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VISUAL FAT STUDIES

// HERAUSGEBERINNEN / Anja Herrmann / Kea Wienand

FKW //

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FKW WIRD GEFÖRDERT DURCH DAS MARIANN STEEGMANN INSTITUT UND DAS ICS DER ZHDK

EDITORIAL

Liebe Leser_innen,

die vorliegende 62. Ausgabe von FKW // Zeitschrift für Geschlechterforschung und visuelle Kultur widmet sich unter dem Titel *Visual Fat Studies* einer bislang vornehmlich im anglo-amerikanischen Raum entwickelten Forschungsrichtung – den *Fat Studies*.

Fat Studies haben sich als ein Forschungsfeld konturiert, das die aktuelle Dramatisierung von Fett und hohem Körpergewicht kritisch in den Blick nimmt sowie gesellschaftliche Zuschreibungen und Annahmen über Gewicht und Aussehen thematisiert und reflektiert. Dabei benennen und hinterfragen sie die vielfältigen, auch politisierten Assoziationen über Fett oder *fette Körper* – häufig geschlechtlich codierte Körper, die sich in repetitiven sozialen Praktiken habitualisiert haben. Forschende in diesem Feld fragen sowohl nach Mechanismen und Strukturen der Unterdrückung, Bevormundung etc. der als fett bezeichneten Menschen als auch nach den Funktionen dieser Normierungen in aktuellen Debatten. Ein zentrales Anliegen ist die Etablierung und Sichtbarmachung von ermächtigenden und widerständigen Bildern von *fetten Körpern*, die positive Besetzung von Fett mit dem Ziel, Gewichtsdiskriminierung langfristig zu reduzieren. Bisherige Forschungen aus den *Fat Studies* haben gezeigt, dass die stereotypen Zuschreibungen an *fette Körper* immer auch mit Kategorien von Geschlecht, Ethnizität, Klasse, Alter und *Ability* verknüpft sind.

FKW wendet die *Fat Studies* visuell und fragt danach, inwiefern im öffentlichen Diskurs der *fette Körper* beständig stigmatisiert wird und wie Kunst und visuelle Kultur an diesen Diskursen mitarbeiten, diese durchkreuzen und Gegenbilder entwerfen. Die Artikel dieses Heftes untersuchen aus geschlechtertheoretischen, kunst- und medienwissenschaftlichen sowie kulturhistorischen Perspektiven Bilderpolitiken der Frühen Neuzeit, des *Reality TV* und zeitgenössischer *fat* positiver Malbücher sowie künstlerischer Arbeiten von Haley Morris-Cafiero und Jenny Saville. Alle Beiträge sind in englischer Sprache und von internationalen Autorinnen verfasst. Dies ist sowohl Resultat unseres Calls im Sommer 2016 als auch symptomatisch für die Position, die die *Fat Studies* bislang in Deutschland einnehmen. Obwohl auch hier vereinzelt Forscher_innen zu diesem Gebiet arbeiten, bleibt eine institutionalisierte, systematische Vernetzung ein Desiderat.

Wir freuen uns sehr, dass die Edition zu unserer Ausgabe von Doris Uhlich gestaltet wurde: In Form einer *Fetttanz-CD* motiviert sie zum *Fleischtanz*. Die CD kann auf Anforderung käuflich erworben werden.

Dank: Für das Lektorat der englischen Texte gilt unser großer und besonders herzlicher Dank Vivian Strotmann (Bochum). Ein sehr herzlicher Dank für die gewissenhafte Übersetzung der Einleitung geht an Jake Schneider (Berlin).

Cover: Unser aktuelles ‚Covergirl' heißt *Yolanda* (2008) und wurde zufällig in der Nische der Investitionsbank Berlin IBB an der stark befahrenen Bundesallee und Nachodstraße gesehen. Ein Akt einer *fetten* Frau im semiöffentlichen Raum, der nicht mütterlich, vielmehr sich selbst fetischisierend dargestellt ist, überrascht. Noch dazu, wenn über den Aufstellungsort der 3,50 Meter hohen Bronzeskulptur von Miriam Lenk ein Spiel mit Blicken im Stadtraum initiiert wird, das zwischen Zeigen und Verbergen oszilliert. Wie kommt es dazu, dass sich eine Bank einen solchen Akt auf High Heels zu Repräsentationszwecken aufstellt? Sollte sich die 1924 als Wohnungsfürsorgegesellschaft Berlin gegründete Investitionsbank noch anderen als den durchtrainierten Körperidealen in Zeiten des Neoliberalismus verpflichtet fühlen und mit diesem hypertrophen Akt Kritik am derzeitigen hegemonialen Repräsentationsregime des Fitten und Schlanken üben? Der Pressesprecher der Bank winkt ab. Nichtsdestotrotz steht *Yolanda* in ihrer Baum umsäumten Ecke und vermag aufmerksame Passant_innen zu provozieren und ihre Sehgewohnheiten zu hinterfragen.

Ankündigung: In der 63. Ausgabe, die gegen Ende des Jahres erscheint, werden unter dem Titel *Voilà: Vorhang!* Beiträge versammelt, die in der Reihe *Kunst – Forschung – Geschlecht* des Studienjahres 2016/17 an der Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien vorgetragen wurden. Der leidigen, auch tagespolitisch diskutierten Frage um Ver- und Gebote des Verhüllens und Enthüllens werden philosophische und künstlerische Perspektiven auf Gebrauchsweisen und Möglichkeiten verschiedener Tücher entgegengesetzt. Mit dem Akzent auf Bewegungen und räumlichen Verhältnissen interessiert das Vermögen des *velum*, unerwartete Relationen anzuregen. Herausgegeben wird das Heft von Maria Bussmann, Edith Futscher und Doris Löffler.

Last but not least: Zu unserem großen Bedauern hat Silke Büttner unsere Redaktion verlassen. Wir danken ihr von ganzem Herzen für die langjährige produktive und freundschaftliche Zusammenarbeit, für ihr Engagement als Herausgeberin und als Redaktionsmitglied sowie für ihren besonderen Einsatz in der Pflege der Homepage und dem Einstellen und Archivieren der Editionen!

Wir wünschen viel Spaß bei der Lektüre!

EINLEITUNG

2016 erschien die Forsa-Umfrage *XXL-Report. Meinungen und Einschätzungen zu Übergewicht und Fettleibigkeit* **(Abb. 1)**. Das Cover zeigt eine junge, weiße, dicke Frau in hellem Badeanzug mit langen, offenen, braunen Haaren, die allein in einem öffentlichen Schwimmbecken wie selbstversunken auf Tauchgang geht. Ihre Körperhaltung ruft Assoziationen an den buchstäblichen Fisch im Wasser ebenso wie an die zurzeit bei Kindern und Teenagern beliebten *Mermaiding*- oder Nixen-Schwimmkurse auf. Der für die Aufklärungskampagne vergebene Titel *Schwere(s)los* unterstützt die dem Bild nicht nur farblich eingeschriebene Melancholie: Das Wortspiel aus „schweres Los" und „schwerelos" findet seine Bestätigung im Tauch-Setting. Die junge Frau wird dabei den Betrachtenden als eingesperrt – im Becken, in ihrem Körper ebenso wie auf dem Cover – vorgeführt. Als Bild dicker Selbstermächtigung intendiert, arbeitet das Cover letztlich mit an der Etablierung eines Blickes, der Norm und Normalität mit sich führt und die Tauchende visuell einem Tier im Zoo annähert.

// Abbildung 1
Cover des *XXL-Report. Meinungen und Einschätzungen zu Übergewicht und Fettleibigkeit*, 2016

Die visuelle Referentialität von Meeressäugern und voluminösen weiblichen Körper scheint ubiquitär und in der Werbebranche beliebt zu sein. Dafür ist die 2009 lancierte misogyne Kampagne *Save the Whales. Lose the Blubber: Go vegetarian* von PETA ein Beispiel **(Abb. 2)**.[1)] Die Tierrechtsorganisation bedient sich für ihre Werbebilder einer provokativen Strategie: Sie gibt einen weiblichen Torso einer weit vom antiken oder zeitgenössischen Körperideal entfernten weißen Frau zu sehen. Im rot-weiß-gepunkteten Bikini stützt sie die Hand in die Taille und blickt gen Meer. Der nur angeschnitten auf dem Plakat zu sehende Körper sprengt das Format, womit eine Reduktion auf den Körper einhergeht. Über den Schriftzug wird die visuelle Verklammerung der Frau mit einem Wal her- und sichergestellt. Die Repräsentation

// Abbildung 2
PETA-Reklame, *Save the Whales. Lose the Blubber: Go vegetarian*, 2009

1)
In dem vermeintlich Fett-positiven Kinderbuch *Wanda Walfisch*. dick und rund wird diese Referentialität als bereits vollzogene für den dicken Mädchenkörper anerkannt und versucht, emanzipatorisch zu wenden, vgl. Calì / Bougaeva (2010). Für den Hinweis auf das Kinderbuch danke ich Jessica Femerling.

dieser Bikini-Frau avanciert zur anonymen, entindividualisierten und zur vegetarischen Diät an- und aufgerufenen „headless fatty" – wie Charlotte Cooper diesen Bildtypus schon 2007 genannt hat (Cooper 2007). Unter dem Stichwort der „Hyper(in)visibilität" und mit dem Konzept der „hyper(in)visiblen fetten Frau" nimmt Jeannine H. Gailey die Koppelung der Vorstellung fetter Frauen an ihre eigenen Körper sowie an gesellschaftliche Erwartungen und Zuschreibungen an eben diese Körper in den Blick (Gailey 2014). Sie beschäftigt sich dabei mit jenem Paradox, dass für die *Visual Fat Studies* zentral ist: Einerseits ist *fette* weibliche Körperlichkeit *hyper* sichtbar, andererseits gibt es in der alltäglichen Bildkultur kaum Beispiele für positiv konnotierte und respektvolle Visualisierungen von Körpern, die nicht den aktuellen Körpernormierungen entsprechen.

Zu berücksichtigen ist in diesem Forschungsfeld, dass Körperlichkeit selbst konstitutiv an das Bezugssystem der Sprache geknüpft ist und immer wieder auf ihre Beschreibungen, Kategorisierungen etc. zurückgeworfen wird. Insofern ist die Auseinandersetzung mit abwertenden Begrifflichkeiten und gehässigen Anrufungen sowie deren Effekten zentral. Judith Butler hat in ihrem Buch *Hass spricht* den von J.L. Austin geprägten Begriff des perlokutionären Sprechakts in Zusammenhang mit verletzender Rede gestellt:[2)] „Durch das Sprechen verletzt zu werden bedeutet, dass man Kontext verliert, also buchstäblich nicht weiß, wo man ist. Vielleicht macht tatsächlich gerade das Unvorhersehbare des verletzenden Sprechens die Verletzung aus, der Adressat wird seiner Selbstkontrolle beraubt. Im Augenblick der verletzenden Situation wird gerade die Fähigkeit gefährdet, die Situation des Sprechaktes abzugrenzen. Auf verletzende Weise angesprochen zu werden bedeutet nicht nur, einer unbekannten Zukunft ausgesetzt zu sein, sondern weder die Zeit noch den Ort der Verletzung selbst zu kennen und diese Desorientierung über die eigene Situation als Effekt dieses Sprechens zu erleiden. In diesem vernichtenden Augenblick wird gerade die Unbeständigkeit des eigenen ‚Ortes' innerhalb der Gemeinschaft der Sprecher sichtbar. Anders gesagt: Man kann durch dieses Sprechen ‚auf seinen Platz verwiesen' werden, der aber möglicherweise gar keiner ist." (Butler 2006: 13)

Butlers Thesen zur *Hate Speech* mit visuellem Sprechen beziehungsweise Bildsprachen und den sich etablierenden Diskursen über fette Körper zusammenzudenken ist herausfordernd. Denn, wenn Bilder verletzen, wenn sie treffen wie Faustschläge, in einem Diskurs, in dem Repräsentationen fetter Körper nur im

2) **Perlokutionäre Sprechakte sind Sprechakte, „die bestimmte Effekte bzw. Wirkungen als Folgeerscheinung hervorrufen: Daraus, dass sie etwas sagen, folgt ein bestimmter Effekt. Der illokutionäre Sprechakt ist also selbst die Tat, die er hervorbringt, während der perlokutionäre Sprechakt lediglich zu bestimmten Effekten bzw. Wirkungen führt, die nicht mit dem Sprechakt selbst zusammenfallen." (Butler 2006: 11)**

Ausschnitt oder gar nicht vorkommen – also eine visuelle Leerstelle markieren[3] –, dann stellt sich die dringliche Frage, welche Vorstellungen und Ängste damit verknüpft sind. Steht dahinter die Furcht, das repräsentierte hohe Körpergewicht wirke ansteckend?[4] (Visuelle) *Hate Speech* ist „in der Äußerung selbst die Ausführung der Verletzung, wobei ‚Verletzung' als gesellschaftliche Unterordnung verstanden werden kann." (Butler 2006: 36) Butler visuell weiterzudenken, verspricht deshalb lohnenswerte und erkenntnisbringende Perspektiven auf den Diskurs über fette Körper.[5]

Mit der Zurschaustellung, Unsichtbarmachung und Abwertung fetter Körper geht aktuell eine Rede einher, die die Bevölkerung kollektiv zum Abnehmen aufruft. Wissenschaftlicher und aktivistischer Protest gegen diesen von Politik und Gesellschaft produzierten und über verschiedenste Medien kolportierten Diskurs, dem Fett im Namen der (Volks)Gesundheit den Kampf anzusagen, wird zunehmend lauter. Der Stigmatisierung und Bevormundung von Menschen, die nicht den gegenwärtigen Körperidealen entsprechen, als ungesund, unsportlich, faul etc. sind bereits seit Ende der 1960er Jahre verschiedene Gruppierungen entgegengetreten (z.B. *Fat Acceptance Movement*, *Health at Every Size* oder Susie Orbachs *Fat is a feminist issue*). Seit Mitte der 2000er Jahre formiert sich unter dem Label der *Fat Studies* eine eigene transdisziplinäre Forschungsrichtung.[6] Mit der Infragestellung von Normierungen, Wissensproduktionen und gouvernementaler Regierungstechnologien sowie der Diskussion über Umgangsweisen und Sichtbarkeiten verschiedener Körperformen knüpfen *Fat Studies* an Fragen und Annahmen feministisch-queerer Wissenschaften an. Feministische Kunst-, Film- und Medienwissenschaftler_innen haben spätestens seit den 1970er Jahren nicht nur die Positionen von *Frauen* in einem patriarchalen Blicksystem, sondern auch Schönheitsideale und Zuschreibungen an Körper problematisiert. Verwiesen wurde darauf, dass normierende Körperpolitiken hinsichtlich Größe, Gewicht und Umfang von menschlichen Körpern immer auch mit Zuschreibungen an Differenzkategorien wie Geschlecht, Ethnizität, sexuelle Identität, soziale Herkunft etc. einhergehen. In jüngster Zeit haben Wissenschaftler_innen der Soziologie, Geschlechter- und Queerforschung aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum Selbsttechnologien und Strategien der Selbstoptimierung im Kontext eines neoliberalen Geschlechterregimes in den Blick genommen (z.B. Villa 2008; Kreisky 2008; Online-Journal *Body Politics* 2015; Rose / Schorb 2017). Die Fragen nach Kunst und visueller Kultur bleiben dabei bislang nur Randthemen. Der Band *Lookismus. Normierte Körper.*

3)
Ein Beispiel für eine visuelle Leerstelle ist die Homepage des 2017 neu eingerichteten Bundeszentrums für Ernährung, die in ihrem Bildprogramm komplett auf die Darstellung dicker oder fetter Menschen verzichtet. Vgl. www.bmel.de/DE/Ernaehrung/_Texte/BZfE_Eroeffnung.html, Juli 2017.

4)
Vgl. unter anderem zum Begriff der Ansteckung: Lorey (2011).

5)
Wie ein Butler-visuell-Weiterdenken aussehen kann, haben unter anderem Linda Hentschel (2008) mit ihrer Konzeption einer visuellen Ethik oder Andrea Seier (2007) in ihren medienwissenschaftlichen Forschungen gezeigt.

6)
Eine zentrale Protagonistin ist Esther Rothblum, die 2009 gemeinsam mit Sondra Solovay den *Fat Studies Reader* und seit 2012 das *Fat Studies Journal* herausgibt. Wie entscheidend die Auseinandersetzung mit Fragen nach Repräsentationen von Fett/sein für das Forschungsfeld ist, zeigte bereits die zweite Ausgabe des Journals. Sie enthielt dazu ein von Stefanie Snider herausgegebenes *Special Issue* (2013).

Diskriminierende Mechanismen. (Self-)Empowerment (2017) stellt erste Überlegungen an, wie die zeitgenössische *Body-Positivity*-Bewegung in den Sozialen Medien Themen des *Fat-Empowerments*, der *Fat-Acceptance* und des Umgangs mit der Diät-Industrie in Blogs und anderen netzbasierten Formaten zum Teil (queer)feministisch und kritisch reflektiert. In diesem Kontext wird auch das vermeintlich selbstermächtigende Paradigma des *Riot-not-Diet* gegen den Strich gebürstet, da es ein „starkes, unabhängiges, cooles Ideal" radikaler Selbstannahme und -liebe fordert, ohne gleichzeitig das Leiden – und gegebenenfalls auch Scheitern – „an (sexistischen) lookistischen Normen zu ermöglichen und kollektive Umgangsformen auf Basis geteilter Leidenserfahrungen zu entwickeln." (Schmechel 2017: 79) Lotte Rose und Friedrich Schorb haben in ihrem jüngst erschienenen Sammelband *Fat Studies in Deutschland* (2017) betont, dass Protagonist_innen einer *Fat Agency* die „stigmatisierende Bezeichnung ‚Fat'" sehr bewusst verwenden und sich einer „Wissensproduktion zur ‚Schädlichkeit des Übergewichts'" sowie optimierenden Techniken der Gewichtsreduktion konsequent verweigern (ebd.: 9). Stattdessen stellen sie Fragen danach, wie und ab wann sogenannte „Wahrheiten" über hohes Körpergewicht und – so ließe sich ergänzen – Maßnahmen der biopolitischen Reg(ul)ierung ergriffen, plausibilisiert und legitimiert werden (ebd.).

Die 62. Ausgabe von FKW greift diese Debatten der *Fat Studies* und jene um aktuelle Schönheitssysteme auf und fokussiert aus einer geschlechtertheoretischen Perspektive auf die visuellen Repräsentationen und Leerstellen *fetter Körper* – deren Definition selbst schon mit Normierungen einhergehen. Wie und mit welchen Konsequenzen Dick-/Fettsein in den unterschiedlichen visuellen Feldern thematisiert wird, und wie Kunst, visuelle Kultur, Medien- und Selbsttechniken bei diesem Prozess ineinandergreifen, wird im Rahmen dieser Ausgabe näher untersucht. Der erste Beitrag des Heftes macht deutlich, dass die Idealisierung des schlanken Körpers und komplementär dazu die Abwertung und Verurteilung des fetten Körpers bis weit in die Vergangenheit zurückverfolgt werden kann: **Sara Benninga** legt in ihrem Beitrag *The Faces of Fatness in Early Modern Europe* dar, dass der fette Körper im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert in Nordeuropa als ein negativ besetztes religiöses und gesellschaftliches Symbol fungierte, mit dem Überschreitungen moralischer und sozialer Grenzen angezeigt wurden. Indem sie unterschiedliche christliche visuelle Darstellungen parallel mit theologischen schriftlichen Quellen liest, kann sie aufzeigen, wofür

besonders korpulente Körperlichkeit stand, mit welchen weiteren Sünden und Lastern diese verknüpft wurde sowie in welche Körper-Geist-Vorstellungen, aber auch soziale Strukturen diese Bilder verwickelt waren. Von der Darstellung der Völlerei als Sünde, über die Figur des dickbäuchigen Bauern (teilweise in Begleitung seiner Ehefrau), aber auch von weiblichen Figuren, deren Körperlichkeit besonders exponiert war, bis hin zu Lebensmittelhändlern, Adeligen und Klosterbrüdern kann Benninga nachzeichnen, dass Korpulenz als negatives Zeichen für verschiedene Laster und mangelnde Kontrolle über körperliche Bedürfnisse galt.

Während sich dieser Beitrag mit der Abwertung und Stigmatisierung des fetten Körpers in der Frühen Neuzeit befasst, diskutiert **Brittany Lockard** zwei Gemälde von Jenny Saville, einer zeitgenössischen Künstlerin. Savilles großformatige Arbeiten weiblicher Körper wurden nahezu einheitlich als *fat positiv* interpretiert. Lockard steht dieser Einschätzung allerdings skeptisch gegenüber und unternimmt in ihrem Essay sowohl eine Relektüre der Gemälde als auch der kunsthistorischen Rezeption. Sie zeigt auf, wie die Besprechungen von Savilles opulenten Frauenkörpern zumindest implizit Körpernormierungen tradieren, indem viele Autor_innen sie den als ‚dünn' imaginierten Körpern der Betrachter_innen gegenüberstellen oder die Maße der Leinwand mit der Größe der Körper verwechseln. Während hier unter anderem die Schwierigkeiten der Bezeichnung von Körpern deutlich werden und sich die Frage aufdrängt, inwiefern schon gängige kunsthistorische Beschreibungen abwertend sind, diskutiert sie anhand der Gemälde *Plan* (1993) und *Propped* (1992), ob sich diese vermutete *fat positivity* einlöst. Die bloße Darstellung des fetten Körpers, so Lockards Argument, würde noch nicht per se dessen Stereotypisierung unterlaufen. Sie arbeitet heraus, wie sich in den Bildern zumindest ambivalente Einstellungen gegenüber voluminöser Körperlichkeit ausmachen lassen. Die kritisch intendierten Repräsentationen Savilles – so die Autorin – würden der permanenten Vermessung und sozialen Kontrolle weiblicher Körper letztlich im Alltag nichts oder zu wenig entgegensetzen und diese sogar erneut hervorrufen.

Evangelia Kindingers *"I Wanna Be Fat". Healthism and Fat Politics in TLC's 'My Big Fat Fabulous Life'* nimmt eine Serie aus dem Reality-Fernsehen in den Blick, in der die Protagonistin Whitney Thore für sich selbstbewusst in Anspruch nimmt, fett und gesund zu sein. Dieser in Zeiten schlank-durchtrainierter Körperideale ungewöhnliche Wunsch überrascht, noch dazu,

wenn er im Reality TV geäußert wird, das für seine *Make-over*- und Selbstoptimierungsformate der ständig konstatierten *obesity epidemic* berüchtigt ist. Die Autorin bedient sich daher einer Doppelstrategie: Sie fragt, inwiefern *My Big Fat Fabulous Life fat politics* bzw. *agency* emanzipatorisch voran- und betreibt, oder, die repräsentierten *fat politics* und der *fat pride* nur dazu dienen, den neoliberalen Diskurs des permanent zur Selbstoptimierung aufgeforderten Subjekts über das Lifestyle TV geschickt in die Köpfe der Zuschauenden zu implementieren. Mediengeschichtlich hat sich gezeigt (beispielsweise an Forschungen zum Melodram oder Horrorfilm), dass schlecht beleumundete Genres, Programme oder Formate den Vorteil besitzen, dass in ihnen Positionen geäußert werden können, die gesamtgesellschaftlich (noch) nicht akzeptiert bzw. kontrovers verhandelt werden. Kindingers Essay verspricht insofern anregende Einblicke in televisuelle "Politiken der Medien" (Stauff 2005).

Künstlerische Arbeiten, die sich mit einer eindeutigeren Form des *fat shaming* befassen, bespricht dagegen **Lucienne Auz**. Als *fat shaming* – für das sich interessanterweise bis heute keine deutsche Übersetzung etabliert hat –, wird die abwertende und be- bzw. meist verurteilende Rede über fette Körper bezeichnet. Dass pejorative Äußerungen über fette Körper insbesondere im Schutz der Anonymität, die das Internet vermeintlich bietet, artikuliert werden, ist ein verschiedentlich diskutiertes Thema, dem sich auch die Künstlerin Haley Morris-Cafiero angenommen hat. Auz analysiert in ihrem Aufsatz *Staring Back: A Response to Body Shamers in Haley Morris-Cafiero's Self-Portraiture* die Fotoserie *Wait Watchers,* für die sich Morris-Cafiero an verschiedenen Orten als Touristin inszeniert und dabei – von Passanten unbemerkt – fotografieren lässt. In ihrem künstlerischen Interesse steht jedoch weniger die eigene Darstellung, denn die Art und Weise, mit der andere auf ihren Körper mit Blicken und Gesten reagieren. Überdeutlich werden die unterschiedlichen Einstellungen gegenüber ihrem Körper, als sie ihre Fotografien auf verschiedenen Online-Portalen veröffentlicht. In einer weiteren Arbeit, *In the Time of Trump*, nimmt sich Morris-Cafiero der Kommentierungen an, die am vehementesten Hass und Abwehr gegenüber der Inszenierung ihrem nicht dem Schlankheitsideal entsprechenden Körper artikulieren. Sie geht deren User_innen_profilen nach, konstruiert daraus eine Figur und fotografiert diese zusammen mit ihren Posts. Auz diskutiert an Morris-Cafieros künstlerischer Praxis, wie diese nicht nur einen Raum eröffnet, in dem sich Vorannahmen und Zuschreibungen an den als

fett klassifizierten Körper verhandeln lassen, sondern geht auch der Frage nach, wie Identitäten über Blicke, Gesten, Kommentierungen und Inszenierungen im Internet sozial hergestellt werden.

Was Malbücher mit *Fat Positivity*, *Queering* und Intersektionalität zu tun haben, entwickelt **Cat Pausé** in ihrem Beitrag *Candy Perfume Girl. Colouring in Fat Bodies*. Ausgehend von der Geschichte des Malbuches als normativem Bestandteil weißer, britischer Mittelklasse-Erziehung und Unterhaltung konstatiert sie, dass Malbücher in ihren verschiedensten Ausprägungen – einmal als ‚seriös' gedrucktes Buch oder als selbstgemachtes und -produziertes *Zine* – zeitgenössisch eine Renaissance in der erwachsenen Freizeitkultur erleben und subversiv wirken. Dass das zu repetitivem und normativem Verhalten auf- und anregende Malbuch subversiv und revolutionär sei, ruft nach Erklärungen: Pausé exemplifiziert anhand vieler aktueller Malbücher, wie diese positive Repräsentationen von fetten Körpern geben sowie popularisieren können. Dabei erläutert sie auch, wie in vielen der Vorlagen die Grenzen des sogenannten ‚guten' Geschmacks durch ein Mehr an Haut, Speck, Doppelkinn, Sex etc. immer in Verbindung mit Differenzkategorien wie Geschlecht, Ethnizität, sexuelle Identität, soziale Herkunft, *Age* oder *Ability* zum Ausmalen gegeben wird. Die Autorin verschweigt mit Blick auf das Fehlen von Bildern von „super fat bodies" oder von Körpern mit Beeinträchtigungen nicht, dass diese Malbücher jedoch immer noch die Ausnahme und nicht die Regel sind.

Ergänzend erhält die 62. Ausgabe von FKW drei Rezensionen, die neuere Publikationen zu aktuellen Forschungsthemen aus dem Bereich der kulturwissenschaftlichen Geschlechterforschung vorstellen: Birgit Haehnel rezensiert den von Irene Below und Burcu Dogramaci herausgegebenen Sammelband *Kunst und Gesellschaft zwischen den Kulturen. Die Kunsthistorikerin Hanna Levy-Deinhard im Exil und ihre Aktualität heute*. Levy-Deinhard floh 1933 vor den Nazis und ging über Paris nach Brasilien ins Exil. Mit dem neunten Band der Reihe *Frauen und Exil* wird nicht nur eine in Deutschland vergessene weibliche Forscherin und deren Lebensweg in Erinnerung gerufen. Aufgezeigt wird auch, wie Levy-Deinhards Forschungen zur Kolonialkunst Brasiliens Ansätze für die Konzeption einer globalen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung beinhalten.

Katrin Köppert bespricht den Sammelband *un/verblümt. Queere Politiken in Ästhetik und Theorie* (2014) von Josch Hoenes und Barbara Paul, der sich einer Bandbreite queerer ästhetischer Strategien annimmt. Köppert stellt heraus, wie produktiv ein Nachdenken

über unterschiedliche Formen un/verblümter Ausdrucksweisen herrschaftskritischer Politiken sein kann, gerade angesichts der aktuell immer wieder zu hörenden Aussage ‚doch-mal-sagen-zu-dürfen'.

