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22 Women



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22 Women

A Project by Alfredo Jaar

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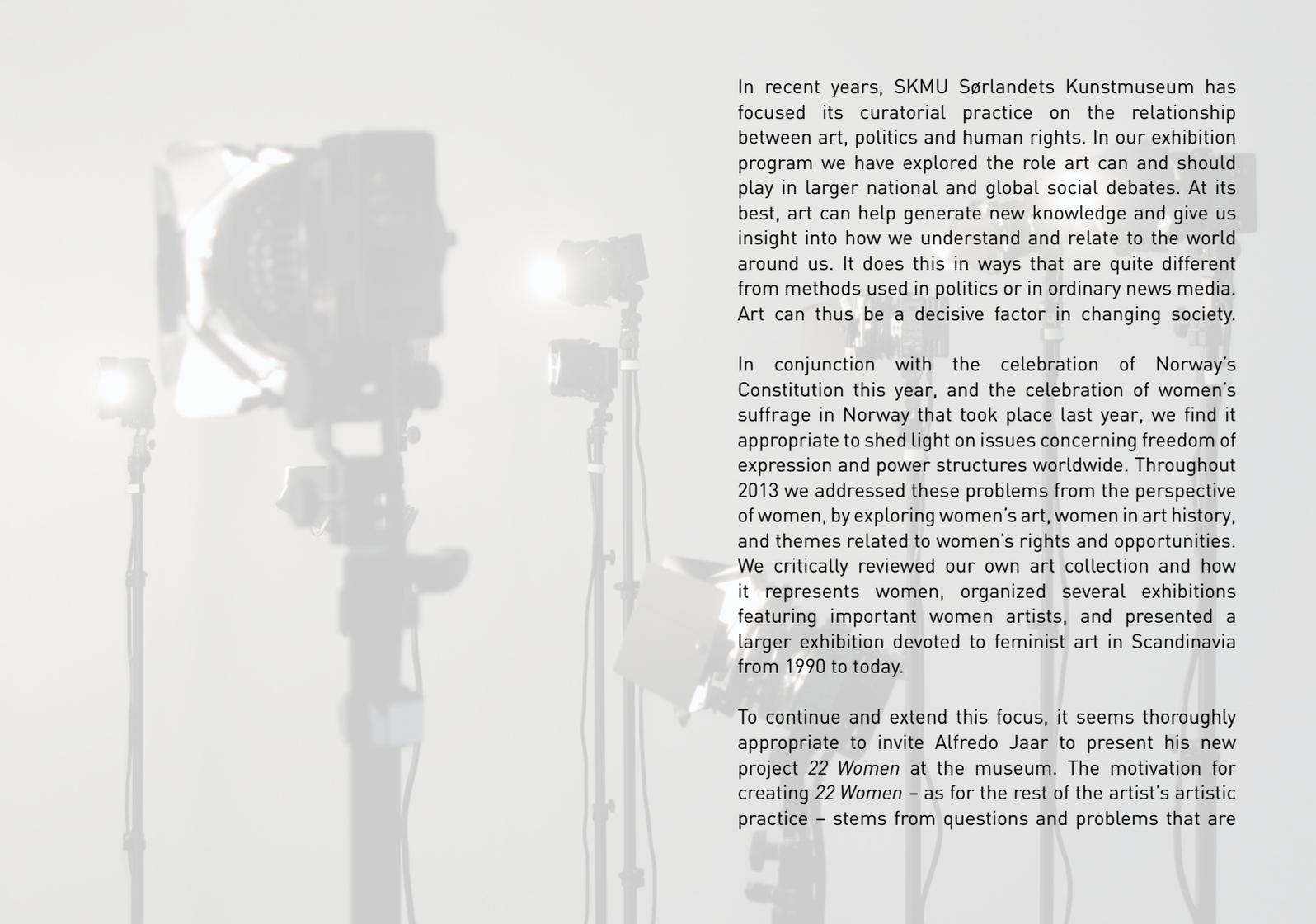
STIFTELSEN 3,14

03. 09. > 01. 11. 2015



22 Women

**Amira Hass
Bertha Oliva
Camila Vallejo
Hawa Abdi
Jenni Williams
Kalpona Akhter
Lina Ben Mhenni
Lydia Cacho
Mahnaz Mohammadi
Malalai Joya
Mathilde Muhindo
Nawal El Saadawi
Ni Yulan
Olayinka Koso-Thomas
Razan Zaitouneh
Sandra Gomes Melo
Susan Burton
Svetlana Gannushkina
Ta Phong Tan
Tetyana Chornovol
Vandana Shiva
Zainab Alkhawaja**



In recent years, SKMU Sørlandets Kunstmuseum has focused its curatorial practice on the relationship between art, politics and human rights. In our exhibition program we have explored the role art can and should play in larger national and global social debates. At its best, art can help generate new knowledge and give us insight into how we understand and relate to the world around us. It does this in ways that are quite different from methods used in politics or in ordinary news media. Art can thus be a decisive factor in changing society.

