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# Intradisciplinarity and Visual Politics

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In the context of geography's heterogeneous engagements with the visual, we present an experiment in doing radical intradisciplinarity in which we make a case for the possibilities of visual politics. Conducting cross-readings of maps and artwork, we explore how radical intradisciplinarity might enable us to explore a visual politics committed to seeing what is and also what might be. Key Words: geographies of art, intradisciplinarity, postrepresentational cartographies, poverty politics, visual politics.

我们在地理学涉入可视性的各式各样脉络中,呈现一个从事激进跨领域的实验,我们于该实验中,为可视性政治的可能性提供理由。我们藉由从事地图与艺术作品的跨领域阅读,探讨激进的跨领域性,如何能让我们得以探讨致力于看见现实以及可能性的可视性政治。 关键词: 艺术的地理,跨领域,后再现製图,贫穷政治,可视性政治。

En el contexto de los compromisos heterogéneos de la geografía con lo visual, presentamos un experimento para hacer intradisciplinaridad radical en el cual defendemos las posibilidades de la política visual. Mediante la lectura de mapas y obras de arte, exploramos el modo como la intradisciplinaridad radical podría capacitarnos para explorar una política visual comprometida a ver la realidad como lo es y también como lo podría ser. Palabras clave: geografías del arte, intradisciplinaridad, cartografías posrepresentacionales, políticas de la pobreza, políticas visuales.

his article offers an experiment in doing intradisciplinarity. Geography is a rich home from which to do such crossover integrative thinking. A key element of our disciplinary inheritance is an ability to respond to pressing social and environmental challenges by working across and between theorizations, arguments, and methodological practices. Consider, for example, discussions about boundary crossings between human and physical geography that address issues of climate change or public engagement with the Anthropocene (Lane et al. 2011). We might reflect on the ongoing call for methodological intersection and epistemological pluralism, especially critical and feminist approaches to quantitative and qualitative methods (Mattingly and Falconer-Al Hindi 1995; Barnes 2009; Sui and Delyser 2012). These integrative pluralist traditions in geography guide our approach to thinking about the politics of visuality.

We begin from geography's heterogeneous engagements with the visual. Geographers have long been in and (more recently) out of love with the visual. Debating the possibilities and limits of visual politics, the discipline has examined the obfuscations of visual symbols and reflected on power in visual regimes, through concepts like the gaze, spectatorship, and panopticism (Harley 1989; G. Rose 1994; Driver 2003). The late twentieth century witnessed a decline of

vision's hegemony and an associated rise in multisensory engagements with the world (Jay 1993). Of late, however, geographers have built theoretical and methodological reengagements with the visual, in subfields such as geohumanities (Dear et al. 2011), critical cartography (Kitchin, Perkins, and Dodge 2009), qualitative geographic information systems (Cope and Elwood 2009), and new cultural geographies (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987; Daniels et al. 2011). In much of this work we find a reembodying and rematerializing of vision that reimagines relations among vision, subjects, senses, and technologies (Kwan 2002; Ash 2015; Jung and Hiebert 2015; Wilson 2015). Further, geographers' long attention to visual culture is being enhanced by a return of image making as a geographical practice, including collective mapmaking, video or photographic methods, or collaborative practice with artists and activist groups (Garrett 2010; Bryan 2011; Tolia-Kelly 2012; Hawkins 2015).

These theoretical and methodological reengagements with the visual have their foundations, we would argue, in the discipline's undisciplined nature (Domosh this issue). They make links, for example, across cartographic practices and critical social theory, between diverse image-making practices, and across multiple disciplines' approaches to visuality and the

visual. This inter- and intradisciplinarity enables attention to the coconstitutive place of the visual in the shaping of subjects and the remaking of worlds, a reworking of the poetics and politics of vision. Following in this tradition, our analysis takes seriously long-standing critiques of the visual, while also showing how an intradisciplinary approach can illuminate how and why particular kinds of visual politics are transformative.