Formen der Rede – oder genauer – Weisen kultureller Repräsentation sind auch der Gegenstand der dritten Rezension: Jonas Diekhans schreibt über Insa Härtels Publikation, die diese unter Mitarbeit von Sonja Witte mit dem Titel *Kinder der Erregung. „Übergriffe" und „Objekte" in kulturellen Konstellationen kindlich-jugendlicher Sexualität* (2014) veröffentlichte. Nicht die kindliche Sexualität selbst, sondern ihre Inszenierungen in westlichen Gesellschaften sind das Thema. Diekhans stellt heraus, dass die Autorinnen anhand eines umfangreichen und heterogenen Text- und Bildkorpus' sowie in Auseinandersetzung mit psychoanalytischer Theorie spannungsvolle Dimensionen in dem gesellschaftlichen Diskurs um kindlich-jugendliche Sexualität herausarbeiten und damit zur öffentlichen Diskussion stellen.

Für die Edition der FKW-Ausgabe zu *Visual Fat Studies* konnte die österreichische Choreografin und Performance-Künstlerin Doris Uhlich gewonnen werden, die uns zu den Sounds des Medienkünstlers und DJs Boris Kopeinig zu einem *Fetttanz* einlädt. Im Booklet der exklusiv für FKW produzierten CD hält sie *Tipps und Tracks zum Fleischtanz* bereit: „Start with clothes. Or half naked. Or little naked. Or naked. Soon you will enjoy being more than naked." (Uhlich 2017: Booklet).

In diesem Sinne wünscht FKW viel Spaß bei Lektüre und Tanz.

// Abbildungen

Abb.1: Cover des *XXL-Report. Meinungen und Einschätzungen zu Übergewicht und Fettleibigkeit*, 2016. In: www.dak.de/dak/bundes-themen/xxl-report-so-werden-dicke-menschen-ausgegrenzt-1846124.html, Juli 2017
Abb. 2: PETA-Reklame, *Save the Whales. Lose the Blubber: Go vegetarian*, 2009. In: www.nutritionunplugged.com/2009/08/lose-the-blubber-ad-is-low-blow-from-peta, Juli 2017

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// Angaben zur Autorin

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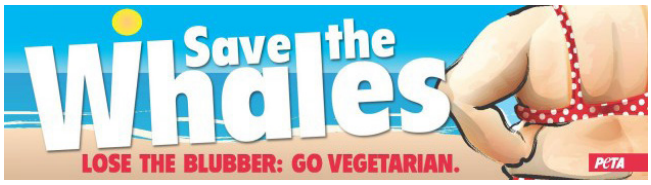
// FKW WIRD GEFÖRDERT DURCH DAS MARIANN STEEGMANN INSTITUT UND DAS INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL STUDIES IN THE ARTS DER ZÜRCHER HOCHSCHULE DER KÜNSTE

INTRODUCTION

In 2016, the forsa Institute for Social Research and Statistical Analysis released an opinion poll whose title translates as *The XXL Report: Opinions and Views on Heaviness and Obesity* **(fig. 1)**. The cover shows a young, white, fat woman in a white one-piece bathing suit with long, loose brown hair swimming alone in a public pool as if sunken by her own weight after a dive. Her position is reminiscent of a literal fish in the water as well as the current trend of "mermaiding," underwater swimming courses popular with children and teens. The title of the awareness campaign, *Schwere(s)los*, reinforces the image's melancholy that goes beyond its color palette. It is a pun on the German word for weightless (*schwerelos*) and an idiom (*schweres Los*) meaning a heavy burden, a raw deal, or a hard lot in life. The wordplay is reinforced by the aquatic setting. To viewers, the young woman is made to appear confined—in the pool, in her body, and on the cover of the report. Despite its intention as an image of fat self-empowerment, the cover ultimately establishes a gaze that transmits norms and normalcy and visually conflates the swimmer with a zoo animal.

// Figure 1
Cover of The *XXL Report, Opinions and Views on Heaviness and Obesity*, 2016

Visual references between marine mammals and generous female bodies appear to be ubiquitous and quite popular in the advertising industry. One example is PETA's misogynist 2009 ad campaign *Save the Whales: Lose the Blubber, Go Vegetarian* **(fig. 2)**. The animal rights organization adopts a provocative strategy for its ad imagery. They portray the torso of a white woman who is far from embodying classical or contemporary body norms. Wearing a red-and-white polka-dot bikini, she holds her hand at her waist and gazes out to sea. Her body is cut off on the billboard and only partially visible, reducing the woman to her body. The text produces and certifies a visual link between the woman and a whale. The representation of this



// Figure 2
PETA's ad campaign, *Save the Whales: Lose the Blubber, Go Vegetarian*, 2009

bikini-wearing woman becomes an anonymous, deindividualized "headless fatty" – Charlotte Cooper's name for this type of image (2007) – who is now bidden to adopt a vegetarian diet. Proposing the term "hyper(in)visible" and the concept of the "hyper(in) visible fat woman" in particular, Jeannine H. Gailey examines the interplay between fat women's views of their own bodies and what society expects of their bodies and how it labels them (Gailey 2014). Her investigation grapples with a paradox that is central to visual fat studies: although the fat female body is *hyper*-visible in one sense, at the same time mainstream visual culture scarcely offers any examples of positively connoted, respectful visualizations of bodies that depart from contemporary body norms.

In this field of inquiry, we must keep in mind that the treatment of bodies itself is inherently linked to the linguistic frame of reference and is often reduced to the language's descriptions, classifications, etc. On that basis, it is vital that we examine pejorative words, hateful invocations, and their effects. In her book *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative,* Judith Butler situates the term "perlocutionary speech act," as popularized by J.L. Austin, in the context of insulting and injurious speech:[1] "To be injured by speech is to suffer a loss of context, that is, not to know where you are. Indeed, it may be that what is *unanticipated* about the injurious speech act is what constitutes its injury, the sense of putting its addressee out of control. The capacity to circumscribe the situation of the speech act is jeopardized at the moment of injurious address. To be addressed injuriously is not only to be open to an unknown future, but not to know the time and place of injury, and to suffer the disorientation of one's situation as the effect of such speech. Exposed at the moment of such a shattering is precisely the volatility of one's place 'place' within the community of speakers; one can be 'put in one's place' by such speech, but such a place may be no place." (Butler 1997: 3–4)

It is a challenge to extend Butler's theses about hate speech to visual language and the developing discourses around fat bodies. If images can injure, if they land like a punch—but representations of fat bodies are absent or faceless in the discourse,[2] marking a visual gap—then we are compelled to ask what preconceptions and fears this is linked to. Is there an underlying fear that representations of high body weight might be contagious?[3] (Visual) hate speech is, "in the very speaking of such speech, the performance of the injury itself, where the injury is understood as

1) Perlocutionary acts are speech acts "that produce certain effects as their consequence; by saying something, a certain effect follows. The illocutionary speech act is itself the deed it effects; the perlocutionary merely leads to certain effects that are not the same as the speech act itself." (Butler 1997: 3).

2) One example of this visual vacancy is the 2017 website of the newly established German Federal Ministry of Food and Agriculture, whose images completely exclude representations of fat people. See www.bmel.de/DE/Ernaehrung/_Texte/BZfE_Eroeffnung.html (Juli 2017).

3) For more on the concept of contagiousness, see Lorey (2011).

social subordination." (Butler 1997: 18). Extending Butler to the visual realm therefore promises to deliver rewarding and insightful perspectives on the discourse around fat bodies.[4)]

Today the public display, imposed invisibility, and devaluation of fat bodies goes along with a discourse that exhorts the population collectively to lose weight. This discourse – which is produced by politicians and society and peddled by diverse media, all declaring war on fat in the name of (public) health – is now coming up against a growing chorus of protest from academics and activists. Since the late 1960, various groups (such as the *fat acceptance movement*, *Health at Every Size*, and Susie Orbach's "fat is a feminist issue") have challenged the stigmatization and patronization of people who do comply with prevailing body norms as unhealthy, inactive, lazy, etc. Since the mid-2000s, fat studies has emerged as an independent, transdisciplinary research field.[5)] In questioning norms, forms of knowledge production, and (state) mechanisms of regulation during discussions of the treatment and visibility of various body types, fat studies ties into the questions and assumptions of feminist and queer research fields. Since the 1970s or earlier, feminist art, film, and media scholars have been problematizing not only the positions of women in a patriarchal visual system, but also beauty ideals and labels. Researchers have observed that standardizing codes regarding the size, weight, and circumference of human bodies always coincide with labels of categories of difference such as gender, ethnicity, sexual identity, social origin, etc. In recent years, researchers in sociology, gender studies, and queer studies in German-speaking countries have begun investigating self-directed technologies and strategies of self-optimization in the context of a neoliberal gender regime (e.g. Villa 2008; Kreisky 2008; *Body Politics* 2015; Rose and Schorb 2017). However, the topics of art and visual culture have thus far remained marginal. The volume *Lookismus. Normierte Körper. Diskriminierende Mechanismen. (Self-)Empowerment* (Lookism: Standardized bodies, discriminating mechanisms, [self-] empowerment; 2017) makes initial observations about how today's body positivity movement reflects critically – and sometimes through a (queer) feminist lens – on the topics of fat empowerment, fat acceptance, and the diet industry in blogs, social media, and other online spaces. The scholars question even the declaredly empowering paradigm of "riot not diet" because it requires a "strong, independent, cool ideal" of radical self-acceptance and self-love without

4)
For examples of what extending Butler to the visual realm might look like, see Linda Hentschel's conception of visual ethics (2008) and Andrea Seier's media studies research (2007).

5)
One central figure is Esther Rothblum, who co-edited the *Fat Studies Reader* with Sondra Solovay in 2009 and has been editor of the *Fat Studies Journal* since 2012. The significance to the field of issues of visual representations of fat and fatness was already apparent in the second issue of the journal, which contained a special sub-issue edited by Stefanie Snider (*Fat Studies Journal* 2013).

giving voice to the pain – and sometimes failure – caused by "(sexist) lookist norms and [instead] developing collective modes of behavior based on shared experiences of suffering" (Schmechel 2017: 79). In their recent edited collection *Fat Studies in Deutschland* (Fat studies in Germany, 2017), Lotte Rose and Friedrich Schorb contend that advocates of "fat agency" use the "stigmatizing term 'fat' very consciously" and consistently reject "productions of knowledge about the 'harmfulness of being overweight'" and optimized techniques of weight loss (Ibid.: 9). Instead, they ask how and when supposed "facts" about high body weight and, by extension, measures of bio-political regulation and government are scrutinized, fact-checked, and justified (Ibid.).

Issue 62 of FKW engages with these debates in fat studies as well as debates over contemporary systems of beauty from a gender studies perspective as it deconstructs the visual representations and absences of fat bodies, whose very definition implies standardization. This issue will consider in greater detail how fatness is addressed in various visual fields; the consequences of these depictions; and how art, visual culture, and techniques of media and self-regulation intersect.

The first article makes clear that the idealization of the slender body and the concomitant devaluation and prejudice against the fat body have deep historical roots. In *The Faces of Fatness in Early Modern Europe*, **Sara Benninga** shows that the fat body in northern Europe of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was portrayed negatively as a religious and societal symbol of transgressed moral and social boundaries. By reading a variety of Christian visual portrayals in parallel with written theological sources, Benninga identifies the symbolic meaning ascribed to the corpulent body, the other sins and vices it was linked with, and these images' embeddedness in social structures and notions of body and soul. Through portrayals of gluttony as a sin, the figure of the large-bellied farmer (sometimes shown with his wife), female figures with exposed full bodies, and images of food sellers, aristocrats, and friars, Benninga gives evidence that corpulence was considered a negative symbol of various vices and a sign of inadequate control over one's bodily needs.

While Benninga explores the devaluation and stigmatization of the fat body in the Early Modern period, **Brittany Lockard** discusses two paintings by the contemporary artist Jenny Saville. Saville's large-format works on the female body have been

interpreted almost universally as fat-positive. Lockard is skeptical about this interpretation; her essay rereads both the paintings themselves and their art-historical reception. She demonstrates how the literature on Saville's opulent women's bodies perpetuates gender norms, at least implicitly, as the writers often juxtapose them against the viewer's bodies, which they imagine as "thin," or confuse the size of the canvas with the size of the body. The difficulty of describing or classifying bodies becomes clear here, raising the question of whether familiar and established art-historical descriptions are pejorative. Using the paintings *Plan* (1993) and *Propped* (1992), she discusses whether this presumptive fat positivity bears out. Lockard argues that merely portraying the fat body does not, on its own, challenge its stereotypes. She goes on to show that the attitudes demonstrated by the images towards generous bodies are ambivalent at the least. Although Saville's representations are intended as critical, the author contends that they counter the constant measurement and social control of the female body inadequately, if at all, and might even freshly evoke such measurement and control.

Evangelia Kindinger's essay *'I Wanna Be Fat': Healthism and Fat Politics in TLC's My Big Fat Fabulous Life* examines a reality TV series whose protagonist, Whitney Thore, consciously sets out to be fat and healthy. In an age that idealizes slender, muscular bodies, this is a surprising goal, especially when voiced on reality TV, which is notorious for formats focused on makeovers and self-optimization that corroborate the perennially proclaimed obesity epidemic. The author therefore pursues a double strategy. She asks to what extent *My Big Fat Fabulous Life* advances and practices fat politics or agency in liberating ways or whether, in fact, the fat politics and fat pride the show represents only serve to transmit into viewer's heads, via lifestyle TV, the neoliberal discourse of a subject who is constantly demanded to optimize herself. Through the examples of melodrama and horror films, media studies has shown that less-reputable genres, programs, and formats have an advantage: they can air positions that are not (yet) accepted or remain controversial in wider society. Thus Kindinger's essay lends fascinating insight into the "politics of media" on television (Stauff 2005).

By contrast, **Lucienne Auz** discusses artworks that deal with a more direct form of fat shaming. Fat shaming – a term that, interestingly, still lacks a German equivalent – refers to pejorative

and usually prejudicial language about fat bodies. The fact that pejorative statements about fat bodies are especially articulated under the shelter of the Internet's presumed anonymity has been discussed in a variety of ways, including by the artist Haley Morris-Cafiero. Auz's essay *Staring Back: A Response to Body Shamers in Haley Morris-Cafiero's Self-Portraiture* analyzes the photo series *Wait Watchers*, for which Morris-Cafiero styles herself as a tourist in various places and has her picture taken without passersby noticing. In her art, she is less interested in her own representation than in other people's looks and gestures reacting to her body. The various attitudes towards her body become clearest when the photographer publishes her photographs on various online media outlets. In another work, *In the Time of Trump*, Morris-Cafiero takes on the comments that express the most vehement hatred and resistance toward her portrayal of her body, which departs from the ideal of thinness. She looks through their user profiles, constructs a character based on them, and photographs it together with her posts. Auz discusses how Morris-Cafiero's artistic practice goes beyond opening up a space for negotiating assumptions and attributions about a body classified as fat, but also pursues the question of how identities are manufactured socially on the Internet through gazes, gestures, comments, and staged images.

What do coloring books have to do with fat positivity, queering, and intersectionality? **Cat Pausé** explores the answer in her article *Candy Perfume Girl: Coloring in Fat Bodies*. Beginning with the history of the coloring book as a normative element of a white British middle-class upbringing and childhood recreation, she asserts that coloring books in wide-ranging manifestations – whether as "serious" printed books or homemade, home-produced zines – are currently undergoing a Renaissance as an adult pastime, and to subversive effect. The idea that a coloring book, which calls for repetitive and normative behavior, could be subversive and revolutionary calls for an explanation. Taking many recent coloring books as examples, Pausé demonstrates how these can provide and popularize positive representations of fat bodies. She also elaborates on how much of the line art pokes at the boundaries of so-called good taste by offering up abundant skin, flesh, double chins, sex, etc., for people to color in – always in conjunction with categories of difference such as gender, ethnicity, sexual identity, social origin, age, and ability. In view of the

absence of images of "super-fat bodies" or bodies with disabilities, however, the author acknowledges that these coloring books are still the exception and not the rule.

In addition, the 62nd issue of FKW includes three reviews presenting recent publications on current research topics in the area of cultural gender studies. Birgit Haehnel reviews Irene Below and Burcu Dogramaci's co-edited volume *Kunst und Gesellschaft zwischen den Kulturen. Die Kunsthistorikerin Hanna Levy-Deinhard im Exil und ihre Aktualität heute* (*Art and society between cultures: The art historian Hanna Levy-Deinhard in exile and her relevance today*). Levy-Deinhard escaped the Nazis in 1933 and went into exile in Brazil by way of Paris. This ninth volume in the series *Frauen und Exil* (*Women and Exile*) does more than remember the life of a woman researcher whom Germany has forgotten. It also identifies how Levy-Deinhard's research into the colonial art of Brazil holds the seeds of a vision of global art history.

Katrin Köppert discusses the essay collection *un/verblümt. Queere Politiken in Ästhetik und Theorie* (un/abashed: Queer policies in aesthetics and theory, 2014) edited by Josch Hoenes and Barbara Paul, which explores a range of queer aesthetic strategies. Köppert explores the potential productiveness of contemplating various un/abashed expressions of anti-authoritarian politics, particularly in view of the commonness of statements like "I'll say what I want."

Forms of speech or, more precisely, types of cultural representation are also the subject of the third review. Jonas Diekhans writes about Insa Härtel's book published in collaboration with Sonja Witte and titled *Kinder der Erregung. "Übergriffe" und "Objekte" in kulturellen Konstellationen kindlich-jugendlicher Sexualität* (*Children of arousal: "Assaults" and "objects" in cultural constellations of childhood and teenage sexuality*; 2014). The subject here is not childhood sexuality itself, but its presentations in Western societies. Diekhans posits that the authors use an extensive corpus of texts and images and an analysis of psycho and analytic theory to elaborate on intriguing dimensions of social discourse around childhood and teenage sexuality, which they submit for public discussion.

For the FKW issue on visual fat studies, we have the pleasure of working with the Austrian choreographer and performance artist Doris Uhlich, who invites us to a "fat dance" featuring the

sounds of the media artist and DJ Boris Kopeinig. In the booklet accompanying the CD exclusively produced for FKW, she offers Tips and Tracks for *Flesh Dancing*: “Start with clothes. Or half naked. Or a little naked. Or naked. Soon you will enjoy being more than naked” (Uhlich 2017: Booklet).

On that note, FKW wishes you an enjoyable read and a fantastic dance.

Translated by Jake Schneider

// Image Credits

Fig.1: Cover of ***The XXL Report, Opinions and Views on Heaviness and Obesity***, 2016, in: www.dak.de/dak/bundes-themen/xxl-report-so-werden-dicke-menschen-ausgegrenzt-1846124.html (Juli 2017)
Fig. 2: PETA’s ad campaign, ***Save the Whales: Lose the Blubber, Go Vegetarian***, 2009, in: www.nutritionunplugged.com/2009/08/lose-the-blubber-ad-is-low-blow-from-peta (Juli 2017)

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// Sara Benninga

THE FACES OF FATNESS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

The fat body in early modern European imagery was most often used to symbolize transgressions of moral and social boundaries. Reflecting the Christian dichotomy between flesh and spirit, the fat body was used as a negative symbol in the depictions of sins such as Gluttony, Otium and Ignorance, and for figures found in social customs and celebrations representing boundary breaking, such as Carnival. These negative depictions of the fat body were usually male, although female counterparts of gluttons were sometimes visualized as a reflection of their spouses, and therefore fat (Walker 1987: 79–80).

This essay will delineate the use of the fat body as a negative religious and social symbol in Northern European art of the 15th and 16th centuries. I will discuss the dependence of such a representation on Christian theological sources and trace the relation of the negative religious connotations to the use of the fat body in a social and political context.

The disparaging view of the fat body was based on the Christian distinction between flesh and spirit (or body and mind). The body and its flesh were regarded by early Christian theologians as a site of sin and weakness. In his *Confessions* (397–400) St. Augustine perceives the relationship between the body and the mind as a constant struggle, the loss of which leads to sin: "Placed among these temptations, then, I struggle every day against uncontrolled desire in eating and drinking" (Aug. conf. 10.31.47). In order to avoid sin, one has to control these bodily temptations by reason, and find the correct balance between body and mind, a process which is painful and tormenting: "So we may conclude the account of the temptations of the lust of the flesh which still assail me, despite my groans and my 'desire to be clothed with my habitation which is from heaven' (2 Cor. 5:2)" (Aug. conf. 10.34.51). Although Augustine does not speak of the fat body, he condemns sensations and temptations, among these eating and drinking.

Gregory the Great clearly spoke of the relation between the fat body and the sin of gluttony. In *Pastoral Care* he writes: "When the belly is distended through gluttony, the virtues of the soul are ruined by impurity" (Pastor. 3.19). Thus, the bulging belly is understood by Gregory to be a sign of destroyed virtue, as if the expansion of flesh supplanted spiritual righteousness.

Thomas Aquinas further explicates this understanding when he defines gluttony as the lack of control of reason and "inordinate concupiscence" (Aquinas 1265–1274/1981: II–II, Q. 148, Art. 2). Moreover, Aquinas relates gluttony to uncleanness, manifested in the discharge of excess from the body, in the form of vomiting, and especially in the emission of semen (ibid.: Art. 6). Thus, flesh, and its desires was perceived as a seat of corruption and sin in the Christian tradition, and eating and drinking were viewed as a threat to the moral uprightness of believers when the physical body took precedence over the mental and spiritual abilities of the brain (Schimmel 1992: 142).

The negative approach towards the fat body was most adamantly taken up by Martin Luther in his commentary on 1 Cornithians 15. The fat body is condemned because it is seen as an earthly prison for the soul. Luther distinguishes between the fat solid body and the fat bloated body. The solid body is the righteous body nourished through God. The bloated body, in contrast, consumes food and is characterized by a protruding paunch, and likened to a windbag. The animal most associated with this body by Luther is the pig, whose fat body is bloated and unstable (Gilman 2004: 54–58).

In early modern imagery the fat body was many times depicted in light of the aforementioned condemning perception of flesh, as a signifier of sin. In addition, the aesthetic understanding of the ideal body in European culture contributed to the reading of the fat body as an affront to beauty as well as to morality. From the time of ancient Greek culture, the fat body was considered ugly, and outward appearance was perceived to parallel the inward state of the soul (ibid.: 35–39). The ideal of the body as thin and muscular was first called into question in Albrecht Dürer's *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* (*Four Books of Human Proportion,* 1528). Dürer gives the proportions of five male and female body types, in which the head is the measurement for the body. The types which he finds, ranging from "coarse and rustic" to "long and thin" are denoted by a head to body ratio from 1:7 to 1:10 (Panofsky 2005: 166). The stout body type, called type 'A' was of a 1:7 ratio, and is both shorter and thicker than its mean counterpart, type 'C', which is 1:8. Although Dürer did not show the fat or obese body as one of his types, he created a system of relative beauty, preferring variety and difference between body types over one "ideal beauty" (ibid.: 265–267). However, it would take some time before the depiction of the fat body was somewhat freed from

social and moral condemnation, as in the paintings of Peter Paul Rubens in the first half of the 17th century.

The religious interpretation of the fat body as representing sin is most clearly seen in Hieronymus Bosch's *Allegory of Intemperance* in the Yale University gallery (1495–1500, **fig. 1**). This panel was part of a dismantled triptych from 1495–1500, and formed the bottom part of the left wing. The *Ship of Fools,* today in the Louvre, formed the upper part of the wing. A pendant to this wing was the painting *Death and the Miser,* today in the Washington National Gallery, which concentrates on the sin of Avarice (Morganstern 1984: 295–302)[1]. The missing middle panel is presumed to have shown the other Deadly Sins.

In the Yale panel, Gluttony is a fat figure dressed in peasants' clothing, sitting on a barrel. He is being pushed from behind by three figures, while another one swims in front of him to fill his bowl with wine from the barrel. Gluttony's belly is accentuated in relation to his thin legs. The wine barrel he is seated on is both a comparison to his barrel-like physique and hints at excessive drinking as a source of his excessive body. In the right part of this fragment, a couple hide their amorous relationship in a tent. The glass of wine held by the man in the tent relates the sin of lust to that of gluttony, and thus designates both as sins of excessive carnality.

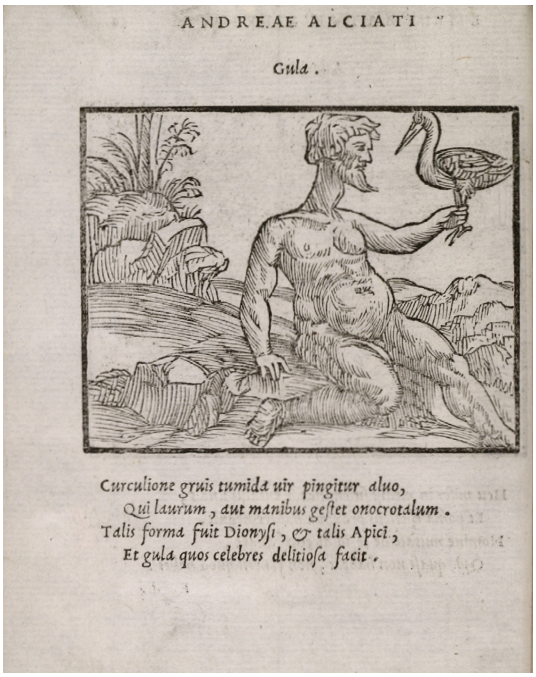
The use of the fat body as a signifier of sin continues in Bosch's *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (1505–1510). In the center is a figure of Christ showing his wounds, under which a warning is written: "*cave cave deus videt*" (Beware, Beware, God is watching) (Büttner 2016: 120). The sin of *Gluttony* (*Gula*) is seen in the center above the image of Christ. It takes place at the dining table. A fat man sits in a chair holding a jug of wine in one hand and a chicken leg in the other. On the table in front of him are remains of an eaten fish, cow leg and lamb ribs, as well as a pie. The consumption of food is limitless. The housewife has just entered the room with a roast chicken, and a sausage is grilling on a small bonfire in the foreground. The glutton is unkempt, his toes peeping out of his right worn shoe. His toddler son has gotten up from his chair, which doubles as a potty, and left his games behind, in order to ask

1) For further information see: Katherine B. Neilson 1972: cat. 4; Nils Büttner 2016: 165–168.

// Figure 1
Hieronymus Bosch, *An Allegory of Intemperance*, 1495–1500

his father for some food, showing the sinful ways passed on from father to son, and also the lack of boundaries between what exits the body and what enters it. On the right of *Gluttony* a thin man empties the remains of a jug of drink, to the glutton's dissatisfaction (Gibson 1973: 33–37). The Glutton's heavy body is contrasted with the thin body of the wounded Christ in the center, reminding the sinner that he is watching.

Bosch's formulation of the fat peasant body as a representation of Gluttony was also used in later Netherlandish art. In a painting by an anonymous Southern Netherlandish painter today in the National Museum of Naples, Gluttony is represented allegorically as a corpulent peasant sitting next to a table laden with empty vessels, and holding a jug of drink.[2)] The woman to his right is reminiscent of the housewife in Bosch's *Tabletop*, who has come to tend to his needs. A pig, the attribute of Gluttony, is on his right-hand side, and two merry companies are seen behind him on either side, alluding to the indulgence in sensual pleasures.



// Figure 2
Andrea Alciati, *Gula*, Emblematum libellus, Venice, 1546

Emblematic depictions of the sin of gluttony tended to synthesize the fat and fleshy body with other attributes of sin. In Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum libellus* (Venice, 1546) the emblem *Gula* shows a nude, fleshy man sitting in a landscape holding a bird (Alciati 1546/2004: 109; **fig. 2**). The text describes the man as having a long gullet like a crane as well as a bloated stomach. The bird is identified in the text as a pelican or a seagull, symbolizing insatiable lust and appetite, as is indicated in the emblem *In garrulum et gulosum*. The text also compares the glutton to Dionysius and Apicius, two famous gourmands (ibid.: 114).

In *Gluttony* by Jacob Matham after Hendrik Goltzius' depiction in his series of the seven vices, gluttony is a fleshy female figure **(fig. 3)**. As opposed to the male representations of gluttony which usually showed a rounded belly as a symbol of excess, the female figure's flesh is accentuated through its exposure: her breasts, belly and most of her leg are exposed by her clothing. The pig accompanies her as an attribute of gluttony, as seen in the anonymous Netherlandish example. The text underneath reads: "Lauta Gula facies et splendida mensa Lyai/ Heu quot praecipites dat, dedit atq'dabit" (Gluttony, the praised image and splendid table

// Figure 3
Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *Gluttony (Gula)*, 1585–1589

of Lyaius, alas how many teachings it gives, gave and will give) (Coté 2014: 24)[3]. The allusion in the text to the luxurious table of Lauis, Oedipus' father, highlights the ties between material excess and corpulence. This relation is strengthened by the tray held by the figure of gluttony, which has a pie with a crane's head on it, similar to the Alciati attribute of gluttony. The rim of the pie is clearly molded like a crown, connecting gluttony and the fat body to political power and appetite as well. By referring to Lauis, such political appetite is connected to the destructive outcome of a way of life perverted by the indulgence of bodily urges, as exemplified in the story of Oedipus, who killed his father and married his mother.

