

TOGETHER, AGAIN

Women's Collaborative Art + Community

BY CAREY LOVELACE

We are developing the ability to work collectively and politically rather than privately and personally. From these will be built the values of the new society.

—Roxanne Dunbar

“Female Liberation as the Basis for Social Liberation,” 1970¹

Cheri Gaulke (Feminist Art Workers member) has developed a theory of performance: “One plus one equals three.”

—KMC Minns

“Moving Out Part Two: The Artists Speak,” 1979²



Front Range, Front Range Women Artists, Boulder, CO, 1984 (Jerry R. West, Model). Photo courtesy of Meridel Rubinstein.

“All for one and one for all”³ was the cheer of the Little Rascals (including token female Darla). Our Gang movies, with their ragtag children-heroes, were filmed during the Depression. This was an age of the collective spirit, fostering the idea that common folk banding together could defeat powerful interests. (*Après moi, Walmart!*)

The artists and groups in *Making It Together: Women's Collaborative Art and Community* come from the 1970s, another era believing in communal potential. This exhibition covers a period stretching roughly from 1969 through 1985,⁴ and those featured here engaged in social action—inspiringly,

¹ In Robin Morgan, *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 492.

² “Moving Out Part Two: The Artists Speak,” *Spinning Off*, May 1979.

³ Echoing the Three Musketeers.

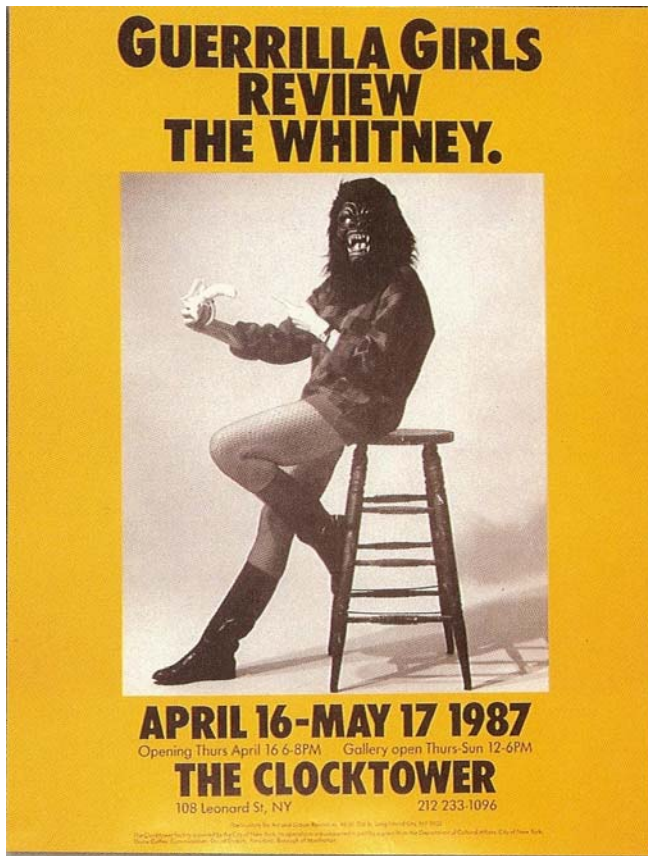
⁴ As points of historical reference: NOW was formed in 1966, the first radical Women's Liberation groups emerged in 1967. The 1970s saw a range of breakthroughs: In 1971, the Supreme Court decision *Roe v. Wade* decriminalized abortion in the first two trimesters of pregnancy; in 1972, Congress passed Title IX, mandating equal expenditures for women's education, including

subversively, infused with an optimistic spirit that seems refreshing nowadays. The majority are still active in their careers. The very makeup of their projects, whether art-related or organizational, are infused with new ideas about the way groups, and society, might be constituted. Pioneers, their efforts had measurable impact. Suzanne Lacy and Leslie Labowitz's epic civic event *Three Weeks in May* (1977), stood at the forefront of a movement changing the way society viewed sexual violence. Muralist Judith E. Baca altered the lives of many of the "at-risk" youth she worked with, designing and painting the half-mile-long *Great Wall of Los Angeles* (1977-present).

All were, and are, feminists: part of that unruly, at times maligned, forward-looking movement that erupted in the late 1960s. The art world has just begun--a bit reluctantly--to admit the degree of its impact. Several recent exhibitions have surveyed Feminist Art's revolutionary initial decade, the 1970s.⁵ Yet so vast is Feminist Art, and so scant the museum scholarship on it to date, each new attempt can appear inadequate.

Yet, thanks to such overviews, it is now possible to examine various territories in greater concentration. In this exhibition, I focus on activism. Intriguingly, much politically oriented 1970s women's art was collaborative. I limit myself to groups or institutions whose structure in some way embodied the novel principles feminism was developing. The New York-based Heresies Collective, for example, published its magazine while remaining faithful to ideals of inclusivity and anti-hierarchy. This often entailed time-consuming processes to reach consensus.

A glamorous, global art scene has emerged in recent years, its opulence fueled, in this country at least, by a widening gap between rich and poor. Counter-intuitively, now more than ever, political art has been in vogue. Many—not just artists, but even what one might at first view believe were venal, conspicuously consuming collectors—have felt deep distress about world events, for example, wars waged in which we all feel complicit, yet over which we have little say. Underneath is a longing for a time when transformation seemed possible and society more beneficent. The works and organizations in this exhibition embody a manifesto-driven ardor, a crazy, rabble-rousing spirit, a loose-floating



Guerrilla Girls, *Guerrilla Girls Review the Whitney*, 1987. Poster for Guerrilla Girls' exhibition at the Clocktower Gallery, New York. Copyright © Guerrilla Girls. Photo courtesy of www.guerrillagirls.com.

sports; that same year, Congress sent the Equal Rights Amendment to state legislatures—it expired without the necessary two-thirds of states ratifying it in 1983.

⁵ In 2007, several exhibitions focused on Feminist Art, notably, *WACK!* at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, March 4 – July 16, 2007 and *Claiming Space: Some American Feminist Originators* at the American University Museum in Washington, D.C., November 6, 2007 – January 27, 2008. Earlier, *Personal & Political: The Women's Art Movement, 1969 – 1975* was exhibited at the Guild Hall Museum, East Hampton, NY, from August 10 – October 20, 2002. *Gloria: Another Look at Feminist Art in the 1970s* was exhibited at White Columns, New York from September 13 – October 20, 2002.

willingness to leap into the unknown; they offer strategies for social change and models of working together to achieve it. “*All for one!*”

Giving the lie to stereotypes demonizing “feminists” as haranguing victims, artists featured here specialize in humor and panache—like the Guerilla Girls, who, according to their own motto, “fight discrimination with facts, fake fur, and fun.” Many operated outside the gallery system, on the fringe—even beyond the scope of art magazines. Structures they created were often exploratory, and their approaches remain novel in many cases today, confounding normal categorization.⁶ But some were able, even if momentarily, to change the world.

TEAR DOWN! UNITE!

In Western society, there has been antagonism, in the theoretical realm, between the individual and the group. Capitalism, emphasizing the accumulation of personal wealth, fetishized the former. The Enlightenment conversely emphasized a vision of community—albeit one in which individuality might flourish. Karl Marx, a product of such 18th-century ideals, conjectured a scenario of civilization’s evolution: from primitive collectives banding together against overwhelming nature to bourgeois societies based on competition. He believed eventually an “ideal community” would emerge, in which private property would become outmoded, individuals together gaining true control over their destinies.