Domosh's 2015 American Association of Geographers' Presidential Plenary invited us to create an intradisciplinary engagement around the theme of visuality. Our prior work has taken form around art and mapping, respectively (Hawkins 2013; Elwood 2015). We responded to the invitation by developing a collaborative process of thinking and analyzing together, which began with identifying a key point of overlap in our respective engagements with the visual: the question of visual politics. We both, in different ways, have long asked what images do in the world. How are images transformative? What kinds of social and political imaginaries can they bring into being, and what are the limits to these possible transformations? As we shared our work, a common problem emerged in our most recent projects on antipoverty activism (Lawson et al. 2015) and participatory art (Hawkins and Catlow forthcoming); we were both struggling to theorize the politics of some of the visual practices and artefacts we had encountered. Our collaboration leaned into these theoretical dilemmas by undertaking collaborative cross-readings of the two projects. We examined performative visual practices in antipoverty activism through concepts from art theory and engaged participatory art as a mapping praxis, using concepts from critical cartography.

Our cross-readings are a form of intradisciplinary practice in that they take conceptual frameworks and theoretical lexicon foundational to one subarea of geographical research and use them as interpretive lenses on practices more typically understood as situated in a different area of the discipline. This approach to intradisciplinarity draws strongly on feminist relational epistemologies that insist that multiple different theoretical claims can coexist and that these and other forms of counter-reading can illuminate new theoretical and political horizons (Gibson-Graham 2008; Elwood, Lawson, and Sheppard 2016). For us, as for other collaborators in this collection, the goal of intradisciplinarity is not to come to a common (single) understanding or frame of action but rather to theorize across difference in critical reflexive ways that strengthen and nuance the explanations we create. In what follows, we explore how these intradisciplinary cross-readings can open new possibilities and insights, demonstrating how intradisciplinary engagements with visuality and visualization practice can illuminate other possible forms of visual politics.

#### The Arts of Poverty Activism

Seattle's Real Change (2015) is, in their words, a "survival strategy for the poorest ... and a catalyst for social change." It is a progressive street newspaper providing work for more than 800 low-income and homeless vendors and also a cross-class coalition working for economic and racial justice. Visual politics are central to Real Change's advocacy efforts. In October 2014, Real Change presented 5,000 signatures from its OutsideIn petition campaign for increased shelter space to the City Council's budget committee. Vendors Susan Russell and Sharon Jones testified about homelessness, lack of affordable housing and health care, and an inadequate social safety net. Their testimony was staged to be visually powerful, "a dramatic act to demand action now" (Harris 2014). Four vendors processed to the front of the Council chamber with a coffin, flanked by signs asserting "Without shelter, people die" (Figure 1). As their oral testimony concluded, they stepped forward, opened the coffin, and tipped hundreds of blood red petitions onto the floor. Outside the chamber—and visible through its windows—the group had installed 3,123 pairs of shoes, one for each person sleeping outdoors during Seattle's 2014 January One-Night Count (Figure 2). Arranged in patterns, by color and size, the shoes figuratively brought these unsheltered citizens to join the testimony.

The visual is a central medium of these interventions, yet what do these visual events do? How do these visual spectacles produce or disrupt poverty politics—the collectively held situated understandings of who is poor, what it means to be poor, what causes poverty, and what should be done about it (Lawson with Middle Class Poverty Politics Research Group 2012)? What can we discern about the possibilities and limits of these visual politics by reading the coffin performance and the shoe installation through analytic frames from geographies of art and visual methods? We explore these questions by considering in turn the production of the coffin performance and shoe installation and their recording in images; what is going on in the course of these visual events; and the relationships between these events, the sites at which they were originally presented, and the circulation of images of them (Daniels 1993; G. Rose 2012; Hawkins 2013).



**Figure 1.** Real Change vendors presenting OutsideIn petitions. *Source*: Izumi Hansen.

First we examine the production of the performance and the installation: how they were produced, by whom, and for what purposes. The shoe installation and the coffin performance were collectively imagined and implemented by Real Change vendors, program staff, and volunteers. This cross-class collaborative effort runs counter to a normative U.S. imaginary of poverty and advocacy that frames poorer people as lacking political agency and assumes that privileged people will advocate not with them but on their behalf (Lawson et al. 2015). In contrast, the shoes and coffin are visual politics produced by poorer and more privileged people together. Their collaboration opens spaces into which diverse actors might speak, and the resulting visual and performative practices underscore how an inclusive vernacular creativity can mobilize powerful artistic and visual languages.

