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practitioners are developing innovative and politically acute performance strategies through mining the feminist archive, and either openly acknowledging their feminist debt, or at least accepting that many of the strategies and frameworks that inform their practice were pioneered by artists working within the broad feminist project and hence will always carry feminist DNA. This challenges the still prevalent disavowal of the significance of feminist discourses for performance.<sup>61</sup>

One approach we discern invokes performance as failure, and thus calls into question some received notions about the relationship of identity to performance. This work in part draws on feminist traditions to bring a self-reflexive regard for the limitations of performance as a form that harbours a certain absurdity at its heart. However, we argue that these works go beyond a critique of performance as such to unsettle notions of feminine and feminist identities. Another approach offers some provocative ways to conceive of presence, through the 'diffraction' of the artist's body into multiple bodies, or the delegation of performance, including through practices that mobilise performance as diverse energised flows through bodies, materials and environments.

### Post-Butler identity? The feminist performance of failure<sup>62</sup>

Is 'performing oneself badly', or in slapstick form, a critical rebuttal of earlier affirmative, deconstructivist and performative feminist strategies? Arguably, enacting failure—reclaiming a long line of feminine failures such as bad mothers, bad secretaries, bad teachers, and now, bad feminists—complicates any possible criticism, and drives towards inclusivity. By definition, loving one's failure is a way of critiquing the normative standard. We discern in a number of current Australian practitioners possible insights into post-Butler theories of gender identity, for we argue that these artists enact a bad or failed performance of self that parallels the anti-identitarian desire amongst some contemporary queer theorists and activists to de-subjectivise 'gay identity'.<sup>63</sup> Australian artists such as Hannah Raisin, Anastasia Klose and Justene Williams (Figures 2.1–2.3) adapt slapstick humour to badly perform feminine, and feminist, identities. At the heart of their early performances and videos is a 'kooky chick' persona that enacts a hilarious yet troubling form of failure: the failure of conventional femininity, but also the failure of feminist identity, and with that, resistance to recuperation.<sup>64</sup> We might understand this as 'performing oneself badly'. The critical enactment of normative standards of femininity has been a lynchpin of feminist art since the 1970s and has been central in developing what we now commonly call 'the politics of representation'. However, contemporary work does not attempt to prise open a critical gap between original and copy, between the real woman and a fraudulent femininity, or even try to clear a reflexive space for analysis within the performed artifice. These contemporary works often replay an established *feminist* as well as feminine aesthetic repertoire—the imagery, forms, materials, performative gestures and subject-matter from 1970s and 1980s feminist art—but in clownish form. In doing so, these theatrical performances use burlesque humour and desire to metaphorically swerve and switch established feminist performance tropes. to take us 'somewhere else'.<sup>65</sup>

Through cheerfully amateurish performances of failed femininity, Klose, Raisin and Williams upset idealisations of feminine beauty, grace or sexuality. They also dislodge deconstructivist manoeuvres associated with 'the politics of representation'—the coolly analytic, critical enactment of culturally overcoded feminine beauty, as elaborated in the early work of Australian artists Fiona Foley, Linda Sproul, Barbara Campbell, Anne Ferran, Julie Rrap and many others. Contemporary work, in contrast, performs both feminine and feminist gestures awkwardly, reductively or excessively. Here, it is our squeamish response to the forced aesthetic joke (Raisin), the excessive materiality of costuming (Williams), and spectacularly flawed amateurism (Klose) that fails us, 'does us in' and swerves away from representational politics.<sup>66</sup> These instances of 'failed feminist art' may dislodge what has become a set of predictable aesthetic strategies. Clowning foregrounds affect not critique, empathy not consciousness-raising, embarrassed laughter not structural insight or righteous indignation over cultural or social inequities.

