11.6—18.9. 2016
ZURICH, SWITZERLAND



MANIFESTA

WHAT PEOPLE DO FOR MONEY

JOINT VENTURES

MANIFESTA 11
THE EUROPEAN BIENNIAL OF CONTEMPORARY ART



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INTRODUCTION

_____ Manifesta's strategy of selecting its host city from borderline zones resulted in the tenth edition in St Petersburg in 2014, which confronted us with a complex political climate, changing East–West geopolitics and boycotts from within the curatorial circle, international media and the LGTB community. Manifesta decided to stay in Russia with the support of the participating artists and local communities under one condition: that no censorship or self-censorship would take place – which was the case. This left us changing our curatorial and mediation strategies for the opening of Manifesta 11 in Zurich in 2016.

Its main mission in Zurich was to demonstrate, through participatory projects, that Manifesta 11 was getting people involved and activating a younger, broader audience in a variety of artistic practices, from the teenagers taking part in the Art Docs to the thirty local professional hosts working together with artists. The success of Manifesta 11 lies in the fact that it proved able to embed itself deeply in the layers of Zurich society, with the hope that after the biennial closed, those who were involved would remain active in the cultural life of the city of Zurich.

HEDWIG FIJEN
Director Manifesta

_____ Professions are an important life decision. You grapple with career choices your whole life long. As an artist, I have made art with magicians, politicians, karaoke video producers, bodyguards and Vatican staff. Again and again I have picked up on other world views, routines and languages. Perhaps I feel so at home among these people because I've long seen myself as an outsider in art. And who in the art world is a greater outsider than someone who is not at all at home in art? I made this principle of being a guest worker the leitmotif of Manifesta 11.

Professions are about more than earning money. It often seems as if the professions that people pursue end up shaping how they perceive themselves as individuals, as well as how other people perceive them. After a while, you speak like a professor, look like a model, travel like a businessman, drink like a barman, think like a banker. The investment banker has, in many ways, become paradigmatic for our historical era. In this sense, Zurich, a centre for global financial trade, also has a certain emblematic quality. What people do for and with money makes the city tick. But how do its citizens live up to or subvert the stereotypes? What don't people do for money? Manifesta 11's title, *What People Do for Money*: *Some Joint Ventures*, emerged almost inevitably from these considerations. And it is a ticking time bomb.

CHRISTIAN JANKOWSKI
Curator, Manifesta 11

_____ Manifesta was an experiment for our city. We trusted in its extraordinary concept, and it paid off. The experiment was successful. Manifesta introduced Zurich to exciting art which made us think, was often inspiring and occasionally irritating. The analysis conducted by Manifesta will offer us insights for the future of Zurich as a city of culture.

CORINE MAUCH
Mayor of Zurich

_____ Manifesta provided Zurich with some critical impulses and food for thought as a city of culture. A cultural powerhouse like our city can certainly handle that. And the debate about current and future working conditions, not least in the realms of art and culture, has certainly struck a nerve.

PETER HAERLE
Director of Cultural Affairs, City of Zurich



Christian Jankowski, Corine Mauch and Hedwig Fijen



The Zurich Load by Mike Bouchet

MANIFESTA 11 ZURICH

Manifesta 11 addressed an existential theme – *What People Do for Money.* It is a topic that concerns us all. Why do some people earn more than others – for the same work? Why are men often quicker than women to climb the corporate ladder? Why is social status still measured by one's profession and position? Is the zeal with which 'workaholics' pursue their jobs a pretext for alienation and exploitation? How do you go about finding work in a country that is foreign to you? And how will a fully digitised world function, when robots render human labour obsolete? These questions are associated with some of the most urgent socio-political issues of our times but they rarely meet with quick and easy answers.

The curator of Manifesta 11, Christian Jankowski, invited thirty artists from all over the world to collaborate with hosts of their choosing from within Zurich's diverse workforce in order to uncover their working conditions. As one of Europe's financial and economic centres, Zurich has a rich tradition in various occupational areas with the guilds still playing an important role in civic life – and as such, the city offers a fascinating environment to explore and investigate.

In subtle, ironic, realistic and playful ways, the 'joint ventures' resulting from these collaborations reflect how the people of Zurich act and operate in their professional environments. Some of the hosts were highly skilled craftsmen, producing goods for the local market, inspiring artists like Jorinde Voigt and Jon Kessler to work together with a boatmaker and a watchmaker, respectively, while John Arnold offered delicious culinary delights in collaboration with a Michelin-starred chef.

Others were drawn to the polar opposite, to effluents, sources of harm and other things which might endanger the comfort of Zurich's citizens. Artists partnered with physicians fighting disease (Michel Houellebecq) and firemen responding to emergencies (Carles Congost); security personnel, who predict and protect against violence and attacks (Santiago Sierra); sewage treatment engineers, who relieve the city from personal waste and excrement (Mike Bouchet); and undertakers, who assume the burden of disposing of bodies after death – having become inoperable and, hence, dispensable (Jennifer Tee). All work with a common objective to keep the city clean, safe, secure and healthy – for which Zurich has an exceptional public image.



Moving from microcosm to macrocosm, their combined efforts – resulting in the new works of art – paint a picture of a modern metropolis with all its contradictions. This highly complex, well-coordinated system of interdependent professions constitutes the conceptual framework of urban life, yet it generates often paradoxical socio-psychological issues for the individual at the intersection between the determination of personal identity and the assurance of a livelihood. Fitting in or finding a place in capitalist society is a question of serving the collective as much as earning the right to be a part of said collective as both producer and consumer.

The resulting new works were exhibited at the two main venues, Löwenbräukunst and Helmhaus, two of Zurich's iconic art institutions, but also at the so-called Satellites, places where the artists' hosts hold down their jobs.



Left: One of Manifesta 11's main venues, Löwenbräukunst
Right: Performance by Maurizio Catellan with Edith Wolf-Hunkeler

Michel Houellebecq's X-rays illuminating his own state of health were displayed at Hirslanden clinic; Jennifer Tee's work was visible in the morgue of Enzenbühl cemetery; and Mike Bouchet's cubes of biosolids made their physical and olfactory presence felt at Löwenbräukunst, offering the visitor an unfamiliar and confrontational experience. At Hotel Rothaus, Teresa Margolles showed her piece about violence and gender that she developed with her host Sonia, a transgender escort and masseuse based in Zurich. These new works were complemented by *The Historical Exhibition* at Löwenbräukunst and Helmhaus, offering a wide range of exhibits by more than 200 artists spanning five decades, reflecting their examination of professional life – including their own. Indeed, working and making a living in the art business is characterised by many conflicts and contradictions.

Löwenbräukunst was one of the centres for Manifesta events. It was the starting point for visitors to familiarise themselves with the concept and approach of Manifesta, providing detailed information to decide how much time to invest in discovering the other locations of the exhibition. Another centre was the so-called Cabaret der Künstler – Zunfthaus Voltaire, an artists' guild at the historic Cabaret Voltaire; the other was the Pavillon of Reflections. Life is not just about work, after all – and Manifesta was no different. After all the serious and thought-provoking artistic endeavours, these were ideal places to experience art in the context of entertainment. Cabaret der Künstler became the stage for the newly established artists' guild, a platform open to performances from the international artistic community and local people alike; meanwhile the Pavillon of Reflections was an enjoyable combination of public bath and art venue, screening films about the development of the joint ventures – and it became the iconic venue of Manifesta 11.