Second, reading these examples through geographies of art theory calls our attention to both the events themselves and the images of them, considering their content



**Figure 2.** Real Change shoe installation, 24 October 2014. *Source*: Alex Garland. (Color figure available online.)

and the different registers through which they work (representational, symbolic, performative, and affective). These pieces employ performative and formal visual languages that constitute their visual politics. The coffin presentation offers a blunt symbolism of death, blood, and urgency, made visible through the presence of the coffin itself and the red petitions inside that are eventually poured onto the floor. The Real Change vendors materialize before the City Council a possible future of bodily suffering and loss of life. As well, the coffin, pallbearers, and somber procession invoke broadly legible visual referents to collective social responsibility—signaling dignity and care for the body in life as well as after death, literally carrying these responsibilities on the shoulders of the community. These deeply affective visual metaphors call for particular commitments and actions: recognizing an inherent dignity of all lives, taking seriously the urgent risks experienced by Seattle's poorest citizens, and acting collectively to address these risks.

Against dominant narratives in the United States that insist that homeless people do not count, the shoe installation and coffin performance insist that they do, through a literal visual enumeration emphasizing magnitude. The amassed shoes outside the Council chambers signal a multitude of unsheltered bodies. Voters are symbolically counted as thousands of their signatures pour onto the floor of the Council. These visual enumerations push back against antagonistic poverty politics that reject the legitimacy of homeless individuals as citizens and resist publically funded assistance to them (Roy 2003). Yet simultaneously, this counting invokes the epistemological legitimacy that has long been afforded to numeracy in governance and policymaking (N. Rose 1990), including Seattle's ten-year Plan to End Homelessness (Sparks 2012). The end result is a hybrid visual politics that draws on normative epistemological politics of governance (public-sector action requires "data") but at the same time asserts a counternarrative (homeless individuals should be visible and their struggles a matter of public concern and action).

The coffin and the shoes navigate the precarious political and affective terrain of visual representations of poorer people and places. Countless popular visual initiatives focusing on poverty decouple poverty from privilege; suggest individualized rather than structural causes; sensationalize suffering; and ignore complex racialized, gendered, and placed dimensions of impoverishment by presenting individual bodies as iconic generalized referants (Finnegan 2003; Shankar 2014). By contrast, in the visual politics of Real Change's OutsideIn campaign, abstracted objects stand in for

human bodies, speaking powerfully of embodied experience, yet without fetishizing specific bodies as the face of homelessness. The shoe installation works on one hand through visual assertion of the large scale of the problem, yet without flattening the diversity of unsheltered individuals. The installation includes shoes for men, women, and children; for rain, snow, and heat; for walking, working, playing, and dressing up; some worn out and others nearly new. A small circle of tiny children's shoes renders visible particular lives often overlooked in a U.S. social imaginary that tends to associate homelessness with single adult men. The formalism of the shoe installation's design and layout bespeaks a concern for each individual life.

Third, we consider the site and circulation of these visual events and their accompanying images. Geographies of art scholarship argue that site-specific art has a critical relationship to the site of its installation, a relationship that shifts if the work circulates either in installation form or as images of the original work (Hawkins 2013). Reading Real Change's visual practices as site-specific visual art further illuminates the transformative nature of their poverty politics. When homeless vendors act in the Council chamber—the space of formal politics—they push back against sociopolitical norms that deny impoverished people status as political subjects and agents in social change. They expand the repertoire of appropriate political speech typically harnessed to this space by refusing a cold bureaucratic decisional logic and instead offering an intentional visual cuing of emotion and affects of shock and drama. This intervention endures beyond its initial time-space, because it remains publicly available in the City of Seattle's online video archive and shared via Real Change's Facebook page—a durable visual trace circulating across time and space, online, and in social media.

Reading these examples with analytics from geographies of art reveals a complex poverty politics. These visualities are used to cue familiar registers and lexicons of politics such as public testimonial, voter demands of public officials, and numeracy as legitimating policy decisions. Yet the sociospatial contexts of their making and circulating push normative poverty politics by foregrounding impoverished people as legitimate political subjects and active agents on their own behalf and insisting that homelessness calls for collective forms of public care and assistance. These examples mobilize multilayered and powerful visual regimes aimed at activating empathy yet avoiding voyeurism, at highlighting bodily suffering without visualizing

poverty through a particular (and always limited) set of racialized, gendered bodies. Real Change carefully entrains symbolic codes and formal visual practices that are broadly legible to the citizens and public officials they address, yet simultaneously allow vendors to be seen and heard on their own terms.