The use of the corporeal body as a signifier of sin and transgression was not restricted to religious motives. The portrayal of the fat body lent itself to the reprimanding of any individual or group who were seen to disobey political, social and cultural norms. Building on the use of the fat body as a signifier of sin, extreme corpulence was often used to berate unruliness related to social rank and profession. One of the condemned professions was that of food providers, to whom Sebastian Brant devoted a chapter in *Ship of Fools* (1494/1944). He characterized them as belonging to a cunning and deceitful profession of people who use food to control their masters and waste their funds while consuming ample quantities: "And when at night our masters snore and locks and bars are on the door, we drink the wines with comrades boon and tap the largest barrel soon [...] and we can skillfully prepare a wealth of dishes served with care [...] of sugar, condiments a lot we do prepare an oxymell, so that our master vomits well [...] this recks us not, for we can treat ourselves: we'll have more food to eat [...]" (ibid: 266–67).

The peasants were also chided by Brant, who accused them of wickedness, gluttony and fraud: "While now on drinking wine they're set. They plunge themselves in heavy debt and though their corn and wine sell well they borrow more than I can tell, and payments are always belated [...]. From peasants spring all knavery – each day a new discovery [...]. Of wealth the peasants have no dearth, they hoard their corn and wine by stealth and other things inducing wealth, thus driving prices ever higher [...]" (ibid.: 269).

In imagery, a moderate example of the berated lower classes is found in Albrecht Dürer's engraving *The Cook and His Wife* (1496) (Hollstein 1962: 7: 79). The cook stands with a pan and

3) Translation by Cotè. For further information see: Walter Strauss 1980: 4:249, no. 272 (199).

spoon in his right hand, a knife tied to his belt and a goose on his left shoulder. In between the cooking implements and the goose which is going to be prepared is his large protruding belly, barely contained by the shirt he is wearing, which threatens to burst. The excessive body is related to his profession, situated between the cooking tools and the goose, hinting of his abuse of this profession: he eats too much of what he makes.

Hans Weiditz developed the disparaging depiction of food providers and peasants in a number of woodcuts done shortly before the German peasant wars of 1525–26. Weiditz was active in Augsburg until 1522, where he studied with Hans Burkmair, before the outbreak of the peasant revolt in three districts of Swabia, in December 1524 and February 1525 (Geisberg 1974: 4: IX). According to Tom Scott and Bob Scribner, the peasants used the carnival time to rally support, marching from village to village, finally creating a *Christian Union* uniting the rebelling regions (1991: 25–27). The peasants referred to the Gospel as a support for and justification of their demands, as is attested to in a document from 1525 written to the Town of Ehingen on the Danube: "We wish to inform you that on Fastnacht Monday [27 February] we held a Christian assembly and unanimously agreed to negotiate solely according to the wording and content of the divine Word, which one should know and experience through learned Christian men [...]. But since we have many enemies who oppose the Word of God, we therefore humbly request to know from you as our gracious lords and from the entire commune, how we are to regard you [...]. Dated in haste on Shrove Tuesday" (ibid: 127).

The peasants' identification with the divine Word was also seen in religious propaganda of the early Reformation, which, between 1520 and 1525, created the figure of the *evangelical peasant*. This figure, propagated through popular prints, showed the peasant in a new and positive light, as wise and knowledgeable in Scripture. He was not fat, comic or vulgar (Scribner 1976). Despite being based on Lutheran preaching, this image of the peasant disappeared after 1525, stemming from the *reform of popular culture* as termed by Peter Burke, which attempted to clean popular culture from its pagan roots and sinful traditions (1978). Hans Weiditz's woodcuts scorn the peasants and depict them as grotesque and sinful. Their dating to the turbulent years preceding the outbreak of the peasant revolt makes them a continuation of a tradition which presented the peasant as bawdy and foolish, as well as a response to the *evangelical peasant* (Uhrig 1936).

In *Mair Ulin and his Wife* a grotesquely fat man and wife are carrying eating utensils, such as a plate and spoon, as well as a wine jug and a goose (Geisberg 1974: 4: 1480).[4] The text accompanying the image identifies the figure of Mair Ulin as a food provider making his way to Hans.[5] While the wife carries the strapped goose and the wine jug, her partner, Mair Ulin, carries the implements with which they will serve the meal: a plate on his chest, a spoon dangling from his belt and a wine pitcher tied to his sleeve.[6] Mair Ulin explains his job as filling Hans's throat (feeding him) so that Hans will reward him.[7] The target of this fleshy entourage, *Hans*, alludes to the grotesque comic character *Hans Wurst*, a German carnival character, whose name and attribute of a sausage, refer to the custom of eating meat and emphasizing the temptations of flesh during the festival.[8] Martin Luther referred to Duke Henry II of Brunswick as Hans Wurst in his book *Wider Hans Worst* (1541), in order to insult and berate him. Luther writes that he is not the first to use this phrase, referring to its use in Brant's 1519 edition in Low-German of *Ship of Fools* (Luther 1541/1967: 322). The extreme physicality of Mair Ulin and his wife makes them a grotesque show of flesh, which serves the insatiable appetite of *Hans*, proving the client of these two to be no better.

In another image by Hans Weiditz, *Winebag and Wheelbarrow* also from 1521 the figure is so fat that he must use a wheelbarrow to carry his stomach **(fig. 4)**. This image was reproduced in 1521 with an accompanying text, in which the speaker admits to being a "wineskin".[9] Thus, his fatness is compared to the wine bag tied to his back. In this example, the body becomes only a vessel for the over consumption of wine. Similar to Dürer's image of the cook, his clothing threatens to burst, as the strings holding his shirt together seem to be stretched to the limit. This inability to contain himself is seen also in the fluid exiting his mouth. Much like the wineskin he admits to being, his contents flow out. This overindulgence in drink is clearly tied to his exaggerated physique. In the text above he admits to the foolishness of his way of life, knowing that in his old age his huge belly will be empty.[10] This confession is very similar to Brant's characterization of the glutton and feaster in *Ship of Fools:* "He kills all reason, is not sage, and will regret it in old age." (Brant 1494/1944: 97). Thus, his extreme corpulence is a sign of his overindulgence in wine, up to the point of bursting, and of his inability to plan for the future. It is also reminiscent of Luther's designation of the fat bloated body, as being just a windbag.

4)
The figure identifies himself in the text: „Ich haisz Mair ülin von der linden."

5)
„Bin wol gereiz mit spies und stangen, bei haznasch hab ich an mir hange, dazu trag ich gut wein und gantz, und sieg gaz wol zu dissen hans."

6)
This shape of bottle can be used for both wine and vinegar. The text in this woodcut mentions that Mair Ulin is traveling with wine and a goose. The wine could refer both to his bottle and to the jug his wife is carrying.

7)
„Damit vul ich im seinen kropf, das er mich dester basser schop."

8)
The name Carnival derives from *Carne*, meaning, *flesh* (Burke 1978: 185–186).

9)
„Ich bin ein rechter weinschlauch." For the image with text see: Max Geisberg 1974: 4:1473.

10)
„Im alter aber wirds mir schwer/ Wen mir mein grosser wamst steet leer/ Und ist alls durch den Ars gefaren/ Das muss ich waynen in alten Jaren."

// Figure 4
Hans Weiditz, *Winebag and Wheelbarrow*, 1521 (circa)

Weiditz's woodcuts relate the peasants' perceived social transgression in the early Reformation discourse to the abuse of eating and drinking, reflected in the unseemly physical depictions of their bodies. The fatness of the peasants' bodies alludes to their vice, the deadly sin of gluttony. The importance of compliance with one's social position and the dangers of sin were also found in Protestant teachings. In 1520, Luther referred to the importance of each person knowing his place in society in his *Appeal to the Ruling Class*: "A shoemaker, a smith, a farmer, each has his manual occupation and work; [...] Every one of them in his occupation or handicraft ought to be useful to his fellows, and serve them in such a way that the various trades are all directed to the best advantage of the community, and promote the well-being of body and soul" (1520/1961: 410).

Luther saw the indulgence in food and drink as a local characteristic, and preached against it: "The next thing is the abuse of eating and drinking, a matter which gains us no good repute abroad, but is thought a special failing of ours." (ibid.: 482–483). Luther also recommended fasting as a way to discipline and control the body, as he writes in his *Treatise on Christian Liberty* from 1520: "Now let us turn to the second part, to the outward man [...]; here a man cannot take his ease; here he must, indeed, take care to discipline his body by fastings, watchings, labors and other reasonable discipline, and to make it subject to the spirit so that it will obey and conform to the inward man and to faith, and not revolt against faith [...] as it is the body's nature to do if it be not held in check." (1520/1943: 328).

The peasants' transgression of their social role, expressed in the two woodcuts by Weiditz, was adamantly expressed in Martin Luther's *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants* (1525), in which he scorns the peasants for committing three grave sins against both God and man, meriting death in body and soul, and accuses them of serving the devil under the cloak of Christianity: "The peasants have taken on themselves the burden of three terrible sins against God and man, by which they have abundantly merited death in body and soul. [...] [N]othing can be more poisonous, hurtful, or devilish than a rebel. [...] Our peasants, however, would have other men's goods common, and keep their own goods for themselves. [...] [T]he peasants are not contending any longer for the Gospel, but have become faithless, perjured, disobedient, rebellious murderers, robbers, and blasphemers." (1525/1931: 248–251). The physical deformity of Weiditz's peasants,

although earlier than Luther's scornful writings, is read as a spiritual deformity, emphasized by their depiction as foolish.

The use of the fat body as a political symbol was not limited to the peasant wars: An image by an anonymous artist titled *Satire of Gluttony in Germany* (1560–1575)[11] was copied and reprinted with additional text in Martin Weigel's *Allegory of Gluttony* (1570–1580),[12] turning it into a condemnation of the nobility. The image shows a man dressed in sausages, tripe and blood, holding a pig's head on a skewer. The text in the earlier image recalls Sodom and Gomorrah, stating that Christ and St. Paul will have to intervene on account of the sinful ways of the German people. Lastly, the text says that Germany is wilder on the inside than on the outside, thus leaving the inner ugliness to the imagination of the viewers and readers.[13] While the earlier, anonymous text only mentions the godly intervention needed in such a state of sin, the text printed alongside Weigel's image condemns the upper classes. Alluding to the clothes made of bloodied animal parts, the prince and count are said to have covered themselves in the blood of the poor.[14] This character in the image is not as fat as the peasant figures by Weiditz. The transgression of boundaries alluded to by the fat bodies of Weiditz's peasants is here signified by the bloody inner parts worn as part of the figure's clothes. The tripe, sausages and blood are shown on the outside, as though the figure flaunts the innards of its gluttonous stomach.

Under the moral gaze, the fat body lent itself easily to the expression of a variety of transgressions. The expansion of the physical boundaries of the body was often used as an indication of defiance, either political, cultural or social. Moreover, the same image could serve to condemn different subjects. This is seen in the adoption of Weiditz's wheelbarrow man for Pieter Bruegel the Elder's drawing of *Gluttony,* part of a series of the seven deadly sins, completed between 1556 and 1558, and followed by a series of the seven virtues.[15] The center of the composition depicts the personification of gluttony in the form of a fat woman with a pig under her skirt, standing next to the table and drinking from a jug. In the left mid-ground Bruegel has quoted the wheelbarrow man, clearly depicting him as an expression of gluttony.

The figure of the wheelbarrow man was adapted and used in two later prints, detaching its original meaning in the context of the peasant wars, and re-contextualizing it as an image of social transgression. The first is the *Bacchus Brotherhood*, by Lorentz Schultes.[16] The figure in Schultes' print copies the position of

11) For the anonymous print see: Eugen Diederichs 1908: 1: 193.

12) For the image see: Strauss Walter L. Strauss 1975: 3: 1148.

13) „Wann Gott die Welde hart straffen will, so halt die selb darnoz kein zil. Zeuge die Zeit Mohe verwozren, deßgleich Sodom und Gomozrhen. Ja Christus/ Paulus thünds sagen, das wie damals letzter tagen. Lieb, speiß, tranck, fleyß, scheülich verkört, maß, zucht darinn werd gar unwherdt. Drumb Teütschland d'sich diß ebenbild, innen ists mehr dann aussen wild. Am kleyd von kutlen, blüt, bratwurst." For the image and its accompanying text see: Diederichs 1908: 1:193.

14) „O Fürst, Graf, ach du Edels Blüt, man spricht, Seiner armen leuten güt, Iren schweiß hat der an sich ghenckt, in erdtrich Blüt sich selbs entreckt." For the image and its accompanying text see: Walter L. Strauss 1975: 3:1148.

15) For the image see: Nadine Orenstein 2001: cat. 44.

16) For the image see: Friedrich W.H. Hollstein 2000: 52:241.

Weiditz's wheelbarrow man. However, the proportions are even more distorted, comprising a ratio of 1:5 between the head and body, as opposed to 1:6 in Weiditz's print. As opposed to Weiditz's figure, which belongs to the peasantry, the figure in Schultes' print is part of the Bacchic brotherhood, as designated by the title. His head is covered by an overgrown wreath of vine in which large clusters of grapes and other fruits grow. He has a pretzel pinned to his shirt, and a sausage strapped to his belt. While the pretzel is conspicuous, pinned on his breast, the sausage is almost hidden, thus alluding to his hypocrisy. While the pretzel, a devotional baked good produced in a cloister (Heyne 1901: 277), shows this figure to be part of a brotherhood, the sausage gives away the gluttonous character of this brotherhood, relating him to the figure of Hans Wurst. The subtitle explicitly states that the guild of Bacchus dedicates itself to gorging and guzzling, as a consequence of which the stomach grows.[17)]

The very same image was used again at the end of the 17th century to characterize a newcomer from America, which is also referred to as a Land of Cockaigne (Richter 1984: 67). The "general of glutton-village and paunch-house," according to the title, explains his corpulence as a result of excessive eating, drinking and smoking.[18)] He emphasizes that these activities go on around the clock, where he comes from: he smokes a hundred pounds of tobacco for breakfast, stuffs himself during midday and night, and does not forget to drink ten buckets of beer during the day.[19)]

To conclude, the image of the fat body carried with it many negative religious and social connotations. Starting with its relation to the sin of gluttony, the expansion of the body was perceived as resulting from a lack of control of the mind over the body, and surrender to bodily urges. These negative qualities of the gluttonous subject were further developed to connote social divergence and political disobedience, and tied mostly to low-class professions. The images of the fat body discussed here associate its physical qualities, seen, for instance, in the bulging belly, with mental, moral and social misbehavior, constantly supervised and judged by a higher authority.

17) „Die Figur aigentlich abbildt/ Das Bacchi Zunfft/ die sich einfaelt/ Mit fressen/ sauffen also hart/ Das der Bauch thondrund tracht die schwardt."

18) The title reads: „Der aus America und Schlaraffenland neu angekomene General von Fressdorf und Wansthausen."

19) „Dass in so dikem Staat ich mich hie prasentier,/ Macht, weil mittags und nachts ich tapfer um mich fresse,/ Auch überdiss alltag noch Zehen Eymer Bier./ Und hündert pfund tobaks züm früstük nicht vergesse."

// Image credits

Fig. 1: Hieronymus Bosch, *An Allegory of Intemperance*, 1495–1500, oil on panel, 34.9*31.4*1.6 cm, Yale University Art Gallery
Fig. 2: Andrea Alciati, *Gula*, Emblematum libellus, Venice, 1546
Fig. 3: Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *Gluttony (Gula)*, 1585–1589, engraving, 216*144 mm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Fig. 4: Hans Weiditz, *Winebag and Wheelbarrow*, 1521 (circa), woodcut, 277*212 mm, The British Museum

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// Brittany Lockard

WHO ARE YOU CALLING FAT? EATING DISORDERED THINKING IN JENNY SAVILLE'S *PLAN* AND *PROPPED*

TROUBLED AND TROUBLING FEMINIST READINGS OF SAVILLE

As a young artist, Jenny Saville achieved near-immediate success with her large-scale female nudes, in part due to the openly feminist intentions Saville claimed for her otherwise traditional subject matter. Many articles and essays that deal with Saville address those intentions and read her images as problematizing cultural expectations of femininity but also as uncomplicated celebrations of the fat body. However, the overwhelming fat-hatred that saturates Western culture affects the English language, so that words used to describe the fat body have taken on pejorative connotations. As such, when writing about Saville's paintings, authors often end up rendering the fat body as other in their attempts to describe it. This happens even to authors who usually apply language rigorously, like Linda Nochlin, who describes Saville's nudes as "excess[ive]," "gargantuan," "gigantesque," "huge," and "gross flesh," all in the course of a single article (Nochlin 2000: 94–97). While it can be argued that not all of these terms are pejorative, certainly the term 'excessive' implies that the fat body transgresses appropriate boundaries, and 'gross flesh' reduces the depicted body (and by extension, the sitter's actual body) to its physicality.

Authors who aim to give fat-positive readings can also fall into societal traps and end up writing articles that do the opposite of their expressed intentions. For example, Sidonie Smith does an admirable job of opening up Saville's painting *Branded* (1992) to multiple meanings and of exploring its ambiguity. One of Smith's central points concerns the way that Saville's nude "exposes the unnaturalness of the words and meanings [like petite and delicate] carved across it" (Smith 2002: 138). Although Smith is pointing out the culturally constructed nature of our understanding of the body in this passage, she goes on to *other* the depicted body by assuming the painting's viewers (and presumably her readers) look quite different from it. That is, she assumes that the majority (if not all) of viewers will be slim. Smith notes that Saville implicates the viewer in the image, constructing it in such a way that she forces the viewer to assess her own position in relation to the depicted body. According to Smith, this sets up a dichotomy between the viewer's body and that of the sitter, such that the viewer

becomes the thin man to the (painted) fat lady. In making this argument, Smith denies a place for a viewer who is the same size as the subject of the painting, let alone larger. Smith's dichotomy falls apart if the viewer's body is anything other than a normative, or thin, body.

Unlike Nochlin and Smith, many authors, especially in the popular press, posit Saville's images as straightforward celebrations of the large female body. For instance, Jean Donald claims that Saville's paintings demonstrate that "even the art world is accepting less than perfect bodies" (Donald 1994: 11), while an article about a British fat activist and comedienne argues that Saville's "latest paintings [...] are controversial primarily because of their unorthodox celebration of female flesh" ("Dawn French" 1994: np). Although it is tempting to believe that the very act of depicting a large woman is a positive step – after all, images of large women are so rare that in order to satisfy her interest in the subject, Saville had to use medical texts and pornography to find models (Trenemen 1998: 19) – this is not necessarily true. There is no reason to assume that the mere act of representing the fat body allows an artist to disrupt cultural stereotypes; this is certainly not the case for other marginalized bodies.

The difficulty in labeling Saville's nudes as unproblematically celebratory can be seen by those critics who, even while claiming Saville's paintings as laudatory, suggest that the nudes must be unhappy with their bodies. For instance, one author believes that Saville *could* be praising the fat body, but undercuts this suggestion by announcing that the model for *Strategy* (1993–94) "doesn't share Saville's celebration of the voluptuous female: she has chosen to have liposuction treatment" ("Full body" 1994: 7). Saville herself has said, "[m]y paintings don't celebrate bigness" (Henry 1994a: 13).

While it is possible to read Saville's images in fat-positive ways, I would suggest that these mixed and conflicted interpretations of Saville's paintings reflect mixed and conflicting contemporary attitudes about the fat body. I argue that Saville's paintings demonstrate a larger, cultural vision, a kind of eating-disordered worldview, in which women constantly judge their own bodies as well as the bodies of other women. This worldview discomfits viewers and even Saville herself, which ultimately can be seen in the artist's disfiguring of her painted bodies.

PLAN, BODY IMAGE DISTURBANCE SYNDROME AND THE CONFLATION OF SIZE/SCALE

Like most of Saville's early

works, *Plan* (1993) **(fig. 1)** is physically large, measuring nine by seven feet, and depicts a female nude whose body is based on Saville's own. She paints from photographs of her own body, supplemented by photographs of life models, as well as a variety of other sources (Sylvester 1994: 18). *Plan* shows a nude female figure, viewed from the mid-thighs up, centered in the frame with her pubic hair at eye level. She tilts her head to the side and looks down to meet the viewer's gaze, with her right arm cradling her breasts. The figure itself is quite large; not only does it fill roughly three-quarters of the canvas, but it also spills beyond the boundaries of that canvas. The figure's head is partially cut off, as are the edges of her thighs. She poses in front of an ambiguous gray background that could read as anything from a wall to a floor. Many viewers also find the figure's pose ambiguous, as it is difficult to determine whether the woman in *Plan* stands or reclines. However, based on the way her body remains relatively taut and rounded, it seems likely that the figure stands upright. The figure's skin is mottled and bruised, especially in the arms and thighs, an effect heightened by Saville's use of a gray, blue, and mauve palette, and by the way that her delicate, patchy brushwork augments the color to produce the sense that the flesh is dissolving.

// Figure 1
Jenny Saville, *Plan*, 1993, Oil on canvas, 108 x 84 inches / 274.3 x 213.4cm, © Jenny Saville. Courtesy the artist and Gagosian.

The most noticeable feature of this image is a series of concentric circles and ovals on the nude's thighs and stomach. Saville actually incised the loops into the paint itself. The two most popular readings identify the circles as the marks made prior to cosmetic surgery (specifically, liposuction) or the lines on a topographical map. Clearly, Saville is aware of both these implications. She acknowledges that the original inspiration for these lines came

from a tabloid article about the surgery. However, she also said that "[the body in *Plan* is] also like a landscape in a way. The viewer visually navigates and climbs the body" (Holmes 2003: 145). Judith Batalion goes further, suggesting that the incised marks "resemble military maps for conquest, and concentric circular targets. Saville's drawn lines evoke something brutal, something aggressive" (Batalion 2004: 99). Again, the title reinforces this idea, bringing to mind expressions like 'plan of action,' and even 'plan of attack.'

Although *Plan* shows a large nude on a larger-than-life size canvas, the nude's body does not appear fat to my eyes, even when keeping in mind that such labels are culturally constructed. Her distinct waist looks small in comparison to her hips. Her belly, though slightly rounded, does not swell out toward the viewer or overhang her pubis. Her thighs touch, but also appear relatively flat, especially in relationship to her hips. The impression of fatness comes largely from the strange angle at which we view the figure, which causes dramatic foreshortening such that her head appears tiny in comparison to the mass of her thighs and torso. This distinction between the size of the canvas and the size of the depicted body is not always made clearly by the viewers of Saville's works, who have difficulty separating the size of her canvases from the figures depicted on them.

For instance, Waldemar Januszczak reads *Plan* as a self-portrait, and writes this about Saville: "Fat – what an unpleasant word [...] 'Fat' loathes what it describes. Saying the word involves the mouth in a short spit of disgust. And the hard, harsh fact of the matter is that Jenny Saville is fat. Very fat" (1994: np). Demetrio Paparoni calls *Plan*'s subject "an obese woman" (2006: 89), and Erin Witte also confuses the size of the canvas with the size of the body. She writes about *Plan*, "[some people] would argue that this figure elicits disgust because her extreme obesity is not 'healthy'" (Witte 2006: 66). Although the exaggerated foreshortening of the figure creates the potential to misread this body as fat, designating it as an example of 'extreme obesity' seems a bit far-fetched.

Alison Rowley provides a remarkable reading of *Plan*, clearly elaborating one source of this misrecognition of the size of the depicted body. Rowley regards the painting as a sort of psychic projection, showing Saville's internal belief about the (over)size of her own body, rather than reflecting the size of her actual body. In part, she derives this reading from the strained foreshortening of the body, which she convincingly argues is seen from an angle that

could only be achieved by the sitter staring into a mirror at her feet (Rowley 1996: 93–95). However, I would argue that the same angle could be achieved if the nude looked into a scale, so that the painting depicts an imaginary 'scale's eye view' of the woman. If this is the case, then the viewer, dragging her gaze up the figure's body to meet her eyes, plays the role of the scale – assessing, weighing, and ultimately judging that body.

Saville's own discussion of her work adds to the interpretation of her painting as a psychological, as much as a physical, portrait. About *Plan,* she says that "women have usually only taken the role of model. I'm both, artist and model. I'm also the viewer, so I have three roles" (Davies 1994: 21). In this scenario, Saville plays out this psychological drama for herself, as she models for the image, acts as judge and interpreter as she paints, and views the image – critiquing her own body and her painted body at the same time. Certainly Saville is frank about her own struggles with body image. She has said, "I can't escape it. I'm just as susceptible to the pressures as anyone else, and yet I don't believe in those pressures" (ibid). She speaks about deliberately intending to portray these struggles in her images. "I do hope I play out the contradictions that I feel, all the anxieties and dilemmas" (Saville 2003: 168–171).

Beyond this, *Plan* can also be read as a psychological self-portrait for female viewers. Saville often discusses the pressure to conform to idealized body norms experienced by women, including the impulse to weigh and judge one's own body: "as a female you get so used to the sensation of being looked at, you are always taught to assess yourself" (Brittain 1999: 26). And Saville certainly intended these anxieties about the fat body to be communicated by the way that the figure's body overflows boundaries and towers over the viewer, which leads many to misinterpret the body size of the painted figure. Saville said about her early works, including *Plan,* "I'm not painting disgusting, big women. I'm painting women who've been made to think they're big and disgusting, who imagine their thighs go on forever" ("Jenny Saville" 1994: np).

But the psychological tension of imagining one's body to be larger than it actually is goes beyond any one viewer of the painting. The mis-recognition of the size of one's own body (by imagining it to be larger than its actual size) is considered by the medical community to be an identifying feature of anorexia and bulimia. The clinical term for this symptom at the time Saville was painting was Body Image Distortion Syndrome (BIDS), although

it is more commonly referred to today as Body Dysmorphic Disorder (BDD). Moreover, before eating disorders became commonplace, clinical discussions of this 'bizarre' phenomenon were often accompanied by illustrations of an anorexic woman *standing in front of a mirror* which reflected back a distorted image of her body, a trope which continues to be popular on eating disorder websites today, and contains obvious similarities to the pose of *Plan* (Bordo 1993: 55). Furthermore, as many authors have pointed out, if one attempted to diagnose eating disorders based on BIDS alone, almost every woman in England would need treatment (Fraser 1998: 281). The mis-reading of the size of the body in *Plan* as 'obese' and 'fat' by critics indicates that Saville's painting does more than merely tap into individual fears. It taps into a cultural phenomenon in which viewers not only cannot judge the size of their own bodies, but also cannot accurately judge the size of *other women's* bodies, as though BIDS has become a societal norm, rather than a clinical symptom. Or to put it another way, in a society with an increasingly narrow definition of what constitutes 'thin' and 'attractive,' any minor deviation from the body typically shown in advertisements and popular media reads as fat to most audiences.

If Saville's paintings express the difficulties of looking at the fat body, it is significant that her subject is the *female* nude. Although many men suffer daily from anti-fat prejudice, the female body bears special burdens in relation to anti-fat biases.[1)] Statistics on eating disorders and plastic surgery from the time when Saville was painting *Plan* reflect the intense pressure women felt to maintain normative body standards. At that time, between eighty and ninety percent of patients undergoing weight loss procedures were women, and between ninety and ninety-five percent of those suffering from anorexia or bulimia were women (Bordo 1993: 67). And if, as previously discussed, the inability to identify the size of one's own body correctly plagues women, the same problem occurs in men. But as the BBC series *Obesity* pointed out, unlike women, who tend to overestimate the size of their bodies, men tend to underestimate their size, resisting interpretations of their body as fat, even self-identifying as 'normal' so strongly that the label of 'obese' makes them question medical and governmental standards for the body (2006: np). Of course, the fact that men and women feel differently about their bodies is due to the West's underlying patriarchal social structures, which insist that women be sexually desirable (young, thin, etc.) in order to have social capital.

1) Extensive literature exists on this topic. See, for instance, LeBesco (2004) or Bordo (1993).

