process also influenced this determination.

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[45] I write 'ostensibly', since he died before I was able to interview him. Instead I rely on interviews with other people who took part in the early discussions about the artistic assignment (i.PM.Jan12.15 & i.CCM.Jan13.15).

Artistic autonomy

Already at the first meeting with the commissioned artists, Artist 1 spoke of artistic autonomy as a self-evident feature of the assignment. Responding to what was then referred to as the earlier 'conversation' between the arts foundation and the city, he said: 'But it is our project now, will you be able to keep your hands off?' (r.n.Mar24.14). Artist 1's reference to artistic autonomy was also administratively supported. For instance, Secretary 2 explained to me that she had been compelled to help the project manager and a curator at the Museum of Copenhagen resist interfering in the artists' territory (d.n.Mar14.14). The project manager had proposed to gather stories from the street, which the artists could then subsequently work with, while the curator had suggested that she could curate the competition between the two artists (d.n.Mar14.14). In both instances, Secretary 2 had informed the manager and curator that these matters were up to the artists. Before the initial meeting with the two artists, Secretary 2 had also prepared the project manager for the fact that the artists would probably question some of the terms of the commission. At the inaugural meeting she phrased it as 'their willingness to be challenged by the artists' (r.n.Mar24.14).

I would go on to experience many other instances in which the notion of artistic autonomy was invoked. For example, when one of the Vesterbro council members criticized Artist 1's project for not working with the history of Istedgade, the artist responded by invoking the notion of artistic autonomy (r.n.Jan21.15). The chairman of the Vesterbro council seemed to share that judgement, because he commenced an interview with me by mentioning that not all of his colleagues respected artistic autonomy (i.NCM1.Jun2.16). However, Artist 1 also referred to artistic autonomy as 'something I do not exercise' when he introduced his projects to the local citizens whom he wanted to engage in his project (d.n.Oct27.16). As such, he both invoked the concept of artistic autonomy to claim his rights and renounced it to promote his concern for the interests of others.

In researching the commissioning process, I was surprised about the emphasis on artistic autonomy. It seemed to come up repeatedly as something to support, protect, and encourage. My surprise was connected to the weight simultaneously put on citizen involvement. Such a weighting seemed to underscore an understanding of artistic practices that operated more through processes of collaborative engagement than according to the autonomous will of an artist. When I asked Secretary 2 about the prevalence of artistic autonomy in the commissioning process, she responded in a way that I at the time found somewhat strange. She said that it probably reflected the fact that artists commissioned for public works need substantial support in order to develop their work (d.n.Jun12.14).

She was touching on artists' general lack of experience navigating the constraints of working in public spaces, where practical, financial, and legal issues have to be considered in a way they are unaccustomed to. She was also alluding to the arts foundation's concern to ensure artists a scope of action and thus protect them from demands to simply match the recipient's preconceived expectations. I subsequently experienced these issues raised many times, in formal and informal conversations at the agency and the foundation's committee for artistic stipends, indicating an intimate relationship between artistic autonomy and support systems.

Artistic collaborations

Artist 1's statement that 'artistic autonomy is something I do not exercise' was not mere words. From the fall of 2016, I followed the development of one of the Artist 1 team's green spots in Istedgade. In brief the team's project idea was to foster social cohesion between the different groups in the street by bringing them together in a project to design, create, and maintain greenery in specific spots in and around Istedgade. The team called their project *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*. In particular, they hoped to create bonds between the apartment dwellers and the so-called 'street people' – a denomination for the homeless, drug-addicts, and prostitutes. The green spots would create a potential platform where the local citizens could meet to engage in a joint interest rather than issues of conflict.

The spot that I was able to follow was in a small side street to Istedgade called Saxogade, whose buildings house commercial and project spaces at ground level and apartments in the five storeys above. In 2014 the Artist 1 team leased one of the spaces as their daily office, and held most of their initial project meetings there (from August 2014 to the spring of 2015). As a result, the team got to know some of the local citizens, including Henry, who would later take over the space to set up an organic grocery store, and the architect Maria, who lives with her family in one of the above apartments (Jan28.15). Henry and Maria were both enrolled in the work group to design the green spot for Saxogade (Jan11.17, Feb1.17, Mar19.17, Apr19.17, Jun19.17).

The green spot in Saxogade evolved slowly. The Artist 1 team worked extensively with participatory decisions, probing for opinions, ideas, and preferences and clearing all design suggestions with the work group (r.n.Jan11.17, r.n.Feb1.17, r.n.Apr19.17, r.n.Jun19.17). The co-creative work was united around a particular aesthetic vision of a lush, green environment, but the work group disagreed about the details of the design (r.n.Apr19.17). What was more, the city required that a street guild be formed

to take on the legal maintenance responsibility, a process that demanded further redesigns to accommodate the interests of a broader group of citizens who had not participated in the work group (d.n.Aug20.18). As I see it, the project's open process of citizen involvement had several advantages, but also drawbacks. First, the project seemed to generate a larger pool of artistic ideas and suggestions than a single artist could whip up on their own. Ultimately, however, this proved to be an impossible mission of pleasing all interests at the cost of the design and the collective interest in developing it. The artist seemed to work according to an idea of building consensus through perseverance and personal conviction in the promise of a green environment, but despite the Artist 1 team's repeated attempts, consensus could not be reached, and the spot was eventually cancelled.

Artist 2 also gathered a small team to develop her project *Inside Out Istedgade*: a photographer, a radio journalist, a film editor, and a graphic designer. The work had three different outlets: a public projection of photographs taken inside the apartments of Istedgade, an audio work, and a book publication. *Inside Out Istedgade* was organized together with about 40 small business owners and families living in the street. The participants were engaged in various ways. Most were photographed for the purpose of publicly projecting their images at an ephemeral, temporary artistic event. Some also wrote texts or contributed personal photographs for the book, and a few were interviewed for the audio piece.[46]

Artist 2 and her partners did not work as a tightknit team. Instead she delegated specific responsibilities to each and worked with them separately on designing the individual parts of the project (r.n.Sept24.14, i.A2.Oct14.14, i.PH.Oct22.14, i.RJ.Aug26.15, i.FE.Mar6.17). She managed the collaborations by giving each of her partners a great deal of artistic autonomy. She encouraged and relied on their artistic inspiration, possibly as a mirror of her own method of finding aesthetic motivation (i.A2.Oct14.14). She repeatedly talked about how particular moods drove her approach to participants and the way she designed her work according to an aesthetic sensibility of spatial atmospheres (i.A2.Oct14.14, i.A2.feb2.16).

For Artist 2 the strategy of outsourcing parts of the art project worked well in most of the collaborations, although not in the case of the photographer. While she initially encouraged his ideas and complimented his aesthetics results, she eventually ended their collaboration (i.A2.Aug22.14,

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[46] See appendix 10 in which I provide an overview of the local citizens' participation in *Inside Out Istedgade*.

i.A2.Oct14.14. i.A2.Feb2.16). He had proceeded using an interpretation of the 'inside-out' concept other than she had intended. While she was interested in capturing the diversity of lives lived inside the apartments and was attuned to the atmosphere of everyday situations, the photographer pursued intimate and close-up depictions of the local citizens (i.A2.Feb2.16). He asked people to take off their clothes and engage in intimate embraces. In my interviews with the photographer, he spoke about capturing the rough life in Vesterbro, an aim he felt slightly disappointed about not really having achieved in the project (i.PH.Oct22.14, i.PH.Jan13.16).

In the public interest

So far, I have said that my fieldwork experience drew my attention to the support and protection of artistic autonomy as a persistent organizational feature in the case study. I have also said that I was alerted to the way in which administrative processes structured the commissioning process around the purpose of reaching decisions. A third emphasis should now be added to this: the active involvement of the public. The commission brief already indicated this emphasis: 'The artwork is to focus on the stories of the street and involve the local citizens and users of the street in the development of the artistic projects'. In addition, the local citizens were to vote between the two projects. However, in this way the commission brief indirectly indicated the potentially conflicting ways of involving the public: as providers of content, as co-creators of art, and as judges of artistic proposals.

In the case study, the artists as well as the arts foundation and the City of Copenhagen were keen on involving the public. The artists organized their work around the citizen's own interests. The Artist 1 team proposed their greenery project with reference to a number of citizen hearings in Vesterbro where the citizens had expressed an interest in more greenery (r.n.Jun17.14). The citizen hearings for Istedgade's rebuilding also highlighted greenery as priority number two among the citizens, topped only by an interest in more cafés (r.n.Jun17.14). In other words, the interest in greenery originated from the citizens themselves.

The Artist 1 team also organized their work around the citizen's interest in other ways, especially by including them in open and extensive processes of designing, creating, and maintaining their local 'green spot' (r.n.Jan11.17, r.n.Feb1.17, r.n.Apr19.17, r.n.Jun19.17). As such, the process of approaching local citizens, sparking their interest in the project, and discerning local knowledge and aesthetic preferences constituted much of the team's work. I explained earlier that Artist 1 expressively renounced artistic autonomy as an aspect of generating trust and establishing the grounds for citizen

involvement. Further, he explicitly emphasized that the team were not working for the city, nor were they in the business of selling anything (d.n.Mar20.17). They were simply interested in the benefits that the project could bring to the local area.

Artist 2 also emphasized that she was working in the interests of the local citizens, which meant that her focus was on the citizens directly participating in her project. At one point I asked her why she had not involved the neighbourhood council (i.A2.sep25.15). My thought at the time was that she had deferred the opportunity to present her project proposal to the council, and perhaps in the interim they had lost interest (d.n.sep25.15). She replied that she was not doing the project for them, but for the local citizens (i.A2.sep25.15). The project itself also intimately revolved around the lives of the particular local citizens who participated. They were photographed for the project and told stories about their lives in Istedgade. As such, they were the subjects of the project, but also a key target group of its intended audience.

Aesthetic tools of persuasion

The two artists relied on aesthetic material to generate public interest for their project. Artist 2 used printed sketches of the public projections, showing enlarged photographs encircled by the school facade's frame to convince the steering group about the aesthetic intentions of her project (r.n.Sep24.14).[47] She used a similar image on a pamphlet she distributed to potential local participants (i.A2.Oct14.14). When I interviewed her, she returned repeatedly to her concern with the aesthetic outcome (iA2.Oct14.14, i.Aug5.15). It was important to her that the local citizens' participation resulted in a forceful aesthetic event in the urban space of Istedgade (i.A2.Oct14.14). The Artist 1 team also used aesthetic material as a tool of persuasion. However, in principle this was not manifested as an actual sketch of an artistic vision, but as an archive of photographs that provided evocative images of how urban greenery could be designed (r.n.23.16, r.n.feb1.17).[48] This archive was continuously expanded throughout the research process to include more than a hundred photographs. It was organized into categories specifying either the type of urban greenery (edible vegetation, green plants, flowers, etc.) or the position of that greenery (walls, roofs, gateways, furniture). The Artist 1 team would use this pool of images to explore citizen's interest in greenery and narrow the scope of potential greenery in a

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[47] See appendix 16.
[48] See appendix 17.

more specific direction. One image in particular caught many participants' attention (r.n.Nov23.16). It featured an elderly couple sitting below an expansive, blossoming wall.[49]

To the steering group, the Artist 1 team did not present a projected aesthetic outcome, but elaborated on their open and extensive processes of citizen involvement (r.n.sep24.14). In truth, Artist 1 is not personally motivated by the possibility of developing an aesthetically original work of art. What drives him is the process of involving citizens in a collaborative dialogue and the practical co-construction surrounding the development of a site – especially if that process involves the street people considered the least resourceful (d.n.Oct26.16). For Artist 1, the success of a project is measured not by its aesthetic originality but by its ability to generate local ownership and to empower the participants. Therefore, it was interesting to experience how all the citizens who took part in developing green spots – the residents, the shop owners, as well as the street people – actually contributed ideas and fantasies of immersive experiences and artistically inventive forms of greenery (d.n.Oct26.16, d.n.Mar20.17). They responded positively to the potentials of aestheticizing their local neighbourhood and pushed this idea towards the spectacular and unusual.

Collaborative organizing

The Danish Arts Foundation is also concerned with generating public support for art. The collaborative process surrounding public arts commissioning offers one tool for supporting this endeavour because it grants the recipient – as the local public representative – influence on the choice of which artwork the local site will receive. The process also serves the purpose of delegating responsibility. The practice of enrolling the recipients in a steering group grants the recipients decision rights, but it also gives them co-responsibility for deciding on whether to approve an artistic project proposal.

In the Istedgade case, the City of Copenhagen was the designated recipient, and to represent its interests, the city nominated a city official in the form of the caretaker of the city's monuments, and an aesthetic expert in the form of the city's chief architect. Originally, the project manager's immediate superior had also taken part in the steering group, but he stepped down due to an organizational change in the city administration (i.PM.jan12.15). The Vesterbro neighbourhood council was nominated because it is the city's formal partner in matters of local concern. In a way, the distribution of decision rights from the central city administration to the neighbourhood council mirrors the set-up of the

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[49] See appendix 18.

collaborative process under the arts foundation. It is a strategy of sharing influence as well as responsibility with a broader group of public representatives. However, in the case of the public artwork for Istedgade, the 'sharing' was distributed even further to the local citizens themselves through the set-up of the public competition between the two art projects. So, in effect, the arts foundation distributed decision-making power to the city, which distributed decision-making power to the neighbourhood council, which then, finally, distributed decision-making power directly to the citizens themselves.

As 'public representatives', the recipient's steering group members in principle have influence on the choice of artists and the configuration of an assignment. In addition, they partake in the evaluation of artistic proposals. However, the evaluative role of judging proposals does not involve 'the public' in the development of the work of art itself. Rather, this evaluative role contrasts with the role of participating in a project's creative development – a role in this case also assigned to the public through the request to the artists to involve the local citizens. The different strategies of involving the public indicate that the varying interests in generating public interest could lead to conflicts, one of which was flagged in the artists' argument against the competition. So while the artists and the organizations involved in the commissioning process all organized themselves in ways that express a concern for and interest in public interest, they all created a different conception of who constituted the public and how this public was to perform its role.

From fieldwork to empirical material to modes of ordering

Above I have introduced the agents and organizations involved in the organizing of participation for a public artwork in Istedgade. I have also indicated particular organizational features and conflicts that I became alerted to when researching the case. As such, the above presentation of the case study has already moved from fieldwork to the construction of the 'empirical material' constituting the blocks of fieldwork experiences that I will proceed to analyse as being effectively created by four modes of ordering. In the next chapter I will return to the illustrated process map as a representation of the four modes of ordering, and then – in chapter 5– specify the particular traits of the four modes of ordering by describing their singular organizing patterns.

Chapter 4: A sketch of the modes of ordering

This chapter and the next, Chapter 5, focus on delineating the four modes of ordering that I argue effected the organizing of participation in the case study. To sketch out these modes, I draw on the illustrated process map of public art commissions presented at the steering group's initial meeting with the artists.[50] Chapter 5 examines the specific effects of each mode in turn, closing with a reflection about the status of the modes. The collective purpose of these two chapters is to show how I gradually developed the notion of four modes of ordering that effect the organizing of participation in the case study, and how these modes originated from my fieldwork. Initially, certain patterning effects and conflictual situations I observed caught my attention, which then led me to conceptualize these four modes of ordering. However, they are also already steeped in theory, which is partly what makes them visible. As such, they originate from the fieldwork, but also from the theorization of the sites of the fieldwork. I refer to my method of determining the modes of ordering as abduction, which is intended to indicate that the modes have gradually become more refined and precise through a dialogue between fieldwork observations and theoretical reflections.

The illustrated process map

The illustrated process map offered an early clue to the modes of ordering effecting the organizing of participation in the case study. In the previous chapter, I explained that the map was presented at the initial meeting with the artists, where it performed the role of providing an overview of the administrative procedures in the commissioning process. I also described how other features of the map intrigued me as well – in particular, the depiction of *The Little Mermaid* as the end-result of a commissioning process and the image of the artist as a lone figure working on a brilliant idea in complete isolation. While the depictions in the map deliberately play on clichés about art – the genius artist and the public artwork as a national brand – elements of these clichés kept resurfacing in my fieldwork. The illustrated process map thus proved a pivotal point of reflection in my early case analysis, and I found myself continually revisiting it as I strove to make sense of my fieldwork.

When I first saw the map, I reflected on who had made it, and whether it was presented at all such meetings, which I found not to be the case (d.n.Mar25.14). As it turned out, Secretary 2 had produced it following a course on creative visual representations (d.n.Apr4.14). In other words, it was a

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[50] See appendix 14.

communicative experiment. The Danish Agency for Culture has since produced a range of written guidelines and supportive material aimed at potential partners and published on the Danish Arts Foundation's website. The site provides, for example, a much more elaborate guideline on collaborative processes for art in public, but in essence it accords with the depiction.[51] Although the illustrated process map is a communicative experiment and in that sense less official than the other published guidelines, I would argue that it is not simply the haphazard creation of an individual agent, but a testament to the organizational set-up of collaborative processes. I have also chosen to use the process map because it featured in my fieldwork, and because I kept returning to it when analysing my fieldwork data, thus making the map a valuable source of clues to the modes of ordering, which I will, of course, support by referencing other patterning effects that attest to the effects of the modes of ordering.

Artistic autonomy

The illustrated process map sketches the contours of the four modes of ordering that effect the organizing of participation in the case, with each mode being represented at different levels in the map. While some are represented in specific details, others are represented in the overall drawing design and through the use – or performance – of the process map in the case. The two most readily apparent modes of ordering are *artistic autonomy* and *administration*.

Artistic autonomy is represented through the isolation of the figure representing the artist that gets a brilliant idea. The artist is presented as a singular figure, standing slightly apart from the arts foundation members and the recipient's representatives. The artist is depicted as having some questions and then – perhaps slightly later – a near-epiphany. Measured according to the 'road' in the process map, the artist is then expected to engage in a process of developing this idea into a material form, but without anyone else's involvement. In other words, the artist is presented as a singular, inspired individual that develops their creative work in isolation. The milestone following this meeting simply states: 'The artist is working.'

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[51] The guideline is entitled 'Et kunstprojekt i praksis – organisation, proces og ansvarsfordeling' [in English 'An art project in practice – organization, process and responsibilities'] and dated February 2017, see https://www.kunst.dk/fileadmin/_kunst2011/user_upload/Dokumenter/Billedkunst/Kunst_i_det_offentlige_rum/2_-_Et_kunstprojekt_i_praksis_-_organisation_proces_og_ansvarsfordeling_feb_2017.pdf (accessed October 1, 2018).

The *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering, I would argue, generates the agent of the artist as a specific, singular individual by referencing the notion of artistic autonomy and its connection to expressive singularity. As such, the process map knowingly plays on the myth of artistic genius, but by reiterating this myth, it also functions to reinforce it. In my initial reflection about the image, I considered how it failed to represent the participatory intentions of the assignment, which directed the artists to involve the citizens using and inhabiting the street. It also poorly reflected the team emphasis in Artist 1's practice, which he underscored by giving the team a proper name, and which he had already implied at the first meeting, where he brought along a team member. However, at that same meeting, Artist 1 referred to artistic autonomy as a self-evident feature of the assignment by reacting to Secretary 2 and the project manager's reference to the steering group's earlier conversation about the assignment with the retort: 'But it is our project now, will you be able to keep your hands off?' (r.n.Mar24.14).

Administration

In the depiction of the collaborative process, the *administrative* mode of ordering features as a windy road with five steps that mark moments of decision. The mode also features in the figure's activities, indicating particular distributions of responsibility among the participants. I would argue that, as a mode of ordering, *administration* organizes the commissioning process with respect to reaching formal decisions, and these decisions are organized to take place at meetings. So, *administration* is about rules and regulations, roles and responsibilities, and is materially supported by documents, their distribution, and their filing. For instance, one can provide a reconstructive summary of the commissioning process by using the records of decisions that are maintained in written documents, distributed to participants via email, and recorded in the Danish Agency for Culture's administrative files. These decisions also broadly correspond to the five steps illustrated in the process map.

In the Istedgade case, the Danish Arts Foundation's committee for art in public made the first decision when it chose to support an application from the City of Copenhagen (depicted as step 1).[52] The next decision concerned the design of the artistic assignment and the selection of two artists to compete for the assignment. These issues were discussed between the foundation and the city at a meeting on August 21, 2013 (depicted as step 2). At the same meeting, a steering group was formed with

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[52] On April 17, 2013, the arts foundation's committee for art in public held an initial meeting with representatives from the city and decided to support the project with DKK 1.5 million, on the condition that the city also co-funded the project with DKK 0.5 million (minutes.Jun17.13).

representatives from the city and the foundation.[53] In Spring 2014, the steering group decided on a number of adjustments to the artistic assignment. In April 2014, it decided to commission Artist 2, after one of the originally invited artists declined the invitation.[54] On May 14, 2014, the steering group decided to cancel the planned competition between the two artists and let them share the funds allocated for the assignment instead (r.n.May14.14). On September 24, 2014, each of the two artists presented their project proposals, or 'sketches' as they were called, to the steering group (step 4 of the process map), and the steering group approved Artist 2's proposal, but not the Artist 1 team's proposal (r.n.Sep24.14). Artist 1 and his team were asked to prepare a more precise 'sketch', which was subsequently approved on November 6, 2014 (r.n.Nov6.14).

Further decisions were made in the commissioning process, particularly by the City of Copenhagen. The first one entailed the decision to apply to the Danish Arts Foundation for support for a public artwork in Istedgade, a decision that came after the one to renovate Istedgade. Decisions were also made to co-fund the public artwork and, later on, to withdraw funds from the project (r.n.Sep24.14). Finally, after the steering group had approved the project, the Copenhagen City Council had to formally accept the funds to be received for realizing the public artworks.[55] Following this acceptance, contracts could be signed by the two artists to deliver the artworks and with the city, which was to receive the works and legally bind itself to their maintenance. Generating the political approval from the city council was a protracted process involving the drafting of a recommendation for the council that had to be approved, first, by the Technical and Environmental Committee and then by the Finance Committee, before reaching the city council's meeting agenda.[56] Such *administrative* processes are highly downplayed in

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[53] I did not participate at the meeting, as it predates the beginning of my PhD project, but I have reconstructed these events on the basis of recorded minutes, in this particular case from a meeting of the arts foundation's committee for art in public spaces that took place on August 28, 2013.

[54] Artist 2 was chosen by the new arts foundation representatives, a decision that was subsequently confirmed by the city's steering group members (e.Apr9.14).

[55] For the minutes from the city council on March 26, 2015; see: http://www.kk.dk/indhold/borgerrepraesentationens-modemateriale/26032015/edoc-agenda/edd0275f-b243-4dda-8540-01e432a88885 (accessed July 4, 2018), and item 28 about 'Art in Istedgade': http://www.kk.dk/indhold/borgerrepraesentationens-modemateriale/26032015/edoc-agenda/edd0275f-b243-4dda-8540-01e432a88885/2db59e58-a6ea-43e7-b395-b0ce79235560 (accessed July 4, 2018).

[56] For the minutes from the Technical and Environmental Committee on January 26, 2015, see http://www.kk.dk/indhold/teknik-og-miljoudvalgets-modemateriale/26012015/edoc-agenda/6f38b355-734d-4d87-8a68-1540e3ae3193 (accessed July 4, 2018), and more specifically, item number 12 about 'Art in Istedgade': http://www.kk.dk/indhold/teknik-og-miljoudvalgets-modemateriale/26012015/edoc-agenda/6f38b355-734d-4d87-8a68-1540e3ae3193/185350d4-df47-4be8-a0e0-ee5b8a81f11e (accessed July 4, 2018). For the minutes from the Finance Committee on February 24, 2015, see http://www.kk.dk/indhold/okonomiudvalgets-modemateriale/24022015/edoc-agenda/6f801f98-ea30-43df-920f-d7465bf72e08 (accessed July 4, 2018), and item 18 about 'Art in Istedgade': http://www.kk.dk/indhold/okonomiudvalgets-modemateriale/24022015/edoc-

the process map, constituting minor milestones along the road stretching from the sketch approval to the inauguration of the completed work in step 5.

Public interest

The process map also provides clues to two other modes of ordering. One is the mode of ordering I call *public interest*. The other is *the site*. The map holds many clues to *public interest*, while *the site* is barely visible, which in itself signals the boundary effects of the modes of ordering. I see the *public interest* mode of ordering depicted in two key ways. The first is through the representation in step 2 of the negotiations between the arts foundation and the recipient of the artwork. The map frames the discussions around issues like 'room for artistic practice', 'the site of the artwork', 'forms of artistic practices', and 'the choice of artist', all of which are spelled out in writing. *Public interest* is further represented in the choice of *The Little Mermaid* as a representation of the resulting artwork along with the cheering crowd. To this should be added the performative role of the map when used in the commissioning process for a public artwork, as it serves to underline the interest of the arts foundation in developing art in the public interest.

In the illustrated process map, the negotiations between the arts foundation and the recipient are depicted as a discussion between two equally powerful groups that each get to voice their opinion. Step 3 shows how this discussion results in the formation of a three-person alliance, with the middle figure in white perhaps representing the joint decision. This depiction is interesting to analyse in the light of theories of democracy, which have played a prominent role in discussions of participatory practices. In the literature review I referred to how Jürgen Habermas' theory of the public sphere and Chantal Mouffe's and Ernesto Laclau's theorization of antagonism had been respectively mobilized by Grant Kester and Claire Bishop in their conflicting arguments for participatory practices (Kester 2004, Bishop 2012). I also described how the art historian Rosalyn Deutsche had played a seminal role in conceptualizing the notion of 'public space' and of 'the public' within the public art discourse by introducing Mouffe's and Laclau's radical theories of democracy (Deutsche 1996). The map impels me to engage with these discussions in some detail.

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agenda/6f801f98-ea30-43df-920f-d7465bf72e08/07b9dfd4-773d-4a4c-ab6d-49f2e48685ff (accessed July 4, 2018).

The depiction of the collaborative process emphasizes the existence of potentially heated negotiations, but it also depicts these negotiations as reaching a perfect consensus. The map thus alludes to Jürgen Habermas' democratic ideal of the public sphere, which he developed in his work *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Habermas 1962/1992). His notion of the public sphere leaned on Kant's theorization of enlightenment and examples of bourgeois spaces of public debate in 17th- and 18th-century Europe in which citizens dispensed with private interests in order to form a public that could engage in rational political debate. Habermas framed his democratic ideal in response to the growing commercialization of contemporary public spaces in the 1960s and the threat of a culture of debate turning into a culture of consumption. However, as I explained in the literature review, the ideal of rational consensus has been criticized by, for example, proponents of radical theories of democracy that foreground 'public space' as founded on the possibility of dissent and that are ideally characterized by sustaining the possibility of such dissent rather than constituting a realm of consensus (Mouffe 2008).

In the process map, then, the depiction of two 'collaborating' parties reaching consensus gives pause for reflection. If power struggles inevitably mark the discussions, the image of consensus glosses over such struggles. In particular, the map understates the extent to which the arts foundation as manager of the commissioning process occupies a more powerful position than the others, in addition to its having the state-sponsored authority of artistic quality. By depicting the discussions as taking place between equal partners, the map supresses the power imbalance and thus comes to reinforce an unequal power distribution. I must tread carefully here, however, for the arts foundation's power is also fragile. In practice the commissioning of public artworks heavily relies on the recipient's interests. The recipient's co-funding of the project might be cut, artistic sites might be altered, and recipients might lose interest altogether because other concerns take precedence, or because members of the public start criticizing public spending on art. The Istedgade case experienced an actual cut in funds (r.n.Sep24.14), and while I was conducting my fieldwork, other commissioned public art projects were closed altogether or came under heavy criticism from local interest groups (r.n.Mar24.14, r.n.Feb29.16). Such situations, following Deutsche, indicate that the consensus depicted in the map is already predicated on exclusionary mechanisms: who is incorporated in the decision-making process with respect to the commissioning of public art, and who is left out? In which way do the arts foundation members and the recipient's representative in the commissioning process represent the public interest? As a microcosmic 'public sphere' in which 'the public' is able to express its opinion and discuss the matter of a public artwork, the 'public sphere' of the commissioning process is in itself

created by strategies of inclusion as well as exclusion.

The performance of *The Little Mermaid*

The choice of *The Little Mermaid* as a representation of a public work of art hints at another aspect of the *public interest* mode of ordering. On the face of it, *The Little Mermaid* might be considered a nice, neutral reference point for a public work of art. The Danish brewer Jacobson commissioned Danish sculptor Edvard Eriksen to do the small bronze sculpture in 1913, which pre-dates the arts foundation. As a historic public sculpture, *The Little Mermaid* does not conjure up preferences with respect to contemporary forms of public art. In addition, all Danish citizens – and thus all potential arts foundation partners would be familiar with this world-renowned public sculpture.

However, the choice of *The Little Mermaid* to signify a work of art betrays some of the entrenched ideals held about public artworks. First of all, it indicates the way in which sculpture is still the norm of public art, but because it depicts a small-scale, feminine figure, it contradicts the typical historic reference of public sculpture in the shape of an equestrian statue with its symbolism of masculine military power. In this way, the use of the image in the map serves to curtail possible hostility towards grand, artistic objects that interfere with either the functionality or aesthetic pleasure of a site. Furthermore, the references to Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tale 'The Little Mermaid' and to the sculpture as an international tourist attraction make it a symbol of national pride and, as such, an example of an economically successful as well as a generally beloved public artwork. In this way, the choice of *The Little Mermaid* speaks directly to the recipient of a public artwork, indicating an interest in developing an artistic work that will successfully brand the site in a way that pleases the local community. Thus, it evokes success in particular ways that economically and aesthetically benefit the local site and its community.

The sculpture of *The Little Mermaid* does not communicate such success to an artistic community. Rather it stands for bourgeois culture and is thus to be sabotaged or subverted and strategically used as a platform to generate attention. For instance, *The Little Mermaid* was beheaded in the 1960s (Hansen 2014). The original head was never recovered, but an artist claimed responsibility for the act. Supported by the arts foundation, the contemporary artist-duo Elmgreen & Dragset have recently done a sculpture for Elsingor harbour that references *The Little Mermaid* while queering her figure into a

feminized *Boy* (Hansen 2014).[57] Before the first meeting with the artists had properly started, I joked about the representation of *The Little Mermaid* in the illustrated process map, pointing out that we already knew the outcome, to which Artist 1, also in jest, got up from his chair and pretended to leave (r.n.Mar24.14). To a certain extent the depiction of *The Little Mermaid* indicates an inherent conflict between the recipient's expectation for a work of art and the artist's aspirations.

While I initially thought that *The Little Mermaid* was an amusing and rather innocent reference – if slightly conservative – I later returned to the use of the image as an illustration of the growing importance of public legitimacy in the arts foundation's work. However, the visual example preferred today is not one of a cheering audience standing before a classic sculpture, but rather a group of people physically and emotionally engaged with a work of art – a form of imagery that contemporary museums increasingly use in their promotional material and web-based communication with users.[58] The arts foundation chose to showcase such an example of public art in a publicly broadcast meeting with members of the Danish parliament.[59] Also, in a problematic case of public art commissioning organized in parallel to the public artwork for Istedgade, the work was gauged to have had a successful outcome because the local newspaper featured a story with images of children playing in the abstract sculpture.[60] To me, the map indicates how artworks become mobilized as aesthetic experiences for the public in a way that extends beyond the implicit understanding that art is produced for an audience. The depiction of the public as unanimously cheering the completed work of art gives a particular aesthetic dimension to the emphasis on consensus implied in the negotiations depicted between the arts foundation and the recipient. *Public interest*, in other words, generates representations of consensus and community building through the production of aesthetically pleasing and eventful works of art.

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[57] In response to my initial analysis of the illustrated process map, Secretary 2 showed me a photograph of Elmgreen & Dragset's *Boy* that she had used as a model for the map (d.n.Oct30.17). For Secretary 2, however, my error with respect to which sculpture she had depicted did not repudiate my analysis of the map, or of the modes of ordering, which she considered to be a valuable analytical tool not only for the Istedgade case, but also for other commissioning processes. My analysis supported her experience of typical conflicts and problems that emerged in many commissioning processes (d.n.Oct30.17).

[58] In a Danish context the most obvious example is Olafur Eliasson's *Rainbow Panorama* on top of the ARoS art museum in Århus, and Louisiana's exhibition of Japanese artist Yayoi Kusama's dot-installations, which proved a highly popular setting for selfies (d.n.Nov.2015).

[59] The example was Jette Hye Jin Mortensen's three projects for the city Thorsø: *Lynet i søen*, *Ildtræerne* and *Engen*, highlighted for their involvement of local citizens in the project development (r.n.Nov8.16). See also https://vores.kunst.dk/da/objects/details/14020/lynet-i-sen-ildtrerne-engen?ctx=87843c80-99c1-414a-a13a-97360cae7ad5&idx=0 (accessed October 2, 2018).

[60] Secretary 1 presented this feature article to the committee members as an expression of how local protests against a public artwork had been transformed into images of local approval (r.n.Feb29.16).

The site

Last, I turn to the mode of ordering of *the site*, or at least to the indication of its existence in the illustrated process map. As I will argue, it is present but only sketchily so, thus showing that the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering rather than the *site* mode of ordering shapes the map's determination of the site. In the map the site is depicted in step 3 as an abstract structure that resembles a mix between Utzon's opera house in Sydney and a preliminary construction of four tents pitched side-by-side. While this sketchy depiction implies an openness regarding the imagined site, it is basically presented as a phenomenological, architectural setting and not, for instance, as a group of people or a digital interface. The phenomenological depiction fits with the choice of a sculpture as the end-result of the process. However, it also says something about the history of public art and the still lingering preconception of the site as primarily constituted by a material setting, despite the many recent proliferations of site-specific practices and theoretical reflections about the social and political dimensions of site within art theory. Indeed, it might be taken to indicate the expected neutrality of the site as anything other than a blank public space available for artistic manipulation.

Something of this preconception also lingers in the very use of the concept 'site'. Introducing the concept of place, cultural geographer Tim Cresswell reflects on the use of the word site within art discourse. 'In the world of art-practice,' he says, 'the word "site" is most often used as a stand-in for place. Art is said to be "site-specific" if the place of its display is part of the point of the art piece' (Cresswell 2015, p. 153). He further muses: 'The word "site" is a little misleading here as it seems to imply merely "location". What we are really talking about, however, is place – location plus meaning plus power – including what people do in a particular place as much as its materiality' (Cresswell 2015, p. 152). In this way, Cresswell captures the development of site-specific art that reflects a more critical and theoretically refined understanding of the complexity of place, while hinting at the way in which the term 'site' retains the impression of a place – however specific it may be – as a physical location that in principle is, if not empty, then at least open to multiple forms of artistic interpretation. This is reflected in the way the arts foundation evaluates Istedgade as a site for a public artwork, as it entered the site of Istedgade through the lens of artistic possibilities, not the needs of Istedgade. It was the potential range of artistic practices and the possibilities of site-specific approaches that dominated the foundation's discussions about how to frame the commission brief and which artists to commission for the assignment (i.S1.Jan6.15, i.FAFR1.Jan8.15, i.FAFR2.Feb2.15).

In my interviews with the former arts foundation committee members who accepted the Istedgade application and with their supporting secretary, I learned that two key themes characterized their discussions of the site: on the one hand, the possibility of artistically modifying urban installations, what the art historian Miwon Kwon refers to as the model of art-as-public-spaces (Kwon 2004), and on the other hand, the potential of more ephemeral artistic practices that might respond to the stories of the street, what Kwon calls the model of art-in-the-public interest, since it focuses on the site as a social entity and the work of art as responding to its social community (Kwon 2004). While the first possibility characterized the committee's initial discussions, the latter interpretation prevailed due to the already advanced stages of the street's renovation process.

Secretary 1 explained that a variety of themes and issues recurrently surfaced in the committee's discussions, which it hoped to pursue if an opportunity arose (i.S1.Jan6.15). One such issue was urban inventory. According to Secretary 1, the committee discussed the current sway of city centre developments, and how visual artists could 'qualify' this development by taking part in cross-disciplinary design teams (i.S1.Jan6.15). The application for an artwork in Istedgade – tied to the renovation of the street as it was – offered just such an opportunity to pursue this line of interest. Obviously, as Secretary 1 explained, Istedgade was quite 'full' already (i.S1.Jan6.15), so the idea was not to add something but to perhaps artistically modify urban inventory that needed to be there in the first place, for example, sewers, bicycle racks, and benches. Early discussions revolved around this proposal, including whether or not such an artistic assignment would be interesting (i.S1.Jan6.15).

The focus on art-as-urban-design, however, faded into the background because Istedgade's renovation process was already well underway, so any artistic contribution could only ever be a minor addition and not a fundamental aspect of the street's renewal. The possibility of inserting physical marks on the street was not omitted from the commission brief, but the emphasis was placed on the street's citizens and stories. This social interpretation of the site drew on reflections presented in the city's application, but also supported another of the arts foundation's interests, namely to commission qualified artists working with more ephemeral artistic practices, including participatory formats. As one committee member explained, the majority of public art applications the committee received concerned new institutional buildings like hospitals and schools, and such sites lacked the social fabric necessary for artists working with stories and people (i.FAFR1.Jan8.15).

In my interviews with the former arts foundation committee members, I got the impression that Istedgade appealed to their artistic imagination. The very fact that the street sparked a number of discussions about potential artistic practices testifies to their interest in and fascination with Istedgade as an artistic site. Materially as well as ideologically and emotionally, the site engendered ideas for aesthetically intervening in the urban space and working with the thick material of the street's history. To me, this excitement evinces the *site* mode of ordering and its effect – and affect – on the process of organizing participation in the case study. As Secretary 1 later commented, the fact that Istedgade was a site everyone on the committee knew and had preconceptions about (d.n.Jun9.17) obviously made a difference in the arts foundation's evaluation of the Istedgade application. Istedgade, in other words, was not only 'full' in terms of urban inventory, but also in terms of its cultural history and aesthetic interpretations.

The fullness of Istedgade is not represented in the illustrated process map, and for good reasons. The map is not sketched for the specific purpose of the Istedgade case commissioning process, but is more generic, referencing the general procedures of a public art commissioning process. As a representation of the commissioning process, however, the map illustrates the remoteness of the site as a collaborating partner in a commissioning process. The site is instead subjected to the choices made elsewhere.

From the sketch to modes of ordering

Above I have used the illustrated process map to present an initial sketch of the four modes of ordering that I argue effected the organizing of participation in the case study. This representation is one way in which the modes of ordering engendered themselves, but as I suggested in the introduction to the case study, the modes of ordering also revealed themselves in other ways to be patterning effects of the social-material network around the organizing of participation for a public artwork in Istedgade.

In the following chapter I will specify and discuss each of these four modes of ordering, referencing how they were performed and invoked in the case study, but I will also engage in a dialogue with a broad range of theories, spanning from research fields like sociology and organization studies to cultural policy, art history, and urban studies. I will draw on observations from my fieldwork, but also connect these observations to the history of the sites of my fieldwork as well as to contemporary theorization of these sites, my aim being to consolidate the modes of ordering as material-semiotic forces that effect not only the networks of the social in the case study but also the theoretical discussions within art

history and organization studies. The chapter seeks to specify the modes of ordering, but also to indicate that these modes extend beyond the case study to connect with other researchers' observations. Moreover, they constitute a theoretical contribution to the broader conceptualization of the organizing of participation in contemporary art.

Chapter 5: Four modes of ordering

In this chapter I will discuss each of the four modes of ordering by referring to how they were performed and invoked in the case study. However, I will also be engaging with a wide range of theories, drawn from research fields as diverse as sociology, organization studies, cultural policy, art history, and urban studies. I will lean on my fieldwork observations, but also connect them to the history of the sites where my fieldwork took place as well as to contemporary theorization of these sites. My aim with this undertaking is to consolidate the modes of ordering as material and semiotic forces that generate not only the networks of the social in the case study but also the theoretical discussions within art history and organization studies. The chapter seeks to specify the modes of ordering as well as to indicate that they extend beyond the case study, thus connecting with other researchers' observations and constituting a theoretical contribution to the current discussions of how participation is organized in contemporary art. The chapter ends by reflecting on the status of the modes of ordering as singular patterning effects in the networks of the social – a reflection that also forms a bridge from this chapter to the following five analytical chapters – chapters 6-10 – all of which engage with how the modes interacted in the case study.

Artistic autonomy

The first mode of ordering I will discuss is *artistic autonomy*, which works to support and protect art as independent and distinct from other cultural and social activities. The mode has generated a variety of technologies for this purpose, including the institution of the arts foundation and the discipline of art history, and it produces agents in the form of artists singled out for their special, professional competencies as well as an expert audience likewise distinguished by their professional knowledge of artistic practices. Although originally tied to the production of fine art, *artistic autonomy* has supported artists' exploration of new subject matters, new media, and new interactions with society, thus successively promoting 'border-crossing' practices into the social as a means of artistic innovation. *Artistic autonomy* thus serves to protect art from both cultural competition and political pressure, while promoting arts' influence on society.

In the introductory chapter I described how the concept of artistic autonomy was invoked and enacted in a wide array of ways in my fieldwork – for example as a sacrosanct right – 'it's our project now, will you be able to keep your hands off?'(r.n.Mar24.14), but also as 'something I do not exercise' (d.n.Oct27.16). *Artistic autonomy* was practiced by nurturing, encouraging, and applauding artists in

order to aid their development of works with artistic quality. The steering group cancelled the competition between the two artists 'to get more energy' into the commissioning process and in a sense free the artists to focus on developing an artistic proposal. In the same spirit, Artist 2 managed her collaborative partners by granting them extensive creative freedom, thus cultivating their ability to aesthetically contribute to the proposed artwork.

Artistic autonomy also appeared in my fieldwork in other ways. It was, for example, invoked as something fragile to be safeguarded. This was why Secretary 2 rejected the project manager's suggestion to gather stories about the street. *Artistic autonomy* was also something potentially powerful and damaging, as it disregarded others' interests. The competition between the two artistic projects was framed as a challenge – or resistance even – to the collective power of artists, art experts, and city administrators in designing the aesthetic appearance of a local neighbourhood. *Artistic autonomy* was further invoked as freedom from political influence and in broader terms from any external demands. It constituted the freedom to experiment without a designated outcome: 'Art money is free research money' (r.n.Aug14.14).

I call this mode of ordering *artistic autonomy* because the concept was invoked in the case study and because practices I witnessed attested to its influence. As such, however, I am invoking a concept that is polymorphous in its meaning (Sestoft 1999, Sangild 2010, Osborne 2012). Artistic autonomy refers to artists and their freedom of expression, but also to the artwork as being responsible only to the autonomous rules of art. It refers to the 'relative' autonomous sphere of art in society – also called the art world, the art institution, or the art field, and is further connected to the concept of aesthetic autonomy. As a mode of ordering I will argue that *artistic autonomy* generates and reiterates itself by way of all of the above meanings and that the polymorphous interpretation of artistic autonomy contributes to its distinct effects. However, the legal, political, organizational, and financial support of art is entangled in the heteronomous compound of *artistic autonomy*. As a mode of ordering, then, *artistic autonomy* refers to the freedom of artistic expression, but is also materially grounded in institutions, practices, and fund distributions that prop up art's freedom of expression and experimentation.

From a sociological point of view, artistic autonomy depends on the relative autonomous sphere of art that gradually grew from the advent of modernity. Art severed itself from serving those in power, thus gaining a more autonomous position structurally and financially supported by the market and modern

forms of governance (Bourdieu 1996, Bourdieu 2017). Concurrently, the discipline of art history developed a tradition and a language for art that has become the basis for evaluating artworks as autonomous objects (Tanner 2003). The relative autonomy of the artistic sphere resulted in a disciplinary self-understanding of art as autonomous in which the structural conditions of this autonomy are typically under-acknowledged (Sestoft 2002). At least, the issue of the systemic support given to art is usually separated from the reflections about its meaning (Laermans 2010).

In this respect, the arts foundation is a social support system for artistic autonomy, or more precisely, a technology developed as an effect of *artistic autonomy*. The arts foundation aims to 'promote the development of the arts', and is organized to distribute funds politically earmarked for artists and artistic productions and granted on the basis of assessed artistic quality.[61] As the arts foundation is an arm's length organization, politicians have no influence on the choice of which art and artists to support, but have delegated that responsibility to professional experts. The Danish Arts Foundation was established in 1964[62] with two overall purposes: to provide financial support to artists who were unable to live from their artistic production alone, and to grant all Danish citizens access to high-quality art regardless of their geographic location or income level (Duelund 2001, Schepelern & Jacobsen 2006). As such, the foundation was based on an idea of democratizing culture, but in principle, this idea restricted culture to the fine arts (Duelund 2001). Since 1964, however, Danish cultural policy has expanded to include other objectives. In the 1970s a new anthropological understanding of culture as a way of life motivated support for a spectrum of cultural activities broader than the fine arts, while in the 1980s culture was mobilized to support such societal purposes as alleviating social and economic problems (Duelund 2001). Nevertheless, until the turn of the millennium these broader changes to Danish cultural policy had no impact on the foundation (Duelund 2003), which lost none of its funds and retained its organizational arm's length set-up. Its purpose has remained focused on promoting the fine arts and granting direct support to artists on the basis of an artistic quality determined by art experts (Duelund 2003). In broad strokes, then, the foundation supports artistic autonomy conceptually by applying qualitative criteria of artistic excellence as defined by art experts and financially by distributing funds.

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[61] See Act of the Danish Arts Foundation: https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=146622 (accessed October 8, 2018)

[62] An earlier foundation aimed only at developing public art for public buildings was formed in 1956 (Schepelern & Jacobsen 2006).

Through the practices of the arts foundation, *artistic autonomy* strives to maximize artists' conceptual and structural influence on an assignment. This effects the foundation's evaluation of a site's artistic possibilities – an issue that is both pragmatic and ideological. As one foundation committee member explained, practical and legal restrictions can easily come to constrain artists in a public space, so such constraints must be unequivocally known from the start, rather than being discovered in the process and requiring that substantial changes be made to the artistic proposal (i.AFR1.Jan9.15). To prevent this from happening, the foundation offers commissioned artists the support of a construction consultant in drafting budgets and determining technical problems related to the development and longevity of art in public (i.CC.Jan30.15). The artists in the Istedgade case also received this support (r.n.Jun17.14, r.n.Sept24.14).

Artistic autonomy thus generates various protective measures. At the same time it is assumed that offering artists more freedom from the outset will generate a better work of art. The committee that accepted the application for an artwork in Istedgade initiated a project that did not give artists a specific site at which to develop a work of art, but rather the opportunity to choose a site of personal interest to them and to carry out a project there (i.FAFR.Jan8.15). This experiment came in the wake of previous committees' discussions on the potentials of artists' choosing rather than being assigned a site (Krogh 1992, Larsen 1999). In the Istedgade case the commission brief's open determination of the expected artistic outcome reveals this tendency to try and maximize artistic influence: 'It might, for instance, be physical marks in the street, a digital production, events, a publication, or such.'[63] This underscores the freedom of the commissioned artist to determine their artistic contribution.

The other request in the commission brief was to involve as many local citizens and users of the street as possible in the development of the artistic projects. On the face of it, this might not seem to support artistic autonomy, but the request matches the track record of the invited artists, who were known to work with research-based processes and citizen participation. As such, the expert committee is tellingly knowledgeable in commissioning artists who would autonomously choose to work with participatory processes. In fact, the commission brief is also drafted in response to the choice of artists. Both of the initially commissioned artists were on a so-called long-list of artists whom the committee wanted to commission for a public artwork if a suitable assignment arose (i.S1.Jan6.15). The committee's

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[63] See appendix 1.

evaluation of the site of Istedgade revealed a potential match between its artistic possibilities and two of the 'pre-selected' artists from the pool of qualified artists in line for an assignment.

Thus, *artistic autonomy* generates artists and expert judges that share professional knowledge of artistic quality. Here, the work an artist is expected to deliver is predicated on granting the artist maximum freedom, which reinforces the image of artistic autonomy as residing in the artists. Although the expected quality of an artwork is based on the judgement of the artist's previous achievements, the actual outcome of a commission is left open for the artist to conceptualize and materialize. *Artistic autonomy* thus supports the understanding of artistic products as inherently unpredictable, but also as inherently new and innovative. This is also why the potential material outcome of the commissioning process is kept open. Such openness speaks of art as fundamentally determined by its innovative capabilities. However, art's innovation is measured according to the tradition of artistic practice itself. Art history and art theoretical discussions constitute the scale on which to measure such innovation.

The open product demand in the commission brief also indicates some general changes in the art field since the foundation was established. Artistic practices have ceased to be restricted to sculpture and painting, and art discourse has also shifted away from a primary concern with aesthetic form towards the kinds of political issues described in the literature review. While the visual arts – broadly speaking – still comprise painting and sculpture as well as newer aesthetic forms of expression such as photography, installation art, and performance, the art field in general has expanded to include work that is centrally concerned with political questions and that uses art to pursue a political agenda. In terms of materiality *artistic autonomy* thus supports a broad range of material expressions, spanning from formal experiments with more traditional media to deliberate 'anti-aesthetic' formations that politically protest the aestheticization of our contemporary society under the influence of neoliberal capitalism.

Elsewhere in society, creativity and aesthetic expression play an increasingly significant role (Landry 2000, Florida 2002, Boltanski & Chiapello 2007, Reckwitz 2017). In his book *The Invention of Creativity*, sociologist Andreas Reckwitz argues that the artistic field has become normative for other social spheres such as commerce, work-life, self-development practices, and urban development (Reckwitz 2017). In other words, creativity and aesthetic modelling have spilled over from the artistic field into other social fields today marked by a norm of creativity and an obsession with aesthetic innovation (Reckwitz 2017). This development creates a strange tension between contemporary artistic practice

and what society expects from artists. While society displays a thirst for aesthetic events, contemporary artists are becoming increasingly occupied with issues of politics.

In its modern constellation, the artistic field was structured around the production and reception of aesthetic products (Tanner 2003, Reckwitz 2017). Reckwitz describes this earlier artistic field as a kind of actor network in which sensuous, symbolic, and emotional stimuli were produced for an audience that had to rise to the challenge and learn art appreciation. The field consisted of four elements that Reckwitz also refers to as 'the structural floor plan of the artistic field':

> The subjectivization of the artist as the creator of novelty, initially in the form of the 'original genius': the aesthetic quasi-object, initially in the form of the artwork; the audience, the community of recipients interested in aesthetic novelty; and an institutional complex – markets or state academics – for regulating audience interest. (Reckwitz 2017, p. 33-34)

This structural floor plan is still retained today, as the continued existence of the arts foundation testifies to. However, it has been challenged by society's broad adoption of aesthetic practices and events and by artists transgressing boundaries into other fields of practice. Reckwitz describes the contemporary creativity norm as resulting from the evolution of both the artistic field and society's desire for affective experiences (Reckwitz 2017). As Reckwitz puts it, the artistic field has been characterized by continuous processes of border controlling and border dissolution or by ongoing negotiations of artistic autonomy and heteronomy. The artistic field obtained autonomy by dissociating itself from rationality, morality, and normativity, on the one hand, and from popular art and kitsch, on the other. At the same time, the artistic field experimented with crossing borders, especially in avant-garde practices and in postmodern art since the 1960s, which Reckwitz collectively terms 'centrifugal art' (Reckwitz 2017). Today's creativity norm and obsession with aesthetic innovation is thus the result of both artists' border-crossing activities and the adaptation of these practices by other fields.