In *Flowing Locks* (2007) (Figure 2.1), Hannah Raisin replays 1970s Schneeman-esque liberatory 'nude' performances in a clownish body-suit replete with absurdly overgrown underarm and pubic hair. Her gestures come from 'Voilà!' showgirl moments, themselves a cheap version of the Olympic ideal of Venus and classical nude statuary. The posture references both traditions, maybe at its historical intersection: the *tableaux vivant*, where the suitably body-suited model would pose in *Rokeby Venus* mode. However,

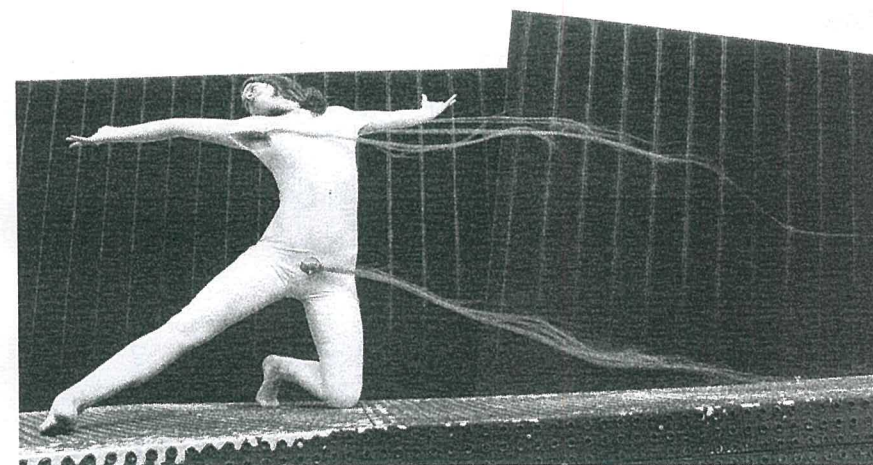


FIGURE 2.1 Hannah Raisin, *Flowing Locks*, 2007, performance still

- 29 Jones, 2011, 24.
- 30 Jones, 2011, 33, citing Erika Fische-Lichte's essay 'Performance Art—Experiencing Liminality' in *Marina Abramović: Seven Easy Pieces*, Milan: Charta, 2007.
- 31 Jones, 2011, 34.
- 32 Jones, 2011, 43.
- 33 Mechthild Widrich, *Performative Monuments: The Rematerialisation of Public Art*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014, 16–17. Widrich builds her argument with a compelling analysis of VALIE EXPORT's *Action Pants: Genital Panic* 'performance', 1968.
- 34 Widrich, 2014, 30.
- 35 Barad interview, Dolphijn and Tuin, 2012, 66.
- 36 Black Lives Matter protests.
- 37 Peggy Phelan and Helena Reckitt, *Art and Feminism*, London: Phaidon, 2001.
- 38 Lucy Lippard, *From the Center: Feminist Essays on Women's Art*, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1976, 124.
- 39 Josephine Withers, 'Feminist performance art: performing, discovering, transforming ourselves', in Norma Broude, Judith K. Brodsky, and Mary D. Garrard (eds) *The Power of Feminist Art, The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994, 160.
- 40 Amelia Jones, *Body Art/Performing the Subject*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998, 86.
- 41 As famously formulated by Michel Foucault, and captured in Michel Feher's 'The body is at once the actualiser of power relations and that which resists power', it is 'the shifting field where mechanisms of power constantly meet new techniques of resistance and escape': cited by Amelia Jones, 'The return of feminism(s) and the visual arts, 1970–2009', in M. Hedlin Hayden and J. Sjöholm Skrubbe (eds) *Feminisms Is Still Our Name*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010, 24.
- 42 Jayne Wark, 'Conceptual art and feminism: Martha Rosler, Adrian Piper, Eleanor Antin, and Martha Wilson', *Woman's Art Journal*, 22 (1): 2001.
- 43 Wark, 2001, 45.
- 44 Piper, fn 30 cited in Wark, 2001, 45.
- 45 Wark, 2001, 46.
- 46 Withers, in Broude et al., 1994, 160.
- 47 See Kristine Stiles, 'Uncorrupted joy: international art actions', in Paul Schimmel and Kristine Stiles, *Out of Actions: Between Performance and the Object 1949–1979*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1998.
- 48 Rebecca Schneider, *The Explicit Body in Performance*, London: Routledge, 1997.
- 49 See Jayne Wark, *Radical Gestures – Feminism and Performance Art in North America*, Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2006.
- 50 Review of Cherise Smith, *Enacting Others: Politics of Identity in Eleanor Antin, Nikki S. Lee, Adrian Piper, and Anna Deavere Smith*, 2011, by Jayna Brown, 'Art performance and post-identity', in *Art Journal*, 71 (2): 2012, 120–123, 120.
- 51 Brown, 2012, 120.
- 52 Brown, 2012, 121.
- 53 Cherise Smith, *Enacting Others: Politics of Identity in Eleanor Antin, Nikki S. Lee, Adrian Piper, and Anna Deavere Smith*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.
- 54 Brown, 2012, 122.
- 55 Such as Coco Fusco and Guillermo Gomez-Pena.
- 56 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in Flanagan et al., 'Feminist Activist Art: a roundtable forum, August 2005', *NWSA Journal*, 19 (1): 1–22, 2007, 17.
- 57 Spivak in Flanagan et al., 2007, 17.
- 58 Margo Machida in Flanagan et al., 2007, 19.
- 59 Jones in Flanagan et al., 2007, 20; Heddon believes the continued occurrence of feminist autobiographical performance in more recent times underscores the fact that we are not in a 'post' feminist era, but that boundaries concerning identity and otherness, or normative and difference, remain to be explored. Heddon discusses the work of 'mct' (a Glasgow-based company with a gay and lesbian agenda), Bobby Baker, Tim Miller and Joey Hateley, who all worked with autobiographical performance in the 1990s–2000s. Deirdre Heddon, *Autobiography and Performance: Performing Selves*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- 60 Jones, 2010, 46.