PROPPED AND PUNISHED Beyond merely expressing anxiety about or interest in the fat body, Saville's early works like *Plan* and *Propped* (1992) also work to alleviate those anxieties. *Propped* **(fig. 2)**, a seven-by-six-foot canvas, shows a large female nude, wearing only glossy white shoes, perched on an improbably small, black, prop that can be read as a pedestal, a bed post, or even an object of phallic penetration. Saville centers the nude on the canvas, and as in *Plan,* the borders of the canvas cut off her head. Her posture indicates the precariousness of her position on the prop: The figure's feet cross behind the support, and her torso hunches forward over her thighs to maintain balance. Her arms also cross, and her fingers dig into her thighs with such painful urgency that the flesh bunches around them.

// Figure 2
Jenny Saville, ***Propped***, 1992, Oil on canvas, 84 x 72 inches / 213.4 x 182.9cm, © Jenny Saville. Courtesy the artist and Gagosian.

Similar to the composition of *Plan,* Saville depicts the figure from below, and again she tilts her head to meet our gaze, although she lowers her eyelids to such an extent that her eyes could be read as closed. Also as in *Plan,* the figure is dramatically foreshortened, although in this case she expands toward us to the extent that her knees almost project into our space. However, Saville undermines the three-dimensionality of the image by writing *into* the paint, across the figure, setting up a tension between the illusionism of the figure and the flatness of the picture plane. The quote, which comes from French feminist Luce Irigaray, is written backwards, and states, "If we continue to speak in this sameness – speak as men have spoken for centuries, we will fail each other. Again words will pass through our bodies, above our heads [...] make us disappear" (Kent 1994: 84).

In contrast to *Plan,* this figure takes up relatively little of the canvas, approximately one-third. She perches in front of an ambiguous gray background; the post and the figure seem to be floating precariously in an amorphous space. And unlike *Plan,* the figure's body is fat, although not to the exaggerated extent that critics claim. Her thighs balloon out around her knees, and their irregular contours suggest the sagging of fat flesh. Moreover, even though her position squeezes her legs together, her knees do not meet. Her breasts also bulge around the confinement of her arms. However, her ability to achieve this posture suggests

a relatively flat stomach. Otherwise, she would have to lean much further over her thighs to achieve balance, and her breasts would be pushed up and out instead of in and down. Additionally, her collar bones are sharply delineated, where in a fatter body they would be smoothed over. And, as in *Plan*, some of the thickness of her thighs in relation to her head and torso can be attributed to the extreme foreshortening of the pose and the angle from which we view her.

Saville's choice of palette, as in *Plan*, is dominated by cool blues and grays. Saville constructs the figure's kneecaps, however, with warmer, redder tones. The redness of the kneecaps, combined with their location at eye level and the foreshortening which makes them appear to project out from the leg, also has the curious effect of making them look like nipples. This effect is heightened on the left side of the canvas, where the figure's knee echoes in form and color the nipple which peeks out from behind her arm, and also by Saville's distortion of the knee caps' size — they are disproportionately small (which also serves to make the figure's thighs look disproportionately large).

In many ways, *Propped* epitomizes the ambiguities of Saville's feminist project, as well as her own ambiguous attitude toward the fat body. Despite the injunction of the Irigaray quote that is literally inscribed in the figure's flesh, her pose on a phallic object and the sexualization of her knees seems to encourage the interpretation of the figure as a sex object, as do the shiny white shoes which draw attention to her nudity. In this case, the nude's clenched fingers, slightly parted mouth, lowered eyelids, and languid expression suggest orgasm. Although here, too, the image is complex, since seeing the fat body as an object of physical desire or as capable of sexual pleasure troubles societal expectations of that body, which insist that the fat body is undesirable and asexual. Batalion suggests that the same features that can be seen as signs of sexual fulfillment can be read as signs of self-abuse or sexual punishment: "Grabbing, groaning, and in stilettos, [the figure] seems to be smack in the act. But the penetrative engagement does not evoke a sense of pleasure. Further the figure cannot negotiate her awkward limbs and seems confused. Perhaps penetrative sex, whether masturbatory or not, is also a form of self-mutilation" (Batalion 2004: 103).

Saville obviously intended to implicate the viewer in *Propped*. In its original exhibition, the painting was shown with an equivalently sized mirror, placed seven feet opposite the painting (Nochlin 2006: 235). In order to read the writing, the viewer

had to turn and face the mirror, literally becoming part of the image. When first facing *Propped,* the backwards writing implies that, like Alice, the viewer has passed through the looking glass, into the world of the mirror. The viewer is the figure's reflection, the mirror that judges and condemns her, as in BIDS images. But when the viewer turns to read the writing in the mirror, she crosses back through the looking glass, and becomes a part of the image. The viewer is forced to evaluate and assess her own body as she does the figure's, and in turn become viscerally aware of the way that her own body is also constantly being evaluated and assessed.[2)] In combination with Irigaray's text, this would seem to suggest that it is patriarchal society that causes us to evaluate the woman's body so harshly.

Yet Saville's pictorial language seems to encourage negative readings of the figure. The smallness of the figure's perch and the extreme foreshortening of the image serve only to exaggerate the size of her body. The clenched fingers, which can be read as a sexual gesture, or an attempt to achieve balance, also suggest a punitive scoring of the flesh. This implies not only that the figure feels ashamed of her body, but that there is something amoral about it – that her fatness is a sin for which she is impelled to atone. This comparison does not escape critics like Janusczak. Although he is speaking here of *Branded,* his comments are equally applicable to *Propped*: "I was reminded of those mass-produced Christian images of saints displaying their stigmata. The unspoken but unmissable meaning of such art is: I have suffered this for you. The Christ who asks doubting Thomas to insert his finger into his spear-wound is an image designed to evoke guilt in the spectator. Saville's twist on this traditional cycle of accusation and confession is that she gets to play both accuser and confessor at once" (Januszczak 1994: np).

These inherent ambiguities come from Saville's own ambiguous relationship to the fat body. She has stated: "My work was never about empowering fat women [...]" and describes her subjects as examples of "extreme humanness" (Holmes 2003: 145). This characterization serves to *other* the fat body, making it something outside the boundaries of 'normal' humanity. This theme continues as Saville notes, "Anything against normality. I find the narrow view of normality quite boring. I like extreme humanness." (Ross 2000: 6). Saville also said, "My paintings don't celebrate bigness. More than half the population are size 16 or over. Fine. But obesity is something else. Many women are not happy with

2) For an alternative reading of the mirror in regards to psychoanalysis, l'écriture féminine, and gender, see Wallace (2004).

their size. Dieting is a secret epidemic" (Henry 1994a: 13). Here Saville seems to subtly display some anti-fat bias. She is prescribing limits for the acceptable female body by indicating that it is fine to be larger than a size 16, as long as you are not 'obese,' and implying that 'bigness' is not something to celebrate. But drawing a line between bodies that are fine and those that are 'something else' will always make women who are near the line or across it 'not happy with their size.' Saville seems unaware that women's unhappiness with their bodies, dieting, and anti-fat prejudice are linked.

Saville's ambivalent feelings about the fat body can also be seen in the violence done to the painted bodies of her nudes, as in *Plan* and *Propped*. In both of the images, Saville actually gouges into the paint, defacing her nudes – and imaginatively, herself (as the model). Although this defacement can be seen as a reenactment of the structural and physical violence done to women's bodies in patriarchal culture, it could also be interpreted as a more inward-directed gesture.[3)] Her markings can be seen as destructive, both physically and psychologically, if these paintings act as surrogates for Saville or the viewer. Saville digs into her own painted body just as many real women cut into their actual bodies. Critics pick up on the anger of this gesture: "[Saville] describes the gouging of words into canvases it may have taken her as much as a year to complete as a form of artistic vandalism, defying the prescriptive patriarchal traditions of paint. But the effect carries disturbing echoes of self-mutilation, reminders that while the gaols are full of men expressing their frustration as violence or criminality, women tend to turn their destructive impulses inward" ("Blubbernauts" 1994: np). Batalion sees a potentially positive, feminist reading of Saville's defacement of her nudes. She writes: "The figure in *Branded* pinches her own skin, but likely branded the words into herself with fire or razor [...]. Saville expose[s] the fact that self-mutilation is common and an issue for feminists. On the one hand self-mutilation seems masochistic and passive, but on the other, it is a means of control over one's body – a control that women still lack. The self-mutilator slashes the skin, or depletes its adipose tissues and thereby contains its pain" (Batalion 2004: 103).

However, as with all of Saville's themes, this one is complex and holds potentially dangerous consequences. Although, as Batalion suggests, self-mutilation does offer control to the mutilator, and seems to operate as a way to trouble or thwart patriarchal control over the female body, like dieting (Batalion's other

3) My thanks to Anja Herrmann and Kea Wienand for this interpretation.

reference), self-mutilation ultimately serves to reify patriarchal control of the body. Both impulses (the impulse to literally carve one's flesh, and the impulse to carve away flesh through dieting) are ultimately gestures, not of self-control, but of acceptance and internalization of external standards. They are both rooted in hatred of the body, hatred which is derived from a patriarchal, anti-fat culture that insists that the female body be controlled, regulated, and forced to conform to stringent beauty standards.[4] As such, self-mutilation serves less to re-establish female control over the body than to punish it for its failure to live up to those standards. Saville's imagined cutting into the canvases and the bodies of her figures could suggest her discomfort with those bodies, and her need to release anxiety over the shape of those bodies and to regain her own control over them.

CONCLUSION Jenny Saville's early paintings, *Plan* and *Propped,* refuse to provide a comfortable viewing position for the audience. Saville creates intensely discomfiting works that constantly ask the viewer to judge and evaluate women's bodies, reminding the viewer that her own body is being judged and evaluated in its turn. They tap into a pervasive cultural anxiety about the size and regulation of the fat female body, one so intense that even Saville's mutilation of her canvas surfaces cannot fully resolve the tension caused by those bodies.

4) For more on the mechanisms by which we learn to police ourselves to meet standards imposed through outside sources, see Samantha Murray (2008).

// Image Credits

Fig. 1: Jenny Saville, *Plan*, 1993, Oil on canvas, 108 x 84 inches / 274.3 x 213.4cm, © Jenny Saville. Courtesy the artist and Gagosian
Fig. 2: Jenny Saville, *Propped*, 1992, Oil on canvas, 84 x 72 inches / 213.4 x 182.9cm, © Jenny Saville. Courtesy the artist and Gagosian

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"I WANNA BE FAT": HEALTHISM AND FAT POLITICS IN TLC'S *MY BIG FAT FABULOUS LIFE*

"I wanna be fat." – This sentence uttered by Whitney Thore, the protagonist of TLC's *My Big Fat Fabulous Life* (2015–), in the third season's premiere episode is astonishing because, as the public is lectured time and again by media, medical doctors and other so called health professionals, nobody wants to be (or should be) fat. Thore's declaration becomes even more conspicuous considering its context, namely a reality TV program. Reality TV is a genre known for its investment in turning fat bodies into thin ones, in popular gamedoc/makeover programs such as *The Biggest Loser* (2004–), and *Extreme Makeover: Weight Loss* (2011–2015), or in docusoaps like *I Used to Be Fat* (2010–2013) and *My 600-lb. Life* (2012–). In these shows, fat protagonists are exploited to narrate cautionary tales of the dangers the *obesity epidemic* has for American society, and for Western, industrialized societies in general (cf. Delpeuch 2009).

My Big Fat Fabulous Life,[1] it seems, disrupts the makeover and rehabilitation narrative of fat bodies on reality TV, because it features a fat protagonist, Thore, whose primary interest is *not* to lose weight, but to be "fat and healthy" (*MBFFL* 2016: 3.2). Diagnosed with Polycystic Ovary Syndrome (PCOS), an often mis- or undiagnosed "endocrine disorder characterized by *obesity* male pattern hair growth and loss, irregular menstruation and infertility, and skin abnormalities" (Fisanick 2009: 106), Thore, in the series, recalls extreme weight fluctuations, the burden these fluctuations have had on her mental health, and her way toward self-love. This love is primarily narrated through her greatest passion – dance. The release of her dance video *A Fat Girl Dancing* on *You Tube* attracted national attention, which culminated in TLC's offer to produce a series based on her life in Greensboro, North Carolina. The series accompanies her as she starts dancing again, offers dance classes for *big girls* as she calls them, and manages life in her hometown. This article will focus on season three, which begins with Thore being rushed to the hospital after fainting during a dance performance. In nine episodes, this season addresses her deteriorating health and her work against body shaming, which is of interest to Thore, who has launched her own campaign to promote body positivity, *No Body Shame* (*No BS*).[2]

The series' title suggests this is not a narrative of misery and

1) Onwards cited as MBFFL. In Germany, the series is broadcasted as ***Whitney! – Voll im Leben.***

2) Cf.: http://www.nobodyshame.com (January 2017)

regret, but of positivity and joy – an unusual take on fatness in popular culture, and American society at large: "Viewed [...] as both unhealthy and unattractive, fat people are widely represented in popular culture and in interpersonal interactions as revolting – they are agents of abhorrence and disgust" (LeBesco 2004: 1). "Fabulous" does not imply "abhorrence and disgust," therefore *MBFFL*, at first glance, seems to defy common representations of fatness; a defiance also shown through the word *fat*. Featured not only in the title, but used by Thore herself, *fat* is not a euphemism[3] or term of abuse, but an emancipatory adjective. Thore classifies herself as fat. Yet her understanding of this word that is commonly used to express contempt of, and hate towards fat people is informed by fat studies, "an interdisciplinary field of scholarship marked by an aggressive, consistent, rigorous critique of the negative assumptions, stereotypes, and stigma placed on fat and the fat body" (Rothblum / Solovay 2009: 2).[4] Ever since the emergence of the National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance in 1969, fat activists in the US have used *fat* to fight against fat shaming, as declared in "Fat Liberation Manifesto": "WE believe that fat people are fully entitled to human respect and recognition" (Freespirit / Aldebaran 2009 [1973]: 341, capitalization original).[5] Fat activist Marilyn Wann for instance encourages her readers to use the *F-Word*: "[I]t's time to take this powerful, awe-inspiring word back from the bullies! It's time to put fat into the hands of people who will use its power for good, not evil!" (1998: 18).

In *MBFFL* Thore joins fat activists' aims to re-signify the word as descriptive of both a body shape and political attitude that is not sizeist – that does not (de)value a body because of its size. Yet, as I argue, her fat politics clash with the neoliberal ideology circulated in and through reality TV.[6] While she promotes these politics, and announces that she is happy being fat, her friends and family are constantly shown challenging her. The series thus sends contradicting messages: Unable to fully commit to fat politics and body positivity, it focuses on Thore's health problems, and undermines the successes and triumphs she experiences as a dancer and fat role model. Despite her efforts to debunk the myth of fatness as a harbinger of illness, the series holds on to a healthist logic that coincides with the genre's neoliberal agenda.

Reality TV is predominantly accused of being cheap and escapist, of exploiting its subjects in order to satisfy the audience's voyeuristic desire for a spectacular and hyperreal version of reality. "[L]ow production values, high emotions, cheap antics

3) As popularized by the movie *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (Joel Zwick, USA/CAN, 2002) which inspired the reality TV series *My Big Fat American Gypsy Wedding* (2012–).

4) The usage of fat in this article results from fat studies and the novel approach to the word *fat*.

5) Both authors belonged to the *Fat Underground* (1973–77), cf. Cooper 1998.

6) The term *fat politics* is used here to suggest politics that oppose the discourse of the obesity *epidemic*, the pathologization and stigmatization of fatness, and demand a more nuanced treatment of fatness by the media and the medical establishment. This factors in the intersectionality of fatness, questions the universality of the Body-Mass-Index (BMI), dieting, and the *logic* that fat equals illness (cf. Oliver 2005, Bacon 2008, Gaesser 2009).

and questionable ethics" (Kavka 2012: 5) place this kind of programming at the bottom of television hierarchy. The "unrehearsed performances of people engaging with the trivia of everyday life" (ibid: 1), and the genre's aesthetics seem to attest to its triviality and lack of "serious engagement with public issues" (ibid: 2). Reality TV seems to be of no considerable value. This simplistic view needs to be scrutinized, because reality TV occupies a space in our Western mediascape "that exists between reality and fiction, in which new levels of representational play and reflexivity are visualized" (Skeggs / Wood 2011: 6). It has diversified television culture by offering "new possibilities and limitations for representational politics" (Murray / Ouellette 2004: 11), and staging "peer based ethical explorations of identity and selfhood among marginalized communities" (Ouellette 2016: 6). This includes the exploration of fatness in the United States by a fat positive protagonist. This kind of democratization of television culture is paradoxical though: "Such programs cast 'other' people as spectacular, unusual and exotic, even as they are also presented as 'just like us' in some respects" (ibid: 19).[7] The paradox is important for the casting of fat characters; they are extraordinary *and* ordinary television protagonists. Put on display as "lazy, gluttonous, greedy, immoral, uncontrolled, stupid, ugly, and lacking in will power" (Farrell 2011: 2), they are also ordinary, because fatness is a common problem, an 'epidemic' after all: "The concern in the United States over the obesity epidemic has become one of the most popular social problems among politicians, the medical establishment, media outlets, and academics over the last decade" (Gailey 2014: 3). Fatness is constructed as a *real* concern, and reality TV – a *media outlet* – sends ambiguous messages, ranging from the promotion of weight-loss and transformation to the promotion of self-love and fat acceptance.

This ambiguity fits to what Jeannine A. Gailey's calls the "hyper(in)visibility" of fatness (2014). Based on the assumption that "[b]odies move in and out of visible and invisible spheres of perception," based on context, size, gender, class and race, she argues that "[f]at presents an apparent paradox because it is visible and dissected publicly; in this respect, it is *hypervisible*. Fat is also marginalized and erased; in this respect, it is *hyperinvisible*" (ibid.: 7, emphases original). Fat is paradoxical, because it has an immediate visibility, a hypervisibility even. It is publicly discussed as a severe threat to health and the body that is normatively imagined as "able-bodied, having light skin, having

7) This understanding of reality TV, while valid, is also deceptive, as mere representation does not lead to inclusionary practices and politics, but can serve to reaffirm the mainstream/Other binaries. Graeme Turner for instance discusses the so called "democratic turn" as misleading, arguing rather for a "demotic turn": "a broad trend that has seen ordinary people become increasingly visible" (2014: 309), but not necessarily empowered.

sex and gender congruity, and being thin or 'average-sized,' heterosexual, and middle-class" (ibid: 9). Alarmist discourses aim at marginalizing and erasing fat, and making it hypervisible, thus "[t]o be hyper(in)visible means that a person is sometimes paid exceptional attention and is sometimes exceptionally overlooked, and it can happen simultaneously" (ibid: 7). *MBFFL* pays "exceptional attention" to Thore as her fatness drives the narrative. Yet this attention differs from that of weight-loss programming, because it is, at first glance, motivated by fat politics and positivity.

"I WANNA BE FAT" – FAT POLITICS IN *MBFFL* Thore does not miss an opportunity to voice her fat politics. She propagates fatness and fitness while opposing dieting. Talking to her friend and roommate Buddy, she claims to have "other priorities" in life than losing weight: "I don't have to be thin to have it all. [...] I wanna be healthy. [...] My perfect thing would be to kind of balance and have it all, still be fat, maybe not *this* fat, have my health, have my fitness, have my happiness, because I wanna be fat. [...] It's like my purpose in life to kinda live in a fat body and be a change in the social perception" (ibid). Statements like these suggest that Thore's reality TV persona is that of a fat activist and role model. In one confessional, she reacts to critics who accuse her of toying with her health and of setting a bad example: "I have never been able to approach body image or weight-loss in a healthy way. [...] That's why I hated my fat body and I don't ever wanna do those things again" (ibid).[8] She comments on self-hate created by weight-loss and dieting attempts; self-hate that is depicted as more harmful to her health than weight. As a result, she rejects food monitoring and dieting, and rather focuses on fitness and an active lifestyle. In season three, she reconnects with her former fitness coach Will who insists on weighing her, although she does not think "the number matters" (*MBFFL* 2016: 3.7). Her resistance to him eventually leads to their separation.

The aversion to dieting, resistance to fat shaming, and investment in fitness is not only caused by her own experiences, but also the result of her fat politics. She calls out fat shaming as a socially accepted form of discrimination. During a talk she gives at her alma mater, as a spokesperson for *No BS*, she asks the audience: "[D]oes anybody care about all the thin people who don't exercise? No. [...] We just hate fat people, that's it" (ibid: 3.3). In 1992, the National Institute of Health Technology Assessment Conference found that "90-95% of participants in all weight loss programs

8) A *confessional* is a typical stylistic feature of reality TV, in which participants retrospectively comment on a specific scene, or moment, into the camera. The confessional is an intriguing feature, because it interrupts the *realness* of reality TV. It admits to the protagonists' knowledge and participation in the creation of the *real*.

failed to attain and sustain weight loss beyond two to five years. Research was also presented that highlighted the negative effects of failed weight loss attempts" (Lyons 2009: 77–78). Fat activists and fat studies scholars agree that weight loss is more often harm- than helpful (cf. Wann, Bacon, LeBesco, Gailey). Thore repeatedly claims she wants to be fat and healthy: "I think you can be fat and healthy, I think you can be fat and fit" (*MBFFL* 2016: 3.1). She clearly supports *Health at Every Size* (HAES), an approach to body and health that emphasizes "self-acceptance and healthy day-to-day practices, regardless of whether a person's weight changes" (Burgard 2009: 42). Developed by Dr. Linda Bacon, HAES questions the relationship of weight and health: "Body weight might be a marker for an imprudent lifestyle in some people, but its role in determining health [...] is grossly exaggerated" (Bacon 2008: xxi).[9] Although Thore does not mention HAES, her approach to fatness seems influenced by this approach. She deems dieting unrealistic, and strives for a relationship to food that is not a "deviation from normal" (*MBFFL* 2016: 3.3). Thore's relationship to normalcy is intriguing. She wants to show that *although* she is fat, she can do whatever she wants, or rather do things the viewers assume fat people cannot or should not do: "I wanna be reassured that I can do things like normal people" (ibid: 3.2). She also wants to reassure her critics. In season three, she is constantly shown as she overcomes obstacles; teaching dance classes, filming a body positive workout video, training with Will, going on a bike ride, participating in dance competitions despite looking "very different" (ibid: 3.4), trying various winter sports, and swimming.

Her activism and activities are strategies of rejecting fat stigma; "[t]hrough art, performance, comedy, and protest, some fat activists attempt to shift the collective view of fat as deviant or abhorrent. They seek to normalize the fat body by engaging in behaviors that many fat persons avoid publicly, like eating, exercising, or going swimming" (Gailey 2014: 150). As a reality TV protagonist Thore seeks the public and undercuts dominant (read: negative) perceptions of fatness, for instance during her apprenticeship at a local radio show. In this environment, in which people are uninformed about body positivity discourses, she educates her colleagues and tries to normalize *fat*. During a lunch meeting, Thore asks for a chair that fits her. She does this unapologetically, saying she is just too *fat* for this chair.

Roy (one host): "You're pretty liberal with the word fat."

Maney (another host): "Some people don't like it."

9) Bacon argues that each body has a biological "setpoint weight" (2008: 12–13), which, when achieved through methods she suggests in her publication, will end weight fluctuation and frustration.

Roy: "It's a bad word."
Thore: "Oh, but I don't think so. [...] I'd like to destigmatize the word."
Thore's "I don't think so" is contrasted by close-up shots of stunned faces and a brief period of silence that stresses her colleagues' incomprehension and discomfort, which later turns into interest and solidarity.

MBFFL often causes discomfort because it offers space to Thore's fat politics that contradict everything the American public has been taught to think of fatness, namely that it "'means' excess of desire, of bodily urges not controlled, of immoral, lazy, and sinful habits" (Farrell 2011: 10). Thore counters this *meaning* and demonstrates control and industriousness, especially when it comes to her athletic endeavors. Next to her daily, often comedic adventures, her politics take center stage and redefine fat identity. Yet her presence and visibility on television is facilitated by other factors that need to be considered. Farrell has argued that "[i]n the late 19th and early 20th centuries, physicians, politicians, and academ-ics used body size as one important marker – along with gender, race, ethnicity, and sexuality – to measure one's suitability for the privileges and power of full citizenship" (ibid: 5), an argument that is certainly still valid today if one considers the public discussions of the supposed harm fatness has for society at large. Thore's body size turns her into an unsuitable citizen and woman. She is privileged in other ways though: She is a white, able-bodied, heterosexual woman, who, although not affluent, is shown to live comfortably, as do her parents and her friends.[10] She neither upsets white, middle-class decorum, nor does she fully subvert the public imagination of the fat body as described by Farrell (2011), LeBesco (2004) and Gailey (2014); the series adheres to a healthist and neoliberal logic, which suggests that Thore's body needs rehabilitation.

HEALTHISM AND THE NEOLIBERAL BODY

MBFFL is exemplary of the generic mixing that has become symptomatic for reality TV. It is first and foremost a docusoap, "a subgenre of reality programming that utilizes surveillance footage and the conventions of documentary while assuming serial form and containing complex narrative arcs that extend over several episodes" (Hargraves 2014: 286). With soap-like cliffhangers and sensational revelations, *MBFFL* encourages viewers to follow the narrative. Season three's first episode for instance ends with images of Thore being rushed to the hospital by paramedics after collapsing during a dance-athon. The last shot shows the ambulance as it drives away, its lights

10) Thore's friendship to Mattie, a transwoman of color is worth more attention than can be offered here, as it turns the series' heteronormativity upside down.

flashing in the darkness, accompanied by the sound of sirens. This shot adds to the spectacularization of the situation, and ensures the viewers will tune in again.

Next to the strategies of *docusoap-ing*, *MBFFL* is also a lifestyle program, another subgenre of reality programming that provides "everyday advice and guidance on a range of life and domestic issues including [...] healthy food and eating [...] weight loss and fitness" (Lewis 2014: 402). While all reality TV formats have a didactic aim, lifestyle TV is based on the premise that it will assist its viewers in creating a better life, or rather, a better lifestyle. According to Pierre Bourdieu, lifestyle is "a system of classified and classifying practices" (1984: 142). Ideas of a better lifestyle, improvement and transformation inherent to classic lifestyle TV formats such as *The Dr. Oz Show* (2009–), *Extreme Makeover* (2002–2007), or *Supernanny* (2005–2010) suggest the system is hierarchical, or "socially qualified," ranging from "distinguished" to "vulgar" (Bourdieu 1984: 172). With regard to healthy food, eating, weight loss and fitness, the hierarchy is determined by health and slimness. Everything that is considered unhealthy needs to be transformed and improved. Reality TV, in general, follows "a moral / pedagogic agenda" (Skeggs / Wood 2011: 5), and this agenda, especially in programming dealing with fatness, is voiced through healthism, "a preoccupation with health and well-being [...] grounded in the idea that health is something that anyone can achieve – if they work hard enough – and that it is one's individual and moral responsibility to maintain their health" (Gailey 2014: 87). A healthist logic offers "no absolution from moral judgment and accountability" (ibid: 87), if Thore fails to lose weight, it is her fault, despite the PCOS diagnosis. Healthism is thus embedded within a neoliberal discourse of citizenship, in which "each individual is held responsible and accountable for his or her own actions and well-being" (Harvey 2005: 65). According to David Harvey, "[d]efenders of this regime of rights plausibly argue that it encourages 'bourgeois virtues' [...] [t]hese include individual responsibility and liability; independence from state interference [...]; care of oneself and one's own" (ibid: 181). The highest virtues of this regime are efficiency, productivity and the personal responsibility for one's failures. Neoliberalism marks "a political shift involving the downscaling of State responsibility for public welfare, and the remodeling of government and citizenship in increasingly privatized and entrepreneurial terms" (Ouellette 2016: 5). Lifestyle TV, with its message of "self-improvement, individual responsibility, and

choice" (Edwards 2013: 114) is a powerful tool to implement these neoliberal ideals.

Friends and relatives repeatedly appeal to Thore's responsibility, challenging her fat politics. When she is taken to the hospital, a voice-over by her friend and dance partner Todd contextualizes this event: He claims that Thore's "health conditions just caught up with her" (*MBFFL* 2016: 3.1). Other participants are shown crying and watching Thore with concerned and shocked faces, filmed in close-up shots and juxtaposed with Thore's body lying on the floor. Their sentiments mirror the worry everyone should have with regard to *obesity*. These scenes do not only portray the breakdown of Thore's body, but also of her fat politics. After her physical breakdown, her parents and some friends stage an intervention, a mock-funeral to show they care about her health. Without her knowledge, Thore is brought to a funeral home to witness her own funeral. This grotesque scene displays the scare tactics of the *obesity epidemic*, which equate fatness with inevitable death. The funeral is used as a tool to implement normative notions about the fat body; it is in danger and is mourned. The staging of Thore's demise makes her hyperinvisible; she sits isolated and ignored by her loved ones on one side of the room.