Reckwitz convincingly emphasizes the aesthetic expansion of art into society, but without dwelling on the political discussions that have underpinned the avant-garde's practices of transgressing boundaries. Within art theory, the artistic strategies of moving towards dissolving the autonomous artistic field have been addressed as political rather than aesthetic strategies. In fact, to render something aesthetic was tantamount to annulling its political efficacy. Art theorist Peter Bürger thus prominently argued that the neo-avant-garde of the 1960s and 1970s aestheticized the political aspirations of the historical

avant-garde by building on its practices, thus turning them into an artistic lineage (Bürger 2011). The neo-avant-garde effectively cancelled the historical avant-garde's political project of fusing art and life, as its practices of making life more like art had now been turned into art. In other words, the political autonomy of the avant-garde depended on its severing itself from the autonomous confines of the art world in which its practices were evaluated aesthetically rather than politically.

In contemporary art theory, the relationship between artistic autonomy and political effect is constructed differently. Three overall positions exist. The first involves the pragmatic redistribution of artistic autonomy reconceptualized as 'political autonomy' to communities deprived of social, economic, and political resources – a redistribution encapsulated in the ethical model of conceptualizing the organizing of participation and monumentally extended in the durational model. Artists distribute their institutionally secured funds for art to specific communities in order to grant them political influence. Such artists are post-autonomous in the sense of working with collaborative and participatory strategies, but they also still rely on institutionally procured funds, or – if they are truly autonomous – generate funds by other means and thus protect themselves from external influence.

The second conceptualization of artistic autonomy insists on the political potential of the autonomy of aesthetic experience. The aesthetic-critical model of participatory art emphasizes this interpretation of art's political influence as tied to the autonomy of the aesthetic experience, and the model is indebted to Jacques Rancière's theorization of 'the aesthetic regime' of art (Rancière 2007). As I described in the literature review, the aesthetic regime of art is characterized by an interest in confronting and reconfiguring the boundary that separates art from life and thus confusing established norms and forms of organizing (Rancière 2007). For this reason, art theorist Sven Lütticken argues that artistic autonomy might be reconceptualized as performative 'aesthetic' acts in the social that interrupt contemporary society's business-as-usual by aestheticizing its systems and, implicitly, prompting political action (Lütticken 2012)

The third art historical theorization of artistic autonomy is characteristic of the organization-creation model of participation and concerned with the relationship between artistic autonomy and heteronomy, or between art and the social (Jackson 2011, Thompson 2012, Gielen 2013, Sholette 2017). This position is rooted in the history of institutional critique and its framing of artistic autonomy as part of and depending on its institutional network of relations. It seeks to reclaim art's critical

position by emphasizing artistic practices as acts of institutional reimaginings. In this instance, artistic autonomy is not conceptualized as a grand existential gesture towards political autonomy, since the outside imagined in 20th-century art history no longer exists. Today, art has to engage with institutional work, experiment with new institutions, infiltrate existing institutions, and develop new political infrastructures. This third position highlights the heteronomous embeddedness of artistic practice and the necessity of artists' reflecting on this situation as an integrated part of their practice.

In the case study, the two commissioned artists preferred to carve out an autonomous space with respect to the commissioners – a space of their own in which they might work on their own terms, including building organization ties to the site of Istedgade and distributing artistic and political autonomy to collaborators and local participants. Artist 1, in particular, operated according to the conceptualization of artistic autonomy where arts' funding might be redistributed to local citizens in order to grant them political autonomy. This explains why he protected his project from the city's interference while also explaining to local citizens that he was not working as an autonomous artist. For Artist 1, such ambiguity in his references to artistic autonomy was motivated by the ethical requirements of citizen involvement. In the Artist 1 team's book about their artistic method, they ground their extensive process of citizen involvement in the integrity of the organizing artist, describing it in the following way:

> When an artist is the sender of a project, the entire result falls back on the artist him- or herself. Art is an extremely personal practice. An artist cannot hide him- or herself and the work between external barriers and excuse oneself with 'it was the boss' order', city politics, or the direction of circumstances. They have to be 100% responsible for everything they do and communicate.[64]

As an example of artistic integrity, the Artist 1 team refer to an artist's responsibility to express opinions that a city official is unable or unwilling to.[65] They also refer to their duty to respect and promote local users' analysis of a local area. In other words, the artist serves as the witness to and promoter of the local public's concerns with respect to those in power.[66] Notably, the above statement connects this ethical and political responsibility to the notion of artistic autonomy, particularly with the phrase that 'art is an extremely personal practice', as this conjures images of artistic practice as an expression of

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[64] See Kenneth Balfelt Team (2016), p. 6.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.

the artist's authentic desire. In this case, however, the artist's authentic desire was not vested in the freedom of personal expression, but in his political ambitions and the ethical accountability of his project. In other words, the artist transformed his artistic autonomy into a tool to support and protect the political influence of the local citizens he had involved in his projects. As such, artistic autonomy in this case pledged an allegiance to an ethical conduct and a political project morally grounded in the artist himself. Artist 1's artistic autonomy was thus situated in the ethics of his conduct rather than in his desires to make his personal mark on a spot. He declined the opportunity to make such an imprint on Istedgade by gracefully redirecting this privilege to the local citizens. Artist 1 would thus explain to local citizens in their first designated green spot in Istedgade: 'We're not from the city. We don't have to involve citizens. We're doing it because we want to' (d.n.Oct27.16).

This relationship between ethics and artistic autonomy implies a conceptualization of artistic autonomy different from one based on expressive individualism. Sociologist Rudi Laermans argues that artistic autonomy might be linked to the general appreciation of individual autonomy in Western modernity rather than to any outdated romantic notion of the inspired genius, but he also argues that such individual autonomy comes in two principal versions: a moral autonomy and an expressive autonomy (Laermans 2009). While expressive autonomy is symptomatic of today's creativity norm, moral autonomy is less pervasive, being, as Laermans asserts, linked to the ideal of '…an autonomous ethical subject that binds his/herself to reasonable moral standards' (Laermans 2009. p. 131), and, as I would argue, better representing how artistic autonomy is increasingly theorized and practiced in contemporary art.

Administration

Administration is the second mode of ordering I will emphasize. As a mode of ordering, *administration* effects the organizing of participation for a public artwork in Istedgade, and it also effects the organizations that partake in the commissioning process: the Danish Arts Foundation, the Danish Agency for Culture, and the City of Copenhagen – as well as the artists. In fact, *administration* has generated and continues to generate such institutions to enlarge its effects. A particular feature of the *administrative* mode of ordering is that it works to ensure and execute decisions. In the case study, discussions, practices, technologies, and documents all expressed an emphasis on the centrality of decisions. There was a loyalty to decisions and an interest in executing them as efficiently as possible, just as there were acts of flexibility and inventiveness to support the decision-making process. The effects of *administration* include the production of agents according to distinctions between roles and

responsibilities, as well as the generation of technologies such as legal frameworks and archiving systems and of materials in the form of documents that preserve decisions.

I first experienced *administration* through the organizing practices of Secretary 2. At the first meeting with the artists, she specified roles and responsibilities by making a particular distinction between the steering group members and the people that formed part of a 'work team': 'The steering group make the decision. The rest of us are busy bees, following up behind the lines' (r.n.Mar24.14). Secretary 2, however, was not responsible for *administration*, which instead worked through her designated role and through some of the practices that she performed. In fact, as I have already argued, *artistic autonomy* also worked through Secretary 2's practices. *Administration* generated other roles in the commissioning process, such as the role of decision-maker for those representatives in the steering group, as well as a specific role for the artists. These roles were assigned by way of responsibilities and through references to specific tasks in need of execution. At meetings, the roles would also be performed when, for instance, the steering group were to make a decision. In these specific instances, the artists and people performing supportive functions were asked to leave the meeting room so that the steering group could deliberate and reach a joint decision (r.n.May14.14, r.n.Sep24.14, r.n.Nov6.14). In the commissioning process for the public artwork for Istedgade, everyone took part in *administration* when performing their role in the process. The steering group performed their part by reaching decisions (r.n.May14.14, r.n.Sep24.14, r.n.Nov6.14), and the artists by preparing and presenting project proposals, so-called sketches complete with timelines and budgets (r.n.Sep24.14, r.n.Nov6.14). The commissioning process culminated with the drafting of contracts to be signed by the artists, the city, and the arts foundation. The contracts specified each party's responsibilities and included several documents collectively pertaining to decisions made in the commissioning process.

The contract for Artist 2, for instance, contained eight attached documents: 1) the letter confirming the arts foundation financial support for a public artwork for Istedgade, 2) her invitation to compete for the assignment, 3) the description of the assignment, 4) minutes from the meeting at which her proposal was approved, 5) an email specifying the financial changes to the assignment, 6) the approved project proposal, 7) the approved budget, and 8) the approved timeline.[67] As such, legal acts and archiving systems support the *administrative* practices. The agency, the arts foundation and the city are subject to the Danish public administration act and the Danish act on public access to documents on public

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[67] Documents filed in the public archives of the Danish Agency for Culture.

files.[68] These acts emphasize the due process required for making administrative decisions, as well as lay out how such decisions and the material supporting them should be recorded and archived for the purpose of public access, among other things. The legal acts also reflect the importance of *administrative* ethics in terms of impartiality and the prevention of conflicts of interests.

To some extent the *administrative* mode of ordering is consistent with the organizational form of bureaucracy, but only to some extent. As an organizational practice, bureaucracy was most influentially described by the sociologist Max Weber (Weber 1978, Du Gay 2014), and it is sometimes simply equated with public administration (Du Gay 2014), or more precisely with the classic form of public administration, which has been challenged by various reforms broadly referred to under the heading of New Public Management (NPM) (Greve 2006, Du Gay 2014). According to Weber, the bureaucratic organization is situated in an office or *bureau* with distinct and specialized functions (Weber 1978) based on rules such as laws and administrative regulations and organized according to the principle of office hierarchy. These main characteristics of bureaucracy provide the basis for effective, impersonal and unambiguous bureaucratic decisions (Weber 1978).

The bureaucratic organization has been widely criticized for being too rule-bound, ineffective, and 'bureaucratic' (Olsen 2005, Du Gay 2014). Some have defended its organizational ethos, since it ensures the application of constitutional principles and professional standards, thus providing the best organizational guarantee for the equal and fair treatment of all citizens (Olsen 2005, Du Gay 2014). Since the 1980s, the critique of bureaucracy has cleared the path for what are collectively referred to as NPM reforms, which – inspired by management strategies in private companies – reorganized public governance to be more user-centric and cost-efficient (Osborne & Gaebler 1991). Today, scholars differentiate between a number of new governance forms and waves of reforms. Political scientist Johan Olsen differentiates between market and network-based forms of organization that he says have supplemented the bureaucratic organization of public administration (Olsen 2005). Danish political scientist Carsten Greve speaks about digital-era governance, public value management, and collaborative governance, also known as New Public Governance (NPG) (Greve 2015). Many other terms could be added, but in the context of the case study the question is what effects these reforms

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[68] To indicate the importance of these legal frameworks, I might mention for new employees at the agency for culture, two out of five introductory courses concern the act of administration, and for new committee members under the arts foundation, the introductory meetings involve an introduction to its legal framework, including the disclosure of possible conflicts of interests.

have had on the classic form of public administration that aspires towards Weber's ideal form of bureaucracy? Some scholars argue that conflicting interests and agendas riddle the work of public administrators, as they have to follow the organizational logic of one form of thinking in one context, and a different form of thinking in another (Du Gay 2014, Åkerstrøm 2014). Olsen argues that public administrators' ability to manage these complexities is their salient professional competency (Olsen 2005). Olsen also makes this argument to counter the critique of bureaucracy as uninventive and rule-fixated, and instead boost the bureaucrat's ability to make professional judgement calls in varying situations. Olsen offers this compelling account of public bureaucrats' practice:

> Administrative theory has to take into account that contemporary practitioners are involved in law application, expert advice, service provision, support building, and resource mobilization. Administrators are rule-driven bureaucrats and also managers calculating expected utility. They are problem-solving servants as well as powerful masters. Administrative arrangements are sometimes facades and at other times efficient organizational tools for implementing the policies of elected leaders or institutions with an ethos and procedural rationality that temper the self-interested pursuit of power. Public administration is organized on the basis of authority as well as competition and cooperation. Several organization forms coexist, but the mix changes over time. Different organizational patterns perform well, facing similar tasks and contexts. Administrations deal with the population as subjects, civic-minded citizens, clients, and self-interested customers, expecting different things in different contexts from government and differently able and willing to provide administration with resources. Administrative development involves change and continuity, convergence and divergence, and a variety of not necessarily coordinated processes. The politics of administrative design and reorganization includes deliberations and struggles over organizational forms but also over symbols, legitimacy and the ethos and identity of public administration. (Olsen 2005, p. 18-19)

On the basis of my observations and experiences in the case study, I refer to the *administrative* mode of ordering to designate the organizational emphasis on decisions, roles, responsibilities, rules, and regulations. In this way *administration* is tied to the legal apparatus of public administration, especially to the working practices of the administrative 'bureaucrats' – 'the worker bees', but I also see administrative inventiveness. Secretary 2 and the project manager showed skills when it came to loyalty to decisions, rules and procedures, but they also took steps intended to facilitate the grander purpose of a project. The project manager added an artwork to the rebuilding of Istedgade. Secretary 2

involved the Copenhagen Museum as a resource for the artists. The project manager and Secretary 2 both accommodated the invention of a public competition and tackled the complications that arose in the final process of obtaining the Copenhagen city council's approval of the artworks. In general, administration tended to reveal itself in an ability to host and accommodate different interests, which seemed to include an innate capability to balance opposing opinions and interests. The commission brief, for instance, requested art of high artistic calibre and a very ambitious emphasis on citizen involvement to balance the arts foundation's interests with those of the local neighbourhood council.

Do these acts speak of the influence of public administration reforms or are they judgement calls made by professional bureaucrats to handle the complexities of working with the field of art? The issue is further complicated by the fact that the arts foundation constitutes a very particular form of public institution. The foundation's committee members must adhere to the law, but their decisions are not subject to retrial by a higher authority. The foundation's decision to support the development of a particular work of art and to approve of an artistic proposal is a judgement made according to standards of artistic excellence. Thus, the foundation constitutes a particular, effective relationship between *administration* and *artistic autonomy*: decisions are made, recorded, and filed, but are based on criteria of artistic quality and talent.

In my fieldwork, one issue in particular seemed to turn the administrative apparatus into a rule-fixated machine: budgetary concerns. In fact, at times it seemed as if *administration* might be considered a contemporary form of bureaucracy in which speed, efficiency, and budgetary attention were the most prevalent features. A key conflict arising from the Artist 1 team's proposal was the difficulty of calculating its maintenance costs, as they were proposing to work with greenery rather than to produce a sculpture or other more durable work of art. Difficulties also arose from the open and expansive form of citizen involvement proposed by the Artist 1 team. The caretaker of the city's monuments raised budget concerns several times, and this concern proved partially instrumental in the rejection of the Artist 1 team's first project proposal (r.n.Sep24.14). Moreover, when writing a recommendation to the city council to approve the two artworks, the project manager made sure to emphasize that the artworks would not challenge the city's budget.[69]

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[69] See http://www.kk.dk/indhold/borgerrepraesentationens-modemateriale/26032015/edoc-agenda/edd0275f-b243-4dda-8540-01e432a88885 (accessed July 4, 2018).

This concern for budgets extends beyond the Weberian model of bureaucracy, as bureaucracy's cost-efficiency should be guaranteed by the organizing logic of the system itself. In Denmark, according to Carsten Greve, cost-efficiency measures have been NPM's key effect on public administration (Greve 2006). He speaks of a gradual 'modernization' of Danish public administration that has been driven by the three E's of economy, efficiency, and effectiveness (Greve 2006). Public administration is thus more than sticking to rules; it also implies a commitment to stay within budgets, to decrease spending, and to calculate efficiency in terms of costs. As such, NPM has ushered in a new rule-bound focus that pivots on a use of public funds with decreasing expenses as the driver.

In Denmark, cultural policy administration has recently experienced its own form of 'modernization' – to use Greve's vocabulary. While Danish cultural policy was previously administered by many small institutions that each focused on specific artistic fields, the last two decades have seen these smaller institutions gradually merged into increasingly larger units. I started my PhD at the Danish Agency for Culture, but in 2016 it merged with the Agency for Palaces and Cultural Properties to become The Agency for Culture and Palaces.[70] Earlier, in 2012, the Danish Agency for Culture was created by way of a merger between the Danish agencies for the arts, for cultural heritage, and for libraries and media, while earlier still, in 2003, the agency for the arts itself had been created as a merger of various specialized agencies within the fine arts field.[71]

The present arts foundation is also the result of a merger. In 2014 the foundation merged with the arts council, another public art-funding system initiated in 2003, actually as a merger between four smaller art-specific councils.[72] Broadly speaking, the present arts foundation combines the practices of the two previous public support systems, retaining the practice of granting artistic stipends to artists, as the original arts foundation did, and of granting funds to specific artistic projects, as the arts council did. In the current foundation, these two forms of artistic support are divided between two committees, each with five members appointed for four years.[73] Before the merger, however, a specific committee had

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[70] See
https://slks.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/0_SLKS/Dokumenter/Om_styrelsen/Aarsrapporter_og_brugerundersoegel
ser/AArsrapport_Slots-_og_Kulturstyrelsen_2016.pdf (accessed October 5, 2018).
[71] See MS (2012) and
http://denstoredanske.dk/Samfund,_jura_og_politik/Samfund/Ministerier,_styrelser,_udvalg_og_r%C3%A5d/Kun
ststyrelsen (accessed October 5, 2018).
[72] See https://www.kunst.dk/statens-kunstfond/om-statens-kunstfond/ (accessed October 5, 2018) and
https://www.kunst.dk/fileadmin/_kunst2011/user_upload/Dokumenter/Kunstraadet/AArsberetninger/2003_Stat
ens_Kunstraads_aarsberetning.pdf (accessed October 5, 2018).
[73] See https://www.kunst.dk/statens-kunstfond/om-statens-kunstfond/organisering/ (accessed October 5, 2018).

handled the field of art in public, in fact with an exclusive focus on public art commissions. It was such a committee that had accepted the application for a public artwork in Istedgade.[74] In the new arts foundation, public art commissions became a responsibility of the committee tasked with distributing artistic stipends to visual artists.[75]

The above mergers speak of administrative changes that challenge *artistic autonomy*. With smaller units dedicated to specific artistic fields, public arts administration might be more attuned to the artistic field than to practices of public administration and cultural policy. Larger units mean an alignment across the cultural sector and a focus on administrative efficiency. Individual cases become less important with respect to how the entire field of cultural policy application is performed. So *administration* generates a concern for decisions, for rules and regulations, for roles and responsibilities, but also for budgets and costs, emphasizing the effective management of cost-efficient projects. The artists must not only deliver an artistic proposal but also calculate the project according to funds and potentially unexpected costs and accordingly adjust their project plans to fit the budgetary restraints. All of this figures in the evaluation of the artist's project proposal. Within the field of art in public, *artistic autonomy* is thus supported by *administration*, but also confronted with *administrative* requirements.

The site

The third mode of ordering that effected the organizing of participation in the case study is *the site*. In other words I claim that *the site* has agency and that it effects – and affects – the process of organizing participation. In particular *the site* aims to sustain and amplify Istedgade's identity as a specific and meaningful place that is tied to its history and reiterated in stories about the street. The site thus generates cultural and aesthetic events, and it generates citizens who create themselves in the image of the street.

In the introduction to the case study, I made reference to the slogans of the street: 'Istedgade never surrenders' and 'the Istedgade spirit'. I suggested that in a sense the street itself had mobilized an interest in a public work of art simply by being the site of a mythical social cohesion that was challenged

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[74] See https://www.kunst.dk/fileadmin/_kunst2011/user_upload/Dokumenter/Kunstfonden/AArsberetninger/Aarsberetning_2013.pdf (accessed October 5, 2018).
[75] See https://www.kunst.dk/kunstomraader/billedkunst/udvalg/legatudvalget-for-billedkunst/ (accessed October 5, 2018)

in its contemporary gentrified situation. In the commissioning process, Istedgade existed as an image of the clash between urban residents that arose from processes of gentrification (r.n.Mar24.14). The area's new inhabitants were referred to as 'the creative class', 'the café latte-segment', and 'the equity-apartments', while the drug addicts, homeless people, and prostitutes were called 'the street people'. The new inhabitants ostensibly had no sense of the place's history, nor any interest in preserving its special social cohesion. They catered to their own interests and simply wanted the street people gone.

The mythical social tolerance of the street stems from the pre-World War II era, when the area was predominantly working-class (Fabricius 2014). In that period, the area had about four times as many inhabitants as it does today, with families living in the first, second, and third rows of tenement houses (Fabricius 2014). The street was also a lively area of commerce with all kinds of goods on sale. Danish author and poet Tove Ditlevsen, who grew up in the area, captured the atmosphere of the street in her novels, poetry, and autobiographies. To her, Istedgade was 'the street of childhood', which she titled one of her most famous novels, written in 1943 (Ditlevsen 2017). In a 1942 poem that details her relationship to Istedgade, she relates how the street formed her character and affectively determined her life:

> I am your childhood's street
> I am the mess in your soul
> I am the pounding rhythm in all that you long towards
> (…)
> I gave you the cautious eyes
> You will be recognized on account of those
> And if you meet someone with the same look in his eyes
> You should know that he is your friend
> (…)
> (Ditlevsen 1996)

The poem nicely captures *the site's* effect on its residents. Susan, a 70-year-old woman who participated in *Inside Out Istedgade*, not only referred repeatedly to the Istedgade spirit when I interviewed her (i.Susan.Feb10.16) – she seemed to live by it. A resident of the area since her childhood, she had experienced the generosity of butchers and other merchants when they knew she was short on cash and had to feed her children (i.Susan.Feb10.16). She herself served dinner to the kids

next-door if they would have gone hungry without it, and when the apartments were being redeveloped in the 1990s, she worked as a chairman for her housing estate, fighting the developers and the city to secure the best deals for the residents (i.Susan.Feb10.16). She says that today she has to remind newcomers that this is what we do in Vesterbro: we help each other out (i.Susan.Feb10.16). She struck me as having this same attitude towards participating in *Inside Out Istedgade* – that this is what you do in Vesterbro: participate and make a contribution!

Susan's sense of attachment to the street was not a one-off experience in my fieldwork. The young couple Karen and Mark expressed a deep affection for their Istedgade apartment and for the photograph of them resting in their living room featured in *Inside Out Istedgade* (i.Karen & Mark.Feb1.16). One of the neighbourhood council members professed that he would not leave the area for several weeks at a time (i.NCM1.Jun2.16). Other residents and shop owners that I interviewed had retained a love for the street regardless of how it evolved. In fact, being part of that evolution itself seems to have been the story of their lives. For instance, Emre, who owns a small grocery shop in the street, recalls the many poor people that used to live in the area and the late hours he stayed open to cater to those frequenting the local bars (i.Emre.Feb12.16). Today he has added a candy shop next-door to his grocery (d.n.Feb12.16).

In arguing that *the site* is a mode of ordering, I lean on the theoretical discussions of place within the discipline of geography and the broader sociological and cultural analysis of contemporary urban development. Introducing the concept of place, the cultural geographer Tim Cresswell outlines its three basic aspects: location, locale, and a sense of place: While location denotes the simple coordinates of a place in the world, locale refers to the material setting of the place, and a sense of place indicates the subjective and emotional attachment people have to a certain place (Cresswell 2015).

In the case of Istedgade, the location is constituted by its position in central Copenhagen, more specifically at the back-entrance to the central train station, thus connecting Istedgade to a transportation hub bringing people in and out of the city. As such, Istedgade has always been a site of goods and people flowing to the city (Fabricius 2014). Its material form is the long, 1.1-km stretch leading from the train station to Enghave Plads, and the street is flanked by redeveloped five-storey apartment buildings built over the course of the 19th century and retaining their original facades. Today, hotels dominate the first part of the street closest to the train station, while residential apartment buildings make up the remainder of the street. For the entire length of Istedgade, the ground level

features a variety of shops, bars, and restaurants, most of which are independent businesses and not part of any international brand or consortium.

The sense of place in Istedgade is more complicated. It is not just any one thing, but comes in several different forms and expressions. The slogan that 'Istedgade never surrenders' speaks of autonomy, an autonomy already encapsulated by Istedgade's historical origins outside of the city proper. The area and the street were developed in response to the influx of people to Copenhagen in the 19th century. Before that, the area had been reserved for activities not suited to civilized city life, so there were places such as a military shooting range and animal slaughterhouses (Larsen & Hansen 2008; Fabricius 2014). Everything dirty and dangerous was situated there, including the city gallows and an insane asylum (Bundgaard 2015).

Istedgade's autonomy can also be captured in the extremely festive way that the street celebrated New Year's Eve in the 1960s and 1970s, a period in which the area had severely deteriorated and working class families who could afford it moved to the new suburbs developed at the time. To bring in the New Year, people would arrange bonfires in waste containers and set old furniture on fire throughout the street, while undercover police monitored the situation (Fabricius 2014). During that same period, crime grew in step with the emergent drug market and porn industry that ultimately gained Istedgade its reputation as Copenhagen's red-light district (Fabricius 2014). It is hardly incidental that the Danish version of the international pop hit *Copacabana* was translated into *Istedgade*, but neither is it insignificant that a local-celebrity author, Dan Turell, made Istedgade the backdrop of a 12-part crime series published in the 1980s (Turell 2006), as the stories aesthetically contributed to the concept of 'slum romanticism' sometimes derogatively attached to artists, among others, who protests the street renovations (i.NCM1.Jun2.16). Turell himself was an Istedgade resident and was reputed to be somewhat of a barfly at the many local bars (Bundgaard 2005). Such pastimes had been a signature feature of the street since its inception, which – again – harked back to its start outside the city proper as the site of animal slaughtering and meat packaging and thus a place where earnings found ways to be spent.

Istedgade's autonomy filtered into the public art commission by way of the neighbourhood representative's insistence on a public vote between the two art projects. As a representative for a governing body, he might not seem to truly represent Istedgade, but to a certain extent he does. As another council member explained, the council went back to 2008, when it was instituted as one of

fourteen neighbourhood councils, but before that Vesterbro had, in fact, had another local grassroots council, which meant the district had long been politically organized (i.NCM2.Jun17.16).

Today the autonomy of the street is contested. In the fall of 2015, I noticed small stickers on lampposts and other inventory all along the street proclaiming 'Istedgade has surrendered' (d.n.Nov20.15)[76], an expression used frequently over the last 20 years to protest the changes to the street (Fabricius 2014). While many long-term inhabitants fear that the old Istedgade spirit is evaporating with the influx of new people to the area (i.Susan.Feb10.16, i.Barbara.Feb15.16), others embrace the street's new creative commerce and lively café atmosphere (i.NCM1.Jun2.16, i.Tony & Jerome.May5.16). There is a struggle over the meaning of Istedgade and its future direction as well as over the importance of its history. Is Istedgade retaining its identity or has it already changed beyond recognition? This quandary seems to conjure images of authentic and inauthentic citizens – a skirmish over who really belongs to the street.

Tim Cresswell argues that place is not just an ontological thing in the world, but just as much an epistemological approach to the world, a way of knowing it (Cresswell 2015). This approach is generated through the performances and practices enacted in a place and the sense of place that these practices produce. However, the approach does not amount to a single, strict interpretation, but rather to an ongoing struggle of reimagining a given place. Conceptualizing *the site* as a mode of ordering thus involves reflecting about its location, material form and the manifold meanings and emotions that it generates. In other words, it does not imply that the site has a particular essence, but rather that the site has particular effects on the case study through the meanings, emotions and conflicts it set in motion.

Inside Out Istedgade captured many of the interpretations and emotions generated by *the site*, and in my interviews with the local participants our conversations often turned to reflections about the street, its history, and current condition (i.Susan.Feb10.16, i.Mia.Feb15.15, i.Ismail.Feb1.15, i.Mahir.Feb5.16). In contrast, *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* concerned the future of the street, especially the fate of the street people. A driving force of the Artist 1 team's project was to restore the bond between the street's various social groups through a joint interest in more greenery, but the proposal also divided the local public (r.n.Jun17.14). Some local citizens strongly endorsed the project

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[76] See also appendix 19.

and its ambitions of developing beautiful and lush green spots in and around Istedgade (r.n.Nov23.16), while others opposed the plans to change a concrete inner city district into an urban garden, as this smelled of suburbanization and disrespect for the area's urban atmosphere (d.n.Feb13.15).

Thus, Istedgade has not one image, but several. The street represents autonomy, independence, and difference. It is characterized by tolerance and social inclusion. It is eventful and lively. It is also dangerous and dirty, as well as gentrified and increasingly provincial. Istedgade is a site of social struggle and the very spot where Copenhagen's future is being decided in the schism between the rich and the poor, between the 'creative city' (Landry 2000) and the 'just city' (Harvey 2009). While I argue that *the site* aims to sustain and amplify its identity as a specific and meaningful place, this does not imply that the meaning of the site can be boiled down to a single definition, but rather that the image of the street has proven polyvalent in its interpretation, which marks a distinct ability of the street to reinvent itself while also retaining its reputation as a site of difference and eventful liveliness. As a mode of ordering, then, *the site* is a particular place with a particular history and a particular contemporary situation, all of which effect the organizing of participation in the case study.

Public interest

Finally, I turn to the mode of ordering of *public interest* – which in the introduction to the case study I referred to as the emphasis on involving the public. *Public interest* is precisely characterized by how it promotes collaborations with the public in order to build support for art. It focuses on the public and, in fact, generates it, but it does so by designating specific individuals as representatives of the public and by designating them as public collaborators and participants in quite diverse ways.

The commission brief offers a good example of the different ways in which the public is generated.[77] First, the artistic assignment is motivated by an authentic interest among 'many' of the local 'citizens' and 'users' of the street. In other words, the idea of an artwork originates with the local citizens. Second, the artists are asked to work with stories from the street's different historical layers, which render the street's past and present citizens and users 'content providers' for the artwork. As regards these citizens and users, the artists are also asked to involve 'as many as possible', thus designating the local citizens as co-creators of works of art. Finally, the commission brief specifies that the local citizens

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[77] See appendix 1.

and users will vote between the two commissioned proposals, thus suggesting that the local citizens act as their judges.

The commission brief also involves a number of unifying strategies. It speaks of both 'citizens' and 'users' of the street, indicating that the work of art should relate to and involve not only those who live in the street or perhaps have a small private business there, but also the citizens that simply use the street. These could be the so-called street people, but also, in principle, anyone else. The commission brief thus indicates a very broad interpretation of who constitutes the artwork's public. To this should be added a quantitative ambition embodied in the request that the artists involve 'as many citizens and users as possible'. Most importantly, the brief conveys an aspiration that the artworks create connections between the different groups in the street, between citizens and users, and even between the present and historical layers of the street. In other words, the commission brief has highly ambitious aspirations when it comes to inclusion and unification.

The site-specific motivation for these inclusive aspirations is Istedgade's mythical social cohesion combined with the contemporary situation of social fragmentation in which the local groups are 'fighting over the few square miles', as the city phrased it in its application to the arts foundation.[78] Recalling Miwon Kwon's discussion of the different ways in which community was performed under the banner of new genre public art, Istedgade is here conceptualized as the site of a 'mythical community' whose contemporary 'found community' is fractured and thus in need of being re-'invented' as a unified community through the work of art (Kwon 2004). At the same time, the commission brief indicates an inclusivity that stretches beyond the street's residents towards all other users, thus effectively combining a discourse of public art with a discourse of community practices. The work of art is not only for the local citizens but also for whoever uses the street. *Public interest* thus expresses itself through unifying ambitions. It is inclusive. It is non-hierarchical. It bridges the gap between groups of people. It seeks consensus, even to the point of ensuring the co-existence of many different points of view.

In my analysis of the illustrated process map, I engaged with Rosalyn Deutsche's discussion of the concept of the public in public art (Deutsche 1996). Drawing on radical democratic theories, Deutsche argued that the public is created through political struggles and is therefore always predicated on

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[78] See appendix 13.

exclusions. Aspirations of unifying the public operate under the pretence that perfect consensus is possible, or deliberately try to appropriate the public for their own political purposes. The public is never just the people out there in public, but the expression of a political mobilization of the public as a particular kind of unity.

For me, the commission brief speaks about *public interest* as a mode of ordering generated by a particular kind of problem. In John Law's 'checklist' for patterning effects, he writes that modes of ordering might 'generate and embody a characteristic problem or set of problems' (Law 1994), and for me *public interest* is precisely characterized by the problem of public interest. It is the problem of public interest that drives the attention towards the public, and it is the problem of public interest that generates an interest in addressing the public and involving it more specifically and actively in developing works of art. The politics of public interest is thus intimately related to cultural policy and to ways in which artistic practices might mobilize public support.

Public interest might be a key motor for the organizing of participation for a public artwork in Istedgade, but it is not in itself responsible for effecting this organizing, as this is an effect of the relationship between all four modes of ordering. Neither is 'the organizing of participation' the only – partial – effect of *public interest*. The organizing of participation for artworks is only one tool among many that speaks of the effect of *public interest*. As I clarified in my analysis of the illustrated process map, *public interest* also works by way of imagery and stories conveying aesthetic experience, thus emphasizing art's societal contribution. In fact, I would argue that a particular characteristic of *public interest* is its performative ability to generate new organizational forms, new communicative strategies, and even new artistic practices. While *public interest* does not in itself generate the organizing of participation for a public artwork in Istedgade, the very fact that 'the organizing of participation' has become more prominent in contemporary art indicates that *public interest* is a new mode of ordering or – at least – a comparatively stronger mode of ordering than it has historically been.

In the past, the word 'public' in public art was predicated on its physical positioning in a publicly available place. The work of art was placed outside in public spaces as opposed to being inside a museum or art gallery. It was also made for the public – an entire nation and all its citizens were to have access to high-quality art. As such, art in public has always been made for the public, but this public service has rested on an understanding that art experts determine artistic quality. Recall Reckwitz' above description of the artistic field and the need to educate the audience in art

appreciation (Reckwitz 2017). In the modern artistic field, in other words, the audience had to rise to the challenge and learn how to appreciate art. *Public interest* indicates a new situation in which the problem of the public's interest has been repositioned from the public to the field of art. Today, the work of art must – also – rise to the challenge of the public's interest, and not – just – vice versa.

In the literature review I described how new genre public art was framed around the notion of public interest (Raven 1993, Lacy 1995). In contrast to the modernist artist carried by the ideology of the romantic myth of autonomous individualism, the new genre public artist responded to the interests of the local community, developing art projects together with them (Gablik 1995). The Artist 1 team and Artist 2 were both effected by *public interest*. They both strove to develop projects that served the interests of, in particular Istedgade's local community, and to various degrees they involved the local public in their project's development. However, the artists' participatory engagement of the citizens and users of Istedgade is circumscribed by a commissioning process and other institutional interests in pursuing the public interest, which is increasingly becoming the state of things.

In the literature review I also described how the debate about new genre public art's public interest figured in the struggles around legitimate art and public arts funding in the US 'culture wars' (Kwon 2004). I will take this exploration a little further, as these struggles testify to a historical situation that offers insights into the *public interest* mode of ordering. In the USA, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) was established in 1965 out of Kennedy's New Frontier Initiative (Kester 2011). The NEA was organized to support non-profit organizations, public agencies, and individuals with exceptional talent, and for 25 years seemed to become an established, ever-growing institution, even to the point that political scientist Loretta Conklin Frederking argued that it was 'entrepreneurial' in the sense of nurturing and developing a new nationwide interest in art and thus opening up new markets for artists (Frederking 2009). For instance, the NEA provided block grants to build state agencies for the arts, and while only five states had art agencies in 1965, within seven years of the NEA's establishment every state had its own agency (Frederking 2009). In addition, the provision of individual art grants boosted the number of artists and their nationwide spread. The NEA supported artistic careers by providing not only the means to sustain life as an artist but also the stamp of quality that came with an NEA grant. In general, then, Frederking argues that government entrepreneurship ensured a different image for artists: both citizens' perception and the self-perception of artists changed dramatically as they went from being a fringe benefit of a decadent society to striking at the core of human meaning and freedom (Frederking 2009).

This all changed with the culture wars, beginning in the 1980s. Fiscal conservatives had previously attempted to cut the budgets of the NEA, but without success. Two federal grants to museums respectively exhibiting Andreas Serrano's *Piss Christ* and Robert Mapplethorpe's homoerotic nude photographs reversed that situation (Frederking 2009). According to Frederking the public perception of artistic freedom changed from being associated with national pride to becoming an image of moral decay. These wars culminated in 1995 with the elimination of individual federal grants to artists.

In broad strokes, the arts community claimed that 'the culture wars' were a political attack on the freedom of artistic expression, but political scientist Margaret Jane Wyszormirski argues that certain myths and misconceptions that reigned among the arts policy community facilitated and exacerbated the conflict (Wyszormirski 1995). One such myth was that the norm for federal arts policy had been set in the 1970s in the period that Frederking called the NEA's entrepreneurial phase (Wyszormirski 1995). In other words, the arts community mistakenly thought that the politically untroubled expansion of public support for the arts was normal and sustainable. The ensuing decline was thus considered abnormal. In this myth, discipline-specific funds were also understood as being primary, which imbued the NEA with an elitist aura (Wyszormirski 1995). Thus, she argues:

> The growth of the arts audiences, particularly in size and in geographic dispersion, seemed to cultivate a "field of dreams" presumption that if quality, professional arts were made available, the citizenry would patronize them (in all senses of the words "patronize"- through attendance, through financial contributions and through political approval). (Wyszomirski 1995, p. 21)

Wyszormirski also specifies some misconceptions among the arts community, the first being that the audience is the public, while in fact the audience is only part of the public interested in the arts (Wyszormirski 1995). According to her, the arts community has rejected the other part of the public as being irrelevant, thus failing to understand that public officials may educate and lead their constituents, but they must also be responsive and accountable to them (Wyszormirski 1995). The second misconception is that artistic excellence is mistaken for a policy goal, but, says Wyszormirski, excellence is not the goal of policy but a pre-condition of public support:

> Generally stated, this tautology holds that the goal of federal arts policy is to encourage artistic excellence simply because it is excellent and we know it is excellent because professional artists

who are regarded by their peers as proficient practitioners and craftsmen say so. (Wyszormirski 1995, p. 28)

The US culture wars thus introduced a situation in which the issue of public interest became prominent in discussions of artistic practice. Conservatives spoke of public interest, but so did proponents of new genre public art (Deutsche 1996). In Europe such political confrontations around public arts funding exploded with full force after the turn of the millennium, primarily because nationalist right-wing parties were gaining political influence, but also due to the austerity measures implemented following the financial crisis (Seijdel 2012). For instance, The Netherlands experienced a dramatic downscaling of public arts funding in 2010 as a result of the political coalition of a populist-liberal government (Seijdel 2012). The Dutch population broadly supported the cutbacks, indicating, as art theorist John Byrne argues, that 'there is a change in the public's conception of contemporary art. What was once generally accepted as a necessary and functioning component of a progressive and self-reflexive society is now treated with distrust and disdain' (Byrne 2012). The European situation thus mirrors the US culture wars, also to the extent that the art world's rhetorical argument against the cutbacks invoked the concept of artistic autonomy. In particular, argues cultural theorist Joist de Bloois, the art world's response came in the form of melancholic claims about the universal significance of art – claims that should justify the state's continuous support of autonomous spaces for art (de Bloois 2012) However, such arguments proved ineffective against the populist-liberal government's conceptualization of public interest through the image of the Hardworking Dutchman (de Bloois 2012). In his argument, this defence of artistic autonomy is also strangely reluctant to acknowledge art's heteronomous dependency (de Bloois 2012). Perhaps, argues de Blois, the very idea of artistic autonomy has to be reconceptualized, given that the relationship of art to society has changed since the bourgeoisie invented artistic autonomy (de Bloois 2012).

In comparison, Danish public arts funding has not been drastically diminished, but it is subject to the general political attention on decreasing public spending and has experienced minor cutbacks, to which it has responded by demonstrating its 'public value' (Ørskou 2016) The attention focused on public arts funding has also intensified due to the political influence of the right-wing Danish People's Party, which would prefer to use cultural funding to preserve Denmark's national heritage rather than to promote the experiments of contemporary artists (Petersen 2015). Cultural institutions have responded to these challenges by increasing their strategies to involve the public (Sørensen 2014, Sørensen 2015). In other words, the issue of what is in the public interest has become a key cultural policy concern. Cultural

policy researcher Anne Scott Sørensen refers to the contemporary form of cultural policy as the 'participatory agenda', which indicates an interest in making art relevant for diverse audiences, but also in legitimizing public spending on art (Sørensen 2014, Sørensen 2015). As Christopher Kelty et al. argue, the notion of participation has legitimizing value in the current era: 'It connotes openness and transparency, inclusion and diversity, democracy and voice, equality and deliberation, in addition to more recent idea of amateur expertise, collective intelligence, or "the wisdom of the crowds" (Kelty et al. 2015, p. 2).

For me, these political conflicts testify to the effect of the *public interest* mode of ordering, and to how the problem of public interest becomes a catalyst for distributing and redistributing resources. At the same time, *public interest* generates new forms of organizing public arts funding, new forms of communicating public arts funding, and the promotion of new forms of artistic practices. For the arts foundation, the effect of *public interest* expresses itself in a number of communicative initiatives. For example, for its 50th anniversary, the foundation published a coffee-table book highlighting key public artworks it had funded (Jalving 2014). In an introductory article the Danish Arts Foundation was renamed the 'People's Arts Foundation' as opposed to the, in Danish, 'Statens Kunstfond', which literally translates into the State's Arts Foundation (Straarup 2014). In recent years, the foundation has also upscaled its communicative strategies to showcase its contribution to society and to the public. For instance, it has increased its online visibility by developing a website with extensive visual material and by using social media channels like Facebook and Instagram. As such, the foundation is framing its aesthetic contributions to society in a way that relates artistic production to contemporary society's intensified aestheticization (Reckwitz 2017). Whereas the foundation once made its difference to the culture industry its raison d'être, today the annual reports emphasize how the foundation contributes to society and responds to the contemporary public's desire for aesthetic experiences (Jørgensen 2016).

The communicative initiatives that frame the foundation's aesthetic contribution to society offer one strategy for approaching the problem of public interest. Another is the increasing use of collaborative and participatory formats in public arts commissioning. For instance, in 2015 the agency for culture published an inspirational guide emphasizing the potentials of working with participatory formats in

both the early stages of public artwork discussions and by way of artists' participatory practices.[79] In this case, participation is framed both as an institutional strategy for gaining local acceptance for an artwork and as something one could commission an artist to do by choosing to work with artists that engage citizens in the artwork development process. Moreover, the foundation now frequently stages competitions between artistic proposals so that the recipients of a work of art can choose between proposals, and more artists, including younger ones, can have a chance to win a public art commission assignment (i.S2.Jan6.15)

The Istedgade case is a prime example of the foundation's experimentation with collaborative and participatory practices, because it includes a broad mix of organizational models, the first one of which is the collaborative commissioning process in which the arts foundation and the city jointly decide on the commission brief for the public artwork. While such collaborative commissioning processes had already begun in the late 1960s (Pedersen 2017), I would argue that public interest has effected such processes in significant ways. For one, the recipient's steering group representatives do not necessarily have to rise to the challenge of appreciating artistic quality as they did in the modernist art field. In the Istedgade case, this also meant that the semi-independent Vesterbro neighbourhood council was included in the steering group, which added the organizational invention of a public competition on top of the already ambitious request that the artists involve citizens.

As such, the Istedgade case shows how artists' participatory strategies that are informed by *public interest* become entangled with new art institutional practices, new forms of cultural policy, and – even – new forms of public administration also generated by *public interest*. The various collaborative models perform the work of sharing influence as well as responsibility for the public artwork. This makes them pre-emptive strategies for mobilizing public support and for resolving the problem of public interest. These models indicate an interest in listening to local citizens and in developing artworks in the public interest – in fact, the entire public's interest. At this point, according to Deutsche, however, the models inevitably end up with other problems. By responding to the problem of public interest, they generate the public in various ways, but these different publics are not necessarily compatible, their having different opinions and different interests that might be unable to coexist in the organizing of participation for a public work of art.

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[79] See
https://www.kunst.dk/fileadmin/_kunst2011/user_upload/Dokumenter/Billedkunst/Kunst_i_det_offentlige_rum/
1_-_Kunsten_af_skabe_forankring_.pdf (accessed September 25, 2018).

The status of the modes of ordering

In this chapter I have endeavoured to specify the four modes of ordering that I argue effected the organizing of participation in the case study. Referring to discussions, practices, technologies, and materials in my case study, I have emphasized these modes, and I have endeavoured to specify their specific features by engaging in dialogue with historical accounts of the sites of my fieldwork as well as with contemporary theorization of these sites. *Artistic autonomy* generates artists, art experts, and support systems for art that promotes artistic innovation, but this innovation is measured on the scale of an art history partly concerned with challenging the borders of art and thus spills into social, political, and ethical formations. *Administration* is about rules and regulations, roles and responsibility, budgets and costs, all of which pertain to facilitating decision-making and implementing decisions. As such, however, administration walks a fine line between the application of rules and flexible adjustment, thus balancing differing concerns and interests. *The site* is centrally concerned with retaining its unique sense of place in a way that supports social diversity and mobilizes not only artistic production and aesthetic events that support this endeavour but also authentic citizens that commit themselves to the fate of the site. Finally, *public interest* is generated by the problem of public interest, or the potential problem of public interest, and seeks to unify the public around the production of art. To support its endeavour, it creates new organizational, communicative, and artistic forms, but via this organizational creativity it generates space for dissent to be voiced, thus complicating its aspiration for consent.

In his theorization of modes of ordering John Law was careful to argue that ordering processes are never singular, but always multiple, engaging in complex relationships with other modes of ordering where they both support and confront each other (Law 2003). Law speaks about the boundary effects of the modes of ordering and how these attest to their interrelations. (Law 1994) The consistency of the modes is a question also related to this intermingling. Law refers to conversations with colleague Leigh Starr in which they discuss the difference between scales of patterns. They wonder whether these comparatively large blocks of patterns that Law calls 'modes of ordering' truly exist, or whether they actually constitute a complexity of social-material interrelations rather than a block of reflexive and self-reflexive ordering patterns. He brings up her point that '*You* tend to see big blocks of things, whereas I tend to see differences and contingencies' (Law 1994, p. 88).

I mention these reflections because the very determination of the modes of ordering I have conducted in this chapter also implies that I am abducting them from the material-semiotic network of the social where they interrelate with other modes of ordering. They never empirically appear in the singular

effect in which I have framed them. In fact, I have not kept them strictly apart, but at times hinted at the ways in which they intersect. To me, the very fact that they intersect and effect each other, being partially fluid, changing and modifying over time, is part of their strength as analytical tools. They allow me to pay attention to the complexities involved in the organizing of participation and to identify conflicts and collaborations that arise as a result of this intermingling of dynamic modes of ordering. They do not aspire to stabilize or control such complexities, but rather help uncover them. At the same time, the mobility and fluidity of the modes of ordering makes it difficult to determine their singular effects, and once I have teased them out, I sometimes find that they seem conservative and protectionist to an extent that does not merit their ability to foster relationship with other modes of ordering.

From the moment it is determined, *artistic autonomy*, for instance, speaks of aspirations for autonomous space, whereas art history would insist that art has proven exceptionally creative and innovative, expanding beyond this autonomous space to intermingle with the social. As such, my own aspiration of bringing art history and organization studies together comes to reduce the complexities of art and artistic practice to a simple question of conservatively maintaining art's historically established self-determination as exceptional and thus exempt from the rules that others need to abide by. The concept of the mode of ordering, I would hope, captures the ways in which art is creative and innovative, but also expresses itself through conservative and self-preserving practices.

In researching the case and determining the modes of ordering, I felt the most confident abducting the *artistic autonomy* and *administration* modes of ordering, in part because they were easier to discern in the case study. They interfered with the informal tone of the conversations in meetings. They interfered in and changed the direction of conversations. *Artistic autonomy* was invoked in various situations to effect preconceptions and aspirations. *Administration* also interfered in the process, separating those who had decision-making power from those who did not, addressing the running of time, and emphasising the need to reach decisionsIn my interviews with the participants, they would sometimes state this objection to other participants: 'If they had only engaged in conversations.' However, a specific mode of ordering framed the conversations they thus referred to often to the exclusion of other modes of ordering. *Artistic autonomy* and *administration*, however, were also visible because of the long tradition of theorizing the sites of artistic practice and public administration. They could be recognized as particular forms of practice tied to particular material forms, particular agents, particular sites, and particular rules and regulations.

The importance of *the site* was less visible in the commissioning process, but it became increasingly noticeable as the artists began developing their work. However, it always hovered somewhere in the background, as its formative role in initiating a commissioning process with a participatory dimension was apparent from the start. The *public interest* mode of ordering proved particularly difficult to determine. At first, I saw it as differently conceptualized in relation to the other modes, indicating particular ways in which all of the modes of ordering produced a certain type of public as part and parcel of their particular mode itself. However, through my analysis of the empirical material I eventually determined that *public interest* constituted a mode of its own, indicating an independent effect on the organizing of participation that intermingles with the other modes in specific ways. While public interest might conceptualize the public in different ways, the *public interest* mode of ordering also inherently seeks to unify these different publics.

In addition, I struggled with the material side of artworks – what one might refer to as their aesthetic quality. On the one hand, such aesthetic qualities pertain to formal and media-specific innovation that forms part of the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering. On the other hand, the ability of works of art to generate aesthetic experiences for the public is a key aspect of how I experienced *public interest* in the case study, testifying to the way in which the Danish Arts Foundation underlines its 'aesthetic' contribution to society. For me, the issue of an artwork's aesthetic quality connects the modes of ordering of *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* in a particular way, but does not conflate them. Such a connection indicates a desirable relationship between innovative artistic forms and aesthetic experiences that are in the public interest. *Artistic autonomy*, however, has material expressions other than those geared to generating aesthetic experiences for the public, and *public interest* also relates to the involvement of the public in decision-making processes.