Visiting the biennale was a process and a performance that took place over the course of one hundred days. A total of thirty-four exhibition sites all over the city invited the people of Zurich to tread new paths through their hometown as much as in their own minds. Time and time again, this process takes us back to the pivotal question of what art is – and what it isn't.



Pavillon of Reflections

The terms that categorise *what people do for money* are not natural givens but socio-semiotic conventions. We name a certain kind of human activity 'work', which is linked to a certain context: it is exchanged with salary and it leads to an effect of accumulation of value. Conventions, however, are not only signs marking real life ex post, they are also frames of signification that pre-form our expectations and pre-frame our modes of interaction. Conventions create the code that enables us to access protocols of exchange that make survival possible. But this code is unable to interpret and manage technological progress and its effects.

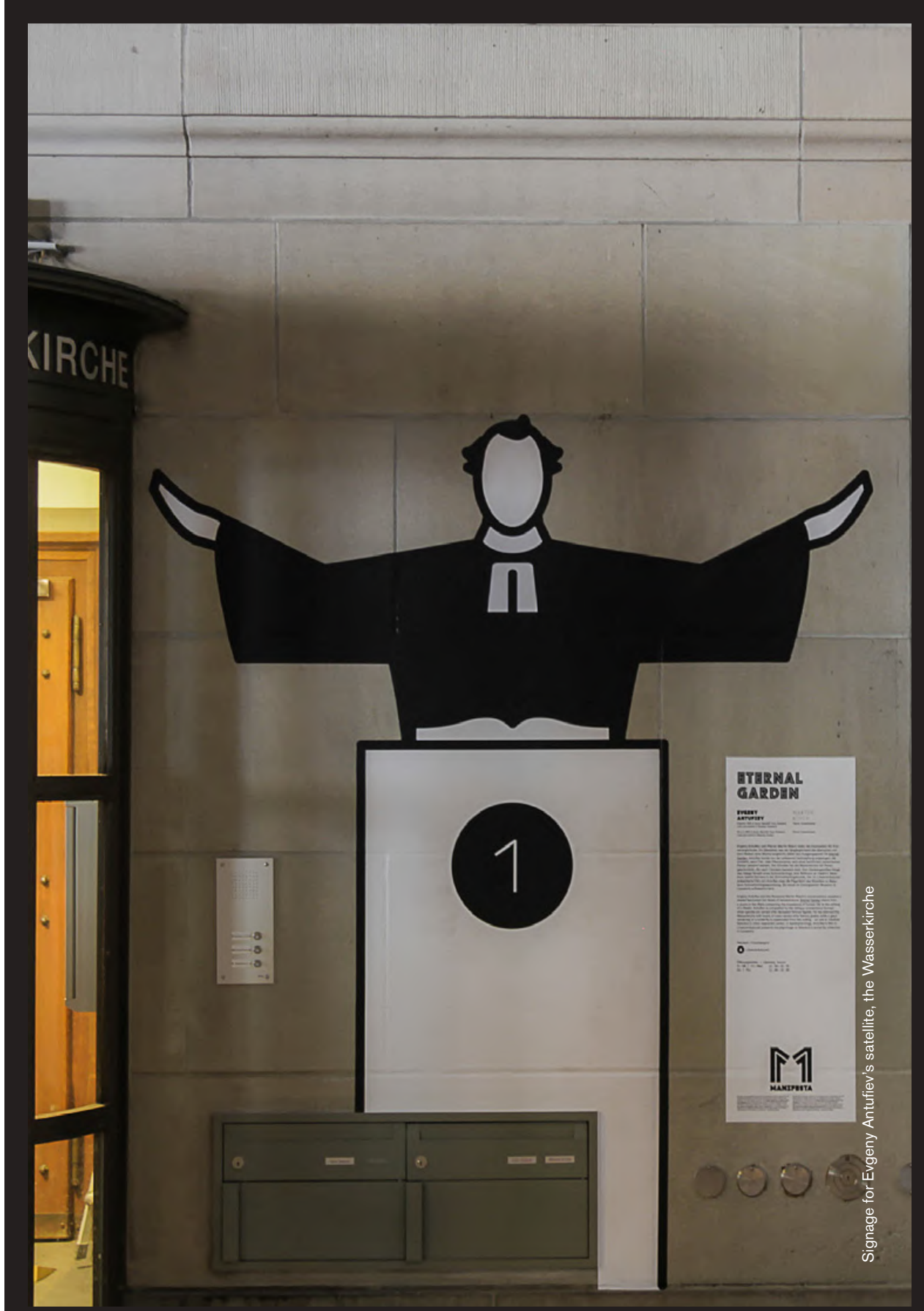
FRANCO BERARDI
'The Superstition', Manifesta 11 catalogue

Zurich is now one of approximately a hundred 'global cities' (Saskia Sassen) that connect the planet economically and culturally and that represent physical confluences of global financial-market capitalism, with profound ramifications for housing structures and topographies of wealth. This type of city represents a 'frontier', where players representing different legal systems meet and create a transnational interactional space for creating and increasing wealth. […] The arrival of Manifesta 11 sets pulses racing in the opposite direction. It strengthens those urban design forces that have, time and again, guaranteed the heterogeneity and pluralism of social space through Zurich's long history. On the one hand this bolsters the symbolic capital of Switzerland's heimlichen Hauptstadt. Whether it also has the potential to cause another Züriputsch, this time liberal and progressive, remains to be seen.

JAKOB TANNER
'Creative Coups', Manifesta 11 catalogue

The public perception of police, bankers, chefs, doctors and so on can shunt between heroic, tyrannical, glamorous, untrustworthy, a cornerstone of society and so on. And attitudes towards specialist knowledge itself range between envy, respect, suspicion and hostility. Depending on your mood and the specialist in question, you might ascribe knowledge and mastery to hard work and dedication, or to cheating or privilege, or maybe even to genius, which you could believe to be hardwired into the genes or akin to witchcraft. Or you might defer to stereotypes – the naughty nurse, the dashing fireman, the wild-haired composer, the ruthless entrepreneur – since stereotypification is a way of 'knowing' the other. […] Actions, discussions, emotions and their conventions, consequences and potential have all become viable stuff from which art can be made. In these instances the artist (or, as is the case here, the artist-turned-curator) performs as a catalyst, setting up situations in which participants perform their relationship to the situation and to one another, revealing their attitudes at every turn.

SALLY O'REILLY
'One Hundred Ways to Cook an Egg', Manifesta 11 catalogue



Signage for Evgeny Antufiev's satellite, the Wasserkirche

VENUE SELECTION

Displaying the new commissions in a space in which the host was professionally active was intrinsic to the concept of the artists' collaboration with their hosts. The selection of venues, referred to as satellites, wasn't always so obvious and the artist, the host and the curatorial and production teams often had to look for alternative spaces. In all cases, however, this process was a challenging but interesting way of diving into the city.

Sometimes the host didn't have a specific working place, as was the case of the flight attendant Delia Eberle, who hosted the artist Yin Xunzhi; his paintings were partly shown at Wings Bar due to its decor evoking the interior of an aeroplane. Teresa Margolles's project was displayed at Rothaus Hotel, a place that is emblematic of Zurich's gentrified red light district; Maurizio Cattelan's floating wheelchair for paralympic champion Edith Wolf-Hunkeler was propelled across Lake Zurich.