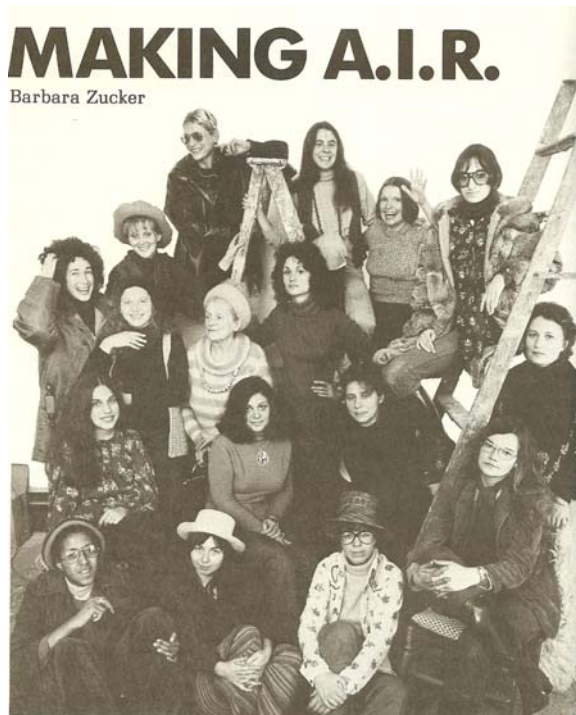
“Altruism” comes from *autrui*, the French for “other.” The kibbutz, the cooperative, the union, the commune—all emphasize the common good above individual egoism. But with events in the late 20th century—failed Soviet economic policies, the fall of the Berlin Wall—Communism was discredited and the collective thrust associated with it was, too.

Just as free enterprise glorifies competitive striving, art since the Renaissance has revolved around a view of the artist as the solitary male slaving heroically in (his!) studio, sweating out the manly struggle, mastering materials, guided by the spark of divine genius. Just as patriarchy passes property from father to son, so authorship, traced to a single individual, determines provenance, right to title, and value.

Women’s Liberation (feminism’s moniker at the time) burst forth in the 1960s; it began to question many cultural assumptions. Time-honored institutions had stated with authority that women’s destiny is limited to childbearing; indeed, they said, that is what the “weaker sex” desires. (However, females themselves, if asked, might have given a different answer.) Limitations to women’s legal rights were rationalized as the result of their physical and psychological inferiority. But a number of historical developments—women’s successful

⁶ In fact, feminism spawned an abundance of joint art-making efforts. Those explored here are activists. Many were primarily aesthetic. *The Sister Chapel*, “a small, profane temple,” a massive project never fully realized, features images of empowerment (for example, Betty Friedan as the Prophet) painted individually by 12 artists. Miriam Schapiro’s collage-canvases *Collaboration Series*, like “Me and Mary Cassatt,” sought to “collaborate,” on an imaginary plane, with artist-precursors, such as Cassatt or Frida Kahlo. The New York Feminist Art Institute sponsored a workshop on collaboration in the late 1970s. Judy Chicago’s *The Dinner Party*, which involved some 400 people in its fabrication, might be considered a collective work; however, in many ways it operated more in the traditional workshop structure passed down from the Renaissance. Moreover, in Britain and Europe, there were collectives with a feminist bent, notably the Women’s Group of the Artist’s Union, in which Mary Kelly played a principal role, grounded in socialism and Marxism.

participation in “men’s jobs” during World War II, the 1961 advent of the birth control pill—opened doors to new ways of seeing.



Above: Jo Freeman, “The Revlon Lady tells her to put on a mask. “Be a whole new person” and “get a whole new life.”” *Miss America*, 1969. Photo by Jo Freeman.

Left: AIR, Women Working Together in *Heresies*, issue 7, vol. 2, no. 3, 1979, p. 80.

In art, women had been told that they were by nature inadequate as painters and sculptors. Starting around 1970, though, feminist researchers began to uncover accomplished precursors submerged in relative anonymity (Artemisia Gentileschi, Rosa Bonheur) or sidelined in the present (Georgia O’Keeffe, Frida Kahlo). Linda Nochlin’s landmark 1971 essay “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” probed more deeply *why* such exclusion had taken place. Citing John Stuart Mill’s maxim that “Everything that is usual seems natural,” she critiqued what she called “the golden-nugget theory of genius.”⁷ She wrestled with the notion of “greatness” itself, regarded as “an a-temporal and mysterious power”⁸ but which, she pointed out, in fact involves collusion by a number of parties. She concentrated on one, the Academy. Painting from nude models, the staple of art training, was off limits to women, severely hindering their advancement, notably in terms of highly esteemed History Painting that featured massive figurative tableaux. Nochlin also pointed out, in terms of the “free-enterprise conception of individual achievement,” that “greatness” does not just happen but is the result of an entire mythmaking apparatus. This involves dealers, critics, and not to mention a support system of, traditionally, females—wives, helpmeets, mistresses, un-credited Lee Krasners buttressing the careers of their celebrated Jackson Pollock husbands.

Thus, “objective” values such as “quality” turn out to be arbitrary, shaped by concealed agendas. Also implicit in her analysis was the observation that the “solitary” act of art-making (certainly of art-mythmaking) frequently entails teamwork.

⁷ Linda Nochlin, “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” *ARTnews*, January 1971, 26.

⁸ *Ibid.* 25.

COLLECTIVES CHANGE THE WORLD!

In contrast to the acquisitive mechanisms of private enterprise, collectives focus on the “other.” Indeed, a group spirit was intrinsic to Modern Art itself. Beginning in the 19th century with the Romantics, perhaps the first self-conscious “movement,” successive waves ensued—Realists, Impressionists, Expressionists, Surrealists, etc. Shared style united them, but there were often larger objectives, too, infused with political aims. The early 20th-century Dadaists, using art strategies of nonsense and absurdity, sought an anarchism that would destroy the pillars holding up bourgeois society. The post-World War II Paris-based Situationists believed a new proclivity toward “spectacle” was draining authenticity and agency from modern culture. The nihilist, early 1960s New York-based NO! art group staged anti-war exhibits before it became fashionable.



Woman's Building. Suzanne Lacy planning Making it Safe. Image from Woman's Building website, WB 77.2222. Photo courtesy of Sue Maberry.

Yet, despite attacks on convention, even anarchists seemed to prefer hierarchies having a patriarchal slant: captains over lieutenants over foot-soldiers. At the head of the Surrealists, poet André Breton played dictator, imperiously banishing members violating rules he helped determine. As this exhibition demonstrates, feminists were to pioneer novel constructs. Co-ed 1960s anti-war groups such as the New York-based Artworkers Coalition experimented with revolving leadership. But it took feminists committed to battling an “international caste system” of white “male dominance” sustained through threat of violence, psychic or actual,⁹ to truly question the traditional underling/overlord structure. “Leadership” may by necessity imply at least partial submission of one party to another. Women began to imagine new models entirely. Perhaps individuals could operate heterogeneously yet equally. Perhaps new worlds altogether could be created.¹⁰

⁹ Dunbar as quoted in Morgan, *Sisterhood is Powerful*, *ibid.* 487.

¹⁰ “The Tyranny of Structurelessness,” *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* vol. 17 (1972-73): 151-165.