Her aims to normalize the fat body are constantly countered by scenes that *prove* she cannot do whatever she wants. The attempt to ski ends in another bodily breakdown; in pain she lets herself fall in front of the camera and bystanders. This is the second incident of her fat body collapsing, which is again symbolic for the collapse of the empowerment she propagates. As Thore lies on the ground, someone from the production crew runs to her, saying: "I wasn't there, I'm sorry" (ibid: 3.2), visible to the viewers. The danger the fat body is in, is staged as very serious and *real*. It overrides a crucial principle of reality programming, and breaks down the barrier between protagonist, viewers, and production that keeps up the illusion and staging of reality. When she throws out her back in the shower, Thore is filmed crying while naked and wet, only partly covered by a towel, as her roommate helps her get into bed. These representations of personal breakdown always follow after moments of success, in which Thore has tried to normalize her body and to stand for her politics: in the midst of the dance-athon, after sliding down a mountain on a large inflatable tire, and after defending her usage of *fat* in front of her colleagues. They undermine these successes and indicate that her body is not reconcilable with her politics. After the ski incident, Thore realizes: "I spent so

much time thinking I can do whatever I want" (ibid: 3.2). A visit to the cardiologist convinces her that "to be healthy," she needs "to focus on food behaviors [...] and on exercising, a lot" (ibid: 3.3). She begins a new exercise regimen, monitored by her former fitness coach Will.

Will is staged as an expert, a classic lifestyle TV character who serves the purpose to teach uneducated, ordinary people "the 'correct' ways of parenting, nutrition, body management, housecleaning, marriage, and personal appearance" (Murray / Ouellette 2004: 9). He is a neoliberal agent in that he continuously reminds Thore of her responsibility and fault. For him, *obesity* is certainly a "disease of the will" (Ouellette 2016: 88), as he does not miss an opportunity to tell Thore that if she really wanted to lose weight, she could. He accuses her friends and family of being "enablers," people who support her self-destruction. He, on the other hand shows his "love by holding her accountable" (ibid: 3.6). He repeats this neoliberal, healthist logic in almost every scene, claiming that "Whitney does everything she can to avoid being responsible" (ibid: 3.7). Not only does he monitor Thore's food intake and weight, he reproduces a good/bad dichotomy, speaking of the "bad choices" (ibid) she seems to consciously make. Their relationship is highly problematic, because he exerts control over her – a woman's – body, all in the name of male expertise, which is rather common for reality TV, where "male experts still tend to be associated with professional and work-based forms of expertise such as physical fitness, design, professional cookery, gardening and carpentry" (Lewis 2014: 405). Despite this uneven distribution of power, Will is portrayed as a likeable character; he stands by Thore and is invested in helping her. In contrast to her friends and family whose funeral-intervention clearly marginalized Thore and turned her into a passive, hyper(in)-visible object who was merely there to witness how others respond to her, Will activates Thore and repeatedly tells her that *she* is in charge of her own self. This strategy corresponds to the neoliberal values he represents.

These are further negotiated through the appearance of comedian Kerryn Feehan who is interviewed on the radio show Thore works for. On air, she quickly shares her opinions on fatness, calling fat people out for being "moody and cranky" because they are "hungry," and arguing that "a certain amount of bullying is ok" (ibid: 3.6). Thore's encounter with Feehan demonstrates the condemnation fat people experience in the public sphere. The comedian uses the same neoliberal logic as Will when she asks

Thore about her "accountability," and accuses her of a "quitter mentality" (ibid: 3.7). Yet, despite this logic, Feehan is not an expert according to lifestyle TV conventions, and therefore dislikeable. In sexist terms, she is depicted as a *bitch*, while Will is an *expert*. Her opinion is devalued while his is deemed relevant. Nevertheless, both serve as regulating forces that challenge Thore and her politics. They need to be understood as the voices (and bodies) of alarmist discourses of *obesity*. Especially with the introduction of Will, and the recurrent conflicts Thore experiences with her friends and family, *MBFFL* undermines the fat politics and pride it supposedly advertises.

CONCLUSION As Laurie Ouellette has persuasively argued, "[h]ybrid reality formats, including the makeover and the life intervention, problematize the conduct, choices, bodies and lifestyles of disadvantaged and subordinated 'other' people, inviting the TV audience to revel in its own normalcy while also learning lessons about good citizenship indirectly via the cautionary tales presented on screen" (Ouellette 2016: 79–80). *MBFFL*, as is quite common for reality programming, is an ambiguous text. It invites the audience to "revel in its own normalcy," by presenting a fat body that needs to be rehabilitated by others in order to be healthy and productive in a neoliberal society. At the same time, it also propagates fat politics and invites those who are *subordinated* as (fat) Others to identify with Thore and her struggles. The visibility the series offers to her is not to be underestimated in a mediascape in which fat women are still marginalized, ridiculed and controlled. "Revolting," to return to LeBesco's description of fatness in American culture, after all, can also mean resistant, disobeying, defiant. She argues that the fat body can be subversive, and can "call into question received notions about health, beauty, and nature" (LeBesco 2004: 2). Thore is revolting when she is proud, when she dances in front of the camera, performs at a fashion show, is intimate with another man, and succeeds in her endeavors. Yet, as I argued, a commercial genre like reality TV cannot fully commit to Thore's politics, because it will always follow a neoliberal logic that supports the genre's *moral / pedagogical agenda*.

In order to circumvent the paradox of circulating both fat politics and neoliberalism, the series turns Thore into an accomplice. She contributes to the privatization of her own health. As she tells a critic who asks how she can spread the message that "fat is ok" when it is a health risk: "I'm just a person, I'm just living my

life" (*MBFFL* 2016: 3.3). She depoliticizes her message by marking her experiences as merely personal. "Health management under neoliberalism calls on citizens to manage their body weight, stress and levels of exercise as care of the self" (Ouellette 2016: 86), and Thore is shown to immerse herself in this rhetoric. Not only outside forces try to implement the neoliberal agenda of (self-)responsibility and accountability by means of a healthist discourse, Thore herself is shown to struggle with the extent of her fat politics, *No BS*-message, and the urgency to lose weight. This struggle is visualized through crying. In every episode, Thore is filmed crying in front of the camera. Feehan attacks Thore for these teary breakdowns, asking why she is always crying, if she is as happy as she claims. The close up shots of Thore crying are *MBFFL*'s *money shots*, the intimate moments that support reality TV's claim of the *real*. The *money shot* in reality TV, i.e. crying, fighting, or screaming, "makes visible the precise moment of letting go, of losing control, of surrendering to the body" (Grindstaff 2002: 20). As a neoliberal agent, Thore is supposed to achieve "goals of health, happiness, productivity, security and well being through [...] individual choices and self-care practices" (Ouellette 2016: 77), yet the crying opposes the happiness she claims to have found. She has fashioned herself as a fat activist, yet simultaneously, she is shown to suffer, both physically and emotionally. In a recap montage during the season's final episode, the producers show Thore's successes and failures, making the instability of the series' narrative even more visible. Thore has – once again – convinced Will to take her back, promising that she will endure his program this time. In her last voice-over, she tells her viewers: "Even though I lost a relationship, I didn't lose myself. I'm strong. I can push myself, but mostly, I want to reclaim my joy in my life" (ibid: 3.9). This joy, the happy ending between her and Will suggests, will be achieved through weight loss and her acceptance of personal accountability.

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Dr. Evangelia Kindinger is Assistant Professor for American Studies at Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany. She is the author of *Homebound: Diaspora Spaces and Selves in Greek American Return Narratives* (2015), and co-editor of *After the Storm: The Cultural Politics of Hurricane Katrina* (2015). Furthermore, she has published articles on vampires and regionalism, diaspora and tourism, and class in reality television, e.g. "'Better Redneckognize': The Paradoxical Class Politics in *Here Comes Honey Boo Boo*" (2016). She is currently working on a postdoc project that deals with the intersections of class, regionalism and whiteness in American culture, as embodied by the widespread stereotype of the Southern Redneck. Her research further includes fat studies, food studies, American popular culture (particularly television), nineteenth-century American culture, and feminism.

// FKW WIRD GEFÖRDERT DURCH DAS MARIANN STEEGMANN INSTITUT UND DAS INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL STUDIES IN THE ARTS DER ZÜRCHER HOCHSCHULE DER KÜNSTE

STARING BACK: A RESPONSE TO BODY SHAMERS IN HALEY MORRIS-CAFIERO'S SELF-PORTRAITURE

Sitting alone in the throng of Times Square, Memphis-based photographer and performance artist Haley Morris-Cafiero hoped to document a moment of physical isolation in a public setting as part of her series, *Something to Weigh*. Upon developing the film that she had taken that day she discovered that a man posing for a photograph on the stairs above her, as she sat alone below, overshadowed her moment **(fig. 1)**. His expression as he gazed down on her appears smug and mocking. This catalytic encounter in 2010 led Morris-Cafiero to produce two series: the first, *Wait Watchers*, sought to capture the stare of on-lookers in public spaces in order to examine how people perceive others and how the gaze can be a factor in a person's determination of self-worth. The second series, *In the Time of Trump*, attempts to confront the ubiquity of body-shaming in social media and the false sense of anonymity that online bullies use to mask their vitriolic remarks. Here, I will examine the intersection between Morris-Cafiero's two series and the fields of disability studies and fat studies[1] through disability theorist Tobin Siebers's concept of disability aesthetics (2010), which will offer insight into how Morris-Cafiero's work successfully embraces unique corporeality and challenges socio-cultural distinctions of the 'outsider' body.

// Figure 1
Haley Morris-Cafiero, *Anonymity Isn't For Everyone*, 2010. *Wait Watchers series*, New York, NY

The recent field of fat studies recognizes that the concept of *fat* is a historically dependent social construction and it offers a critique of negative assumptions and stereotypes placed on the fat body. The stigma associated with the fat body has been perpetuated by mass media that maintains unrealistic beauty standards and idealized body types, the medical profession that identifies fatness as a personal health problem, and public health policies that frame fatness as an obesity epidemic (Kirkland 2011: 464; Lyons 2009). Fatness has been defined in negative, oversimplified terms and linked to moral failings, poverty, ill health, and disease, yet the actual lived experience of people who are fat is mostly overlooked (McCullough 2013: 3). The view of the fat body as abject,

1) For the scope of this paper, discussion of the fields of fat studies and disability studies is primarily centered on research conducted in the U.S.

uncontrolled, or defective has paralleled similar discriminatory attitudes faced by people with disabilities. Though people who are fat are not typically considered disabled, recent scholarship in the fields of fat studies and disability studies suggests that this distinction may not exist in the future.[2)] If fatness were considered a disability in the U.S., the rights of people who are fat would be protected under the *Americans with Disabilities Act* (ADA) of 1990. The ADA defines disability as "a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities; a record of such an impairment; or being regarded as having such an impairment" and impairment as "any physiological disorder or condition, cosmetic disfigurement, or anatomical loss affecting one or more of the following systems: neurological, musculoskeletal, special sense organs, respiratory (including speech organs), cardiovascular, reproductive, digestive, genito-urinary, hemic and lymphatic, skin and endocrine" (Kirkland 2006; Herndon 2011: 247). Some individuals, such as fat activist Marilyn Wann, take issue with fatness being identified as a disability because they do not want to label fatness as an impairment or are concerned that this label will lead to further stigmatization of fatness as an illness in need of correction (Goldberg 1997). Others, such as fat studies scholars Charlotte Cooper, April Herndon, and Hannele Harjunen, believe identifying fatness as a disability will increase awareness of discrimination, further a collective identity, and offer legal protection (Cooper 1997; Herndon 2011; Harjunen 2004).

Within the social model of disability studies, the impaired body is seen as disabled by society's built environments and discriminatory attitudes. This model can be extended to the disabling physical barriers and biased mindsets the fat body also confronts. Similar to a person with a disability, the person who is fat is blamed for his, her, or their body; the social construction of the concept of fat is ignored. Though the social model of disability took shape nearly 50 years ago, the medical model has remained a primarily method for examining and understanding the disabled body. The medical model seeks to identify and correct the individual's disability, locating the problem within the person and not in the larger social systems. The medical model has treated fatness in a similar fashion by faulting the individual for deviating from the 'normal' body type. Yet, the medical field often fails to question the standard by which a 'normal' body is measured as well as overlooks other contributing factors such as how each individual's embodied experience intersects with one's gender, sexual orientation, race,

2) Scholars such as Anna Kirkland (2006), Charlotte Cooper (1997), April Herdon (2011), Anna Mollow (2015), and Hannele Harjunen (2004) have discussed the possible significance and outcomes if fatness is considered a disability.

class, education, and religion (Barnes / Mercer 2013).

Fat bodies and disabled bodies have been othered by the long-held belief that the harmonious, idealized, complete, and beautiful body is the primary determinate of aesthetic value. Siebers claims that it is necessary to recognize that our aesthetic response is based on an embodied experience derived from sensations and feelings one person has in the presence of other bodies or objects (Siebers 2010: 1–3). Though broadening our definition of aesthetics to encompass new conceptions of beauty beyond the established norms may allow for physical variations to also be considered beautiful, it is necessary to not simply operate within a traditional understanding of aesthetics. Instead Siebers argues that it is necessary to embrace an "aesthetics of disability" which will complicate our current aesthetic views and "elaborate disability as an aesthetic value in itself worthy of future development" (ibid: 3). Siebers suggests that works by many Western artists from the 20th and 21st century have embraced an aesthetics of disability.[3] It is his discussion of contemporary artists such as Marc Quinn, Chris Ofili, and Jenny Savillle who are associated with the 1999 *Sensations Exhibition* that provides a distinct explanation of how an aesthetics of disability can be critically employed: "First, the work of art makes individual subjects aware of the fact that things exist beyond their control, challenging political ideals that imagine mental competence, physical health, consensus, economic efficiency, and the prevention of accidents, disease, and death as easily achievable goals. Second, the beauty of disability compels the imagination of political community on the basis of accessibility rather than exclusion. It tutors individual subjects in new affective responses, asking them to incorporate rather than reject unfamiliar ideas and physical forms, to tolerate mixtures of greater varieties and kinds, and to broaden their understanding of human beings and their behavior" (ibid: 68).

Morris-Cafiero has sought in her artistic practice to create work that challenges viewers' perceptions of the 'outsider' body.[4] She uses her body as a tool of communication to create socially engaging work that directly engages viewers, questions how the construction of identity is located in the physical body, and potentially produces empathetic responses. Early in life she found herself in a relentless cycle of dieting and over-exercising as she attempted to manage her body. When she was diagnosed with hypothyroidism, she realized she had been exhausting herself over something out of her control. In 2003 Morris-Cafiero produced

3) To support his discussion of an aesthetics of disability, Siebers cites modernists such as Paul Klee, Pablo Picasso, Emil Nolde, and René Magritte alongside contemporary artists such as Marc Quinn, Andres Serrano, Chris Ofili, and Jenny Savillle.

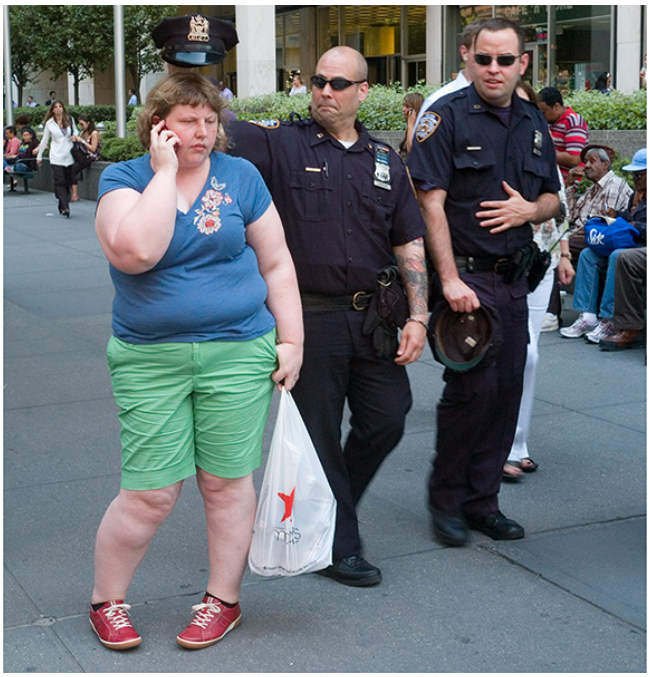
4) Descriptions of Morris-Cafiero's different series and her artistic process were largely drawn from conversations between the artist and the author held between January 2015 and January 2017.

the series *Shape to Fit* for her graduate thesis; this series analyzed her attempts to manipulate her body by losing weight in order to use a standard public bathroom and her inability to do so. She captured her efforts to fit within a space designated for all people by photographing herself over a ten-week period endeavoring to enter a public bathroom stall **(fig. 2)**. She used a daguerreotype process for these self-portraits because of how the image is imbedded within the mirror-like surface of the polished-silver plate, speaking to both the physicality of her weight and the narcissistic-connotation that is implied in the reflective surface. These daguerreotypes were placed on the inside lids of hand-made rawhide boxes that had been placed on their sides. To the left of each image, Morris-Cafiero filled the bottom of each box with an amount of paraffin wax that weighed the same amount of weight she had lost that week. Some weeks only consisted of a splash of wax while for other weeks the boxes were over filled.

// Figure 2
Haley Morris-Cafiero, ***Shape to Fit series***, 2003, daguerreotype, paraffin wax, and rawhide

Morris-Cafiero continued to explore the challenges she faced in public spaces and the stigmatization of her body in a five-year long project documenting herself standing in public locations situated around the globe. She would place a camera on a tripod or a nearby surface, sometimes utilizing an assistant or stranger, to photograph herself in highly populated public spaces. After establishing who would hold the camera or where it would be placed, the shoots lasted only a few seconds. Morris-Cafiero would capture dozens of frames from each shoot during which she would briefly pose in the manner of a tourist or carrying out everyday actions such as talking on the phone, examining a map for directions, or applying sunscreen. Morris-Cafiero would never know the types of images she would discover until she viewed them after the event, as was the case in an early performance entitled *Cops*.

In this work, Morris-Cafiero was standing on a busy sidewalk in New York City talking on the phone to her mother when two New York Police Department (NYPD) officers passed by; the man closest to Morris-Cafiero raised his officer's hat above her head with a smirking expression on his face while the other officer to his left looked in her direction and patted his stomach **(fig. 3)**. This gesture was captured again while Morris-Cafiero was waiting at a crosswalk on a busy street in Barcelona in the work *Gelato* **(fig. 4)**. A young girl standing behind the artist appears to be slapping her stomach as she watches Morris-Cafiero enjoy a gelato on a hot summer day in July.



// Figure 3
Haley Morris-Cafiero, *Cops*, 2011, *Wait Watchers series*, New York, NY

Morris-Cafiero felt that she had the most success capturing stares directed at her body when she went to the beach. While on the same trip to Barcelona she shot *Bikini* on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea **(fig. 5)**. Dressed in a floral one-piece bathing suit with a black swim skirt beneath, Morris-Cafiero walked along the edge of the sandy shore as water splashed against her ankles. A few feet behind her was a young girl dressed in a pink bikini who twisted her head 90 degrees, and with her mouth open, stared at the artist. For her performance in *Sunscreen*, Morris-Cafiero traveled to Cocoa Beach, Florida. The artist stood at the edge of the water dressed in a one-piece black bathing suit while she applied sunscreen to her chest **(fig. 6)**. Behind her, a young man and woman also dressed for the beach walked past; the woman leaned forward laughing and appears to gawk directly at Morris-Cafiero.

// Figure 4
Haley Morris-Cafiero, *Gelato*, 2011, *Wait Watchers series*, Barcelona, Spain

Out of hundreds of frames, Morris-Cafiero will find momentary or sometimes lengthier encounters in which she captures the various stares of passersby; she then selects the images with the most striking micro-expressions of what may be judgment, aggression, or disgust on the faces of the strangers. Morris-Cafiero does not believe that looks directed at her may necessarily be about her weight. It could be the color of her skin or hair, the way she is dressed,

or because she is a woman. It is possible that the passersby are not even looking at the artist. The indeterminability of the stare is apparent in *White Stripe* in which a man passes the artist from behind as she poses for a photograph on the side of a road during an outdoor event in Memphis, Tennessee **(fig. 7)**. He clearly stares in her direction and seems to be evaluating her figure, but his expression is unclear. The intention of the stares in *Progress* are much more explicit **(fig. 8)**. As the artist stands reading a map on Charles Bridge in Prague, two men walking in her direction from behind clearly stare at the artist. The individual on the right has an expression of contempt as he tilts his head towards his friend who grins with ridicule at the artist's back.

// Figure 5
Haley Morris-Cafiero, ***Bikini***, 2011, ***Wait Watchers series***, Barcelona, Spain

In both the public spaces and in the photographic images, Morris-Cafiero is presenting her body as a site to be stared at openly. Some critics dismiss her work claiming that she fails to capture the stare of passersby clearly. Morris-Cafiero believes that viewers of her work will draw different conclusions about whether potential glances can be discerned. Not interested in definitively identifying what was captured in the images, Morris-Cafiero is more concerned with the conversation that emerges from viewers who interpret her work. This conversation reveals how viewers aesthetically experience the artist's physical appearance and understand her status within society. This dialogue has been both affirmative and negative, but in all instances it raises consciousness about inherent social biases and the pervasiveness of aesthetic disqualification (Siebers 2010: 21–28). According to Siebers, aesthetic disqualification has long been tied to an established aesthetic model that is used "to qualify some people and disqualify others" (ibid: 21). Individuals who are disqualified for not achieving or being endowed with normative aesthetic qualities are as less than human, their rights are violated, and they are discriminated against. In order to foster a positive identity for all body types we must examine

// Figure 6
Haley Morris-Cafiero, ***Sunscreen***, 2015, ***Wait Watchers series***, Cocoa Beach, Florida

and critique the conceptual and discursive constructions of identities and the manner in which prejudicial attitudes often inherent within these constructions can lead to societal systems that marginalize, oppress, and victimize.

What is significant about Morris-Cafiero's series is that it creates an opportunity to consider how we examine, evaluate, and treat one another based on aesthetic principles. The dynamic act of staring that occurs during the artist's public performance and when the viewer scrutinizes her photographic works generates deeper knowledge about our assumptions and larger societal attitudes. In her 2009 book, *Staring: How We Look,* disability studies scholar Rosemarie Garland-Thomson explains how the interaction between the starer and staree is based on a desire for knowledge: "Triggered by the sight of someone who seems unlike us, staring can begin an exploratory expedition into ourselves and outward into new worlds. Because we come to expect one another to have certain kinds of bodies and behaviors, stares flare up when we glimpse people who look or act in ways that contradict our expectations. Seeing startlingly starable people challenges our assumptions by interrupting complacent visual business-as-usual. Staring offers an occasion to rethink the status quo. Who we are can shift into focus by staring at who we think we are not" (Garland-Thomson 2009: 6). Our identities are shaped by the interaction between starer and staree and in this process we gain knowledge that "can offer an opportunity to recognize one another in new ways" (ibid: 15). Bodies considered different than the normative body disrupt established aesthetic assumptions that are culturally reinforced. For defying societal norms, these unique bodies are often shamed, segregated, and ignored. Whether or not the strangers that Morris-Cafiero captures in her images are staring at her or something else, and no matter what they may be thinking when they look at the artist, the conversation generated about her body and the fat body in general offers a potential space for reconsidering traditional aesthetic standards.

// Figure 7
Haley Morris-Cafiero, ***White Stripe***, 2015, ***Wait Watchers series***, Memphis, Tennessee

// Figure 8
Haley Morris-Cafiero, ***Progress***, 2013, ***Wait Watchers series***, Prague, Czech Republic

In 2014, a few years after she began the *Wait Watchers* series, Morris-Cafiero received international attention when numerous media outlets began to publish her work online. She embraced the attention given to her work for the benefit of sharing her art with a broad audience of people who may not often go to museums or galleries. This experience also led to adverse consequences with individuals publishing her work on blogs, forums, and news outlets without her permission and in many cases framing her work through inflammatory, attention-grabbing headlines. The reception of Morris-Cafiero's work was found within the comments pages, emails directly sent to the artist, and postings on social media sites. Some individuals would comment on the experiences they had in public spaces and thank Morris-Cafiero for her work that had helped them to embrace their bodies positively. Several disclosed very personal feelings dealing with suicidal thoughts and depression caused by a societal rejection of their figures. Others contacted the artist to advise her on how to exercise or how to apply make-up and dress in order to appear more attractive. Some used much more cruel language describing how much her body disgusted them and in a few instances threatened her with physical violence because of her appearance.

It was the hateful comments in particular that interested the artist the most. Instead of directing their criticism at the aesthetic qualities of her work, these critiques focus entirely on her physique. Morris-Cafiero does not take the comments personally and instead finds them very amusing. She is amazed by the time and energy a person would take to hate someone so vehemently who they have never met and based solely on the person's appearance. She began to archive these comments in 2015. Whereas she never presumed to know what the passersby in her *Wait Watchers'* series were thinking, the online comments now provided the artist with a direct insight into the thoughts of many viewers. Numerous commenters expressed outlandish opinions based on their conclusions drawn from their evaluation of her body. Some declared that she was unemployed, had diabetes, or would die young. Others described Morris-Cafiero in derogatory language often used against people with disabilities by calling her 'retarded,' 'deformed,' and 'circus-freak ugly.'[5)] Many commenters vied online to explain that it did not matter that Morris-Cafiero was fat; they blamed her posture, her clothing, her facial expression, or her lack of make-up. Some of these writers prefaced their argument with a disclosure that they too were fat, but that they knew better than to appear in such an unappealing manner in public.

5) Some of the comments about Haley Morris-Cafiero's *Wait Watchers* series can be found on the following sites: Haley Morris-Cafiero (2013): Pictures of people who mock me. In: Salon, http://www.salon.com/2013/04/23/pictures_of_people_who_mock_me/ (July 2016); Fatpeoplestories, https://www.reddit.com/r/fatpeoplestories/comments/1r4irx/tp_is_not_assuming_people_who_happen_to_glance/ (July 2016); /r/fatlogic, https://www.reddit.com/r/fatlogic/comments/2lf1yw/haley_morriscafieros_stunning_photographs_show/ (July 2016).

In her current series, *In the Time of Trump*, Morris-Cafiero investigates the ubiquity of cyberbullying in the 21st century. The recent election of Donald Trump as the President of the United States, a man accused of using Twitter to disparage and intimidate his opponents, has helped to validate and encourage the cyberbullying community. As with her previous series, Morris-Cafiero has created *In the Time of Trump* to generate a conversation and raise awareness about the prevalence of body shaming and aesthetic disqualification. She has taken inspiration from the most hateful comments made about her body in the *Wait Watchers'* series. Not interested in personally attacking the specific individuals, she seeks to critique the anonymity people believe they have online, which enables them to feel free to attack others verbally. To create this series, Morris-Cafiero began by building profiles of the bullies who posted the most vicious comments about her body by collecting online public information such as photographs, posts on social media sites, and other openly available material. Morris-Cafiero then constructs a character that she performs before her camera that is loosely based on each profile through the use of prosthetics, clothing, and an environment that often closely resembles original images. The finishing touch to these works is the incorporation of the online bully's own spiteful language used to attack Morris-Cafiero, which she cleverly places within the image.

Although these characters are Morris-Cafiero's own fabrications, she seeks to rattle, through her personifications, the security of the online bullies who inspired them and who would be able to recognize themselves. She has transformed their personas into starable bodies. Morris-Cafiero humorously embodies the blatantly artificial constructed character in order to expose how self-representation on social media platforms is fabricated, edited, and performed for an audience. In this series, Morris-Cafiero more pointedly uses photography to create a mirrored reality in which a person's anonymous hate speech is now presented to viewers and becomes more clearly part of the embodied experience. The prejudicial and heartless language of online comments that can often be quickly forgotten by the general reader takes on a physical, visible presence that cannot easily be ignored and that is now directed back at the original author.