- 61 An example is the staging of a major performance art event in Sydney, *13 Rooms*, curated by Hans Ulrich Obrist (Serpentine Gallery) and Klaus Biesenbach (MoMA PS1), 2013. The project featured 13 live acts, many of which re-staged well known works from the 'canon' of performance art that were first performed decades ago, including those by John Baldessari, and featured current big names like Santiago Sierra, and Allora and Calzadilla, with the Australian iteration provided by Nicole Beaumont and Sarah Clark. It proved a popular success, with tens of thousands of attendees, especially given the reputation of performance art as a 'difficult' medium. Yet, despite the fact that two of the main drawcards for the event, Marina Abramović and Joan Jonas, pioneered performance and video art in the context of emerging 1970s feminist concerns (whilst acknowledging that Abramović has publicly distanced herself from feminism, claiming she never heard of the term before leaving Yugoslavia: MoMA forum 'The Feminist Future', 2007), the contribution of feminism to the history of these vital contemporary media was not acknowledged. *Mirror Check* (1970), for example, was arguably depoliticised in the theatrical setting and retreated to mere 'spectacle of female'.
- 62 For John Roberts, central to the appeal of failure to artists is, paradoxically, the agency it provides to 'deflate the conjunction of power and knowledge'. That is, artists can insert themselves in discourses in which they have no social investment, where exposure to embarrassment has no consequences, and by performing their incompetence, 'provide the conditions for critical reflection', a counter to a 'culture where the truths of the dominant order perform an inflationary ideological role of triumphant elucidation'. The deliberate performance of failure can work to foreground the intimate relationship between knowledge-creation and error, that is, the idea that the pursuit of knowledge is concerned with what doesn't work, or is not known or understood. This can have a transformative and liberating effect, serving to 'expose the linguistic and ideological self-protection that dominates everyday discourse' to perpetuate conformist thinking and behaviour: John Roberts, 'The practice of failure', *Cabinet*, 5, Winter: 2001, 2, 40.
- 63 See José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*, New York: NYU Press, 2009.
- 64 Other examples of feminist-inspired contemporary Australian performance art are relevant to this discussion, including works by the Sydney-based collective Barbara Cleveland, Melbourne-based Margaret Mayhew, and Sydney-based Inez de Vega.
- 65 With this in mind, it is worth noting those pioneering neo-burlesque performers who enjoyed a precarious niche within the art world due precisely to the theatrical instability of their burlesque performance, such as Karen Finlay's *Yams up my ass* (1986), *I like to smell the gas passed from your ass* (1986); and Annie Sprinkle's *Deep Inside Annie Sprinkle* video (1981) and her later *Post Porn Modernist Show* (1989). These performances were also seen to draw upon the pioneering body work of Yoko Ono's *Cut Piece* (1964), Maria Abramović's *Rhythm 10* (1973), Gina Pane's *Azione Sentimentale* (1973), Adrian Piper's *Food for the Spirit* (1971), Carolee Schneeman's *Interior Scroll* (1975), Hannah Wilke's *I Object: Memoirs of a Sugargiver* (1977–1978). See Lucinda Jarrett, *Stripping in Time: A History of Erotic Dancing*, London: Pandora, 1997, 195.
- 66 See Katherine Liepe-Levinson for discussion on the swerve of burlesque and how it 'does in' the audience in her *Strip Show: Performances of Gender and Desire*, London; New York: Routledge, 2002, 35.
- 67 Williams quoted in Tracey Clement, 'Justene Williams: dumpster diva', *Australian Art Collector*, (46), October–December: 2008, 30.
- 68 The term 'delegated performance' appears in Claire Bishop's 2012 *October* article, where it is defined as 'the act of hiring non-professionals or specialists in other fields to undertake the job of being present and performing at a particular time and a particular