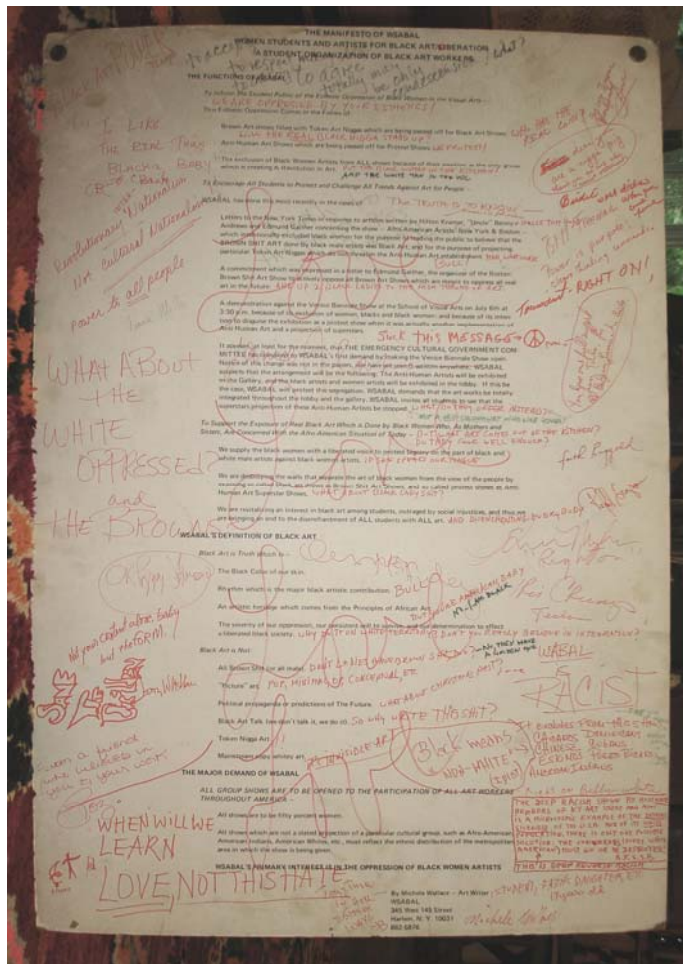
WOMEN'S LIB IS BORN!

It was in an atmosphere of foment that feminism (and Feminist Art) was born. In the late 1960s, female radicals schooled in the Civil Rights movement, laboring for the freedom of disenfranchised Blacks, Vietnamese villagers, homosexuals, and migrant farm workers, found themselves relegated to the back room making the coffee, their own subjugation taken for granted. The first brave souls pointing out inequities were met with ridicule. “The only position for women in SNCC is prone,” Stokely Carmichael scoffed, addressing protests against the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

In their first actions to publicize their unheard-of views, women staged street theatre. In the most legendary, **The New York Radical Feminists** crowned a sheep beauty queen at the 1968 Miss America pageant. (Protest photos are included in this exhibition.) They threw undergarments into a “freedom trash can.” (This gave birth to the urban legend that women “burned their bras.”) Theatre is by nature collaborative, involving shared experience.

Coalitions formed—the National Organization for Women, Redstockings. One of the earliest documents in this exhibition is a historic 1970 manifesto by “small guerilla unit,” **Women Students and Artists for Black Art Liberation (WSABAL)**. It was created in the context of a prestigious exhibit protesting the U.S. invasion of Cambodia; it featured young luminaries such as Frank Stella, Andy Warhol, and Carl Andre. Anti-war politics had come a few years later to the art world than to, say, universities—as had feminist ideas. Artist and Harlem-based schoolteacher **Faith Ringgold** was a member of this sprawling “downtown” avant-garde community. It took Ringgold, who had experience in Civil Rights activism, and her teenage daughter **Michele Wallace**, later a noted cultural critic, to point out that this “protest” show from a group proclaiming itself “Against War, Racism, and Oppression” consisted only of white men.

The WSABAL manifesto demanded the unimaginable—equal exhibition representation for blacks, students, and women(!). It was met with hostility from what were presumably politically conscious downtown art world (including from many women). This is graphically visible in remarks scribbled on the document; “WSABAL is racist” or the ironic “Love, Love, Love.” This demonstrates the intense fear, confusion, and resistance with which Women’s Lib was met initially, even among radicals. At the same time, it bears the signatures of supportive dignitaries like Flo Kennedy, a noted Civil Rights lawyer.



WSABAL manifesto.

SEIZE THE STRUCTURE!

WSABAL had an unusual make-up: basically, it comprised Ringgold and daughter Michele. Another daughter, Barbara, and sometimes others joined in for specific actions. From the beginning, perhaps having experienced how traditional institutions maintained and justified women's oppression, feminists steered clear of customary formats.

What was a male-dominated anti-establishment 1960s favored, nonetheless, its own brand of collectivity. A “people’s art” mural movement appeared in urban areas around the nation, as a form of political protest. **Cityarts Workshops**, for one, led by Susan Shapiro-Kiok, enlisted residents of barrios and ethnic New York neighborhoods to paint communal tableaux on themes relevant to their lives. Murals were “one of the few places,” as Timothy Drescher, a chronicler of the subject, has remarked,¹¹ “poor people, working people, could talk about subjects important to them.” It was also one of the first contexts in which feminist messages found expression. *Black Women of Africa Today* (1969) (a photo of which is on view in this exhibition) was painted by teenage girls at The Alfred E. Smith housing project on the Lower East Side. Process was an

¹¹ Interview by the author with Timothy Drescher, August 2, 2007.

important feature; to develop the schema, scenes were acted out, photographed, projected, and traced.¹²

Likewise, during the late Free Speech heyday of 1960s Berkeley, an “anti-imperialist” mural movement flourished. There was debate as to whether to women should be invited to paint; however, it was viewed as too physically taxing. In the Bay Area Chicano community, with its thriving tradition dating back to “Los Tres Grandes” (Diego Rivera, David Alfaró Siqueiros, and José Clemente Orozco, known for Social Realist murals of revolution), bias against female participation was even stronger.



Left: *Latinamerica*, 1974, 20 x 26'. Patricia Rodriguez, Graciela Carrillo, Consuelo Mendez, Irene Perez, Tuti Rodriguez, Miriam Olivas, Esther Hernandez, Xochitl Nevel-Guerrero photo by Eva Cockcroft. Photo courtesy of Tim Drescher

Below: Tomie Arai and Cityarts Workshop, *Wall of Respect for Women*, New York City, 1974, photo by Tim Drescher. Photo courtesy of Tim Drescher



As the sole Chicana students at the San Francisco Art Institute, Patricia Rodriguez and Graciela Carillo, felt isolated. With Venezuelan artist Consuelo Mendez, they banded together in 1973 to paint a mural in Balmy Alley in San Francisco’s Mission District. **Las Mujeres Muralistas** “were terrifically important because they were all women,” remarks Drescher. “It was shocking, revolutionary, scary, intimidating, powerful, exhilarating.”¹³ For their second and epic effort, *LatinoAmerica* (1974), they added Irene Perez. The work was created on a long exterior wall and featured mythological figures, scenes of village life and symbolic landmarks like volcanoes and Mayan pyramids in bright hues. Las Mujeres proposed this celebratory imagery as a contrast to murals by their male counterparts, who favored scenes of confrontation and struggle.

In any collaboration, questions arise as to whether to blend efforts or allocate duties according to talents or training? As Maria Ochoa writes in *Creative Collectives: Chicana Painters Working in Community*, “carrying out that work in collaboration with others is a complex task...every relationship, every creation, every decision is shot through with power imbalances and

¹² *Community Murals*, Spring 1983, p. 17. In the late 1960s, grassroots mural groups, as a form of public protest, sprang up throughout the country. Later, two notable murals devoted to women of color were painted under the direction of Tomie Arai, *The Wall of Respect for Women* (1974) and *Women Hold Up Half the Sky* (1975).

¹³ Drescher interview, *ibid.*

inequities.”¹⁴ Las Mujeres, whose membership varied project by project, favored an approach, not always strictly adhered to, of assigning each participant a separate portion to paint, with some overall coordination.