Morris-Cafiero has developed approximately 60 character profiles that she plans to photograph. To date she has completed nine works and plans to officially release this series within the year. The first work produced for this series is entitled *ShortBus*;

the character is based on a professional photographer who emailed Morris-Cafiero to advise her on how to present herself properly in public. Morris-Cafiero based this character on a single image she found of the person online, which struck her as the exact opposite of the ‚professional appearance' the individual professed was necessary for public images. She wears a black t-shirt, a plastic BBQ apron, and plastic, yellow cleaning gloves. She altered her facial features with a large prosthetic nose, artificial facial stubble, and a scruffy black wig. She selected his most offensive comment to include on a scroll of paper that she holds up to the viewer: "I would dare say they were more likely staring at you because you look like someone that got off the ShortBus™ [sic] a few stops too soon. There seems to be a noticeable self-deprecating tone in your perfunctory and unkempt appearance. I bet people wouldn't stare or make issue of your appearance if you just cleaned it up and wore professional looking clothing [...]."[6)]

Other characters created by Morris-Cafiero are composites of many photos she collected of the person online. In *Steamy*, the artist poses in a classic bathroom selfie before a mirror just as the online bully had done in numerous photographs of himself. She wears a prosthetic nose and prosthetic chest with washboard abs; around her waist is a towel, suggesting that she just got out of the shower. In front of her is a mirror covered with steam and in this steam is written the words of the bully who fat-shamed Morris-Cafiero online: "You're fat and gross. Your arms make me want to puke." In *Wet T-Shirt*, Morris-Cafiero adopts the persona of an online bully who posted numerous photographs of herself in wet t-shirt contests at nightclubs. For this character, Morris-Cafiero dons a long brunette shag wig with fringe bangs and wears bright red lipstick that matches her six-inch high platform heels. She stands provocatively in the center of an empty disco nightclub with her long, nude legs exposed beneath an almost translucent, white shirt; on the shirt are written the words of the online bully: "You never heard of whale watching, lady?"

Morris-Cafiero's work is important in interrupting commonplace ideas and attitudes about the fat body and negative stereotypes that are often embedded within visual representations of fatness. Whether using her body as a prop to provoke an open conversation about the presence of the fat body in public or by playing with the artifice of identity constructs by performing the role of an online bully, the artist directs our attention to how identity is regularly performed within public and private spaces. Morris-Cafiero

6) This email message was sent to the artist on Thursday, February 6, 2014 at 12:24 PM.

embraces her embodied experience and resists the stigmatization placed on her body by a culture that predominantly celebrates a thin, able-bodied physique. She defies the body shamers who would tell her to lose weight, dress differently, or not occupy a public space and in this way she critiques the negative connotations assigned to her body. Her humorous performances create a space to confront animosity and question the assumptions held by many individuals about the fat body. If aesthetic disqualification is to be dismantled, it is necessary to examine our aesthetic assumptions exhaustively. Ablelist and anti-fat attitudes based on aesthetic biases can still be found in current visual studies scholarship, mass media, public health policies, and the medical field. Instead of disregarding our preconceptions or 'politely' diverting our gaze from the fat or disabled body, it would be best to directly encounter, engage, and celebrate the diversity of our human community in all its forms (Garland-Thomson 2009: 9).

// Image Credits

Fig. 1: Haley Morris-Cafiero, *Anonymity Isn't For Everyone*, 2010. *Wait Watchers series*, New York, NY, 2010, archival digital photograph © Haley Morris-Cafiero.
Fig. 2: Haley Morris-Cafiero, *Shape to Fit* series, 2003, daguerreotype, paraffin wax, and rawhide © Haley Morris-Cafiero.
Fig. 3: Haley Morris-Cafiero, *Cops*, 2011, *Wait Watchers series*, New York, NY, archival digital photograph © Haley Morris-Cafiero.
Fig. 4: Haley Morris-Cafiero, *Gelato*, 2011, *Wait Watchers series*, Barcelona, Spain, 2011, archival digital photograph © Haley Morris-Cafiero.
Fig. 5: Haley Morris-Cafiero, *Bikini*, 2011, *Wait Watchers series*, Barcelona, Spain, archival digital photograph © Haley Morris-Cafiero.
Fig. 6: Haley Morris-Cafiero, *Sunscreen*, 2015, *Wait Watchers series*, Cocoa Beach, Florida, 2015, archival digital photograph © Haley Morris-Cafiero.
Fig. 7: Haley Morris-Cafiero, *White Stripe*, 2015, *Wait Watchers series*, Memphis, Tennessee, archival digital photograph © Haley Morris-Cafiero.
Fig. 8: Haley Morris-Cafiero, *Progress*, 2013, *Wait Watchers series*, Prague, Czech Republic, archival digital photograph © Haley Morris-Cafiero.

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Candy Perfume Girl: Colouring in Fat Bodies

The first coloring book is suggested to have been published in 1884 (Fitzpatrick and McPherson 2010: 127). Kate Greenaway's *A painting book* depicted regular scenes from the lives of middle class white children in Britain. Colouring books are normative parts of children's lives, serving as education and enjoyment tools (Naumann and others 2004: 490). Colouring books for adults have historically been limited to teaching tools (see, for example, Kapit / Lawrence 2014; Diamond / Scheibel / Lawrence 1985), but lately colouring books have been marketed to adults as excellent relaxation meditation tools. In early 2016, half of the top ten best sellers at Amazon were adult coloring books (Harrison 2016: para 1). Adults find coloring to be fun, relaxing, and a nostalgic way to be creative. Adult coloring book topics range from intricate patterns, drawings of animals, landscapes, to people.

The earliest fat positive adult coloring book located is Theo Nicole Lorenz's (2011) *Fat ladies in spaaaaace: A body-positive coloring book* (*FLiS*). 18 images of fat women doing things in space allow for the reader to have a wide variety in their coloring selection. Color in a fat woman in space battling a space octopus. How about a fat woman riding a space unicorn (Marianne Kirby of *Two Whole Cakes Fatcast*)? Or a fat doctor's assistant, waiting for him to figure out time and space.

Lorenz created the book after participating in a panel about the lack of fat women in science fiction at a writing convention (Kirby 2013: para 1–2). As noted on the back of the book by the author: "There's a whole universe of bod types out there, and they all deserve to be represented" (Lorenz 2011: back cover). The images include both static and dynamic poses, and many, such as the space unicorn riding fatty, are modelled after real life people involved in fat acceptance. Each image includes a caption, hinting at the story (or backstory) of the image on the page **(fig. 1)**.

// Figure 1
Theo Nicole Lorenz, *Fat ladies in spaaaaace: A body-positive coloring book*, The Zaftig Zepher, 2011

On page 14, the reader meets *The Zaftig Zepher*, who, according to her caption, "spends her nights protecting the rain-spattered streets of Metrolopolis [with her sidekick Gusty the unicorn dog]" (Lorenz 2011). The Zaftig Zepher is wearing a sleeveless bodysuit with a keyhole cutout. She has wide cateye glasses, gloves, thigh high boots, and a cape. Of course, a cape. Because, well, space. Her trusty unicorn dog, Gusty, is by her side and ready to leap to action. There are many ways that *The Zaftig Zepher* is doing fatness wrong according to mainstream. She shouldn't be wearing thigh high boots, she shouldn't be sleeveless, and she most certainly shouldn't be wearing a cape. Capes are for super heroes, and who has ever heard of a fat superhero?[1)]

FLiS is regularly included on "Best of" lists, including "7 best feminist coloring books" from Bluestockings (Sweet 2013) and Mental Floss's "10 bizarre coloring books for adults" (Cellania 2012). Lorenz has gone on to create other adult coloring books, such as *Unicorns are jerks*, *The robot's guide to love*, and the *Empire coloring book* (unfortunately not for public sale as it was a private commission from Gabourey Sidibe, but you can see images from it on Lorenz's webpage, including a not safe for work (NSFW) depiction of Sidibe's character Becky). Adult coloring books serve some of the same purposes as coloring books for children – relaxation, fine motor skill development, and pleasure. But many, like *Fat ladies in spaaaaace*, also serve another important function; to be subversive. In their exploration of gender stereotypes in children's coloring books, Fitzpatrick and McPherson found traditional gender representations reflecting patriarchal societies: Boys were more active than girls, and more often presented in adult roles (Fitzpatrick / McPherson 2010: 134). In adult coloring books, however, stories often serve to disrupt normative gender roles and traditional society. For example, *The badass feminist coloring book* by Ijeoma Oluo (2015), *The big gay alphabet coloring book* (Bunnell / Corman 2015), and *Black lives matter: The coloring book* (Hall 2015) all challenge normative roles and functions of men and women in society.

In the *Fat Bodies Coloring Book* (*FBCB*), the reader is presented with "eight illustrations of people practicing radical self-love" (Burns 2016). Images that can be read as cis and trans are unquestionably unapologetic fatties; in fact, they are antagonistic. They all wear clothes with fat positive messages, including "VBO or GTFO"[2)] and "Fuck flattering" (a nod to the Gisela Ramirez crop top from 2012). While the gender identity is blurred with these

1) There is a fat superhero; check out *Faith*, written by Houser and Portela (2015), published by Valiant Comics.

2) VBO = visible belly outline or get the fuck out.

images, the message of rebelling against gender roles is not. "I am not pretty for a fat girl" reads the outfit of one image, while others sport hairy legs, moustaches, and both butch and femme presentations. The *FBCB* was available for purchase as a Zine on Etsy in the shop of Sarah Burns in 2016; no further copies are available at this time. This scarcity of product both heightens the excitement around acquiring a product like *FBCB*, while highlighting a limitation of producing and distributing zines.

Zines are self-made, self-published, magazines that are popular in punk, DIY, and feminist spaces. Licona argues that zines represent the non-academic third space; third spaces are sites that allow for the uncovering of other ways of knowing and being "in order to make meaning of the everyday", through disrupting traditional ways of producing knowledge (2005: 106). A zine can be made by anyone, or any group of people, about any topic, for any purpose. Zines can include text, images, interactive games or activities, and more. While traditionally zines would be made by hand, many zines are now created using digital software. Within the fat acceptance community, zines have been a popular way to share information and talk back to traditional anti-fat discourse (Snider 2009: 228). *Fat-Tastic* from Sage, the *FAT femme's guide to LOVING Summer* from Aimee Fleck, and *The make it work: DIY fatshion* zine series and *Hard Femme* from Kirsty Fife, are all examples of zines from the fat acceptance community. These zines are all illustrations of the coalitional consciousness of the fat community; tools to be used by individuals and groups alike in fighting for social justice and unapologetic existence. Zines "have much to teach us about re-representations of self and community as contradictory, complicated, ambiguous, and on the move" (Licona 2005: 110).

Published in 2016, *The big fat little colouring zine* (*BFLCZ*) by Natalie Perkins is a 31 page zine that is dedicated to the "Rad Fatties of Oceania". Natalie Perkins is the proprietor of *Fancy Lady Industries*, and has produced many mainstays for fat activists, including her trademark *Fat* necklace. In this zine, Perkins presents 14 images (13 of fat people, the 14th of her trademark *Fat* script), many of whom are friends of the author. Some of the images are accompanied by text. For example, an image of a fat person holding out a tape measure is accompanied by the text, "I use a tape measure for sewing, not to measure my worth" (Perkins 2016: 4). While probably a nod to the personal and professional sewing that Natalie does, it also harkens the tape measure

included in the *Fat Rights Toolkit* which was assembled by Amanda Levitt. Included in the toolkit is a tape measure in *Yay! Scale* style; instead of numbers, words occupy the length of the tool. It encourages the user to measure their body parts with care, rather than scrutiny. Perhaps your bicep is awesome, lovely, strong?

In one image in *BFLCZ*, dedicated "For Pip" **(fig. 2)**, a fat woman is dressed in a long sleeveless gown; her hair is styled for a special occasion, and there are roses and rose petals scattered across the page. The woman has a walking aide, and the reader can image her walking down the red carpet to a premiere, or down an aisle at her wedding. Both men and women, cis and trans, are included in *BFLCZ*; *BFLCZ* also includes images of fatties with disabilities. These inclusions are notable, as much fat activism work – as well as fat studies scholarship – are spaces dominated by women, femmes, those without disabilities, and whiteness (Pausé 2014: paras 6 & 7). Another group missing from most scholarship and activism are super fat people. The *Super fat crop top girl gang* (*SFCTGG*) is a zine from Rachele Cateyes (2016), a well-known artist in the fat acceptance community. As the name implies, all of the images in the zines are outfit in crop tops; and these super fat crop top girls all have visible belly outlines (otherwise known as VBOs in the fat community). There are actually two editions of the *SFCTGG*, presenting a range of super fat bodies in a range of outfits (albeit all with crop tops). Cateyes also allows the reader to purchase individual sheets; an ambitious person could choose their favourite sheets and make their own super fat crop top girl gang book.

// Figure 2
Natalie Perkins, *The big fat little colouring zine*, For Pip, 2016

There is not much variety in the bodies presented themselves; they seem to all be the same model body. But Cateyes more than makes up for this in the variety of clothing worn, hair styles presented, and ability levels on displays. Super fats in wheelchairs, with buzzcuts, shorts, skirts, with glasses, without glasses, with tattoos, with freckles, even some cosplays are represented. Across the two editions (not counting the additional stand out print items on Etsy), are 16 images. The fat bodies are the only thing on the

page, and while their outfits might be quite detailed, the overall effect is one of simplicity and elegance.

One image that stands out is a super fat woman wearing a short skirt, cat thigh highs, and a mesh crop top over a bra. She has cat ears situated in her long dreads, and a nose ring. One hand is behind her back, with the other giving a peace sign to the reader. Like the rest of the images, she has prominent VBO and an exposed stomach. Her expression is one of nonchalance, but there's something about her stance that tells the reader she isn't sorry. She's fat. She's proud. And she isn't covering the parts of her that society may want her to.

The fat bodies in *SFCTGG* are not like the fat bodies usually seen in the printed or visual form. These bodies are proud and do not reinforce stereotypes of fat bodies. Much has been written about the presentation of fat bodies in the media, and the intention is not to review that literature here. But it is worth highlighting that fat bodies are most often presented as cautionary tales, or hyperbolic sexuality (and occasionally good for a laugh) (Wykes 2012: 62–63). It cannot be overstated how powerful it is for people to be able to see themselves represented on the screen and on the page; especially for people who belong to groups often left out of narrative (Kyrölä 2014: 1). Are these reflective images positive? Are they positioned in only one kind of story? In news media, fat bodies are often not even granted the dignity of having heads; this phenomena, coined the "headless fatty" by Charlotte Cooper (2007: para 1), is part of what dehumanises fat people to both fat and non-fat people. Fat people are seen as less than human, and so their treatment can follow along.

Many of the fat bodies across the variety of fat positive adult coloring books are showing more skin that society would like; showing more hair than society would like; showing more pride than society would like or deem appropriate. In Rachelle Bellar's (2013) *Big-bellied merbabes: A body positive coloring book (BBM)* the reader is treated to 22 images of femme merbabes that are the furthest thing from how fat bodies are usually presented in the media. On the front cover lies a big-bellied merbabe; a string of pearls around her neck draw the eyes to her round belly. Her bright blue hair seems to sparkle under the water. The images in *BBM* are largely static; small to medium size fat merbabes. In one image, a merbabe is posed next to a dolphin. The merbabe has short hair, and one arm raised like she is waving to other dolphins in the foreground. Clamshells cover her breasts, and her neck is adorned

by many strings of small pearls. While browsing through the merbabes images, readers may be struck by memories of Ariel and Ursula in Disney's animated movie, *The Little Mermaid* (1989). Ursula, who has since become a fat icon, was not a merbabe, but a huge (and unapologetic) tentacled figure of power in the film. Fat characters are rare in Disney films (or any animated films), but when they are part of the story they are always positioned in a way that makes it difficult for children to identify with them. They are magical, like the fat fairy godmother in *Sleeping Beauty* (1959), villains, like Ursula in *The Little Mermaid* (1989), or non-human, like Baloo in *The Jungle Book* (1967) (or a combination of the three). Disney has never had a fat Princess, and possibly (probably) never will. But thumbing through the fat merbabes in *BBM* allows the reader to image what it might be like to be part of that world.

Grounded more in realism is Bianca Alba's *The fabulous fat femme coloring collection* (*FFF*). This collection comprises ten different fat femme personalities across 17 pages. Those featured include Queercrip sexologist Bethany Stevens, Performer Dirty Lola, and the illustrator and founder of *The Venus Emporium*, Bianca Alba. Bios of the people featured are included in this collection, which is packaged differently from the others. This isn't a bound book, or even a stapled zine; FFF is produced in an envelope, allowing the reader/artist to remove pages as desired for coloring, displaying, or sharing.

FFF is part of a collection of sex positive coloring books sold through *The Venus Emporium*, a sex positive art boutique. Other coloring books on offer from *The Venus Emporium* include *A transgender coloring book*, *Cunt coloring book* and *The fetish coloring book*. Unsurprisingly, many of the images in *FFF* are NSFW; some are nude or partially nude, others are engaged in sexually charged activities or poses.

At the front of the *FFF*, Alba notes that, "femmes of different sizes, shapes, abilities and ethnicities are featured to highlight our beautiful diversity" (2016: 1). In one image, the reader is invited to color "Bianca" **(fig. 3)** (the illustrator of the collection). Bianca is situated in a bathrub, with her legs flung over the edge, and we can see part of her naked torso, including one breast

// Figure 3
Bianca Alba, *The fabulous fat femme coloring collection*, Bianca, 2016

and nipple. There are bubbles floating around Bianca's head, and her floral patterned lace stockings invite the reader's many colors to engage. Another wonderful detail that invites splashes of color are the hexagon floor tiles in the front of the image. The images in *FFF*, like many of the images across the range of fat positive adult coloring books, present depictions of fatness that challenge the negative normative ideas and stereotypes about fatness. These fat people are not unhappy, or ashamed of their bodies. They are not limited by their size, and they even embrace activities and fashion trends supposedly off limits to those with round bellies, wobbly arms, and double chins. In this way, the fat people in these coloring books can be considered queering fatness. To queer can mean many things, but in this context, queering is a mode of inquiry and/or practice which rejects essentialism, questions long held assumptions, and disrupts supposedly fixed categories (such as gender, sexual orientation, or identity) (Wykes 2014: 4). Queering as a theoretical lens in fat studies scholarship has a long history, from Sedgwick (1993), to LeBesco (2001, 2004, 2009) to the recent edited collection, *Queering fat embodiment* (Pausé / Wykes / Murray 2014).

Longhurst (2014: 12) suggests that queering is useful in understanding fatness as it allows for unpacking the ways that social institutions and individual behaviours and practices normalise only one type of body size as acceptable: the non-fat body. As a theoretical lens, queering shines a light on essentialist arguments, and draws assumptions to the surface; in these ways, it both names and denaturalises what is considered normal ways of being, ways of knowing, and ways of doing. Wykes argues that "non-normative bodies challenge and disrupt – that is to say, queer – the disciplinary power of normative categories" (2014: 5). Fat positive coloring books can be understood as queering fatness through their rejections of mainstream notions of what it means to be fat and how fatness is supposed to be performed (Pausé 2014: 84). The images in the coloring books explored are defiant, and joyous, and sexual; they are certainly doing fatness wrong (Pausé 2015: para 5).

The FATSPO[3] *Coloring Book* (*FCB*) was created by Brian Stuart, aka Red No. 3, on *Tumblr* in 2013. As a *Tumblr* page, *FCB* is unique from the other offerings considered in this piece. It isn't a self-published zine or something to be purchased on Amazon. *FCB* is offered freely to another with access to the internet and the materials (be they drawing software or printer) to engage with the

3) ***FATSPO*** **is a direct contradiction to** ***THINSPO*****, a tag that is frequently used by those looking for thin inspiration. Often, images of fat people are tagged as** ***THINSPO*****, in a gross attempt to motivate non-fat people to stay non-fat. In this coloring book, Stuart has turned** ***THINSPO*** **on its head and has, instead, presented positive images of fat people that could, perhaps, be tagged as** ***FATSPO*****, aka fat inspiration. See it here: www.tumblr.com/dashboard/blog/fatspocoloringbook**

images. While *The FATSPO coloring book* depicts a handful of fat people involved in fat activism, like Kath Read of the *Fat Heffalump* and Amanda Levitt of *Fat Body Politics*, it mainly trades in celebrities like *Project Runway* winner Ashley Nell Tipton. Celebrity Specials, Athlete of Size Specials, and Leaders of Size Specials, are littered throughout the collection, drawing attention to actor Gabourey Sidibe, Olympian weight lifter Sarah Robles, and the Liberian activist and Nobel Peace Laureate, Leymah Gbowee. Images under these special labels are often accompanied with a brief text explanation of the individual, and often how their size was part of their public persona.

New images are still being added as of 2016, and Stuart seems to have recently turned his attention to spotlighting lesser known fat personalities, such as Kristian Nairn (who plays Hodor on HBO's *Game of Thrones*), recently deceased Australian author, Collen McCullough, and Belgian politician Maggie De Block. The frequent inclusion of fat people of colour feels especially vital, as fat activism (as well as fat studies scholarship) is dominated by white people (Cooper 2009: 328; Pausé 2014: para 6–7).

All of the images are minimalistic – simple lines and presentation. One of the more adorned images is that of Princess Ruth Luka Keanolani Kauanahoahoa Keʻelikōlani, a member of the Royal Kamehameha family of the now occupied state of Hawai'i. She is one of the few seated images, and her gown is voluminous and layered in detail. While paling to the ornateness associated with the garbs of Western royalty, Princess Keʻelikōlani's dress feels luxurious to the reader, and in direct contrast to the simplicity of the other images. At the same time, the Princess's dress is not her native garb, but instead representing colonial fashion; the reader wonders what her body would look like in her indigenous dress, and whether it it would present a different colouring experience. In contrast to the minimalistic images of the *FATSPO! Tumblr*, the frenetic images of *Body love: A fat activism colouring book* (*BLFACB*) by Allison Tunis (2016) leaves the reader wondering which detail to focus on in any given frame. At 52 pages filled with 23 images of fat people, it is the longest of the colouring books reviewed in this piece. The book opens with a dedication, "To every person who has ever looked in the mirror and hated what they saw. You do not have to feel like this" (Tunis 2016: 2).

BLFACB showcases many well-known people in the fat community, such as fat activists Jes Baker and Virgie Tovar, Substantia Jones of the Adipositivity Project, and Yogi Jessamyn Stanley.

Each image is accompanied by a brief biographical sketch of the person, including their name, their brand (if applicable), and appropriate social media information, like their webpage URL or Instagram handle. One of the many strengths of *BLFACB* is the inclusion of fat people of colour, and fat people from outside of the United States. Those captured in the book are presented in profile, face to reader, as full bodies, just faces, from behind. The variety is part of what captures the eye and keeps the reader moving through. Many images recreate well known tableaus of the people included, like Jes Baker's faux Abercrombie & Fitch campaign shoot, *Attractive & Fat*. A handful of men are present in this collection, including Bruce Sturgell, the creator of *Chubstr*, and Kelvin Davis of *Notoriously Dapper*. And even a few from outside of the United States, including Aarti Dubey, a fashion blogger in Singapore, and Meagan Kerr, a fashion blogger in New Zealand. Tunis notes in the introduction that she has used icons who have inspired her own journey; the Internet has opened up the avenues for exploration and inspiration, allowing for fat people across the world to connect with one another (Pausé 2014: 2).

// Figure 4
Allison Tunis, *Body love: A fat activism colouring book*, Kobi Jae, 2016

Presumably one of the most striking is Kobi Jae (blogger and model at *Horror Kitsch Bitch*) **(fig. 4)**. Jae is depicted as face on, full body, to the reader, with her head slightly titled and her eyes looking at something off the side. The background of this image are tiny skulls. Jae is dressed in a mesh top, jacket with fur sleeves, and a skirt that is partially unzipped. Spiders climb the shoulders of the jacket, while her chest and stomach (but not her breasts) are bared. She has on cat ears, dildo earings, and flowers in her hair. She is, in short, spectacular.

While some of the fat people are almost overshadowed by the backgrounds behind them, all of the images give us unapologetic fatness. Fierce stares, bold fashion, frenetic backgrounds, all come together to produce a collection that challenge the reader/artist and their views on fat bodies. Tunis has suggested that the collection is "part fat activism, part art therapy" (Dupere 2016: para 4). Bringing together her activism, her academic background, and her therapeutic tools, she hopes *Body love* will be empowering, fun,

and therapeutic. “It forces you to work out your own issues with bodies,” Tunis shared with Dupere in a story on Mashable: “It’s not only a soothing and relaxing meditation through the act of coloring, but also a meditation on self” (2016: para 11).

Fat bodies have long been displayed for the purposes of entertainment. But unlike their negative presentations in circuses and seaside attractions, members of the fat activist community are embracing ways to present positive representations of fatness and fat bodies, such as through colouring books. Fat positive colouring books are a growing subset of adult colouring books. And adult colouring books, themselves, are a growing part of the book market; adults enjoy the nostalgic act of colouring images, many finding it to be a form of meditation. In contrast to most children’s colouring books, adult colouring books often embrace subversive themes, dismiss traditional gender roles and presentation, and present images on the pages that are NSFW.

Presenting positive representations of fat bodies is subversive and revolutionary; these books invite the artist to engage in the nostalgic act of colouring that is also an act of rebellion. The artist is not just colouring in bodies, or images of people, but of fat bodies and fat people. Colouring in big bellies and across massive thighs; continuing to colour long after a body should have finished, but the artist is still inside the lines. These acts of colouring in what has always been white spaces, what many would argue should be white spaces, where the fat body continues to be, is rebellious. Spending time and energy to lovingly colour in fat bodies not only rejects essentialist ideas about fatness, it also reinforces positive messages about fatness. As noted by fat activist and writer, Marie Southard Ospina: “With every visible belly outline, jiggly thigh, or double chin I penciled in, I could feel the day’s anxiety becoming a distant memory. But more importantly, perhaps, I could feel myself growing more and more empowered; fueled by the reminder that my fat body was good” (2017: para 5).

But while these images are revolutionary in the way they present fat bodies, they are still limited. Most are presented as aesthetically attractive/appealing, meant to engage desire. This isn’t the same engagement as heterosexual desire (Jones 2014: 41), but still speaks to what forms of fatness are presented as acceptable and validated and what forms are not (Kyrölä 2014: 165). And across the books examined here, there is still little acknowledgment of super fat bodies and bodies with disabilities. Exceptions may be found, to be sure, like “Rolls on rolls on rolls” fatty in

The Big Fat Little Colouring Zine or the fatty with one leg in the *Superfat Crop Top Girl Gang* zine. As fat activists continue to push against the expected representations and embodiments of fatness, they need to be mindful of promoting representations and embodiments for the kinds of fatness that are often left behind.

// Image Credits

Fig. 1: Theo Nicole Lorenz, *Fat ladies in spaaaaace: A body-positive coloring book*, The Zaftig Zepher 2011
Fig. 2: Natalie Perkins, *The big fat little colouring zine,* For Pip, 2016
Fig. 3: Bianca Alba, *The fabulous fat femme coloring collection,* Bianca, 2016
Fig. 4: Allison Tunis, *Body love: A fat activism colouring book,* Kobi Jae, 2016

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Cat Pausé is the lead editor of *Queering Fat Embodiment* (Ashgate). A fat studies researcher, her research focuses on the effects of spoiled identities on the health and well-being of fat individuals. Her work in scholarly journals search as *Human Development*, *Feminist Review*, *HERDSA*, and *Narrative Inquiries in Bioethics,* as well as online at *The Huffington Post* and *The Conversation*, among others. She hosted *Fat Studies: Reflective intersections* in New Zealand in 2012, and *Fat Studies: Identity, Agency, Embodiment* in 2016. Cat is also involved in sociable scholarship. Her work is highlighted in her social media presence, Friend of Marilyn, on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, iTunes, and her blog. Her fat positive radio show, Friend of Marilyn, is travelling the world this year – make sure your city is on the tour!