Jon Kessler's work at his satellite, Les Ambassadeurs

In other cases, the host's workplace wasn't accessible, such as group therapist Christoph Müller who hosted Leigh Ledare; the satellite was Zürcher Hochschule der Künste, where the artist organised and filmed three days of Tavistock sessions. Or the conservator Nicolas Boissonnas, who hosted Aslı Çavuşoğlu; her project, looking for the 'Mu' utopia in Swiss landscape paintings, was shown in the Zurich Tourism office in the Hauptbahnhof. Andrea Eva Györi's large drawings depicting women masturbating or fantasising were on display at lingerie shop Risqué instead of the sex educator's study.

Alternatives to the hosts' workplaces were also led by the concept of the artwork itself, such as Guillaume Bijl's replica of a dog salon in a gallery space. Franz Erhard Walther's uniform designs were worn by staff at the Park Hyatt, because the workplace of his host, a textile developer, is closed to the public. Other satellites were selected according to the specific characteristics of the different artworks' media. Fermín Jiménez Landa's intervention through his host Peter Wick, meteorologist, was broadcast on the major regional TV stations; Pablo Helguera's Bolito Husserl cartoons were published in *Das Magazin*; and Mario García Torres's sound piece aired on the radio station GDS.FM.

The selection of the venues for *The Historical Exhibition: Sites Under Construction* was made with a view to integrating different cultural institutions. Jankowski was, from the beginning, particularly interested in locating some part of the exhibition in the Löwenbräu-Areal, because it is in many ways symbolic for Zurich's contemporary art landscape. The complex grew, in part, out of local interest in real estate development. Thus, it is living proof of how art can change the topography of a city. The Löwenbräu-Areal is also home to several different art professionals at the height of their careers: a star curator, an industry-leading publisher, and more than one blue-chip gallerist.

The concept of displaying the new artwork in the workplace of the host soon encountered difficulties in terms of visibility, space, accessibility or infrastructure. Christian Jankowski decided that the artists should implement one part of the artwork in the satellite and another part in the institutional venues in dialogue with *The Historical Exhibition.* This decision ensured visibility of the new

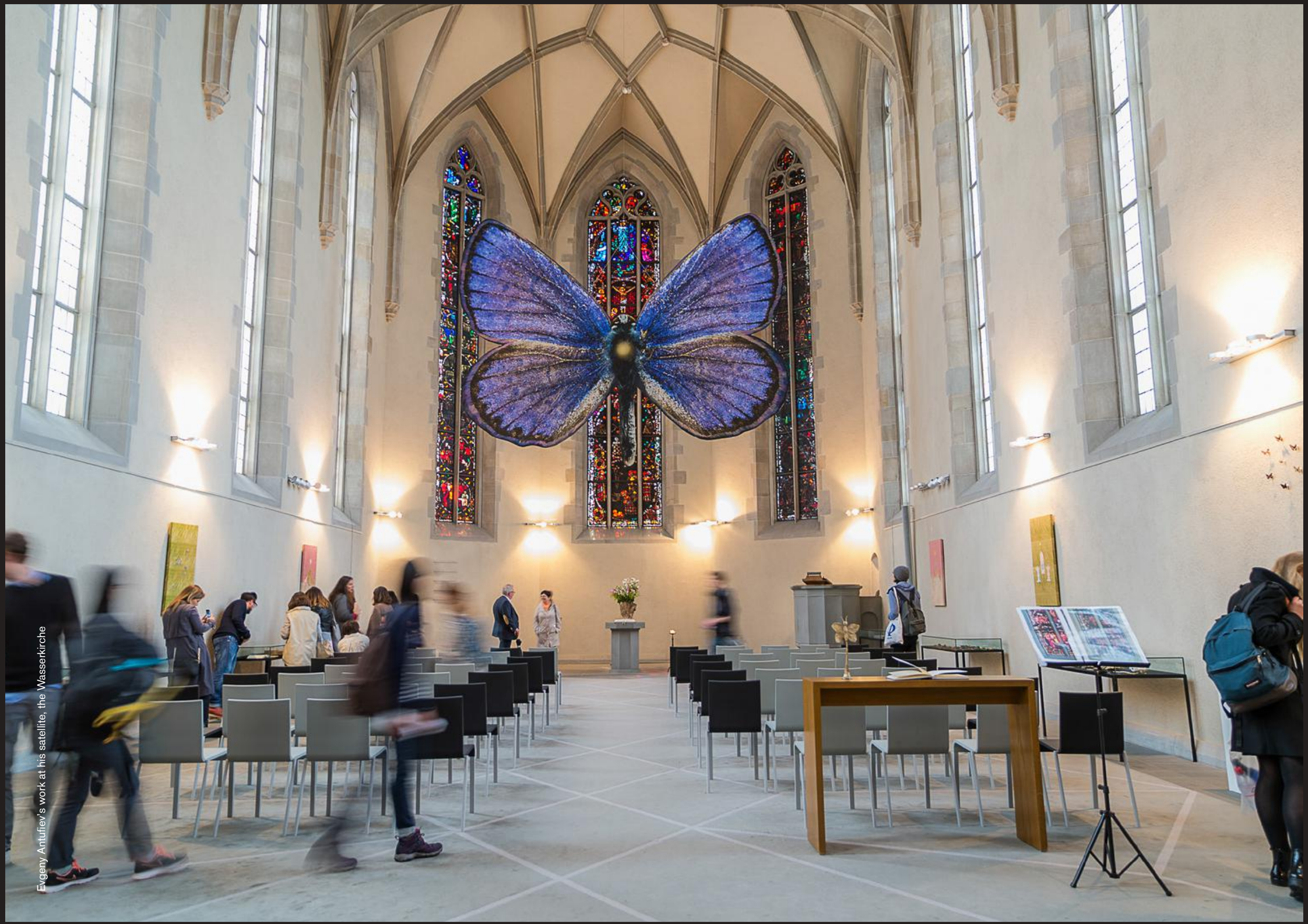


Art Detective interviewing Andrea Eva Györi and host Maggie Tapert

commissions to a broader public and linked the two sections of the biennial in a more cohesive way; on the other hand, it detracted from the power of the satellites mingling through the city.

The satellites concept was strong in terms of a biennial spreading throughout the city but the large distances between the satellites and the limited opening times of some satellites made access difficult and only a small proportion of biennial visitors reached them. However, some goals were achieved, such as some artworks becoming part of the everyday life of the satellite's neighbours or the biennial visitors being able to experience contemporary art in unconventional places with diverse professional atmospheres.

The concentration of a big part of the exhibition and the inclusion of the new artworks in the spaces of Migros Museum für Gegenwartskunst, LUMA Westbau/POOL etc. and Kunsthalle Zürich at Löwenbräukunst turned the complex into the main venue and headquarters of Manifesta 11; this raised the number of visitors higher than those institutions have ever had. This, together with a new use of the spaces, changing the entrances and flow through the building and integrating three different institutions as part of one exhibition, helped activate the Löwenbräu-Areal as one big art centre, rather than a building housing different art institutions and galleries, and changed the atmosphere of the place and its image for local visitors.