In the 1970s, women banded together for mutual support attempting things heretofore “just not done.”¹⁵ The slogan “Sisterhood Is Powerful” rallied together the stigmatized “second sex,” long inculcated with the idea not only that they were inferior, but that others of their gender were not their allies. The discovery of the possibility of connection was for many a *coup de foudre*. Excluded from the professional world, hence lacking technical, organizational, promotional, and financial skills; they mentored one another, embracing a cooperative spirit that began to define the movement.

RAISING CONSCIOUSNESS!

One innovation triggered such realizations: consciousness raising (CR). Not only did its effects filter through society at large, it played a major role, too, in the development of Feminist Art in ways as yet not fully analyzed. Around 1969, an early Women’s Lib group,¹⁶ seeking to collect information on the subject of female experience (virtually nothing had been written on the subject)¹⁷ adapted a technique originally from Red China. Its purpose had been to raise awareness about a cause or condition. In its feminist incarnation, participants shared round-robin without comment by others on an agreed-upon subject—for example, money, body image, distribution of household chores. Often it emerged that experiences perceived as singular were shared. (“My God, I thought I was the only one who faked orgasms...”) This led to the realization that “my problem” was often a manifestation of class oppression—that class being the female gender.

The result was an eruption of revelations. New awareness began to impact nascent Feminist Art in various ways. In 1970, artist Judy Chicago pioneered what was to become a legendary all-female course at the University of California, Fresno. In it, she used what she called a modified--because she gave feedback¹⁸--form of CR. As was true in such groups generally, experiences were voiced that, in some instances, the young women heretofore had dared not speak about. Asked if any of them had been raped, astonishingly, a third raised their hands. From this material, crudely simple skits and dramatic sculptural installations evolved. In one, actual cow’s

¹⁴ *Creative Collectives: Chicana Painters Working in Community* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 15.

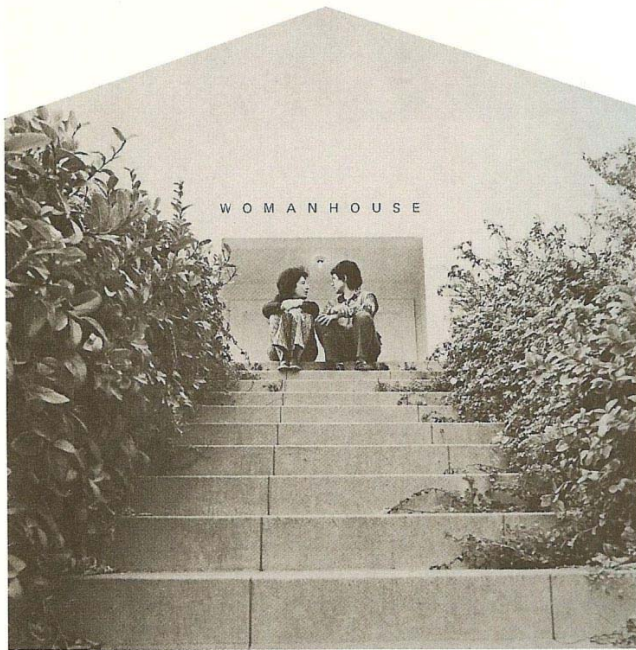
¹⁵ However, many of the workplace issues women of the white bourgeoisie experienced, feeling excluded and sheltered, were not shared by African Americans, Latinas, or those from the working-class, who in many instances, particularly in the Black community, were breadwinners for their families.

¹⁶ New York Radical Feminists, mentioned above. Founded in 1967, and having staged the famous No More Miss America pageant action, in 1969, it eventually split into two groups: the street theatre group WITCH, which “hexed” Wall Street and released white mice at a Madison Square Garden bridal fair; and Redstockings, which became identified with consciousness raising and helped spread the technique among other women.

¹⁷ Simone de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex* (1953) and Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) are isolated examples of books grappling with the subject.

¹⁸ Judy Chicago, interview with the author, November 22, 2005.

blood was used to evoke death and sacrifice. Some were more playful, for example photo shoots exploring role-playing and costumes.



Womanhouse catalog cover featuring Judy Chicago and Miriam Schapiro, 1972. Photo © Through the Flower Archives.

The next year, 1971, Chicago, with abstract painter Miriam Schapiro, co-founded the landmark Feminist Art Program at California Institute of the Arts, north of Los Angeles, which remains the only such department in a major art school. The installation **Womanhouse** (1972), was created by its 21 students in a decrepit Hollywood mansion they renovated. Each student was assigned one room. To determine the contents of each environment, the group would sit and do CR. The kitchen was particularly difficult, evoking mixed feelings. There were associations of nurturing—a place where food was served—but also of danger—of hot

stoves and knives.¹⁹ One student created a drawing of fried eggs stenciled over walls, floors, and ceiling, the forms oddly

resembling breasts. For the final environment, the pink-painted walls were, indeed, lined with plastic fried eggs transforming into mammary shapes an indelible image.

It was an age where many women were struggling to break out of the “marriage and motherhood” straightjacket (the lone option particularly for those from the white middle class). Such art conveyed a low-charge psychic energy. In some ways, it mimicked the experience of discovery in consciousness-raising. One installation that viewers encountered as they entered featured costumed mannequins in a tableau. A spectator observed: “You walked in, and there was this stairway with a bride at the top. At the bottom, she was walking into a wall. We all went through in tears.”²⁰

COLONIZING OTHERNESS!

Consciousness raising became widely practiced, its revelations affecting women everywhere—as well as their creative work. Muriel Miguel, a Brooklyn-born Native American actress who felt excluded by the restrictive physical stereotyping, around 1973 joined a CR group. At first she was resistant. But soon she too was swept away by discoveries. Storytelling is innate to Native people, a way of telling generational history, the stories one hears as a child from under the kitchen table to creation stories. Miguel experimented with different ways of storytelling which

¹⁹ Judy Chicago and Miriam Schapiro, *Womanhouse* (Los Angeles: California Institute of the Arts, 1972).

²⁰ Louise Stanley, interview with the author, January 26, 2007.

included CR. “CR was vital,” she says. “It helped women understand that their voice was important.” It was, she said, “like the sun shining through a picture window.”²¹

She banded together with a diverse group, including her two sisters, Gloria and Lisa, to create a troupe whose imagistic creative process involved, among other techniques, the telling of personal stories. The women were widely ranging in age, body type, and ethnicity. **Spiderwoman Theater** was named after the Hopi Spider Grandmother, Goddess of Creation, who taught her people to weave. Their unique style they called “story weaving”—intertwining personal anecdotes, myths, and feminist insights, chanted and repeated in poetic fragments, all with a touch of earthy humor.

Their first performance *Woman in Violence* (1975), despite its somewhat dolorous title, was full of bawdy satire, the women conceiving of themselves as “clowns,” using that metaphoric figure as a container to tell their stories of violence, battery, and shame. They continued to focus on women’s issues, addressing subjects like age, desire, physicality. In *Lysistrata Numbah!* (1977), using Aristophanes’s play in which women refuse to have sex until a war was over, they explored the issues of sex, power, and control.



Lysistrata Numbah, Spiderwoman Theatre.

But increasingly, the focus was on Native issues, memories drawn from their family, as well as from traditional sources. In *Sun, Moon and Feather* (1981), the three Kuna/Rappahannock sisters talked about growing up native in an Italian neighborhood. Spiderwoman was engaged in a shift that began to permeate feminism. The conception of the female as non-Subject, as Other, first used in reference to women by Simone de Beauvoir in 1949 in *The Second Sex*, began to be applied to other marginalized groups. This led to the legitimization of experiences, heretofore invisible, outside the perspective of white, Judeo-Christian, able-bodied males, their experience held as the norm, or as “neutral.”

