



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Burning images

Performing effigies as political protest

Göttke, F.U.

Publication date

2019

Document Version

Other version

License

Other

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Göttke, F. U. (2019). *Burning images: Performing effigies as political protest*. [Thesis, externally prepared, Universiteit van Amsterdam].

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, P.O. Box 19185, 1000 GD Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.



F l o r i a n G ö t t k e

B U R N I N G I M A G E S

BURNING IMAGES
performing effigies
as political protest

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex

ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde
commissie, in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Aula der Universiteit
op vrijdag 26 april 2019, te 10:45 uur
door Florian Ulrich Göttke
geboren te Gelsenkirchen

Promotiecommissie:

Promotores:

Prof. dr. F.P.I.M. van Vree, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Prof. dr. C.M.K.E. Lerm-Hayes, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Overige leden:

Prof. dr. ir. B.J. de Kloet, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Prof. dr. E. Peeren, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Dr. C. de Cesari, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Prof. dr. C.A. van Eck, University of Cambridge

Dr. H. Vourloumis, Dutch Art Institute

Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

This study was financially supported by the Dutch Art Institute.

Acknowledgments

Undertaking this research has been an incredible journey for me in many senses: from my earlier hands-on and material art practice to the realm of concepts and theory. Through the images I studied, I traveled to distant countries and far back in time. Journeying to so many different moments of struggle and resistance in shifting political dimensions was immensely fascinating. Here, I want to take the space to thank the many people who have accompanied me on this journey.

First, I would like to thank Gabrielle Schleijsen, director of the Dutch Art Institute—my supervisor from the perspective of art practice—for her unwavering support in this hybrid artistic/academic research. Despite decades of experience as an innovative art educator and organizer, she could not be officially named as a member of the promotion committee because she does not hold a doctorate. Her contributions are a clear reminder that rich experience and vital knowledge are so often found outside the academy.

My gratitude also goes to my academic supervisors: Frank van Vree, Professor for the History of War, Conflict and Memory and director of the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, who accepted me as a PhD candidate when I first approached him with my still-developing research plan—a immeasurable sign of support that gave this research the backing to become; and Mia Lerm-Hayes, Professor and Chair for Modern and Contemporary Art History, who threw her full support and enthusiasm behind my research when she took up

her appointment at the UvA a year and a half later. Both continued to be enthusiastic in their encouragement and productive in their critique, while giving me the latitude to follow my own trajectory in the research.

I also extend my thanks to all the researchers that have helped me find my way into the tangled realm of theory. To name just a few: Eloë Kingma, Esther Peeren, Markus Stauff, Patricia Pisters, Robbert Woltering, Sruti Bala, Sudeep Dasgupta, and Veronika Zangl at the University of Amsterdam; Sven Lütticken at the Vrije Universiteit; and Jeremy Taylor at the University of Nottingham.

I thank the PhD community at ASCA who I joined in reading groups, seminars, workshops, and conferences. There are too many colleagues to name, but I will name a few anyway: Alena Alexandrova, Annelies Kleinherenbrink, Christel Vesters, Enis Dinc, Eva Fotiadi, Flora Lysen, Gavin Sullivan, Geli Mademli, Ilse van Rijn, Lara Mazurski, Margaret Tali, Moosje Goosen, Nil Baskar, Peyman Amiri, Selçuk Balamir, Simon Ferdinand, Thijs Witty, Tim Yaczo, Vesna Vravnik.

I would like to thank my colleagues and students at the Dutch Art Institute who worked with me through some of the questions I encountered. Especially, I want to thank the members of the workgroup APRiCot at the Dutch Art Institute who created a productive space for reflection: David Maroto, Lauren Alexander, Padraig Robinson, Rosie Heinrich, and our guests.

I am grateful to the curators and institutions who gave me the opportunity to present parts of my research to an art public: Brigitte van de Sande; Arno Roosmalen of

Stroom in The Hague; Gabrielle Schleijsen and Jorinde Seijdel of the Studium Generale at the Rietveld Academie; and Hanne Hagenaar of the Studium Generale at the KABK.

Warm thanks to my colleagues who helped me prepare during the mock defense: Alena Alexandrova, Margaret Tali, Paula Albuquerque, Peyman Amiri, Rebecca Sakoun, and Sabine Niederer. I especially want to thank my wonderful paranymphs Flora Lysen en Selçuk Balamir. Both were incredibly warm, enthusiastic and practical in preparing and organizing around the mock defense as well as the real one.

Furthermore, I want to thank my many friends, near and far, who have endured my absences and absent-mindedness over the past few years. Their good humor, wonderful dinner invitations, enquiries into my progress, and our conversational exchanges rallied and sustained me. Thank you for all the engagement and encouragement.

I want to thank my daughter Mira Blue for not accepting anything less than my undivided attention during this research period that coincided with almost all of the first seven years of her life. Her presence and our interactions grounded me and she never stops filling me with joy.

Most of all, though, I want to thank my immensely encouraging partner, Rebecca Sakoun, an artist and educator, who supported me throughout this journey. I want to not only thank her for giving me the time to do the research, but much more so for sharing her insights, for her invaluable comments, her feedback on my papers

and presentations, and her efforts in copy-editing and proofreading this dissertation. I couldn't have concluded this journey without her and I am looking forward to new adventures we will embark on together.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	5
	<i>Burning Images — Collecting Images — Reading Images — Writing with Images — Chapter Outline</i>	
2	Double Bodies	39
	<i>Double Bodies — Social and Political Effigy Traditions in Europe — Carnival Effigies</i>	
3	Performing Protest	57
	<i>Performance — Scenario — Mediation — Memory</i>	
4	Effigy Protests in the History of the United States	105
	<i>Revolutionary Charivari — Pope Day Appropriation — Between Affirmation and Contestation — Effigy Protests and the Imagination of Justice — Un-Civil Rights Effigies — Civil Rights Effigies — Hanging and Burning Presidents — Effigy Protests and the Democratic Paradox — Effigy Protests and the Imagination of Democracy</i>	
5	Effigy Protests in Egypt, Iran, Afghanistan and Across the Middle East	155
	<i>Exercising Protest — Spring Festival in Egypt — From Egypt to Palestine — Hostage Crisis in Tehran — The Rushdie Affair — Occupations of Afghanistan — Insults to Islam — Arab Uprisings — Protests at the Limits of Western Democracy</i>	
6	Dialogic Communication: Effigy Protests in Iraq	213
	<i>The Plinth — Mediated Presence — Dialogic Communication</i>	

7	Resemblance and the Grotesque	233
	<i>Resemblance — Animation — The Grotesque — Dissemblance</i>	
8	Violence and Laughter	269
	<i>Violence and Laughter — Oppressive Laughter — Liberating Laughter</i>	
9	Conclusion	295
	<i>Mobile Protest Practice — The Performance of Resistance — The Aesthetics of Resistance</i>	
	Appendices	307
	Sources: Images and Reports	319
	Bibliography	363
	Index	371
	Earlier Publications	374
	Summary	375
	Samenvatting	381