Evgeny Antufiev's work at his satellite, the Wasserkirche

PAVILLON OF REFLECTIONS

At the heart of Manifesta 11 was the Pavillon of Reflections, a floating platform erected on Lake Zurich. Here, visitors were able to witness crucial moments in the creation of the artworks as captured in a series of movie productions. Curator Christian Jankowski explains about the project: 'In the daytime, the Pavillon of Reflections functioned as an urban island, a meeting place and open-air swimming area, and an open-air cinema.' It screened thirty films that documented key moments in the production phase of each of the new comissions by each of the thirty artists.

Christian Jankowski initially planned the Pavillon as a floating event venue whose main purpose was to give a behind-the-scenes look at the biennial through screening a newly commissioned video programme that would reflect off the surface of Lake Zurich. Jankowski selected Studio Tom Emerson to collaborate with Manifesta 11 on the design and construction of the Pavillon, because of the curriculum of projects Tom Emerson developed with his students but, more specifically, due to the nature of these projects and the focus on experimental and technical aspects through materiality and construction. The students organised themselves and executed the project from beginning to end, forming a team that covered all the relevant areas of architectural production, from the development of the concept, through detailed planning and construction of 1:1 models, to logistical organisation and documentation.

The Pavillon was designed by Studio Tom Emerson as a timber island, a fragment of intimate urban space enclosed by five buildings: a tower, a tribune, a bar, a sun deck with changing cubicles below, a central pool with cinema screen above, and three generous sets of steps that lead into the lake. The Pavillon of Reflections became the iconic venue of Manifesta 11, due to its high visibility and its fantastic location in the middle of the city, right in front of Bellevue. As the biennial's public forum and meeting point, it was visited by over 100,000 visitors. Of those, 72% visitors were not professionally connected to the art field, and 11% had not been to a contemporary art show before – interesting information provided by the Public Survey.

Manifesta 11 Pavillon of Reflections was supported by EKZ and designed and constructed by Studio Tom Emerson, ETH Zürich.

> For us at Studio Tom Emerson it was a great honour to be invited to participate in Manifesta 11. At the beginning no one really knew whether it would be possible to bring together all the institutions – from the world of contemporary art, from the City and Canton and from ETH – to develop what became the Pavillon of Reflections. But throughout the entire project both Manifesta and the City provided us with the support and freedom needed to make this collective art experiment a reality. We were grateful to the students in the team, who were fully dedicated and professional from day one to the very end. There was a great deal to learn for everybody involved, in dealing with all institutions, contractors and sponsors.
>
> It was wonderful to see how the pavilion became part of the city and that people of all sorts, not just those visiting Manifesta 11, could engage with it and make it theirs. We all feel it left a substantial void behind when it was removed, but it remains part of Zurich's collective memory.

BORIS GUSIC
Studio Tom Emerson



Construction of the Pavillon of Reflections, ETH Zürich Hönggerberg



Pavillon of Reflections

ART DOCS

The Pavillon of Reflections served as an open-air cinema, showing, on the big screen, a series of experimental films that offer an insight into the production, display and interpretation of the new works for Manifesta 11. Each of the thirty art projects was assigned to a local high school student; as 'Art Detectives', in front of the camera, they traced the evidence of the conditions in which the work was made and, with the protagonists (artists and host), tried to get to the deeper meaning. Behind the camera were the filmmakers, students and graduates of the Cast/Audiovisual Media Department at Zürcher Hochschule der Künste. They followed a set of rules, created by Christian Jankowski and inspired by Jean-Luc Godard's dogma, which deconstruct the genre of the art documentary.



Art Detective interviewing Carles Congost

THE RULES

1. Each film accompanies the development of one joint venture.
2. Each film starts with a teenage moderator (the Art Detective) holding a microphone in hand, giving an introduction.
3. All interviews are conducted by the Art Detective.
4. At one point, when an in-process or finished artwork comes into the frame, there should be a soundtrack of experimental music.
5. At one point, when an in-process or finished artwork comes into the frame, there should be experimental cinematography or visual effects.
6. The preview at the satellite should be filmed, and the Art Detective should collect statements from those in attendance.
7. All films end with the Art Detective holding a microphone in hand, reflecting on the process and resulting artwork while slowly walking away from the preview.

The rules are part of the curatorial concept of Manifesta 11. If a rule is broken, it should be done consciously by the filmmaker.

The Art Docs – an episodic documentary about the collaboration between artists and their hosts – brought together many different creative minds in the city of Zurich. Students of audiovisual media, established filmmakers and teenagers making their first steps in the world of the arts produced in an exceptional synergy a memorable film about the making of Manifesta 11.

CARLO COPPOLA
Production Coordinator, Manifesta 11







Film stills from the Art Docs: Teresa Margolles, Franz Erhard Walther and Joninde Voigt with their hosts



Art Detective interviewing Carles Congost's hosts, firemen from Schutz & Rettung Zürich

CABARET DER KÜNSTLER – ZUNFTHAUS VOLTAIRE

_____ Cabaret der Künstler – Zunfthaus Voltaire is an experimental performance space, exceeding the traditional framework of art platforms.

MANUEL SCHEIWILLER
Guild President, Cabaret der Künstler – Zunfthaus Voltaire

_____ The guilds of Zurich provided decisive momentum for the city's development into a financial and economic metropolis. In turn, the money derived from this facilitated the art world and the production of art and made the city attractive to top galleries. There were ideal conditions here for trades to emerge in the art world. Zurich and I share a common weakness: we love art and we love professions. That was how I got the idea of making a new point of access for a new audience for Manifesta 11, via the professions.

CHRISTIAN JANKOWSKI
Curator, Manifesta 11

As the birthplace of Dada, Cabaret Voltaire in the district of Niederdorf is an important location in international cultural history and offers a diverse programme of discussions, actions and exhibitions. As part of Manifesta 11, Cabaret Voltaire, was transformed into Zurich's twenty-seventh guild. Cabaret der Künstler – Zunfthaus Voltaire was the city's first guild for artists, and the first to be gender neutral. It was inspired by Zurich's traditional guilds, wherein people who practiced a given profession self-organised in pursuit of their own interests. Like all guilds, Cabaret der Künstler – Zunfthaus Voltaire had a Zunftmeister: artist Manuel Scheiwiller. The Cabaret der Künstler's team with the Zunftmeister and Manifesta 11 curator Christian Jankowski organised the experimental performance space dedicated to joint-venture performances – where one artist and one person from another profession work together to make a performance on the stage in the guildhall. Around three hundred performances from international artists took place over the period of Manifesta 11.

An architectural feature common to many guildhalls, the Erker (an alcove protruding from the facade of the building) can be understood as a means of connecting these exclusive places with the cityscape. The blue Erker, the emblem of Cabaret der Künstler – Zunfthaus Voltaire, stood for the appreciation of artistic perspectives.



The main room of the guildhall was freed, to a large extent, from its historical patina. It was covered up with an interior design mimicking a mundane office. The radical transformation of the old Cabaret Voltaire to look like a corporate office was the work of ETH professor Dr. Alex Lehnerer, his assistants and students in collaboration with his partner Savvas Ciriacidis (Ciriacidis Lehnerer Architects).

By masking the interior, Manifesta 11 created the possibility for a new genre of performance art to arise: the joint-venture performance.