Indeed, by this time the Civil Rights movement had produced much beyond its imperfectly achieved mission of achieving legal and professional equity. There were new outlooks, possibilities, and definitions, particularly in the creative realm. Informed by revelations coming out of CR, a novel approach to performance was developing, informing viewers about marginalized perspectives from a subjective point of view. Rather than lecturing or confronting—traditional agit-prop gambits—raw, first-person material was presented, that audiences could identify with or not, as they chose.

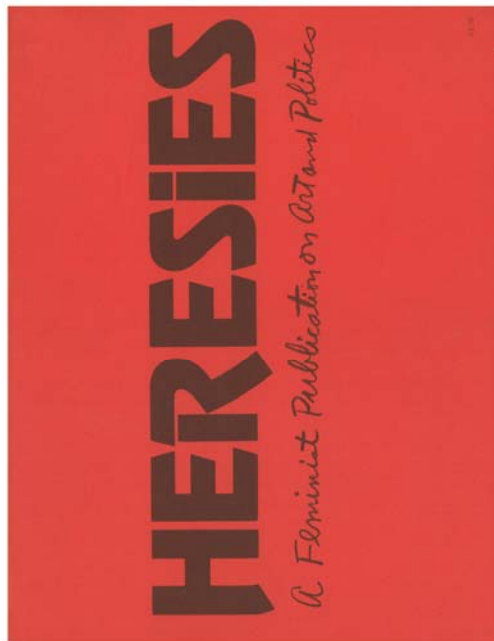
²¹ Muriel Miguel, conversation with the author, December 19, 2007. Also, Rebecca Schneider, “See the Big Show: Spiderwoman Theater Doubling Back,” in *Acting Out: Feminist Performances*. Lynda Hart and Peggy Phelan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 240.

COALITIONS!

From the very first, it seemed, groups banded together. The 1969 New York-based Women Artists in Revolution was, in art, the very first. Then came the Ad Hoc Women's Committee of the Artworkers Coalition. This was led by critic Lucy Lippard, among others; it staged what became an internationally notorious campaign of guerrilla theater at the Whitney Museum of American Art to protest the low representation of women in the 1970 Annual survey; hard-boiled eggs and (memorably) tampons painted with the phrase "50 percent" were distributed around the galleries.

In rebellion against traditional patriarchal systems of organization, non-hierarchical methods were attempted. Pluralism, leaderless groups, an emphasis on process over results—many approaches were experimented with. An early coalition, **WEB (West-East Bag)**, was founded in 1971 by Lippard, Chicago, and Schapiro to jump-start the new movement and stimulate cadres in North America and beyond. It advocated a shifting "center," and its newsletter was produced each month by a group in a different region. (It continued successfully through mid-decade.)

Stimulated by WEB, support groups, action committees, conferences, caucuses, and special-interest centers began to spring up. In 1972, the **AIR Gallery** (named, in part, after Jane Eyre) was founded in New York. Twenty co-op members renovated the space themselves; it was a supreme act of courage to exhibit in an all-female environment. Soon afterwards in Los Angeles, Womanspace Gallery (1973) opened in a former laundromat; decision-making was arrived at through a round-robin consensus CR format. Other co-op galleries formed: Front



Cover of first issue of Heresies, 1977.

Range in Colorado, and Artemisia in Chicago. (This exhibition contains documents and photographic images from early cooperatives.) The **Women's Art Registry in Minneapolis (WARM)** began as a subtle but important WEB innovation—a slide registry. Virtually no women had galleries in that pre-internet age. Many operated out of bedrooms or corners of kitchens. It was a way to provide slides of work for interested museums, dealers, and art historians that otherwise would be completely inaccessible.

New approaches in terms of power-sharing aimed at nothing less than redefining human relationships. Many recall such pioneering experiences as a high point of their lives. "I would come home throbbing with excitement," recalls painter May Stevens of her time in the **Heresies Collective**, which produced a legendary magazine, but began as a kind of "think tank."²² "I couldn't sleep. We were smarter than we

²² The founding members of Heresies included Patsy Beckert, Joan Braderman, Mary Beth Edelson, Elizabeth Hess, Harmony Hammond, Joyce Kozloff, Arlene Ladden, Lucy Lippard, Mary Miss, Marty Pottenger, Miriam Schapiro, Joan Snyder, May Stevens, Michelle Stuart, Susana Torre, Elizabeth Weatherford, and Sally Webster.

were by ourselves.”²³

By the mid-1970s, society had accepted many feminist precepts: the once disputed idea that men and women are equal, or that sexism exists and that the conditions it fosters can be brutally unfair. By decade’s end, emboldened feminists began to launch increasingly far-reaching experiments. In 1975 in New York, noted artists, critics, and other sympathizers, drawing from insights gleaned through a half-decade of organizing, gathered to start a journal. *Heresies* ardently emphasized process. Indeed, so painstakingly careful was its consensus-based decision-making, two years of meetings ensued before the first issue appeared. Eventually it was decided that each issue would be put together by a different “editorial collective”; in theory, the magazine continually re-imagined itself. (In practice, though, there was continuity from issue to issue, and an overseeing “mother collective.”) Themes for issues ranged from socialism, crafts, ecology to, well, collaboration among women. Essays were edited collectively; everyone was to play an equal role. Although many approaches proved impractical in the end, the magazine helped form coalitions and lifelong friendships, and published many landmark essays.²⁴

In Los Angeles, the **Woman’s Building**, which Chicago, art historian Arlene Raven and designer Sheila Levrant de Bretteville founded in 1973, was also something never before seen—a center for female culture. Inspired by a Woman’s Building at the 1893 Universal Exposition in Chicago, at its core was a two-year graduate art program, the **Feminist Studio Workshop (FSW)**. “We had a theory of feminist education,” Raven has said, “which was a transition from a situation of oppression—where women related to one another through competition, isolation, and silence—to one of support, a process evolved through criticism, and self-criticism.”²⁵ Teacher and student were regarded as peers, the idea being, she said, that “weaker” and “stronger” women (i.e., students and teachers) would “interact” and teach one another. Again, consciousness-raising was used to air feelings as well as to unearth material for art. Research was undertaken into hitherto taboo areas. Raven, with several of the students, launched the **Natalie Barney Collective**. (Barney was an American expatriate who maintained a fabled Paris literary salon.) The workshop gathered together creative output by lesbians, as there was “almost no existing literature on the subject,” she wrote, “and the scholarly problems are complicated, altered by the social implications and the response to lesbianism itself.”²⁶

MOTHERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

In fact, though, leaderless structures are a perennial in the world of women, which has existed as an underclass through time. Over centuries, females have engaged cooperatively in communal harvesting, child rearing, and rituals—those, for example, around preparing food. They gathered

²³ May Stevens, interview with the author, September 13, 1995.

²⁴ The contemporaneous and esteemed *Chrysalis: A Magazine of Women’s Culture*, which started publishing in 1977 out of the Woman’s Building, adopted a more traditional editorial structure.

²⁵ Lyn Blumenthal and Kate Horsfield, “Arlene Raven: An Interview,” Video Data Bank, 1979.

²⁶ Arlene Raven and Ruth Iskin, “Through the Peephole: Toward a Lesbian Sensibility in Art,” *Chrysalis: A Magazine of Women’s Culture* 4, 1977, 23.

in sewing circles, quilting bees, for the church social. There have been deeply rooted female support systems in family groups, in agrarian society, and in tribal clans.