# Read Games through Mapping: "If You Draw It Will Happen"

The slogan "If you draw it will happen" captures the ambition of the participatory art project Play Your Place that forms the second of our rereadings. Play Your Place, which is based in collective practices of drawing and gaming, was created by Local Play and Furtherfield, digital media arts organizations that work through open source practices and an ethos of collaboration. Play Your Place asks often-divided communities to draw the changes they want to see in their area and then to collectively curate their drawings into simple platform-style computer games that can be played in community halls, gallery spaces, and on the Play Your Place Web site (http://www.playyourplace.co.uk).

Furtherfield has taken Play Your Place into communities around the United Kingdom and Europe, including South Westminster (London), the focus of this discussion. In South Westminster the project was introduced at a local community-run festival that was visited by thousands of residents. During the festival, hundreds of people participated in drawing and making the video games, which were eventually collected together in a suite of games entitled, "What Will You Save?" In these games, South Westminster is depicted as a cartoon world where happy dogs chase after humans holding hearts (Figure 3), where a Machiavellian Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, rides his community bike high above the city streets. On the same streets, a tiny mouse armed with a fire hose frantically dashes to save the burning buildings (Figure 4), and neatly coiffured people fall over one another to "grab the cash," urged on by the tag line, "Be evil: Kill community spirit, push up rents, hike house prices and force out families" (Figure 5).

This virtual world references the material and social contexts of South Westminster and the community's diverse lived experiences. A stone's throw from the seat of the government, South Westminster is a city ward with leafy parks, millionaires' mansions, and international art galleries



Figure 3. Screenshot from "Dog Snog" game, Play Your Place. Source: Ruth Catlow. (Color figure available online.)

(one of which, the Tate Gallery, helped fund the project) that are cheek by jowl with some of the starkest poverty in the United Kingdom. Official statistics veil a scene of worsening inequality, a decline in local community, and a loss of services under government austerity (Trust for London and New Policy Institute 2015). The site-specific games generated by the South Westminster community focus directly on these interconnected losses.

The cute and whimsical drawings in the "What Will You Save?" games direct attention to the impacts of austerity cuts; use parody to problematize gentrification; and ironically juxtapose poverty and privilege by challenging gamers to try to win a loving home for a dog in a city ward with streets that regularly "house" 25 percent of England's rough sleepers. Given their cartoonish visual forms and their creation at community festivals, though, one might conclude that these



Figure 4. Screenshot from "On Fire, Oh No!" game, Play Your Place. Source: Ruth Catlow. (Color figure available online.)

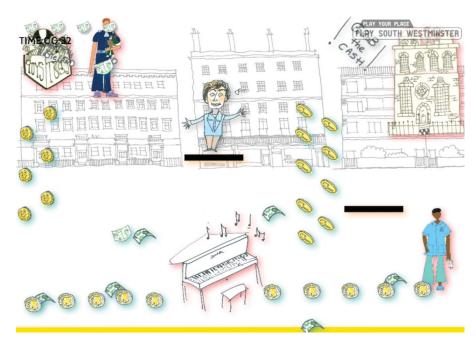


Figure 5. Screenshot from "Grab the Cash" game, Play Your Place. Source: Ruth Catlow. (Color figure available online.)

games are limited as agents of change. Yet a deeper reading of the games as cartographies of a sort makes apparent that a more complex and transformative visual politics is at work. Following critical cartographers' insistence that the social, spatial, and political are produced through both maps themselves and processes of mapping, we examine the visual spatial artefacts of the "What Will You Save?" games and the collective creative processes used to make them.

Postrepresentational cartography understands maps as visual inscriptions and significations of space and place that are simultaneously representational and generative. That is, maps assert how the world is or should be and help bring it into being as such. In postrepresentational conceptualizations, maps are more than the formal Cartesian artefacts and visual lexicons of modernist Western cartography—a map is any visual artefact that enacts space and attaches meaning to it, to objects, to human and nonhuman actors, and to social and spatial relationships among them (Wood and Fels 1986; Kitchin, Perkins, and Dodge 2009). The games in "What Will You Save?" enact space in precisely this sense. They produce the space of the neighborhood by arranging visual symbols that conjure key dimensions of its material and social life: the park, the row house style of its residential areas, piano bars, the washing lines traditionally hung in alleys between blocks, and so on.