In conjunction with the celebration of Norway's Constitution this year, and the celebration of women's suffrage in Norway that took place last year, we find it appropriate to shed light on issues concerning freedom of expression and power structures worldwide. Throughout 2013 we addressed these problems from the perspective of women, by exploring women's art, women in art history, and themes related to women's rights and opportunities. We critically reviewed our own art collection and how it represents women, organized several exhibitions featuring important women artists, and presented a larger exhibition devoted to feminist art in Scandinavia from 1990 to today.

To continue and extend this focus, it seems thoroughly appropriate to invite Alfredo Jaar to present his new project *22 Women* at the museum. The motivation for creating *22 Women* – as for the rest of the artist's artistic practice – stems from questions and problems that are

triggered by current social and political conditions. In this project, twenty-two extraordinary women from different places in the world are being brought to light. Despite their exceptional lives, the work they do and the values they represent are typically under-acknowledged, suppressed, or largely ignored. While Jaar's project can be understood as paying homage to these women's efforts to overcome social injustice, it simultaneously acknowledges the lack of recognition they generally receive. Thus the project comments on the undisputable fact that most power areas of the world are still dominated by men, and that women still struggle to be treated as equal.

22 Women is part of a larger project which the artist has been working on for several years. His approach – not only to the theme but also to the problems that are touched upon – is a result of thorough and systematic research. It is important for him to understand the concrete events and conditions under which these women live and work. The first iteration of this larger project, the installation *Three Women*, was presented to the public in 2010. It cast light on Graça Machel (Mozambique), Ela Bhatt (India), and Aung San Suu Kyi (Burma). The project has now grown to include twenty-two more women, and Jaar's plan is to keep expanding it to at least one hundred women.

This booklet gives a short introduction to the twenty-two women and their stories. While they come from different parts of the world and have different backgrounds, they are all exemplar activists in their

own fields. We may have heard about a few of them before, but most of them are sadly unknown, despite the important roles they play in the world today. The exhibition also includes a reading room: books and a wide selection of articles and reports will allow you to immerse yourself in their extraordinary lives and learn more about the important causes for which they fight.

Using a critical and a humanistic worldview, Jaar's project comments on today's world. It reacts to specific events and reveals situations that would otherwise remain largely hidden. It gives us insight into conditions and challenges that fully exist. At the same time, the work challenges us to reflect on our own role and our own responsibility as citizens of the world.

SKMU is proud to be the first institution to present *22 Women*.

Amira Hass

Israel / Palestine



Amira Hass, an Israeli writer, is the first journalist to have lived in Palestinian territories and the only one to have spent close to twenty years there. She started writing for the Israeli daily paper *Haaretz* in 1989. Frustrated by the dismal and incomplete Israeli coverage of Palestinian reality, she moved to Gaza at the end of the first Intifada in 1993. She moved to Ramallah in 1997 and reported there on the daily hardships of Palestinians living under occupation in the West Bank. Her unique position as an Israeli in Palestine as well as her remarkable attempt to objectively criticize abuses from both sides of the conflict have earned her contempt, hate mail, and threats from both Israeli and Palestinian critics. In a highly polarized war where different players thrive on partial reporting and strategic selection of detail — whether it be Hamas, Israel, or their international supporters — her independent reporting is a call to focus on what matters: the state of millions of civilians desperately entrapped in an on-going humanitarian conflict.



Bertha Oliva

Honduras



Bertha Oliva is an activist investigating human rights abuses in Honduras, which the United Nations qualifies as the most violent nation in the world. In 1982 she co-founded the *Committee of Relatives of the Disappeared in Honduras* to investigate political violence and disappearances. Formed in response to the 184 Hondurans who disappeared between 1980 and 1989, including her own husband, the committee's work later expanded to victims of the civil violence that has escalated since the June 2009 coup overthrowing President Manuel Zelaya. She has bravely denounced, investigated, and correlated the relationships between impunity, poverty, street gang violence, and the country's general oppression. At least 15 journalists were killed in 2012, and gang violence is regularly responsible for more than 500 murders per month. Bertha Oliva's work shines light on the overarching factors that precipitated the situation in Honduras, including the CIA's use of Honduras as a military base to fight Nicaragua's communist government in the '80s, the current United States-led war on drugs, and the failed strategy of overmilitarization as a response to violence.