Among artists, Ringgold is one who has drawn collaboratively and strategically from a multigenerational matrilineal tradition. She worked with her two daughters in WSABAL. In the mid-1970s, she began developing her signature soft-sculpture textiles, cloth tangkas, prayer hangings, beaded masks, and story quilts, continuing in a new format the political observations of her earlier figurative paintings. She enlisted the seamstress skills of her mother, Willi Posey, formerly Jones (divorced from Faith's father), had launched a successful career as a dress designer. Ringgold's *Mrs. Jones and Her Family*, created in collaboration with her mother, is on view here.

Nonetheless, such "leaderless" proto-feminist aggregates doubtlessly stemmed from women's subjugated state, in part from due to culture's discomfort with female "bosses."

MAKE ROOM TO PARTICIPATE!

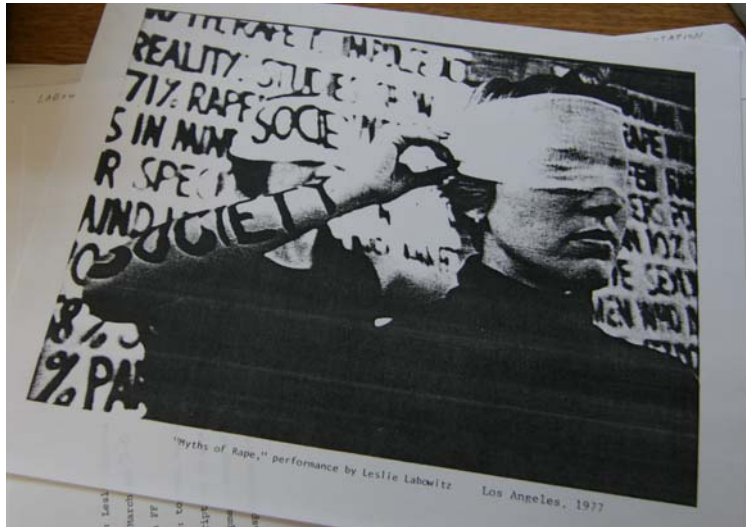
The Feminist Studio Workshop sought to put the new, subversive re-examinations of human relationships into practice in its training. Co-founder De Bretteville (currently head of Yale University's graduate graphic design studies) generated many innovative models. She was inspired as well by avant-garde institutions such as the Bauhaus, with its utopian belief that pure form itself had revolutionary potential. De Bretteville saw in the grid, for example, a "feminist strategy" to organize information in a nonhierarchical way. Her poster/wallwork *Pink* (1973) might be viewed as the collaborative piece *par excellence*. For it, she handed out pieces of pink paper to friends and to women on the street, asking them to describe what this color, somewhat maligned in its associations with femininity, meant to them. She assembled the results on a poster in a quilt-like format, including blank spaces for audience response. De Bretteville, a mother and wife as well as a noted graphic designer, remarked that the visual structure also expressed "the way I felt my day was broken up into three-hour segments, as much as its form was influenced by notions of de-centering, and the revaluing of women's work, such as quilting."²⁷

As Liz McQuiston observes, "in order to introduce 'participation,' it was necessary to relinquish control, not only of process but also of the final form."²⁸ The idea of "leaving room" for others to participate, indeed, became a guiding principle at the Woman's Building, where collaboration reached a kind of Golden Age. **Suzanne Lacy**, a member of Chicago's original Fresno and Cal Arts classes, headed performance studies at the FSW. She became a great innovator of collaborative activist art. Often she worked jointly with fellow artist **Leslie Labowitz**. In the incubatory climate of Los Angeles, far away from East Coast galleries, they pioneered vast civic spectacles often lasting days or weeks. At a time when rape was still considered an act of "passion" rather than of brutality, these works educated the public about sexual violence.

²⁷ <http://blog.sessions.edu/featured-interviews/sheila-de-bretteville-designer-educator-feminist>.

²⁸ Liz McQuiston, *Suffragettes to She-Devils: Women's Liberation and Beyond*, with a foreword by Germaine Greer (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 86.

SPECTACLE!



Three Weeks in May, 1977. A performance by Suzanne Lacy, with Leslie Labowitz. Photo courtesy of Lacy/Labowitz.

For *Three Weeks in May* (1977), Lacy posted huge maps in a downtown mall and marked them with occurrences of rapes across the city the night before, alongside locations of rape crisis centers and battered women's shelters. (An installation documenting the project is in the museum lobby.) A subsequent piece, *In Mourning and in Rage* (1978) addressed the coverage given to the Hillside Strangler, a mass killer terrorizing women in the Hollywood Hills; the murders had been granted salacious attention by the media. Both epic works included multiple satellite events, such as

“speakouts,” film screenings, self-defense workshops, as well as both public and private art-oriented rituals. The opening outdoor press conference for *Mourning/Rage*, for example, on the steps of City Hall was presided over, memorably, ten seven-foot-tall, heavily veiled women standing in a line. Among the accompanying, private performances was a banquet organized by artists Cheri Gaulke and Barbara Smith on the theme of sexual violence; it concluded with a performance involving the two women seemingly engulfed in flames in a Wagnerian Liebestod.

In August, 1977, working with national group Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW), Labowitz had crafted a media event, *Record Company Executives Drag Their Feet*. (A video recording is on view in the exhibition.) The site was beneath a Hollywood billboard advertising the rock group Kiss's new album *Love Gun*, the ad full of S&M overtones, women writhing underfoot. A gold Cadillac arrived at the head of a motorcade, and “record executives” wearing rooster heads emerged from them, holding gold records. Behind a faux press conference table, a large-scale chart demonstrated correlations between the increasingly graphic marketing of sex and an increase in arrests for rape and spousal abuse—in contrast to a drop in other crimes. Invited local TV stations and newspapers were furnished with “shot sheets” directing the focus of their visual coverage.

In 1978, Lacy and Labowitz founded Ariadne: A Social Art Network, its fluid membership open to any participant in these events. The group organized the ten-day *From Reverence to Rape to Respect* (1978) in Las Vegas. (Included in the Bronx Museum exhibition is a photo of a memorable installation there equating bejeweled sheep carcasses in headdresses with feathered Vegas showgirls.) Similarly, for *Take Back the Night* (1978), they organized a nighttime parade in San Francisco's Tenderloin district, notorious for vice and corruption. Centrally featured was a float carrying a carved Madonna in front; on its verso side was a devilish three-headed lamb carcass from whose belly pornographic texts spewed.



Feminist Art Workers, *Bill of Rights*, 1980. Interactive performance presented at the College Art Association/Women's Caucus for Art Conferences, New Orleans, Louisiana; and Artemisia Gallery, Chicago, Illinois. Photo courtesy of Cheri Gaulke.

The **Feminist Art Workers** (Nancy Angelo, Laurel Klick, Cheri Gaulke and, eventually, Vanalyne Green) attempted to realize in art principles they learned as FSW students, and participated in Ariadne events. On a bus on the way to the 1978 Las Vegas *From Reverence to Rape*, they organized a structure of performance-related exercises, *Traffic in Women*, in which they guided other passengers in a metaphoric journey from victimhood to self-realization; it involved storytelling, journal-writing, and self-reflection. In an iconic photograph, *Heaven or Hell?* (1981), dressed as cherubic huntresses, they feed each other from the tips of long arrows. This is a reference to a fable about a sumptuous banquet whose only dining utensil were forks so long diners were only able to eat if they fed one another--a metaphor for collaboration. In the 1978 *This Ain't No Heavy Breathing*, "viewers" entered a city phone booth and dialed a specified number, as if to listen to a "dirty call." Instead they would hear messages of empowerment.