Left: Model of Cabaret der Künstler – Zunfthaus Voltaire
Right: Artists' guild at the Sechseläuten parade, 18 April 2016

In contrast to traditional guilds, which emphasise their lineage and their status through exclusivity, the only requirement for admission into the artists' guild was a willingness to participate and to perform. Neither gender nor any other restriction was applied, as in the regular guilds. Anyone who realised a joint-venture performance became a member of the guild and could return to see the performances. Anyone who wanted to perform was welcome to stop by with a handwritten proposal on Wednesdays from 8pm to midnight or Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays from 8–10pm. Proposals had to fit the guidelines set out in the open call and were to be signed off by the guild president. Founding members of the guild include artists Thomas Hirschhorn and Gianni Motti.

The guild studio in the crypt functioned as Scheiwiller's workplace and was accessible to all Manifesta visitors. There, they found a selection of handwritten and hand-drawn proposals as well as an iconic photograph of each performance offering a glimpse into the goings-on at the guild.

The performers included emerging, young and not so young, unknown and well-known artists, including, among others: Lauren Bakst (US), Tobias Bernstrup (SE), Dan Bodan (US), Marcel van Eden (NL), String Emil (DE), Keith Farquhar (GB-SCT), Assume Vivid Astro Focus (BR/FR/US), Gelitin (AT), Kim Gordon (US), Young Boy Dancing Group (EU), Donna Huanca (US), Georges Jacotey (GR), Annina Machaz & Nils Amadeus Lange (CH/DE), Marcos Lutyens (US), Maria Metsalu (EST), Peaches (CA), Adrian Piper (US), Ulay (DE).

_____ For ninety days we created an experimental performance space at Cabaret der Künstler – Zunfthaus Voltaire. It was a place where traditional and innovative ideas and different forms of performance met and thus created a new one: the joint-venture performance. The international membership of the first guild was open to all genders, and pervaded the historical birthplace of Dada with fresh and creative energy. Performance nights were creative, fuelled by collegiality and mutual benefit. At every evening performance, artists from different continents came together to shape a new world full of magic.

FLAVIA HORAT
Cabaret der Künstler Coordinator, Manifesta 11



"BaRkiNG AT PRiNT"



REBECCA SINKER
CURATOR

VICTORIA de RIJKE
TEACHER

Application for Cabaret der Künstler – Zunfthaus Voltaire
by Rebecca Sinker and Victoria de Rinjke

SATELLITES AND THE HISTORICAL EXHIBITION

What do you want to be when you grow up? It is one of the most fundamental questions we are faced with in our lives. From childhood, work is positioned as something important to our innermost desires, even if early ambitions develop into something more prosaic in time. Jobs can be decisive in shaping our identity – how we speak, behave and relate to other people. If we don't identify with what we do for money, how does that affect our sense of self?

Each new commission for Manifesta 11 was the result of an encounter between an artist and a Zurich citizen who is not professionally active in contemporary art. The artists chose their 'hosts' from a list of 1,000 jobs currently practiced in the city, compiled by the Sociological Institut at Universität Zürich. How do people who practice different jobs see the world differently – and how could this lead to new perspectives for art? Each joint venture had a two-part presentation. Firstly, in the host's workspace, where works were seen by people who might or might not have gone there in search of art. Artworks were also installed in Löwenbräukunst (Migros Museum für Gegenwartskunst, LUMA Westbau / POOL etc., Kunsthalle Zürich) and Helmhaus. This double presentation invited the audience to flow between two settings, which framed the work in different ways.

The Historical Exhibition: Sites Under Construction, co-curated by Francesca Gavin, eschewed a fixed narrative. History was instead conceived of as something that is in a state of permanent construction to be explored, repositioned and renewed – as Napoleon allegedly said, 'History is a set of lies agreed upon'. Assembled on a scaffold like structure are artworks and non-art materials from the past fifty years, a period in which social strata have broken down and we are, arguably, no longer defined by the position we are born into – such as the baker's daughter or the accountant's son.

Work is where we stick to the rules, clock in the hours and pay our dues to the taxman; but its confines can also enable us to exercise our creative powers and build new relationships. These *Sites Under Construction* surveyed the flickering interfaces between the personal and the public, private and professional, poetic and practical, asking why and how artists have portrayed, questioned and interacted with the ideas and processes of occupations.

The exhibition in the institutions consisted of two groups of works: new artworks produced for Manifesta 11 were placed in dialogue with existing works, and installed on scaffolding. The structures, called S*ites Under Construction*, highlighted different aspects of the relationship between art and professions.

> The exhibition created a context, rooting the concept of the biennial firmly in discussions around the representation of work. The thematic, structural nature meant we could emphasise context of place, the role of women, or the structure of the art world and create a show that felt broader than just the now.

FRANCESCA GAVIN
Co-curator, The Historical Exhibition



John Arnold's *Imbissy* at the Helmhaus



Teresa Margolles's satellite, Hotel Rothaus

Artist: Evgeny Antufiev
Host: Martin Rüsch, pastor, Grossmünster

Evgeny Antufiev and the Pastor Martin Rüsch's conversations revealed a shared fascination for rituals of remembrance. *Eternal Garden* stems from a quote in the Bible comparing the transience of human life to the wilting of a flower. Antufiev is compelled by the oblique connections formed when species are named after deceased famous figures. He adorned the Wasserkirche with bowls of roses named after literary greats, while a giant rendering of a butterfly was suspended from the ceiling – an ode to Vladimir Nabokov's other respected career, in lepidopterology. Antufiev's film in Löwenbräukunst presented his pilgrimage to Nabokov's butterfly collection in Lausanne.

Artist: John Arnold
Host: Fabian Spiquel, starred chef, Maison Manesse

Imbissy is a play on the English word 'Embassy' and the German word *Imbiss* (snack stand). John Arnold researched key state banquets and other events of historical and diplomatic importance that took place in Switzerland and, with chef Fabian Spiquel, reinterpreted dishes from their original menus. For the duration of the biennial, these culinary creations were cooked and served in Zurich *Imbisse*. As swanky state soirée met simple street food, the tastes of the past made new connections in the Zurich settings. The 'Imbissadors' and their regular clientele were brought together with embassy representatives, other politicians and anyone willing to take a bite, resulting in alternative forms of diplomacy and reconsiderations of history.

Artist: Guillaume Bijl
Host: Jacqueline Meier, dog stylist, Hundesalon Dolly

During Manifesta 11, Guillaume Bijl transformed a gallery, Grieder Contemporary, into a dog salon. The work was the latest in the series of what Bijl calls 'transformation installations', which he has produced since the 1970s, when he issued a manifesto calling for the abolition of art centres. Since then he has transformed many galleries into utilitarian spaces offering 'socially relevant' services, such as a driving school, a casino or a nuclear bunker. Dog Salon Bobby extends this thinking into new territory. One day a week, dog stylist Jacqueline Meier could be found at work in the temporary salon; visitors were welcome to bring their dog along for a trim.

Artist: Mike Bouchet
Host: Philipp Sigg, process engineer, Werdhölzli Wastewater Treatment Plant

Mike Bouchet rerouted and transformed the human waste of Zurich's inhabitants. In cooperation with the Werdhölzli Wastewater Treatment Plant, Bouchet made a new form out of faeces, whose 80,000 kilos is equivalent to a day's worth of sewage production in the city. Bouchet conceives of his project as a collaboration with the city's entire population: on 24 March 2016, anyone who used the toilet in Zurich contributed to this artwork. A unique fragrance was developed to transform the viewer's experience of the site-specific sculpture, on display in Löwenbräukunst.