I bring up these reflections to indicate how my determination of modes of ordering necessarily involved a concern about their interrelationship with other modes of ordering. This interrelationship will be the focus of the following chapters, in which I analyse particular organizational processes in the case study as an effect of the relationship between the various modes of ordering, what Law refers to as their boundary effects (Law 1994). In Chapter 6 I discuss the relationship between the modes of ordering of *artistic autonomy*, *administration* and *public interest* in the commissioning process. The chapter especially engages with the way that *public interest*, as a relatively new, or stronger, mode of ordering, comes to effect the balancing act that has historically developed between *artistic autonomy* and *administration* in the institution of the Danish Arts Foundation. In Chapter 7 I analyze a conflict

between the city and one of the artists as an effect of the boundary relations between *artistic autonomy* and *administration*. While administration supported artistic autonomy in the commissioning process, it also came to challenge and threaten artistic autonomy in that very same process. Chapters 6 and 7 thus emphasize how organizational practices beyond those of the artist forms part of the organizing of participation in contemporary art. Chapters 8 and 9 each delve into the artist's organizing of participation. Chapter 8 discusses the problems related to the fusing of *artistic autonomy* and *public interest*, thus fostering alignment between artistic practice and expressions of public interest. Chapter 9 discusses the possibility that public interest might be served by participants' 'transgressive' aesthetic experience of taking part in developing contemporary art projects. Chapter 10 returns to the site of Istedgade to discuss how the mode of ordering of the *site* is being renegotiated today, and how the artworks contributed to this negotiation. In the final, concluding chapter I return to art history's model for conceptualizing the organizing of participation and specify how the theorization of four particular modes of ordering contributes to our understanding of such organizing. To this end, I clarify how the modes of ordering offer analytical tools that help specify and disentangle the main organizational processes involved in the organizing of participation while also paying attention to their complexities within the material-semiotic network of the social.

Chapter 6: Balancing acts

This is the first of five chapters in which I analyse the events in the case study as an effect of the relationship between the four modes of ordering. Specifically, I examine the effects of *public interest* on the commissioning process for the public artwork in Istedgade. In Chapter 7, I will discuss the relationship between *administration* and *artistic autonomy*, and in Chapters 8 and 9 delve more deeply into the artistic projects to consider the relationship between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* in the artists' organizing of participation. In Chapter 10, the fifth and final of these analysis chapters, I return to Istedgade to discuss the current negotiation of the site and how the commissioned artworks contribute to that negotiation.

This chapter is particularly concerned with the complications of commissioning art in the public interest. As I argued in Chapter 5, *public interest* is a comparatively new mode of ordering, and it challenges the balance between *artistic autonomy* and *administration* that has historically constituted itself in the institution of the Danish Arts Foundation. My purpose with this chapter is thus to analyse the effects of *public interest* on the commissioning process and – consequently – on the organizing of participation in the case study. I begin by discussing the balancing acts involved in organizing the commissioning process as a collaborative endeavour between the arts foundation and the designated recipients of the public artwork, in this case the City of Copenhagen. I then proceed to discuss the public competition between the two artistic projects, reflecting on the artists' critique of the competition and on the implications of the decision to cancel it. Finally, I examine how the evaluative criteria that characterized the commissioning process changed.

My analysis is based on the statements the participants made during the commissioning process and their reflexive considerations expressed about the process in interviews. By this token, the chapter might seem more actor-centric than aimed at analysing the effects of modes of ordering. For me, however, these utterances and reflections speak about the effects of modes of ordering, and throughout the chapter I will endeavour to clarify how by indicating the relationship between statements and particular constellations of modes of ordering. I close the chapter with summaries of the analysis as regards the modes of ordering, particularly for the purpose of showing how the *public interest* mode of ordering generates a space of dissent by promoting the development of specific, competing formations of the public.

Persuasive translation

In January 2015, I interviewed Arts Foundation Representative 1, who was a member of the steering group for the artwork in Istedgade. In the interview I asked her about the general role of the Foundation's representatives in such collaborative commissioning processes for public works of art. This was her reply:

> That is kind of … hmm… We kind of have to stand on both sides, somehow. The recipient has to …. *want* to receive, right. That is a communicative assignment or a translational assignment somehow, and it's important to arrive at a place in which there is ownership and goodwill, otherwise you might as well drop the project almost. At the same time, we're the artist's employer to some extent. So it is important, I think, or the whole committee thinks, that we support the artist. We really have to be clear about the artist's rights and that …hmmm… that it's clear and evident what that person should do and what the conditions are ... and that architects or recipients or municipalities or whoever else is involved do not *pursue* all kinds of… hmmm… do not introduce problems that are not problems or persist in getting answers that they've already received or whatever else it might be. And here I often think that our role becomes a little like a translator. We're a buffer that stands between these two parties. We're really on both parties' sides, or we kind of have to be on both parties' sides. At the same time, it's mostly us who bring the money, right? So we also get to decide something about what is to happen. So clear statements to both parties and a translation between the two. Yes…. and then I have to say that, basically, it is, of course, a societal thing. It's something that reaches out to us as *citizens*. It is also something about noticing these projects that are cool for the citizens to get out there. It's always our… Here you're lucky! Here some really great things are being developed. It's good for *the public*. (i.AFR1.Jan9.15)

I quote her reply at length, because it nicely ties together some of the potentially conflicting interests in a commissioning process. The quotation conveys a need to deliver a desirable product to the recipient: 'The recipient has to *want* to receive' the work. She refers to this desirable product as a societal contribution that people are fortunate to receive, but she also talks about ensuring the artist's rights through clear agreements that all parties must uphold. Her own role as a representative of the arts foundation is to support the relationship between the artist and the recipient by engaging in practices such as 'translation' and by having an ability to see both sides of an issue: 'We're a buffer that stands between these two parties.' Something greater than translation is involved, however, because the work

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of translating seems to require the conveyance of passion and enthusiasm for the proposed art project: 'Here you're lucky'. In fact, in the commissioning process for the public artwork for Istedgade, Arts Foundation Representative 1 would often express such excitement about the artists and the proposed artistic projects. 'From here it looks really good. Istedgade is lucky,' she said at the final meeting during which Artist 1's project was approved by the steering committee (r.n.Nov6.14).

Towards the end of the quote, Arts Foundation Representative 1 remarks that in the commissioning process the arts foundation has a certain influence connected with the money it brings to the table. Because it is funding at least part of an artwork, the foundation also has decision power. However, this influence is challenged by the precariousness of the recipient's favourable judgement. At a meeting during which a group of retiring foundation committee members shared their experience of being part of the committee with their successors, the retiring group referred to the collaboration with recipients of public art commissions as the 'hard work' of being on the committee (r.n.Feb29.16). By comparison, the rest of their work was much easier, as it involved discussions with fellow art professionals about the value of various artistic practices (r.n.Feb29.16).[80]

To me Arts Foundation Representative 1's description captures the potential conflict between the three modes of ordering of *artistic autonomy*, *public interest* and *administration*. *Artistic autonomy* is there in terms of the protection of artists' rights, but it is also present in terms of the influence the foundation exerts on a commissioned work by way of its financial support. *Public interest* is equally present in the quote, namely in the statement that the recipient has to 'want' to receive the artwork. In a collaborative commissioning process, the recipient's representatives in a steering group also represent the public. A public artwork does not just land in a public space, for public spaces are always someone's responsibility, and this someone is the keeper of the public space and the representative of the public's interest. As such, this someone also represents public opinion in the commissioning process. Finally, *administration* expresses itself in the very interest of balancing the two perspectives: 'We kind of have to stand on both sides.' *Administration* seeks a collaborative, and preferably speedy, decision process in which the artist and the recipient agree on the value of a proposed work of art.

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[80] The arts foundation's visual arts committee for artistic stipends (since 2014) has the following responsibilities beyond commissioning artists for public artworks: they delegate artistic stipends to artists on the basis of their applications, buy works of art for the foundation's collection, from which public institutions might borrow artworks and price current exhibitions. See: https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=146622 (accessed September 5, 2018).

Public interest is also present in the description of the public artwork as a societal good. Arts Foundation Representative 1 emphasizes the public value of public artworks, which is a principal political motivation for public arts funding. In this determination, however, the public is implied and imprecise, as it embraces and includes all citizens, but does not grant citizens a voice of their own. In the case of public commissioning processes, someone always speaks for them– whether representatives of the arts foundation or the recipients. In its implicit form, *public interest* liaises with the *administrative* ethos of fair and equal administrative processes that should benefit the entire population, and with *artistic autonomy* in the sense that art is constituted as the carrier of universal aesthetic experiences available to all citizens. The arts foundation's representative is caught up in the *administrative* mode of ordering and in the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering and its historically constituted form of implicit public interest. She needs to promote the development of high quality art, but also to adhere to her administrative responsibility as a committee member in a public governance body, a task that entails both balancing the time she spends on each commissioning process and taking care to assure that all relevant voices are consulted in the matter. However, the balance that she must strike indicates that *public interest* has become a new, active, and powerful mode of ordering. The problem of public interest generates a need for a new kind of balancing act.

Consensus and dissensus

In the illustrated process map I discussed in Chapter 4, the initial conversation between the arts foundation and the recipient was depicted as a debate between two equally powerful positions that resulted in a joint decision. I argued that this depiction seemed to fit Jürgen Habermas' communicative ideal of discursive interaction in the public sphere, where rational arguments are weighed against each other in order to reach the best solution. As such, the depiction represents an ideal of reaching consensus on matters of public concern. Judging by Arts Foundation Representative 1's description, however, the consensus reached here is based on the recipient's 'adopting' the evaluative parameters of the arts foundation. Her reference to the work of 'translation' indicates that the value of art is connected to criteria of artistic excellence that might not be readily understood by the recipient. By using the word 'translation' Arts Foundation Representative 1 seems to belittle the public's competencies in evaluating artistic proposals, and perhaps she would have chosen another word, had I deliberately asked her about it. In my fieldwork this concern with the 'translation' of artistic projects came up in other situations, but the problem was not confined to the public, for while the recipient's ability to read and decipher visual sketches is one problem, another is the artist's competency in communicating their artistic idea. Arts Foundation Representative 1 also commented on this in the

interview: 'We artists really need to practice communicating and being clear about what our salient features are' (i.AFR1.Jan9.15).

The balancing act between the modes of ordering of *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* is embedded in the legal structure of the Danish Arts Foundation and the executive order on public art.[81] The arts foundation was instituted to promote art in Denmark and Danish art abroad, and this objective is manifested in the foundation's task of financially supporting artistic projects evaluated on the basis of artistic quality and talent.[82] However, public art commissions are explicitly made for the public and in its interest: 'to give all citizens in the country the possibility to meet art of high quality'.[83] So the public must – implicitly – agree that the proposed artistic project has high value. Art history tells us that the public may not always acknowledge such value, or at least not immediately, although it might learn to appreciate it over time. This is part of the story of modernist and avant-garde art – the scandal exhibition, the misunderstood genius (Reckwitz 2017). In a collaborative commissioning process, however, the public representatives are present and able to voice their opinion. They must acknowledge the value of the artwork when it is proposed or, at least, at some point during the course of the commissioning process, or the process will come to a halt. This is what generates the need to engage in acts of translation and to convey enthusiasm for the proposed artworks. The foundation representatives pass their positive judgement as to the public value of the proposed artworks on to the recipient's representatives.

When discussing the illustrated process map, I referred to Rosalyn Deutsche's criticism of unifying ambitions in public art commissioning (Deutsche 1996). Referencing theories of radical democracy, Deutsche argues that democracy is not based on consensus but is rather constituted by legitimizing the possibility for expressing dissent. The commissioning process for public artworks generates a space for such dissent, a space created by *public interest* as a potential confrontation with *artistic autonomy*. However, the possibility of dissent confronts *administration* as much as it confronts *artistic autonomy*. Decisions have to be made for a work of art to be developed. Dissent is not an operative option in a commissioning process. It might testify to a living democracy and be used as evidence of its vitality, but too much dissent in a commissioning process will also effectively terminate the process and leave the site with no work of art at all. The illustrated process map thus depicts the event of reaching consensus

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[81] See https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=146622 (accessed September 5, 2018) and https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=151875 (accessed September 5, 2018).
[82] Ibid.
[83] See https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=151875 (accessed September 5, 2018).

as a particular relationship between the modes of ordering of *administration*, *public interest*, and *artistic autonomy*.

So how does the arts foundation deal with differences of opinion? What if the recipient, in fact, disagrees with the foundation representatives about the choice of commissioned artists or the quality of an artwork? What if opinions change in the course of the commissioning process? What if those representing the public have internal disagreements? All of the above scenarios played out in the Istedgade case, and I will argue that they are boundary effects of the relationship between the three modes of ordering of *public interest*, *artistic autonomy*, and *administration*. In addition, by detailing some of the conflicting perspectives and changing opinions, I want to show how the organizing of participation for a public artwork in Istedgade is generated by these boundary effects, including the creation of various organizational solutions to the problem of public interest, the changing of criteria used to evaluate the artistic projects and the effect of exposing public dissent.

The public value of process-based participatory art

When I entered the commissioning process for a public artwork for Istedgade, the commission brief was referred to as a testimony to the previous 'conversation' between the Danish Arts Foundation and the City of Copenhagen (r.n.Mar24.14). This implied that the two parties had designed the commission brief in agreement, but when I interviewed the participants who took part in the early conversation, the picture became somewhat more skewed. The city's application to the foundation had talked of capturing the stories of the street, but the foundation representatives were the ones to channel this suggestion into an artistic assignment with a participatory, processual, and ephemeral emphasis (i.FAFR1.Jan8.15, i.S1.Jan6.15). As I described in Chapter 4, the Danish Arts Foundation's committee for art in public reviewed the site of Istedgade in terms of its artistic possibilities and contemplated two types of artistic approaches – one centred on art-as-urban-design and the other on the site as constituted by the social fabric of its citizens. As the street's rebuilding process was in its advanced stages, the foundation representatives leaned towards the latter type of artistic approach and commissioned artists who were known to work with the social fabric of sites. The possibility of effecting and modulating the material rebuilding of Istedgade was not excluded from the commission brief, but the emphasis was placed on the citizens in the street and its stories.

Although the representatives of the City of Copenhagen concurred with the decision, they nevertheless seemed to have had something else in mind. For instance, the second representative from the local

neighbourhood council in Vesterbro said that she knew the project manager was envisioning something more permanent when he drafted the application (i.NCR2.Jan21.15). The project manager himself simply commented that it was good to be challenged (r.n.Mar24.14). Neighbourhood Council Representative 2 was also hoping for something more permanent. She joined the commissioning process after replacing the first neighbourhood council representative, who had died. While the former representative used his political mandate to ensure that local citizens judged between the two project proposals in a public competition, Neighbourhood Council Representative 2 was more concerned with the outcome of the commissioning process. Although approximately DKK 2.5 million[84] had been earmarked for funding the project, she found the commission brief to be strangely unambitious:

> Neighbourhood Council Representative 2: I was surprised about the way the assignment had been put together.
> Me: How?
> Neighbourhood Council Representative 2: …that it was so process-oriented. Because I had sensed that [the project manager], and the conversations we had had … because I had followed the project up until then, that he had imagined something that left more permanent traces. And therefore I was surprised about the choice of artists, because they are both known not to work that way. And I was extra…. surprised when I saw the assignment, which I actually thought was semi-embarrassing or unambitious with respect to how much money was allocated to it.
> Me: In which way in particular?
> Neighbourhood Council Representative 2: Yes, in particular the product demand. It could be an app. While it was almost to the point that it could be a pamphlet.
> (i.NCR2.Jan21.15)

For Neighbourhood Council Representative 2 the problem was the emphasis on process rather than product. In her opinion Vesterbro had received a kind of process-art stamp, but with the arts foundation involved, she had hoped for something else (i.NCR2.Jan21.15). It was not that she longed for a traditional sculpture, her own examples being advanced contemporary installations and urban spatial designs. She referenced Elmgreen & Dragset's *Memorial for Homosexuals Persecuted under Nazism* (2008) in Berlin, which offered a site to visit, and the newly redesigned urban space at Sankt Kjelds Plads in another area of central Copenhagen, which offered a multi-purpose public space, something she felt was lacking in her stretch of Istedgade (i.NCR2.Jan21.15).

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[84] The precise amount, due to specific tax-rules, was 2,412,500 DKK (e.Oct29.14).

Neighbourhood Council Representative 2 voiced her scepticism in a retrospective interview (i.NCR2.Jan21.15). At the time of the interview she had reconsidered her initial scepticism, as both artists had proven more ambitious than she expected. When she entered the commissioning process, however, she had queried the project manager about the situation and raised some critical questions. The Project Manager brought up these questions at her first meeting with the rest of the steering group (r.n.May14.14). In the interview she told me that she had not personally wanted to raise these issues, since she had come in at a late point in the process (i.NCR2.Jan21.15), but I suspect that her questions offered the project manager a fresh chance to pursue the possibility of a more permanent artistic imprint on the site.

In this first meeting Neighbourhood Council Representative 2 phrased her concern simply as her interest in discussing the 'potentials of art in public' (r.n.May14.14). In particular, she remarked that the problem with a lot of process-based work is that people simply do not notice it, since it is gone before they have a real chance to experience it (r.n.May14.14). She did not offer strong opinions on the matter as she later did in the interview. Since the artists had already been selected when she entered the commissioning process, she did not find that she had any actual influence on what kind of artwork Istedgade would get (i.NCR2.Jan21.15). That decision was more or less given with the choice of artists. For the same reason, she did not protest the cancelling of the public competition between the two artistic proposals. Since the two artists were known to work with similar types of practices, the competition offered no real choice (i.NCR2.Jan21.15). However, at that first meeting she attended, another city representative – the chief architect – welcomed her reflections, using the occasion to express her anticipation for a project of high artistic quality (r.n.May14.14). The chief architect later specified that this notion of high quality pertained to innovative aesthetic solutions, which was also to be expected considering the arts foundation's involvement (i.CA.Mar7.17)). At the meeting, the chief architect said that 'obviously we are expecting something other than what seven Roskilde University College students could produce' (r.n.May14.14).

These comments on the design of the artistic assignment indicate a number of different things. For one, the arts foundation had the biggest say in its initial design and in the choice of which artists to invite. Here, *artistic autonomy* as a mode of ordering played a key role, for although the commission brief emphasized public interest in terms of the local citizens' authentic interest in a work of art as well as of the request to work with the stories of the street and involve as many citizens as possible, the commission brief was also drafted to match the commissioned artists' profiles. In particular, the

commission brief highlighted the quality of ephemeral participatory practices at the expense of a material outcome, its being written to support the artistic quality of participatory processes whose material result is considered less important.

The above comments also indicate that the death of the first neighbourhood council representative shifted the evaluative criteria for the artistic projects. The emphasis was no longer on processes of citizen involvement, but on the production of a high-quality aesthetic imprint on the street. Public interest was no longer to be mobilized by the involvement of the public, but by how it benefitted from a permanent aesthetic contribution to the site. For me, these changes in the evaluative criteria testify to the particular, but different ways in which the *public interest* mode of ordering liaises with *artistic autonomy* in the commissioning process. It speaks of the way in which *public interest* generates particular, but different publics and, as such, ends up exposing public dissent.

The public interest of the public vote

In the introduction to the case study, I wrote that the first neighbourhood council representative was behind the decision to run a public competition between the two artistic proposals, as he ostensibly did not want a small group of art experts and city administrators making the decision.[85] According to the logic of Sherry Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' (Arnstein 1969), local citizens should have the right to decide whether a work of art can be placed in their neighbourhood. The spirit of Istedgade as an autonomous force to counter the pressure from external authorities also played a role in the decision to run a competition, thus co-constructing a liaison between the modes of ordering of *public interest* and *the site*. At the same time, the public competition challenged the modes of ordering of *artistic autonomy* and *administration*. Neither art experts nor city officials were to make decisions on behalf of the local citizens.

Former Arts Foundation Representative 1 said that the Foundation's representatives agreed to the competition because they were sure the public would be able to vote between two qualified projects, and artistic quality would thus be maintained no matter the outcome (i.FAFR1.Jan8.15). The inclusion of the competition probably helped the foundation to negotiate a joint solution with the city representatives and thus support the *administrative* need to reach a decision. In particular, the competition seemed to offer a kind of compromise between the foundation's interests and those of the

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[85] I write 'ostensibly', since I was not able to interview him myself, and thus rely on the explanation of others who took part in the commissioning process (i.PM.Jan12.15 & i.CCM, Jan13.15).

neighbourhood council. Or, expressed in terms of modes of ordering: the commission brief with its emphasis on citizens' right to decide combined with a particular, underplayed expectation about the material outcome of an artistic process created a special balance between the modes of ordering of *artistic autonomy* and *public interest*, which also underpinned the modes of ordering of *administration* and *the site*.

This balance shifted with the cancellation of the public vote. In the introduction to the case, I described how the decision to cancel the competition was made in response to a letter from the two artists.[86] They argued that their particular working method of involving many local citizens in the development of their work would serve to raise expectations for its realization. The competition between the two projects, to the contrary, would dismiss one project, thus causing disappointment and, even worse, potential dissent among local citizens. The competition thus worked against the stated intention of the commission brief to support community building in the street. In the letter the two artists argued that cancelling the competition was necessary to ensure the public interest. Contrary to the first neighbourhood council representative's judgement, delegating responsibility for citizen involvement to the two artists themselves would better serve the public interest than a public competition between project proposals. Basically, the artists argued that the inherent ethical quality of their particular artistic method is what ensures local public influence on a work of art, underscoring this quality by using words like 'knowledge sharing', 'openness', and 'inclusion'. They further suggested that the two artistic projects would 'collaborate' and 'work together', 'sharing' networks and events so that local citizens would experience a productive collaboration rather than a competition. The image conveyed in this letter is that their artistic practice implies an inherent ethical position from which the local citizens will benefit. This ethical position is substantiated by their qualification of this artistic practice that values remaining true to itself more highly than winning a larger pool of money. The artists' argument thus suggested a new situational balancing between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest*. *Artistic autonomy* and *public interest* are no longer opposed, but coalesce in the practice of the two artists.

Their suggestion also implies a benefit for *the site*, as sharing the funds would mean no need to choose between the two projects. Istedgade would get two projects for the price of one. The subsequent discussions neglected to consider that this sharing of funds, or more accurately division of funds, would impact at least the size, if not the quality, of the two projects. In all likelihood each artist had different

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[86] See also Appendix 15.

reasons for not minding splitting the funds. On the one hand, receiving half of the reserved sum already constituted substantially more financing than Artist 2 was accustomed to in terms of realizing her artistic projects.[87] Artist 1 and his team, on the other hand, were already in contact with a private foundation, Nordea-fonden, to whom they had applied for a much larger grant for their project.[88] I suspect that in the discussions with the private foundation, Artist 1 found receiving a stamp of approval from the Danish Arts Foundation and the City of Copenhagen more important than contending for the other half of the allocated funds and thus risking losing it all.

For its part the steering group had *administrative* interests in agreeing to cancel the competition. Arts Foundation Representative 2 expressed the motivation for the cancellation with the need to 'get some energy into the process' (r.n.May14.14), which indicates the *administrative* need to get the process moving. The impression was that the competition had cost a great deal of time, and that the artists had yet to even begin developing their project proposals, because they were preoccupied with the competition (r.n.May14.14). However, other issues figured in the decision. For one, since the specific details about how to stage the competition were yet to be decided, removing the competition would save the administrative work of organizing the competition. In addition, the Istedgade rebuilding project was in its final stages, and any artistic choice to make a permanent imprint on the street would need to happen while the construction work was still underway (r.n.May14.14). What is more, the artists' proposal to share the project funding offered a compelling alternative to the competition. The street would get two projects instead of one, and citizens would experience collaboration rather than conflict over the choice of project. To this end, the steering group agreed with the artists that the competition format potentially threatened to divide the local public rather than foster bonds between them, which was the grander purpose of adding a work of art to the rebuilding of Istedgade.

Obviously counter arguments could have been brought to the table. For example, the artists might have been able to manage a citizen involvement process in which it was clear from the start that the project might not be realized. The steering group could also have decided to retain the competition between

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[87] Artist 2 usually fundraises her own projects or even takes out mortgages on her apartment for the purpose (i.A2.Feb2.16).

[88] The Artist 1 team began their discussions with Nordea-fonden in April 2014, when they applied to the foundation's call for projects about urban greenery. See https://www.nordeafonden.dk/nyhed-det-gode-liv-i-byen (accessed March 11, 2015). Nordea-fonden pre-selected their application, and supported its development into a mature project proposal during the summer of 2014 (r.n.Aug8.14 & r.n.Aug14.14). In a meeting on June 17, 2014, Artist 1 informed the steering group that they had applied to Nordea-fonden for further support for their project, and that they had been shortlisted to prepare a full application (r.n.Jun17.14).

the two projects, but let the steering group representatives decide which should get the funding. Since they decided to fund both projects, it eventually became clear that this decision generated substantially more administrative work for both the Danish Agency for Culture and the City of Copenhagen (i.AFR1.Jan9.15 & i.S2.Jan8.15). Thus, while cancelling the competition had relieved some administrative burdens, it added others.

The public interest of a work of high aesthetic quality

Another major reason for cancelling the competition was the fact that the steering group no longer had anyone who actually favoured it. After the death of the first neighbourhood council representative, the steering group members' balance of evaluative criteria shifted from an emphasis on citizen involvement towards the potentials of developing an interesting aesthetic result. The cancellation of the competition thus signalled a new constellation of public representatives with new evaluative criteria. In contrast to the commission brief that had highlighted citizen involvement at the expense of the material outcome, the ensuing 'conversations' with the artists revolved around the public value of an aesthetically interesting outcome (r.n.May14.14, r.n.Jun17.14 & r.n.Sep24.14). This shift indicates a new relationship between the modes of ordering of *artistic autonomy* and *public interest*, where *artistic autonomy* supports the development of innovative, aesthetic works of art that are in the public interest.

The Artist 1 team's project proposal, in particular, was criticized for failing to propose an aesthetic result (r.n.Sep24.14). The idea of adding a green layer to the rebuilding of Istedgade was broadly condoned and supported by the steering group, but under the pretext that it would be developed into an artistic innovative form (r.n.Jun17.14). In presenting their mature project proposal in September 2014, the Artist 1 team detailed the collaborating partners they had established, their initial research into urban greenery, and the durational process of citizen involvement that they intended to carry out, which not only included four design steps but also set a quantitative goal of having 100 citizens actively involved in the design of urban greenery in Istedgade (r.n.Sep24.14).

For the Artist 1 team the process of developing a work is as important as the material result it will generate. In their project proposal, they specifically referred to their project as an artistic process, and

not a project (r.n.Sep24.14).[89] Their method of engaging in the local context and with the local citizens and site users constituted a key aspect of their artistic contribution. In their project proposal and in a method book[90] published six months later, they write that they have developed this method over a 15-year timespan of working with art projects in urban spaces. They refer to their method as 'artistically developed'[91], and call it a 'platform-development method'.[92] The crux of the method is to initiate the process by coming, as they phrase it, 'strategically unprepared' and thus being open to local citizens' knowledge about their area and to their needs and interest in terms of developing it. In other words, the Artist 1 team will commence a project by establishing an initial common platform with local citizens, then use this platform to analyse the local situation according to the input from local citizens and users, thus creating the basis for designing, implementing, and maintaining the new urban space in a collaborative process between the artistic team and the local citizens.

The key elements of the Artist 1 team's process match the ethical model of participation, which is concerned with delegating decision rights to the local community of participants. This is particularly vivid in the reasons they give for why the process is important.[93] They describe it as intrinsically important for the ethical values it embodies and the experience it generates for the local participants. Transparency and citizen influence are essential values of the method, while the potential empowerment of the local citizens is a key aim of the process. The Artist 1 team refers to local users as super-users, emphasizing in particular the knowledge and competencies possessed by what others refer to as 'socially deprived people'.[94] Take, for example, the work with establishing the public park Enghave Minipark outlined in the method book.[95] The work was developed together with a group of beer drinkers who used to hang out at a local square, Enghave Plads, until it became sealed off for a few years while a new metro station was under construction, thus leaving the beer drinkers with nowhere to meet. So, the Artist 1 team involved the beer drinkers in the process of developing a new place to meet. The beer drinkers helped choose the site as well as analyse, design, and construct it. This served to bring out their analytical skills as well as their design judgement. Some of them also had

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[89] See also their application to Nordea-fonden, September 1, 2014, available at https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/edoc/9418ce5c-9f79-4824-b38c-f27b0b6b318a/e7524dfa-a2e4-43ac-b3cd-ea786c38bc7f/Attachments/12954488-14291436-1.PDF (accessed July 4, 2018).
[90] Kenneth Balfelt Team (2016).
[91] Ibid.
[92] See their application to Nordea-fonden.
[93] Kenneth Balfelt Team (2016).
[94] Ibid.
[95] See also https://www.kennethbalfelt.org/enghave-minipark (accessed September 20, 2018).

constructions skills that they utilized to implement the design, which resulted in a number of aesthetically motivated elements such as a coloured trellis, wooden carvings, and patterned brickwork.

However, the Artist 1 team's interest in deferring specific design decisions to a collaborative process with the local citizens caused concern among the steering group members (r.n.Sep24.14), who questioned the team's lack of a visualized end result, spurring the group to search for the 'artistic' dimension of the project proposed (r.n.Sep24.14). This lack of artistic framing impacted the decision not to approve the project on its initial presentation. The project was subsequently approved because Artist 1 chose to present the results of his previous collaborative projects, which testified to his ability to produce an artistic result in processes with extensive citizen involvement (r.n.Nov6.14).

In contrast, the steering group largely applauded and immediately approved Artist 2's proposal (r.n.Sep24.14). In her presentation, she proposed a target of residents in 50 apartments in Istedgade to take part in her artwork, and she mentioned some of the local citizens she had already involved in the project, including a local police officer, a schoolgirl, and a sixty-year-old woman who had lived in the street since her youth. These citizens were to be photographed for the project and contribute short texts for the book planned to complete and document the project (r.n.Sep24.14). However, Artist 2 put the greatest emphasis on the aesthetic results of her work. She showed printed sketches of the enlarged photographs to be temporarily projected on the outer wall of Gasværksvejens School, creating an atmospheric staging of the urban site of Istedgade. She explained that she was experimenting with moving images, having had an idea where a train travelled across the facade (r.n.Sep24.14). She also discussed the added project parts of the audio piece and the book, which specifically engaged with the stories of Istedgade and its history (r.n.Sep24.14). These latter project elements resolved the initial critique that her proposal did not deliver a *permanent* work of art for the street (r.n.Jun17.14). The steering group suggested that she print more copies of the book, as they expected it to be in high demand (r.n.Sep24.14). They did not delve into her plans for organizing participation, which one could take to mean they were completely satisfied with Artist 2's proposal, but I see it as a sign that they considered the issue of organizing participation less important in their evaluation of the artistic project than the projected aesthetic result.

When the steering group had previously cancelled the competition, they stressed that participation was still part of the assignment, as it was expected to be a central feature of the commissioned artistic projects (r.n.May14.14). The two artists were also asked to present a work-in-progress to the public

(r.n.May14.14), although the presentation was not to take the form of a competition, but simply to offer the public a chance to see and comment on the proposals – a requirement on which Neighbourhood Council Representative 2 insisted (r.n.May14.14), arguing that such an opportunity would give the local public insight into the proposals and thus bolster the work of ensuring public interest. However, this work-in-progress presentation was never realized. First, it was postponed because the Artist 1 team's project was initially not approved,[96] and then because gaining the city's elected officials' approval proved to entail a protracted administrative process. Eventually, no one seemed to want to pursue the issue anymore, and it was somehow 'forgotten'.[97]

The fact that the presentation was forgotten testifies to the steering group's lack of emphasis on the value of citizen involvement. That the Artist 1 team were proposing a longer and more elaborate form of citizen involvement than Artist 2 did not give their work more merit. For the steering group, citizen involvement appeared to be simply a requirement, as the quantity and quality of its form were not critically debated (r.n.Sep24.14). During the commissioning process, the pursuit of public interest thus went from being situated in the direct engagement and involvement of the local citizens to being a quality residing in the artwork's aesthetic contribution to the site. The recipient's new public representatives favoured an artistic imprint on the street rather than extended processes of citizen involvement.

Situational balancing acts

I commenced this chapter with Art Foundation Representative 1's description of the balancing acts involved in public art commissioning. My purpose was to frame the Danish Art Foundation's *administrative* interest in reaching workable solutions for promoting the process of collaboration around public arts commissioning. The arts foundation constitutes a historically developed collaboration between *artistic autonomy* and *administration* that is also implicitly created in the public interest. The collaborative process around a public artwork with its 'public representatives' adds the *public interest* mode of ordering to the organizational process. Thus, in the first instance, the growing effect of *public interest* generates the balancing act itself. However, *public interest* has other effects.

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[96] The two artists had planned a joint public presentation for October 2014, but when the Artist 1 team's project was not initially approved, the public presentation was postponed for an undetermined time (r.n.Sep24.14).
[97] I asked Secretary 2 about this in April 2015 (d.n.Apr24.15), and she said that she would arrange a meeting between the city's project manager and the artists. I am unsure whether she did, but at that point no one seemed interested in pursuing the issue any further because other matters – which I discuss in the following chapter – had become more urgent.

In this chapter I have discussed how *public interest* influenced the organizing of participation for a public artwork in Istedgade, initially by introducing the public competition between the two project proposals. While this constituted a first balancing act between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest*, it also restrained *artistic autonomy* by making the artists publicly accountable to the local citizens' decision. However, the artists successfully argued that a competition would, in fact, not ensure public interest, but rather end up threatening it, since such competition could potentially split the street into two camps. Instead, they argued that public interest would be secured by the extensive processes of citizen involvement carried out in their individual projects. In other words, although artistic autonomy was first conceptualized as a threat to public interest, the artists' argument framed artistic autonomy as a protection of public interest. As such, two ways of organizing participation contended with each other as answers to the problem of *public interest*: the public competition between the two proposed artworks and the artists' autonomous organizing of participation.

I have also discussed how the change of public representatives in the steering group altered the evaluative criteria for the proposed artistic projects. While the commission brief emphasized forms of direct public involvement, the evaluation of the artistic proposals gave weight to the aesthetic quality of the proposed artworks. The artists had argued that delegating the responsibility for organizing participation to the two artists themselves would ensure public interest, but when the Artist 1 Team subsequently suggested that extensive processes of citizen involvement 'in-the-public-interest' be carried out, they were criticized for failing to produce an original aesthetic result that the new public representatives would implicitly argue was in the public interest. The new public representatives seem effected by the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering in their appeal to the artists for an original aesthetic imprint on the street. In fact, these representatives constructed a contrast between an artistically high quality work of art and processes of citizen involvement that could be produced by 'seven students from Roskilde University College'. In that statement, *artistic autonomy* is tied to the development of innovative aesthetic works of art that will ensure public interest in a way that extensive processes of citizen involvement cannot. In fact, such processes are criticized for only producing process art that is gone before you have a chance to notice it and for generally not delivering aesthetically interesting results.

Consensus and dissensus revisited
In Chapter 5 I argued that the mode of ordering of *public interest* revolves around the problem of public interest and that it mobilizes resources to solve the problem. I also argued that public interest

expresses itself in unifying ambitions, but that it inadvertently creates the public in various ways that are not necessarily compatible. In the case study the public in the steering group aligned neither with the public who was to vote in the competition nor with the public that the two artists planned to involve. The events in the commissioning process testify to the problem of public interest, but also to the fact that the problem of public interest is never solved and thus reasserts itself in unexpected ways. New situational solutions were bargained for at every turn of the commissioning process. Public interest was first ensured by a public competition, then by the delegation of responsibility for local involvement to the artists, and, finally, by the artist's development of an aesthetically original and permanent work of art, or at least by the expression of this ambition.

The problem of public interest thus generates the public in different ways, creating a space for exposing public dissent. The unifying ambitions of *public interest* are tied to the *administrative* need to reach decisions, but paradoxically this need allows public dissent to become more apparent. It encourages discussions and thus differences of opinion about the value of public art to be expressed. For the arts foundation and the commissioned artists, *public interest* thus provokes the necessity of engaging in situational acts of balancing between the different publics and between their differences of opinion. In the commissioning process, the effects of *administration* prompted various situational compromises between the different publics in the process. First, a compromise between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* was struck, as expressed in the decision to support artistic autonomy in the design of the artistic assignment, but also to reinforce *public interest* by adding the organizational element of a public vote between the two project proposals. The latter also catered to the *site* mode of ordering and Istedgade's strong claims for autonomy from external authorities. Second, the idea of the public vote was dismissed in order to support not only *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* but also *administration's* interest in getting the commissioning process moving. In this case, granting Istedgade two projects instead of just one implicitly reflected the mode of ordering of *the site*.

However, no successful *administrative* compromise was ever reached. The two artists did not meet the public representatives' interest in a *permanent* work of high artistic quality. Artist 2's temporary project was nonetheless approved on its perceived aesthetic merits. On the other hand, although the Artist 1 team's project was approved, this approval was precarious. As Rosalyn Deutsche argues, the concepts of 'the public' and 'public space' are always created through acts of exclusion. The events that unfolded in the commissioning process ultimately supported the artists in carrying out the project they wanted. The commission brief had supported the artists' autonomy in terms of the open – or, in Neighbourhood

Council Representative 2's determination, 'unambitious' – material demand for their proposed work. The cancellation of the competition gave the artists more time to develop their project without having to win the public vote. Finally, the new public representatives' emphasis on an aesthetic result meant that the ambitious demands regarding involving the local public no longer played a decisive role in the discussions. However, this support of *artistic autonomy* only had effect within the confines of the public sphere created in the commissioning process. The next chapter traces the conflicts that arose between the City of Copenhagen and the Artist 1 team as an effect of the relationship between *artistic autonomy* and *administration*, a conflict exacerbated by the *public interest* mode of ordering.

Chapter 7: 'It doesn't have to be green'

To discuss the potentially conflicting relationship between the modes of ordering of *artistic autonomy* and *administration*, in this chapter I zoom in on a dispute between the City of Copenhagen and Artist 1. I begin by explaining the dispute, then frame it in three different lights: first, as a story of administrative bureaucracy, which supports the critique of public administration prevalent – also – in the art world (Jackson 2011); second, as a story of the self-serving interests of the artist, which supports the prejudices related to artistic autonomy and the concept of 'art for art's sake' (Gablik 1995, Reckwitz 2017); and, third, as a clash between the modes of ordering of *administration* and *artistic autonomy*, a dispute further exacerbated by the *public interest* mode of ordering.

Spots on Istedgade

On March 26, 2015, the Copenhagen City Council held a bi-monthly meeting. Item number 28 on the agenda was the Istedgade art project.[98] The issue to be decided was whether the city could agree to accept DKK 1.5 million from the Danish Arts Foundation to fund the two art projects in Istedgade. The material prepared for the meeting provided the history of the case in broad terms: the city had applied to the arts foundation to add an artistic dimension to the rebuilding of Istedgade. Two artists had proposed projects in dialogue with a steering group consisting of representatives from the foundation and the city. The appendix further specified the additional funding of DKK 0.5 million from 'Københavns kommunes legat til stadens forskønnelse og almene bedste' (in English: The City of Copenhagen's scholarship to support the beautification and general improvement of the city), and provided the financial estimation that the artistic projects would be fully funded through the two external sources of income and thus only minimally impact the city's budget.

In the material for the meeting, *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* is referred to as *Spots on Istedgade*. The project description reads in full:

> Project *Spots on Istedgade* takes its point of departure in the diverse life of the street. By
> involving citizens, shops, and 'street people', the artist wants to create a number of spots that

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[98] The minutes from the city council on March 26, 2015; see: http://www.kk.dk/indhold/borgerrepraesentationens-modemateriale/26032015/edoc-agenda/edd0275f-b243-4dda-8540-01e432a88885 (accessed July 4, 2018), and item 28 about 'Art in Istedgade': http://www.kk.dk/indhold/borgerrepraesentationens-modemateriale/26032015/edoc-agenda/edd0275f-b243-4dda-8540-01e432a88885/2db59e58-a6ea-43e7-b395-b0ce79235560 (accessed July 4, 2018).

relate thematically to the history of Istedgade and at the same time to our understanding of nature and sustainability. Important elements will be the effort to create communities across different groups of citizens. Involvement of the broader community and voluntariness are keywords. A spot could, for instance, be a pavement stone with an engraved text or drawing. A stepping stone that provides information and encourages the user to move further down Istedgade.[99]

In Artist 1's view this project description compromised the team's project (e.Jan23.15). The title was wrong, the emphasis on the historical dimensions was disproportionate, if not outright false, and the introduction of the pavement stone example was not only a falsity but also a strange fabulation conceived in someone else's imagination. It had never been part of his proposed project (i.A1.Feb12.16). The description prepared for the city council later developed into a press release that generated a feature in the local Vesterbro newspaper.[100] Thus, in the eyes of the artist the description caused a miscommunication problem. He expected that he would have to constantly correct local citizens' preconception of his project (e.Feb4.15).

The project description for *Spots on Istedgade* is the work of *administration*. It was drafted after the steering committee had approved the artistic projects in the fall of 2014 (r.n.Sep24.14, r.n.Nov6.14). Although the steering group had approved the artistic projects, the city council needed to formally accept the funds from the arts foundation. The approval process required that, first, the Technical and Environmental Committee and then the Finance Committee approve the recommendation, before it could be presented to the city council.[101] The process was estimated to take a few months, but wound up taking five or six. The steering group had approved the first art project back on September 24, 2014, and the second on November 6, 2014 (r.n.Sep24.14, r.n.Nov6.14). The city council approved the receipt of funds on March 26, 2015.

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[99] See http://www.kk.dk/indhold/borgerrepraesentationens-modemateriale/26032015/edoc-agenda/edd0275f-b243-4dda-8540-01e432a88885/2db59e58-a6ea-43e7-b395-b0ce79235560 (accessed July 4, 2018).

[100] Anja Berth, 'Kunst i gaden', *Vesterbro Bladet*, February 4, 2015.

[101] For the minutes from the Technical and Environmental Committee on January 26, 2015, see http://www.kk.dk/indhold/teknik-og-miljoudvalgets-modemateriale/26012015/edoc-agenda/6f38b355-734d-4d87-8a68-1540e3ae3193 (accessed July 4, 2018), and more specifically, item number 12 about 'Art in Istedgade': http://www.kk.dk/indhold/teknik-og-miljoudvalgets-modemateriale/26012015/edoc-agenda/6f38b355-734d-4d87-8a68-1540e3ae3193/185350d4-df47-4be8-a0e0-ee5b8a81f11e (accessed July 4, 2018). For the minutes from the Finance Committee on February 24, 2015, see http://www.kk.dk/indhold/okonomiudvalgets-modemateriale/24022015/edoc-agenda/6f801f98-ea30-43df-920f-d7465bf72e08 (accessed July 4, 2018), and item 18 about 'Art in Istedgade': http://www.kk.dk/indhold/okonomiudvalgets-modemateriale/24022015/edoc-agenda/6f801f98-ea30-43df-920f-d7465bf72e08/07b9dfd4-773d-4a4c-ab6d-49f2e48685ff (accessed July 4, 2018).

Within the city it was the project manager who drafted the recommendation. In an interview he described the process of getting political approval, and it is worth quoting his description in full to give a sense of what this involves:

> It has to go through the whole mill when you write a recommendation. The first thing I do is say that I'm going to do it, and then I get a time reserved on the city council's agenda, when it is supposed to come up. Then I write it for my unit's boss, who then has to approve it, and then it is sent further on to our secretariat, who then reads through it and makes comments, and then it's returned to me, who again has to adjust it. As it involves finance, it also has to pass our resource centre, which evaluates the financial part. When all of this has been handled, it's sent up to our service area chief, who then has to approve it as the final instance from our centre. Then it has to go over to the city hall. Well, it's worse probably than writing a bill for Christiansborg [the Danish Parliament]! Then it arrives at the city hall, and here the case is presented to the board that evaluates whether it is to continue, and, if so, then it's passed on to our mayor, who also looks at it. Parallel to this, there is also a secretariat over there that looks through it. And during this long, long, long process, that can take two to three months – so far it has taken much longer than this – the text is adjusted, a little here and there and sometimes at a level that I am not made aware of. So it's not always the case that I recognize the recommendation. Especially the one we have going now [referring to the recommendation about the Istedgade art project], I find that I have difficulties recognizing aspects of it. And really it's all about writing to the city council. Can we receive this money, yes or no? (i.PM.Jan12.15)

The project manager's account provides a sense of the organizational structure of the city administration as seen from within – the constant reviewing and rewriting of documents, the divisions between functions and hierarchical layers and between different localities in the city – the project manager's unit in one location, the city hall 'over there'. It speaks of recommendations that are altered and amended and of a conclusive result that is the joint work of *administration*, rather than the effort of a single city official. As such, this account offers an example of *administration*'s division between roles and responsibilities, but in a way that also underlines the administrative structure as overly complicated and time-consuming.

For me, the project manager's account testifies to the frustration he was experiencing at the time. He lacked organizational support to carry the art projects through to completion. Within the city government the

project manager had been reorganized under a new superior in 2014. The new superior was apparently less supportive of the city's involvement in an art project than his previous superior, who had sanctioned the application. When I interviewed the project manager, he referred to his earlier superior as someone with whom he had discussed things and that agreed with him about what actions to take (i.PM.Jan12.15). In contrast, his new superior had proposed that the project be relocated to the city's culture and leisure administration. He thought the project did not belong in his administration, which was responsible for carrying out material renovation and reconstruction work (i.PM.Jan12.15). While the project manager expressed dedication to the project and felt a responsibility for ensuring its completion, the city's organizational changes seemed to have left him somewhat isolated in this endeavour (i.PM.Jan12.15).

Another, earlier sign of the city's diminished support for the art projects was its withdrawal of financial support for the projects. After the 2014 summer holidays, the project manager had informed Secretary 2 that certain financial holes had appeared in the city budget. A finance director had reviewed the city funds and discovered an unused account containing DKK 0.5 million (r.n.Sep24.14) that the project manager's previous superior had earmarked for the city's contribution to realizing the Istedgade art projects (r.n.Sep24.14). However, the use of the funds had not yet been politically approved, for which reason they could easily be administratively reallocated for other purposes (r.n.Sep24.14). In other cases, the recipient's withdrawing of funds to co-finance the public artwork would likely have meant the termination of the collaboration – and effectively the cancellation of the artistic projects. For the Danish Arts Foundation, it is generally an implicit funding requirement that the future owner of a public artwork also co-fund the work, since financial contributions are interpreted as an indication of their commitment to and interest in the work (i.S2.Jan8.15). However, the City of Copenhagen scholarship mentioned above had also granted DKK 0.5 million in support to the projects. The Danish Arts Foundation decided that this pool of money qualified as the city's 'share' in financing the project, which thus allowed the collaboration to continue, although the artists were asked to downwardly revise their budgets accordingly, since they now each received DKK 0.25 million less to realize their projects (e.S2.Oct29.14).

While researching the commissioning process, I got the impression that it might have been possible to by-pass the protracted process of securing approval from the City of Copenhagen. For one, it seemed to surprise most steering group members – including those from the city – that the projects also had to be approved by the city council (r.n.Sep24.14). In addition, a former arts foundation representative had been under the impression that the artworks' relationship to the rebuilding of the street also meant that the commissioning process could circumnavigate the city's intricate bureaucracy (i.FAFR1.Jan8.15). This led me

to wonder whether the project manager's previous superior had enjoyed so much influence within the City of Copenhagen that he could not only earmark a sum of DKK 0.5 million for the project but also bypass the political system by integrating the funds for the artworks into the budget for Istedgade's rebuilding. Initially, this superior was meant to take part in the steering group, but when the municipality was reorganized, he left this position in the steering group, which was, in fact, left open. The city representatives in the steering group served purposes other than securing political support for the projects. The caretaker of the city's monuments was primarily concerned with estimating maintenance-costs (r.n.Sep24.14, i.CCM.Jan13.15), and the city's chief architect with encouraging the artists to enhance the aesthetic quality of the proposed projects (i.CA.Mar7.17). The Vesterbro neighbourhood council internally disagreed about the value of the art projects and thus offered no effective political support.[102]

Another issue was that the Artist 1 team had obtained substantial additional financial support for their project from another private foundation, Nordea-fonden. The additional support came through in December 2014, and it made the project manager's job of securing political approval more difficult. For one, the recommendation was pulled off the committee agenda and postponed to a new meeting, thus causing a delay (i.PM.Jan12.15). Secondly, the expanded project size worried the city. In the project manager's judgement the city did not want to be involved with Artist 1's collaboration with Nordea-fonden. He referred to it as Artist 1's 'private' project, stating that it was not supported by the city and in his assessment never would be (i.PM.Jan12.15). The grant of DKK 3.7 million from Nordea-fonden meant that a much more ambitious greenery project with higher maintenance costs was in the works, and the Artist 1 team implied in their application to Nordea-fonden that the City of Copenhagen had agreed to take responsibility for maintaining the expanded version of their project[103], which the city denied having done (i.PM.Jan12.15, i.CCM.Jan13.15).

The *administrative* solution to the problem was to split *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* into

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[102] See, for instance, their statement about *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*, which I will return to in the next chapter: https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/edoc/9418ce5c-9f79-4824-b38c-f27b0b6b318a/e7524dfa-a2e4-43ac-b3cd-ea786c38bc7f/Attachments/12938546-14264639-1.PDF (accessed on July 4, 2018)

[103] Application to Nordea-fonden, September 1, 2014. See https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/edoc/9418ce5c-9f79-4824-b38c-f27b0b6b318a/e7524dfa-a2e4-43ac-b3cd-ea786c38bc7f/Attachments/12954488-14291436-1.PDF (accessed on July 4, 2018). Specifically they referred to the arts foundation's general requirement in respect to public art's commissioning that the recipient assumes responsibility for the artwork's maintenance. They also specified how they would collaborate with the city and a gardener to coordinate and educate the local citizens in green maintenance.

two separate projects. One project was to be developed in collaboration with the Danish Arts Foundation. The project manager referred to this as the 'art project' (i.PM.Jan12.15). The other entailed Artist 1's collaboration with Nordea-fonden – the artist's 'private project' (i.PM.Jan12.15). This division of the Artist 1 team's project explains why the city administration's rephrasing of the project description became unrecognizable to the artist, why the team changed the project title to *Spots on Istedgade*, why the historical dimensions were emphasized, and why the example of a pavement stone was introduced. The changes to the project description rely on *administration*'s interest in securing an approval. In my interview with the project manager, I asked him specifically if he was separating the project supported by the Danish Arts Foundation from the project supported by Nordea-fonden in order to ensure the city's approval. He said:

> Yes, simply to make sure it passes through … and people have difficulties with it, because both of the projects are called *Green Spots*, right …hmmmm… so now I remove the green from [Artist 1's] project and simply call it *Spots*, because it doesn't have to be green. It could also be a mark of the place where there once was … hmmmm… a water-run, those historical layers. I have not understood that the project has been finally developed to become four historical trees that are planted in Istedgade. The art project, as I understand it, will be historical markers or spots. (i.PM.Jan12.15)

The project manager hesitated in the above explanation. To me, it seemed as if he was searching for arguments to justify his adjustment of the project. One argument concerned getting the projects approved and was therefore an administrative strategy. He drafted the description with the aim of getting them approved. The description was to be easy to read, and the main message of the recommendation was that the city's budget would not be impacted. Slightly amending the Artist 1 team's project description prevented the project from being questioned, and so *administration* downplayed the importance of greenery and added some buzzwords like 'inclusion of the surrounding world' and 'voluntariness' that resonated well with the city's current strategy.[104] In addition, the project manager framed the recommendation as resulting from the joint work of an administrative apparatus and, as such, as not being attributable only to him (i.PM.Jan12.15).