renewal. She evokes both Horn and Dickinson to challenge the Western heroism of the sublime as grounded in a fundamentally masculinist rationale, an experience that aspires towards some sense of control, however impossible, over an awesome nature. Grbich's ambitious conversation with the wind recalls another, possibly feminist sublime, for like Dickinson and Horn she 'describes a crisis of representation experienced by a subject who "enters into relation with an otherness—social, aesthetic, political, ethical, erotic—that is excessive and unrepresentable"'.<sup>77</sup> In acknowledging the 'incalculable otherness' of the world, Grbich stops short of both traditional accounts of the sublime and Bennett's undifferentiated field of vibrant matter. Contra the indistinguishability framework of deep ecology, *Wind Work (Windy Point)* attends to others in nature without dissolving boundaries, suggesting that respect for difference may be a necessary foundation for developing an environmentalist ethic, as Plumwood would also maintain.<sup>78</sup>

Australian artist Barbara Campbell's *Ex Avibus* project, 2014–2019, also respectfully attends to the lives and habits of other species as a means of learning and healing. Her spellbound attention to birdlife was initially given focus in a period of bereavement: attending to birds simply going about their business around her became a source of reflection and self-care.<sup>79</sup> While Campbell does not become-bird, she maintains the very human capacity for wonder at avian agency as a foundation for unselfing and trans-species empathy. For *Well There You Are*, 2015 (from the *Ex Avibus* project) Campbell joined other bird-lovers in Roebuck Bay, 25 kilometres from Broome in the north-western Australian coast, to farewell flocks of shorebirds commencing their 29,000-kilometre flight north across the Pacific to their Northern hemisphere breeding grounds (along what is known as the East Asian–Australasian Flyway).<sup>80</sup> Humans have long wondered at the birds' adaptive capacities to navigate and survive such distances. The artist takes this wonder as a starting point, finding herself 'drawn to their mysteries but also to the effect they have on the humans under their spell'.<sup>81</sup> She credits the unfolding patterns of bar-tailed godwits as they sweep overhead as design templates for her mural-scaled, sweeping charcoal drawings. A nearby screen shows Campbell's private performance of re-embodiment of the event she had witnessed. As Australian curator Katrina Liberiou describes, 'Dressed in black, contrasting with the white of the paper, she draws the movement of the birds across the paper in charcoal. Shadowing their flight-path, her form multiplies, creating her own flock as a narrative across the screen.' (Figure 5.5).<sup>82</sup>