Artist: Maurizio Cattelan
Host: Edith Wolf-Hunkeler, paralympic world champion

In 2011, on the eve of his retrospective at the Guggenheim Museum, New York, Maurizio Cattelan announced he was retiring from art. For his return to the profession, he has conjured up an astonishing vision. He made a wheelchair glide across the surface of Lake Zurich, bringing to mind the iconography of Jesus walking on water. In the hot seat was renowned Paralympian, Edith Wolf-Hunkeler. Her miraculous appearances were unannounced, but best viewed from the deck of the Pavillon of Reflections.

Artist: Aslı Çavuşoğlu
Host: Nicolas Boissonnas, painting conservator, Masson Pictet Boissonnas Gemälde-und Graphikrestaurierungen

How do representations of landscapes feed into the construction of national identity? Aslı Çavuşoğlu's approach to this question was by way of the lost continent of Mu, which, according to myth, sunk into the Pacific. Atatürk, founder of the Turkish state, thought it was the cradle of Turkish civilisation. The Alps, too, play a large part in Switzerland's self-perception as a fortified and independent nation. Working with a picture restorer, Çavuşoğlu searched for the hidden landscape of Mu in Swiss landscape paintings, both uncovering the layers beneath and altering the picture's surface. There is an idealised image of Switzerland that is just as non-existent as Mu.

Artist: Matyáš Chochola
Host: Azem Maksutaj, Thai boxing world champion and personal trainer, Azem Kampfsport

Matyáš Chochola detects a quality of devotion that is intrinsic to both martial and visual arts practice. Azem Maksutaj's fourteen wins as Muay Thai world champion reflect years of spiritual training as well as perfecting punches and kicks. The physical and mental discipline required by Thai boxing offers practitioners a certain freedom – the chance to immerse themselves in another world. Chochola, who searches for that world in his art practice, traced the stories latent in sports equipment, such as punch bags, marked with individual efforts and experiences. This sculptural intervention was located in Maksutaj's Thai boxing studio in Winterthur, just twenty-five minutes by train from Zurich.

Artist: Carles Congost
Host: Roland Portmann, Head of Communication, Schutz & Rettung Zürich

This mockumentary presents members of the Zurich Fire Department in the process of contributing to a fictitious event organised by the City of Zurich: a fundraising concert and the installation of a giant sign providing the city with a new motto, inspired by a Tina Turner hit. The film documents the vicissitudes of rehearsals in and around the fire brigade's headquarters, while a peculiar choir sings Carles Congost's lyrics to a classic gospel song. Between the pyrotechnics and the pageantry, the film addresses a series of questions about work, leisure time and economy in the developed world. It confronts the idea of vocational work with the financial concept FI/RE (Financial Independence – Retiring Early), an acronym that equates wage labour with a modern form of slavery.

Artist: Ceal Floyer
Host: Lorenz Oehler, translator

The term 'translation' describes the linguistic and cultural mediation of one language into another. The work of a translator consists not only in providing a translation but also in elucidating the social conventions that are intrinsic to linguistic expressions. Ceal Floyer is fascinated by what gets 'lost in translation', moments when linguistic and cultural incongruities lead to misunderstandings. For *Romance*, a woman and a man in simultaneous translation booths translated an English text into French and Italian respectively. The simultaneous rendition of the two Romance languages resulted in the playful and absurd failure of this semantic relationship.

Artist: Mario García Torres
Host: Christoph Homberger, opera singer

Mario García Torres wrote a libretto specifically for Christoph Homberger, a retired operatic tenor. Its title is an ode to an essay by Richard Wagner, which the composer wrote in Zurich in 1850. Left unsung, with no melodious future, the essay-opera speaks to a desire for deliverance while making a case for societal collapse among the unfolding uncertainties of these crisis-ridden times. A humming accompaniment to the libretto, which allows the tenor's voice to be imagined, was presented at Löwenbräukunst and broadcast on GDS.FM on certain days during Manifesta 11.

Artist: Andrea Eva Györi
Hosts: Maggie Tapert, Sex educator; Dr. phil. Dania Schiftan, Specialist psychologist in clinical sexology

The relation between female orgasm and the fantasies behind masturbation are the focus of Andrea Eva Györi's project. She took part in a practical course run by Dr. Schiftan, which works on both the physical and psychological levels of achieving orgasm. In private sessions in Zurich, Györi drew women in their bedrooms while they satisfied themselves. On show in Löwenbräukunst and Risqué were the masturbation portraits, followed by a depiction of the women's fantasies. Györi also documented her own tutorial-lessons in smaller drawings to which was added the psychologist's professional commentary.

Artist: Pablo Helguera
Host: Daniel Binswanger, journalist, *Das Magazin*

Together with his host, Pablo Helguera researched details of the Swiss job market. He turned the results of his enquiry into a continuous picture story, a comic that was printed in the weekly supplement *Das Magazin*. The cartoon's protagonist, Bolito Husserl, has tremendous knowledge, but is unable to find a job. Bolito's almost absurd over-qualification shows the flipside of the social trend towards highly specialised training and education. Meanwhile, his odyssey of stops and starts exposes the saturation of certain parts of the Swiss job market. At the same time, Helguera's Artoons were realised as a mural in the corridors of Löwenbräukunst.

Artist: Michel Houellebecq
Host: Dr. med. Henry Perschak, Medical Director, Medical Assessment Center at Klinik Hirslanden

For one of the first public presentations of his visual art, Michel Houellebecq turned a microscopic gaze on his own health. He headed to Zurich for a full-body check-up with some of Switzerland's famous specialists. In the Helmhaus and the Hirslanden clinic, visitors could see his beating heart and his blood pumping, and were allowed to take away a print-out of Houellebecq's electrocardiogram and blood analysis Houellebecq displayed X-rays and other visual results alongside invoices for the tests.

Being a part of Manifesta 11 was a personal highlight of this past year, especially, of course, collaborating with the enfant terrible of French literature, Michel Houellebecq, which was hugely enjoyable. I understood my role almost like a midwife, aiding him along as he found his way to creatively reinterpret medical data. It was not only a unique opportunity to dive into the world of artists, something previously very unknown to me, but moreover to enjoy Manifesta 11's leitmotif from another angle: what artists do for money!

DR. MED. HENRY PERSCHAK
Michel Houellebecq's host

Artist: Marguerite Humeau
Host: Mathias Bürki, engineer and PhD candidate, Autonomous Systems Lab, ETH, Zürich

Marguerite Humeau started from the idea that love is an evolutionary function. Based on her research in zoology, biology and palaeontology, Mathias Bürki and his fellow experts in autonomous systems programmed two robot-like creatures designed by the artist, which twirled around ETH Zürich. They tried to get together through a fog of anti-love drugs, squirting out ersatz love hormones and emitting mating calls from their mechanical throats. This ancient dance of courtship points to the near future, where artificial intelligence calls into question attributes hitherto thought to be distinctly human.