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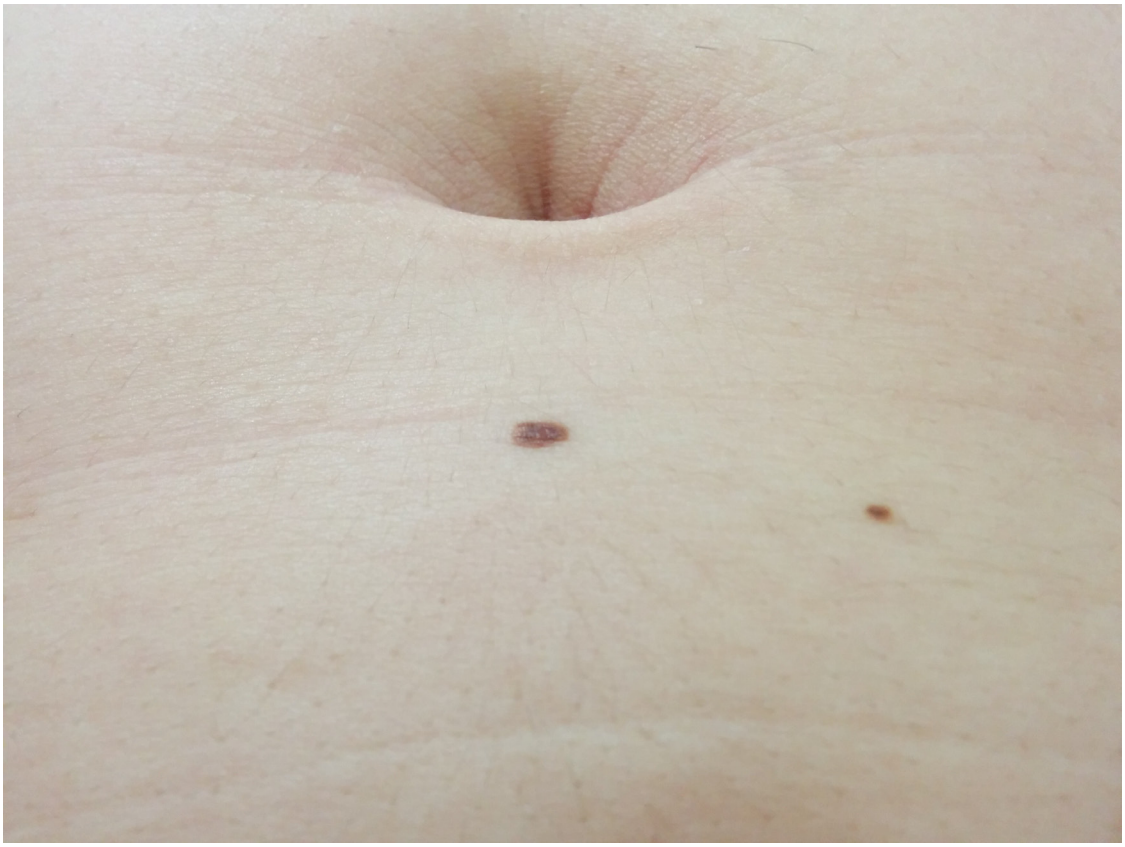
FETTTANZ-CD – TIPPS UND TRACKS ZUM FLEISCHTANZ
DORIS UHLICHS EDITION FÜR FKW NR. 62



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Tipps und Tracks zum Fleischtanz

// KONZEPT UND IDEE: DORIS UHLICH, WIEN 2017
// SOUNDS: BORIS KOPEINIG

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EDITION 49 ENTSTAND ALS KÜNSTLERISCHER BEITRAG ZU FKW NR. 62 (2017)
EIN ESSAY ZUR EDITION VON KEA WIENAND IST IN DIESER AUSGABE ZU FINDEN.

// Kea Wienand

FETTTANZEN – WAS IST DABEI ZU VERLIEREN? EIN SELBSTVERSUCH

boom, tschak, boom, tschak, boom, tschak… die Musik beginnt. Die Bässe wummern, dann setzt die Melodie ein… Ich habe die Vorhänge zugezogen, stehe in der Mitte meines Zimmers, meine Augen sind geschlossen. Langsam fange ich an zum Takt zu wippen, vorsichtig bewege ich mich von einem Bein auf das andere, als würde ich mit einem zögernden Zwischenschritt marschieren. Was tue ich da? Was ahme ich hier nach? Woran erinnert sich mein Körper gerade? Die Loops der Musik wiederholen sich, meine Moves – wenn man sie überhaupt so nennen kann – auch. Mein Körper fühlt sich gewichtig an – nicht im Sinne von schwer an Kilos, sondern schwer an eingeschriebenen Erfahrungen und gefühlten Blicken. Ich versuche Doris Uhlichs Anleitung zu folgen „Dance as you feel like to the sound. Let the energy of the sound enter your flesh". Ich probiere in meinen Bewegungen experimenteller zu werden, die Erinnerungen abzuschütteln, imaginierte Augen zu vergessen und die Energie zu spüren. Gar nicht so leicht. Meine repetitiven Bewegungen langweilen mich und setzen mich zugleich unter Druck. Leistungsdruck?! Herrje…! Ich achte auf die Modularisierung der Klänge und nehme die minimalen Veränderungen zum Anlass auch meine Arme zu bewegen, den Oberkörper mehr einzubringen, die Hüfte zu kreisen – ‚geht doch', freue ich mich und fühle mich zugleich an Raves erinnert, deren öffentliche *Inszenierungen von Körpern mich nach wie vor faszinieren, mir aber auch befremdlich sind…*

Die Edition von Doris Uhlich für die Ausgabe *Visual Fat Studies* von *FKW//Zeitschrift für Geschlechterforschung* und visuelle Kultur ist eine *Fetttanz-CD* mit *Tipps und Tracks zum Fleischtanz*. Zusammen mit dem DJ Boris Kopeinig hat sie sechs Tracks im Bereich minimalistischer Elektronik konzipiert. Dazu soll getanzt werden, das Booklet gibt die passenden Anregungen: In der Kombination von elektronischer Musik mit der Aufforderung zu tanzenden Bewegungen und der Thematisierung von Körperlichkeit, genauer: *fetter*, fleischiger Körperlichkeit, eröffnet sich ein Raum, der über Bilder von Körpern, damit zusammenhängende Normierungen und die Möglichkeiten, diese in Bewegung zu bringen, nachdenken lässt. Selbst wer sich weigert mitzutanzen, wird unweigerlich von der Musik erfasst, der eigene Körper beginnt im Rhythmus zu pulsieren – und was man selbst verkörpert, wird zur

Disposition gestellt. Das für elektronische Musik charakteristische Wiederholen von musikalischen Einheiten regt dazu an, selbst monotone Bewegungen auszuführen – Bewegungen, die sich in der Repetition als nicht einfach erweisen und sich mit der Zeit in der Intensität steigern können. Weniger festgelegt als beispielsweise der Aufbau von Popsongs finden sich in den Tracks der elektronischen Musik minimale musikalische Veränderungen, die aus neuen Zusammensetzungen der Sequenzen, Loops und Überlagerungen von Melodien und Rhythmen bestehen, häufig nach keinem erkennbaren Muster einsetzen und die in ebenso minimalen Veränderungen der ausgeführten Bewegungen nachhallen. *Moves*, die zum Beispiel erst noch an ein gemeinsames eher mechanisches Marschieren erinnern, verschieben sich in der Wahrnehmung zu einem tendenziell parodistischen Nachahmen, zu einem Spiel und zu neuen – möglicherweise ermächtigenden – Formen.

Track 2! Ich tanze weiter. Der Beat ist nun wesentlich schneller, die Klänge sind zumindest für meine Ohren melodischer. Haben meine Bewegungen eben eher auf einer Stelle stattgefunden, werden sie nun raumgreifender. Was steht im Booklet? „Let your flesh fly! Jump in the room search lightness in your flesh. Let the breasts fly, the penis swing, the popo hop!". Na also, so langsam scheine ich in Schwung zu kommen, ich tobe nahezu durch den Raum. Und, ja, es funktioniert. Zwar nicht mühelos, aber meine Bewegungen werden beschwingter. Kurz überlege ich, ob ich mich ‚weicher' verhalten muss, mehr fließende Gesten ausprobieren sollte… Egal, ich schiebe die Erinnerung an die Hinweise meiner früheren Tanzlehrerin zu Seite und mache einen Sprung. Nicht gerade grazil lasse ich sämtliche Gliedmaßen und mein Fett fliegen…

Tanz, so schreibt Colleen M. Schmitz in der Einleitung des Ausstellungskataloges *tanz! Wie wir uns und die Welt bewegen*, „ist kreative Praxis und kulturelles Produkt zugleich. […] Der tanzende Körper spiegelt und formt individuelle und kollektive Bilder vom Menschen" (2013: 13). In der Kulturgeschichte des Tanzes lassen sich in den unterschiedlichen Formen, Stilen und Konventionen die verschiedenen Machtverhältnisse und damit zusammenhängende Körpervorstellungen ausfindig machen. Konzeptionen von Geschlecht, ethnischer, kultureller und vor allem auch sozialer Herkunft werden in den tänzerischen Bewegungen einstudiert, reproduziert und in die Körper eingeschrieben. Stereotype

Zuschreibungen, die sich auf den Körper fokussieren, werden im Tanz nicht nur per Konvention und Normierung inkorporiert, sondern auch erlebt und materialisieren sich so. Zugleich gilt Tanzen immer wieder auch als etwas, das nicht oder zumindest *wenig* rational ist, das als vorsprachlich, eher weiblich und weniger zivilisiert angesehen wird. Tanz wurde als solcher auch als Bedrohung oder Untergrabung der sozialen Ordnung wahrgenommen, vor allem wenn er ‚ausuferte' und exzessiv wurde, d.h. nicht Regel geleitet war, im Rausch vorgenommen wurde oder selbst zu Rauschzuständen führte, und damit aus dem, was als ‚normaler Zustand' verstanden wurde, sich heraus bewegte. In vielen Kulturen finden sich zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten Formen des Sich-in-Trance tanzen, das mal als Nähe zu den Göttern, mal als heilend, aber auch als unheimlich verstanden wurde. Tanz bewegt sich in einem Spannungsfeld von sozialen Normen und Konventionen, der Überschreitung von nur rational Wahrnehmbarem und kulturell Lesbarem sowie der individuellen Erinnerung, Ausgestaltung und Verschiebung von verinnerlichten Körpervorstellungen.

Die Tanzkunst der Moderne machte dieses Spannungsfeld offensichtlich und gesellschaftliche Transformationen wurden auf der Bühne reflektiert und begleitet (Klein 2013: 139). Gabriele Klein hat die Geschichte des modernen künstlerischen Tanzes als eine Befragung der Veränderungen der Moderne und moderner Subjektivitäten beschrieben, in deren Mittelpunkt der Körper steht (ebd.: 140). Schmitz u.a. wiederum erläutern, wie verschiedene Künstler_innen ab dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in ihren Choreografien und Bühnenshows alltägliche Sehgewohnheiten hinterfragt haben und versuchten, neue Sichtweisen auf den Körper zu richten und vorgeschriebene Rollen ins Wanken zu bringen sowie Grenzen auszuloten (2013: 107). Aber auch die populären Tänze haben kulturelle Veränderungen begleitet (Klein 2013: 139). Im Kontext der europäischen Kolonialkultur werden Tanzformen anderer Länder und Kontinente versucht zu adaptieren, bis heute rezipieren Europäer_innen Bewegungspraktiken, die ihnen unvertraut sind und bekannte Geschlechtercodes und tradierte Körpervorstellungen irritieren und durchkreuzen (ebd.: 140).

Doris Uhlichs künstlerische Praxis knüpft in gewisser Weise sowohl an den Diskurs des modernen Tanzes als auch an populäre Tanzpraktiken an. Sie analysiert mit ihren Tanzperformances gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse und Phänomene, befragt soziale Konventionen und lässt dabei deren Inkorporalisierungen und unterschiedlichen Körpereffekte deutlich oder zumindest

beobachtbar werden. So hat sie jüngst mit *Boom Bodies* (2016) ein Stück choreografiert, in dem acht Tänzer_innen Angst und Ängstlichkeit sowie deren immer auch körperlichen oder körperbezogenen Auswirkungen verhandeln. Wenn die Tänzer_innen sich gemeinsam wie im Rausch zu den Techno-Beats bewegen und als Kollektiv oder als Welle erscheinen und die Bewegungen dann auch wieder sich entzweien und die Protagonist_innen auf der Bühne vereinzelt erscheinen lassen, kann sich die Betrachtende kaum noch entziehen. Dabei eröffnen Uhlichs Inszenierungen Möglichkeiten, aktuelle Gesellschaftszustände und Umgangsformen, aber auch das eigene Involviertsein in diese zu reflektieren.

Ich schwitze ordentlich als Track 3 beginnt. Ich höre ein Wummern. Meine Bewegung stoppt. Was tun? Der Sound verändert sich minimal. „Vibration" lautet der den lauten Techno-Sound treffend beschreibende Titel. Ich versuche den Sound umzusetzen, indem ich mit meinem Körper kleine ruckartige Bewegungen *durchführe. Alles wackelt. Dabei beobachte ich, wie ich mit meinem Körper neue, mir bis dato unbekannte Bilder kreiere. Ich muss genau hinschauen, denn obwohl ich mich körperlich enorm anstrengen muss, bewegen sich manche Körperteile nur wenig, andere mehr. Die rhythmischen Bewegungen lassen an manchen Stellen meine* Körper*grenzen verschwimmen und mein Körperfleisch beben. An anderen Stellen ergeben sich bis dato unbekannte Linien und Formen. Hier spannt sich etwas an, da hängt etwas eher fleischig herunter und zittert. So hatte ich meinen Körper noch nicht gesehen.*

Uhlichs Performances bleiben jedoch nicht bei einer Bestandsaufnahme oder simplen Analyse von gesellschaftlichen Phänomenen und Diskursen stehen, sondern sind vor allem daran interessiert, nach Formen der Ermächtigung sowie der Bündelung und Potenzierung von Kräften und Energien zu suchen. In ihrer Performance *Universal Dancer* (2014) bewegt sich die Künstlerin beispielsweise nach Techno-Musik mit und auf einer eigens gebauten Maschine, einer vibrierenden kleinen Holzplatte, an deren Unterseite eine Art Ventilator angebracht ist. Körperbewegungen – und sind sie auch noch so minimal – scheinen der Ausgangspunkt zu sein. Ein Sich-Selbst-Bewegen wird dabei zu einem Etwas-Bewegendem. Bekannte Moves und Aussagen der Technoszene werden zitiert: Wenn sie etwa den Slogan „my house is your house" ins Mikro spricht, erinnert das an das Motto der *Love-Parade* von 1991,

stößt aber auch die Frage an, ob sie damit gerade auf ihren Körper anspielt und darauf diesen zu bewohnen, eine körperliche Erfahrung zu machen und zu teilen. Beobachten kann man wie Uhlich sich während der Performance mit ihrem Körper auf den Techno-Beat einlässt und sich bewegen lässt, bewegt werden will und von der Maschine bewegt wird. Das Mechanische des Rhythmus, das teilweise Monotone und Angestrengte der Bewegungen trifft auf eher fließende Moves, die den Melodien und sphärischen Klängen folgen, den Raum einnehmen und in diesen zugleich ausstrahlen. Es drängen sich Fragen auf, wie „Was für eine Energie setzt Techno frei?“ und „Wie entsteht eine solche Kraft und wie kann sie zu einer kollektiven Bewegung werden“, die nicht nur Körper in Aktion versetzt.

Als Track 4 beginnt schaue ich gleich in die Anleitung und freue mich. Der Sound gefällt mir, er hallt in meinen Körper nach, ich habe Lust ‚wild‘ weiter zu tanzen und fühle ab hier auch kein Bedürfnis mehr, meine Erfahrungen zu beschreiben und für das Erlebte nach Wörtern suchen zu müssen. Ich mag mir keine Gedanken mehr darüber machen, wie ich eine gelebte und erlebte Körperlichkeit und Fleischlichkeit beschreiben kann, ohne dabei Gefahr zu laufen, abwertende Konnotationen zu wiederholen. Die Anleitung lautet: „Imagine you are a bottle of champaign, you open the cork and the energy can exit the body. Don’t hold back your boom energy. The body is the epicentre for action, activation, vibration!“ Jetzt kann ich auch ihrer anfänglichen Aufforderung folgen, die besagt „Start with clothes. Or half naked. Or little naked. Or naked. Soon you will enjoy being more than naked“.

Doris Uhlich zeigt in ihren Performances immer wieder Fleisch, sie tritt selbst nackt auf, wie z.B. in *more than enough* (2009/10) oder inszeniert, wie in dem Stück *more than naked* (2013), Choreografien mit nackten Tänzer_innen. Ähnlich wie andere feministische Performance-Künstlerinnen hinterfragt sie mit ihren Aktionen Körpernormierungen und die Aufteilung des Feldes des Sichtbaren in Objekte und Subjekte des Blicks. Uhlich geht es gerade nicht darum, dass sie oder ihre Tänzer_innen begafft werden, oder darum, mit Nacktheit lediglich bürgerliche Moralvorstellungen zu provozieren. Und dennoch ist das nackte Auftreten mit einem Entblößen der Körper mit Scham verbunden. Sie potenziert zunächst die Aufmerksamkeit auf den Körper, die im Tanz und in

der Performance zentral ist. Uhlich bringt die nackten Körper auf der Bühne in Bewegung: Sie wabbeln, schwabbeln, beben, zittern, mal tun sie das schnell und nervös, mal langsam, sanft und leise, dann wieder robust, bestimmt und laut. Sie sind da, präsent und lassen sich doch in ihrer Bewegtheit vom Blick nicht fixieren. Jeder Körper besteht aus Fett, der eine besitzt weniger, der andere mehr. In Uhlichs Choreografien scheinen die Körper die Schönheitsideale abschütteln zu wollen, ihnen stampfend entgegen zu treten, sie zu durchkreuzen und an den Bewegungen einfach Spaß zu haben. Dass sich Schönheitsideale ebenso wie andere Bilder, die nackte Körper in Erinnerung rufen, nicht einfach abstreifen lassen, ist Teil der Seherfahrung dieser Performances. Wenn man das Fett wackeln und beben sieht, Körper beobachtet, die aufstampfen und umhertollen, dann wird einem klar, dass wir nicht gänzlich von Normen und Konventionen bestimmt werden, dass es Möglichkeiten gibt, diese in Bewegung zu bringen, zu verändern und – zumindest für den Moment – ein anderes Körperbild zu genießen. Uhlich hat in Interviews verschiedentlich geäußert, dass sie den Körper in seiner Materialität feiern will. Fetttanzen heißt insofern, sich einer (eigenen) Körperlichkeit bzw. dem (eigenen) Fett bewusst zu werden. Aber nicht, wie es neoliberale Fitness-Diskurse einfordern, um sich den Defiziten angesichts von Schönheitsidealen, Body-Mass-Indexes usw. gewahr zu werden und die Pfunde an Problemzonen zu verlieren, sondern im Gegenteil, um die Aufmerksamkeit anders auf den Körper zu richten und seine Formen und Zonen neu zu codieren. Verloren gehen oder aufgegeben werden dabei verinnerlichte und regelmäßig aktualisierte Körperbilder.

Der Tanz ist naturgemäß etwas Ephemeres, Flüchtiges, das nur im Moment seiner Aufführung existiert. Tanzaufführungen und Performances können daher nur über Medien reproduziert und archiviert werden. Film und Fotografie bieten dafür Möglichkeiten. Doris Uhlich schien es jedoch unangemessen, als Edition eine Dokumentation einer ihrer Performances bereitzustellen. Auch die – im Kunstfeld durchaus übliche – Veräußerung von Requisiten oder Überresten der Aktionen entsprach nicht dem Interesse, das sie mit ihrer künstlerischen Praxis verfolgt. Die Idee, eine *Fetttanz-CD* mit Tracks und Tipps zum Ausprobieren zu entwerfen, soll die Möglichkeit eröffnen, das Feiern von Körperlichkeit selbst zu erleben. Die Musik *triggert* verschiedene Erfahrungen an, bietet einen Anlass, im Körpergedächtnis zu recherchieren, den eigenen Körper zu erleben, mit, durch und entgegen vorhandener Bilder. Probiert es aus!

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// Angaben zur Autorin
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// Birgit Haehnel

IRENE BELOW / BURCU DOGRAMACI (HG.) (2016): KUNST UND GESELLSCHAFT ZWISCHEN DEN KULTUREN. DIE KUNSTHISTORIKERIN HANNA LEVY-DEINHARD IM EXIL UND IHRE AKTUALITÄT HEUTE. SCHRIFTENREIHE: FRAUEN UND EXIL. MÜNCHEN, EDITION TEXT+KRITIK, BD. 9.

Why have there been no great women art historians? – So könnte auch heute eine Frage an die Kunstgeschichte in Anlehnung an Linda Nochlins bahnbrechenden Aufsatz von 1971 über das Fehlen namhafter Künstlerinnen im historischen Bewusstsein lauten. Ein Blick auf die Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland verrät, dass vor allem Männer das Wissenschaftsgeschehen prägen. Strukturelle Ungleichheiten im kunstwissenschaftlichen Betrieb sorgen weiter dafür, dass trotz einer Mehrheit an Studentinnen Kunstwissenschaftlerinnen neben wenigen Ausnahmefrauen marginalisiert werden.

Mit dem nun von Irene Below und Burcu Dogramaci herausgegebenen Aufsatzband über die Kunsthistorikerin und Kunstsoziologin Hanna Levy-Deinhard (geb. 1912 in Osnabrück, gest. 1984 in Basel) liegt ein weiterer wichtiger Beitrag vor, der genau diesem Vergessen entgegenwirkt. Der Publikation vorangegangen war das Symposium *Kunst und Gesellschaft zwischen den Kulturen – Die Kunsthistorikerin Hanna Levy-Deinhard im Exil und ihre Aktualität heute*. Die Veranstaltung fand vom 21. bis 22. Februar 2014 in der *Deutschen Nationalbibliothek* in Frankfurt am Main im Rahmen der Ausstellung *„…mehr vorwärts als rückwärts schauen…" – Das deutschsprachige Exil in Brasilien 1933-1945* statt. Jahrelange akribisch durchgeführte Recherchen und Vorarbeiten vor allem der Co-Autorin Irene Below weisen darauf hin, dass das inhaltsreiche Werk Hanna Levy-Deinhards seiner Zeit weit voraus war. Einen Beitrag veröffentlichte sie bereits 1993 in der Zeitschrift *Frauen Kunst Wissenschaft* (Heft 16). Gerade im Zuge einer globalen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung gewinnt Levy-Deinhard an Bedeutung.

Wegen ihrer jüdischen Herkunft musste Hanna Levy 1933 Deutschland verlassen und floh über Paris nach Brasilien. Im Exil war sie maßgeblich an der Gründung der brasilianischen Denkmalpflege beteiligt. 1948 übersiedelte sie dann mit ihrem Mann, Fritz Deinhard, nach New York. Welche beruflichen Schwierigkeiten sich damit verbanden und wie wenig akzeptiert ihre innova-

tiven Ansätze aufgrund eines regressiven Evaluationssystems im Bildungswesen waren, zeichnet der Beitrag von David Kettler über Levy-Deinhards Zwischenspiel am *Bard College* nach. Erst Jahre später fand sie eine Anstellung auf Lebenszeit am dortigen *Queens College*. Levy-Deinhard hatte Kontakt zu prominenten Persönlichkeiten wie Hannah Arendt, Theodor W. Adorno oder auch Marx Horkheimer, der einer ihrer wichtigsten Förderer war. Ihre Lehr- und Forschungsthemen umfassten die Kunstgeschichte von der Renaissance bis zur amerikanischen Moderne, die zeitgenössische Kunst sowie die Rezeption von Kunstwerken. Mit der Forschung über brasilianische (Kolonial)Kunst und der Entwicklung einer Soziologie der Kunst betrat sie schließlich Neuland. Das Interesse an der Kultur als sowohl die Umwelt sowie Gesellschaft gestaltendes Prinzip lenkte ihr Forschungsinteresse ebenso auf die Architektur und den Städtebau als auch auf deren ökonomische Bedingungen. Burcu Dogramaci deckt in Bezug darauf etwa die politisch und humanistisch geleiteten Interpretationen zur Planstadt *Brasilia* in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren auf, eine gesellschaftskritische Betrachtung, die der Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland seinerzeit noch fehlte. Durch die Veröffentlichung des kunsthistorisch innovativen und ins Deutsche übersetzten Buchs *Bedeutung und Ausdruck. Zur Soziologie der Malerei* (1967) erlangte Levy-Deinhard schließlich einen Bekanntheitsgrad, der ihr die Türen in Europa für Vorträge und Gastprofessuren öffnete.

Der vorliegende Aufsatzband versammelt nun verschiedene Aspekte ihres Lebens und Forschens und zeigt überzeugend auf, wie eng diese mit ihrer Lebenssituation der Migration und des Exils verbunden sind (Nicos Hadjinicolaou / Daniela Kern / Elisabeth Otto). Die Einflussnahme dieser Faktoren auf ihre wissenschaftliche Perspektive und Fachbegriffe werden in Zukunft für die Bedeutung einer postkolonialen Kunstgeschichte noch zu schreiben sein. Jens Baumgarten bietet hierfür erste Anknüpfungspunkte, indem er Levy-Deinhards formale und ikonografische Analysen brasilianischer Barockkunst herausstellt. Ihre Methode vermeidet dezidiert nationale Stereotypisierungen, relativiert dementsprechend den kunsthistorischen Wertekanon und zollt stattdessen transkulturellen Übersetzungen und Aneignungsstrategien in der Kunst und ihrer Geschichte über Ländergrenzen hinweg Aufmerksamkeit. Als Konsequenz wird die eurozentrische, dominante Position der europäischen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung samt deren wertenden Hierarchisierungen dezentralisiert. Mit diesem progressiven Ansatz inspirierte Levy-Deinhard

Studierende und junge, linksorientierte und nach Reformen suchende Künstler_innen. Auch die Künstlerin Anna Bella Geiger fand bei ihr Orientierung und Unterstützung, woran sie mit einer filmischen Hommage an die Kunsthistorikerin erinnert (Eliana de Simone). Ende der 1960er Jahre interessierte Hanna Levy-Deinhard die Aufbruchsstimmung in der Studentenbewegung in Deutschland aufgrund der kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit Gesellschaft und Politik sowie der verdrängten Fachgeschichte im Nationalsozialismus. Dies brachte sie in Kontakt mit dem 1968 gegründeten *Ulmer Verein – Verband für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaft* zur Neubestimmung der Fachdisziplin (Irene Below). In dieser Zeit hielt sie auch an der Freien Universität Berlin Vorträge und diskutierte mit Vertreter_innen des SDS über den Warencharakter von Kunst in der Bewusstseinsindustrie in der evangelischen Akademie am Wannsee.

Von Bedeutung sind vor allem ihre Überlegungen zu einer Soziologie der Kunst (Jens Kastner / Norbert Schneider). Bereits die 1934 in Frankreich verfasste Dissertationsschrift setzt sich kritisch mit Heinrich Wölfflins Formalismus bzw. seinen kunsthistorischen Grundbegriffen zur Stilanalyse auseinander und erweitert diesen Ansatz um soziale, politische, kulturelle und ökonomische Aspekte. Das Interesse an den Wechselbeziehungen einer potentialen Wirkungskraft von Kunst auf das betrachtende Subjekt über den historischen und räumlichen Entstehungskontext hinaus veranlasste Levy-Deinhard zu der Frage, „wie ist es möglich, dass diese Werke ihre Zeit überdauern und völlig verschiedenen Epochen und Gesellschaften sinn- und ausdrucksvoll erscheinen?“ (Deinhard 1967: 9). Vor allem in den Ausführungen zur Soziologie der Malerei entwickelte sie hierfür zentrale Begriffe, wie etwa der ‚potentiale Gehalt‘ künstlerischer Arbeiten, womit der Spielraum an möglichen, nebeneinander existierenden Interpretationen gemeint ist. Angelehnt an diesen Fachterminus schreibt Amalia Barboza in ihrem Aufsatz von einem „potentialen Publikum“ (121f.), das im wahrnehmenden Denken die verschiedenen Interpretationsmöglichkeiten von Kunstwerken auslotet, Beziehungen über die Zeiten herstellt und so auch ihr utopisches Potential, „eine Utopie des noch nicht Seienden“ (130), erkennen kann. Neben den wechselnden, von Raum und Zeit abhängigen Blick- bzw. Forschungsperspektiven überdauert nach Levy-Deinhard der ‚Ausdrucksgehalt‘ eines Kunstwerkes seine Entstehungsbedingungen für die Nachwelt, wenn in ihm ‚tiefere und umfassendere Aspekte menschlichen Daseins‘ zum Ausdruck

kommen. An dieser Stelle lohnt ein Vergleich mit Georg Kublers Begriff der ‚offenen Sequenz' im Buch *The Shape of Time* (1968). Er hatte Ähnliches im Sinn, um ein Analyseinstrument für eine kulturübergreifende Kunstgeschichte zu entwickeln.

Wolfgang Kemp und Michael Kröger würdigen Levy-Deinhards historisierenden Ansatz einer Soziologie der ästhetischen Rezeption, indem sie diesen wissenschaftshistorisch im interdisziplinär geführten Disput um Bejahung oder Ablehnung des Publikumsbezugs in theoretischen Reflexionen seit den 1960er Jahren bis heute gebührend einordnen.