### Remediation and recycling: aesthetics and instrumentality

Art projects aiming to remediate degraded environments or recycle industrial and commercial waste necessarily combine aesthetic and instrumental values and layer (often incommensurate) registers of cultural meaning. As we have argued more broadly of ecofeminist art, the dynamic relation between cultural knowledges, disciplines and materials is what carries the work; that *is* the work. We now pause to consider a final competing element: the artworld's difficulty in formally evaluating the instrumental values of ecological art. As US art historian Victor Margolin argues

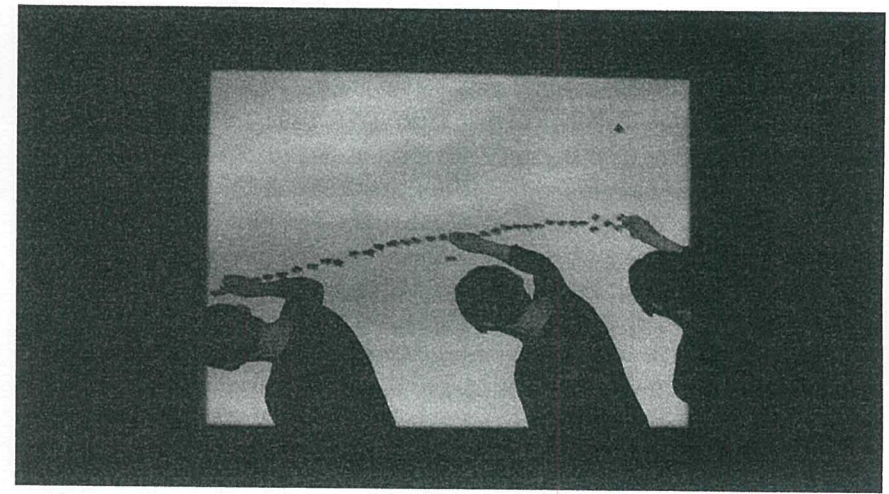


FIGURE 5.5 Barbara Campbell, *Well There You Are*, 2015, still from single channel video

We will need a new aesthetic to embrace the three categories of object, participation, and action without privileging the conventional formal characteristics of objects. In this aesthetic, the distinctions between art, design, and architecture will blur as critics discover new relations between the value of form and the value of use.<sup>83</sup>

Margolin's call for a green aesthetic is necessarily contingent, as no singular cultural framework could prescribe or embrace the diversity of ecological art actions. We nonetheless observe that many so-called 'use values' have already entered our practice as artists, critics and historians. We now feel comfortable in altering our Western art vocabulary to indicate bush tucker, groundwater, tidal patterns and rainfall as common artistic motifs. Art processes may include (though not exhaust) practices of fire-stick farming, direct seeding, hand-planting, feral pest control and water sampling.<sup>84</sup> Adelaide artist Gavin Malone articulated this common view in describing an expanded skill set for Western landscape art back in the 1980s:

It is easy to consider a sculptural form to be a river valley, paint strokes to be the planting of trees, shrubs and grasses, the grubbing of fennel and poisoning of blackberry to be the editing of superfluous content. ... To manipulate an urban, rural, or remote landscape, to change its aesthetic from degraded to sustainable, to mediate and act on the way people understand and live in the bio-physical world, can be and is art.<sup>85</sup>

Malone's expanded repertoire of sculptural or painterly techniques indicate how ecology generates new aesthetic values of sustainability, biodiversity, environmental