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[104] See, for instance, the city's evaluation of the Artist 1 Team's application to Nordea-fonden: https://www.kk.dk/indhold/teknik-og-miljoudvalgets-modemateriale/26052015/edoc-agenda/9418ce5c-9f79-4824-b38c-f27b0b6b318a/6381b571-ff14-47e4-a175-b6d4a20d6378 (accessed July 4, 2018)

Indirectly, however, the project manager could also have found support for the administrative adjustments in the Artist 1 team's proposal for an open form of citizen involvement. The Artist 1 team had repeatedly emphasized that presenting any artistic outcome of their proposal was not possible because such an outcome was contingent on the future involvement of local citizens and would thus be determined in collaboration with them (r.n.Jun17.14, r.n.Sep24.14, r.n.Nov6.14). Indeed, at one point Artist 1 even suggested that citizens in Istedgade might not want greenery at all, and that being open to the potential dismissal of the overall thematic proposal was part of a participatory process (r.n.Sep24.14). However, if an artist has the right to amend their project in response to citizens' interests, can a city official then do so for the purpose of securing approval?

The bureaucracy of public administration

The situation might be interpreted as the result of an administrative apparatus that not only delays and complicates artistic projects but also distorts and compromises artistic ideas. The project manager has shown inventiveness – some might say an administrative judgement call – in the effort to secure political approval. However, the broader consequences of this inventiveness not only concern the problem of miscommunication but also impact budgets and financial support. The political approval given on March 26, 2015, was granted on the premise that the city budget would not be impacted.[105] As such, although the project might have been formally approved, the city denied the Artist 1 team any further support for their project. If indeed the Artist 1 team proceeded to plant trees and flowers, they could not rely on the city's maintenance support. In other words, the team might be able to do *Spots on Istedgade*, but these spots were not allowed to grow and flower beyond what the local citizens themselves could sustain.

Such a perspective supports the long-standing criticism of public administration as cumbersome and incapable of fostering innovation, a critique mobilized when the New Public Management reforms were implemented (Olsen 2005, Du Gay 2014). This perspective also fuels a negative preconception within art discourse that public support systems for the arts hinder the freedom of artistic expression and the development of great art (Lacy 1995, Jackson 2011). As a direct example, I can mention the article 'Investigating the Public Art Commissioning System' by Shelly Willis, a former manager of a public art programme at the University of Minnesota. In the article she rhetorically asks why '…governmental public art programs proliferate, but the artworks they generate often fall short of expectations and

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[105] See http://www.kk.dk/indhold/borgerrepraesentationens-modemateriale/26032015/edoc-agenda/edd0275f-b243-4dda-8540-01e432a88885 (accessed July 4, 2018), and item 28 about 'Art in Istedgade': http://www.kk.dk/indhold/borgerrepraesentationens-modemateriale/26032015/edoc-agenda/edd0275f-b243-4dda-8540-01e432a88885/2db59e58-a6ea-43e7-b395-b0ce79235560 (accessed July 4, 2018).

potential' (Willis 2008, p. 152). As she paints the picture of public art in the USA, private sources have funded the most important work, while publicly funded works '…devolve into design elements, disappearing into the cityscape without a whisper from the public' (Willis 2008, p. 153). She gives her unvarnished response to this state of affairs in the first paragraph of the text, in which she cites the artist Ann Hamilton's opening speech for her work *Tower*, made for the private art collector Steve Oliver's ranch in Gyserville, California: 'I'd like to thank Steve Oliver. He only gave me permission. He never said 'no'' (Willis 2008, p. 152). In other words, expansive support of the artist is the recipe for great art.

In the article, Willis offers a critique of the bureaucracy of public art commissioning processes that hinder rather than promote the development of artistic projects. According to her, funds are wasted on open competitions, and arts commissioning processes lack coordination with constructors, for which reason artistic proposals become incorporated into a site at too late a stage (Willis 2008). Her solution to this problem is to grant artists more time to develop a project and to have a curatorial intermediary assist in navigating the bureaucracy and negotiating with constructors throughout the process (Willis 2008). In other words, she concludes that giving the artist the maximum artistic autonomy possible will generate the best works of art, and this autonomy should come not simply in the form of freedom of expression but also by way of extended time, funds, and curatorial assistance. While such conditions will likely benefit an artistic project, it also underscores the fact that art needs an expansive support system, even as it contradicts the evaluative system of art history that is generated by the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering.

Art history tends to praise the artwork as an autonomous accomplishment rather than highlight its reliance on social systems of dependency (Laermans 2010, Jackson 2011). Artists are implicitly expected to maximize the autonomy of their work from various constraints in order to develop their art to its full potential. Expressed through the language of support, artists are expected to maximize the support for their project, but – again – art history tends to attribute success to the artists themselves and not to the wider support system organized to set it in motion. The evaluative system of *artistic autonomy* implies that the power of an artistic idea is what mobilizes – or should mobilize – the support system to step in, whereas the very existence of public art funding, such as from the institution of the arts foundation, demonstrates how the development of great art depends on the existence of a support system in the first place.

Artists' self-interest

The situation might also be framed as a case in which an artist and his team are using every means possible to enlarge the size of their project while being indifferent to public interest concerns as expressed by the public representatives in the steering group. From an administrative perspective, the main problem was that the Artist 1 team was reluctant to specify a material outcome of their project, deferring that decision to a collective process with the citizens. Their decision to work with greenery was another problem, because, if anything, it promised to have high maintenance costs. In an interview the caretaker of the city's monuments – who was a member of the steering group – commented on the choice of greenery in the Artist 1 team's project proposal:

> If [the artist] had chosen to put up a bench on a corner as he has done with the homeless or the alcoholics in a previous project, it would have been manageable. But this thing with greenery, it is a completely different thing. Plants need to be trimmed, renewed. They have to be cared for; they cost money, all the time. That is not the case for a bench. It needs to be painted every five years, perhaps. It has resilience in public space. A memorial or a sculpture, if it is made in a durable material, maintains itself. All I have to do is to keep an eye on it. If someone paints something on it, we remove it, or if someone drives into it, we repair it. (i.CCM.Jan13.15)

The caretaker of the city's monuments also explained that the municipality had a history of bad experiences with maintaining public artworks, 'because we have sometimes taken over projects that are difficult, if not to say, impossible to really maintain' (i.CCM.Jan13.15). He used the example of a sculpture that the arts foundation funded about 10 years ago for a new residential area in Copenhagen:

> It [the sculpture] is an artificial island built on an artificial lake (…) and above it are canopies that carry some fine glass mosaics while water runs out from a pillar of granite in the middle. When I sat in on meetings with them [the arts foundation], I said that there are three things we find difficult to maintain in the open space of the city: if it involves water, plants, and glass, and then we got everything as a gift at once, regardless of the fact that we had said that we did not want it. So now we have an obligation to maintain it. (i.CCM.Jan13.15)

The Artist 1 team's plans for greenery thus confronted administrative concerns about budget control, a concern that was aroused from the beginning when the team presented their initial project proposal entitled *Istedgade for All Its Worth* (r.n.Sep24.14). This initial project idea was expansive in its projected

imagery of greenery, proposing to turn Istedgade into the greenest city street, and the caretaker of the city's monuments explained his impression with the words: 'Everything should just roll over in greenery. That was the impression you got. Then you get scared and say, remember that we cannot sustain it (…) I don't have that mandate. I can only say: no green maintenance' (i.CCM.Jan13.15). Although the steering group's critique of the project led the artist to revise and specify his project proposal into *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* – the proposal that the steering group subsequently approved – the additional funds of DKK 3.7 million from Nordea-fonden did little to assuage the administrative concern for budget control. All the while the Artist 1 team remained reluctant to specify an outcome. As the caretaker of the city's monuments put it: 'It is also the way in which he works where the process is the most important. It fits very badly into our and the Danish Agency for Culture's more square systems of boxes' (i.CCM.Jan13.15).

A dispute between two modes of ordering

For me, the above situation offers an opportunity to analyse the potentially conflictual relationship between the modes of ordering of *administration* and *artistic autonomy*. In fact, I would argue that a confrontation between these two modes of ordering is what causes the conflictual situation. Rather than blaming either the city or the artist and his team, I see the situation as resulting from the boundary relations between *administration* and *artistic autonomy*, and I will use this specific situation to show how their effects might contradict each other. My argument is based on an understanding of modes of ordering as relatively stable forces of organizing that have been able to gather strength by virtue of being flexible and adjustable within the overall pattern expressed in their effect. As such, modes of ordering are active and changing, as they are performed and enacted in the networks of the social, and in the process interact with other modes of ordering. In this case, the mode of ordering of *public interest* decisively contributes to sustaining the dispute between the City of Copenhagen and Artist 1.

In Chapter 5 I wrote that *administration* is organized around ensuring that decisions are made and executed. I further specified that the effects of *administration* include the division of agents according to specified responsibilities, and the production of legal systems, documents, and archiving systems to preserve decisions. I also emphasized that *administration* sometimes allowed for flexibility and innovation, while at other times *administration* tightened its regulatory system around a particular concern for budgets. The ethos of *administration* is the responsible, fair, and efficient use of public funds, which is where *administration* enters into a certain relationship with the mode of ordering of

public interest. *Administration* supports *public interest* by supporting all citizens' equality before the law and in the eyes of the state and by using public funds efficiently and accountably for the benefit of all citizens.

In the above situation *administration* adheres to regulated procedures, and although it shows itself to be inventive in securing political approval, this inventiveness actually aims at moulding the artistic project into an *administratively* manageable form. As such, it seems to care more about the attainment of approval than the actual outcome of the artwork. At the same time, *administration* does not care for only one, but for both of the commissioned projects. The item on the political agenda on March 26, 2015 was aimed to gain the city's acceptance of not only the Artist 1 team's project but also Artist 2's project *Inside Out Istedgade*, which the artist had already started developing (i.A2.Oct.14.14).[106] The two projects were initially set to compete, but when the competition was cancelled, they were administratively tied together. The administrative fate of one project thus became bound to that of the other. The two art projects might not have been approved at all if the project manager had not amended the project description of *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*. As it was, however, on March 26, 2015, *Inside Out Istedgade* was granted full approval, but only *half* of *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* was approved – the part without the 'green'.

In Chapter 5 I specified that *artistic autonomy* as a mode of ordering works to support and protect the independence of art from other cultural and social processes while also maximizing the influence of art on society. I described how it produces institutions like the arts foundation and the discourse of art history to support its position, and that it generates agents in the form of artists singled out for their professional competencies as well as an expert audience distinguished by their professional knowledge of art. I also emphasized that while *artistic autonomy* was historically tied to the creation of aesthetic objects, *artistic autonomy* has supported artists' boundary-crossing experiments into the social. As such, *artistic autonomy* is tied to various material forms and aesthetic expressions, including so-called ephemeral artistic processes in which the aesthetic result is less important than the participatory process of developing it.

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[106] See also http://www.kk.dk/indhold/borgerrepraesentationens-modemateriale/26032015/edoc-agenda/edd0275f-b243-4dda-8540-01e432a88885 (accessed July 4, 2018), and item 28 about 'Art in Istedgade': http://www.kk.dk/indhold/borgerrepraesentationens-modemateriale/26032015/edoc-agenda/edd0275f-b243-4dda-8540-01e432a88885/2db59e58-a6ea-43e7-b395-b0ce79235560 (accessed July 4, 2018).

In the above situation, the Artist 1 team operated according to the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering, which underpins artists' experimental freedom to move away from classical art forms and pursue cross-disciplinary practices into the social. *Artistic autonomy* also gives artists the freedom to refrain from specifying a concrete outcome before they have involved citizens. Finally, by acquiring further financial support for the project, the Artist 1 team succeeded in maximizing the support for and scope of their work. However, these actions were not conceptualized to benefit Artist 1's personal ambitions, but rather to benefit the local citizens of Istedgade. Here the *public interest* mode of ordering re-emerged, but this time in a particular liaison with *artistic autonomy*. In the commissioning process, the Artist 1 team argued that their proposal for greenery was based on interests repeatedly expressed by local citizens at citizen hearings, but that the city – also repeatedly – decided not to support that interest (r.n.Jun17.14, r.n.Sep24.14). By reconfiguring artistic autonomy into political autonomy, the Artist 1 team granted the citizens the right to choose more greenery.

In addition, the team offered the citizens influence on the design of greenery for their neighbourhood through extensive processes of citizen involvement. In their method book, the Artist 1 team highlight time as a key principle in their citizen involvement strategy:

> Time is the most important tool in citizen involvement, trust creation, and quality assurance. Plenty of time provides the freedom to be present and to act upon what happens, and it takes time for the users to develop, get used to, accept, and join the changes that an art and urban development project implements in their local area and in them. It takes time for suggestions and changes to settle – just as it takes time for knowledge to be spread to others.[107]

Their emphasis on time is set against the traditional forms of citizen involvement – as practiced by public administrators – which the team claim are 'only used to waste as little time as possible'.[108] In contrast, they argue that by spending more time involving local citizens, you not only gain their trust but also are able to develop a better result by way of their local expertise. In addition, you give the local citizens the time to become aware of what is happening, get used to the changes, and even participate in implementing them. The Artist 1 team's emphasis on the value of time connects their practice to the durational model of participatory art, in which the monumentality of time has become the new norm (Beech 2011). Here, time is underscored not simply to suggest the long-lasting effect of a work of art

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[107] See Kenneth Balfelt Team (2016), p. 6.
[108] Ibid., p. 5.

but also to indicate the durational process of the artist's site-specific engagement. In the Artist 1 team's proposal the two forms of monumentality are combined. The process is emphasized as a method for ensuring the long-term maintenance of the material outcome. It is the process that is to ensure the sustainability of the implemented greenery. The argument is that if local citizens and users take part in analysing the situation of their local environment and contribute to designing the spot, they will also be more prone to help maintain it. The Artist 1 team argue that this is precisely what happened in the Enghave Minipark case I mentioned in the last chapter. The process of involving the local beer drinkers and utilizing their skills not only empowered them but also helped to ensure the long-term sustainability of the new park. Because of their own sense of pride and responsibility for the park, the team argue, the beer drinkers handle most of the maintenance themselves.[109]

For Istedgade, the Artist 1 team were thus proposing a project that is in the public interest because it granted the local public more greenery – a prospect that they had expressed an interest in – and because the team involved the local citizens in the design of greenery. They had also managed to secure additional project funding that 'only' required that the city support the project with a maintenance guarantee. Moreover, this maintenance guarantee was only meant as a precaution against the worst-case scenario of the Artist 1 team's failing to establish a community of citizens in Istedgade to maintain the greenery (e.A1.Dec17.14). The Artist 1 team were doing more than include local citizens in design decisions; they also intended to use these processes to develop a new social collective that would unite the street's residents, the small business owners, and the street people. However, the team depended on the support of public and private funds as well as the City of Copenhagen's maintenance guarantee to carry out the proposed project.

As a conflict between *administration* and *artistic autonomy*, the situation might thus be framed as a conflict between the value of product versus process, finance versus time and disciplinary organizing versus cross-disciplinary organizing. *Administration* requires budgets and timelines. It works with specified responsibilities and clear targets that one can carefully analyse and calculate to make responsible decisions. *Artistic autonomy*, on the other hand, supports cross-disciplinary experiments and the value of open-ended processes. The two modes of ordering interrelate, although each in their own way, with *public interest*, which serves to develop a particular ethos around their practice. *Administration* emphasizes financial responsibility and an adherence to regulated, transparent, and

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[109] Ibid., p. 13.

efficient processes that ensure the fair distribution of funds to the entire population. By channelling arts funding into urban development, community building, and social work, *artistic autonomy* stresses local citizens' right to more greenery and to be involved in designing their own neighbourhood.

Freedom as autonomy or freedom as opportunity

At this stage, I want to add another layer to the analysis – the role of the arts foundation in supporting *administrative* arguments. This added analytical layer picks up the thread from my Chapter 6 discussion about the balancing act in the commissioning process. There, I showed that *public interest* effected the balance between *artistic autonomy* and *administration*, which had historically been developed in the institution of the arts foundation. I argued that *public interest* expresses itself in unifying aspirations, but has the effect of generating a space for voicing public dissent, as *public interest* promotes different organizations of the public, and I offered the example of the changing criteria for evaluating the artistic projects in the commissioning process. In this chapter I have shown how *public interest* allows *administration* to voice its concern, indicating that *public interest* also comes to bolster the influence of other modes of ordering on an artistic project, in this case particularly the *administration* mode of ordering.

As I described in the previous chapter, the collaborative process for a public work of art is a balancing act between the rights of the artist and the interests of the recipients acting as public representatives. In other words, the arts foundation not only assigns the project to the artist but *also* assigns the artist the responsibility of persuading the future owner of the artwork that this particular artwork will benefit the proposed site. As such, the collaborative set-up around public art commissioning has implications for artistic autonomy. It indicates that artistic autonomy is no longer to be considered a right, but rather a privilege to be earned.

To analyse this situation in more detail, I turn to organization scholar Christian Maravelias' article 'Freedom at work in the Age of Post-Bureaucratic Organization', in which he develops the argument that freedom within our contemporary post-bureaucratic society is no longer conceptualized as autonomy, but as potentiality (Maravelias 2007). The conception of freedom as autonomy stems from the Enlightenment thinkers, who connected freedom to the rational subject that self-consciously governs their own life. As Maravelias argues, freedom is in this way understood in '…negative terms, i.e. as the absence of coercion and domination, and more generally, as the absence of power' (Maravelias 2007, p. 558). He also argues that this understanding of freedom is countered by a more practice-

oriented conception of freedom related to taking part in the world, for instance, as conveyed in the writings of the pragmatist John Dewey. This conception is embedded in a common understanding of freedom as the ability to initiate and complete certain actions, for which reason it differs substantially from the Enlightenment tradition in that '…power is no longer an antithesis to freedom but instead becomes an integral part of freedom' (Maravelias 2007, p. 559). In other words, freedom is not liberation from power, as '…it requires power – power to act and to seize on opportunities' (Maravelias 2007, p. 559). The difference between these two kinds of conceptualizations of freedom is thus that freedom as autonomy is a freedom from power, although safeguarded by it, while freedom as potentiality indicates the possibility of seizing opportunities via distributed power.

Maravelias positions these diverging conceptualizations of freedom respectively within the bureaucratic and the post-bureaucratic forms of organizing society. Bureaucracy organizes freedom vis-à-vis the heteronomy of the bureaucratic organization, granting freedom in the exercise of professional judgement and in the life outside of work. In both forms, however, freedom is circumscribed because it depends on the bureaucratic system that both restricts and supports autonomy. In the post-bureaucratic organization freedom instead depends on the seizing of opportunity. Whereas critical management scholars argue that post-bureaucratic organizations tighten the iron grip of bureaucracy even further '…via subtle and encompassing command systems' (Maravelias 2007, p. 567), Maravelias proposes that we recognize how post-bureaucratic organizations, in fact, increase the pressure to perform by '…withdrawing the command system' (Maravelias 2007, p. 567). In other words, post-bureaucracy deprives the worker of the freedom afforded by autonomy, but it also gives the worker something else – the freedom to seize opportunities, and, Maravelias argues, 'What this implies is that freedom is transformed from a derivative of individual rights and regulated demands and duties, to a derivative of the individuals' potential' (Maravelias 2007, p. 568).

This differentiation between a bureaucratic and a post-bureaucratic conceptualization of freedom offers a tool for further analysing the relationship between *artistic autonomy, administration*, and *public interest* with respect to the situation described in this chapter. What such a differentiation points to is that the Artist 1 team combined a bureaucratic conception of artistic freedom as autonomy with a post-bureaucratic conception of artistic freedom as potentiality. More specifically, the Artist 1 team attempted to use the artistic autonomy bureaucratically ensured by the arts foundation as a platform to opportunistically extend this autonomy in two directions at once. In one direction, they cross-disciplinarily extended their autonomy beyond the field of artistic production and into social work,

urban development, and urban greenery experiments, while in the other they mobilized additional support from Nordea-fonden. In their practice, the Artist 1 team have proven successful in pursuing such cross-disciplinary practices, or – in the conceptualization of Maravelias – in 'seizing opportunities via distributed power'. By emphasizing an artistic identity, but working with improving the life conditions of social outcasts like substance abusers, homeless people and prison inmates, they have cut across disciplinary fields and sources of project funding.[110] They attract arts funding by innovatively extending artistic practice into social practice, and they signal innovation within other fields of practice by their expressed artistic identity.[111]

However, the Artist 1 team miscalculated the situation of being commissioned by the arts foundation, as they operated on the premise that being commissioned more or less automatically meant obtaining the assignment. The only obstacle they perceived was the original plan to organize a competition between the two art projects. Once the competition was cancelled, the team seemed under the impression that an approval was a mere formality. In fact, when the competition was cancelled, Artist 1 asked Arts Foundation Representative 1 whether they ever rejected project proposals. The artist was smiling and half-joking when posing the question, and the representative replied, also jokingly: 'If only you knew' (r.n May14.14). Thus, when the team's proposal was not approved, Artist 1 was initially shocked (r.n.Sep24.14). In the ensuing discussion, it became apparent that the team had primarily focused on its application to Nordea-fonden (r.n.Sep24.14). Moreover, they had apparently considered the funding from the arts foundation to be assured, and also thought that this funding served as a guarantee that the city would maintain their project, also in the expanded size it would assume with the additional funding from Nordea-fonden. The Artist 1 team criticized the city for not having assisted them with a maintenance support statement that they could have added to their application to Nordea-fonden (r.n.Sep24.14). They also appealed to the arts foundation representatives to put pressure on the city to gain such support (r.n.Sep24.14).

Here, *artistic autonomy* expressed itself through the Artist 1 team's actions and arguments, but in a particular way that combined a bureaucratic and a post-bureaucratic notion of artistic autonomy. The team relied on artistic autonomy as a bureaucratically supported right and mobilized this right to pursue opportunities to expand the scope of their project. Their preconception of such rights is tied to

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[110] See, for instance, the Artist 1 Team's website, where they distinguish between art projects and urban development projects: https://www.kennethbalfelt.org/portfolio (accessed September 5, 2018).
[111] *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* is a case in point of the team's ability to attract funding from different types of sources.

the historical influence that *artistic autonomy* has had through the institution of the arts foundation, whereby a public art commission is interpreted as an acknowledgement of artistic merit and as an opportunity to roll out one's artistic aspirations on a larger scale. This preconception was further supported by the flexibility and support that the team initially experienced in the commissioning process, including the cancellation of the competition and the initial positive responses to their artistic idea of adding a green layer to the rebuilding of Istedgade (r.n.May14.14, r.n.Jun17.14).

However, the *public interest* mode of ordering induces the Danish Arts Foundation to balance its commissioning process between the rights of the artist and the interests of the public. In effect, it commissions artists to 'sell' their work to a recipient that acts as a public representative. As such, the arts foundation has ceased to rely on artistic autonomy as a bureaucratically ensured right, but has instead reorganized itself in response to a post-bureaucratic society in which political powers no longer necessarily support a bureaucratically organized artistic autonomy, which must now demonstrate its worth according to the logic of freedom as opportunity. The arts foundation, then, neither safeguards artistic autonomy from the influence of other powers, nor is it an instrument that can be mobilized by individual artists to pursue further opportunities. Rather, *artistic autonomy* is an instrument that, to go anywhere at all, itself needs the support of artists that deliver persuasive proposals.

Chapter 8: Artistic autonomy in the public interest

This chapter engages with the organizing of participation in *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*. It analyses this organizing as an effect of a particular relationship between the modes of ordering of *artistic autonomy* and *public interest*. The chapter especially reflects on the problems related to aligning one's artistic aspirations with the interests of the public. I start the chapter by reframing the conflict between Artist 1 and the City of Copenhagen around the question of who legitimately speaks on behalf of the public. I also involve the local neighbourhood council in this matter. I then engage with the development of one of the Istedgade green spots, and discuss the outcome of this spot with respect to the effects of *public interest* on *artistic autonomy* and the organizing of participation. A particular twist to the relationship between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* in *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* is how the project becomes *administratively* confronted with the request to form a neighbourhood guild.

Combining the green and the social

Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours combined a thematic focus on greenery with an interest in creating and sustaining social relations. The project was intended to add greenery to Istedgade while using this greenery as a tool for developing new ways in which the divergent social groups in Istedgade could have meaningful social interactions, in particular between the so-called street people and the other users and residents. At one project presentation given to the steering group, Artist 1 explained that greenery was his artistic 'form' that was used to create the 'content' of communities, among other things (r.n.Nov6.14).

The choice of greenery originated from several sources. In the commissioning process, Artist 1 primarily argued that the choice was based on the local citizens' persistent desire for more greenery (r.n.Jun17.14). Referencing several citizen hearings on urban renewal projects in Vesterbro, he showed that more greenery was high on citizens' wish list (r.n.Jun17.14).[112] He himself had participated in a Vesterbro hearing when he lived in the area, and personally felt disappointed by the rejection of the additional greenery proposed (r.n.Jun17.14). As he explained, Vesterbro was also the least green area of all Copenhagen, with only two or three square metres of greenery per resident, compared to the

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[112] Artist 1 showed a slide with the results of recent citizen hearings in overall figures. For Istedgade's rebuilding, 37% wanted more greenery, only topped by 54% who wanted more outdoor serving. For Vesterbro in general 25% wanted more greenery, and for Litauens Plads and Tove Ditlevsens Plads, in particular, more greenery was the number one wish (r.n.Jun17.14).

citywide average of 25 square metres per resident (r.n.Jun17.14). He drove his argument home by showing the few scarce elements of green existing in Istedgade at the time (r.n.Jun17.14).

Artist 1 had other reasons for choosing greenery. In his pre-sketch presentation he said, 'It is also because it interests us' (r.n.Jun17.14). For one, he had personally experienced a period of stress and felt that exposure to a green environment had aided his recovery (r.n.Aug14.14). In addition, he had recently developed some gardens together with homeless men and with prison inmates.[113] He knew that the so-called street people would be just as interested in more greenery as the wealthier group of citizens whose voices came through at the citizen hearings. In their project proposal the Artist 1 team emphasized the street's collective interest in more greenery: the project's goal is to '(...) break social divisions and act across these. And create an equal community around a joint process. The success of this depends on the project's being relevant to all parties. Here nature is a sure winner!'[114]

Artistic autonomy in the interest of the public

Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours constitutes a persuasive liaison between the effects of *artistic autonomy* and *public interest*. It was also generated by the mode of ordering of *the site*. The proposal was not simply a persuasive political strategy invented to convince funders or the local community to back the project. For Artist 1, the artistic proposal was a self-persuasive authentic expression of his artistic ethos, an ethos tied to aspirations of working in the public interest. Artist 1 and his team grounded their artistic idea in the interests of the local site and its community. The site had less greenery than the rest of Copenhagen and had been consistently deprived of more. In addition, the local public had repeatedly expressed an interest in a greater amount of greenery. Thus, the idea of upscaling the level of vegetation constituted an aesthetic contribution to Istedgade that was in the public interest. Moreover, *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* resonated with the 'social cohesion' of Istedgade. The project proposal aspired to mend and renew this social cohesion because greenery is of interest to *all* local citizens. The artist's ambitious plans for citizen involvement also suggest that the very process of co-creative work would aid in recreating social bonds between the citizens and users of the street.

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[113] See https://www.kennethbalfelt.org/odense-gardrum and https://www.kennethbalfelt.org/livsudviklingshaven (accessed September 12, 2018).

[114] I quote here from their project proposal to Nordea-fonden, September 1, 2014. See https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/edoc/9418ce5c-9f79-4824-b38c-f27b0b6b318a/e7524dfa-a2e4-43ac-b3cd-ea786c38bc7f/Attachments/12954488-14291436-1.PDF (accessed July 4, 2018).

Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours might be conceptualized as the culmination of Artist 1's work, gathering all the strands of his practice into one grand-scale project. The work would allow him to continue his efforts to support the living conditions of social outcasts, thus contributing to the development of a just city (Harvey 2009). It also allowed him to develop the green environments in which he himself had found so much solace (r.n.Aug14.14). In addition, Istedgade was a site that he knew intimately, his having both lived there and developed a range of works for the area. These works include the recent *Enghave Minipark* made in collaboration with the beer drinkers.[115] They also include his long-standing involvement in improving drug-users' living conditions. Artist 1 has been involved in the struggle to establish public health centres where drug users can inject their drugs under safe circumstances – in local slang called 'fixing rooms' (Blom 2015). As part of this effort, he created a mock-version of a fixing room in an old bunker in Vesterbro.[116] He also helped redesign Mændenes Hjem (the Men's Home) in collaboration with its users, developing an interior design that gave them a more dignified environment.[117] This project subsequently garnered financial support from the arts foundation in recognition of its achievement, and the arts foundation also highlighted the work in its 2014 publication celebrating 50 years of accomplishment, commending it as one of 25 highlighted works among the 1,273 the foundation has funded since its inception (Jalving 2014, Straarup 2014).

The arts foundation commissioned Artist 1 for the Istedgade project partly on account of his home-turf advantage and because he had substantial experience with user involvement (i.FAFR1.Jan8.15). From an art historical perspective his work matched the site. His long-standing engagement in the site also strengthened the impression that his work would be generally appreciated there. Artist 1 was also chosen because of his perceived artistic merits, and his commissioning by the arts foundation further cemented his recognition as an artist (i.FAFR2.Feb2.15). His commissioning came to serve as an approval of his pledge to make his work serve the interests of the public. While Artist 1 spoke about public interest or the interests of the site, the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering also effected his project proposal, because he framed artistic autonomy as serving the public interest. *Artistic autonomy* expressed itself in the very fact that Artist 1 was convinced of the public interest in his artistic vision. He saw his vision for Istedgade as authentic and legitimate because local citizens' opinions at citizen hearings substantiated it, and because he, having lived and worked in the area, was no stranger to the site, but actually one of its people and someone who knew it well enough to speak on its behalf.

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[115] See also https://www.kennethbalfelt.org/enghave-minipark (accessed September 12, 2018).
[116] See https://www.kennethbalfelt.org/injection-room-fixerum (accessed September 12, 2018).
[117] See https://www.kennethbalfelt.org/maendenes-hjem (accessed September 12, 2018).

The fact that Artist 1's portfolio and his artistic ethos so perfectly matched the assignment made it difficult for him to recognize any criticism of his proposal as legitimate, especially when it came from city officials whose agenda was 'primarily to save money', as I quoted from the method book in the last chapter.[118] As such, the conflict with the city discussed in that chapter also signals how Artist 1 considered himself to be more attuned to the local site and its citizens than the city administration was. The city officials' critique and their reluctance to support the project was considered illegitimate because they were not seen as acting in the public interest but instead as consistently denying it what it wants.

Who speaks on behalf of the site?

As a project proposal *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* was not only persuasive for the Artist 1 team, but also for many others. Initially they received support from the city's chief architect and from the second neighbourhood council representative, both of whom welcomed the ambitious plan of upscaling greenery in the street (r.n.Jun17.14, r.n.Nov6.14). While the chief architect eventually criticized the proposal for lacking artistic form, she initially applauded the idea of adding greenery, validating her enthusiasm by referencing a new city policy for urban greenery not yet in effect when Istedgade's rebuilding was politically approved.[119] In other words, the city itself had upscaled its emphasis on urban greenery, and the Artist 1 team's proposal was in lockstep with the new green aspirations for the city. She also suggested that, as an art project, the work might help develop new types of green interventions in the city and, indeed, showcase how neighbourhood collaborations could develop and sustain such green projects (r.n.Jun17.14).

The private foundation Nordea-fonden recognized the project for its combination of a social and a green dimension.[120] The foundation determined the project not only to be locally relevant, but also to be a prospective national model project that others might learn from.[121] However, Nordea-fonden's support depended on a maintenance guarantee from the City of Copenhagen, which was not generated 'automatically' through the collaboration between the city and the arts foundation. Instead the Artist 1 team had to navigate the city's administrative systems independently, a challenge that they initially

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[118] See also Kenneth Balfelt Team (2016).
[119] See also the city policy: *Bynatur København 2015-20125* which was published in May 2015: https://www.kk.dk/artikel/bynatur-i-koebenhavn-2015-2025 (accessed September 12, 2018).
[120] BNB, 'Frisk Luft. Fond giver millioner til natur i byen', *Berlingske*, January 7, 2015.
[121] See the foundation's differentiation between project sizes: https://nordeafonden.dk/soeg-stoette-til-projekt/projektstoette-over-100000-kr (accessed September 12, 2018).

surmounted. They managed to organize a meeting with a city director, which was also attended by the head of Nordea-fonden (d.n.Feb2.15). Before the meeting, Artist 1 and his team reflected on the possible outcome of the meeting, and the team-member George suggested that they consider taking the project elsewhere if Copenhagen did not want it (d.n.Feb2. 15). Afterwards, I learned that the meeting had been successful and that Artist 1 was hopeful (d.n.Feb13.15). He said that getting hold of someone higher up in the city administration seemed to be the way to go (d.n.Feb13.15). Within the city, however, they were still formally dealing with the project as an administration. Together with Artist 1, they calculated the financial risks of the project in terms of maintenance costs and landed on a figure of approximately DKK 900,000 over 10 years, including the contingency of removing the greenery altogether.[122] For the artist, this estimate was a worst-case scenario, which would never happen, where the local citizens completely relinquished their maintenance responsibility (e.A1.Dec17.14). For the city, however, the estimate was too unreliable in light of the uncertainty attached to the open process of citizen involvement.[123]

As part of the administrative process, the Technical and Environmental Administration consulted the Vesterbro neighbourhood council. As representatives of the site and of the local public, the council had participated in the commissioning process for the artwork in Istedgade, but had little actual influence on its outcome. The first representative had been accommodated through the public vote between the two artistic proposals, but that influence was lost with the cancelling of the vote. The second representative found herself unable to influence the outcome, since the artists had already been selected. A third representative replaced the second representative at a single meeting and used the opportunity to criticize the Artist 1 team's project for inadequately engaging with the history of Istedgade (r.n.Sep24.14). In this case, the arts foundation's representatives protected the rights of the artist by referring to an earlier decision in which the steering group had supported Artist 1's idea of working only with the street's current citizens on urban greenery (r.n.Sep24.14). In effect, they *administratively* dismissed this critique.

However, when the Technical and Environmental Administration offered the Vesterbro council a new chance to comment on the project and its proposed additional funding from Nordea-fonden, the council seized the opportunity to voice its dissent. The council specifically responded by saying that it

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[122] See https://www.kk.dk/indhold/teknik-og-miljoudvalgets-modemateriale/26052015/edoc-agenda/9418ce5c-9f79-4824-b38c-f27b0b6b318a/6381b571-ff14-47e4-a175-b6d4a20d6378 (accessed July 4, 2018).
[123] Ibid.

internally disagreed about the project.[124] They began their response by expressing support for the city's interest in backing a project to increase the greenery in Istedgade and also voiced their support for the proposed open process of citizen involvement, for which the project manager had actually not decided the result before the process began. They also applauded the city and the private foundation for wanting to fund more greenery, but they then moved on to frame a number of concerns that I will quote here in full:

> On the present grounds, we think it's a difficult project to take a stand on. We don't know the scope of the project and thus the scope of the subsequent maintenance job. For this reason we have no way of actually knowing whether with this project we are about to bind the city to an immense extra operating cost – whether it is just a little extra that might even be kept within the existing operating costs.
> It's true that many people want more greenery in Vesterbro, but there are also many people who want to maintain the urban character of Istedgade. Among other things, it is this balance that we in collaboration with the Technical and Environmental Administration have tried to maintain in connection with the entire renewal of Istedgade.
> The democratic suspension of the process. Who in actual fact gets to make the decisions about the future appearance of Istedgade? Is there any kind of democratic control and guarantee of the project? If we say yes to it, it will be here for 10 years.[125]

The quoted part of the response was drafted by the neighbourhood council's executive committee, which was instituted to respond quickly to the central administration's hearing requests (i.NCM1.Jun2.16). The second neighbourhood council representative to take part in the commissioning process was not on this committee, nor was she present when the joint neighbourhood council approved the response and shipped it off to the Technical and Environmental Administration (d.n.Dec3.15). As such, the concerns raised against the Artist 1 team's project were framed by a group of local citizens who had not participated in the commissioning process and who – as the response clearly expresses – felt no ownership of the artistic proposal.

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[124] See https://www.kk.dk/indhold/vesterbro-lokaludvalgs-modemateriale/18032015/edoc-agenda/7b31cdd2-3dc3-4824-ab49-f1d4d32dbe5a/ea6cd198-01c1-47db-bfca-792b654e47ea (accessed October 5, 2018).
[125] Quoted from https://www.kk.dk/indhold/vesterbro-lokaludvalgs-modemateriale/18032015/edoc-agenda/7b31cdd2-3dc3-4824-ab49-f1d4d32dbe5a/ea6cd198-01c1-47db-bfca-792b654e47ea (accessed October 5, 2018).

Various agendas permeate this response. It speaks of *administrative* responsibility vis-à-vis the city's broader financial responsibility, thus indicating the *administrative* role of the local council. *The site* also reasserts itself against the central administration to minimize what it can gain from this 'gift' – perhaps, for example, the gift would rule out the city's support of other projects. With respect to the Artist 1 team's project, in particular, the response questions the legitimacy of the artist in determining what is in the local public interest. While an expressed interest in serving the site and its public carried *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*, the local council claimed otherwise. *The site* asserted itself by instigating a clear distinction between the artistic project and the site of Istedgade. As the project had been generated from elsewhere, it potentially obstructed the decision about Istedgade's renewal just democratically implemented with the involvement of the city administration and the local council itself. Here came an artist backed by the funding of a private foundation and wanting to overrule the decision to maintain Istedgade's urban character. Should the local council agree to implement and maintain the project for 10 years even if Vesterbro's citizens had had no influence on it? In other words, they questioned whether the project was truly in the public interest.

The response thus challenges the legitimacy of the artist's relationship to the site and his ability to speak for the site and its community. Indirectly, however, the response also points to a particular challenge with respect to serving public interest: the very fact that the local council internally disagreed about the project and that Vesterbro's local citizens disagreed about the benefits of more greenery. Artist 1 and his team referenced citizen hearings in Vesterbro where a collective interest in more greenery was expressed, but not by all citizens. In fact, for Istedgade the figure was 37%, while 54% wanted more outdoor serving. The rebuilding accommodated the latter interest by widening the pavement to give local cafés space to expand their services. The above response thus tells of differing opinions and interests that are not necessarily compatible. It conveys that all potential design decisions are effectively decisions made in the interest of some citizens, but not necessarily all, and thus decisions that potentially disregard or directly counter the interests of those other citizens.

The art of generating public interest

In the second part of this chapter I continue the analysis of the relationship between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* and its effects on the organizing of participation in *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*. To this end, I engage with the development of one of the project's green spots: from Saxogade to *SaxoGarden*. Above I argued that Artist 1 grounded his artistic vision for Istedgade in the expressed interest of the local public and authenticated his voice by positioning himself as a

member of that local public. His artistic vision of supporting a just city and expanding urban greenery formed a persuasive liaison between *public interest*, *artistic autonomy,* and *the site* that made it difficult for him to recognize critique as legitimate. The city administration could not speak on behalf of the Vesterbro citizens, because it had continually denied their interest in more greenery. The divided Vesterbro council could not be similarly dismissed as illegitimate, but could be persuaded to support the project if the artist clarified his intentions of working in the public interest. Interestingly, the artist, in fact, underlined his post-autonomous practice when persuading the Vesterbro council to write a new letter of recommendation. In this case, he asserted that he was not operating as an autonomous artist (e.A1.Jun2.15). In contrast, his initial presentation for the council had resulted in – yet another – minor dispute with respect to the project's lack of engagement with Istedgade's history, to which the artist had responded by rhetorically resorting to the concept of artistic autonomy (r.n.Jan21.15). At that meeting, the neighbourhood council's internal differences of opinion had been apparent, but the chairman of the council closed the debate by saying that the council had not commissioned the project and therefore had no influence on it (r.n.Jan21.15).

While the liaison between *artistic autonomy*, *public interest*, and *the site* proved a powerful motor in generating the project proposal and dismissing criticism as illegitimate, it also served to make the project vulnerable to local citizens' lack of actual interest. Artist 1's own enthusiasm for the project was intimately connected with his understanding of the project as in the interest of the local citizens, which meant it depended on their enthusiastic responses to be carried out. In the following, I discuss the development of the green spot *SaxoGarden*. The green spot was co-designed by a group of local citizens living and working in Saxogade, but its realization was eventually cancelled because two of the three cooperative housing associations did not support it (d.n.Aug20.18).[126] For the Artist 1 team the cancellation prompted reflections about the causes for this lacking support. The housing associations disinterest conflicted with the feedback that the team had received when speaking individually with the residents. When going door to door and personally speaking with them, the team had experienced overwhelming approval and enthusiasm for their proposed green environment, and most had also expressed an interest in contributing to its maintenance (d.n.Aug20.18). The artist felt that the citizens still lacked a burning platform, something that would necessitate their engagement in generating a green spot. In contrast, residents of another spot next to Istedgade (which I only followed from the

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[126] See https://www.facebook.com/groups/SaxoGarden/?fb_dtsg_ag=AdzoLFrxMBK7ihwzr5DJ9e3t6Oo8YPuyy6TCq3m47IgPHQ%3AAdxmgN1ntloqtfygKCtarFfII9QDjBUYjFwvhgIBjcXInw (accessed September 11, 2018).

site's Facebook updates and the team's Dropbox files) had shown broader enthusiasm and more active involvement. This other spot was located at the junction of Viktoriagade and Abel Cathrinesgade, just opposite the Men's Home and thus close to Istedgade's drug environment. In the artist's evaluation, the shops and residents there approached the greenery project as a next step in their effort to create a more pleasant urban environment, a task they had already embarked on before becoming involved with the Artist 1 team's project (r.n.Aug20.18).

While not contradicting the Artist 1 team's analysis, my reflections about *SaxoGarden* will emphasize the problems associated with ambitions to generate broad local support. To me, the Artist 1 team's cancellation of *SaxoGarden* shows how the artist's own aspirations were caught up in the efforts to generate public interest. While he was able to locate public interest within Saxogade and mobilize a group of citizens to participate in the spot's development, his eventual decision to cancel the spot tells of his need for broader public support, a need exacerbated by the *administrative* requests to formalize local support in the shape of a neighbourhood guild. I would argue that while aesthetically he was able to persuade the local citizens, they were ultimately unable to persuade him that they actually wanted the project.

From SaxoGade to *SaxoGarden*

Saxogade is a side street to Istedgade. The part of Saxogade that the Artist 1 team targeted is the small stretch that goes by the popular name Sidegaden – the 'side street'. Flanked on two sides by narrow apartment buildings, this part of the street is only about 50 metres long and ends in an open square designed to accommodate sport activities and children's play. The street contains a number of small shops and offices, an outdoor serving area for a café, five parking spaces and a lot of bicycle stands. It looks somewhat dishevelled with a patchwork of murals on one flank and a bland real estate agent on the other.

Saxogade was selected as a spot because of its connection to the social organization Settlementet, which offers tailored occupational support for unemployed people with additional problems.[127] As such, Settlementet runs a number of socio-economic shops in the street that offer employment opportunities. In the fall of 2016, Settlementet successfully secured funding from the private foundation Tuborg Fundet to develop its engagement in the street into what it called 'a social market

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[127] See http://settlementet.dk/ (accessed September 26, 2018).

street' in which all shops 'combine an economic, a social, and a green account'.[128] Settlementet's fundraiser Sally referred to this as 'business going social' rather than 'social going business', meaning that the organization aspires to offer quality services and develop real jobs, instead of operating local spaces with the sole intention of activating unemployed citizens or 'playing work' (r.n.Feb1.17). To this end, Settlementet opened an additional café and a shop focusing on urban gardening. In another of its spaces, it offers services for back courtyard and garden maintenance through its employment programme. The gardener in charge of organizing and supervising this programme became involved not only in the Artist 1 team's green spot for Saxogade but also in its collaboration with the Men's Home. *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* entailed the development of three green spots in and around Istedgade as well as a training programme for people in the drug environment who were interested in training for minor maintenance jobs caring for urban vegetation.[129] Artist 1 hoped that these jobs could help to develop a more constructive relationship between the street people and the apartment residents by enabling the two groups to interact with respect to matters like maintaining the green environment instead of other, more conflict-ridden, drug-related issues.

Organization-creation

The development of *SaxoGarden* was organized according to the ethical model of citizen involvement and monumentally extended into the durational model. The artist essentially facilitated a process in which local citizens were to co-create the green design for their local area. They were assisted in this process by the Artist 1 team's research into urban greenery and by the design skills of two architects. The local citizens themselves, however, played the key role, as the Artist 1 team involved them in analysing the site and evaluating the design suggestions, the aim being to foster ownership and responsibility for the green spot.

The process began in the fall of 2016, when the Artist 1 team held a number of internal meetings (Aug29, Sep9, Sep23), also including Settlementet (Sep29), and started contacting the local housing associations and Saxogade shops (Sep28, Sep29). Following an open meeting on November 23, 2016, to which all local residents and shop owners were invited, a work group was established. The group comprised a few local residents, Maria, Amy, and Michael; the shop owner Henry; Jennifer, who was in charge of Settlementet's new café; and Sally, the fundraiser for Settlementet. The gardener also participated, as did the Artist 1 team, which at the time consisted of Artist 1 himself and David, along

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[128] See http://settlementet.dk/social-handelsgade/ (accessed September 26, 2018).
[129] See https://www.kennethbalfelt.org/istedgade-gronne-spots (accessed September 29, 2018)

with, first, Benjamin (in the fall of 2016), then Olivia (in the spring of 2017), and Bridget (from May 2017).[130] The group met about once a month throughout the spring of 2017 to collectively design the green spot for Saxogade (Jan11, Feb1, Mar19, Apr19, Jun19). The meetings were initially held in Saxogade, at a café, or in the gardener's small office, and later at the Artist 1 team's office in another nearby street. Their two-room office on the ground floor had a small kitchen and toilet and was sparsely decorated, its main purpose being to give the team members desks that would enable them to work in a joint space. For the work group meetings, these desks were pulled together to form a larger table that could seat 10-12.

The team's initial consultation with the shop owners and residents generated a variety of responses. The team summarized these ideas and opinions in a document with headings covering 'traffic', 'parking spaces', 'bicycles', 'children's play', 'place for occupation', 'ideas for vegetation' and 'wear and maintenance'.[131] While not all local residents seemed in agreement, there was a general interest in eliminating some of the parking spaces. There was also an interest in more greenery to soften the impression of Saxogade as 'compact, asphalt-paved and dark'. Some people said they lacked the time to get involved, while a few expressed an interest in joining a community scheme for maintaining greenery. The annual open-air techno party *Distortion* was mentioned as a maintenance challenge, but so was the general problem of people's dumping trash.[132]

The work group would subsequently use these concerns and interests to develop a concept for the green spot on Saxogade (r.n.Jan11.17). They called their concept *SaxoGarden* to emphasize their interest in creating an urban garden around the theme of slow living.[133] The purpose was to change the street from a passageway into a green garden that made people pause to experience the urban vegetation. The work group wanted to close off the street – at least atmospherically – so that people could experience *SaxoGarden* as distinct from the more hectic life on Istedgade. In broad terms the concept responded to the dream scenario that the work group had identified from among the inspirational images Artist 1 presented at the open meeting for all local residents. The image features

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[130] The Artist 1 team members are a mix of interns and employees, some of which are hired with public subsidies for half a year only. Typically, they are young and have recently acquired a Master's degree in architecture or the social sciences. In addition, they share Artist 1's vision of a just city. In the years that I researched the case study, the team would be involved in a number of other projects in parallel to *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*, including writing social reports and developing other urban spaces or art projects.

[131] Internal summary, dated March 1, 2017, accessed in the team's Dropbox files.

[132] Ibid.

[133] See also: https://www.kennethbalfelt.org/saxogade (accessed September 26, 2018) where the concept is presented along with the final plan for its design.

an elderly couple sitting beneath a lush and expansive wall of urban vegetation.[134] The citizens liked it because it offered something more spectacular than other forms of urban greenery, while also signalling an interest in slowing down and socializing (r.n.Nov23.16).

In their method book the team was keen to emphasize that when analysing an urban situation, one must focus on needs rather than wishes, because this creates a better point of departure for developing something new. However, in the application to Nordea-fonden, the Artist 1 team also emphasized the importance of working with wishes and desires:

> The purpose of the involvement phase is to arouse emotions and commitment. For nature, plants, flowers, and our relation to and involvement in nature, but also for the community. The feeling of being something more when we are together with someone and for someone, about something that matters. These two elements should be braided together like ivy around a tree.[135]

To arouse emotions and commitment, the Artist 1 team emphasized various strategies, including developing prototypes, going on field trips, and activating the participant's body and tactile relationship to greenery, all in the service of making their vision more real for the participants.[136] The training programme for the Men's Home was based on such strategies, including making visits to inspirational sites and constructing urban greenery prototypes in the back courtyard of the Men's Home. I participated in an early inspirational event that took place at another of the Men's Home's venues, the Round Square:

It is afternoon on June 23, 2016. The sun is shining, the weather pleasantly warm. Together with Artist 1 and the gardener I have arrived at the walled-in-courtyard called the Round Square. It is situated in the old meatpacking district, 100 metres from Istedgade, and is part of the social organization called the Men's Home. The Round Square features a café and a health centre with professional employees. The health centre houses what the locals refer to as a 'fixing-room' where the drug addicts can safely inject their fix.[137]

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[134] See appendix 18.

[135] See https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/edoc/9418ce5c-9f79-4824-b38c-f27b0b6b318a/e7524dfa-a2e4-43ac-b3cd-ea786c38bc7f/Attachments/12954488-14291436-1.PDF (accessed July 4, 2018).

[136] Ibid.

[137] See http://denrundefirkant.dk (accessed September 12, 2018).

When we arrive, hardly anyone is there. A few people hang around the courtyard, which is sparsely decorated with a handful of tables and chairs in addition to some plant beds featuring only a few actual plants. I am introduced to Thomas, who is employed to organize small chores for people in the drug community interested in work. They work in the café or do maintenance jobs in the nearby area. Next to the courtyard is an outhouse, and this is where we locate the plants that the gardener bought together with Ömer and Claudia last week. Ömer and Claudia are part of the community, and they join us now at the Round Square.

We carry the plants outside and line them up on one of the tables in the courtyard. The gardener suggests that we first discuss where to plant each of them. In the meantime another participant, Yusuf, has found a shovel and starts digging into one of the plant beds. The gardener interrupts him and asks him to come over and participate in deciding where to plant what. He does not respond to the invitation. Instead, he stops what he is doing and sits down with a group of friends. The place is now more crowded than when we first arrived. Thomas explains that it has to do with the drugs. People migrate from the Round Corner over to Istedgade and back again following the trail of drugs on sale.