This expanded notion of what a map is and does allows us to see that the games, like many cartovisual artefacts, inscribe visual symbols of people and place that have been selected out or simplified from richer lived geographies. They assert what these sociospatial elements are like and how they relate or interact. The hand-drawn game elements are direct signifiers of "real" things under threat, such as fire stations and playgrounds, but also visual synecdoches for broader sociospatial changes wrought at the intersection of gentrification and austerity. This analytic makes evident that the games' visual politics work across places, audiences, and scales. Tightly bound to particular social and spatial forms of South Westminster, they are on one level site specific and mobilize the community in relation to local struggles. Yet their simplification and abstraction offers visual referents to sociospatial forms and processes relevant in other times and places. In this way, the visual politics of "What Will You Save?" serve dual duty of denoting locally felt inequalities and pointing to broader structural processes that produce deeply unequal sociospatial landscapes in other urban areas. South Westminster's cash-gobbling landlords hint toward the inequalities of capitalist land markets. Its voracious zombie buildings imply the ravages of gentrification-based recapitalization of urban neighborhoods. Its doomed firefighting mice conjure austerity's wide-reaching evisceration of public services.

These visual strategies push against a tendency for public officials to discount local concerns as microscale grumbling that fails to see the "big picture," an enduring strategy by which the powerful de-legitimize claims from below. As well, the use of visual symbols to point

to structural processes at work in South Westminster and elsewhere opens the possibility for building broader coalition. Anyone with an Internet connection can play the "What Will You Save?" games or incorporate their visual elements into their own games using Play Your Place's open source games engine. These open networked affordances further the potential for the visual politics of "What Will You Save?" to travel beyond their original instantiations.

The collective visualization processes that underlie these games further constitute their political significance. Here we read Play Your Place games as dynamic processes of community mapping that assemble subjects engaged in the negotiation of difference (Brown and Knopp 2008). Such collective making of cartovisual representations involves working from different subject positions, experiences, knowledge, and needs toward visualizations that materialize situated knowledge, a process that can constitute often-excluded groups of people as political subjects (Brown and Knopp 2008; Mitchell and Elwood 2013). Making Play Your Place games is a mapping process in that it enacts space and imbues spaces, objects, and relations with meaning—yet without invoking aspects of conventional cartographic praxis that tend to exclude and marginalize. Play Your Place offers a mapping process that requires no prior experience with the formal visual language of Western cartography. The process is scripted as play, not as urban planning or public participation and consultation in policymaking, thus avoiding codes of "officialness," authority, and expertise that might dissuade some potential participants from joining efforts to articulate the current problems and potential futures of South Westminster.

By framing its process of mapping community concerns and desired futures as a playful engagement on a cartoonish plane of expression—real, yet not real—Play Your Place invites exaggeration, irony, and parody. In so doing, the process extends the forms of visual political speech beyond what is typically possible in community planning forums. It legitimizes humor, ridicule, and other discursive politics long used by disempowered groups to create change (hooks 1995; Giovanni 1998). This opening is especially significant in light of South Westminster's stark divisions along lines of poverty and privilege, race, class, and other axes of social difference and the involvement of individuals from these vastly different positions in the game-making event. Creating the games together, community members make visible very different experiences or understandings of the community and articulate desired futures that might be contradictory

or uneven in their effects on other people and places in the community. Yet the open visual place-making process of Play Your Place is designed in a way that does not insist that these differences be resolved or flattened into a single shared representation of common interests and concerns. The effect of Play Your Place is less to resolve differences than to enable communities to acknowledge and engage with issues of local tension, exploring these in playful and accessible ways.

Reading Play Your Place with analytics from postrepresentational cartographies and community mapping praxis brings into view the complex visual politics at play in these games and their making. These are visual politics that provide the means to discern political spaces and practices within visualization processes that might otherwise be discounted as fluffy or inconsequential. The creative visual practices of Play Your Place engage across some of the inequalities that characterize life in South Westminster. Their whimsical nature makes visible (and audible) the presence and opinions of those who might normally be governed out of conventional political spaces. Thus, in imaginative and sometimes fantastical visualization practices we find the means to assemble diverse communities as political subjects around contentious issues.

#### Conclusion

In sum, what does this demonstrate with respect to visual politics and intradisciplinarity? Reclaiming visuality means taking seriously concerns about power, situated knowledge, the gaze, objectification, Cartesian governance, the God's eye trick, and much more, while remaining open to the possibility that the visual might also produce a different politics. We have demonstrated how intradisciplinarity can open up other possible visual politics, where visualization and enumeration become part of poverty activism and where cartoony and whimsical drawing and gaming practices offer the means to imagine places differently. These intradisciplinary cross-readings set multiple framings in play with one another, bringing into view visual politics otherwise obscured.