- 46 Kyra Kordoski, 'Shift; Rise: Maureen Gruben's *UNGALAQ (When Stakes Come Loose)*, exhibition catalogue (Grunt Gallery, Vancouver, 9 June–29 July 2017).
- 47 *Stitching My Landscape* (2017) was commissioned for LandMarks 2017/Repères2017 (Partners in Art; Parks Canada), curated by Tania Willard, Tuktoyaktuk, NWT, April–June 2017.
- 48 Kordoski, 2017.
- 49 Kordoski, 2017.
- 50 Caoimhe Morgan-Feir, 'What we want to see in 2018', *CanadianArt*, 4 January 2018), n.p.
- 51 Kordoski, 2017. Kordoski recounts how: 'Ibyuq has been a site of profound comfort and healing throughout Gruben's life. In 1997, she spent a night on Ibyuq with a friend. They had crossed the channel that winds around its base on a driftwood raft lashed together with a rope her father had given to her specifically for that purpose. That night, she used a needle and a thread coated in charcoal from their campfire to hand-stitch a traditional Inuvialuit facial tattoo that would ultimately consist of three lines on her chin: one mark for each of her sons. Thirty years later, in stitching the surrounding sea ice with red broadcloth, the artist has expanded an intimate, personal moment out into a communal, global context via entwined sculptural and performative events.'
- 52 Arnisa Zeqo, 'Sissel M. Bergh', *Coast Contemporary*, 2018, <https://coastcontemporary.no/commissions-2018/commissioned-artists-2018/sissel-m-bergh> accessed September 2020.
- 53 *#ijaetsie (water) knowhowknow*, 2017 HD video, 18:03 min, shown at *NIRIN, 22nd Biennale of Sydney*, curated by Brook Andrew. The film is part of an ongoing series; a second film, *#elmie* (in production) concerns sky, air, weather, storm/snow/wind/rain, in south Sami language.
- 54 Sissel M. Bergh, 'Artist's statement' in *NIRIN, 22nd Biennale of Sydney*, curated by Brook Andrew, exhibition catalogue (Sydney, 2020), 266.
- 55 Plumwood, 1993.
- 56 Jan Avgikos, 'Green peace', *Artforum*, 29 (8): 1991, 104–110.
- 57 See Jacqueline Millner, *Conceptual Beauty, Perspectives on Australian Contemporary Art*, Sydney: Artspace, 2010, 176–181.
- 58 Irene Agrivina, *A Perfect Marriage*, artist residency, Centre for Contemporary Art Singapore (July–September 2019). Agrivina is also a founding member and current co-director of House of Natural Fiber in Yogyakarta, and also co-founded XXLab in 2013, a feminist collective focusing on arts, science and free technology.
- 59 Phillip Fisher, *Wonder, the Rainbow, and the Aesthetics of Rare Experiences*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- 60 Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010, 100–101.
- 61 Plumwood, 1993.
- 62 Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, 112.
- 63 Bennett, 2010, xi.
- 64 Cat Jones, *Somatic Drifts V1.0* (2014), excerpts of performance on Vimeo, <https://vimeo.com/user6170446> accessed April 2020.
- 65 Goodman, 2018.
- 66 Video and written responses of participants, <https://catjones.net/2014/05/27/somatic-drifts-v1-0/> accessed August 2019.
- 67 So asks Cat Jones' collaborator, the 'bioneer' ethnographer and ecologist Monica Gagliano in her 2018 book, Monica Gagliano, *Thus Spoke the Plant: A Remarkable Journey of Groundbreaking Scientific Discoveries and Personal Encounters with Plants*, Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2018.
- 68 Jones views her facilitating role as a mediated, shamanic experience, 'traditional knowledges ... that have been blocked': Cat Jones in conversation with Monica Gagliano, podcast with Bec Dean for DLUX Media, 'The Constellations', Sydney, 9 June 2019, <http://www.dlux.org.au/dluxpodcasts/2019/6/9/ep9-the-plants-with-cat-jones-amp-monica-gagliano>; Goodman, 2018.