Ömer suggests that we plant many of the same plants in each plant bed, and we follow his suggestion. We divide up the different plants. The gardener says they bought a few of various kinds of plants to show a variety of possibilities. I ask if these plants are particularly easy to maintain, and he says no. The point is to give a strong impression of how things might look. Whether it lasts is less important. Ömer goes to work on one plant bed, and Claudia on another. The gardener and Artist 1 are also digging away. Frank has joined at this point, and Thomas introduces Hugo as another potential contributor, but he hesitates when asked to pick an entire plant bed. He just wants to plant one plant. The gardener and Artist 1 try to entice Yusuf to join them again, pointing towards the plant bed he had been digging in before, asking him what he wants in his plant bed.

For the development of *SaxoGarden*, the Artist 1 team did not hold the same kind of inspirational events. Instead, they inspired and sparked emotions by showing a slideshow with photographs of urban gardening possibilities (r.n.Nov23.16, r.n.Feb1.17). The slideshow included more than 100 images of urban vegetation organized into categories of urban greenery (edible vegetation, green plants, flowers) or the position of the greenery (walls, roofs, gateways, furniture).[138] They also served lots of snacks.

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[138] See appendix 17 for examples.

The table would be filled with coffee, tea, water, and various canned beverages. Not the regular Coca Cola, but fancier French and Italian brands. There would also be chocolate, crisps, cakes, and nuts from one of Saxogade's shops (r.n.Jan11.17. r.n.Feb1.17, r.n.Apr19.17, r.n.Jun19.17).

In the discussions with the steering group, the Artist 1 team had been criticized for failing to produce an artistically convincing form for their greenery project (r.n.Sep24.14). The team had instead opted to emphasize their extensive methods for citizen involvement, deferring design decisions to the collaborative process with local citizens (r.n.Sep24.14). To me, Artist 1 seemed less concerned with the aesthetic outcome than with the collaborative process itself. As he expressed at one point, he found it more important for the beer drinkers in *Enghave Minipark* to become a respected part of the community by designing and maintaining a public park than whatever the park's specific aesthetic qualities might be (r.n.Oct26.16). However, for *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*, he was dedicated to the development of aestheticized green environments, in fact suggesting that developing artistically interesting spots would be great, but referring to this artistic dimension as a challenge framed by the city's chief architect (r.n.Oct26.16).

For the citizens in Saxogade's work group, however, the expected aesthetic outcome appeared to be the precise motive for their participation. In fact, they pushed the project in the direction of a more beautiful, spectacular, and artistic outcome. Artist 1 and his team were keen to involve them in every minute decision, but to me it seemed as if this influence mattered less than the imagined end-result. It was interesting to note how the participants responded with ideas for aesthetically expansive and artistically creative strategies for urban greenery. For instance, someone suggested that because of the funds involved in the project, making a spectacular work that was difficult to maintain would be an important point, since this was not possible in other green projects (r.n.Oct26.16). In other words, the funding for the project offered the possibility of showcasing the effects of a real investment in urban greenery. Other ideas were floated, such as introducing elaborate configurations around waste pipes or elevated greenhouses (r.n.Oct26.16). Someone proposed turning an old car into a flowerbed (r.n.Feb1.17). To a certain extent, these artistic ideas came to prop up the Artist 1 team's deferral of design decisions to a co-creative process with local citizens. The very process of citizen involvement not only granted these citizens influence on decisions but also offered the benefit of mobilizing a broader pool of artistic ideas that supported the work of aesthetic innovation.

The more artistically fanciful ideas did not materialize, although perhaps they might have if Artist 1 and the architects had been prone to such suggestions and encouraged more of them. Instead, the architects responded to the conceptual idea of creating an immersive aesthetic experience that offered space to pause and reflect. The local citizen's favourite image contributed to setting the course for the design, especially the push to use wirers for twining plants that would create a green portal at the entrance to the street and a green roof above the street.

The architects joined the process at the third work group meeting and presented five design proposals for *SaxoGarden*: 1) green flowerbeds instead of cobblestones, 2) furniture with vegetation instead of one of the parking spaces, 3) flexible furniture with room for vegetation, 4) green lampposts to build for height, and 5) a flowering roof on suspended wirers that would connect twining plants climbing from the walls. On the basis of feedback from the work group, the architects redesigned their proposal and presented a new sketch a month later (r.n.Apr19.17). To save space, they had now installed the green beds on only one side of the street. They had also synthesized two prior suggestions for furniture with vegetation (r.n.Apr19.17). Again the work group offered feedback, but it differed from that of the last meeting because the local representatives had changed. At the March meeting, Amy, Michael, and Sally were present, while in April Maria, Henry, and Michael were there (although Michael was silent most of the time) (r.n.Apr19.17). Unlike at the prior meeting where furniture elements had been favoured, Maria, in particular, emphasized her interest in more greenery than furniture (r.n.Apr19.17). While the residents were highly supportive of the green roof idea, the shop managers cautioned against blocking too much light. Issues of legal clearances also came up. Could fire trucks pass under the wirers? Could parking spaces really be removed? How would the durability of the vegetation be ensured? Durable vegetation would have a better chance of survival, but would also make it look less vulnerable to those that might think little of destroying it (r.n.Apr19.17).

When the local citizens had left, the architects commented on the situation. They could not proceed until certain decisions had been made. Reaching decisions required consultation with the city, but Artist 1 was reluctant to contact the city before they had reached internal agreement. 'We are not ready yet,' he said (r.n.Apr19.17). However, the local citizens did not seem to agree on the design, with each one favouring different elements of the suggested proposal, and I wondered if they would ever reach a joint proposal. The architects said that they felt somewhat sent around in circles, what with new people showing up at every meeting (r.n.Apr19.17). They suggested issuing a process plan that let local citizens know that failure to turn up for a particular meeting would mean they could not influence the

final design. Artist 1 welcomed the suggestion, conceding, 'I am really bad at that sort of thing' (r.n.Apr19.17).

Durational salvation

In the Artist 1 team's method book time is related to reaching consensus. In the last chapter I described how the team emphasized the necessity of durational activities because 'it takes time for the users to develop, get used to, accept, and join the changes that an art and urban development project implements in their local area and in them'.[139] The implicit conclusion of their artistically developed method verges on being that time in itself will ensure consensus. In an early research meeting with the urban gardener Helen, a conversation about decision-making in collaborative processes arose (r.n.Aug14.14). Helen commented that at some point, someone would have to make a decision. Artist 1 did not respond, instead moving on to another item on the agenda (r.n.Aug14.14). I wondered if that was because he found that simply taking the time for everyone to be informed, consulted, and given the opportunity to become involved in itself ensured the work of reaching agreement. If so, his interpretation of time accords with the durational model of organizing participation, where the suggestion for a prolonged process of co-creation is motivated, among other things, by an interest in ensuring the communal decisions of changes to a local environment. As Dave Beech explains, time itself has become a kind of magical recipe for how artists should engage in site-specific work (Beech 2011).

Artist 1 is especially good at taking his time in these processes. From an *administrative* perspective, he might be considered especially bad at sticking to timelines and working efficiently. However, the idea of extended time, of taking one's time, is a practical skill that constitutes an essential aspect of his method, and during his years of practicing this method, he has developed special competencies in its practice. It is a craft he has come to master.

March 20, 2017, 11 am. I have been allowed to participate in a meeting at the Men's Home. Artist 1 has arrived together with David and the gardener, and we meet Thomas, who shows us to the meeting room on the third floor. They are expecting to meet the resident Jimmy and a group of his friends that Jimmy has said are interested in taking part in the project. Having quickly met Jimmy on the ground floor, where he had almost collapsed on a chair, they begin to doubt the expected scenario. While we wait for Jimmy, Artist 1 and David discuss the consequences of a future rebuilding of the Men's Home,

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[139] See Kenneth Balfelt Team (2016), p. 6.

which they have just now learned about. It means that Lille Istedgade adjacent to the Men's Home will be filled with construction materials and scaffolding. It will probably be impossible to plant anything there for the next couple of years. David asks Artist 1 to confirm that the project is scheduled to close the following summer. Artist 1 replies with a smile: 'You know how I feel about time-lines,' and David responds in mutual understanding: 'They are precisely supposed to be extended!' When Jimmy finally joins us, half an hour has passed. Most of the conversations now turn into longer monologues on Jimmy's part. He is eloquent and speaks extensively about the local drug environment as well as recounting his life story – how proud he is of his two daughters; how he took care to help his girlfriend out at home when they were together. He also suggests that they might get some discounts from an old school friend of his that is a successful florist. Artist 1 lets him speak and takes care to explain the project and their intentions. When asked about potential participants, Jimmy appears to have been unable to attract anyone from the local environment after all. 'They're too busy getting hold of drugs,' he explains, looking to Thomas for affirmation. Artist 1 and the gardener ask Jimmy for advice about how to attract people to participate. Jimmy repeats that the drugs make it difficult. He also stresses the need for the vegetation to look beautiful so that people won't destroy it. He is upset that Lille Istedgade will not be an option after all. For him it is important to showcase their work with greenery in public, and he thinks Lille Istedgade is so dull right now. He digresses into a longer reflection about protecting flowers with plastic-glass roofs so that people don't pee on them. It triggers associations of a Discovery channel programme that showed octopuses able to penetrate tiny spaces as long as their eyes could fit through. Artist 1 remarks in a sincere tone that octopuses are not really a problem in Istedgade, whereby Jimmy wonders about the nearby lake, but discounts the possibility of octopuses surviving in fresh water. Around 12 o'clock David leaves, and at 12.30 pm the gardener also breaks away from the meeting. I stay with Artist 1 and Thomas until 12.45 pm, when we also finally close the meeting for that day (d.n.Mar20.17).

I highlight the above meeting because it evinces the amount of time that Artist 1 uses to mobilize participation, but also to underline why this strategy might be necessary when one works with 'the street people'. At the work group meetings in Saxogade, David rather than Artist 1 was often the one to emphasize efficiency. David was eager to position a meeting in a process and to decide what should happen next. At one point he asked if there was 'meat' on the agenda, to which Artist 1 replied: 'Yes, a little from the architects, so it's fine' (r.n.Apr19.17).

It is not that Artist 1 works without structure, but he often limits the issues on an agenda. After an early meeting with a few residents in Saxogade, we subsequently discussed the results of the meeting (r.n.Oct26.16). Artist 1 explained that he was more than happy. He had entered the meeting hoping to generate access to a larger group of residents, but the meeting also generated a range of other outcomes. First, Maria had promised to reach out to other people in her apartment association who are known to engage themselves in community projects. Second, she had promised to contact someone at the school next door who could grant the team access to a larger room for the meeting they were planning to host for all local citizens. They also agreed on a date for that meeting, as well as on having joint meetings with the other housing associations (r.n.Oct26.16).

Public disinterest

In Saxogade, however, 'plenty of time' did not in itself provide a solution. In the work group there was consensus about some design elements, but disagreement about others. The architects responded and adjusted the design, but also made a number of decisions. Several of the design suggestions also had to be cleared with the city. The team had plans to remove a parking space as well as some asphalt to make room for seating arrangements and for flowerbeds. They wanted to install wirers across the street to grow a partial roof of greenery, and install seating along the walls of a building. They also wanted to move some of the bicycle stands. Despite Artist 1's reluctance to discuss their proposal with the city administration because – as he phrased it, 'You need an entire education to collaborate with the city' (d.n.Oct26.16) – the dialogue proved to be constructive (d.n.Jun19.17). The city was willing to permit all of the above changes, except for the removal of the parking space. At least, decisions concerning parking spaces had to be approved by the city council, which entailed another, more extensive administrative process. Provided that the design suggestions followed certain technical and legal restrictions, the city would approve them on the simple condition that a street guild was established to guarantee the maintenance of the new urban environment (d.n.Jun19.17).

In the fall of 2017, Artist 1 and his team prepared a contract for such a guild, a process that involved calculating maintenance expenses.[140] While the Artist 1 team would donate project funds to buy and install the furniture and plants for the new green environment, the local guild had to handle the subsequent maintenance. The team received a calculation from Settlementet that they could take care of the daily maintenance for approximately DKK 40,000 a year (e.Settlementet.Nov.17). This sum was to

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[140] Draft of guild regulations, November 13, 2017. Accessed in the project's Dropbox file.

be financed jointly by the street's three housing associations and the local shops, and the team calculated the distribution of these costs among the involved parties.[141] To lower the annual cost, the team also organized a crowd-funding strategy to attract funding from the rest of Vesterbro, which would also benefit from the new green environment.

In the process, one of the street's housing associations announced that it did not want to be part of the guild.[142] These cooperative housing associations are formal organizations with a running board of local residents who oversee the maintenance and development of the individual apartment buildings. These boards had not participated in the work group. Individual residents had done so, however, and according to work group participants the project had been favourably discussed at board meetings and met with initial acceptance by the chairmen of the associations (r.n.Nov23.16, r.n.Feb1.17). Artist 1 had on several occasions invited these chairmen to the work-group meetings (r.n.Oct26.16, r.n.Nov23.16, r.n.Jun19.17). As he explained to me, the team could not really make any decisions until the associations were on board (r.n.Jun19.17). In spring 2018, the Artist 1 team made another effort to establish a street guild that accommodated the interests of all the street's cooperative housing associations. The team undertook yet another round of knocking on doors, informing residents about the green spot, and probing for feedback. They also discussed the matter with the association boards and made a number of adjustments to the design proposal, including retaining the parking spaces, removing some of the outdoor seating arrangements (due to fears of attracting gypsies), and making a one-third downward adjustment to the DKK 40,000 expenses.[143] Little did it matter.

By the end of spring 2018, two of the three cooperative housing associations had decided against participating in the guild.[144] The Artist 1 team began a final attempt at mobilizing the local residents through a bottom-up push that would impel the associations to participate. It was framed as an announcement that the team had decided to stop developing *SaxoGarden* due to insufficient support from the associations. They ended the announcement with a final appeal to the citizens of Saxogade:

> THE ONLY POSSIBILITY for the project to be realized is if you as residents can generate support for the project from the cooperative housing associations by August 15, 2018.

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[141] Ibid.

[142] Status-report Nordea-fonden, February 2018. Accessed in the project Dropbox file.

[143] Draft of guild regulations June 12, 2018. Accessed in the project Dropbox file.

[144] Posted on Facebook, August 6, 2018, see
https://www.facebook.com/groups/SaxoGarden/permalink/2216008338627663/

If you succeed, we are willing to recommence the project.

With green hopes,

Artist 1, Bridget, and Laura.[145]

Formalizing public interest

In the literature review I argued that the ethical model of participation made itself vulnerable by relying on arguments about the artist's relationship to the site to support its practice. Artistic community practices were criticized for not living up to their own ethical standards (Kester 1995, Foster 1996, Kwon 2004). Artists were perceived as not actually having authentic relationships with the communities they claimed to represent or whose interest they claimed to serve. This chapter has been concerned with analysing how Artist 1's sincere interests in serving the community risked turning the realization of a project into an impossible mission of generating wide and unanimous local support. Because the artist had pledged his artistic will to serve the local citizens, he was also highly dependent on the local public's own commitment to realizing the project. Without local citizens' expressed interest and dedication to the project, there was no artistic will to develop it. By finally terminating the *SaxoGarden* spot, Artist 1 retained his ethical position by continuing to serve the local citizens who were less interested in a green spot than he had anticipated.

Miwon Kwon, in her analysis of community practices, discusses a project by John Ahearn in the Bronx, New York (Kwon 2004). Ahearn was commissioned specifically for his home-turf advantage, and created sculptural portraits of local citizens for the assignment. However, other local citizens criticized the installation of these sculptures because they were not perceived as representing their community. Responding to the criticism, the artist removed his sculptures a few days after their installation. The cancellation of *SaxoGarden* reflects a similar situation. The project did not literally divide the public by creating a sculpture that represented one part of the public to the protest of the other, and neither was it implemented and subsequently dismantled. However, it faced a similar situation of a divided public to which the artist ultimately responded by abandoning the project.

For Kwon, the Ahearn case testifies to the fact that even artists who attempt to serve the public will end up in situations with divided publics (Kwon 2004). In my discussions of the *public interest* mode of ordering, I presented a similar argument about the way that *public interest* revolves around the

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[145] Ibid.

problem of public interest, and that trying to resolve the issue inadvertently generates different, potentially contradictory formations of the public. *Public interest* expresses itself in unifying ambitions and in practices of consensus building, but its organizational creativity opens up spaces for dissent to be voiced, thus complicating its aspiration for unity and inclusivity, while fuelling a need for further organizational experiments. The effect of *public interest* is thus the promotion of the never-ending work of generating public interest that is never ultimately realized.

In the team's development of *SaxoGarden*, the team combined the suggestions of the ethical model and the durational model. They took care to involve the local citizens in all decisions and, in fact, spent *years* mobilizing local support. The team specified an initial involvement phase in their project proposal, but it ended up extending throughout the process. In parallel to designing the spot, they continued to urge residents and housing associations to take part in the process. In those efforts, however, sufficient time to rally participants proved not to be the most effective organizational motor; the aesthetic lure of a green environment was. Indeed, I have argued that the local participants who participated in the work group and those who responded to the door knocking were drawn to the project's aesthetic ambitions. In fact, throughout the commissioning process as well as subsequently, there seemed to be a broad, if not unanimous, public interest in developing green spots. The steering group liked the green vision, citizens of Vesterbro had expressed an interest in more greenery, and members of the local council as well as Saxogade's residents and shop owners desired the green spot.

In the case of *SaxoGarden*, however, *administration* came to play a new part in the question of public interest, for the city formalized public interest into a guild. This formalization of public interest distinguishes *SaxoGarden* from the Ahearst case that Kwon discusses. The project was not simply terminated because local citizens expressed disinterest or dislike, but also because it was necessary to formalize public support into a guild with legal and financial responsibilities for the sake of the spot's sustainability. This *administrative* demand effectively changed the design of the green spot. The Artist 1 team and the work group had spent a year developing *SaxoGarden*'s design, and then another year adjusting and effectively downscaling the changes to Saxogade to address the concerns of the housing associations. The outcome of this process was a light version of the design proposal that made its realization as good as pointless.

The problem of public interest turned into an administrative problem of formalizing legal contracts and distributing responsibility, and this crux between *public interest* and *administration* was what finally

killed the spot. The situation might be interpreted as a result of the project's lack of public support and of its inability to lure the local citizens into investing time, money, and enthusiasm in its development, but for me, *SaxoGarden* forms an aesthetically interesting proposal co-creatively developed by the artist team, the architects, and the local citizens and that actually had broad enough appeal to merit realization. It failed to be realized due to its dependence on administrative support that was never to come. Initially, the city refused to deliver a maintenance guarantee, which Nordea Fonden then also failed to deliver, having expected the city to provide it, and, finally, the local housing associations failed to form a local guild that could deliver it. *Administration* thus played a role in formalizing public interest in a way that not only contributed to making public dissent visible but also turned that dissent into a barrier to realizing the project.

Chapter 9: Aesthetic powers of persuasion

This chapter engages with how *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* manifest themselves in the organizing of participation in *Inside Out Istedgade*. In other words, it analyses the participatory organizing of this work as an effect of the modes of ordering of *artistic autonomy* and *public interest*. The analysis departs from the immediate contradiction I observed between the ethical norms of citizen involvement and the way in which the local citizens were persuaded to perform in the art project. The ethical model of art history, as I have referred to it, emphasizes the unequal power relations between the artist and the citizens participating in their art project. In particular, discussions surrounding the ethical model have concerned the many ways in which artists – even unintentionally – manipulate or violate the local community of participants. In this chapter, I use the case of *Inside Out Istedgade* to ponder the question of how the experience of being 'manipulated' into artistic performance forms part of public interest. In making this detailed analysis of *Inside Out Istedgade* and the organizing practices that constituted its development, I engage in a discussion with the ethical model as well as with the aesthetic-critical model of conceptualizing the organizing of participation.

Intimate exposures

In *Inside Out Istedgade*, the local participants were persuaded to perform before the camera in intimate situations that pushed them outside of their comfort zones. About a third of these participants posed semi-nude and in intimate embraces.[146] The camera captured a 12-year-old girl writing in her diary and a Muslim man praying. A woman was photographed standing out on her ledge, a moment in which she recalls being 'scared s###less of falling' (i.Lisa.Jan28.16). Nonetheless, the participants seemed to embrace the project with enthusiasm. In my interviews with them, many recalled the experience of participating as 'surprising' and 'challenging', but also as 'fun' and 'a good experience'.[147] As a further expression of their support for the project, they attended all its connected events and expressed how they cherished the photographic prints they received as a gift along with the book that completed and documented the project.

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[146] Appendix 10 provides an overview of the local citizen's participation in the project. I have generated this overview by reviewing the visual material in the artist's Dropbox files and in the completed artworks. I have also relied on my interviews with project participants. I specifically frame the depiction of intimacy as a concurrent feature in the portfolio of images as well as in the images displayed in public. See also appendix 20 for examples of the photographic material's emphasis on intimacy.

[147] I interviewed 21 of the 40 who participated in the project. See appendix 8 and 9 for further specifications. Here I pull comments together that occurred broadly across the interviews. Where no specific references are provided in the rest of the chapter, I have used the same strategy of relying on statements made by several participants across the interviews. I will present a few more substantial interview quotes at the end of this chapter.

My research into *Inside Out Istedgade* thus identified a contradiction between the ethical norms of citizen involvement and the organizing of participation in this project. The interviews with Artist 2 and the local participants made it clear that the participants had not been involved in much creative decision-making. What is more, the intimate exposure of the participants indicates that they might have been manipulated into performing against their own interests. Instead of resolving this contradiction by renouncing the project as non-participatory, however, I will here reflect on the participants' experience of being challenged as an aspect of public interest – not least, because the participants variously expressed pleasure at having participated. Thus, I ask the question: if the participants were, in fact, manipulated, why did they not criticize and withdraw from the project? What made them embrace and support it?

By pursuing this line of argument, I am framing the citizens' response as a testimony to the effects of *public interest*. The *public interest* mode of ordering is centrally concerned with the problem of public interest, and public interest thus generates a research interest in consulting the public itself. However, the public response is only one aspect of my analysis regarding how *public interest* impacted the organizing of participation for *Inside Out Istedgade*. *Public interest*, as I will go on to show, also effected Artist 2's organizational practices.

The argument that I am proposing in this chapter is that the local citizens' experience of participating in the making of *Inside Out Istedgade* constituted a particular aesthetic experience. I am also proposing that this experience was condoned and – for some participants – even expected. It was expected, because it was an art project, and condoned because it would result in an aestheticized event that revolved around the public exposure of their performance. As such, I am suggesting that the participant's experience of being challenged was part of their very interest in the project, although I do not believe this experience in itself ensured the local public's interest. A number of other issues also aroused their interest in participating and their desire to support the project, which I will discuss as I delve further into the empirical material constructed from my case observations and interviews. In this process, I will offer methodological reflections about my interpretations of the material, as my argument relies on how I interpret the project and the participants' expressed experience of taking part in it. Among other things, these methodological reflections concern the interview material that I have most actively obtained myself through my framing of the interview purpose and the questions I decided to pose.

Methodological reflections

The ethical reflections that had entered the discussions of participatory art with the ethical model of participation influenced my research of *Inside Out Istedgade*. To use the language of modes of ordering, I was effected by a particular conceptualization of the relationship between *public interest* and *artistic autonomy*, which constructs the two as oppositions. I looked for possible 'ethical errors' and tended to be suspicious of autonomous artistic motives as potentially compromising and manipulating the local participants. I was seeking to understand who had decided what in the participatory processes, and what kind of influence was granted to whom. At the same time, however, I was hesitant to transfer the ethical norms of this discourse to my fieldwork. I was not aiming to confirm or disapprove of the work as participatory according to the ethical model's standards of participation, so I used open interview questions and expanded my observations to allow other perspectives and reflections to be expressed about the organizing of participation. In my interviews with local citizens, I was careful to support their possibility of providing an independent account of what had happened in the process, thus probing their personal experiences of the various events. In this regard I was influenced by organization scholar Barbara Czarniawska's recommendation to support storytelling in interview situations (Czarniawska 2014) and by Jacques Rancière's argument that participants should be allowed to form their own opinions and to talk about what they consider important (Rancière 2011). I did not want to use the interviews as an opportunity to confirm my perspective. Broadly, this also meant that I kept my mind open to the possibility that questions regarding ethics might have no relevance for those involved.[148]

Public display

September 2015. It is Friday evening in Istedgade. The deep-blue evening twilight has just descended over the street, activating the streetlights. The windows of busy restaurants and cafés illuminate the street, while the headlights of passing cars meet my eyes. I walk up Istedgade from the Central Station, weaving through the crowds of people – some going home for dinner, others embarking on a night out on the town, and still others simply hanging out between Maria Church and The Men's Home, the shelter for homeless men.

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[148] In my interviews with Artist 2 I did probe her ethical reflections about the artistic involvement of people, as these have been framed within the literature (Gablik 1995, Kester 1995, Foster 1996, Harvie 2013). We discussed issues with respect to participatory inclusivity and the local citizen's influence on decisions, as well as questions pertaining to the clearance of rights to use the material produced for the project and the issue of paying participants for their contribution.

After crossing the street Gasværksvej, the street life quiets for a moment. The characteristically waffled facade of Gasværksvejens School rises up beside me, leaving a long shop-empty passage on one side of the street. Tonight, however, the crowds and traffic seem to stop for another reason. The sudden gap in the moving people is not simply an illusion; people are actually coming to a halt. The pedestrians pause; the bicyclists stand still; and the cars slow down as their drivers peer out of the windows.

On the grand school facade, images appear out of the darkness, sharp photographs that clearly manifest themselves on the wall – strong portraits of people, combined with small details like intricate laces and children's drawings. A newly designed kitchen and a dark-leather corner couch with decorative pillows on all six seats flashes, then a life-size cartoon figure of James Bond and an eight-year-old girl standing on her head. Like a gigantic dollhouse, the wall opens up onto the lives inside the street's apartments, to the people living in the street, and to the spaces they occupy in their daily lives.

On the other side of the street, a large group is gathered. Some are sitting on benches outside the restaurant Skank. Others line the pavement, following the rhythmic story emerging from the montage of images. I recognize some of the faces immersed in the experience. Winnie and Berit, two old-time local inhabitants, are deep in conversation, while beside them Winnie's partner stands with camera poised to capture his image when he appears on the facade. He is not the only one shooting pictures. Many passers-by stop and fish out their smartphones. I speak to some of them. There are two friends taking an after-dinner stroll. Others have read the pre-feature in the national newspaper Weekendavisen and have come for the express purpose of seeing the photographic projections. A group of Chinese tourists staying nearby have also joined the crowd.

I see another of the participants appearing in the visual montage, the hairstylist Shamal. He is holding a Thai take-away noodle box, which he eats while gazing at the changing images projected on the facade. He gives me a bashful smile when I confirm that I recognized his image – the portrait of him holding forth his white canary in one hand. Other participants are seated at the Skank tables. Beautiful Sofie who grew up in Christiania cheers with a group of friends. The hyperactive former colonel Jannick is also present, speaking in an unbroken flow about his impressive volunteer work in many second-hand shops, at a local café and his job as a protective 'nighthawk' in the town of Elsingor's night life. Meanwhile, 'the Clarinet', who lives at the Men's Home, plays a few songs. At some point he appears as a sleeping figure spanning all four of the projected image frames. When we applaud his tunes, he suggests instead that we applaud [Artist 2] and [the photographer] who have created this fantastic work of art.

The above description captures aspects of my experience at the opening night of the main attraction in *Inside Out Istedgade*, which took the form of a large-scale projection of a choreographed montage of photographs from inside the apartments of Istedgade.[149] It comprised intimate depictions as well as everyday slices-of-life. It showed decorative details like lace curtains and cartoon wallpaper. It depicted families resting in their living rooms, and residents doing activities like fixing up their homes or exercising. The result was evocative and poetic, indicative of the diverse lives lived inside Istedgade's apartments.

The artist wanted the projections to emerge almost surprisingly amidst the flow of other experiences in the city as one happened to pass by (i.A2.Oct15.14), and the work seemed to have that effect on many of the unsuspecting passers-by (d.n.Sep11.15). A lot of us, however, came to the neighbourhood specifically to see the projections, as we had been personally involved in the project, knew others who had been, or had been alerted to the event by way of the press coverage (d.n.Sep11.15). We did not view the work merely in passing, but stood for the duration of at least one full loop of the montage. Participants in the work came alone or with friends and family.[150] Some met friends who turned out to have also participated, but although various strings of relationships could be detected among some of the local participants, they did not constitute a tight-knit community except for the fact that they shared an address in Istedgade.[151] However, on that night they shared the experience of having participated in the making of *Inside Out Istedgade* and the experience of being publicly displayed.

I witnessed people having conversations that might not have happened otherwise (d.n.Sep11.15). Susan and Barbara, for instance, were viewing the projections as they stood side-by-side, something they had probably never done before. Although both women were in their sixties and lifelong residents of Istedgade, Susan has purportedly never set foot in a bar (i.Susan.Feb10.16), while Barbara is the proud owner of one in the neighbourhood. In her interview Barbara fondly remembered how Susan commented on the image of Barbara and her husband embracing as being an expression of true love

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[149] The description is an English translation of a text I wrote for the book that documented and completed *Inside Out Istedgade*. It provides a favourable summary of my experience of the opening night. For documentation of the work, see also http://hannelisethomsen.com/portfolio/inside-out-istedgade-2015/ and http://insideout2015.dk (accessed October 20, 2018).

[150] I pull these details from across my interviews with the local citizens who participated and from my observations of two of the three nights the projections were transmitted.

[151] In my interviews with the project participants, I asked all of them whom among the other participants they knew beforehand.

(i.Barbara.Feb15.16). Then there was James, another long-term resident, who chatted with the young taxi-driver Amin. James and Amin were both excited about seeing themselves exposed on the enormous screen (d.n.Sep12.15).

Organizing participation for an artistic result

The process of organizing participation for *Inside Out Istedgade* centred on creating the envisioned artistic result: the poetic transformation of everyday moments inside Istedgade's apartments into a temporary urban intervention. The imagined aesthetic outcome of the participatory process guided Artist 2's organizing of participation for the project, motivating her choice of professional partners and how she coordinated her collaborations with them, as well as her research into suitable local participants and her organizing of their contribution. I interviewed the artist on five separate occasions during the project development phase (Aug22.14, Oct15.14, Aug5.15, Sep25.15 and Feb2.16).[152] I was especially curious about how she would involve the local citizens. Her implication during the commissioning process had been that the project would be developed collaboratively with local citizens (r.n.Jun17.14, r.n.Sep24.14), so in the interviews I frequently asked her about this collaboration, but the discussions always ventured back to the visual projections, thus indicating that her primary focus was the final artwork, not the process of ensuring the material for it. When I asked her about this emphasis, she responded:

> It is also because … I fought a lot with the visual material. I thought it became sort of a photographic display, a journalistic report. Now that I have it … Now I am able to relax much more. It has sort of found its form. I am very focused on the visual output. Someone like [Artist 1] is much more concerned with the social interaction. I do that as well, but I always do it with an eye to some kind of visuality in the end. I am deeply concerned with that. You are not asking about my visual considerations, but about these meetings. But it is extremely important. It's what I am able to articulate – atmospheres and images and so forth. It has to work its best in the end. (i.A2.Oct15.14)

In this interview she also discusses her initial struggles with locating a suitable projection site in Istedgade. Her work with large-scale imagery in public spaces meant that she needed large, unbroken surfaces to display these images, and in Istedgade there was only one option: Gasværksvejens School

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[152] See also appendix 7.

(i.A2.Oct15.14). All the other buildings in the street have windows, which forestalled any image projection. What was more, most of the buildings stylistically express a posh historical mannerism with decorations resembling cream cakes, as one contributor to *Inside Out Istedgade* put it (Bundgaard 2016). However, neither was projecting images on the school facade an easy matter, as the surface was waffled and divided into four sections, each separated with a pattern of vertical wooden bars. To make matters worse, an abstract painting also covered the wall.

In her pre-proposal presentation to the steering group, Artist 2 explained that the site 'posed a challenge to her, as she was used to choosing her locations herself' (r.n.Jun17.14, r.n.Sep24.14). The connections between these two parts of her statement are important. On the one hand, the challenge was technical in terms of the difficulties the location posed as a suitable projection screen. On the other hand, the very fact that the site was not her own choice of venue meant that she struggled to be artistically motivated by it. She retrospectively expressed her concern in an interview:

> I actually had a terrible period in which I really couldn't … I had not settled it, you know. Some days were awful; I thought, no, I will never get this to work. (…) At one point, I just had this constant image of these f###ing four walls that I have not chosen myself. I think that is a challenge. As I've said a thousand times, I'm the kind of person who goes hunting in public spaces. Right now, when I'm doing this project down in Casablanca [referring to *Casablanca Billboard Festival*], it's because I think it's an insanely fascinating urban space, and I myself choose the locations where I want to work. Here it is kind of pre-given, and it's not that Istedgade is not exciting, but that I haven't chosen the site myself. (i.A2.Oct15.14)

Politics of representation

In an art historical lineage, Artist 2 is continuing a tradition originating in the 1980s, when artists began taking new media developed for commercial purposes or political campaigns and using them to deliver alternative political messages (Felshin 1995). Art theorist Nina Felshin refers to these practices as 'cultural activism', and they formed part of what Suzanne Lacy called 'new genre public art' (Lacy 1995, Felshin 1995). Artists in this tradition deliver their messages with billboards, posters, and bus advertising that often mimic marketing language, thus encouraging what Felshin refers to as public 'participation through interpretation' (Felshin 1995, p. 16). One of the more famous examples of such message-laden work is Gran Fury's twisting of a Benetton commercial to create an AIDS-awareness campaign with the slogan: 'kissing doesn't kill' (Meyer 1995). Much of Artist 2's work has revolved around feminist issues, with her organizing projects to showcase different representations of women

reflected in the commercial imagery of the time, for instance, *Women2003* and *Casablanca Billboard Festival*.[153] She has also worked with various minority groups like the homeless and refugees, using public interventions to engage in public debates about societal organization.[154]

The *Inside Out* concept is predicated on the notion of granting public representation to the local citizens. Their lives and not commercial or political campaigns should fill the public spaces of their local neighbourhood. More precisely, the artistic premise is to show the life inside the apartments on the outside of the buildings, thus introducing aspects of private life into the public sphere, or turning the 'inside out'. The *Inside Out* concept offered a good framework for emphasizing the diversity of social groups living in Istedgade. As such, the concept supported the *site* mode of ordering by emphasizing the social cohesion of the Istedgade spirit, and in connection with this cohesion, it also supported the *public interest* in commissioning art for Istedgade that had been expressed in the commissioning process. However, the concept did not emerge from the site of Istedgade itself, but was taken from Artist 2's repertoire of artistic projects in response to the request to work with the stories of the street, after which she adjusted the concept to fit the specificities of the site.[155] For the artist, the concept matched her interest in representational politics. The political purpose of *Inside Out Istedgade* was thus not only to counter the commercial interests that dominate public spaces today but also to support and sustain Istedgade as a place hospitable to diversity. In addition, the public projections were organized to generate a temporary aesthetic intervention in urban space and thus enliven and invigorate that particular space through its aesthetic staging (i.A2.Oct15.14). The artwork was to give the local participants an aesthetic experience that they themselves might feel proud to have contributed to creating (i.A2.Oct15.14).

Artistic autonomy's effect on the organizing of participation

As an effect of *artistic autonomy*, *Inside Out Istedgade* thus evolved from the autonomous interests of Artist 2. It matched and advanced her artistic portfolio, which consists of temporary urban interventions with a strong aesthetic expression combined with a politics of representation. Artist 2's

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[153] See http://hannelisethomsen.com/, http://www.billboardcasablanca.org/ and http://www.women2003.dk/welcome.php (all accessed August 30, 2018).

[154] See, for instance: http://www.passage2016.dk/ and http://hannelisethomsen.com/portfolio/the-homeless-of-new-york-city-wish-you-all-a-happy-holiday/ (all accessed August 30, 2018).

[155] She had previously used this concept in two other locations in Copenhagen. The first version was developed in 2009 in response to an open competition organized by the Danish Art Foundation's committee for art in public. It took place in two side streets of Istedgade: Abel Cathrines Gade and Viktoriagade. The second version she herself fundraised and developed on Møntmestervej in Nørrebro, another district in Copenhagen, in 2012. See http://hannelisethomsen.com/projects/ (accessed September 14, 2018).

struggle with the site that 'she herself had not chosen' also testifies to the effects of *artistic autonomy*. It speaks of an artist whose work is predicated on establishing an authentic artistic drive and of an artistic process whose central concern is the aesthetic end-result. A*rtistic autonomy* also effected how Artist 2 organized her collaboration with her professional partners and – to a certain extent – with the local participants.

In developing *Inside Out Istedgade*, Artist 2 worked with a handful of professional partners and about 40 small-business owners and families living in the street. The contributions made by local citizens were highly choreographed, while the artist granted substantial artistic freedom to her partners. She needed the local citizens to provide content for the work, as their lives and apartment interiors constituted the project material, and she needed her partners to help aesthetically transform this material into works of art. According to a distinction made by Tom Finkelpearl, Artist 2 thus combined 'less highly authored' strategies with 'more highly authored' strategies (Finkelpearl 2013), with the general difference having to do with who was paid or not, how much time they invested in the project, and their expected ability to aesthetically contribute to the work.

She developed the visual projections in collaboration with a photographer and a film editor. The photographer was to visit the local participants and photograph them and their apartments. Artist 2 then worked with the film editor to assemble the photos into a 10-minute loop of images. She also developed an audio piece and a book for the project. To develop the audio piece, Artist 2 engaged a radio journalist, who interviewed six participants selected by Artist 2 and edited the recordings into a 30-minute story. Artist 2 collaborated with a graphic designer to do the book, for which the two jointly chose and organized the stories and photographic material, including professional contributions gathered by Artist 2.

Organizing the local citizens' contribution

Artist 2 organized the local citizens' participation in the project as a series of individual meetings between the citizens and herself, followed by meeting(s) with the photographer, and, for some of the participants, with the radio journalist.[156] Artist 2 located and selected most of the participants, and the photographer located a few (i.A2.Oct15.14, i.PH.Oct22.14). They used a variety of methods to find participants, including internet searches, visits to shops, and knocking on doors (i.A2.Aug22.14). They

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[156] I have reconstructed this organization around individual meetings through my interviews with Artist 2, her professional colleagues, and the local participants.

also distributed leaflets about the project and asked around for referrals to other suitable participants (i.A2.Aug22.14). Artist 2 set a target of 50 apartments, with her strategy being to select a diverse range of participants that should include citizens with long-time attachment to the street, families with children, immigrants, 'street people', and some local participants who belonged to the category of the 'creative class' (r.n.Sep24.14).

Artist 2 used two different metaphors to describe herself while engaged in the process of persuading local citizens to participate. She referred to herself as a Jehovah's Witnesses – knocking on doors – to describe her experience of the patience and persuasive skills required to gain entry (i.A2.Aug5.15). She referred to her powers of persuasion as 'genial' (i.A2.Aug22.14) and resisted my tagging along to the encounters, which she later explained was probably because she was uncomfortable with my seeing her perhaps 'become a little bit upbeat' (i.A2.Feb2.16). From the few examples she offered, her congeniality involved an ability to intuitively grasp situations as they occurred and to relate to issues she could see were important to the prospective participants. She also expressed it as a way of establishing an interpersonal relationship with them that also emotionally impacted her (i.A2.Feb2.16). In her work to persuade people to participate, she also emphasized how the aesthetic result of the public projections would be an event they could share together on the opening night (i.A2.Oct15.14).

Broadly speaking, Artist 2 talked about the persuasion process as hard, time-consuming work that required multiple meetings before trust was established (i.A2.Oct15.14). However, she also spoke of people in Istedgade as being far more friendly and open than in outer Nørrebro, where persuading people to participate had been tougher (i.A2.Aug5.15). In my interpretation, her mixed experience also reflected her differing interests in the various participants. While she specifically pursued some individuals – in particular those with long-time attachments to Istedgade – she involved others purely in order to reach the desired quantity of participants. As she herself expressed it, this was also because she connected better with and was fonder of some local citizens than others (i.A2.Feb2.16).

For instance, Artist 2 told me that another participant, Paul, had recommended that she engage the bar owner Barbara. The artist went to the bar around 11 in the morning, a time at which 'there were already a lot of regulars' (i.A2.Oct15.14). Barbara was behind the counter together with her daughter, and, as Artist 2 explained, 'This is the most delicate part of the persuasion, because either I get a blank refusal, or they allow me to present the project' (i.A2.Oct15.14). So, she showed them her flyer, which led Barbara's daughter to exclaim 'This is right up your alley mommy!' (i.A2.Oct15.14), and this

comment prompted Barbara to let the artist tell her more about the project. Still, only several phone calls and many months later did Barbara actually allow the artist into her apartment (I.A2.Oct15.14).

This was how Artist 2 handpicked specific participants, while also selecting others simply to pad out their total number and thus give the work a broad representative quality. She said that the process developed organically, which allowed her to follow her intuition and pursue people that she felt had compelling stories to tell or would be good individuals to work with. In an early interview I asked her if she was also planning to make an open call for participants in the local area. She expressed reluctance:

> I did that in Nørrebro (…) but here it's a little like walking through a labyrinth, where you open a door and wonder where does it lead? If 25 people respond to an open call it kind of loses this magic (…) It's also about what mood I'm in when I walk around in the street. It's specific things that I suddenly focus on, somehow, and that's the secret of it. An open call would not spark my imagination in the same way. (I.A2.Oct15.14)

While she resisted the idea of an open call, Artist 2 and the photographer had produced a leaflet about the project, which they handed out to potential participants but also posted in apartment buildings, so in principle participation was open to anyone who knew about and was interested in the project.[157] In the course of my research I have not been aware of anyone asking to participate who was not permitted to.[158] The more common scenario was that people signed up, but later decided that they lacked the time to be in the project after all (i.A2.Aug5.15, i.Daniel.May4.16, i.Carol.Feb2.16).

Organizing professional collaborations

The local citizens' contributions were minutely choreographed. In contrast, Artist 2 managed her professional partners by giving them brief instructions and encouraging their autonomous artistic inspiration and input. To some extent she outsourced various parts of the project to her partners. This

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[157] I met one participant who had responded to such a post (i.Sandra.Jun30.16). Later, a notice about the project generated by the neighborhood council was published in the local newspaper *Vesterbro Bladet* (Anja Berth, 'Få dit fjæs på gavlen', May 20, 2015). The artist was not informed of this, but neither did it generate any volunteers who contacted the artist to become part of the project (i.A2.Aug5.15).

[158] I do know of one local participant that had produced a text for the publication but whose contribution was eventually discarded on 'aesthetic grounds' (i.A2.Feb2.16), and who was, in fact, hurt by that decision to the degree that she refused to talk with me (d.n.Feb5.16). In that sense, the organizing of participation for the project was guilty of certain 'ethical errors', but I am placing this point of critique in the footnotes, because it constitutes a singular situation, and I do not want to use it to judge the entire process of organizing participation in the project.

strategy of granting extensive artistic freedom to professional partners had worked well for her in other projects. In *Women 2003*, for instance, the project expanded in size and range because her idea generated increasing enthusiasm. She had originally invited eight colleagues to show artworks on billboards in Copenhagen and just across the water in Malmö, Sweden. The project aimed to offer more diverse representations of women in public spaces, and developed from being an engagement with a handful of colleagues to becoming an undertaking encompassing more than a hundred women artists, who joined the project by word-of-mouth and networking activities among all the participants. In an interview about *Women 2003*, Artist 2 explained: 'I have been extremely lucky. I started by inviting a small group that all thought it was a good idea. They all knew someone they thought absolutely had to be on the list. From the start, the project has had an energy and vitality sparked by the feeling that this is relevant.'[159] In *Inside Out Istedgade* the artist's organizational practices proved to have advantages as well as severe problems. Since she had less control over the content she would acquire, the project both suffered from failed expectations and profited from its inclusivity and the resulting complexity of the imagery developed about Istedgade. On the one hand, her practices allowed her to be attentive to unexpected contributions from her professional partners, but on the other, these practices rendered her vulnerable to her partners' own artistic interests. Specifically, the diverging artistic interests caused a clash between Artist 2 and the photographer that ultimately led her to terminate their collaboration.

For the photographer, the 'inside out' concept – in the context of Istedgade – aroused an aesthetic aspiration to go even further 'inside' the local citizens' private lives (i.PH.Oct22.14). Skin and intimacy were part of what constituted 'inside' for him, as did an emphasis on the participants themselves rather than on the interior spaces they occupied. Artist 2 had commissioned him because the challenges of the school facade demanded high-quality photographic images that a professional photographer would be well trained to deliver. In my interviews with Artist 2, she also initially expressed her support for the photographer's work and the results he produced. She mentioned his youthful charm, and applauded how he had persuaded the local participants to perform in ways that made the photographic material aesthetically more interesting (i.A2.Oct15.14). The aesthetic quality that he delivered further cemented her impression of having found the right aesthetic form for the visual projections. However, she increasingly found that the photographer disregarded her instructions on what she wanted photographed (i.A2.Feb2.16).

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[159] See http://www.women2003.dk/texts.php?id=text8 (accessed August 30, 2018).

I noticed the difference between their artistic interpretations of 'inside out' in October 2014, when I interviewed the artist and the photographer within a week of each other and immediately following their respective visits to a particular participant (Oct15 and Oct22, 2014). While Artist 2 raved about the fantastic apartment with its amazing collection of dolls and memorabilia, the photographer subsequently showed me a series of almost exclusively close-up photographs of the woman and her partner, he with a bare torso revealing several large tattoos. When I later reviewed the photographs compiled in the artist's Dropbox files, I estimated that they featured about a third of the participants – with families counting as one – in intimate situations.[160] However, the Dropbox material contained much more nudity than the set of images ultimately chosen for public display. I wondered if Artist 2 had deliberately censored the material out of respect for the participants, but when I asked her about it, she responded that she basically disliked many of the photographs (i.A2.Feb2.16). The ambience they evoked was weak, and the imagery of naked bodies too stereotypical. For instance, she described her vision of one of the participants:

> While we were talking, her phone rang, and when she stood there in the hallway with her mobile phone, her whole body and movements changed. I had an image of her standing in the hallway and I tried to convey these fleeting images to [the photographer], but in hindsight I can see that he wanted skin rather than these atmospheric impressions. What I was longing for was to have more spaces, interiors, instead of these close-ups. (i.A2.Feb2.16)

The intimate photographs that she ultimately selected for the public projections were those she felt expressed either a strong sense of affection or confidence (i.A2.Feb2.16).

Thus, two divergent artistic visions between Artist 2 and the photographer came head to head. Both were generated by the *site* mode of ordering, but in different ways. Artist 2 related to the myth of social cohesion, while the photographer responded to Istedgade's reputation as a rough neighbourhood rife with drugs and prostitution. The artist and the photographer each tried to excavate the remaining signs of their preferred historic past, capturing its lingering traces within the now gentrified street. Because the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering firmly effected both the artist and

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[160] The artist had given me access to two Dropbox files, but the material was not completely updated and in correspondence with what was later used. The artist told me that the photographer had resisted my having access, and thus they had also worked together through another Dropbox file. In the Dropbox files I had access to, however, I was able to see suites of photographs, up to 20-30 photographs per participant, of which only one or two were later used for the public projections.

the photographer, the two visions were impossible to combine. Artist 2's vision of Istedgade as hospitable to diversity might have been able to contain aspects of the photographer's 'rougher' version of Istedgade, but it resisted a singular commitment to that depiction of the street. For his part the photographer expressed frustration at the fact that the project never really pierced the surface to reveal these rougher sides of Istedgade (i.PH.Jan13.16). I assume he was also frustrated because he felt the artist had not chosen the best photographs for public display, but opted for depictions softer than those he would have selected (i.PH.Jan13.16). Artist 2 sought to use the photographic material for the purpose of engaging spatially in the urban setting, combining photographs to create an atmosphere of diversity. The photographer felt the emphasis should be on the quality of the individual photographs and their ability to tell a story.

Artistic autonomy with or without public interest

As the ethical model of art history conceptualizes the organizing of participation, the relationship between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* is potentially conflicting. As I explained in the literature review, the ethical model was influenced by theories of participatory democracy and citizen empowerment, emphasizing decision-making processes and citizens' influence on artistic projects as a key aspect of participatory practices (Arnstein 1969, Kester 1995) and thus pointing to a potential conflict between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest*. The model offered the first succinct argument from within an artistic discourse that *artistic autonomy* might not serve the interests of the public. Indeed, it introduced the notion of public interest as something that the sheer aesthetic power of an artwork could not ensure but that rather demanded listening skills and an ability to accommodate the local public's interests (Gablik 1995).

As a proponent of the aesthetic-critical model of conceptualizing the organizing of participation, Claire Bishop argued in defence of the public interest in supporting artistic autonomy (Bishop 2012). In her opinion the aesthetic qualities of participatory artworks and not the artist's deferral of decisions to the participants were precisely what rendered them of public interest. In fact, she argued, participants rely on artists to provide an artistic framework into which they can contribute (Bishop 2012). Bishop criticized the ethical turn in art criticism for cherishing artists' participatory involvement above the aesthetic qualities of a project (Bishop 2004). For her, public interest actually depended on artistic autonomy, for without it there would be no qualitative work to participate in.

Measured by the ethical model of participation, *Inside Out Istedgade* fails to qualify as a participatory project. This is not only because the photographer persuaded the local citizens to perform in challenging ways but also due to the way in which *artistic autonomy* impacted the organizing of project participation. As I have argued in this chapter, the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering effects the organizing of participation in *Inside Out Istedgade* to the extent that it centres on and is driven by Artist 2's aesthetic ambitions for the photographic projections. Realizing the temporary urban intervention was the artist's primary concern. It influenced her choice of professional partners and participants as well as her way of managing the collaborations.

However, Artist 2's emphasis on the aesthetic result did not mean that she shirked her ethical responsibility vis-à-vis the local participants. She was careful to secure all the rights for the photographic and written project material, and she invited the local participants to all the project events.[161] A few of the local participants decided to drop out of the project, a decision that she respected.[162] In return for contributing to the project, the local participants were given prints of their photographs and as many copies of the publication as they desired, all of which were personally delivered by the artist (i.A2.Feb2.16).[163] In fact, she took great care to follow up on meetings and events and sincerely wanted the local citizens to approve of the project. She was especially happy that the local citizens who had contributed most greatly to the making of *Inside Out Istedgade* were also pleased with the result (i.A2.Feb2.16). As such, the local citizens might not have been granted extensive rights to determine the final manifestation of the artwork, but ethical considerations were an integral aspect of its organizing of participation. These were all ways in which the *public interest* mode of ordering expressed itself in Artist 2's organizing of participation.