To avoid romanticizing the possibilities of these visual politics, however, cross-readings must always also raise critical questions. The suite of visual events and practices explored here tries to catalyze the empathy or embarrassment of powerful actors, but does this prompt any reflexivity on their privilege or role in producing and reproducing urban poverty? Do these various visual

practices ever invite a different politics, one that might, for example, call into view and act on the structures that produce inequality and differential vulnerabilities? In other words, can the performance, installation, or drawing and gaming processes actually change or engage us with the underlying causes of the issues being examined? How are marginalized people made and remade as political subjects through the experience of being authoritative speakers and visualizers in these sites? We see, for example, the collectivization of homeless vendors as activists speaking in formal political spaces, and we witness local communities being assembled as politically engaged individuals through drawing and gaming. Finally, what are the limitations or tensions at play in emancipatory visual politics that invoke epistemological devices (e.g., numeracy) that have long been used in the service of governance and exclusion? To what degree are the hegemonic politics associated with such ways of knowing rewired through creative visual practices like the ones examined

Intradisciplinary cross-readings raise unresolved questions about the political tractability of visual artifacts, their performance, and their making. They underscore the powerful yet always elusive nature of visual politics, leaving open a series of questions about how exactly these politics work in the spaces of audiencing and engagement and what exactly it is that visualizations can and cannot do. In posing these questions, we argue for an affirmative critique—aware that visual politics do not do everything but recognizing all the same the political possibilities of visualizations. As visual theorists remind us, the pathway from audiencing visual spectacles to comprehending unequal worlds is far from direct (Pollock 2003; Ranciere 2007). There is no clear route from knowing the world to transformative action within it.

Comprehending visualizations and the processes of their making through an intradisciplinary approach opens the door to possibilities for a transformative visual politics. Here, an intradisciplinary analytic revealed an expanded repertoire of politics activated through a creative vernacular. The games, the shoes, and the coffin deploy creative visualities that can be understood through symbolic languages, visual regimes, and formalisms from mapping and art worlds. Such innovative intradisciplinary ways of understanding the world thus trouble "traditional" structures of knowledge making. In this case, we see, for example, a coming together of art and mapping to bring theater to the formal spaces of politics; to find affect and emotion in space that prefigures bureaucratic logics and sober testimonials; and to understand the mobilization

of parody, ridicule, whimsy, and play to bespeak things that are distinctly unfunny and unplayful. In doing so we are enabled in our understanding of how these visual events produce a lively politics centered on spaces and lives that matter deeply.

Intradisciplinary scholarship entails a circulation across subdisciplinary boundaries, setting in motion concepts and methods that enable us to innovate and to work across epistemological and theoretical differences. As we and others in this collection show, geographers' intradisciplinarity tends to be aimed not at creating monistic frames but rather seeking generative engagement across theoretical, epistemological, and methodological difference. Geography's intradisciplinarity is a multifaceted practice with diverse and transformative outcomes. It can be about building conceptual plurality that helps us understand complex problems. Daniels and Bartlein's (this issue) engagement around "time" reveals not just the different ways temporality is used as an explanatory frame in geographical scholarship but also the key insights into global environmental change that come of a multifaceted approach to temporality. Sometimes intradisciplinarity prompts new research agendas. Doyle and Mansfield's (this issue) cross-reading of the concept of the Anthropocene reveals moves toward nondualist thinking about humans and nature, not just in academic thought but in society at large. They urge geographers to move beyond celebrating nondualist thought to studying how and with what implications nondualism works in the world. Intradisciplinarity can be an approach for seeing and challenging the limits to dominant forms of knowledge and knowing the discipline. Friess and Jazeel's (this issue) tracing of landscape as concept and landscape as narrative prompts their call for geographers to unlearn what we think we know. Barkan and Pulido's (this issue) exchange reveals how a concept like justice becomes disciplined by the norms and structures of academic thought and charts paths toward recognizing theories of justice arising from social movement practice. In these pieces, as in our own, the work of intradisciplinarity is one of opening up, unbounding, reading for difference, and learning with and from the incongruous. For us, this intradisciplinary approach makes it possible to recognize visual politics committed to seeing what is and also what might be.

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#### Note

1. Video of this is available at http://www.seattlechannel.org/videos/video.asp?ID=2061431 (at 2:19:00-2:23:30; last accessed 7 August 2015).

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