- 69 Michael Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- 70 Banduk Marika, in Johnson, 1993, 202.
- 71 Gerard Boeme, in David Roberts, 'Aura and aesthetics of nature', *Thesis Eleven*, 36 (1): 127–137, 1993, 129.
- 72 See for instance Catriona Sandilands, *The Good-Natured Feminist: Ecofeminism and the Quest for Democracy*, Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1999, 181.
- 73 See Romain Rolland's letter to Sigmund Freud on the 'oceanic feeling' that Freud later incorporates in his more ambivalent theorisation of the oceanic, as aligned with the death drive. Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 18 [1920], 64.
- 74 Sasha Grbich, Artist's statement, *Wind Work*, 2016, <http://163.53.230.7/~sashagrb/works/wind-work/>
- 75 Grbich, 2016.
- 76 Emily Dickinson, *Selected Poems of Emily Dickinson*, J. Reeves (ed.), London: Heinemann, 1959. Especially, 'The Drop that wrestles in the sea', 284; 'I saw no Way – The Heavens were stitched', 85.
- 77 Barbara Freeman, *The Feminine Sublime Gender and Excess in Women's Fiction*, Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1995, 97.
- 78 See Plumwood, 1993, 186–187; Christian Diehm, 'Arne Naess, Val Plumwood, and deep ecological subjectivity: a contribution to the deep ecology–ecofeminism debate', *Ethics and the Environment*, 7 (1): 24–38, 2002.
- 79 Barbara Campbell, 'Ex Avibus: Distributed performance by way of migratory shorebirds on the East Asian-Australasian Flyway', PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2016, 1–2, <https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/15816> accessed 29 November 2020.
- 80 Katrina Liberiou, 'Introduction', *Ex Avibus*, exhibition catalogue (University of Sydney Art Gallery, June–August 2015), 3.
- 81 Barbara Campbell, cited by Liberiou, 2015, 3.
- 82 Liberiou, 2015, 3. As the viewer steps through the gallery space she 'triggers' a set of responsive voice samples; a series of utterances—'You've got a rippa', 'Wonderful' and 'Well how about that'—speech performances by a fellow birder, incidentally recorded by Campbell as she videoed the flocks taking off.
- 83 Margolin, 2006, 29.
- 84 Stephanie Radok and Gavin Malone, 'Remediation as art', *Artlink*, 25 (4): 47, 2005.
- 85 Gavin Malone, 'The ecology of art or art as ecology', *Broadsheet*, 27 (7): 5, 1998.
- 86 The positive value of critical description has, however, been ably argued by New Zealand art critic Justin Paton in 'The shadow economy', *Art Monthly Australia*, (200): 9–11, 2007.
- 87 Ray Norman, 'Reading the waters', *Artlink*, 21 (1): 10–13, 2001.
- 88 Margolin, 2006, 24–25.
- 89 See Basia Irland, *Water Library*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. Irland describes projects she has created in Africa, Canada, Europe, South America, South East Asia, Japan and the United States, and later projects in the Netherlands in other work: see Basia Irland, *Reading the River*, exhibition catalogue (Museum De Domijnen, Uitgever, 2017). Her more recent work has been based in Egypt, Ethiopia, India and Nepal, thanks in part to her regular blog for *National Geographic*.
- 90 Amanda Boetzkes, cited Basia Irland, 'Boulder Creek', <http://www.basiairland.com/projects/video%20and%20audio/boulder-creek.html> accessed October 2020.
- 91 See Irland, 'Boulder Creek'.
- 92 Basia Irland, *A Gathering of the Waters, Boulder Creek Repository, Continental Divide to Confluence (worn)*, 2007, <http://www.basiairland.com/projects/video%20and%20audio/boulder-creek.html> accessed October 2020. For other projects, hydrolibros have been made from local found materials such as lichen, shells, slate, mine tailings and concrete fragments.
- 93 Mitchell, 1997.