Anknüpfend an die eingangs gestellte Frage nach bedeutenden Kunsthistorikerinnen verdeutlicht die vorliegende Publikation einmal mehr, wie aufschlussreich die Rehabilitation vergessener und zu wenig gewürdigter Wissenschaftlerinnen ist. Einst boten die seit 1982 stattgefundenen Kunsthistorikerinnen-Tagungen hierfür ein Forum. Es zeichnet sich ab, dass mit der 7. Kunsthistorikerinnen-Tagung (2002) auch die letzte stattgefunden hat. Umso wichtiger ist der Beitrag des vorliegenden Bandes aus der Reihe *Frauen und Exil*, um Leben und Werk marginalisierter Kunsthistorikerinnen weiter bekannt zu machen. Trotz des Anspruchs, Levy-Deinhard aus der Perspektive einer genderspezifischen Exilforschung zu betrachten, gerät die Kategorie Gender erstaunlicherweise zu wenig in den Blick. So würdigen die einzelnen Beiträge zwar eine Frauengeschichte, jedoch ohne die konventionellen Muster einer männlich geprägten Biografie-Forschung zu verlassen. Das ist vermutlich ein Grund und zugleich ein großes Manko der Publikation, warum die Autor_innen den Wert der Arbeit von Levy-Deinhard vorrangig an prominenten Kollegen messen. Auf diese Weise wird sie erneut in den weißen Kanon einer männlich dominierten Kunstgeschichtsschreibung eingegliedert, in der sie die *Ausnahmefrau* bleibt. Dabei hätte es mehr als nahegelegen, gerade ihre transkulturelle Perspektive mit Kunsthistorikerinnen wie beispielsweise Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, Griselda Pollock, Sigrid Schade, Silke Wenk oder auch Barbara Paul zu vergleichen. Insbesondere Schmidt-Linsenhoff integrierte bereits Anfang der 1990er Jahre postkoloniale Ansätze gewinnbringend in die deutschsprachige Kunstgeschichte. Ihre Forderung nach neuen Bild-, Medien- und Kunstbegriffen innerhalb einer postkolonialen und genderorientierten Kunstgeschichte bietet hier viele Bezugspunkte zu den Arbeiten von Levy-Deinhard. In der *Ästhetik der Differenz* (2010) betont Schmidt-Linsenhoff beispielweise relationales

Bildhandeln, interpiktoriale Beziehungen sowie subjektive Übersetzungs- und Assoziationsleistungen zur Überwindung kolonial geprägter rassistischer und sexistischer Bildstereotype und deren Nachleben. Die Verantwortung für das Gelingen sieht sie, ähnlich wie Levy-Deinhard, in den verschiedenen Wahrnehmungsweisen der betrachtenden Subjekte.

Dass mit der vorliegenden Aufsatzsammlung ein Stück wissenschaftliche, aber auch lebhaft geschriebene Fachgeschichte vorliegt, veranschaulichen nicht zuletzt die Erinnerungen an Begegnungen mit dieser außergewöhnlichen Wissenschaftlerin von Martin Warnke. Der Band gibt einen äußerst facettenreichen Einblick in ihr Leben und Werk und bietet vor allem durch die Auseinandersetzung mit den von ihr entwickelten neuen kunstsoziologischen Begriffen interessante Anschlussmöglichkeiten für transkulturelle Forschungsperspektiven. Im deutschsprachigen Raum fanden bisher weder ihre Wissenschaftstheorie und Kunstsoziologie noch ihre Leistungen als Vordenkerin einer kolonialkritischen Kunstgeschichte Anerkennung durch die Fachöffentlichkeit. Dies ist dringend nachzuholen. Die gewissenhafte und reichhaltige Nennung der Quellenlage von Briefen, Dokumenten und Manuskripten in den Archiven (siehe hierzu den Aufsatz von Heinrich Dilly), die breit aufgelistete Sekundärliteratur ebenso wie der kommentierte Lebenslauf bilden hierfür eine solide Basis. Die Publikation leistet einen bedeutenden und längst überfälligen Beitrag, um Hanna Levy-Deinhard den ihr gebührenden Platz in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte bzw. Kunstgeschichtsschreibung zuzuweisen und mit ihr weiterzudenken.

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// Angaben zur Autorin

Professorin für Textil- und Bekleidungswissenschaften an der Universität Osnabrück seit 2016, DFG-Forschungsprojekt zur Bedeutung weißer Textilien in der visuellen Kultur TU Darmstadt u. CePoG, Universität Trier von 2012–2014. Forschungen zu Gender, Postkolonialismus, Migration, Erinnerung und Biopolitik. Publikationen: „War doch im Haushalt der Mutter alles in saubere weiße Wäsche gekleidet…" – Visuelle Kultur, deutsche Nationenbildung und Biopolitik, in: Anna Greve (Hg.): Weißsein und Kunst. Jahrbuch der Guernica-Gesellschaft, Bd. 17. Göttingen, V + R Verlag 2015, S. 117–136; Performing whiteness in Art and Visual Culture, in: Elke Gaugele / Mira Sacher (Hg.): Aesthetic Politics in Fashion. Conference Reader, Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Wien. Wien, Sternberg Press 2014, S. 228–244; Fashion in Migration – ein Modelabel für Castrop-Rauxel, in: Ausst.-Kat. vest – Mode handgefertigt in CASTROP-RAUXEL. Hg. von Nadine Reschke in Zusammenarbeit mit dem IBKF (Internationaler Bildungs- und Kulturverein für Frauen) im Rahmen von Archipel Invest für Urbane Künste Ruhr. Krumbach, Frick 2013, S. 96–100.

// FKW WIRD GEFÖRDERT DURCH DAS MARIANN STEEGMANN INSTITUT UND DAS INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL STUDIES IN THE ARTS DER ZÜRCHER HOCHSCHULE DER KÜNSTE

// Katrin Köppert

JOSCH HOENES / BARBARA PAUL (HG.) (2014): UN/VERBLÜMT. QUEERE POLITIKEN IN ÄSTHETIK UND THEORIE. BERLIN, REVOLVER PUBLISHING.

In Zeiten, in denen sich unter dem Motto ‚nochmal sagen zu dürfen' so manches unverblümt artikuliert, ist es eine Freude, ein Buch in der Hand zu halten, das sich den verblümten Ausdruckweisen, der Camouflage, der Ironie und Parodie widmet. Diese innerhalb von Kunst oft eingesetzten Strategien bergen schließlich ein Potential, sich mit den Konzepten der Sichtbarkeit, Transparenz und Eindeutigkeit an den Rändern zu Unsichtbarkeit, Opazität und Uneindeutigkeit zu beschäftigen. Vor allem innerhalb queerer, also herrschaftskritischer Politiken der Produktion von Wissen, Alltag und Kultur, verdienen entsprechende Strategien Aufmerksamkeit. Sie ermöglichen zu verstehen, wie „geschlechtliche und sexuelle Identitäten konstituiert sowie heteronormative Ordnungsmuster affirmiert" (21) bzw. irritiert und verunsichert werden.

Der Band *un/verblümt. Queere Politiken in Ästhetik und Theorie* wurde anlässlich eines vom Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF) geförderten Programms zur Stärkung geschlechterpolitischer Strukturen an der Hochschule und in Folge einer Ringvorlesung und Workshop-Reihe an der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg und der Hochschule für Künste Bremen von Josch Hoenes und Barbara Paul herausgegeben. Selbst Hybrid zwischen wissenschaftlicher Publikation und Kunst-Katalog maskiert der Band – der Zielformulierung entsprechend – vorschnell angenommene Wahrheiten und ist dennoch in seiner Größe und Aufmachung stolze und unverblümte Deklaration: Der Band will im Bücherregal zu den Großen und ist trotzdem kein handelsüblicher Kunstkatalog. Vielmehr bespielt er das Spektrum der stolzen Sichtbarmachung einerseits und verklausulierten Aussprache andererseits. Für die „Geschichte und Gegenwart queeren, schwulen und lesbischen Lebens" (13) spielt ebenjenes Spektrum eine zentrale Rolle und ist für eine theoretische Reflexion von „Vorstellungen, Normen und Wissen von Geschlecht und Sexualität" (14) entscheidend.

Mit den Aspekten des verborgenen Ausdrucks, der camouflierten Erscheinung oder der verblümten Inszenierung gehen ästhetische Fragen einher. Deswegen sei die Verhandlung des Grenzbereichs eine der Auseinandersetzung mit überlappenden disziplinären Techniken. Der Band versucht dem gerecht zu werden,

indem er theoretische mit künstlerischen Beiträgen kombiniert und mit seinem Design aus der Reihe wissenschaftlicher Bleiwüsten ausbricht.

So zeichnet allein schon das von Tomka Weiß gestaltete Cover die sich permanent ereignende Verzahnung direkter und indirekter – un/verblümter – Darstellungsweisen nach. Mittels ornamental gestalteter Details (Haare, Felle, Knochen, Werkzeuge), die sich wiederum in Schraffuren und blumige Muster auflösen, ergeben sich groteske Körper und mäandernde Formen. Es entstehen kippbildähnliche Momente der Wahrnehmung, sodass sich nichts eindeutig lesen lässt.

Ein Blick ins Inhaltsverzeichnis zeigt, dass die Umsetzung von Verflechtungstechniken im Rahmen des auf Sequenzialität und Linearität des Lesens beruhenden Buchformats eher eine Herausforderung darstellt. Der sich in einer statischen Regelmäßigkeit vollziehende Wechsel von Text- und Bildbeitrag erscheint dabei als ein etwas hilfloser Kompromiss, der zudem vorhersehbar ist. Was Text- und was Bildbeitrag ist, lässt sich aufgrund der verschiedenen Formatierungen der Überschriften unverblümt erkennen. Zudem – so ließe sich anmerken – werden anhand von Schriftgröße und Einzug Text und Bild hierarchisiert, was aber insofern wieder aufgefangen wird, als den Abbildungen in den Texten sowie den Kunstwerken der Abschlussausstellung viel Raum gegeben wird.

Aber auch diese Rezension kann sich dem Korsett Sprache nicht entziehen und muss konsekutiv voranschreiten. Jedoch werde ich die ausgewählten Beiträge nicht der vorgeschlagenen Reihenfolge gemäß besprechen, sondern entlang auffälliger Gedanken und Widersprüche diskutieren. Bei diesem Vorhaben lohnt es sich mit der titelgebenden Klammerung des Buches zu beginnen und zu fragen, welche Beiträge sich den normativ gesetzten Techniken des unverblümten Zu-Sehen-Gebens kritisch widmen und wie sie die heteronormativen Ordnungsmuster mittels parodistischer, utopischer, übertriebener Strategien anzweifeln oder gar subvertieren (21f.).

Claudia Reiche arbeitet entlang der von Mediziner_innen emanzipativ gemeinten computergenerierten 3-dimensionalen Darstellungen der Klitoris heraus, dass es sich bei diesen aktuellen wissenschaftlichen Bildgebungsverfahren um die medientechnische Adaption eines zutiefst phallogozentristisch verankerten ‚Schwanzvergleichs' handelt (42). Dabei werde nicht nur die Qualität der Klitoris auf die Frage der Größe und Messbarkeit reduziert, sondern der Kunstgriff angewandt, die Potenz des digitalen

Mediums hervorzuheben. Indem die wahrheitsbringende Dimension des digitalen Mediums erzeugt wird, wird Digitalität in der Mediengeschichte als phallogozentrische Geschlechtergeschichte aktualisiert. Dagegen setzt die Autorin die Klitoris als psychische Funktion des Phallus, d.h. die, die nicht mit dem männlichen Penis apostrophiert ist. Da in dieser Funktion nicht Größe und maximale Sichtbarkeit eine Rolle spielen, werde in den 3-dimensionierten Bildern die Variabilität und der imaginäre Überschuss sichtbar, der mehr expressive Abstraktion denn objektive Wahrheit sei. Die Klitoris, die aufgrund digitaler Bildinformationen vor meinen Augen als rot getränkte Schneeglöckchenblüte (53) oder Edward Munch's *Schrei* mit Papa-Schlumpf-Mütze (54) erscheint, erlaubt die „Positivität aller denkbaren sexuellen Identitäten" (52). Hier, wie auch in der künstlerischen Arbeit *Die Schichten der geschlechtlichen Kleidung* von Josch Hoenes und Tomka Weiß, tritt dieser Imaginationseffekt durch ausdrucksvolle Abstraktion bzw. überschüssige Überlagerung gezeichneter Schichten zutage (98f.). Wie kaum wahrnehmbare Geister fügen sich verschmelzende Körper und metamorphosierende Geschlechter in die Schraffur der Zeichnung ein und erheben sich – teilweise als Schablonen, teilweise als Schatten – vom Hintergrund ihrer szientistischen Verzeichnung. Die Körper in ihrem queeren Begehren verstecken sich nicht, sind aber dennoch fragil, nahezu flüchtig. Somit wird die künstlerische Technik der Camouflage angewandt, die Jonathan D. Katz in seinem Beitrag *Nicht versteckt, aber auch nicht sichtbar* thematisiert. Am Beispiel der in den USA kontrovers diskutierten Ausstellung *Hide/Seek. Difference and Desire in American Portraiture* (Smithsonian Museum's National Portrait Gallery, Washington DC, 2010) verweist Katz auf die Bedeutung von Bilderrätseln für die Konstitution eines queeren und mithin nicht auf das im Bild Offensichtliche ausgerichtete Sehen. Es sei oft die Imagination, die ein Bild zu einem queeren vervollständige. Irritierend ist vor dem Hintergrund dieser Darlegung folgender Widerspruch: Katz empört sich am Ende seines Textes über „schwarze[...] Listen von Darstellungen gleichgeschlechtlichen Begehrens" (74) in der aktuellen Kunstwelt, die er darauf zurückführt, dass mit Stonewall eine bis dato nicht existente Separierung von *straights* und *queers* stattgefunden habe. Erst der Sichtbarkeits- und Separierungsdrang schwul-lesbischer Communities habe bewirkt, dass queere Kunst heute kaum mehr Zugang zum *top-of-the-art-Sektor* habe. Dabei macht er vergessen, dass er wenige Seite zuvor selbst die Intention zur *Hide/Seek*-Ausstellung damit begründet, die Aufmerksamkeit auf das gerichtet zu haben,

was „beim ersten Hinschauen verborgen bleibt“ (72). Indem er als Kurator von *Hide/Seek* die queere „Art des Sehens in Erkennen“ (72) verkehren will, wird er zum Teil dessen, was er kritisiert – und zwar ohne seine eigene Position zu reflektieren.

Den Befund der Separierung teilt jedoch auch Skadi Loist in ihrem Beitrag *Queer Fun in Boy_Girl Shorts* über die Programmstrategien bei LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals. Allein aufgrund der sich ab den 1970ern zunehmend in sozialen Bewegungen verankernden Filmfestivals (137) ergab sich die Konsolidierung einer dem heteronormativen Mainstream abgewandten cineastischen Szene. Jedoch verdeutlicht Loist eine von Katz vernachlässigte Differenzierung: nämlich die zwischen LGBT und Q. Vom queeren Standpunkt aus löst die Tatsache fehlender LGBT-Repräsentationen in großen Museen oder auf großen Film-Festivals heute nur wenig politische Frustration aus. Wenn Kino nicht von einem eindimensional greifbaren Identifikationsmuster ausgedacht wird (149), kann die politische Forderung nach Inklusion nicht die logische Folge sein. Vielmehr wäre sie die Infragestellung der queer-kuratorischen Praxis, für die Loist mit Blick auf marktkompatible und homogenisierte Programme ein Plädoyer hält. Als Beispiele für dieses Plädoyer benennt sie Programme, deren Filme zentrale Aspekte der Queer Theorie aufgreifen, die sich wiederum an weitere Beiträge im Band anschließen lassen. Beispielsweise erwähnt sie das Programm *Girl's Room*, das beim *identities. Queer Film Festival* in Wien 2009 gezeigt wurde. Die Filme in diesem Programm verweigerten im *Coming-of-Age*-Genre Narrative des Coming-Outs wiederzukäuen. Stattdessen ermöglichten sie im Zeigen des hinausgezögerten Moments adoleszenter Identitätsfindung Öffnungen, was Geschlecht, Begehren, Identität sein könne. Der Moment des Zögerns oder Verzögerns als Attribut eines queeren und mithin nicht chronologischen, sondern verlangsamten bzw. zeitlich verschlauften Identitätsbegriffs ist auch zentral für den von Renate Lorenz in ihrem Beitrag *the drag of queer art* vorgeschlagenen Begriff *transtemporal drag*. Mit *transtemporal drag* bescheibt Lorenz am Beispiel von Performances von Jack Smith alternative Zeitlichkeiten, die innerhalb queerer Theoriebildung Interventionen in durch Zeit regulierte Sexualitäten und Verkörperungen erlauben (128). Die durch Zögern hergestellte zeitliche Lücke ermögliche dabei nicht nur, nach dem Unerwarteten in Geschlechteridentifikationen zu fragen, sondern auch nach Alternativen zu strengen Taktungen ökonomisch effektiver Rationalität (127). Diese Alternativen – wie auch Mathias Danbolt in *Gleichzeitig: Queere Politiken – Alles auf einmal* verdeutlicht – lassen sich

als eine Taktik des Verblümten im Sinne des Verstellens *straighter Uhren* und somit des Subvertierens der (hetero-) normativen Zeitrechnung verstehen. Anders jedoch als Lorenz, die im Zögern oder der zeitlichen Lücke – also im Abstand – das Potential queerer Zeiten erkennt, argumentiert Danbolt mit der Simultanität von Zeiten. In der Gegenwart befinden wir uns in Begleitung all jener, die der Vergangenheit angehören, was Identifikationen jenseits des ontologischen Risses zwischen Lebenden und Toten ermögliche (84) und das dominante Prinzip der zeitlichen Trennung von Hier/Jetzt und Dann/Dort unterminiere (90). Entscheidendes Medium dieses Kontakts sei der Körper. Hiermit ergibt sich eine argumentative Nähe zum Beitrag von Antke Engel. In ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit der kuratorischen Arbeit *Chewing the Scenery* (2011) von Andrea Thal und speziell dem Kauen geht es Engel in *postkolonial kauen und kannibalisch begehren* um viszerale Zeitpolitiken, die sich als verkörperte Rezeptionserfahrungen verstehen lassen. D.h., dass sich in Körperpraxen wie dem Kauen Zeitlichkeiten verdichten, die nicht nur in politischen Szenarien queere Wirkungen entfalten, sondern auch in ästhetischen Erfahrungen. Kauen als Körperpraxis, in der sich die ideologische Überlegenheitsfantasie gegenüber dem Kannibalismus abgesetzt habe (101), wird im Rahmen einer viszeralen Involvierung beim Betrachtungsprozess zu einer Praxis des Durchkauens und somit Dezentrierens von Machtverhältnissen.

Mit dem Aspekt der viszeralen, körperlichen Einbindung verschiebt sich der Sinn des Sehens und mithin die Frage, wo sich das Sichtbare verorten lässt, wo Erkenntnis entsteht – auf der Leinwand oder der Haut, auf dem Screen oder *in my guts*? Was aber –und hier denke ich dank des Buches über das Buch hinaus – bedeutet eine solche queere Politik der Ästhetik? Wenn der Wahrnehmungssinn des Sehens die Sinnlichkeit des Fühlens ist, können wir Queerness nur dort erwarten, wo nicht die unverblümte Rhetorik vom Verblümten herrscht, also die unverstellte Rede verstellter, alternativer Fakten. Stattdessen sollten wir uns das Verblümte unverstellter Fakten, d.h. vom westlichen Logos befreiter Affekte wünschen, die – anders als wir es im gegenwärtigen Moment affektpolitischer Instrumentalisierungen erleben – nicht Angst produzieren, sondern überschüssiges, queeres Begehren. Hierfür ist ein Blick in den Band *un/verblümt* und insbesondere auch auf die künstlerischen Produktionen der Abschlussausstellung, die in viszeral anmutende Settings nachgeahmter Betonwandtexturen eingebunden sind, *a very good point of departure*.

// Angaben zur Autorin

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INSA HÄRTEL UNTER MITARBEIT VON SONJA WITTE (2014): KINDER DER ERREGUNG. „ÜBERGRIFFE“ UND „OBJEKTE“ IN KULTURELLEN KONSTELLATIONEN KINDLICH-JUGENDLICHER SEXUALITÄT. BIELEFELD, TRANSCRIPT.

Kindheit und Sexualität werden im öffentlichen Diskurs zumeist im Kontext von gewaltförmigen Übergriffen thematisiert, die entsprechend Abscheu und Verurteilung hervorrufen. Die Forschungsarbeit *Kinder der Erregung* von Insa Härtel behandelt die Frage nach der kindlichen Sexualität dagegen jenseits justiziabler Handlungen. Der Übergriff, so die begleitende These, beschreibe neben dem Akt der Gewalt ein zugleich konstitutives Element der menschlichen Sexualität. Die theoretische Grundlage bildet dabei die Freud'sche Psychoanalyse sowie ihre Entwicklung durch Jean Laplanche. Hatte Freud dem übergriffigen Element über die Konzeption des Sexualtriebs, welcher die bewusste Motivation des Subjekts potentiell unterläuft, Rechnung getragen, arbeitet Laplanche Freuds Idee der Triebentstehung aus. In der Vermischung von Bedürfnisbefriedigung und lustvoller Erregung in der frühkindlichen Pflege entstehe die Sexualität, so Laplanche, als etwas von Außen Kommendes. Sie ist damit als Übergriff konzipiert, der eine rätselhafte Bedeutungsdimension im Subjekt implantiert und es zum Objekt macht. Auf diesen Übergriff, so der Ausgangspunkt der Studie, muss die Kultur eine Antwort finden. Der Annahme von Laplanche folgend ist nicht die kindliche Sexualität als solche, sondern ihre kulturelle Repräsentation in westlichen Gesellschaften der Forschungsgegenstand dieser Publikation. „Sexualität ist hier nicht jenseits ihrer gesellschaftlichen Inszenierungen von Interesse, sondern es geht gerade um das, was in diesen Inszenierungen verhandelt wird.“ (11) Die infantil-triebhafte, übergriffige Dimension der Sexualität, so der Schluss, sollte in diesen Inszenierungen in Form innerer Widersprüche und Konflikte zur Darstellung kommen. In diesem Sinne behaupten Härtel und ihre später in das Projekt eingestiegene Mitarbeiterin Sonja Witte eine Persistenz dieser Dimension, die gerade auch über Verschiebungen und andere Formen der Abwehr in Erscheinung treten kann. Anhand von diversem kulturellen Material stellen sie diese Persistenz heraus und lesen sie dabei mit, aber vor allem gegen zeitgenössische Gesellschaftsdiagnosen zum Thema Sexualität. In Frage stehen dabei u.a. Konstatierungen eines spannungslosen postsexuellen Zeitalters, einer Entmystifizierung der Sexualität

sowie einer fortschreitenden, sich offensiv darstellenden Schamlosigkeit im Umgang mit Sexualität. Verabschieden einige dieser Diagnosen den Skandal des Sexuellen, könnte dies im Sinne Härtels selbst als Form der Abwehr gegen den Skandal verstanden werden.

Härtel und Witte stützen ihre Analyse auf Bild- und Textmaterial aus heterogenen Kontexten kultureller Produktion. Neben populärjournalistischen Veröffentlichungen zu Themen wie Pornokonsum und Kindesmissbrauch behandelt *Kinder der Erregung* Sally Manns Fotoserie *Venus after School* (1992), die medialen Inszenierungen Britney Spears' sowie Videoarbeiten der britischen Künstlerin Tracey Emin. Jede dieser fünf Einzelstudien bildet ein eigenes Kapitel und wird jeweils mit einer abschließenden Deutung zusammengefasst. Angeschlossen an diesen Hauptteil ist eine Reflexion über die Bedeutung des Übergriffs als Bedingung nicht nur des Sexuellen, sondern auch des Denkens und damit der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit. Witte bezieht sich in diesem Zusatz auf die Videoarbeit *Who's listening? No. 5* (2003–2004) von Tseng Yu-Chin.

Die infantil-triebhafte Dimension des Sexuellen stellen die Autorinnen über Konfliktspannungen innerhalb des bearbeiteten Text- und Bildmaterials, im diskursiven Umfeld ihrer Veröffentlichung sowie in der eigenen Reaktion auf das Material heraus. Die Plausibilität der jeweiligen Deutungen ergibt sich dabei auch über den visuellen Nachvollzug, den die zahlreichen Abbildungen den Leserinnen und Lesern ermöglichen. In der ersten Studie werden so beispielsweise die aggressiv-pornografischen Darstellungen im analysierten Artikel des *stern*-Magazins von Härtel ins Verhältnis zum im Text verhandelten Konsens- und Liebesideal gesetzt. Witte arbeitet im zweiten Kapitel für das Genre des Enthüllungsjournalismus die Bedeutung eines Changierens zwischen Identifizierung und Abgrenzung in Vorstellungen über Pädophilie heraus.

Die konfliktträchtige Inszenierung Britney Spears' als Kindfrau in Film und Print beleuchtet Härtel im vierten Kapitel u.a. anhand von Reaktionen Jugendlicher auf diese Inszenierung. Mit Rückgriff auf Melanie Lowe stellt die Autorin fest: „Die Figur Britney Spears wird zum Identifikations- und Sehnsuchtsobjekt, zur beneideten, ebenso geliebten bzw. bewunderten wie entwerteten *Rivalin*." (187) Das fünfte Kapitel behandelt die Frage nach der Lust der Betrachtenden als Bestandteil der Videoarbeiten Tracey Emins und konkretisiert diese als Übergriff von Seiten des Objekts. Die vermeintliche Schamlosigkeit mit der Emin ihr Aufwachsen und

das ihrer jugendlichen Protagonistinnen inszeniert, führt dabei, so Härtel, letztlich die Schamlosigkeit der Rezipienten vor.

Besonders überzeugend erscheint Härtels Studie zu *Venus after School* (3. Kapitel), die den Lesenden mit Verweis auf den Zitatcharakter der Fotografie in die Kunstgeschichte der Kindheit und damit an die Widersprüchlichkeit ihrer Repräsentanten heranführt. Der Widerspruch von idealisierter Unschuld und Sexualität bildet hier die Konfliktmatrix, die Härtel bildimmanent und in der Rezeption nachweist. Prekär wird in diesem Zusammenhang die Frage nach der sexuellen Resonanz auf die Aktdarstellung, die die Tochter der Fotografin zeigt, und damit die Frage nach der Rolle der Sexualität in Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen. Mit Rückgriff auf Freuds Konzept der Verneinung zeigt Härtel u.a. auf, dass die Künstlerin selbst von dem Skandal der kindlichen Sexualität erfasst ist. So weist sie einerseits jeglichen sexuellen Gehalt des Bildes zurück, informiert sich anderseits aber genau über den sexualstrafrechtlichen Rahmen ihrer Ausstellung.

Die Stärke der Forschungsarbeit liegt neben der Fülle und Diversität der untersuchten Quellen vor allem in der akribischen Deutungsarbeit, mit welcher das Material in ständiger Korrespondenz zur psychoanalytischen Theorie untersucht wird. Obwohl die Vielzahl der einzelnen Nebenthesen und Verweise den Leser_innen teilweise den Überblick rauben und diese Thesen auch in der abschließenden Zusammenfassung nicht voll eingefangen werden, überzeugen die Einzelstudien und vermitteln ein eindrucksvolles Bild vom kulturellen Konfliktpotential kindlich-jugendlicher Sexualität. Während die ausgearbeiteten Bezüge zur analytischen Theorie mit den zwingendsten Deutungen verknüpft sind, werden Rückgriffe auf Laplanche, Lacan und Freud mitunter nur angedeutet, sodass die Lektüre ein teilweise sehr umfassendes Wissen über die Theorien dieser Autoren voraussetzt. Dass sich die Autorinnen bei fortlaufender Differenzierung des Gesagten gleichzeitig von aufgestellten Thesen und zugrunde gelegten Denkmodellen distanzieren, vermittelt stellenweise den Eindruck, die Arbeit sei neben der Fragestellung einem gegenwärtigen kulturwissenschaftlichen Sprachkodex verpflichtet. Lässt die Arbeit mitunter den Mut zur eigenen Theorie vermissen, zeigt sich dieser in der Offenlegung der eigenen Verstricktheit und im reflektierten Unbehagen mit dem Thema. Indem *Kinder der Erregung* der der kindlichen Sexualität eigenen Beunruhigung nachforscht, stellt die Publikation diese als Kulturaufgabe zur Diskussion, als übergriffiges Element im Subjekt, welches die

Kultur verarbeiten muss. Die Behandlung des Themas jenseits des juristischen Diskurses deckt dabei eine Konfliktspannung auf, die sich nicht auf die Sorge um sexuellen Missbrauch reduzieren lässt. Dadurch, dass die Arbeit diese Konfliktspannung besprechbar macht, ist sie der psychoanalytischen Kulturtheorie verpflichtet und stellt dem Ausagieren, dem Handeln im Affekt, die Alternative der öffentlichen Diskussion zur Seite.

// Angaben zum Autor

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