Artist: Fermín Jiménez Landa
Host: Peter Wick, meteorologist, MeteoNews

Fermín Jiménez Landa took a close look at the weather forecast. Less interested in its empirical basis and more in its prophetic quality, he combined the mainstream reach of a TV weather man with the traditional knowledge and humour of a Swiss *Wetterschmöcker* (weather sniffer) from the Muota valley. The temperature in the studios of MeteoNews was warmed up or cooled down according to the temperature forecast for the next day – and Peter Wick's reaction could be viewed on TV. The sculpture in Löwenbräukunst tried to maintain the same temperature in the centre as in the exhibition space through a nesting-doll system of cooling boxes and warming elements.

Artist: Jon Kessler
Host: Adriano Toninelli, master watchmaker, Officine Panerai

This complex kinetic sculpture, on show in Les Ambassadeurs shop, appeared to be driven by the tiny tourbillon mechanism from inside a watch, specially designed by Adriano Toninelli. The miniature movement was transferred through cylindrical zoetropes up to a moving neon sign that read, 'the world is cuckoo clock'. In fact, the sculpture was powered by other means – making the hoax a metaphor for 'cuckoo' manipulations of power. Taxidermy birds, unblinking and immobile, adorn this representation of the crazed mechanisation of modern life, in which drones, not birds, circle overhead. Jon Kessler's visual diary of the process was on view in the Helmhaus.

Artist: Leigh Ledare
Host: Dr. med. Christoph Müller, group therapist, doctor for childhood and adolescent psychiatry and psychotherapy

Leigh Ledare set up a three-day immersive group situation, replicating the improvisational approach of a school of group psychology, Tavistock. He chose twenty-one participants on the basis of family, gender, race, class, shared origin or experience. Collectively, the participants and psychologists constitute a microcosm of Zurich society, just as the exhibition visitors could be said to represent another sample. In the Helmhaus, the sessions were played back in real time; issues taken up by group members served as a springboard for collective self-reflection. In the Zürcher Hochschule der Künste, Ledare presented the participants' own written anticipations and assessments of the process.

Artist: Teresa Margolles
Host: Sonja Victoria Vera Bohórquez, transgender escort and masseuse

Margolles wanted to set up a poker game scenario between Sonja Victoria Vera Bohórquez, a sex worker from Zurich, and transgender prostitutes from Mexico, with whom the artist has collaborated for several years. She was going to install a poker table in Hotel Rothaus on Langstrasse, Zurich's gentrifying red light district. However, Karla, one of Margolles's Mexican collaborators, was murdered in December 2015; another, Jessica, was in prison in El Paso, Texas. Given these events, Margolles invited Sonja to play the poker game in Ciudad Juárez. Echoes of the femicide are felt in the empty hotel room.

The performance was open to the public and consisted of the four players playing cards and talking with the audience about their situation, life conditions, violence, prejudice, etc. The game was held on Thursday 12 May 2016 at the Hotel Bombín in Ciudad Juarez. The strength shown by them is the key to signal the serious situation of the guild as well as the impunity of the murder of Karla just for being homosexual, old and a prostitute; the murder was neither investigated nor punished.

TERESA MARGOLLES
Artist, Manifesta 11

Artist: Shelly Nadashi
Host: Dr. Margaretha Debrunner, high school teacher, Literargymnasium Rämibühl

The starting point for Shelly Nadashi's project was her translation, supervised by a classics teacher, of a poem taken from Ovid's *Amores*. Nadashi selected a eulogy to a beloved pet parrot, who, being able to 'speak beyond any other bird', was potentially a smaller version of the poet himself. Through an expanded process of translation, she put the comic figure of the parrot centre stage. On view in the Rämibühl school were glass 'incubators' containing a didactic explanation in four steps about the

making of an egg, alongside German and English translations of the ancient Roman poem. The project hatched in the Helmhaus, where Nadashi presented an audio-visual installation.

Artist: Jon Rafman
Host: Oscar Trott, spa founder and manager, float Center Zürich

Jon Rafman draws a parallel between spa facilities and the virtual world of gaming. His video installation in float Center Zürich took the form of an immersive pod inspired by spa architecture and DIY gaming set-ups. Unlike the surrounding flotation tanks, which promise complete relaxation of body and mind through sensory deprivation, here the visitor was consumed by lush and often disturbing imagery sourced from video games. In many ways these installations can be seen to promote a sense of contemplative ill-ease rather than well-being. Sculptures in Löwenbräukunst extended this vision, blurring the lines between the virtual and the real, between consumption and discomfort.

Artist: Torbjørn Rødland
Host: Dr. med. dent. Danielle Heller Fontana, dentist, Heller Kübler Truninger Zahnärzte

In their work, Torbjørn Rødland and Danielle Heller Fontana are both concerned with the aesthetics of the human body. While Zurich's highly regarded dentist aspires to create perfect smiles through precision and technical expertise, Rødland's project is occupied with uncanny associations with teeth. His access to dental examinations and implant production resulted in photographs that were displayed both in the host's office and in Löwenbräukunst. Rather than capturing a dentist's pragmatic viewpoint, they inspect teeth as a symbol for intuitive fears and irrational anxieties.

Artist: Georgia Sagri
Host: Dr. Josephin Varnholt, banker, Bank Julius Baer

Two copies of Georgia Sagri's modular sculpture were presented in Löwenbräukunst and Bank Julius Baer, incorporating the variables of the two contexts and the parameters of accessibility. The identical structures hold signs (painting, text and video) of interactions that happened under the influence of the sculpture's system of support. Sagri is concerned with the construction of identity. 'If I don't question the stereotype of profession,' she has said, 'I am tacitly agreeing with the assumption that identity construction is always based on survival, power, money and control.' The artist instead locates our fundamental 'currencies' in behaviours, describing her own practice as an 'adventure of behaviour'.

GIAN A. ROSSI
Head of Switzerland, Bank Julius Baer

Julius Baer, with its long-standing interest in supporting contemporary Swiss artists through its own art collection, is proud to have hosted Georgia Sagri's artwork as part of Manifesta 11 at the bank's premises. The company feels honoured to have participated in this extraordinary and inspiring biennial which provided new perspectives and offered a platform for reflection, dialogue and an exchange of views during the summer of 2016 in Julius Baer's home market, Switzerland.

Artist: Marco Schmitt
Host: Dr. Reto Scherrer, Head of Communications, Kantonspolizei Zürich

The conflict between freedom and security underlies Marco Schmitt's film, for which visitors had special access to Zurich police headquarters. Schmitt's template was Luis Buñuel's surreal masterpiece *El ángel exterminador* (The Exterminating Angel, 1962), where guests at a dinner party feel themselves, inexplicably, to be trapped in a room. The macabre metaphor from Franco-era Spain is not lost in present-day Zurich, where the crime museum with its renowned collection of weapons, is the claustrophobic setting for the drama. The police officers who took part in Schmitt's method acting workshops can be seen, however, to enjoy the comic relief from their professional personae.

Artist: Santiago Sierra
Host: Marcel Hirschi, *security advisor*, Security & Safety AG

Visitors to the Helmhaus found the museum surrounded by sandbags, that universally recognisable feature of an emergency situation. The windows and entrances were sealed off, leaving only two controlled access points, while the river side bristled with barbed wire. Santiago Sierra worked with a private security company to assess the building's vulnerabilities and to ensure it was physically safe. What kind of threats do these protective measures evoke? 'Imagine this building was not in Zurich, but in Syria or Iraq,' suggests the artist. A time-lapse video installation at Sierra's satellite showed the transformation of the Helmhaus into a protected building.