The All City Waitress Marching Band, at the DooDah Parade, Pasadena, CA, December 1979. Created by Jerri Allyn, Leslie Belt, and Chutney Gunderson; Performed by 35 waitresses: Cheryl Swannack, Jeanne Shanin, Anita Green, Barbara Stopha, Arlene Raven, Anne Phillips, Rita Rodriguez, Diana Diplata, Annette Hunt, Maurine Renville, Elizabeth Irons, Laurel Klick, Vanalyne Green, Terry Bleecher, Linda Pruess, Cheri Gaulke, Sue Talbot, Nancy Angelo, Elizabeth Bouser, Lorine Diricco, Leibe Grey, Julie James, Maria Karras, Sue Maberry, Rina Viesel, Lynne Warshfsky, and Christine Wong. Photo by Rebecca Villasenor.

Fellow FSW alumnae, the **Waitresses** staged quasi-guerilla performances in L.A. restaurants and diners (with the agreement of owners).²⁹ Memorable performances included co-founder Anne Gauldin garbed in a many-breasted Waitress Goddess Diana costume. This alluded to the role of the restaurant worker as nurturer. The idea was to bring art to a truly general audience—restaurant clientele. Indeed, the artists, with 17½ years experience among them, remarked that waitresses symbolize women’s position in society: expected to intervene between surly bosses and demanding customers without asserting their own personality. In short, they were the “wives” of the

public sector.³⁰ Their first project, *Ready to Order* (1978), conceived as a seven-day conceptual structure, featured satiric skits. Millie Awards were given for categories such as longest inconsequential conversation and longest smile. But the event also involved community-oriented panel discussions and workshops along the lines of *Three Weeks in May*, to address issues such as job discrimination and to promote skills—for example, assertiveness training.

Mother Art, which also consisted of FSW students, was founded in 1974, in part to show that feminists—at the time predominantly young single women—could be wives and mothers, too. For *Laundryworks* (1977), they displayed artworks hung à la wet clothing on lines in Los Angeles laundromats, in performances timed to the wash and dry cycle. California State gave them a \$700 arts grant for this multi-event action—which ended up as a political football, however, the funding used as an example by conservatives of “budgetary fat.”³¹ Their next piece was staged at a bank, to compare the vast waste in the financial industry to the meager support sum they had received. In literally “cleaning up” the banks, using mops on the exterior (as demonstrated in

²⁹ The group was founded in 1977 by Jerri Allyn and Anne Gauldin, and joined by Leslie Belt, Patti Nicklaus, Jamie Wildman, and Denise Yarfitz.

³⁰ Arlene Raven, *At Home* (Long Beach: Long Beach City Museum of Art, 1983), 11.

³¹ Laura Silagi in conversation with the author, June 18, 2007.

one exhibition photo), the group said they were bringing the values of mothering into the public sphere.³²



Mother Art Cleans Up the Banks. Photo courtesy of Laura Silagi.

SOLIDARITY WITH COMMUNITIES!

In the late 1970s, a number of innovative artists “co-created” with members of communities. **Judy Baca** had been involved with 1960s Chicano politics, one of a handful of non-whites working out of the Woman’s Building.³³ In the early 1970s, she began, with artist Christina Schlesinger, overseeing city-supported mural projects, enlisting “at-risk” youths to create works engaging local neighborhoods. The two, along with documentary filmmaker Donna Deitch,

³² The group did a number of interesting subsequent works addressing abortion rights, homelessness among women, and the plight of Central American immigrants. These are viewable on the Mother Art website, <http://home.roadrunner.com/~lrsilagi/Crania/crania/issue11/motherart/motherart.html>.

³³ In the Woman’s Building, as elsewhere in the feminist movement, the “ideals of inclusivity were more like wishful thinking, without a clear analysis of what actions might be required to make the vision a reality, or a full understanding of the conditions that created those divisions. With hindsight one is struck by the impossibility of that goal of all-inclusiveness.” Michelle Moravec and Sondra Hale, “‘At Home’ at the Woman’s Building (But Who Gets A Room of Her Own?): Women of Color and Community,” in *From Site to Vision: The Woman’s Building in Contemporary Culture*, eds. Sondra Hale and Terry Wolverton, 145. Linda Nishio, Rosalie Ortega, and Gloria Alvarez were among other “women of color” who had some involvement with the Building.

founded the Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) a female-run institution. By 1976, SPARC had been involved with some 400 neighborhood murals. Based on Baca's success, she was invited to coordinate a painted "history of Los Angeles" in the Tujunga Wash, a floodwater channel in the San Fernando Valley that would spell out a chronology decade by decade. For *The Great Wall of Los Angeles*, Baca employed 80 youths referred to her by the criminal justice system. It became an iconic work, the longest mural ever made. By the early 1980s it stretched a quarter mile.



Women work on *The Great Wall of Los Angeles*.
Photo courtesy of Juy Baca.

Baca, herself from an immigrant family, with her team set out to uncover Southern California's "hidden histories"—the sagas and contributions of Native Americans, Chicanos, Asians, African Americans, gays, and women. (This paralleled insights about "Otherness" Spiderwoman Theatre and others were applying to issues related to ethnicity.) For teenage apprentices, the summer experience learning mural painting provided a complete life-counseling program, in many cases a turning point. (Moving testimonials can be viewed in SPARC's video documentation.) The *Great Wall* is divided into "chapters" starting with pre-history. As of this writing, it is up to the 1960--and still growing. At first, "artists" exerted independent control of sections within chapters. This created an intriguing if disjointed look. Eventually, overall coordination began to be exercised.

Through mechanisms such as CR and mutual support, feminism was attempting to bring about psychic healing, for the most part on a personal level, as well as to redress wrongs brought about by sexism and racism. In the late 1970s, a number of artists began to take feminism's holistic

approach and apply it messianically to subjects as diverse as the ecology, animal rights, family dysfunction, and addiction, engaging larger systems while exposing the experiences of marginalized groups. Notably, **Mierle Laderman Ukeles** ingeniously applied avant-garde stratagems to unexpected real-world dilemmas. In 1969, the Bronx resident, trying to reconcile her artist self with her role as a new mother, wrote a Dadaesque "Maintenance Art Manifesto," positing housekeeping—or "maintenance"—as an embodiment of what she proposed was an unsung component of the creative process: "maintaining," in contrast to "producing."



Mierle Laderman Ukeles, *Touch Sanitation*, 1979-81. New York City-wide performance in all 59 community districts, with 8,500 NYC sanitation workers, © Mierle Laderman Ukeles. Photo courtesy of Ronald Feldman Fine Arts, New York.

Ukeles staged interventions in which, for example, she scrubbed museum floors. In *I Make Maintenance Art One Hour Every Day* (1976), for two months she mopped offices and elevators in a Lower Manhattan building. Increasingly, she began to broaden her emphasis from her individual plight, eventually directing attention to sanitation workers, conjecturing garbage collectors to be the “housewife” of the city, similarly stigmatized. And, parallel to De Bretteville, Lacy, Baca, and the Feminist Art Workers, she “opened up” the piece to involve others. In the epic *Touch Sanitation* (1978-80), she set out “to face and shake hands” with each of some 8,500 Department of Sanitation workers, saying, “Thank you for keeping New York City alive.”³⁴

BIG ISSUES!