In the literature review, I also introduced Suzanne Lacy's model for the collaborative process involved in participatory artistic practices (Lacy 1995c).[164] The model included both professional contributors and what she referred to as 'volunteers and performers', which in the case of *Inside Out Istedgade* were local citizens. Importantly, Lacy emphasized authorship as constituting both origination and responsibility for the project, which I interpret to include an ethical responsibility vis-à-vis the professional partners and local participants. In other words, the artist has responsibility for the artistic

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[161] I base this evaluation on my interviews with Artist 2 and the local citizens who participated, as well as on my observations of the events in the project.
[162] I base this on interviews with Artist 2 and interviews with local citizens who had dropped out of the project.
[163] I base this on my observations at the book reception and on interviews with the participants and Artist 2.
[164] See also appendix 3.

result, but also for the way in which a project relies on the contributions of participants and represents them. In Lacy's model, responsible artistic practice is not equated with the graceful refusal of an authorial position as in the ethical model, but rather with the artist's sustained responsibility for the project and the artistic process of making the work of art.

To me, Lacy's model of participatory organizing offers a suggestive impression of how participation was organized for *Inside Out Istedgade*, situating the artist as originator of the artistic idea and also as ultimately responsible for its development, with professional partners and local participants contributing to the project in various degrees and at various stages. *Inside Out Istedgade* was clearly artistically directed to deliver an aesthetic result that aligned with Artist 2's authentic interest and inspiration. The artistic concept was not generated from the site, but adapted to fit the site, and the local public's contribution was orchestrated to fit very specific purposes in the overall artistic design. However, the artist's responsibility concerned not only the final aesthetic decisions but also the maintenance of good relations to all contributing participants. In my evaluation she essentially succeeded in this endeavour, with the singular exception of her relationship with the photographer, which was, however, conflictual on account of their competing artistic visions.

Lacy's model is precisely interesting because it creates a particular relationship between the origin of an artistic project and the responsibility for it. When I interviewed Artist 2 and her partners, they typically referred to being commissioned as an avoidance of artistic responsibility. The film editor and the radio journalist specifically stated that the project was not theirs (i.RJ.Aug26.15, i.FE.Mar6.17). They had been commissioned by Artist 2 and thus followed her artistic directions. At one point, an exhausted Artist 2 expressed a similar reservation. She spoke of *Inside Out Istedgade* as a commissioned project in contradistinction to her other projects, which she herself had developed from scratch (i.A2.Aug5.15).

The photographer, however, never expressed such reservations (i.PH.Oct22.14, i.PH.Jan13.16). In fact, he was more than willing to take responsibility for the artistic project, also by influencing its development in the direction he found aesthetically inspirational. He further expressed a concern that his photographs might be misused after Artist 2 decided to terminate their collaboration (i.PH.Jan13.16). For me, this suggests that artistic autonomy expresses itself emotionally through an artist's authentic inspiration and drive towards realizing an artistic vision. In fact, the photographer

would go on to make his own independent work based on the photographic material – a project he entered in the Danish press photo of the year competition 'Årets pressefoto 2016'.[165]

Artistic autonomy, as such, effected the photographer's performative choreographing of the participants to render them aesthetically interesting for public display. He did not carry out this choreography with the intention of violating or manipulating the local participants but to realize the artistic aspirations one forms in the competitive business of photojournalism as an effect of the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering. Photojournalists are awarded for delivering images that convey original and unique stories, which spurs them to seek access to unusual environments and aesthetically interpret the people inhabiting those spaces.

Proponents of the ethical model might claim that he manipulated and violated the local participants, even if unintentionally. In fact, he himself admitted that he had no previous experience with participatory projects (i.PH.Jan13.16), and in my interpretation he was unaware of the discourse about participation. For instance, he had found it problematic that the participants who disliked their portrayals were able to opt-out of the project simply because such responses were to be expected (i.PH.Jan13.16). However, as I implied above, the local citizens did not themselves express a sense of violation in their participation process. A few dropped out of the project or informed the artist of their preference that certain photos be omitted from the project (i.A2.Feb2.16), but most of them agreed to perform and expressed pleasure in having participated.

Methodological reflections

I chose to interview the local citizens about their experience of participating, and this choice is in itself an effect of *public interest*. *Public interest* prompts the researcher to engage with the opinions and experiences of the participants in public art projects and to look for answers to the problem of public interest in the participants' reflections. I interviewed a cross-section of the local participants after *Inside Out Istedgade* had been launched and completed, selecting them with a view to hearing from a variety of participants in terms of how they had participated in the project, including some who had participated intensively in all the project parts and some who had dropped out of it.[166] Going into the interview situation (Alvesson 2001), I was biased by the ethical model of participation, particularly because the participants had been flagged as violated by the many intimate photographs contained in

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[165] See http://www.stevenachiam.com/project-2/ (accessed September 13, 2018).
[166] See appendix 8 and 10.

the artist's Dropbox files. In addition, I had interviewed Neighbourhood Council Representative 2 a year earlier, in January 2015, in part about her participation in *Inside Out Istedgade*. She had volunteered to work on the project to help get it started, but as my interview with her disclosed, her meeting with the photographer had been somewhat of a disaster. She referred to the encounter as 'really unpleasant' and 'transgressive' because she 'sort of had to perform in all kinds of situations' (i.NCR2.Jan21.15). Wanting my interviews with the other participants to be open to other experiences of participating, I therefore deliberately refrained from asking local citizens if they had felt violated in the process, preferring to have them convey their experience of participating to the extent that they wanted to (Czarniawska 2014). However, I interpreted their responses with the complexities of the interview situation in mind (Alvesson 2001). In particular, I reflected on the potential identity work involved in the interview situations, since the interview topic centred on the local citizens' performance in a work of art made for public display.

Infiltrating lives

Throughout the pool of local participant interviews, some would express their reason for participating in *Inside Out Istedgade* as to help the artist, while others emphasized their own depictions in the project. Some seemed to have been deeply affected by the experience of participating, while others referred to it as a minor, albeit fun experience. For some it infiltrated their lives to become part of some crucial life changes, while still others were dedicated to the story of Istedgade and sought to preserve the special social tolerance characterizing the street. One participant seemed hooked on being famous, while most participants expressed a natural mixture of shyness and pride in their public exposure. The local citizens gave me the general impression that they had been glad to participate and were very pleased with the outcome. One participant, for instance, posted the following comment on Facebook:

> Beautiful book and a great event at the display on 'Gassen' [Gasværksvejens School]. The diversity of people and destinies – whether they're visiting, have been here a short time or their entire lives. My family and I are the fifth generation living here. And I can see my life and environment in all the images and texts. This is 'My Vesterbro'. And it creates a nice memory about my father Ib, who lived his whole 75-years-long life here in Istedgade. He surrendered to cancer in November – but he got to see the display on the school, and he was very proud of 'his' Vesterbro. My family and I are really happy to have been able to contribute with images of four

generations that have lived in the same apartment building here in Istedgade. Thank you [Artist 2] and [the photographer]. [167]

For this family, participating in *Inside Out Istedgade* coincided with the final months of the grandfather's life. Among the participants are other examples of such significant life experiences coinciding with the project. For the young couple Mark and Karen the project coincided with the birth of their first child. The photographer had located them through a mutual relation, as he was looking for an expecting couple to be part of *Inside Out Istedgade* (i.Mark&Karen.Feb1.16). Their daughter had just been born when the public projections were aired, so they were pleased to have made it to the event at all. Six months later, at the reception for the book, Mark and Karen and their baby girl had just packed up their Istedgade apartment and were moving away from the city centre. Mark came to the reception to fetch two copies of the book (d.n.Jan21.16), one as a keepsake for themselves and the other for their daughter to take with her when she eventually left home (i.Mark&Karen.Feb1.16).

Inside Out Istedgade was to some extent all about the lives of the local participants, who were photographed for the project along with details of their apartment interiors. Some participants were interviewed about their experience of Istedgade, and others wrote stories about their lives. Artist 2 and her partners visited the participants, discussed their contributions and encouraged their participation with an intensity that likely impelled them to similarly dedicate themselves to the project – even when the project did not coincide with a major life event. In social science, the Hawthorne effect refers to the complications of measuring the effects of changes, because participants respond positively to the simple fact of having received attention.[168] In *Inside Out Istedgade*, the most committed participants seemed to be the most enthusiastic. To me, however, this enthusiasm does not mean they would have happily been involved in any project, even though the very fact that they were extensively involved and also wooed by Artist 2 and her partners influenced their evaluation of the project, not least when they gave this evaluation to a researcher interested in their perspective on the organizing of participation. However, the Hawthorne effect is to some extent to be expected from a participatory work of art – its being meant to involve and nurture the local public's interest as such.

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[167] Posted on Facebook, February 1, 2016, see https://www.facebook.com/pg/Inside-Out-Istedgade-671942039583732/reviews/?post_id=976196782417659&referrer=page_recommendations_home_card&ref=page_internal (accessed October 26, 2018)

[168] The discussion of the Hawthorne effect forms part of the Hawthorne studies and thus the paradigmatic change from a scientific management system to a more human management system, which is still subject to discussion (Hassard 2012). The issue of whether a so-called Hawthorne effect, in fact, exists also remains under scrutiny (McCambridge 2014).

In this regard, returning to Suzanne Lacy's model of participatory collaborations and its connection between origination and responsibility can be illuminating. A number of participants said that their participation was primarily intended to help the artist. I interpreted such responses as genuine replies, but also as strategies aimed at downplaying their personal interest in being publicly displayed – in other words, they did not want their participation to be seen as an act of self-promotion but as a gesture of kindness to an artist in need of participants. However, the public interest of the project is connected not only with its focus on the participants themselves but also with the project's emphasis on Istedgade. In supporting the project, the local participants mirrored their support of the street itself and their affective relationship to the site. Even their interest in helping the artist comes across as part of the *site* mode of ordering, with its emphasis on social cohesion and neighbourly support. The *site* and the *public interest* modes of ordering thus mutually boost each other as organizing forces in the project, making citizens' individual lives part of the narrative of the street and vice versa.

Although the project did not originate with the public or centrally involve it in decision-making processes, the project was still done in the interest of the public and generated by the *public interest* mode of ordering. It focused on the site of Istedgade, taking its material from the lives lived there and thus framing the lives of those who were photographed for the project, were interviewed for the audio piece, and contributed texts or images to the book. Such a project cannot be done without the interest of the public, and seeks to contribute to public interest in the sense of the local interest in and support for Istedgade's specific and unique social cohesion.

Aesthetic transgression as public interest

What about the intimate photographs? What did the participants think about being photographed in this way? Why did they agree to it, and how do they recall the experience? Directly or indirectly, the issue of their performance came up in the interviews, but the participants generally seemed to have accepted the intimacy as an aspect of participating in the development of an artwork. They were willing to perform for a work of art and anticipated the experience. Although many felt challenged, most did not see the experience as a ground for rejecting the project. To illustrate this, I am providing two interview snippets with participants who were photographed in intimate situations but were highly supportive of the project, as measured by their attendance of the project events and their expressed judgement of the project. The first is a transcript of my interview with Lisa, a woman in her early 40s:

Q: So if I return to the process of making *Inside Out*. [Artist 2] was in your apartment and talked to you…

Lisa: Yes, and then I got [the photographer's] phone number, or he had got mine, and then I talked with him on the phone. And then I think he came, yes, he came the first time without a camera, where we just talked a little, and where he told me, well, he told me what he planned to do. And he said that I could think of a special situation I could picture myself in, and I suggested that I could play the drum, because I play a darbuka drum. And he said no, he did not think so, and I said, well I don't know what you have in mind, and he said it has to be a little more rough and a little more…, so I said, then I don't know. And as you are the photographer, then it's fun for me if you think of something, or picture me in some way. And then he came one morning, and he was there… He actually took quite a lot of pictures. He was there for a few hours, and yes, he was apparently quite good at persuading me to do all kinds of things, for instance for me to stand outside on my window ledge, and I was scared s###less of falling down, but he made me do it.

Q: Is that the image featured in the public projections?

Lisa: Yes, and he made me pose in all kinds of weird positions, but it was quite fun. Don't interpret this negatively.

Q: No? … But you were surprised about what he made you do?

Lisa: Yes, I was actually. He was quite good at saying all the time: you don't have to, but perhaps you could try…. it would be really great if you just did… or lay down in that weird way. So he took quite a lot of pictures, but, of course, I have not seen them all.

Q: But you have seen some?

Lisa: I have seen 10 and I could choose two or three of those to have in print.

(I.Lisa.Jan28.16)

The second is a transcript from my interview with Mark and Karen, a couple in their 30s:

Mark: Yes, so, I was contacted by a friend of mine who knew, or had met [the photographer] – I am not sure where – but he had met him, and he was looking for a couple that was expecting in Istedgade, because he did not have that in his project, and then [our friend] knew us, and that's how we came in contact with [the photographer].

Q: Yes.

Mark: And then I think he called us, and at first we were kind of aahhhhh f***k. He was quite sort of… He wanted something with skin and pregnancy. It was a little transgressive to begin with.

Q: OK.

Mark: But then we thought it would be a good experience. We would get some pictures, so we said yes.

Karen: We thought it would be a good way to immortalize the pregnancy. If I hadn't been pregnant, I don't think we would have said yes. Or I don't know.

Q: No.

Mark: It was also a little cool to do it, because it's not something we normally do….

Karen: …the exposure

Mark: Yes, the exposure…

(…)

Q: But you thought that, still, we dare to do it?

Mark: It was also quite cool to do it, and it turned out to be fine and pleasant.

Karen: Yes, he came over, just to talk about the project, and he was very interested in who we were. It was really quite nice, so we kind of got to know each other, he told us a little about himself, and we became acquainted.

(i.Mark&Karen.Feb1.16)

In these interview snippets the interviewees themselves introduce the issue of what I have referred to as a 'transgressive experience' in the section heading. The participants do not all use the word 'transgressive', and in particular, I have borrowed it from the second neighbourhood council representative, who chose the word to frame her own unpleasant experience. I use it here to rhetorically frame the experience of the other participants, who do not express the same discomfort in participating, but still reference the situation as somewhat challenging. Lisa speaks about being persuaded to do some things she was unprepared for, but she stresses that it was nevertheless a nice experience, while Mark and Karen recall how they mentally prepared for the situation and ultimately found it to be less challenging than they had feared.

For me, the participants expressed having an experience verging on the transgressive. They felt persuaded to do something they would not otherwise have done, which pushed them outside their comfort zone, a sentiment they felt a need to express in the interview. On the other hand, their overall evaluation of participating in the project also indicates how they feel satisfied about their rising to the challenge. They proved their ability to perform in a work of art, even if they had to overcome some personal barriers to do so. When I interviewed them, they had seen the outcome of their performance

as manifested in the completed works of art. Any trepidation about the public repercussions of their performance would have been settled by the time I interviewed them. In other words, their responses also indicate their sense of having successfully contributed to a work of art and in the process having had the 'aesthetic' experience of challenging themselves. The very fact that this challenge did not provoke them to dismiss the project or drop out of the work indicates that they cherished this experience as part of their 'interest' in participating in the project.

The photographer's performative orchestration of the local citizens conjures up images of violation because of the ethical model of participation. However, the responses of the local participants who performed for the photographer seem rather to support Claire Bishop's argument that participants rely on the artist's cue in order to participate, and that the very experience of being challenged also constitutes an aesthetic experience that – regardless of being transgressive – forms a significant part of the work's public interest (Bishop 2012). In my interpretation, the 'transgressive' experience of participating in *Inside Out Istedgade* does not in itself generate public interest in the project, but forms part of public interest. The experience is central to the aesthetic quality of the work that the local citizens took part in developing, and their experience of contributing to this development factors in their positive evaluation of the project. However, in producing the artwork, Artist 2 and her partners also generated the trust and mutual relationships required to enable the local citizens' to participate and perform in the work. In this sense a combination of ethical considerations and aesthetic aspirations served to ensure the public interest in *Inside Out Istedgade*.

Chapter 10: Learning from Istedgade

Over three evenings in September 2015, the public projections of *Inside Out Istedgade* intervened in the aesthetic flow of Istedgade. However, this was not the only aesthetic event organized in Istedgade in 2015. In May 2015, for instance, several international street artists painted selected murals in Vesterbro.[169] Although the painting of the murals was aimed to promote a photographic exhibition in nearby Øksnehallen, it was organized as a live event to which people could come and watch the artists at work.[170] A mural depicting a group of playful rats faces Istedgade to this day, and the adjacent Gasværksvejens School has affectionately adopted the image (i.Mia.Feb15.15).

Furthermore, in August 2015 a group of local citizens opened a new site-specific museum in Istedgade.[171] They created the museum as a one-to-one redesign of the original Stjerne Radio station storefront, which was a hub of counter-occupation activity during World War II. The windows display objects and documents evincing events that took place at the site (d.n.Nov20.15). The street was closed off for the museum opening, and an old tram was brought in to recreate the atmosphere of the time. The event attracted a big crowd.[172]

In January 2016, Artist 2 presented the final part of her project *Inside Out Istedgade* – a book documenting and summarizing the project (d.n.jan21.16). A couple of weeks earlier, Byens, a publisher and café housed at Istedgade 102, also published a book about Istedgade. It was entitled *Istedgadeliv* (in English *Life in Istedgade*)[173] The book is a collection of short stories selected through an open competition and presented together with various visual insertions, including snapshots, drawings, and creative pearl-plated representations of Istedgade.[174] Like *Inside Out Istedgade*, *Istedgadeliv* was made in response to the street's renovation and rebuilding and financed through a few small donations from the neighbourhood council and Mændenes Hjem (the Men's Home) (d.n.Jun23.15, d.n.Dec10.15).

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[169] See https://vimeo.com/132110507 (accessed September 22, 2018), which presents the exhibition and shows the street artists at work in Vesterbro.

[170] See Anders Beck, 'Verdenskendte kunstnere udsmykker gavle på *Vesterbro', Metroxpress København,* June 10, 2015, Janus Camara, 'Insidertip: Se street art i verdensklasse udforme sig på Vesterbro - netop nu', *Politiken*, June 9, 2015. See also https://vimeo.com/132110507 (accessed September 22, 2018), which presents the exhibition and shows the street artists at work in Vesterbro.

[171] See https://da-dk.facebook.com/pages/category/Historical-Place/Stjerne-Radio-1380400085622504/ (accessed September 22, 2018).

[172] See https://www.licitationen.dk/article/view/217504/historisk_radioforretning_genopstar?ref=newsletter (accessed September 22, 2018) for images of the opening.

[173] See http://byensforlag.dk/bogcafe/ (accessed September 22, 2018).

[174] Marie Hauge Lykkegaard (ed.), *Istedgadeliv*, Byens Forlag, 2016.

All of these aesthetic events, I will argue, are generated by the mode of ordering of *the site*, and they all demonstrate the affective power of Istedgade. However, they each portray Istedgade in a slightly different way. The 'street artist' event portrayed Istedgade as a hub for creative practices that bolster youth, urban culture, and slightly illicit activities – although here made legal and safe. *Istedgadeliv* captures the contemporary hipster-feel of Istedgade, and its ongoing ability to foster new artistic interpretations. The museum emphasizes Istedgade's history, especially its role in the Danish resistance. It supports the autonomy of Istedgade, although this autonomy is now rendered a cultural relic, a reminder of bygone days. As such, these aesthetic events contribute to the current negotiation of Istedgade that feeds on the *site* mode of ordering, but also effects it.

The current negotiation of Istedgade

This chapter reflects on the relationship between *the site* mode of ordering and the two commissioned artworks *Inside Out Istedgade* and *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*. To some extent, the chapter concerns *the site's* effect on the organizing of participation for a public artwork in Istedgade, but it extends beyond the commissioned artworks and the commissioning process to situate the commissioned artworks more precisely within the current negotiation of Istedgade's identity.

In Chapter 5 I argued that *the site* generates aesthetic events that support its identity as a special place. I argued that the mode of ordering of *the site* has developed over the course of the street's history and that it has shown an ability to accommodate different stories and interpretations. One story frames the autonomy of the street, its difference from anywhere else, as encapsulated in the slogan 'Istedgade never surrenders'. Another speaks of the myth of social cohesion, as captured in the expression of the Istedgade spirit. The third story, which is the new story of Istedgade, emphasizes how gentrification has dismantled the street's social cohesion as well as its autonomy, turning it into a standardized hipster area populated by the 'creative class'. The *site* mode of ordering generates this story because it emphasizes the experience of Istedgade's vanishing uniqueness. These three stories of Istedgade co-exist, thus rendering the 'sense of place' (Cresswell 2015) of Istedgade a field of contested interpretations.

When discussing modes of ordering, John Law was careful to argue that they are not fixed and final, but fluid and material semiotic forces that effect and are effected by other modes of ordering within the network of the social (Law 1994, Law 2003, Law 2007). In other words, modes of ordering continuously evolve, modify and change by virtue of the way they relate to and intermingle with other modes of

ordering. The *site* mode of ordering has been generated in the course of Istedgade's history and will continue to evolve. This chapter offers a partial look into the current mutation of Istedgade as a sense of place – an examination especially aimed to situate the role of the two commissioned artworks in this process of change.

I delve further into the current negotiation of Istedgade's identity through another aesthetic event held on May 23, 2015 – the celebration of Istedgade's completed rebuilding (d.n.May23.15). I undertake this exploration for a number of reasons. First, the rebuilding constituted the physical situation of Istedgade that sparked the commissioning process for a public work of art. Second, the event provides clues to the current mutation of the *site* mode of ordering, which is also at work in the rebuilding of the street. Third, this event enables me to reflect on the relationship between the site of Istedgade and the artworks suspiciously absent at the inauguration event. The chapter thus ponders what public artworks can contribute to a site like Istedgade. What – if anything – does art have to offer? As such, in the closing analysis, I tap into a key discussion within the field of art in public, returning to the question of the effects of *the site* on the organizing of participation and the question of how the two commissioned artworks contribute to the (re)organizing of Istedgade.

The inauguration of Istedgade's rebuilding

May 23, 2015 was a cloudy day, the temperature still not heralding the entrance of spring. All the same, Istedgade brimmed with activity. The main part of the street, from Gasværksvej down to Enghave Plads, had been closed to traffic for the party to celebrate the finished rebuilding of Istedgade. A large stage had been erected, and the mayor was scheduled to speak at six pm, with a series of rock bands to follow. I walked the street in the afternoon along with many hundreds of others: families with strollers, couples hand-in-hand, and single visitors like myself. I stopped to listen to other bands playing at local shops, and I saw children entertained with magicians and facial paint. Many people sat at the bars and cafés now with outside seating areas made possible by the recently widened pavements. Others had simply plunked themselves down on the curb (d.n.May23.15).[175]

National Danish TV and newspapers reported on the event, as did the local Vesterbro newspaper, *Vesterbro Bladet*.[176] In the latter, the headline read 'Party for the Compromise', referencing the battle

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[175] See appendix 21 for images.
[176] See, for instance, Malene Tabart and Anders Rye Skjoldjensen, 'Istedgade overgiver sig aldrig', *Politiken*, May 22, 2015; Anja Berth, 'Fest for kompromiset', *Vesterbro Bladet*, May 27, 2015. I did not see the TV feature, but talked to a camera man at the event who said he was from TV2, a Danish national TV station TV2 (d.n.May23.15).

over bicycle lanes, which had been the main source of political friction about the street's redesign. *Vesterbro Bladet* had previously criticized the decision to exchange bicycle lanes for a wider pavement, providing first-hand reports testifying to the ensuing traffic dangers.[177] Cars did not lower their speed as intended, and bicycles had less room than before, which forced them to duck in behind the bus stops and back out into the car lane again. However, as the *Vesterbro Bladet* feature on the event reported, all was forgotten on May 23, 2015, when the atmosphere of communal celebration seized the street:

> No renovation in Copenhagen without bicycle lanes, and there probably should have been more bicycle lanes, according to some. But on Saturday May 23, at least, the wide pavements were needed. Istedgade was inaugurated and celebrated with so much style and magic atmosphere that one wondered if we will ever return to normal again. It is, after all – if we are to be truly honest – only a street that has been renovated. But that's not the way it is in Istedgade, which – as history has it – never surrenders, but it certainly surrendered to the genial mood. According to the organizers responsible, the total sum of about 10,000 'Vesterbro-inhabitants' was like a carpet of 'warm friendliness', and solidarity materialized down in the newly renovated street.[178]

No artworks on display

The inauguration party started at three in the afternoon and lasted well into the evening and night.[179] At no point, however, was there any display, much less mention of the artworks commissioned by the City of Copenhagen and the Danish Arts Foundation (d.n.May23.15). At the party, I ran into the project manager who had managed the implementation of the street renovation and rebuilding and inquired about this. (d.n.May23.15). His response was somewhat symptomatic of the relationship between the commissioned artworks and the Istedgade rebuilding process. First of all, the artworks and the rebuilding were out of sync. The rebuilding was completed earlier than expected, in May 2015 instead of November 2015, as originally estimated (d.n.May23.15). The artists, on the other hand, were behind schedule due to the protracted administrative process of securing political approval, for which reason, the project manager told me, the artworks were nowhere near 'completion' and ready for display (d.n.May23.15). Second, as the project manager also phrased it: 'The artworks would have drowned in this event' (d.n.May23.15), indicating that from the perspective of Istedgade's rebuilding, if not of the street itself, the artworks' importance was quite limited. Or – following the *artistic autonomy* mode of

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[177] See Anja Berth, '»Jeg er blevet mere utryg«', *Vesterbro Bladet*, January 14, 2015.
[178] Anja Berth, 'Fest for kompromiset', *Vesterbro Bladet*, May 27, 2015.
[179] Ibid.

ordering – to be properly experienced, the artworks needed a different kind of space-time than this particular event provided.

The art projects were not even presented as works-in-progress, which goes to show the degree to which Istedgade's rebuilding and the artistic projects were out of sync, out of touch, and outside of each other's interests (d.n.May23.15). The inauguration party would have been a good opportunity for such a presentation. By this time the projects had, in fact, been politically approved, and for the event the neighbourhood council had set up a tent where they were presenting future development plans for the local area (d.n.May23.15).[180] What was more, both the project manager and council members were on hand (d.n.May23.15). However, as I discussed in Chapter 8, the council mutually disagreed about the Artist 1 team's project, and had generally lost interest in and a sense of ownership of the two commissioned art projects.

The relationship between the artworks and the site of Istedgade

My reflections about the inauguration event amplify the non-existent relationship between the artworks and the site of Istedgade. I use the situational expression of the inauguration event as a marker of the missing artworks: they are neither present as a material imprint on the street by way of an artistic contribution to the rebuilding, nor available as an eventful contribution to the celebration of the completed renovation, or even as works-in-progress for the local citizens to view and comment on.

This lack of a relationship might be interpreted as resulting from *artistic autonomy*'s protection and support of the artists' work. The artists wanted to develop their own works for the street and were supported in that endeavour. As such, neither of the artists responded affirmatively to the politically approved plans for the Istedgade rebuilding. The artistic projects distinguished themselves from the city's renewal scheme by either constituting a temporary event or by critically challenging the scheme's lack of greenery. The lack of relationship might also be interpreted as springing from the conflict between *artistic autonomy* and *administration* outlined in Chapter 7. This conflict delayed the two artworks' realization, and the artists were therefore independently struggling to realize their projects at the time of the inauguration event. Artist 2 returned from Casablanca in April 2015 to the news of the political approval, but having lost six months of work in the time taken to obtain that approval, she was now pressed for time to finish her work. To gather and edit the visual material in time for it to be displayed in September, she and the photographer needed to locate and visit about 20 more

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[180] See appendix 21 for images from the inauguration party.

apartments before the summer holidays. The work had to be ready by September at the latest, as temperatures would start dropping after then and people would therefore be less likely to come and experience the work or happen on it while walking past. The delay also challenged her budget estimate for the project, including her salary for daily expenses, which gave her another incentive for completing the work by September (i.A2.Aug5.15). For the Artist 1 team, gaining political approval for the Danish Arts Foundation funding was just one in a series of steps to secure funding for *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*. The city's subsequent refusal to provide the maintenance guarantee requested by Nordea-fonden meant that the Artist 1 team was still busy securing its project funding on the day of the celebration.

However, the inauguration party and the two commissioned artworks are also deeply intertwined through the *site* mode of ordering. They are all generated by the mode of ordering of *the site*. Would the rebuilding of any other street in Copenhagen have prompted the interest in a work of art and the arts foundation's resultant interest in funding it? Would the rebuilding of any other street have prompted the organization of a large party to celebrate its completion? I raise these questions rhetorically to emphasize the relative rarity of such aestheticized additions to projects primarily concerned with materially rebuilding a street, but also to ground the commissioned artworks in a broader social context around the current negotiation of Istedgade. This negotiation is – as I have already mentioned – carried out through the selective use of the stories of the street, and it points to the contemporary aestheticization of urban life.

Life in the street

Since the 1990s urban development policy and planning schemes have intensified an affective coding of places as 'creative cities' for 'the creative class' (Landry 2000, Florida 2002). The sociologist Andreas Reckwitz' summarizes these developments under the umbrella of 'the culturalization of the city', which entails three elements: the 'semiotization' of the city in the form of an increase in and concentration of the symbolic qualities of urban spaces, a reflexive 'deployment of history', and, finally, 'aestheticization' in the form of cities providing sensory and emotional satisfaction to citizens (Reckwitz 2017, p. 180). The effect of this culturalization is seen in several intertwined processes of urban development including the expansion of aestheticized neighbourhoods, the establishment of an urban art scene, and the concentration of places dedicated to the consumption of style and experience (Reckwitz 2017).

The culturalization of the city, Reckwitz argues, stands in opposition to the paradigm of 'the functionalist city' that dominated urban planning discourse from the 1920s to the 1970s. The new urban policy discourse builds on a critique of the functionalist city that was introduced from various scattered positions, including the French Situationists' autonomous creative appropriation of the city and urban theorist Jane Jacobs call for diversity as a source of vitality and liveliness (Reckwitz 2017). Drawing on the advice of international planning gurus Richard Florida and Charles Landry about how to win the inter-urban competition game, cities have devised strategies for attracting 'the creative class' and for 'exploiting cultural resources' and 'nurturing local distinctiveness' (Reckwitz 2017, p. 196). The result, according to Reckwitz, is a discourse on new urbanism that aims to transform the city into a place where everything is interesting, but which then paradoxically induces place-branding strategies to employ a politics of difference focused on creating not only a 'semiotically fixed' but also constantly changing atmosphere (Reckwitz 2017, p. 197).

Inner city revitalization has often been connected to the sociological concept of gentrification, in which the middle-class takes over previously underprivileged areas after counter- and sub-cultures initially make them attractive (Lees & Slater 2010). Istedgade seems to be the poster child for such a gentrification process. The process began in the 1990s when Vesterbro's apartment buildings underwent massive renovation, gradually changing the area from a dilapidated working-class quarter into an increasingly affluent neighbourhood. Henrik Gutzon Larsen and Anders Lund Hansen offer a critical analysis of this Inner Vesterbro mass renovation, targeting the policy plans of the local government, and the effects of housing market deregulation (Larsen & Hansen 2008). These initiatives have collectively pushed Vesterbro's less affluent residents further out into the suburbs (Larsen & Hansen 2008). However, Larsen and Hansen underscore that higher-level policy and market dynamics influence the local government, as does the inter-urban competition game that engenders the culturalization of the city. They single out an issue of the lifestyle magazine *Wallpaper*, which in 2001 featured an article about Vesterbro as manifesting '…the basic ingredients in an urban imaginary based on loft living in the 24/7 globalized city' (Larsen & Hansen 2008, p. 2440).

Such references to Vesterbro are common today. For instance, Copenhagen's official tourist organization, *Wonderful Copenhagen*, makes a special mention of Istedgade as one of Copenhagen's coolest streets:

Different, vibrant, relaxed and lively. Walking down Istedgade, you will experience a different and exciting side of Copenhagen where all kinds of people hang out - students, hipsters, families, etc. For many years, Istedgade was dominated by drugs, porn and prostitutes, but today the street has cleaned somewhat up, but luckily not too much, and it is booming with shops, cafés, restaurants and bars. Istedgade stretches from Copenhagen Central Station to Enghave Plads and is not far from the Meatpacking District and Halmtorvet, where you will never be bored.[181]

The statement that the street has been 'cleaned somewhat up, but luckily not too much' underlines the city's interest in branding Istedgade through the lingering atmosphere of its authentic history. At the same time, the area is presented as generally safe, but particularly 'lively', 'vibrant' and 'different'. As such, the description of Istedgade perfectly matches Reckwitz' determination of contemporary urban planning policy's ideal for aesthetic neighbourhoods as more or less modelled on Jane Jacobs' lively and diverse image of Hudson Street, which is characterized by its combination of living and working and the way it has gradually attracted specialized boutiques and restaurants, entertainment, and culture (Reckwitz 2017).

Rebuilding 'life in the street'

The rebuilding plans for Istedgade were aimed to strengthen 'Istedgade as a place where the people of Vesterbro can meet'.[182] The rebuilding introduced elevated areas in conjunction with pavements as a means of slowing down vehicular traffic and thus creating a safer environment for pedestrians. It also widened the pavements to make room for outdoor serving and generally aimed to support more 'life in the street'. [183] The event of celebrating the rebuilding reinforces this intended purpose as well as the ambitions of enhancing the social life within the public site of Istedgade and of branding the street as social and eventful. This 'aestheticization' of the street, to use Reckwitz terminology, is grounded on and authenticated by the historical layers of Istedgade, and thus testifies to the *site* mode of ordering. It leans on Istedgade's mythic social cohesion and its history as an eventful place. Similarly, the aestheticization supports a particular dimension of the site's identity that serves particular purposes. On the one hand, such aestheticization is mobilized against potential threats to the street's identity, the first of which is the normalizing forces of gentrification that eventually turn an area into a dull mainstream urban setting (Reckwitz 2017). The second threat is the tensions between citizen groups, as

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[181] See https://www.visitcopenhagen.dk/da/wonderful-copenhagen/kobenhavn/design/istedgade (accessed September 22, 2018)
[182] See the City of Copenhagen's 'Application to the Danish Arts Foundation': appendix 13.
[183] Ibid.

such tensions are often framed as a critique of the self-interested newcomers who do not want to accept that they live in an inner urban district. In the face of these threats, the inauguration event demonstrates that Istedgade is a particularly social and eventful place where people from all walks of life can come together and use the street. On the other hand, the inauguration event inadvertently supports the contemporary aestheticization of Istedgade, and by that very fact also the forces of gentrification. The event further supports the brand of Istedgade that serves commercial purposes, whether local commerce, the tourist industry, or the Copenhagen brand itself. It also presents an ameliorative image of Istedgade's social cohesion that glosses over existing conflicts to make it feel attractive and safe.

The rebuilding plans for Istedgade combine references to safety – especially pedestrians' safety from vehicular traffic – with commerce and 'life in the street', thus underscoring an image of social activities and social gathering that fits Jane Jacobs' description of a lively and diverse neighbourhood (Jacobs 2000).[184] Such an interpretation also accentuates the city's ambition of depicting the results of the rebuilding as an ameliorative image of social cohesion where conflict is minimized. This is not to say that the city singlehandedly mobilized this celebratory event. City officials might have played a key part in its organization, but the event entailing the celebration of the rebuilding was a collaborative endeavour. The neighbourhood council sponsored the event with DKK 100,000, the local shops and restaurants hired bands to play, and an estimated 10,000 people participated in the party.[185] Likewise, the rebuilding of Istedgade was conducted in collaboration between the city's technical and environmental administration and the neighbourhood council, with the local citizens and shop owners voicing their opinions at citizen hearings. The local citizens were, in fact, keenly interested in fostering more room for cafés (r.n.Jun17.14), so the rebuilding responded to the interest expressed by a majority of local citizens.

The rebuilding plans and the inauguration event thus testify to the *site* mode of ordering, feeding on the history and stories of Istedgade, but selectively. The plans avoided highlighting the unruliness of Istedgade's autonomy, and suppressed images of conflict between groups of citizens. Istedgade has

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[184] Although it is equally possible that it was inspired by Danish architect Jan Gehl's increasingly influential argument for people-centered urban development (Gehl 2011, Matan & Newman 2016).
[185] See Anja Berth, 'Fest for kompromiset', *Vesterbro Bladet*, May 27, 2015, and minutes from the neighbourhood council's meeting: https://www.kk.dk/indhold/vesterbro-lokaludvalgs-modemateriale/20052015/edoc-agenda/fbe54b29-c32d-46b2-8ec9-2799557248bd/17f11225-84f4-4051-8e27-7627a3c1d4ce (accessed September 22, 2018).

been reframed from being an autonomous site where people had to care for each other because no one else would to becoming a middle-class environment of safe, social eventfulness. As such, the plans for rebuilding the street and for the inauguration event are both generated by the *site* mode of ordering, but they also contribute to the current negotiation of Istedgade in which the *site* mode of ordering is slightly reoriented and mutated into something else.

To sit or not to sit

Above I discussed the plans for rebuilding Istedgade and the event of celebrating its inauguration, but what were the actual effects of the material rebuilding of Istedgade? From a critical cultural perspective (Cresswell 2015), the material changes to Istedgade might have been represented as promoting inclusivity, but they actually encourage a particular kind of sociality more attuned to some citizens' lifestyle than others. The changes cater to the lifestyle of hipsters and young urban families rather than to that of citizens with longer attachments to the street or, for that matter, to that of the 'street people'. The widened pavements have enabled local cafés and restaurants to establish outdoor seating and thus to extend the social life of their establishments onto the street (d.n.Sep29.16). Conversely, public seating opportunities have received less support, especially in the first part of Istedgade where the drug addicts generally loiter. The project manager explained that early on the city had wanted to install the classic Copenhagen bench in this part of the street, but the hotels resisted it (r.n.Mar24.14), even threatening to remove them if they were installed. The problem with public benches, of course, is that anyone sitting there cannot legally be removed, as sitting on a public bench is a public right. Apparently, the hotels did not want drug addicts and homeless people in the area to occupy space in their vicinity. In general, then, the rebuilding of Istedgade might have slowed down traffic in this part of the street, but it did not encourage social gathering.

Citizens and shop owners with a long attachment to the street voiced other critiques (i.Ismail.feb1.16, i.Barbara.Feb15.16), one being the effect of removing 16 parking spaces in the street (i.NCM2.Jun17.16). To the old-time shop owners, this complicated their customers' access, which I took as a sign of their continued reliance on customers who no longer lived in the area. The restaurants, wine bars and cafés, on the other hand, were increasing in number, indicating a growing customer-base for such venues. To the long-term inhabitants, the constant cafés popping up seemed odd and unappealing. Susan, who participated in *Inside Out Istedgade*, ironically commented that 'at least you're no longer thirsty, once you've walked through the street' (i.Susan.Feb10.16), while Marianne

expressed her opinion in the audio work: 'It might be OK to pay 30 kroner for a cup of coffee, but then I at least want to sit in a comfortable chair while I'm drinking it.'

As an effect of Istedgade's rebuilding, many of the cafés and restaurants established outside seating areas delineated with semi-permanent flowerbeds to mark their territory and seal it off from the vehicular traffic. The owner of a newly established café told me that the city gave permission for these flowerbeds, provided that a double stroller could still comfortably pass by (d.n.Sep29.16). In this way young urban families had become a direct measurement of what was to be accommodated in the street's social life.[186] It reminded me of an incident that Susan recounted in which a woman with a baby stroller had bumped into her, and then complained that Susan was in the way. 'If it had been my kid, I would have slapped her,' Susan said (i.Susan.Feb10.16).

The newly installed flowerbeds and seating arrangements were not meant to be permanent installations. They were – at least in theory – supposed to be removable on a daily basis (d.n.Sep29.16). A variety of outdoor inventories appeared following the renovation, ranging from cheap plastic chairs at the kebab joint to original craft furniture at some of the new cafés. The restaurant Neighbourhood installed tables that could be pulled in to the wall overnight, while the wine bar Malbec executed an almost hostile take-over (d.n.Sep29.16), actually nailing its flowerbeds to the pavement, although legally not allowed to. A waiter I talked to simply said: 'I don't think we asked for permission' (d.n.Sep29.16). A friend in the area complained about the bar, considering this a provincial gesture uncharacteristic of the area (d.n.May23.15).

In this way the material changes to Istedgade supported a particular lifestyle and everyday production of the social space in Istedgade (Cresswell 2015). They prevented and hindered some citizens' everyday activity and social interaction, while supporting those of others. In the critiques raised by the local citizens that I talked to, the rebuilding of Istedgade contributed to Istedgade's transformation from a working-class environment with strong social cohesion to an environment more supportive of the new influx of young urban professionals. Perhaps this transformation primarily manifests the street's changing demographics that commenced when the apartment buildings were renovated in the 1990s, but it goes further than merely making these changes visible, actually consolidating and promoting them. The project manager knew this might be an effect of rebuilding the street. In an interview he said

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[186] See also appendix 22 for images.

he had seen the effects of urban development elsewhere in the city, where the drunks return to their old benches, but find no one to hang out with (i.PM.Jun17.16). He had hoped that the production of artworks that addressed the history of the street and its social cohesion might contribute to a more inclusive social environment. Such production would thus support the governmental strategies embedded in the rebuilding plans for Istedgade and expressed through the organizing of a party to inaugurate it.

The stated purpose of the rebuilding was to support 'Istedgade as a place where the people of Vesterbro can meet'. Although not intended to exclude the old-time inhabitants or the street people, this statement mobilizes an image of a happy co-existence that smooths over the conflicts that continue to this day and perhaps have even escalated. This escalation results from not only the influx of newcomers to the street but also changes in the street people themselves. While once they were community members for whom life had taken a wrong turn (i.Susan.Feb10.16, Fabricius 2014), today they are less often residents of the area, but have come to the street via Copenhagen's central train station, which has an Istedgade entrance. These street people can be more violent, often strung out on cocaine rather than pacified by heroin as in previous decades (i.Barbara.Feb15.16, i.Paul.Feb9.16). Barbara told me about being mugged by a drug user who attacked her and tried to pull off her necklace (i.Barbara.Feb15.16). Neither are the prostitutes local, coming instead from Eastern Europe and Africa, and they approach potential customers much more aggressively than the earlier prostitutes in the street did (Bundgaard 2015).

Moreover, Istedgade seems to have become a temporary meeting spot for outsiders in a different way than before. The shop owner Ismail says that the street used to be very quiet (i.Ismail.Feb1.16), and at least in the 1980s, many shop spaces were vacant, and the street was dying (i.NCM1.Jun2.16). The street now attracts a larger crowd of night visitors frequenting the restaurants, bars, and entertainment available in the street and surrounding area. In summer 2017 Lisa, who participated in *Inside Out Istedgade*, posted the following feed on Facebook, which is not only well written, but also symptomatic of the experience of the increasing night activity in the street today:

> Should-should not. I have talked about this back and forth with myself. A small vacation and five days with a paradisiacal absence of noisy grown-up babies on tuned motorcycles, rednecks on 4-wheel sh###-things that break the sound barrier, yelling and screaming freaks and insane psychotics on coke and crack and booze and pills or nothing at sh### o'clock in the night, in front

of the Men's Home, embarrassing drunks from the suburbs that shout or argue with the girls in the street (…) and whatever else gets to the breaking point … well …. of my pain threshold, and that has finally made the difference: I need to go. Leave. Out. (…) I have lived in Vesterbro since 1991, and in this apartment since 2009, and in eight years it has changed from being tolerable to being completely impossible to live with the noise. I HAVE talked to the Men's Home. And to the police. They don't think they have to expend their resources here. I have also talked with the district psychiatry, and they don't think the psychotic people down here are their responsibility. In many cases they are not even Danish citizens either, so all authorities can wipe their hands of the responsibility. I'm actually super happy about my light apartment with great view and good vibes, and I think it's unfair that I'm being pushed out by noise, but this is the way it is, and my guess is that it will get even worse in the years to come.[187]

Diversity beyond double strollers

Above I have argued that Istedgade's social cohesion is mutating into a more middle-class-friendly version that supports commerce, cafés, and space for double strollers. I have also argued that the rowdy nightlife in the street has increased its pace and noise level to a degree not considered an authentic extension of the good old times. In the second half of this chapter I want to discuss the two commissioned artworks' contribution to the current negotiation of Istedgade. To this end, I engage with art historical discussions of art in public and the issue of social organizing that forms part of the discourse around participatory art.

The art historical discussion of art in public can be organized into three overall perspectives. The first position strives to politically stabilize and promote the field of art in public as a specific artistic genre with manifold possibilities (Cartiere & Willis 2008, Knight & Senie 2016). In this position, the political goal is to revitalize public art as a respectful artistic genre and promote its inclusion as a course topic and Master's programme in arts education, but an emphasis on diversity within the genre gives the impression that the public sphere is simply an alternative white-cube space for artistic practice (Cartiere & Willis 2008, Cartiere 2016). The second position arises from discussions of site-specific art that emphasize critical and experimental artistic engagements with a site, where the relationship between an artistic practice and the context of its practice is of primary concern (Meyer 2000, Kwon 2004, Doherty 2009). This position is versed in critical theory and emphasizes the complex meanings of

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[187] Posted on Facebook, August 20, 2017.

site. Rather than embracing the diversity of work within the public realm, the aim is to frame the development of the public art field as an increasingly advanced response to the situation of site-specificity. Discussions from this position do not attempt to encapsulate the whole of public art, but only its most experimental, new, and critically challenging approaches. While artistic practices heralded for their site-specific advances also include forms of participatory involvement, the site-specific framing constitutes an internal art theoretical debate. The concern continues to be primarily with the field of art in public itself rather than with the artistic contributions to the site.

In contrast, the third position moves succinctly into the site to ask how the work of art contributes to the current situation of the site. Here, the site is approached through notions of public space (Deutsche 1996) as caught up in processes of urban development (Miles 2015) or as connected to specific communities (Kester 2011). The question is how and in which way art might contribute to the situation of the site. Importantly, the contribution of art to a site is not a priori taken for granted, but is the subject of critical scrutiny (Deutsche 1996, Kester 2011, Miles 2015). This third position within discussions of art in public is affiliated with the activist model for conceptualizing the organizing of participation that I mentioned in the literature review. This model also situates artistic practices as part of and traversed by the social. The general question posed by the activist model of organizing participation was how art helps organize or reorganize the social by way of participatory practices, among other things, which is also the line of argument that I am pursuing in this chapter. This is why I started the chapter by emphasizing the current negotiation of Istedgade as expressed in the rebuilding of Istedgade as well as in the production of various aesthetic events.

In the literature review I discussed Miwon Kwon's critical analysis of the exhibition *Culture in Action*, which emphasized the curatorial role in organizing the relationship between artists and communities (Kwon 2004). In the Istedgade case, the two artwork's contribution to the site was likewise framed by the artistic assignment to which they responded: the request to work with the site of Istedgade as constituted primarily by its community of citizens and users and to involve the diverse groups in the street, including residents, shop owners, and the street people, as well as different generations of citizens, all comprising different stories about the street. More specifically, the artistic assignment was framed around the aim of helping to protect and possibly rebuild Istedgade's special sense of social cohesion. The artists were indirectly asked to help mend or recreate the myth of the Istedgade spirit by bringing together – in aesthetic and metaphoric form, as well as through direct involvement – the many

diverse groups of citizens. In other words, the artworks were called upon to aesthetically perform the mythical identity of Istedgade with the co-performance of the citizens in the street.

The *site* mode of ordering framed the artistic assignment. Stories and imaginings about Istedgade were factored into the determination of the proper artistic project for this particular site. As such, the artistic potentials were both tied to the aestheticization of Istedgade from which it might benefit and mobilized to help ensure its continued existence. Following Kwon's distinction between artistic community engagements as either working with 'found', 'invented' or 'mythical' forms of community (Kwon 2004), the Istedgade community was materially located in Istedgade and mythically supposed to conform to the image of social cohesion carried by the *site* mode of ordering, while the artworks were to aesthetically contribute to the (re)invention of this community.

In each their own way, the two artists responded to the commission brief's request as it was effected by the *site* mode of ordering. The emphasis on community building across diverse groups appealed to both artists, for it neither contradicted their artistic autonomy nor, as such, the judgement of the arts foundation's committee members in matching these artists to such an assignment. Both artists chose an artistic concept that matched the request to involve the diverse local citizens residing in or using the street, and they relied on the *site* mode of ordering to attract citizens to take part in their project. However, their artworks also contribute to the current negotiation of the *site*. They each respond differently to the situation of the site and the possible ways that their organizing of participation takes part in the organization and reorganization of 'the social'. Moving beyond Kwon's situating of artistic site-specific responses within the commissioning process, this chapter steps further into the site to situate the artworks with respect to the current reorganization of Istedgade.

Istedgade as a global and progressive place
Inside Out Istedgade presented a complex and multifaceted depiction of the Istedgade community. It offered three different aesthetic forms – a visual projection of photographs, an audio piece and a book – as well as three slightly different stories about Istedgade. The visual projections provided a poetic and evocative display of the diversity of lives lived inside Istedgade's apartments today, bringing together old-time inhabitants and representatives of the creative class, thus emphasizing a diversity of ethnicity, gender, and sexual preferences, as well as of ages and interior decoration styles.

The audio piece offered a story of Istedgade before and after its apartments, and now also street, were redeveloped. The radio journalist edited the local citizens' stories into a balanced depiction of positive and negative aspects of both eras. Things might have been better in the good old days, as Winnie expresses in a poem she wrote about Istedgade, but other long-time inhabitants say that there used to be huge problems with leaky roofs, mould proliferation and cockroach invasions. Today, the drug addicts have nowhere to be, as local police officer Ruud explains, and, in the words of Marianne the place is drowning in trendy cafés. Sofie, who lives there with her 11-year-old daughter, wonders if people reflect on the fact that the salad they are eating might have received better care than the imported prostitutes standing 20 metres away.

The book takes a more historical perspective, mixing stories and images from the history of the street with contemporary accounts. It also endeavours to breach the divide between working class people, immigrants, young urban families and the milieu of drugs, porn, and tattoo parlours. Photographs and stories of two working-class families who have spent their entire lives in Istedgade are presented together with the stories of two professional writers who moved here from the country in the 1960s and 1980s, respectively, to make their homes in the urban shabbiness of Istedgade. The Iraqi refugee Shamal's story is presented along with that of Pakistani Munir, who moved here from England in search of business opportunities and still lives and works in the street, despite the fact that its once vibrant Pakistani community is more or less gone (i.Mahir.Feb2.16). The book also contains archival images from the Men's Home, a tattoo parlour, and a porn shop along with a story of Istedgade's development since 1858, written by a historian from the Copenhagen Museum.

Inside Out Istedgade's artistic form contained innate possibilities for hosting different and even conflicting interpretations of Istedgade. It allowed the project to highlight the diversity of lives lived in the street, but it also allowed the local participants to conceptualize the project's sense of Istedgade in different ways. Some participated to support the site as hospitable to diversity, whether this meant addressing the lives of immigrants or street people. Some were keen to support Istedgade's special social cohesion with its neighbourly support, while others seemed protective of the street's unique aesthetic vibe, which the gentrification process was subjecting to increasing threat. Some simply participated because it created a close link between their affection for Istedgade and their own lives as portrayed in the work.[188]

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[188] In summarizing these motives, I rely on statements and impressions I got when interviewing 21 of the 40 residents and users of the street who participated in *Inside Out Istedgade*.