Artist: Una Szeemann
Hosts: Dr. Peter Hain, psychotherapist, specialist in psychotherapy and childhood and adolescent psychology; Dr. Olaf Knellessen, psychoanalyst

Una Szeemann underwent hypnotherapy at her first host's practice in order to reactivate a vision about her intentions in the form of a seed. Szeemann then created objects that developed from the seed that she described under hypnosis. In the videos that were on display in Dr. Hain's practice, the psychotherapist talks about the process, followed by her second host, a psychoanalyst, Dr. Knellessen, who analyses the objects. By integrating different states of consciousness into the creative process, Szeemann tried to activate alternative sources of inspiration.

Artist: Jennifer Tee
Host: Rolf Steinmann, Head of Zurich Funeral and Cemetery Office

Jennifer Tee explores the relationship between mind and matter, body and soul. Working in the satellite location of Enzenbühl cemetery, she immersed herself in the poignant but everyday work of the undertaker. Her conversations with Rolf Steinmann gravitated towards the moment of transition between the physical materiality of a corpse and disembodied memory. Tee turned her observations into an installation of sculptures, photographs and ethnographic objects, which were shown in the cemetery and Löwenbräukunst.

Artist: Jiří Thýn
Host: Sabrina Meyer, preparator, Institute for Clinical Pathology

Pathologists research clinical abnormalities in the body and carry out autopsies to establish the cause of death. Their work demands that they treat the dead with utmost professionalism and respect. Jiří Thýn is fascinated by this routine relation to death. He contemplated the effect this job has on its practitioner in an intimate exchange of letters with his host, excerpts of which were on display in Löwenbräukunst. In University Hospital Zurich, he covered the grand windows with translucent vinyl and showed a text that reflects on the sublimation of everyday experience into our deeper layers of intuition. The courtyard was only visible through this clear lettering.

Artist: Jorinde Voigt
Host: Melchior Bürgin, boatmaker, Stämpfli Racing Boats AG

As Peter Sloterdijk explains in his book *Stress and Freedom* (2011), Jean-Jacques Rousseau was in a boat on a Swiss lake when he arrived at his notion of freedom, which continues to impact European society to this day. Jorinde Voigt joined these points of reference. Her drawings at Löwenbräukunst were mounted to reflect the dimensions of a 1920 racing boat, which was also on display. Studies for the drawings were shown at Stämpfli Racing Boats AG, where the boat was constructed.

Artist: Franz Erhard Walther
Host: Thomas Deutschenbaur, textile producer and developer, Development Never Stops

Franz Erhard Walther has been making works from fabric since the 1960s. His pioneering work *1. Werksatz* (1963–69) consists of objects made from cotton, with which viewers are invited

to interact: to lie in them, cover themselves with them, or crawl through them. This potential for interaction is a vital part of the work. For Manifesta 11, Walther has collaborated with a textile developer to create a garment made out of Deutschleder. According to Walther, the robust cotton fabric appears ‘fairly exotic in everyday life’, but is not ‘eccentrically costume-like’. Employees of the Kunsthalle and the Park Hyatt hotel could be seen wearing this new design; the hotel employees also carried out special instructions given by Walther.

_____ Hosting Manifesta was a truly unique happening for Zurich. Having been a part of this experience and, what’s more, realising a creative collaboration with Franz Erhard Walther was a great honour for us.

LAURA AMANZI
Director of Marketing and Communications, Park Hyatt Zurich

Artist: Yin Xunzhi
Host: Délia Eberle, flight attendant, Helvetic Airways

Western art historiography still clings to notions of originality and authorship. Yin Xunzhi comes from a different artistic tradition, in which technical skill and the ability to create perfect imitations are sometimes more important.
The Chinese painter is a master of copying iconic works from the Western canon of art history, but he is also motivated to develop new ideas based on inspiration, exchange and his unique ability. For Manifesta 11, Yin Xunzhi painted, among others, a diptych: one part depicts a flight attendant as she travels from Zurich to Beijing, and the other is based on his own journey from smog-filled Beijing to his stereotypical idealisation of Zurich – clean, friendly and bountiful.



Signage for Yin Xunzhi’s satellite, Wings Airline Bar & Lounge



Guided tour of *The Historical Exhibition* by co-curator Francesca Gavin

REACTIONS FROM THE PRESS

_____ Diese Manifesta versucht nicht, den Zürchern ihre Stadt zu erklären oder ihnen eine völlig neue Perspektive auf ihre Lebenswelt zu geben – aber sie stösst viele Türchen und Fensterchen auf, die frische Einblicke und Ausblicke möglich machen.

SAMUEL HERZOG
Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 10 June 2016

_____ Manifesta has a reputation as the most forward thinking of the European biennials, a place for experiment. For all the novelty of its 'joint ventures', the most radical aspect of Jankowski's focus on collaboration and participation is its sincerity. The dignity he affords to work – in this age of economic precariousness, zero-hour contracts, and job instability – feels curiously nostalgic.

BEN EASTHAM
Artsy, 10 June 2016

_____ Deze elfde editie is misschien wel de meest maatschappelijk betrokken aflevering ooit. Kunst staat niet los van de samenleving, zo bewijst deze Manifesta, ze staat er middenin.

SANDRA SMALLENBURG
NRC Handelsblad, 11 June 2016

_____ The artist Christian Jankowski, the curator of the roving European biennial Manifesta 11, which opened in Zurich at the weekend, has taken the concept of art in the community to a new level.

GARETH HARRIS
The Art Newspaper, 14 June 2016

_____ It is this involvement of non-art professionals and their interpretation of the art world that make this Manifesta so successful. It opens up space to question everyday life, space to experience and interpret art in different contexts and vice versa provides a platform to look at contemporary art from an outside non-art perspective. Overall this results in a quite humorous and easy-accessible biennale.

LAVINIA ROSEN
Artdependence, 3 August 2016

_____ Some of the most insightful material to emerge from Manifesta at large is to be found in the organic written reflections on each 'joint venture' offered by the collaborating professionals in the catalogue. Indeed, much of the biennial's discursive force is generated not by art professionals but by the gainfully employed citizens of Zürich, some of whom have also been invited to give weekly gallery talks.

MOSTAFA HEDDAYA
ARTnews, 3 August 2016

_____ *What People Do for Money* offers a kaleidoscopic view of the topic of labour, demonstrated through the constant shifting in tone from overtly political to surreal and absurd. Employing curatorial strategies that emphasize the permeable nature between time and space, work and art, Jankowski creates what Jacques Rancière calls the 'aesthetic experience', with the gallery spaces establishing a 'multiplicity of folds and gaps in the fabric of common experience that changes the cartography of the perceptible.'

SCOTT NORTON
San Francisco Art Quarterly, 5 August 2016



Guided tour of *The Historical Exhibition* at Löwenbräukunst



Andrea Eva Györi's work at Löwenbräukunst

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MANIFESTA 11
ZURICH

Manifesta, the nomadic European Biennial, originated in the early 1990s in response to the political, economic and social change following the end of the Cold War and the subsequent steps towards European integration. Since it started, Manifesta has developed into a platform for dialogue between art and society in Europe, by inviting the cultural and artistic community to produce new creative experiences with, and not for, the context in which it takes place. Manifesta is a site-specific cultural project that rethinks the relations between art and society through a continuous dialogue with the social sphere.

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