Ukeles eventually became “artist in residence” for the New York City Sanitation Department—an agency that might not seem an obvious hotbed of women activists—and went on to address other even broader issues--landfills, working conditions. Similarly, the **Sisters of Survival**, made up of various Waitresses and Feminist Art Workers,³⁵ used feminist approaches to raise consciousness on another world issue not, at first view, linked to gender equity--nuclear disarmament. In *Shovel Defense* (1982), the group erected a “graveyard” of shovels in front of a Los Angeles federal building, the tools’ handles resembling crosses. The installation brought to life a political cartoon lampooning a Reagan Administration remark that “all you need to survive a nuclear war is enough shovels to go around.” S.O.S. dressed in multicolored nun’s habits to draw the connection with feminism; they traveled to Europe for *End of the Rainbow* (1983), collaborating with peace groups in a variety of performance-oriented interventions.

As the politically conservative 1980s arrived, right-wing groups such as the Moral Majority began to launch attacks on many of the previous decade’s advances--in particular, on

³⁴ In San Francisco, Bonnie Sherk’s *Crossroads Community: The Farm*, five acres amidst a freeway overpass, a real farm, featured “art works” involving livestock and living plants; an educational project, it “collaborated” with local communities—not to mention, animals.

³⁵ Sisters of Survival comprised Jerri Allyn, Nancy Angelo, Cheri Gaulke, Anne Gauldin, and Sue Maberry.

reproductive rights.³⁶ **Carnival Knowledge**, a New York-based collective that explored issues related to women's sexuality, launched a high-spirited counteroffensive. For *Bazaar Conceptions* (1981), with a pro-choice theme, they staged a carnival in the New School's Graduate Center that featured more than 20 sculptures and games, drawing an estimated 2,500 participants. For the satiric *Second Coming* (1984), they created a double collaboration with a recently formed support group of female porn stars, including the later infamous performance artist Annie Sprinkle. One aim was exploring whether a kind of pornography could exist that was not degrading "to women—or men or children." However, the event brought punitive measures launched by conservative members of Congress against the producing venue Franklin Furnace, which had received federal grants. This was a forerunner of the 1990s culture wars.

TEAMWORK! REVOLUTION!

By the 1980s, feminist collectives had refined an approach: a singular identity (or "brand," e.g., Carnival Knowledge) seeking to raise consciousness on a social issue through playful satire. The **Guerrilla Girls** were, in some ways, the culmination of this early chapter. Thanks to feminism, by the 1980s, a number of respected women artists were enjoying flourishing careers. However, it was a time of backlash. The Guerrilla Girls, which rose to some renown, formed anonymously in 1985 in response to a Museum of Modern Art survey that included only 13 women alongside 166 white males. The group launched a highly effective street-postering campaign, simple statistics starkly revealing the lack of representation of women and people of color in galleries and museums. The signature gorilla mask apparently was inspired by one member's mistake spelling "guerrilla." However, it turned into a highly effective publicity tool, even as it served to mask participants' identities, as some feared reprisals for being linked with feminism. And anonymity created a tantalizing mystery about who these "masked avengers" might be. The group turned a spotlight on a number of issues beyond gender, including race, imperialism, war, and other concerns.

By the 1980s, Feminist Art, in its radical analysis of art-world power, had rattled the foundation of contemporary culture. Notably, questions about who "the artist" was allowed to be had created new possibilities. The (marketable) masculine lone pioneer slaving away in his studio had become outmoded. Partly due to feminism's efforts, multiple authorship became a common. Artists who previously subsumed the work of spouses under their own "brand" began to acknowledge their partners' participation—Christo and Jeanne-Claude, for example; or Claes Oldenberg and Coosje van Bruggen. "In the early '80s, collaboration itself became a political statement," as Lucy Lippard has written, "an effective way of attacking conventional notions of rugged individual genius."³⁷ It also, she said, shattered differences between what was an elite "downtown" art world in more streetwise boroughs such as the Bronx, which fostered communal

³⁶ Ronald Reagan, elected president in 1980, spearheaded a remarkable change in political climate following the liberal, exploratory 1970s.

³⁷ *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural Era* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 166.

efforts such as Fashion Moda, early champions of graffiti art.³⁸ The New York community, according to Gregory Sholette, entered into an “age of the collective.”³⁹

In the 1980s, in the satiric mold of the Guerrilla Girls came other “identity politics” gadflies such as PESTS (women artists of color) and Sister Serpent (Native Americans), followed by 1990s groups such as Coast to Coast (women artists of color) and Godzilla (Asian artists, both male and female). More recently, like their masked precursors, the four-member Brainstormers have staged campaigns exposing disappointing statistics in terms of art world representation of women and minorities.

In the last decade, collaborative art practices have moved into the artistic mainstream; collectivism is now largely taken for granted as one of numerous ways that artists can operate. In the South Bronx alone, for example, in the 1980s, Tim Rollins, a high school teacher, launched KOS (Kids of Survival), in which he coordinated art works with students, linking their lives and low-income environments with readings from Herman Melville, T. S. Eliot, and local newspapers.⁴⁰ And Colombian-born **Lady Pink** (Sandra Fabara), the world’s first female graffiti “writer,” begun collaborating on “lady walls” with younger female street artists. (A collective lobby mural has been created for this exhibition.) In the digital world, the feminist cyber-collective subRosa explores biotechnology from the perspective of the female body. (Co-founder Faith Wilding was a student of Chicago’s at Fresno and Cal Arts.) The co-ed Critical Art Ensemble addresses pernicious corporate influences on the biotechnological field of genetics and cloning.



Lady Pink.

In an earlier, progressive era, society was confident enough to let its deepest sacred tenets be tested. In its revolutionary reexamination of power and relationships, Feminist Art crafted approaches that have subsequently been absorbed by contemporary culture. Its impact reverberates and enlarges in ways still to be fully manifest.

“Many hands make light work,” the saying goes. It’s about sharing, perhaps, or a synergy when two or more gather with a common goal, willing to give all: to embrace the many imperfect, difficult experiences that may follow. The town meeting, the jury’s deliberations, the “group conscience” of 12-step programs—perhaps the democratic process itself—manifest a collective transcendent wisdom, the whole greater than the sum of its parts. The generosity and marvelous

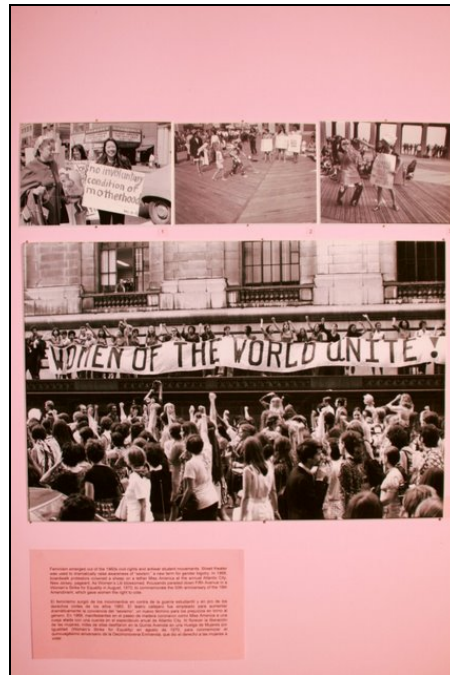
³⁸ Some examples of co-ed groups that arose at the time are Group Material, Collab, PAD/D, Gran Fury, General Idea, and Art and Language, as well as such duos as Kate Ericson and Mel Ziegler, the curatorial team Collins and Milazzo, and public artists Andrew Ginzell and Kristen Jones.

³⁹ Blake Stimson and Gregory Sholette, *Collectivism after Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination After 1945* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

⁴⁰ The Bronx was also the site of Fashion Moda, founded in 1979 by Stefan Eins and Joe Brown, which could be regarded as a collaborative institution.

subversions involved confound the marketplace. In subsequent decades, we will continue to benefit.

--Carey Lovelace



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