Artist 2's outsourcing of different project parts or professional partners further nurtured *Inside Out Istedgade*'s image of diversity, as did the division of the work into varying aesthetic forms. As the artist herself expressed it, *Inside Out Istedgade* offered three different entryways to the street through the respective works of the photographic projections, the audio piece, and the book (i.A2.Aug5.15). The metaphor of different entryways appropriately supports the idea that one's interpretation of Istedgade is based on one's physical trajectory into the street, as, say, a young man looking for adventure, a refugee looking for a new place in the world, or as someone born and raised there.

In this way, *Inside Out Istedgade*'s depiction of Istedgade connects to the geographer Doreen Massey's discussion of a global and progressive sense of place (Massey 1994, Massey 2015). According to Massey, a progressive sense of place does not deny the forces of change, but embraces an understanding of place as an ongoing process or event (Massey 1994). Such a place is not defined by its difference from what is outside of it, but rather by its specific relations to the outside. In addition, it is a site of multiple identities and histories, a coexisting heterogeneity (Massey 1994, Massey 2015). In the article 'Towards a global sense of space' Massey's argument is framed against the dichotomy established between the forces of globalization with its space-time compressions and the reactionary retreat to a sense of place based on an imaginary framing around a singular identity rooted in the history of the place (Massey 1994). She uses the example of Kilburn High Road in London to argue her case. Referencing such signs as the Irish, Muslims and Hindus living and working in the street, she highlights the way in which the place is linked to the world. It connects many different identities and is not strictly defined by barriers – in fact, it is '…one of the main entrances to and escape routes from London' (Massey 1994, p. 153). Kilburn High Road, however, is only exceptional because it displays these flows and connections more obviously than other places do. Massey's argument is that such processes and relations characterize all places.

Massey continues this argument in her book *For Space*, but now around the broader concept of space. As she frames it, space is 'a simultaneity of stories-so-far', which, she argues, is exactly what contributes to the specificity of a place:

> If space is rather a simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories, articulations within the wider power-geometries of space. Their character will be a product of these intersections within that wider setting, and of what is made of them. And too, of the non-

meetings-up, the disconnections and the relations not established, the exclusions. All this contributes to the specificity of place. (Massey 2015, p. 130)

Inside Out Istedgade captures Istedgade as such a collection of stories. The project embraces and supports a diversity of interpretations of Istedgade, creating a symbolic point at which different trajectories into Istedgade can intersect. This embrace of diversity is the strength of the artistic concept and of the artist's managerial strategy of promoting autonomous contributions to the project. Moreover, the very fact that this symbolic meeting space is a temporary artistic event underscores its interpretation of place as a process for which an appropriate artistic response will also be temporary.

For Massey the interpretation of place as a coexisting heterogeneity has political implications. Indeed, she argues that place poses the central question of the political as such, since it questions the matter of our living together. She talks of place as positively defined by its 'throwntogetherness', arguing:

…what is special about place is precisely that throwntogetherness, the unavoidable challenge of negotiating a here-and-now (itself drawing on a history and a geography of thens and theres); and a negotiation which must take place within and between both human and nonhuman. (Massey 2015, p. 140)

To me *Inside Out Istedgade* offers a compelling depiction of Istedgade as a global and progressive place constituted by a community of diverse citizen groups and stories of the street that are somehow 'throwntogether'. The community of *Inside Out Istedgade* was founded within the geographical demarcation of Istedgade as a location, but it was also invented to the extent that it brought together a range of people who did not otherwise know or socialize with one another. More than anything, the project worked with the myth of Istedgade' social cohesion – confirming but also supporting and extending its symbolic reach into the future.

Inside Out Istedgade emphasizes the unique and historically grounded community of Istedgade as being particularly progressive and global in its outlook. The book especially serves this purpose, but was also developed to address the assignment emphasis on Istedgade's historical layers (r.n.Sep24.14). The visual projections expand the image of social cohesion to involve the recent influx of middle-class residents. As I followed Artist 2's trajectory into Istedgade, I was made aware of the difficulties she had experienced in locating citizens with a long attachment to the street. In *Inside Out Istedgade* the

proportion of citizens who had lived in Istedgade for more than 30 years might be equal to that of families with children, but behind the scenes they appear to be the last remnants of a near-extinct working-class environment. The same appears to go for the once thriving immigrant communities in the area. With that knowledge in mind, *Inside Out Istedgade*'s depiction of Istedgade might come across as a symbolic staging of a past community that will not be part of the street's future. Mirroring Gregory Sholette's analysis of how 'social practice' art is picking up the remnants of social institutions and prior forms of living shattered by the forces of neoliberal capitalism (Sholette 2017), *Inside Out Istedgade* works with the ruins of Istedgade's community. However, the artwork's insistence on reiterating the sense of Istedgade as a global and progressive community and extending this notion to the new influx of middle-class citizens, also serves to support and extend the notion of its social cohesion. Istedgade's diversity today is perhaps made up of rainbow families, same-sex couples, and a mixture of ethnic identities that speak of an increasingly mobile middle-class of globetrotters, but in *Inside Out Istedgade*, they came together with the progressive mix of citizens that have shaped the history of the street.

Towards a sustainable aesthetics

Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours suggested a radical strategy of 'reinventing' the social cohesion in Istedgade around the development of green spots. In the commissioning process, Artist 1 initially expressed scepticism about the rebuilding of Istedgade. Quoting his father-in-law, he said in response to the rebuilding plans: 'You cannot change Istedgade!' (r.n.Mar24.14). He also reflected on the role of an artwork with respect to the rebuilding: 'So you want to change the street, but you ask us to preserve it?' (r.n.Mar24.14). In that meeting, the project manager had rolled out a map of the rebuilding plans and was explaining that one ambition was to retain the long, unobstructed view up and down Istedgade, a rarity in Copenhagen. By emphasizing the unobstructed view, the project manager was referencing a statement voiced in Tom Kristensen's novel *Hærværk* (in English *Havoc*) from 1930, today a classic in Danish literature. However, for me the statement generated associations about Hausmann's plans for Paris – clearing slums to make the communes controllable. That image came to mind when the dispute over the instalment of public benches flared. (d.n.Mar25.14)

In contrast to Artist 1's initial scepticism about changing Istedgade, the Artist 1 team's proposal for Istedgade, in fact, constituted a major makeover of the street, especially in their initial proposal suggesting that Istedgade be turned into the greenest urban street in Denmark. However, the team's proposal constituted a strategy of preserving the Istedgade spirit by way of changing the material expression of the street. Upscaling the urban vegetation in the area was intended to reduce stress and

support amicable collaborations centred on a joint interest in urban greenery, which would particularly ensure the inclusion of the 'street people' in Istedgade's future social cohesion. While materially reorganizing Istedgade, Artist 1's work was thus primarily aimed to recreate a sustainable platform for the street's future social cohesion. In other words, Artist 1 wanted to renew Istedgade in order to preserve its most important qualities.

As an effect of the *site* mode of ordering, the Artist 1 team's proposal thus fed on some aspects of that mode, but challenged others, thus mobilizing critiques of and resistance to his proposal. A particular point of contention was how the project challenged the urban character of the street. Its emphasis on greenery threatened the inner city identity of the street and thus contributed to Istedgade's gentrification process by provincializing it. This type of critique was voiced by resourceful residents in the area who were more critical of the new influx of creative classes than of the presence of street people. Conversely, the social organizations Settlementet and the Men's Home were eager to collaborate with the project, as it supported their efforts to ensure the social inclusivity of and broad hospitality towards walks of life in the city perceived to be under threat by the influx of newcomers to the area.

The green dimension of *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* appealed in particular to small business owners and middle-class residents keen to upscale the urban environment and atmosphere of their local area. It did not gain the unanimous interest of all citizens, but it attracted diverse groups of citizens who helped develop green spots for their area. The Artist 1 team found the broadest support and enthusiasm for their idea among the local citizens at the junction of Viktoriagade and Abel Cathrines Gade, just opposite the Men's Home. Here, local businesses and residents had long attempted to improve their urban environment and therefore welcomed the idea of developing a green spot. As it happened, it was the head of a local cooperative housing association in Viktoriagade who had originally contacted the city's project manager and suggested adding a work of art to the Istedgade rebuilding project (i.Gilbert.Feb1.17). His idea was that a sculpture installed in this part of Istedgade might mobilize a different flow of people to the site than the one related to the drug environment (i.Gilbert.Feb1.17).

Within art theory, art's contribution to urban development has often been seen as supporting the forces of gentrification. Rosalyn Deutsche argued that case in her analysis of public art agencies' strategies in New York of the 1980s and 1990s (Deutsche 1996). Architectural theorist Malcolm Miles

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pursues a similar argument, returning to the question twenty years later to inspect the effect of urban

strategies such as 'the urban renaissance', 'catering for the creative class' and the implementation of

'cultural districts' (Miles 2015). He concludes that the joint effect of the city's 'aesthetic revival' has

been the creation of an unjust city that has banished the poor in favour of the wealthy (Miles 2015). For

Andreas Reckwitz, the changes to urban policy form part of a broader creativity dispositif characterized

by a quest for innovation and novelty (Reckwitz 2017). To counter the forces of such aestheticization,

he proposes that other types of aesthetic practices be developed, since aestheticization as such is

unavoidable. In his argument, the creativity dispositif is a reaction to the alienation caused by modern

rationalization, and has today reasserted the central position of aesthetic experiences and affectivity

within social life. However, he offers two suggestions for alternative aesthetic practices that he calls

'profane creativity' and 'the aesthetic of repetition' (Reckwitz 2017). Profane creativity indicates a form

of creativity that has '…liberated itself from the audience, from comparison and from heightening'

(Reckwitz 2017, p. 230), while the aesthetic of repetition manifests itself by developing aesthetic

satisfaction '…not on excitation but on the experience of immobility and calm' (Reckwitz 2017, p. 232).

He illustrates these alternative aesthetic strategies with the respective examples of community centres

and ritual aesthetic practices like those associated with Zen Buddhist meditation.

Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours suggests a kind of sustainable aesthetics that is non-

spectacular and aims for soothing experiences of stress relief, while fostering social relations between

community members in order to support the development of a just city. I call it sustainable to indicate

the possible long-term effect of the projected aesthetic environments and social relations, while also

alluding to the problem of generating the necessary support to sustain its green and social aspirations.

As an artistic proposal, *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* offers a compelling idea of how

to suppress the drift of the city's culturalization and its gentrifying effects. Its suggestion for a social and

green development of the urban fabric offers a vision of Istedgade's radical change aimed to retain a

broader balance of citizens.

Re-organizing Istedgade

In this chapter I have discussed the current negotiation of Istedgade and the commissioned artworks'

contribution to this negotiation. I have argued that Istedgade's rebuilding, the inauguration party

organized to celebrate it, and the two commissioned artworks are all effects of the *site* mode of

ordering. They would not have been created as they were, were it not for the affective power of *the*

site. I have also argued that these factors contribute to the current negotiation of Istedgade as a particular site, and as such take part in modifying the *site* mode of ordering.

The chapter has situated the two artworks as a response not only to the commissioning process framing of the site of Istedgade, but also to the wider trajectory of Istedgade's development. The commissioned works of art were not just public artworks but also a contribution to the site of Istedgade. The material rebuilding of the street constituted a change in the kinds of activities taking place in Istedgade, particularly supporting the lives of young urban families and the 'café latte segment'. The two commissioned artworks offer two different responses to Istedgade's current situation, each of which provides its own response to the myth of social cohesion and aspires to preserve it. They each engage in practices of organizing and reorganizing the social with a view to supporting diversity and the possibility of a just city.

Inside Out Istedgade encourages the co-existence of diverse forms of living by staging 'a simultaneity of stories so far'. It is not confrontational as a critical insertion into the site of Istedgade, but offers a more affirmative depiction of co-existence, somewhat similar to the aspirations of the inauguration party but framed more specifically with respect to the street's history, particularly as regards the past and present existence of diversity. As such, it also represents the actual lives of people who have accommodated themselves to life in a global and progressive place with all the necessary negotiations that entails with respect to other ways of living.

Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours proposes a more radical green makeover of the street to support the street's possibility of hosting different forms of life. As a permanent, or at least long-term, material change to the outward appearance of Istedgade, *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* was met with more resistance than *Inside Out Istedgade,* which in principle only needed to persuade a small group of citizens to participate in developing the project. *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* also required a substantially larger support system to be carried out in its intended proportions.

In a discussion between curator Tom Finkelpearl and performance theorist Shannon Jackson, Finkelpearl comments on the effects of social practice with respect to the organizational power of larger institutions. He takes the example of activists who moved in to help after Hurricane Sandy, bringing supplies and digging out people's homes. Eventually, the government stepped in and cleaned

the streets within a day, a task that had otherwise taken the activists weeks to accomplish – and then the government also rebuilt the boardwalk and a seawall to protect against the next hurricane (Finkelpearl & Jackson 2016). Finkelpearl's argument is that the activists performed a crucial function by stepping in quickly, but that they could not accomplish alone what the government has the tools and organizational power to achieve.

This example proves an interesting case when it comes to *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*, because it underscores the fact that all artistic practices are symbolic with respect to the organizing forces of stronger social networks, such as those instituted by the *administrative* mode of ordering. It also indicates that, although *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* was eventually downsized to a few green spots, its symbolic effect relies on the proposed material changes and the size of the imagined impact. As a green vision, *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* liaises with a new urban policy direction towards expanding urban greenery and, as such, also supports the new green demands of a middle-class occupying the city. The project's emphasis on social cohesion suggests that the artwork could offer ways of addressing how such urban greenery might support the existence of socially diverse communities. However, it will require the financial and administrative support of larger institutions to realize such a vision on a grander scale.

Chapter 11: The modes and the models

The purpose of this concluding discussion is to situate the thesis' contribution to art history and organization studies' engagement with the relationship between art, aesthetics, and processes of organizing. In other words, this final chapter aims to specify how the thesis joins the ongoing art historical discussions of participatory art, and to contribute to organization studies' interest in art and aesthetics as organizational forces in society. To this end, I start by recapping art history's five models for conceptualizing participatory practices and frame the thesis' main contribution to the art historical discussions of participatory art. With reference to the modes of ordering abducted in my case study, I then detail the thesis analysis with respect to the five models, emphasizing how theorizing modes of ordering helps us understand the organizing of participation in contemporary art. I finish the chapter by reflecting on how the thesis aids in advancing organization studies' interest in the relationship between art, aesthetics, and processes of organizing.

The models

In the literature review I distinguished between five ways art history has conceptualized the organizing of participation in contemporary art. I respectively labelled these: the relational model, the aesthetic-critical model, the ethical model, the durational model, and the organization-creation model. I argued that these models displayed an art historical progression moving from the initial identification of an artistic interest in investigating and enabling inter-human relationships towards an analysis of the infrastructural relationship between art and the social. While the first three models focused on defining a new artistic genre characterized by the involvement of many people rather than by any specific artistic media, the more recent models theorize participation as an organizational process that is intertwined and intermingles with the social in various ways. Art history thus progresses from a concern with the organizing of partici*pants* to a concern with the relationship between artistic practices and other organizational practices in society. This progression, I also argued, responds to a growing interest in artistic practices beyond the white cube and thus to society's contemporary aestheticization. To facilitate the coming discussion, I will briefly review the key characteristics of the five models.

The relational model initially identified a contemporary artistic interest in inter-human relationships and its compensatory role with respect to society's stultifying of authentic relationships. Nicolas Bourriaud argued that participatory experiments formed small, convivial, utopian spaces that enabled the development of new, authentic relationships (Bourriaud 2002). In contrast, the aesthetic-critical

model emphasized the quality of ambiguous participatory formats that granted participants and audiences an autonomous aesthetic experience with political potentials (Bishop 2012). Using Jacques Rancière's theory of the relationship between politics and aesthetics, Claire Bishop situated the organizational powers of participatory practices in the aesthetic realm of an autonomous sphere of art, underlining the artist's freedom to experiment with participatory models, and conversely, the participant's freedom to utilize these aesthetic situations (Rancière 2007, Bishop 2012).

The third model, the ethical model, stressed the participants whose interests the artist was to serve (Raven 1993, Gablik 1995). The ethical model was drafted as a defence for more community engagement in public art and contrasted the modernist artists, who – it was claimed – simply dumped their sculptures at public sites (Gablik 1995, Lacy 1995b). However, ethical arguments were also turned against community practices, framing their good intentions as potentially violating local participants more greatly than modernist artists did (Kester 1995, Foster 1996). In my discussions of the ethical model, I argued that it threatens to become a one-dimensional norm for measuring participatory engagement, as it sees potential corruption lurking in every artistic practice. At the same time, I recognized the ethical model for emphasizing art's ethical responsibility to its community of participants.

The durational model suggested a new norm for participatory engagement in the form of long-term and in-depth investment (Kester 2011, O'Neill & Doherty 2011). The monumentality of durational work referred to the time the artist invested in the project and the local community – whether found or invented (Kwon 2004) – rather than in the physical mass of a sculpture (Beech 2011). While the monumentality of time might testify to a particular ideology and thus caution us to see it as the best solution, per se, to all situational artistic practice, the durational model offered the first succinct recognition of participatory art as extending beyond the organizing of participants. It recognized participation as a durational activity enabling co-creative engagement (O'Neill 2010) and conceptualized participatory practices as ultimately being part of and infiltrated by the social, thus requiring a support system that includes political institutions as well as local networks to sustain its work (Kester 2011, O'Neill & Doherty 2011). The durational model thus speaks of art's reach into society, but conjointly of society's reach into art, thus enabling and encouraging art to take on an organizational role.

Finally, the organization-creation model specifically emphasizes this interrelationship between art and society, looking to art to find new ways of infiltrating the social and thereby reorganize it (Raunig 2006, Jackson 2011, Thompson 2012, Gielen 2013, Jackson et al. 2016, Sholette 2017, McKee 2017). The organization-creation model situates artistic practices in the context of society's organizing and implicates them in this organizational complex. It makes organizational issues the centre of attention for artistic practice, and frames artistic work as already implicated in and organized by society. While the discourse about participatory art has always been fuelled by a critique of the organizing of society under contemporary neoliberal capitalism (Kester 1995, Bishop 2012), the organization-creation model turns this situation into an organizational concern for artists and foregrounds artistic strategies aimed to reimagine and reorganize the social for the purpose of infiltrating and opposing the forces of neoliberalism (Raunig 2006, Jackson 2011, Thompson 2012, Gielen 2013, Jackson et al. 2016, Sholette 2017, McKee 2017, Baroni 2017).

Contributing to art history's organizational turn

The case study for this thesis constitutes an organizational analysis of the organizing of participation in contemporary art, specifically one that emphasizes how art is embedded in and interacts with other organizational practices. The thesis has – so to speak – followed art into the social, but it has also situated art within other social and aesthetic processes, including the commissioning process and the organizational practices of the implicated institutions and agents. The thesis has additionally engaged with the current development of Istedgade and the artworks' contribution to Istedgade's negotiation as a particular place, and this engagement goes into the thesis' situating of participatory organizing in contemporary processes of aestheticization. In this way, the thesis implicitly engages in dialogue with art history's organizational emphasis and aims to further the organizational turn in art history.

My framing of the case study was a response to the events that occurred during it. As I described in the methodology chapter, I initiated my research project with the intent to follow artistic practices of organizing participation, but I entered the field by way of a commissioning process whose analysis I came to see as equally important to answering the question of how participation is organized in contemporary art. As such, the empirical investigation into the organizing of participation led me to frame the organizing of participation as an organizational issue that transcends, but does not exclude, the organizing practices of artists. Rather, I encountered organizational practices – or what I came to refer to as modes of ordering – that cut across organizational levels, influencing the commissioning process as well as the artists' practices.

In my fieldwork, I identified patterns and conflicts and used sociologist John Law's notion of modes of ordering to sharpen my analysis of these, seeing them as expressions and effects of implicit strategic forces that organize the materially heterogeneous network of the social. As a theoretical concept, modes of ordering point to reflexive and self-reflexive patterning effects that are powerful and enabling, generative and supportive of particular agents, practices, and technologies. In my interpretation, modes of ordering are also somewhat flexible and expansive, engaging in collaborations with other modes of ordering and thus partially modifying themselves and each other over time. In other words, they are not fixed and stable structures, but fairly mobile and agile as an integral part of engendering their organizing strategies.

Taking my fieldwork observations as a point of departure, I have argued for the organizing effects of four particular modes of ordering, respectively calling them *artistic autonomy*, *administration*, *public interest*, and *the site*. I have argued that these four modes effected the organizing of participation for a public artwork in Istedgade, and thus that the organizing of participation might be interpreted as an effect of these four modes of ordering. First, I abducted and specified the four modes as singular ordering patterns in the case study. Next, I used the four modes as tools for analysing the events in the case study, describing these events as effects of particular relationships – or boundary effects – between the modes of ordering. At times, these effects manifested themselves in balancing acts, at times by entering into disputes and in other instances engaging in liaisons or mergers with the effects of other modes of ordering.

The poetics of participation

I have called the thesis *The Poetics of Participation* to indicate a level of generalizability of participatory organizing in art that ensues from the analysis of the case study. As I wrote in the introduction, the term poetics stems from Aristotle's *Poetics* and thus stipulates rules and regulations for artistic practice. However, the thesis is not intended to introduce yet another model for artists' organizing of participation. Unlike proponents of the ethical model of participation, I side with Claire Bishop – following Jacques Rancière's support for the aesthetic regime of art – in believing that the organizing of participation in contemporary art should be a relatively open field that artists can experiment with and participants can make use of (Rancière 2007, Bishop 2012). Still, reflections about responsibility – take those of Suzanne Lacy and Shannon Jackson – should play a role, both when it comes to participants and to the social imaginings of artistic practices (Lacy 1995c, Jackson 2011).

The poetics of participation in this thesis is not situated within artistic practices, but in the modes of ordering that traverse the material-semiotic network of the social and thus effect artistic practices as well as other organizational forces in society. This poetics, then, refers to the argument that particular modes of ordering effect the organizing of participation in contemporary art. Empirically, the thesis constitutes an analysis of how the effects of specific interrelating, supporting, and conflicting modes of ordering generate a 'poetics of participation' in the case study. Following John Law, the thesis has located patterning effects by way of analysing the events in the case study, but I also want to suggest – and here I go slightly beyond Law's ANT legacy – that the modes of ordering are symptomatic, with certain caveats, for the organizing of participation in contemporary art. Law insists on the empirical grounding of claims to modes of ordering (Law 1994, Law 2003), and, following his example, this thesis has researched a particular case to generate knowledge of the ordering practices involved in it. Law's study of Daresbury Laboratory, however, identifies modes of ordering that not only express themselves as ordering practices in that particular organization but also seem to increase the understanding of organizational practices in other organizational contexts. Law himself relates his analysis to his organizational experiences as a publicly employed researcher, specifying that social theories are among the sources that helped him identify patterning effects at Daresbury Laboratory (Law 1994). In other words, his analysis was not made in a vacuum, but relates to experiences and knowledge of ordering practices beyond the frame of Daresbury Laboratory.

In a similar vein, Mats Alvesson and Dan Kärreman argue that qualitative research processes should be conducted through a process of abduction in which empirical material is constructed in dialogue with, for instance, theories from other research fields, as they might productively challenge or modify existing theories in ways that reinforce one's own research contribution (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011). To determine the modes of ordering in my case study, I therefore engaged in dialogue with theories from research fields as diverse as cultural policy, political theory, geography, urban studies, and sociology as a means of specifying and sharpening my analysis of the modes of ordering, thus connecting my fieldwork experiences with theorization beyond the field of art history. As such, I not only sharpened my analysis but also endeavoured both to connect my observations to those of other researchers and to substantiate my suggestion that, in analytically determining the organizing effects of four particular modes of ordering, the case study contributes to a general theorization of the organizing of participation in contemporary art.

In other words, the thesis might be framed as an in-depth, qualitative study of the organizing of participation that in itself augments our knowledge of such organizing in contemporary art. The case study thus emphasizes and analyses the complexities of the organizing practices involved and how they interact, contradict, and challenge each other in the process. However, I also suggest that the notion of modes of ordering and the case study's theorization of four particular modes of ordering effecting the organizing of participation are of general value as an analytical tool for interpreting the organizing of participation in other cases.

To the extent that the case study offers generalizable knowledge about the organizing of participation in contemporary art, the status of the case study merits some reflection. In Chapter 2, I said that the case was unusual within the arts foundation's practices and that it proved to be extreme in several respects, as evinced in the many disputes and changes in the process, including the death of a steering group member, the cancellation of the public competition, the city's withdrawal of financial support, the involvement of a private foundation, and the divided interest the local neighbourhood council expressed about the project. The case was the most problematic one the arts foundation representatives had handled, and neither was it a resounding success for the artists, or for the city for that matter. Yet, in my opinion the very fact that the case is extreme does not make it something to dismiss as aberrant in terms of generating generalizable knowledge about the organizing of participation. Rather, its extreme characteristics serve the purpose of exaggerating the modes of ordering at work, also in less dramatic cases of organizing participation in contemporary art. In other words, the case proved helpful in illuminating many of the different, and potentially conflicting, organizing practices at play in the organizing of participation in contemporary art.

In the following discussions, I specify how my analysis of four specific modes of ordering and their interrelations contribute to the theorization of participatory organizing in contemporary art. To this end, I move through the individual modes of ordering determined in the case study, framing them in relation to the theorization of participatory art and emphasizing how they help to advance specific discussions. In the process, I successively build the argument that the thesis' main contribution is to connect the various issues addressed in art history's discussion of participatory art and theorize them as organizational practices that interact in specific ways. These issues include the question of artistic autonomy under the current conditions in which the border between art and the social is dissolving, as well as of art's relationship to the site and to the public. A third issue involves the necessity of engaging with administrative practices and concerns as an integrated aspect of participatory artistic practices,

which renders them not only a disruption to the realization of artistic ideas but also an important collaborative organizational force in artistic practices. The thesis thus constitutes an empirical investigation aimed to substantiate the argument that issues around artistic autonomy, public interest, the site, and administrative practices are interrelated in particular ways. Using the theorization of modes of ordering, the thesis also suggests that these issues be conceptualized as material-heterogeneous organizing practices that come together to organize participation in contemporary art.

The models and *artistic autonomy*

On the basis of my case study analysis, I argued that *artistic autonomy* generates artists, art experts, and support systems for art that promote the innovative work of artists measured according to the scale of art theory that sees the boundary-breaking work of artists' engaging with the social as innovative with respect to the history of artistic practices. As such, *artistic autonomy* is both preservative and innovative, implicitly working to secure and, if possible, expand the autonomous space of art. In this respect art history's organizational models for conceptualizing participatory practices are an effect of *artistic autonomy* and contribute to its theorization and societal effect. All the models are concerned with understanding artistic practices, and they discuss the work of organizing participation as examples of innovative practices that variously contribute to the development of art.

The models also attest to a concern with the relationship between artistic practices and other social practices, thus – in the language of modes of ordering – reflecting on the relationship between the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering and other modes of ordering. The progression of the organizational models from theorizing the organizing of partici*pants* to theorizing participation as durational processes that variously interrelate with the social thus testifies to an increasing emphasis on what I refer to as the relationship between modes of ordering – or simply the organizational turn in art theory. While all models retain an emphasis on the potential expansion of artistic practices and artists' innovative ability to engage with the social and thus with other modes of ordering, the durational and the organization-creation models also situate artistic practices in the social, emphasizing how this embedded situation effects the conceptualization of artistic autonomy. In fact, art history's growing interest in theorizing and reconceptualizing artistic autonomy demonstrates a recognition of a new social condition for artistic practice. It speaks not only of art's boundary-breaking interventions in the social, but also of an external pressure both to show how art contributes to society and to mobilize strategies for reimagining artistic practice under changing conceptualizations of art and its societal role. In chapter 5, for instance, I referred to three key ways in which artistic autonomy was conceptualized in

contemporary art theory – as confronting or aligning with public interest, as constituting strategies of aesthetically interrupting and confusing society's organizational practices, and as enmeshed in institutional relationships.

My theorization of *artistic autonomy* as a mode of ordering contributes to these discussions of artistic autonomy by conceptualizing *artistic autonomy* as an implicit strategic organizational practice that interrelates with other implicit strategic organizational practices in the networks of the social, thus generating agents that rely on the social-material network comprised by *artistic autonomy* while also being confronted with other modes. Such a theorization of artistic autonomy does not seek to specify whether artistic autonomy is located in the art object, in the artist, or in the institutional framework supporting art, but rather to frame these various expressions and material forms as collectively generated by the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering. It underlines the systemic dependency of individual artists' autonomy, while also emphasizing how *artistic autonomy* generates particular agents characterized by the authentic aspirations that are tied to their way of practicing art. In chapters 6-10, in which I analysed the events in the case study, I ventured further into the discussion of *artistic autonomy* by way of its boundary relations with other organizational practices. The other modes of ordering thus come to illuminate and specify artistic autonomy as heteronomously constructed in relationship with other modes of ordering.

The models and *the site*

The site enters discussions of participatory art with the ethical model, since it moves the discussions out of the white cube and into public spaces, as well as 'activates' the site by aligning it with its community. The site of public art is no longer conceptualized as a blank space in which artists might position a work of art (Kwon 2004). In the ethical model, the implication of working site-specifically in public spaces is that the artists have to reorient their practices towards the interest of the local community (Raven 1993, Kester 1995). The durational model holds the same acknowledgement of the site as more than materially constituted. By extending the time period of site-specific engagement, it also endeavours to support a notion of the site as mobile and fluid, changing in the course of history. The site is thus conceptualized as something that art might help to develop by virtue of itself becoming part of that development (Kester 2011, O'Neill & Doherty 2011).

To some extent, however, the ethical and the durational models still approach the site from the perspective of *artistic autonomy*. The artistic potentials of contributing to the site are in focus, as is the

conjoining development of art as a particular field of practice that underscores the activation of the site and the acknowledgement of its complexity (Doherty 2009). However, the two models also indicate an increasing awareness of the need to approach the issue from the point of view of the site. In addition, they question how art might benefit the site, and their discussions about participatory engagement in specific sites centre on how artists contribute to them (Kwon 2004), while the organization-creation model emphasizes this dilemma by outright questioning the ability of art to contribute to a site at all (Deutsche 1996, Sholette 2017). Given the recent adaptation of creative strategies to aestheticize contemporary cities, the issue of art's involvement in gentrification processes becomes a key concern. As such, the organization-creation model restates the conflict between art and the site by suggesting that the site might not want art at all.

In my theorization of *the site* as a mode of ordering, I emphasized the autonomy of the site and its generative capacities in affectively producing agents who create themselves in its image, and in producing aesthetic events to amplify its particular sense of place. Here the site emerges as an autonomous force with a voice of its own, partially substantiating art theory's increasing emphasis on local voices of critique in discussions of site-specific art, with Kwon's reference to the case of John Ahearn removing his sculptures in response to local protests as one example (Kwon 2004). In my theorization *the site* emerges as a complex autonomous force that features unity as well as fragmentation, and as historically semi-fixed, but also encompassing various forms of interpretations. Moreover, the site not only generates an interest in participatory organizing but also becomes subject to participatory organizing.

To honour the site's importance in my fieldwork and subsequent theorization, I felt it important to return to the site and engage with the commissioned artworks' contribution to it, thus situating the artworks within the current negotiation of Istedgade. In my analysis, I argued that the two artworks partially originated from the site as an effect of its current aestheticization, but that the artworks also contribute to this very aestheticization. I argued that the two artworks each responded to the myth of Istedgade's social cohesion and progressively aimed to preserve it within the frame of the street's contemporary changes, thus supporting the vision of a just city (Harvey 2009) as opposed to the creative city (Landry 2000). I also argued that the long-term impact of the two commissioned artworks depends on a broader infrastructure of relations, either locally within the site or symbolically within the current discussions of urban development that also form part of art theory. The analysis endeavoured to show the complexity of the relationship between art and its site, emphasizing their mutual effects

and interrelations, neither overstating the artworks' contribution to the site, nor diminishing their influence as part of a broader movement to counter the gentrifying effects of contemporary aestheticization processes.

The models and *administration*

In her theorization of social works, Shannon Jackson offers a unique reflection about the relationship between art and its support systems. She emphasizes the necessity of support systems to sustain artistic autonomy, calling on artists to help reimagine social systems and thus accentuate their societal relevance and importance (Jackson 2011). In this way, Jackson introduces the productive and enabling role of public and social institutions, and indeed of art institutions, which in my terminology is a way of emphasizing the relationship between *artistic autonomy* and *administration*, since *administration* is one crucial binder of public, social, and art institutions as institutions. In my case study I argued that *administration* emphasizes rules and regulations, roles and responsibilities, budgets and costs in order to facilitate the reaching of formal decisions, but that it also extends beyond rule abidance, one of its features being its ability to balance interests and concerns and thus promote and respond to opportunities and possibilities that will facilitate decision-making processes. I thus argued that *administration* operates according to its own organizational logic with its own particular ethos and determination of public responsibility, and that in the case study it therefore both supported *artistic autonomy* and challenged it.

Such theorization of *administration's* supportive capacities is unusual in the conceptualization of participatory practices, as the issue of support systems has been otherwise disregarded as unimportant or as constituting a nuisance and complication, something perhaps not conceptualized as the enemy, as such, but nonetheless external to the field of art (Jackson 2011). For instance, participatory art carried out within the white cube setting of art institutions does not necessarily engage with the issue of what constitutes and supports this setting and its autonomous artistic experiments with participation (Bourriaud 2002, Jackson 2011, Bishop 2012). Therefore *administration* plays a negligible role in the relational and the aesthetic-critical models of conceptualizing participation, since these conceptualizations focus on artistic experiments as autonomous practices that might criticize society and its organization but are not framed as protected by that very society.

The ethical model draws on Sherry Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation', which directly critiques public governance for not involving local citizens in decisions about their own neighbourhoods

(Arnstein 1969, Kester 1995). In the case study I showed how Artist 1 framed his artistic practice and the conceptualization of his project *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* as a critique of the city's reluctance to respond to local citizens' interest in more greenery. Here, *artistic autonomy* came to serve the site and its public in its fight against local authorities and their repressive systems. Artist 1 also expressed his critique of citizen hearings conducted by public authorities as being a strategy of theirs to waste the least time possible, whereas his proposed durational model of participatory involvement fostered the possibility of grounding the changes to the neighbourhood area and indeed of generating local support for and ownership of the new urban environment.

In my analysis, Artist 1's practice adheres to the ethical and the durational models. He connects his artistic practice to serving the site and its public in the face of the indifference of the central city administration, among others. However, he also seeks relationships with various public and social institutions, some of which he wants to collaborate with and others of which he wants to obtain a maintenance guarantee from. In chapter 7 I discussed the particular challenges that arose from the latter type of relationship, analysing the conflict between the Artist 1 team and the city as a conflict between *artistic autonomy* and *administration*. This conflict exacerbated the expansive aspirations of *artistic autonomy*, showing how the monumentality of time can confront the cost-efficiency of *administration*. The artist's ambition of organizing an open-ended process of citizen involvement and generating green spots for which maintenance costs were difficult to calculate was met by *administrative* strategies of compartmentalization that obfuscated the project and thus prevented it from establishing the autonomous space required for it to develop on the grand scale originally proposed.

In chapter 7 I framed the dispute with respect to organizational scholar Christian Maravelias' distinction between freedom as autonomy and freedom as potentiality (Maravelias 2007), arguing that Artist 1, seeking to expand the scope of his project, mobilized the artistic autonomy granted to him by the administrative support of the arts foundation, thus utilizing the post-bureaucratic form of freedom as potentiality from a perceived stable ground constituted by the bureaucratically secured freedom. I also argued that the arts foundation was unable to extend its support to accommodate this expansion, which left the artist and his team free, but also alone, in their efforts to generate such support. Artist I attempted to obtain support by engaging in other organizational relationships – first, by appealing to the central city administration, an appeal initially subverted by the critical response of the neighbourhood council, and second, by mobilizing new support from the neighbourhood council as

leverage for developing a maintenance agreement that satisfied the private foundation Nordea-fonden, a strategy that was successful, although on a much smaller scale than originally anticipated. On the one hand, I interpret the art project as a justified critique of *administration* under the binds of economic restraints, but on the other hand, the project also escalates a confrontational situation by testing the bounds of what constitutes art and therefore also of the support system's ability to extend its reach. In this situation artistic autonomy is invoked as a right, and although this right is predicated on a projective responsibility to a particular community and to the cause of supporting street people's right to use the city, it does not extend the same responsibility and respect towards public funds and thus the public at large.

In light of Shannon Jackson's reflections about the social support system that creates and protects artistic autonomy – and thus the intimate relationship between *artistic autonomy* and *administration* – the above dispute is an interesting example not only of the modes' conflicting interests but also of their mutual relations. As I have argued, *administration* both supported *artistic autonomy* and challenged it, and in the case study, I also showed that art's interest in extending its practice into the social relationally extends its need for administrative support. Artists need to build their own organization as a part of their participatory organizing, but also to collaborate with other organizations. In the case study Artist 1 seeks more support than Artist 2 as an expression of the relative scope of the two artists' imagined impact on the social. Artist 2's project never exceeded the *administrative* limits set by the arts foundation, and since it was a temporary intervention, neither did it confront the city's *administrative* budgetary concerns for maintenance. For Artist 1, however, the aspirations to build a new social organization around the maintenance of green spots required extended *administrative* support in one form or another – to be issued as a maintenance guarantee to ensure room within which to develop a new organization, but ultimately the project had to establish an independent administrative organization, thus turning artistic practice into the administrative negotiations around the formation of a guild.

The organization-creation model of participatory art is concerned with art's organizational practices and describes social practices as ways in which art contributes to reimagining social organizing, sometimes in a conflictual relationship with the art institution. In my discussion of this model, I distinguished between an activist-exodus perspective that underscores art's self-organizing practices, preferably outside of the art institution (McKee 2017, Sholette 2017), and an institutional emphasis that supports art's need to interact with existing institutions and support such institutions as an

integrated aspect of advancing its ability to influence and reorganize society (Gielen 2013, Wilson 2017). The case study for this thesis suggests that interacting and mobilizing institutional support in this way requires more sensitivity to the organizational mode of *administration* to foster relationships that support artistic experimentation. As Mick Wilson framed it, we need to engage with the 'institutionalized' nature of institutions (Wilson 2017) instead of assuming that they can be either relegated to the borders of artistic practice or somehow liquidated.

The models and *public interest*

Like *the site*, *public interest* asserted itself with the ethical model. In fact, the ethical model brought the relationship between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* into high relief by framing it as a potential conflict. In the literature review, I described how the discussions of new genre public art and 'art-in-the-public-interest' took place in the midst of the US culture wars and their discussion about public art funding (Gablik 1995, Lacy 1995b, Kwon 2004). In Miwon Kwon's analysis, defenders of new genre public art could use the opportunity to position themselves on the right side of the public and therefore go against modernist conceptions of autonomous art, which was argued to be indifferent to the public's interests (Kwon 2004). A distinction was thus made between autonomous modernist art and the community-focused practices of new genre public art. The former operated according to the logic of modernist autonomous art, the latter as in respect to public interests (Gablik 1995, Lacy 1995b).

In comparison, the relational and the aesthetic-critical models for participatory organizing construct a different kind of relationship between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest*. In the relational model the artistic autonomy guaranteed by exhibition spaces becomes a site for convivial micro-utopias in the public interest (Bourriaud 2002). The aesthetic-critical model emphasizes that the relationship between artistic autonomy and public interest is more ambiguous than the ethical model is able to appreciate, and it suggests that the public has an interest in the retention of an autonomous artistic sphere, as it offers the political potential to provide glimpses of another organization of the social (Bishop 2012).

In my analysis of *Inside Out Istedgade*, I engaged with these discussions, particularly when it came to the intimate photographs of the local citizens. While these photographs warned of manipulation, I argued that the project was actually developed in the public interest, and that the major conflict that expressed itself in the organizing of participation for *Inside Out Istedgade* was the two different relationships between *artistic autonomy* and *the site*, with one facilitating and emphasizing Istedgade's diversity, and the other underlining Istedgade's history of experimental lifestyles. The analysis also emphasized the powers of aesthetic persuasion in participatory organizing, underlining artists' dual

need to generate aesthetic experiences and manage ethically responsible collaborations. The organizing of participation in *Inside Out Istedgade* was interpreted as the outcome of a particular relationship between *artistic autonomy*, *the site*, and *public interest*, in which the transgressive experience of being photographed in intimate situations partly constituted the project's public interest.

As I analysed the organizing of participation in *Inside Out Istedgade*, I focused primarily on exploring the organizing of partici*pants* rather than on encapsulating participatory organizing as a durational activity that is variously intertwined and intermingles with the social. The project's ephemeral and temporary qualities rendered it more autonomous from other organizational practices than Artist 1's project was, but the organizing of *Inside Out Istedgade* was also effected by the administrative procedures of obtaining confirmation of the city council's project support. The six-month delay this caused for the project not only jeopardized the artist's personal finances but also compressed the timeline for the project, which in turn exacerbated the effects of the disagreement between Artist 2 and the photographer, as they were left with little time to adjust their collaboration. I offer this additional reflection simply to underline that this project was also effected by the other organizational practices in which it took part.

The ethical model's suggestion of a potential conflict between artistic autonomy and public interest constructs a new liaison between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* as modes of ordering to the extent that artists (re)orient their practice to serve the public. In this way, *artistic autonomy* becomes reconceptualized as political autonomy distributed to communities deprived of social, economic, and political resources, which is embodied in the ethical model. Artists distribute the institutionally secured funds for artistic work to specific communities for the purpose of granting them political influence. The artists are post-autonomous in the sense of working with collaborative and participatory strategies, but they also still rely on institutionally obtained funds, or – if they are truly autonomous – generate funds by other means (Kester 2011), thus protecting themselves from external influence. Such a conceptualization of artistic autonomy implicitly involves a liaison between *artistic autonomy* and *public interest* in which the interests of the artist and the public are aligned.

The durational model – to a certain extent – underscores the aspirations of the ethical model in situating art as a service to the public. The monumentality of durational work refers to the time an artist invests in a project and the local community, and as such, the ethics of the durational model is not borne solely by the artist's renouncement of the autonomous expressive possibilities, but also by

the extended engagement time that qualifies the work as being in the public interest. However, the durational model speaks of a post-autonomous practice to indicate that the artist has relinquished their autonomous expressive needs in favour of a co-creation process. In itself, however, the durational model, relies on the extension of the space of artistic autonomy into the social, and therefore also operates according to the *artistic autonomy* mode of ordering.

In my analysis of the organizing of participation in *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours* and the green spot *SaxoGarden*, I discussed the potentials and problems of pledging one's artistic autonomy to the interests of the public, offering an empirical example of what this strategic alliance entails. I emphasized how the alignment between *public interest* and *artistic autonomy* was powerful, but also fragile – powerful as a persuasive and self-persuasive project proposal, also for dismissing external critique, but fragile in its dependency on the expressed and dedicated interest of a broad unity of local citizens. *Administrative* requirements of formalizing public interest into contracts galvanized the green spot's demise, but the very aspiration of generating public unity around a green spot also rendered its realization near impossible. The project thus testifies to the effects of *public interest*, which seeks to unify the public around the development of works of art, but generates the problem of a divided public that cannot necessarily be united.

The organization-creation model raises the issue of public interest to an institutional or systemic level. For instance, when promoting certain forms of art, Kwon situated community practices in art institutional interests (Kwon 2004). Rosalyn Deutsche's theorization of public art's contribution to gentrification processes also situated artistic practice as being part of and infiltrated by other social processes, including political battles and urban development schemes (Deutsche 1996). In this instance, artists no longer define public interest according to whom they conceptualize as the public of a participatory practice. Rather, the issue of public interest is equally mobilized by curators and public art agencies, by public and private organizations, and by political interest groups. In the language of modes of ordering, the problem of public interest becomes a catalyst for various agents to pursue a particular agenda that they claim is in the public interest, and the effect of *public interest* is the very fact that the claim of public interest asserts itself across social fields of practice and organizes the public in various and sometimes conflicting ways.

Notably, Deutsche argued that conceptions of the public are political constructions predicated on the exclusion of those that do not fit into the unity that constitutes the public (Deutsche 1996). By

extension, Kwon argued that conceptions of community are temporary, partial constructions that depend on the dismissal of differences between a community's members (Kwon 2004). Deutsche and Kwon thus both argued that any concept of the public or of community was essentially political, mobilized to support particular uses of public space or forms of artistic practices, respectively. They thus both point to the issue of public interest as a political force effecting contemporary organizing practices within the arts.

My theorization of *public interest* as a mode of ordering shares their understanding of publics as essentially temporary and partial constructions, and it also supports the understanding that such constructions might serve political purposes. However, as a theoretical construct, *public interest* speaks primarily of organizational processes and not of political conflicts. Whereas Deutsche and Kwon endeavoured to politicize artistic practices that pretended to be apolitical in their serving of the public's or the community's interest, the *public interest* mode of ordering emphasizes the organization-creation capabilities of public interest. It does not deny the political aspect of such organization-creation, or the possibility that different publics will face each other as adversaries. However, it does not stipulate such confrontations a priori, but rather remains open to the possibility that different organization-creations of the public will be able to liaise and support each other. This is demonstrated in the case study by the very fact that Artist 2's project *Inside Out Istedgade* was able to please various publics although they were motivated by different interests and interpreted the project in different ways. Some emphasized its aesthetic qualities, others its support of the site of Istedgade, while still others embraced its political aspirations for diversity.

In determining the mode of ordering of *public interest*, I showed how public interest concerned the artists, the arts foundation, the agency for culture, and the city, all of which have variously organized their practices to respond to the problem of public interest and to accommodate it. Within art history's conceptualization of participatory practices, the very fact that other institutional forces organize their practices with respect to public interest becomes a sign of their complicity with neoliberal capitalism in catering to the public as potential customers of services (Bishop 2012). The argument is that art institutions are embracing participatory practices to increase their visitor numbers, thus responding to a market logic calculated in numbers alone (Gielen 2013). However, art theory's renewed interest in contributing to the reimagining and reconceptualization of public institutions as protective and productive infrastructures for *artistic autonomy* emphasizes a need to reconsider how art institutions

are structured by a relationship between the *artistic autonomy*, *public interest*, and *administration* modes of ordering.

In Chapter 6, entitled 'Balancing acts', I discussed the effects of *public interest* as it expressed itself in the commissioning process for the public artwork in Istedgade. I argued that *public interest* constitutes an increasingly powerful organizational force that effects the balance that until now has been developed between *administration* and *artistic autonomy* in the institution of the arts foundation. I argued that *public interest* effected the organizing of participation by encouraging the co-existence of many different organizations of the public, and this had the effect of displaying public dissent, which was partly expressed through the different and – also – changing criteria for evaluating the artistic projects. The liaison between *administration* and *public interest* in the commissioning process expressed itself through aspirations of public consensus, but it had the effect of making public disagreement visible. Although decisions were made and filed into the administrative records, disagreements kept resurfacing within the spaces of the administrative processes. Chantal Mouffe's theory of antagonism thus confronted Jürgen Habermas' ideal of deliberation in the public sphere. The analysis implies that consensus might not always be achievable and that the real balancing act required in a commissioning process is not to reach final consensus, but rather to balance the level of inventiveness in terms of generating *public interest* with respect to the stability required for reaching *administrative* decisions. As such, the analysis also shows how art institutions – like artists – operate at the boundary between art and the social, and how both are engaged in the practice of organization-creation as a means of reimagining the relationship between the two.

The complexity of ordering practices

In the above discussions I have situated the thesis' contribution to a number of key issues accentuated by the art theoretical discussions of participatory practices, including the issue of artistic autonomy, the site, and public interest. However, the key contribution of the thesis is the fact that it pulls these issues together and analyses them as organizing practices that in their interrelations effect the organizing of participation in contemporary art, what I have also referred to as the poetics of participation. The notion of modes of ordering is vital to this argument, as it has enabled me to show the complexity of ordering processes involved in such organizing. The modes of ordering have also enabled me to theorize the organizing of participation as extending beyond artists' organizing practices and thus contributing to the organizational turn in art history. In particular, the modes of ordering are not situated at particular organizational levels, but traverse the various organizations and agents involved

in these processes, thus underlining their relationships and dependency, but also their potential conflicts.

The thesis' theoretical grounding in Law's notion of modes of ordering offers a key contribution to an art theoretical discussion that has been primarily informed by political theories. Key voices have included Habermas, with his notion of the public sphere and of public deliberation, and Mouffe, with her theory of an antagonistic ontology and the notion of public spaces as fundamentally determined by conflicts. The use of Law's notion of modes of ordering, which emphasizes organizational practices rather than political positions, suggests that questions about consensus or dissensus, collaboration or conflict, unity or division need to be analysed empirically and in practice, and that either of the various possibilities is open given the understanding that modes of ordering are mobile and flexible patterning effects that might either confront or liaise with each other.

In Law's analysis of Daresbury Laboratory, he suggests that the organization only worked as a result of the interaction of several modes of ordering. It was the very existence of several modes of ordering that generated and stabilized the organization. The thesis case study offers a kind of counter-example that serves to substantiate his argument but also emphasizes the problems that emerge when one mode of ordering dominates the organizing of participation. The dispute between Artist 1 and the city shows that, when responding to their individual organizational motivations, they both failed to generate the desired work of art. The case study also evidenced the confusions and failures generated by too great a reliance on aspirations to generate public interest. With respect to the broader field of cultural participation, as well as to art history's theorization of participatory practices, the thesis thus suggests that in the push-and-pull between artistic autonomy and public interest, the challenge is to find workable ways of combining the two ordering logics without sacrificing one for the other. For me, this challenge relates not only to theorization, but also to practice, suggesting points of attention for artists, for art institutions, and for cultural policy implementation.

Contribution to organization studies

I end this concluding discussion with a few reflections about how the thesis contributes to organization studies' interest in the relationship between art, aesthetics, and organizational processes. In the literature review I argued that organization studies' interest in this relationship could broadly be framed in three ways. The first interest was in examining the practices, strategies, and processes involved in artistic and creative work. The second emphasized art and aesthetic experiences as

methodological tools for studying organization, while the third focused on the societal impact of art and aestheticization, looking to critically examine the organizational practices and processes of contemporary society. In the literature review I also argued that the thesis aimed to contribute primarily to this third – and most recent – engagement with art and aesthetics, and I underlined that it endeavoured to do so in two ways: 1) by using the literature review to conceptualize art history's discussion of participatory art into five organizational models that described a gradual 'organizational turn' in art history and thus emphasized the many potentials ways in which organization studies might engage with the field of contemporary art as cases of experiments in organization-creation, and 2) by seeking to contribute to organization studies via a single, in-depth case study, with this contribution being framed as an expression of a cross-organizational experimentation in organization-creation in the public interest.

Within organization studies, artistic practices have become cases of inquiry into organizational processes, including experiments with new ways of organizing. In particular, organization studies have looked to art for alternative forms of organization-creation that operate by aesthetic means, intervene in contemporary society's organizing, or contribute to organization-creation with a public perspective (Guillet de Monthoux 2004, Beyes 2015, Hjorth & Holt 2016). Art is thus approached as semi-autonomous or extraordinary events that challenge dominant forms of organizing. For organization scholar Daniel Hjorth, for instance, the notion of a public perspective is meant to challenge the way in which entrepreneurship and even social entrepreneurship have been managerially tamed to accord with economic goals (Hjorth 2013). Instead, he suggests that public entrepreneurship as organization-creation underpin the creative and affective form of organization-creation necessary to mobilize social change, a proposition that entails support for more open-ended organization-creation strategies (Hjorth 2013).

The case study for this thesis has described two particular forms of artistic organization-creation that both interfere with and contribute to the aestheticization of a neighbourhood by suggesting strategies for sustaining inclusivity and diversity. The two art projects practice organization-creation with a mixture of aesthetic and ethical tools that suggest aspirations for organization-creation with a public perspective, and jointly they support Hjorth's claim that the power of aesthetic experiences enables organization-creation, also in situations when they fail to perform according to such criteria. For both of the artistic projects, I emphasized how the actualization or promise of aesthetic events mobilized the public's interest. However, I also argued with respect to *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*

that the project suggests a new kind of non-spectacular sustainable aesthetics that is centrally featured around its interest in fostering social relations between diverse members of a community. In general, I argued in favour of balancing ethical considerations with the persuasive powers of aesthetics in each situation-specific practice of organization-creation.

In addition, the thesis also underlines how organization-creation has become a concern for art institutions that respond to the problem of public interest and endeavour to breach the borders between art and the social. In other words, the thesis suggests that organization studies' interest in the relationship between art, aesthetics, and processes of organizing might also engage more prominently with the way in which art institutions experiment with organization-creation and with how these processes interact and become part of other forms of social and aesthetic organizing in the public interest. The very notion of *public interest* as a mode of ordering that generates organization-creation in itself speaks of the creativity that stems from this newly powerful mode of ordering, and the current level of experimentation in art and art institutions around social organizing indicates how organization studies' discussions of organization-creation with a public perspective align with the artistic field of social practice and new institutional strategies of engaging the public as well as with the art theoretical theorization of these practices.

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Appendix 1: The commission brief for the artistic assignment in Istedgade and the competition criteria

Background

In connection with a physical rebuilding of Istedgade where the purpose has been to create better conditions for bicyclists as well as pedestrians, many residents and users of Istedgade have expressed a profound interest in adding an artistic dimension that takes its point of departure in Istedgade's many cultural layers.

Istedgade's rebuilding is carried out in three phases. Phases 1 & 2, which stretch between Reventlowsgade and Gasværksvej, have been completed pending a few minor finishing details. Phase 3, which stretches from Gasværksvej to Enghave Plads, will commence in summer 2014 and is slated for completion by the end of 2015.

Process for the competition and public vote

The steering group will approve of the artists' proposed sketches, which are to include budgets and time plans, in an internal process. Subsequently, the projects will be made public and Istedgade's citizens will cast their votes. It is as yet undecided who exactly will be eligible to vote and how the voting is to take place.

The project that receives the majority of votes will be recommended for realization.

Competition criteria

The intention with the artistic assignment is to involve Istedgade's historical and contemporary layers and stories, and to reflect the street's great diversity. The steering group wants the artistic assignment to create connections between past and present and between the many different citizens and users, by way of the maximum visibility and involvement of as many citizens and users of Istedgade as possible. They also want the project to work as a documentation of life in Istedgade, and expect the project to have an afterlife. The steering group expects the artistic assignment to be solved conceptually, but to result in physical manifestations – interpreted very broadly. It might, for instance, be physical markings in the street, a digital production, events, a publication, or similar.

In the evaluation of the proposed sketches the following issues will be given weight:

- That the artistic assignment is of high artistic quality
- That the artistic assignment takes its point of departure in the politically approved construction

project for Istedgade's rebuilding (see the attached application from the City of Copenhagen)

- That the artistic assignment includes user-involvement/research that reflects Istedgade's entire diversity of current residents
- That the artistic assignment involves both Istedgade's historic and present layers and stories.

The assignment consists of:

1) A proposed sketch, budget, and timeline for realization:

- The proposed sketch is to include:
  - A brief description of the artistic intentions.
  - Visual documentation of the expected product.
  - A description of the process(es) for and scope of user involvement. The City of Copenhagen and the Museum of Copenhagen are happy to engage in a dialogue, facilitate the processes, and deliver platforms for communication and presentation. Their roles and resource contributions should be agreed on beforehand and included in the proposed sketch.
  - A description of strategies for data collection (histories, stories). The City of Copenhagen and the Museum of Copenhagen are happy to engage in a dialogue, facilitate the processes, and deliver platforms for communication and presentation. Their roles and resource contributions should be agreed on beforehand and included in the proposed sketch.

- A budget based on obtained offers, including the artist's fee for realizing the artistic assignment.
  - In addition to the budget, there should be an estimate for the expected maintenance costs of the realized work.
- A time plan for the assignment that checked with the City of Copenhagen (The project manager)

2) Proposal for the public presentation of the proposed sketches with budgets

When the steering group has approved of the proposed sketches and budgets, they will be made public. The proposed sketches might be exhibited at the Museum of Copenhagen, where citizens can see and hear about the projects and cast their votes. The project presentation and vote might also take place online.

The artists are invited to deliver a proposal for the form of the presentation along with a budget that specifies the expenses for eventual additional visual/digital material to be used in the public presentation of the proposed sketches along with an artistic fee for contributing to this publicization and participation in communicative activities (digital/physical presentation, press-handling, etc.).

Finances

Total economic frame: DKK 2.5 mil.

The Danish Arts Foundation: DKK 1.5. mil.

The City of Copenhagen: DKK 1.0 mil.

Within the financial scheme the following expenses need to be paid:

1) x 60,000 for the sketch proposal fee to the artists, which is paid for by a grant from the Danish Arts Foundation.

2) Expenses for eventual supplementary visual/digital material for the public presentation of the proposed sketches along with the artistic fee for helping with publicization and for participating in communicative activities (digital/physical presentation, press handling, etc.)

3) Expenses for the realization of the artistic assignment: the fee covers the artistic fee and all expenses for materials, execution, mounting, etc.

Time-plan:

2013

* Dec 14: First and second phases of the rebuilding project completed.

2014

* Start of March: invitation to the artists

* End-March: meeting between the artists and the steering group:

Here the steering group will inform about the intentions with the artistic assignment, present the interested parties, and clarify the more specific terms and conditions that apply for such an assignment, including the artist's assignment and responsibility in connection with the development of sketches and the expected ensuing realization. The artists will have the opportunity to ask questions with respect to the competition terms, expectations, process, collaborative opportunities, etc.

* March: Supplementary meeting between the artists, the City of Copenhagen, and the Museum of Copenhagen about knowledge resources, communicative platforms and collaborative opportunities.

* June 17: 1. Presentation of sketches to the steering group.

* June 17- August 28: The artists adjust and finalize their sketches with respect to the input from the steering group.

* August 28: A possible second presentation of sketches for the steering group and final approval of the proposed sketches, budgets and time plans.

* Summer 2014: Phase 3 of the rebuilding project commences.

* October 2014: Public presentation of the art projects and public vote.

* November 2014 – November 2015: Realization of the art project.

2015

* End-2015: the artwork is presented/inauguration of the new Istedgade.

Appendix 2: Sherry R. Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation'

Citizen control	
Delegated power	Citizen power
Partnership	
Placation	
Consultation	Tokenism
Informing	
Therapy	Non-Participation
Manipulation	
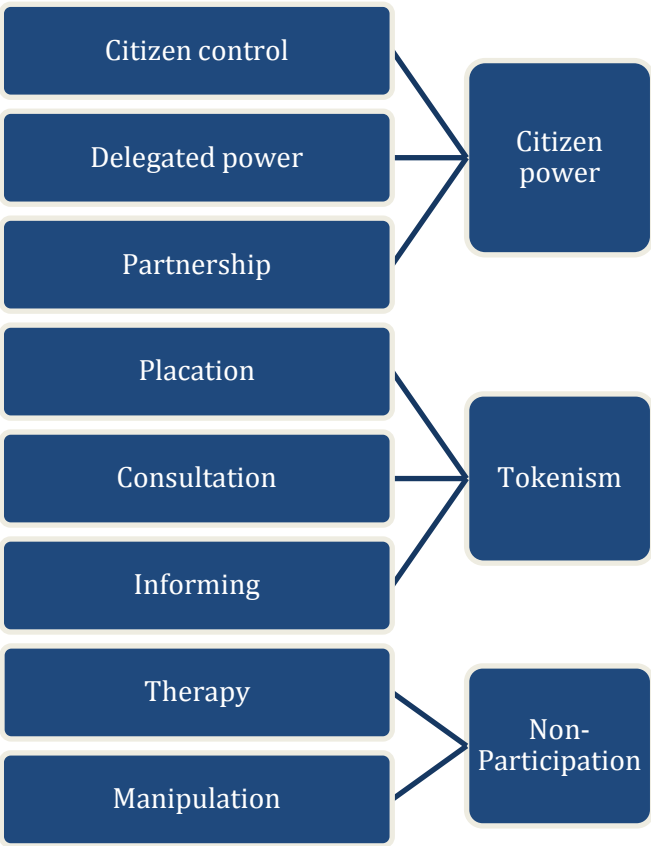
Appendix 3: Suzanne Lacy's model for durational participatory organising

Origination and responsibility

Collaboration and codevelopment

Volunteers and performers

Immediate audience

Media audience

Audience of myth and memory
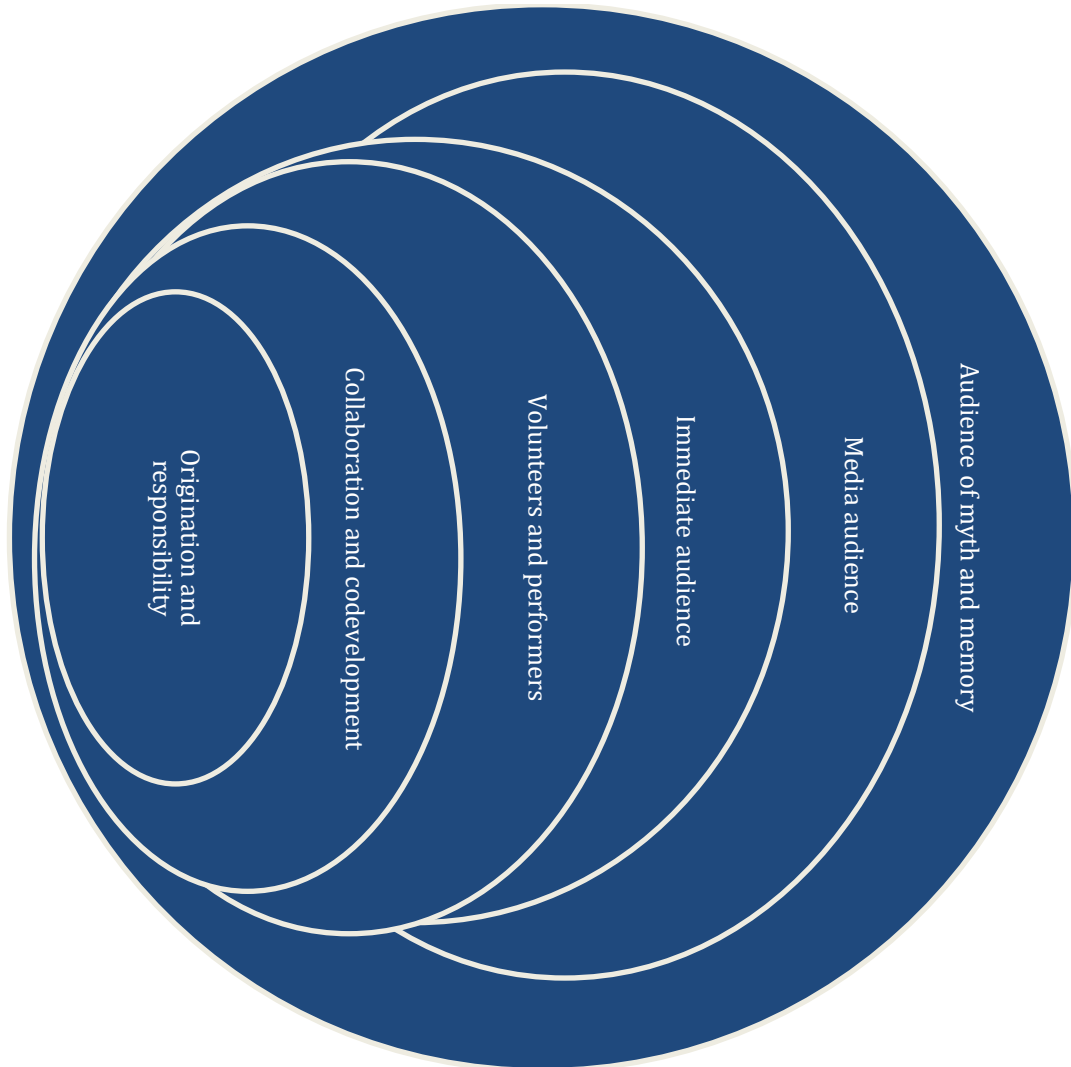
Appendix 4: Meetings in the commissioning process

Date	Purpose	Venue	Who participated	Me
Apr 17, 2013	Discuss collaboration with the City of Copenhagen	The Agency for Culture	Secretary 1 Former arts foundation representative 1 +2 + 3 The project manager The caretaker of the city's monuments	no
Aug 21, 2013	Second meeting with the City of Copenhagen	-	Secretary 1 Former arts foundation representative 1 The project manager The caretaker of the city's monuments Neighbourhood council representative 1	no
Mar 14, 2014	Discuss possibilities in respect to the planned competition	Copenhagen Museum	Secretary 2 + the project manager The museum curator 1 The city's communication consultant	yes
Mar 24, 2014	The commissioned artists have the opportunity to discuss the content of the assignment	The Agency for culture	Secretary 2 + the project manager The museum curator 2 The city's communication consultant Artist 1 and his colleague George The artist who declined the assignment Arts foundation representative 1 + 2	yes
Apr 1, 2014	Steering group meeting to adjust the timeline for the assignment	The Agency for culture	Secretary 2 + the project manager The city's chief architect Arts foundation representative 1 + 2	yes
May 5, 2014	View Istedgade's rebuilding and learn about the museum's resources	Istedgade & Copenhagen Museum	Secretary 2 + the project manager The museum curator 1 Artist 1 + 2	yes
May 14, 2014	New meeting to discuss the content of the assignment.	The Agency for Culture	Secretary 2 + the project manager Artist 1 + 2 Arts foundation representative 1 + 2 The city's chief architect The caretaker of the city's monuments Neighbourhood council representative 2	yes
June 17, 2014	The artists' pre-sketch presentation of their preliminary idea	The Agency for Culture	Secretary 2 + the project manager Artist 1 + 2 Arts foundation representative 1 + 2 The city's chief architect The caretaker of the city's monuments Neighbourhood council representative 2	yes
Sep 24, 2014	The artists' presentation of their final sketch (project proposal)	The Agency for Culture	Secretary 2 + the project manager Artist 1 and his colleague George Artist 2 Arts foundation representative 1 + 2 The city's chief architect The caretaker of the city's monuments Neighbourhood council representative 3	yes
Nov 6, 2014	Artist 1's second presentation of his sketch (project proposal)	The Agency for Culture	Secretary 2 + the project manager Artist 1 Arts foundation representative 1 + 3 The city's chief architect Neighbourhood council representative 2	yes
Sep 24, 2015	Steering group meeting to discuss how to respond to Artist 1 team's delay	The City of Copenhagen	Secretary 2 + the project manager The project manager's chief Arts foundation representative 1 + 2	no

Appendix 5: Interviews with commissioning process participants

Who	Role	When	Where
Former Arts Foundation Representative 1 (FAFR1)	Member of the Arts Foundation's committee for art in public 2011-2013. Approved the application for a public artwork for Istedgade and designed the artistic assignment.	January 8, 2015, Duration 77 minutes Taped and transcribed	The Agency for Culture
Former Arts Foundation Representative 2 (FAFR2)	Member of the Arts Foundation's committee for art in public 2011-2013. Approved the application for a public artwork for Istedgade and designed the artistic assignment.	February 4, 2015, Duration 95 minutes Taped and transcribed	Her studio, Copenhagen
Former Arts Foundation Representative 3 (FAFR3)	Member of the Arts Foundation's committee for art in public 2011-2013. Approved the application for a public artwork for Istedgade and designed the artistic assignment.	February 2, 2015 Duration 68 minutes Taped and transcribed	His studio, Copenhagen
Secretary 1 (S1)	Secretary for the Arts Foundation's committee for art in public, since 2008, and since 2014, secretary for the Arts Foundation's committee for artistic stipends.	January 6, 2015, Duration 50 minutes Taped and transcribed	The Agency for Culture
Secretary 2 (S2)	Secretary for the Art Foundation's committee for artistic stipends and manager of the commissioning process for the public artwork in Istedgade.	Taped and transcribed January 8, 2015 Duration 84 minutes Taped and transcribed	The Agency for Culture
The Project Manager (PM)	The city's project manager for the rebuilding of Istedgade and the commissioning process.	January 12, 2015 Duration 60 minutes Taped and transcribed June 17, 2016 Taped and transcribed	The Agency for Culture The Agency for Culture
The caretaker of the city's monuments (CCM)	Steering group member. City official responsible for the maintenance of the city's public artworks.	January 13, 2015 Duration 60 minutes Taped and transcribed	City of Copenhagen
The city's chief architect (CCA)	Steering group member. Chief architect for the city of Copenhagen.	March 7, 2017 Duration 20 minutes Notes during the conversation	Telephone-interview
Arts Foundation Representative 1 (AFR1)	Steering group member. Member of the Arts Foundation's committee for artistic scholarship 2014-2016.	January 9, 2015 Duration 68 minutes Taped and transcribed	The Agency for Culture
Neighbourhood Council Representative 2 (NCR2)	Steering group member. Member of the neighbourhood council in Vesterbro.	January 21, 2015 Duration: 53 minutes Taped and transcribed	Vesterbro neighbourhood council's office
Museum curator (MC)	Curatur at the Museum of Copenhagen. Support function in commissioning process	February 4, 2015 Duration: 29 minutes Taped and transcribed	The agency for culture
Construction consultant (CC)	Employed by the Arts Foundation to support artists commissioned for public art projects with technical solutions and budgetary estimates	January 30, 2015 Duration 37 minutes Taped and transcribed	His home in Copenhagen

Appendix 6: Interview guideline for commissioning process participants

The interviews were tailored to focus on the particular role and experience of the interviewee and the aspects of the process they had taken part in. The guide below includes the span of topics I asked the participants, depending on what I knew they had participated in.

- Questions were framed to encourage experience-driven answers rather than theoretical, abstract answers.
- I initiated the interviews by asking how they became involved in the Arts Foundation's work and/or this particular process of commissioning art. The purpose of this entrance was to encourage their individual story-telling.
- Questions related to clarifying early parts of the commission process before I become involved.
- Questions pertaining to their experience of the process – in comparison with other commissioning processes.
- The competition and their judgement of why it was cancelled and the effect of its cancelling.
- The choice of artists, and in their judgement, the motivation for the choice of artist.
- The current situation of the commissioning process (when it seemed unclear if the city council would approve of the two projects).
- Anything I have overlooked. Get their judgement or evaluation.

Appendix 7: *Inside Out Istedgade*: **Interviews with Artist 2 and her professional partners**

Who	When (chronological order of interviews)	Where
Artist 2 (A2)	August 22, 2014 Not taped, diary notes following conversation	Her apartment, Frederiksberg
Artist 2 (A2)	October 15, 2014 Duration: 94 minutes Taped and transcribed	Café, Copenhagen Museum
The photographer (PH)	October 22, 2014 Duration: 76 minutes Taped and transcribed	A cafe in Vesterbro, Copenhagen
Artist 2 (A2)	August 5, 2015 Duration: 115 minutes Taped and transcribed	Her apartment, Frederiksberg
The radio journalist (RJ)	August 26, 2015 Duration: 39 minutes Taped and transcribed	A cafe in Vesterbro,
Artist 2 (A2)	September 25, 2015 Notes during our conversation	Telephone interview
The photographer (PH)	January13, 2016 Duration: 64 minutes Taped and transcribed	His office in Vesterbro
Artist 2 (A2)	February 2, 2016 Duration: 121 minutes Taped and transcribed	Skank café, Istedgade
The graphic designer (GD)	February 9, 2016 Duration: 79 minutes Taped and transcribed	Her apartment, Copenhagen
The film editor (FE)	March 6, 2017 Duration: 15 minutes Notes during our conversation	Telephone interview

Appendix 8: *Inside Out Istedgade*: **Interviews with the participating citizens**

Who	Istedgade	Type of participation	Date	Where	Taped
Lisa	Resident	Photographed	January 28, 2016 Duration 38 min.	Skank café Istedgade	Yes
Ismail	Shop owner	Photographed Private photographs in the book	February 1, 2016 Duration: 39 min.	His shop	Yes
Mark & Karen	Residents	Photographed	February 1, 2016 Duration: 32 min.	Their new apartment, Valby	Yes
Mahir	Resident	Photographed Private photographs in the book Wrote text for the book Recorded for audio piece	February 5, 2016 Duration: 79 min	His shop	Yes
Paul	Works in the street	Wrote texts for the book Private photographs in the book	February 9, 2016 Duration: 56 min	Skank café, Istedgade	Yes
Peder	Resident	Photographed Private photographs in the book Commissioned to write text for the book	February 10, 2016 Duration: 62 min	Café in Vesterbro	Yes
Susan	Resident	Recorded for audio piece Photographed Private photographs in the book	February 10, 2016 Duration: 71 min	Skank café, Istedgade	Yes
Olivia	Resident and shop owner	Photographed, but the photographs were not used	February 12, 2016 Duration: 26 min	Her shop	Yes
Emre	Shop owner	Wrote text to the book	February 12, 2016 Duration: 26 min	His shop	Yes
Barbara	Resident	Recorded for audio piece Photographed Text and private photographs in the book	February 15, 2016 Duration: 37 min	Her shop	Yes
Carol	Resident	Photographed, but dropped out	February 15, 2016 Duration: 27 min	Her apartment	Yes
Mia	Resident	Recorded for audio piece. Daughter photographed and wrote text for the book.	February 15, 2016 Duration: 93 min	Her apartment	Yes
Abdi	Shop owner	Photographed	April 19, 2016 Duration: 16 min	His shop	Yes
James	Resident	Photographed	April 21, 2016, Duration: 62 min	Skank café, Istedgade	Yes
Charlotte	Resident	Photographed	April 25, 2016	Telephone Interview	No

Who	Istedgade	Type of participation	Date	Where	Taped
Charlotte	Resident	Photographed	April 25, 2016	Telephone Interview	No
Tony & Jerome	Residents	Photographed	May 5, 2016 Duration: 52 minutes	Skank café Istedgade	Yes
Sandra	Resident	Photographed with her partner	June 30, 2016	Telephone Interview	No
Daniel	Resident	Photographed, but dropped out	May 4, 2016 Duration: 1 min.	Telephone Interview	No
Bakir	Shop owner	Photographed, but photographs not used	February 5, 2016 Brief talk, he did not remember taking part	His shop	No
Neighbourhood Council Representative 2 (NCR2)	Resident	Photographed, but photographs not used	January 21, 2015 Duration: 53 min	Local council's office	Yes
Amelia	Resident & Shop owner	Photographed, but photographs not used Wrote text, but text not used	February 5, 2016 Brief talk, she did not want to talk to me about the project at al.	Her shop	No

Appendix 9: *Inside Out Istedgade:* Interview guideline for the participating citizens

A. The process

How did you first hear about the *Inside Out*-project?

Follow-up questions about the meetings - the process:

* Who contacted you – how were you contacted?

* What happened next?

* What happened, when (the artist) visited you?

* What happened, when (the photographer) visited you?

(if relevant: what happened when (radio journalist) visited you?)

* How many visits have you had then?

* Time – when was the first visit – and the last? How long did each visit take?

* Visit about approval of use of images.

B. Reception of the public projections

Can you draw it for me here? (as a way to open up for more specific discussion of their experience)

Did you go and see the projections together with someone?

Did you take photographs? Of what? (and if not – why not?)

What did you think about the projections?

(Or perhaps picking up on specific issues related to what they are drawing)

Did anything surprise you?

C. Reception of publication and/or audio

Have you looked at the publication? (bring a copy)

Where do you/your contribution feature?

How many copies?

Have you shown it to others?

D. Gift/photograph

Do you have photographs from the process? What does it show?

E. Art

Have you participated in something like this before?

Do you think you would participate in something like this again?

If I say the word art – what would you say?

Do you think about that you took part in an artwork? (what does that mean to you?)

Appendix 10: *Inside Out Istedgade*: Overview of the local citizens' forms of participation

Kinds of contribution	Number of participants in total	Interviewed by me
Total number of participants (counting families and shops as one participant each)	**40**	**21**
Photographed	**31**	**20**
Only photographs of apartment interior	3	2
Portrait/participant featured in the photograph	28	18
Intimate photographs (nudity or private situations)	9(11)	7(9)
Public projections of photographs	**22**	**13**
Portrait/participant featured	19	11
Intimate photographs were used	5(6)	3(4)
Interviewed for the audio piece	**6**	**5**
Book	**22**	**9(10)**
Only contributed to the book and none of the other project-parts	11	3(4)
Wrote text for the book	16	7(8)
Loaned private photographs for the book	14	8
Contribution was not used	**6**	**5**
Photographed, but photos not used	6	5
Wrote text, but text not used	1	1

Appendix 11: *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours*: project meetings

The table is based upon calendar-entrances, so it does not necessarily include all meetings or all the hours the team invested in the project. I include the dates from 2014-2017.

Year	Date	Activity	Artist 1 team	I participated
2014	01-01-2014	All Day: Istedgade		
2014	10-01-2014	Kl. 10-11: Istedgade		
2014	23-01-2014	Kl. 12-16.30: Meeting George about Istedgade, det gule hus	Artist 1, George	
2014	17-02-2014	kl. 9.30-16.30: Meeting George, his home	Artist 1, George	
2014	24-03-2014	Kl. 11-13: Meeting the Art Foundation about Istedgade + Kl. 13.00-14.30: Meeting George	Artist 1 & George	x
2014	05-05-2014	Kl. 13-16: Preparation meeting in Istedgade	Artist 1 & George	
2014	14-05-2014	Kl. 15-16: Steering group meeting Istedgade	Artist 1 & George	x
2014	22-05-2014	Kl. 13-14: Istedgade Skype with George	Artist 1 & George	
2014	27-05-2014	Kl. 10-14.30: Meeting George	Artist 1 & George	
2014	03-06-2014	Kl. 9.30-12: Meeting George + See Satelitten/ Volunteer project	Artist 1 & George	
2014	11-06-2014	Kl. 10-14-30: Meeting George	Artist 1 & George	
2014	12-06-2014	Kl. 17-20: Workshop Local council	Artist 1 & George	
2014	17-06-2014	Kl. 10-12.30: Meeting George about presentation + Kl. 13-15.30: Presentation of pre-sketch	Artist 1 & George	(x)
2014	24-06-2014	Kl. 9.30-11.00: Meeting Nordea-fonden	Artist 1 & George	
2014	08-08-2014	Kl. 9-12: Istedgade + kl. 11-12: Meeting (architect)	Artist 1 & George	x
2014	14-08-2014	Kl. 9-12: Istedgade + kl.9-10.30: Meeting (gardener Helen)	Artist 1 & George	x
2014	15-08-2014	Kl. 13-15: Istedgade + kl. 13-14: Meeting Construction consultant, budget	Artist 1 & George	x
2014	20-08-2014	Kl. 9-12: Istedgade	Artist 1 & George	
2014	25-08-2014	Kl. 9-15: Istedgade with George	Artist 1 & George	
2014	29-08-2014	All day: Istedgade	Artist 1 & George	
2014	16-08-2014	Kl. 12-13: Meeting Artist 2, public	Artist 1 & George	
2014	24-08-2014	Kl. 13-15.30: Istedgade steering group meeting	Artist 1 & George	x
2014	02-10-2014	Kl. 13.30-15: Se Nature-exhibition at CPH's museum	Artist 1 & George	
2014	03-10-2014	Kl. 11-12.30: Meeting the city's project manager	Artist 1 & George	
2014	22-10-2014	Kl. 10-11.30: Start-up meeting, collaboration around greenery,	Artist 1 & George	

Year	Date	Activity	Artist 1 team	I participated
2014	29-10-2014	Kl. 15.30-16.15: Istedgade budget-talk	Artist 1 & George	
2014	05-11-2014	Kl. 11-13: Meeting Nature educator about Istedgade	Artist 1 & George	x
2014	06-11-2014	Kl. 14.30-15.30: Presentation of sketch + 15.30-16.15: Budget-talk at Agency for Culture	Artist 1 & George	x
2014	10-11-2014	Kl. 10-12: Meeting about Istedgade with George	Artist 1 & George	
2014	11-11-2014	Kl. 10-11.30: Meeting, secretary for area	Artist 1 & George	
2014	18-11-2014	Kl. 10-12: Meeting about Istedgade with George	Artist 1 & George	
2014	11-12-2014	Kl. 11-12.20: Meeting XX + 12.30-13.30: Meeting Settlementet + kl. 14-15: call XX	Artist 1 & George	
2015	06-01-2015	Kl. 10-15.30: Nordea-fonden meeting	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	09-01-2015	Kl. 10-12: Internal meeting saxogade	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	12-01-2015	Kl. 12.30-14.00: Meeting local committee/area/nature educator	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	x
2015	14-01-2015	Kl. 10-30-14.00: Work-meeting Edith and Artist 1	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	15-01-2015	Kl. 10-12: Meeting with area renewal/flex urban spaces + Kl. 13-14 meeting with Settlementet	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	x
2015	21-01-2015	Kl. 9-15.30: Istedgade work- + local committee meeting 17.40-18.30	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	x
2015	22-01-2015	All day: Start Communication plan Nordea + kl. 12.30-14.00: joint meeting green spots	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	28-01-2015	Kl. 14-15.30: Meeting XX	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	29-01-2015	Kl. 10-11.30: Meeting sidegaden spots: development meeting + kl. 12.30-14.00:joint meeting green spots	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	x
2015	05-02-2015	Kl. 10-11.30: Social sustainability project the Men's Home + kl. 12.30-14: Joint meeting green spots	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	x
2015	06-02-2015	Kl. 8.30-9.30: Meeting Director City of Copenhagen	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	12-02-2015	Kl. 10-11: Meeting XX/'more life in the garden'-network + kl. 12.30-14: Joint meeting Green Spots + Kl. 14-15.30: XX	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	

Year	Date	Activity	Artist 1 team	I participated
2015	03-03-2015	Kl. 10-12: Meeting Abby/Edith/Artist 1	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	05-03-2015	Kl. 12.30-14: Meeting Green spots + Kl. 12.30-13.00: Meeting about Istedgade art with city's chief architect + kl. 15-18: Permakultur Træstubben	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	11-03-2015	kl. 10-15: Istedgade joint meeting	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	12-03-2015	Kl. 12.30-14: joint meeting Istedgade green spots	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	26-03-2015	Kl. 12.30-14.00: Joint meeting Istedgade Green Spots	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	09-04-2015	Kl. 10-11.30: Sidegade/flex/greenery-meeting	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	15-04-2015	Kl. 15-16: Financial estimate for additional maintanance costs - meeting at Islands brygge	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	14-05-2015	Kl. 12-15: Launch of Istedgade-chair	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	21-05-2015	Kl. 12.30-13.30: Meeting graphic designer	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	28-05-2015	Kl. 13-15: Meeting with Edith	Artist 1, George, Edith & Abby	
2015	16-06-2015	Kl. 10-11: Meeting with Secretary 2	Artist 1	
2015	17-06-2015	Kl. 18-18.50: Meeting with local committee	Artist 1	
2015	21-08-2015	Kl. 13.30-15: Meeting with Secretary 2	Artist 1	
2015	25-09-2015	Kl. 10-11: Talk with xx about Istedgade	Artist 1	
2015	10-10-2015	Kl. 11.45-12-30: Nature educator about maintenance/blomstrende by	Artist 1	
2015	20-10-2015	Kl. 9.30-10: Meeting The Men's Home	Artist 1	
2015	23-10-2015	Kl. 12-13: Walk with Nature Educator	Artist 1	
2015	27-10-2015	Kl. 13-14: Nature Educator	Artist 1 & Edith	
2016	18-01-2016	Kl. 12-13: Volunteer coordinator-meeting	Artist 1 & Edith	
2016	26-01-2016	Kl. 13.30-14.30: Meeting Nature Educator	Artist 1 & Edith	
2016	01-02-2016	All day: Prepare report for Nordea	Artist 1 & Edith	
2016	14-02-2016	Interview Ditte Istedgade	Artist 1 & Edith	x
2016	12-04-2016	Kl. 9:30-11.30: Meeting with Nature Educator	Artist 1 & Edith	
2016	13-04-2016	Kl. 17-19: Edith at 'project meeting' Vesterbro	Artist 1 & Edith	
2016	14-04-2016	Kl. 13-15: Istedgade project meeting	Artist 1 & Edith	

Year	Date	Activity	Artist 1 team	I participated
2016	30-04-2016	Kl. 13-16: Blomstrende by (flowering city) event	Artist 1 & Edith	
2016	12-05-2016	Kl. 14-15: Meeting the Men's Home	Artist 1 & Edith	x
2016	01-06-2016	Kl. 11-12: Meeting Settlementet Sally	Artist 1 & Edith	
2016	14-06-2016	Kl. 10-11.30: Meeting process-consultant, Nordea-Fonden	Artist 1 & Edith	x
2016	23-06-2016	Kl. 11-12.30 Meeting settlementet + 13.30-15.00: MH about pottery project	Artist 1 & Edith	x
2016	24-08-2016	Kl. 13.30-14.30: Meeting Mændenes Hjem	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	
2016	27-08-2016	Kl. 12-22: Sidegade party	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	
2016	29-08-2016	Kl. 9.30-15.00: Istedgade start-up meeting	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	
2016	09-09-2016	Kl. 11-12.30: Start-up-meeting and planning meeting with Sidegaden greenery	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	
2016	23-09-2016	Kl. 11-13: Prepare user-involvement Istedgade	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	
2016	28-09-2016	Kl. 10-11: Meeting with Shop XX in Saxogade	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	
2016	29-09-2016	Kl. 10-12: Meeting the gardener about citizen-involvement	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	x
2016	03-10-2016	Kl. 9-16: Event in Nordea-fonden	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	x
2016	27-10-2016	Kl. 16.30-17.30: Meeting with Maria/Saxogade	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	x
2016	19-11-2016	Kl. 9.30-11.30: Meeting MH about Istedgade	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	
2016	23-11-2016	Kl. 15-15.30: Meeting with Shop XX n about Istedgade + kl. 17-18: residents-meeting Istedgade	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	x
2016	30-11-2016	kl. 13-14: XX about Saxogade	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	
2016	01-12-2016	Kl. 9.15-10.45: Start-up-meeting Istedgade	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	
2016	15-12-2016	Kl. 13.30-15.00: Winterplan-meeting MH	Artist 1, Benjamin & David	
2017	05-01-2017	Kl. 12-14: Meeting The gardener about sidegade-planning	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	11-01-2017	kl. 19-20.30: Work-group meeting sidegaden	Artist 1, Olivia & David	x
2017	20-01-2017	Kl. 16-18: Sidegaden residents' needs	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	26-01-2017	Kl. 16-18: Sidegaden residents' needs	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	01-02-2017	19-20.30: Work-group meeting sidegaden	Artist 1, Olivia & David	x

Year	Date	Activity	Artist 1 team	I participated
2017	06-02-2017	Kl. 18.30-19: Board meeting Estlandsgade	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	07-02-2017	Kl. 17-18: Sidegade drop-in street meeting	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	08-02-2017	Kl. 10-12: MH botanic garden excursion	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	10-02-2017	All day: Istedgade work-day	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	13-02-2017	Kl. 10-12: Tour of Sundholm Garden	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	15-02-2017	Kl. 9.30-11.30: Istedgade meeting - values and concept for the entire project	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	06-03-2017	kl. 11-12: MH workshop	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	07-03-2017	Kl. 13-15: Meeting Architects + Kl. 16-17: meeting local council	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	20-03-2017	Kl. 11-12: MH workshop / excursion	Artist 1, Olivia & David	x
2017	27-03-2017	Kl. 11-13: MH workshop with employment	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	29-03-2017	Kl. 13-15: Prepare workgroup meeting + Kl. 18.30-20.00: work-group meeting Sidegaden	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	03-04-2017	Kl. 11-13: MH workshop about plants	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	19-04-2017	Kl. 14-15: Prepare sidegade meeting + Kl. 18.30-20.00: work-grup meeting sidegaden	Artist 1, Olivia & David	x
2017	20-04-2017	Kl. 13-14: Meeting abel cathrines gade XX/xx	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	24-04-2017	Kl. 10-11: Se Abel Cathrines gade + kl. 13-16: MH buy pots	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	25-04-2017	Kl. 11-12: Meeting mobilitet Kbh about Saxogade	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	27-04-2017	Kl. 13-15: Meeting Architects	Artist 1, Olivia & David	
2017	04-05-2017	Kl. 11-13: MH plant-workshop about pots	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	07-05-2017	Kl. 14-21: Abel Cathrine event	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	09-05-2017	Kl. 9.30-10.15: short meeting Sally settlementet	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	16-05-2017	Kl. 9.30-10.30: Istedgade statusmeeting book and film	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	17-05-2017	Kl. 9-11: Abel presentation to be made	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	18-05-2017	Kl. 15-16: Meeting stenbroens træpleje?	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	23-05-2017	Kl. 17-18.30: Citizen-meeting Abel Cathrines gade	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	29-05-2017	Kl. 14.30-16.00: Bridget meets the gardener about plant education	Artist 1, David & Bridget	

Year	Date	Activity	Artist 1 team	I participated
2017	30-05-2017	Kl. 10.30-11.30: Saxogade architects talk + Kl. 16-18: Drop-in Abelgade	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	31-05-2017	kl. 10-13: Interview Victoriagade /Abel Cathrines Gade	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	03-06-2017	All day: Interview Victoriagade /Abel Cathrines Gade	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	06-06-2017	Kl. 10-15: Interview Victoriagade / Abel Cathrinesgade + kl. 10.30-11.30: interview Cofoco	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	07-06-2017	Kl. 1015: Interview Victoriagade / Abel Cathrinesgade + kl. 16-18: Drop-in Abelsgade	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	09-06-2017	Kl. 11-12.30: Bridget meets with the gardener about plant-education	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	12-06-2017	Kl. 14-15: Meeting with the municipality about permits + Kl. 17-18.30: first workgroup-meeting Abelsgade	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	13-06-2017	Kl. 10-12: Prepare Saxo-party	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	15-06-2017	Kl. 11.30-12.30: measure Saxogade	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	19-06-2017	Kl. 11-13: Meeting architects /Kl. 18.30-20: Saxogade workgroup-meeting	Artist 1, David & Bridget	x
2017	20-06-2017	Kl. 10-11: xx about Istedgadefilm + Kl. 17-18: abel 2. workgroup meeting	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	22-06-2017	Kl. 9.30- 15.30: drawing Saxogarden + kl. 9.30-10.30: stair is delivered	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	24-06-2017	All day: Street party in Saxogaden	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	28-06-2017	kl. 10-11: Pop by GiG and tell about Saxogarden	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	07-08-2017	Call xx. Kl. 17-18: Abel 3. workgroup meeting	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	14-08-2017	kl. 8.45-8.45: Bridget meets the gardener	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	18-08-2017	Kl. 10-11: Bridget meets the gardener	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	23-08-2017	Kl. 12-13: Update website + kl. 20.30-21.30 meet XX A/B bestyrelsen, Andelsforeningen Istedgade 87	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	30-08-2017	Kl. 13-14: Istedgade filmmeeting w/XX	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	06-09-2017	Kl. 14-16:Visit byhaven2200 (Bridget)	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	07-09-2017	Kl. 9-10.30: Istedgade status	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	13-09-2017	kl. 9-10.30: The architects about Abel/Vict (Artist 1 and Bridget)	Artist 1, David & Bridget	
2017	20-09-2017	Bridget attends citylink festival	Artist 1, David & Bridget	

Year	Date	Activity	Artist 1 team	I participated
2017	09-11-2017	Kl. 9-15: Launch gadelaug/Istedgade		
2017	05-12-2017	kl. 17-18: Gårdlaugsmeeting SaxoGarden (suggestion)		
2017	12-12-2017	Kl. 12.30-15.00: Istedgade meeting xx	Artist 1, David & Laura	
2017	19-12-2017	Kl. 9.30-11.30: Istedgade revitalising		

Appendix 12: Additional interviews

Who	When	Where
Curator of street-art exhibition at Øksnehallen	June 17, 2015 Diary notes	Øksnehallen
Editor at Byens	December 9, 2015 Duration 39 minutes Taped and transcribed	Byens cafe
Contributor to Byens' book Istedgade Life	February 9, 2016 Duration 54 minutes Taped and transcribed	City library café
Contributor to Byens' book Istedgade Life	February 8, 2016 Duration 24 minutes Taped and transcribed	Café in Vesterbro
Neighbourhood Council Member 1 (NCM1)	June 2, 2016 Duration 74 minutes Taped and transcribed	Café on Istedgade
Neighbourhood Council Member 2 (NCM2)	June 17, 2016 Duration 51 minutes Taped and transcribed	Park in Vesterbro
Gilbert, the head of a local cooperative housing association who had expressed an interest in a work of art in connection with the rebuilding of Istedgade	February 1, 2017 Notes while talking	Telephone

Appendix 13: The City of Copenhagen's application for an artwork for Istedgade

Istedgade: Application to the Danish Arts Foundations Committee for Art in Public Spaces

April 2013

INTRODUCTION

Istedgade is one of the most special streets in Copenhagen. A street many people know and everyone has an opinion about.

It is a long street with lots of small businesses and a unique mixture of culture in all directions. A mixture of ethnic cultures, rich and poor, tramps, and intellectuals. A brave and unique artistic solution is required to get this diversity to flower even more.

Istedgade is a street with numerous stories. Every generation inherits the street and lives its own life there. Without knowing exactly how life used to be lived on these same square miles. These are the stories that art, among other things, helps to disseminate.

ART IN ISTEDGADE

'Istedgade should not be a copy of anything else.' Jacob Næsager (K)

Istedgade has always had a special place in the consciousness of Copenhagen's citizens. Everyone has an opinion about the diverse street that starts among pushers and porn shops and ends in equity and family idyll.

Istedgade is the nexus for an area of the city that has a large concentration of retail and convenience stores as well as an emergent café and restaurant milieu. At the same time Istedgade today is a street in many ways marked by physical and social challenges.

For various reasons Istedgade has become a living room for many people. For some it even serves as the only place to meet and a living room.

The history of the street has its roots in the classical working class, which contrasts with the expensive renovated apartments of today and modern urban life. In recent years the street has become attractive to young citizens with good resources, often families with children that have chosen to stay in the city.

Throughout its history the street has encompassed a broad spectrum of people. If the pressure from one group has become too large, a counter pressure comes from another. This balance is now changing. The oppositions have increased at the same pace as tolerance has decreased. The fight for these few square miles has intensified.

THE PROJECT PROPOSAL

The existing project proposal for the rebuilding of Istedgade addresses the wide diversity in Vesterbro. The intention with the project proposal is to strengthen Istedgade as a place where Vesterbro's citizens might meet. Where there is room for cafés as well as pauses and movement along the street. Where there is room for the citizens themselves to contribute to defining the activities in the spaces of the street.

The project proposal creates a unity in the urban space, where the street is not perceived as a barrier, but where Istedgade's very unique pedestrian culture is supported and where it is safe and easy to walk along the street.

The City of Copenhagen wants to collaborate with the Danish Arts Foundation's Committee for Art in Public on an artistic shaping that helps convey the history of the street and points forward.

Finances

The City of Copenhagen does not have the resources to co-finance art in Istedgade. However, several cooperative housing associations have expressed an interest in contributing to the eventual co-financing. This will help to further anchor the artistic project locally/contribute to the further local anchoring of the artistic project.

Maintenance

The City of Copenhagen confirms that it will be able to take on the maintenance obligation.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The project proposal involves a number of steps collectively intended to ensure good and safe relations for all street users as well as create space for more informal occupations in the street.

Istedgade is being developed into a main pedestrian street with focus on the street's commercial life, busses, pedestrians, and bicycles.

Istedgade's long, straight line is emphasized. Streets with more intricate and complicated paths and spaces have more room for twists and turns, but not Istedgade. A displacement of the traffic lane would look like a foreign element in relation to the long, straight stretch of the facades. It is therefore important to emphasize the street's character by way of a traffic lane with a minimum of curves along with traversing pavements which, in addition to framing the street, also create a hierarchy with respect to the side streets. Istedgade's hierarchy as regards the side streets will also be enhanced by greenery planted on the corners towards Istedgade. In this way, the 'holes' between the facades of Istedgade will be closed and the long, straight stretch accentuated.

The main aspect of the proposal is elevated planes, pavement isles, and side-street crossings locally expanded to make room for more pedestrian functions and urban inventory in designated places.

Elevated planes and pavement isles

The elevated planes are speed-reducing for cars while also having the effect of offering safe crossing points for pedestrians. The elevated planes will additionally provide an opportunity for pauses in the city spaces and give room for urban inventory, possibly in the form of seating arrangements.

Among other things, the many pavement isles provide space for a few shop displays as well as outdoor seating in places where there are cafés. The expanded pavement corners in conjunction with the elevated planes will encourage pauses as well as giving pedestrians more space, which will make room for 'life in the street'.

Sojourn zones with, for instance, seating furniture, greenery, or additional plant boxes as well as lighting are proposed to be moved from Istedgade into the side streets, which will be experienced as small oases from which one might observe the life in the street.

Commerce

Istedgade is a street with a lot of creativity, where many stores are small independent businesses. The street does not contain many grocery or chain stores, and the few that exist are locataed around Enghave Plads.

The project proposal accommodates many of the incoming suggestions regarding the qualities a rebuilding of Istedgade should hold in order to fulfil their needs and thus strengthen the values they offer to the local area.

Lighting

The future lighting of Istedgade will consists of three primary elements intended to provide the street with a particular dark identity.

The traffic lighting will create better conditions for all types of street users, especially for the soft street users. New light sources with a warm white light and excellent colour-reflecting capabilities combined with a higher light level will create better viewing conditions for users of the street.

The traffic lighting is supplemented with a particular identity-creating lighting solution that contributes to Istedgade as a street with a strong identity and helps to accentuate the function and atmosphere of the elevated planes. This identity-creating lighting is placed, for example, around the seating arrangements on the elevated planes, thus creating small, intimate oases in the city that invite people to pause in the street's otherwise hectic and bubbling big-city flow.

Appendix 14: The illustrated process-map

Appendix 15: The artists' letter suggesting that the competition is cancelled

12/05/14

Dear Steering Group,

In our artistic practices we both work with the purpose of making public spaces into social spaces in which city residents gain an opportunity to interact with each other. Our focus is knowledge-sharing, openness, and the inclusion of people in events to which they are normally not invited.

In our working method we involve citizens and develop our projects in dialogue with them. In the process of developing our projects we will thus be in contact with many people, associations, businesses, and institutions in Istedgade in order to sketch out the ideas for our projects. Both of us will thus be visible in the local area in a way that raises expectations of collaboration with each of us and with our projects. However, if we retain the format of a competition, one of our projects will not be realized. A lot of people are therefore likely to be disappointed! The competition format thus has*, in this particular situation, with our very specific artistic practices*, an unfortunate ramification that contradicts the intention of the art project.

Therefore, we are interested in discussing whether we might jointly find another model for art in Istedgade. We would prefer to avoid the competition element and instead establish a productive dialogue, share our research, and create two projects in parallel.

We are therefore willing to compromise with our projects' financing for the sake of maintaining our artistic practice. In other words we suggest – democratically – that we share the funds set aside for the art project fifty-fifty.

The two projects have the potential to challenge each other's practices by sharing and thinking complementarily and to each provide the other with an additional dimension. In the process of developing our projects we will be able to share information and networks, perhaps even host joint meetings, so that Istedgade's residents experience a fruitful collaboration rather than a competition.

Best regards,
Artist 2 and Artist 1

Inside Out Istedgade 2015

Skitser af videoinstallationen Inside Out Istedgade

Appendix 17: Artist 1's inspirational images

Appendix 18: *Istedgade Green Spots and Sustainable Detours'* **favourite image**

Appendix 19: Stickers claiming 'Istedgade has surrendered'

Appendix 20: Examples of intimate photographs

Appendix 21: Images from the inauguration of Istedgade's rebuilding

Appendix 22: Images from Istedgade post-rebuilding

Effectiveness of Grocer Media Advertising
Measuring Ad Recall and Recognition, Purchase Intentions and Short-Term Sales

11. Allan Mortensen
Essays on the Pricing of Corporate Bonds and Credit Derivatives

12. Remo Stefano Chiari
Figure che fanno conoscere Itinerario sull'idea del valore cognitivo e espressivo della metafora e di altri tropi da Aristotele e da Vico fino al cognitivismo contemporaneo

13. Anders McIlquham-Schmidt
Strategic Planning and Corporate Performance
An integrative research review and a meta-analysis of the strategic planning and corporate performance literature from 1956 to 2003

14. Jens Geersbro
The TDF – PMI Case
Making Sense of the Dynamics of Business Relationships and Networks

15 Mette Andersen
Corporate Social Responsibility in Global Supply Chains
Understanding the uniqueness of firm behaviour

16. Eva Boxenbaum
Institutional Genesis: Micro – Dynamic Foundations of Institutional Change

17. Peter Lund-Thomsen
Capacity Development, Environmental Justice NGOs, and Governance: The Case of South Africa

18. Signe Jarlov
Konstruktioner af offentlig ledelse

19. Lars Stæhr Jensen
Vocabulary Knowledge and Listening Comprehension in English as a Foreign Language

An empirical study employing data elicited from Danish EFL learners

20. Christian Nielsen
Essays on Business Reporting Production and consumption of strategic information in the market for information

21. Marianne Thejls Fischer
Egos and Ethics of Management Consultants

22. Annie Bekke Kjær
Performance management i Proces-innovation
– belyst i et social-konstruktivistisk perspektiv

23. Suzanne Dee Pedersen
GENTAGELSENS METAMORFOSE
Om organisering af den kreative gøren i den kunstneriske arbejdspraksis

24. Benedikte Dorte Rosenbrink
Revenue Management
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