Camila Vallejo

Chile



Camila Vallejo is a former student leader who gained notoriety by co-leading the 2011-13 Chilean student protests and winning a seat in congress at the age of 25. A member of the Communist Youth as a teenager, she advanced her political involvement while studying Geography at the University of Chile, where she became president of the student federation in 2010. The movement that she and her fellow student leaders initiated and led brought hundreds of thousands of protestors together in massive marches, strikes, sit-ins, and flash-mobs, as well as flooding social networks with songs and videos. These protests, the biggest political upheaval since the 1973 military coup, demand the remodeling of the largely privatized educational system, inherited from the dictatorship's 1980 constitution. Camila Vallejo took office in 2014 along with fellow 26-year-old student leader Karol Cariola, to represent the Communist Party. They continue to advocate for education as a fundamental right and not as a source of profit for wealthy entrepreneurs growing richer from young peoples' debt.

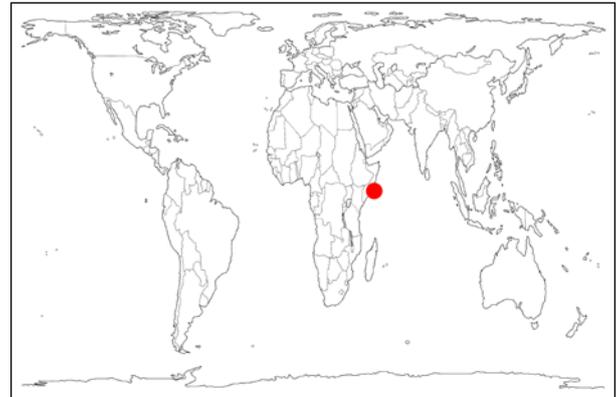


Hawa Abdi

Somalia



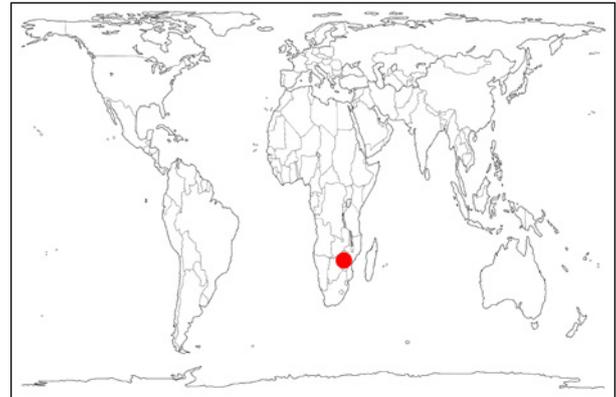
Hawa Abdi is a doctor who became Somalia's first female gynecologist in 1971. She started her medical career working for government hospitals until she opened her own clinic on farmland near Mogadishu. Her goal was to be closer to people living in rural areas and to encourage nomadic women to give birth in safer conditions. When the Somali government collapsed in 1991, one million Somalis fled the country and another million were internally displaced. Hawa Abdi immediately opened her clinic and home to anyone seeking assistance. The clinic eventually grew into a community of 90,000 people and has become the *Dr. Hawa Abdi Foundation*. Hawa Abdi shares any and all of her resources, from her home, food, and personal belongings to her safety, time, health, and medical skills. She does not hesitate to put herself in danger to defend her principles, such as confronting militant attacks against her camp. Assisted by her two daughters who help run the foundation, Hawa Abdi has created a fully functioning micro-society in midst of a country torn apart by two decades of ongoing civil war.



Jenni Williams

Zimbabwe

Jenni Williams is a human rights activist and one of Zimbabwe's boldest voices against the oppressive government of Robert Mugabe, in power since 1987. In 2002, this government forced Jenni Williams to shut down her public relations firm that represented Zimbabwean farmers in a campaign against land reforms that mostly benefitted Mugabe's allies. The same year, in a reaction to elections widely believed to be rigged, Jenni Williams founded *Women of Zimbabwe Arise*. This grassroots opposition movement provides citizens a platform of resistance and pressure against the seemingly unmovable government. Her movement has grown to 75,000 members and has organized over 100 peaceful demonstrations defending democracy and human rights, notably during Mugabe's 2008 and 2013 equally dubious re-elections. In light of the police's regular use of beating, harassing, and imprisonment against protestors, the movement's dedication to non-violence is particularly commendable. Increasingly dangerous actions by the government have forced her husband and three children to flee the country. Despite these familial costs and more than thirty arrests over the past twelve years, Jenni Williams has chosen to stay in Zimbabwe to continue her work.



Kalpona Akhter

Bangladesh



Kalpona Akhter is a labor activist who started working in a Bangladeshi sweatshop factory at the age of twelve. She was paid less than ten US dollars per month for 450 hours of work and was fired at sixteen for trying to organize a workers union demanding better wages. Since then she has tirelessly worked to improve labor conditions for the 3.6 million garment industry workers in her country. In 2001 she co-founded the *Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity*. Despite the temporary revocation of its operating license and the murder of one of its organizers, the center continues advancing workers' rights by building unions, calling for safe workplaces, and obtaining accountability from foreign corporations. Kalpona Akhter's efforts have contributed to over 150 corporate brands signing the first legally binding accord on factory safety. Aware of Bangladesh's vital reliance on its garment industry, which represents 78% of its exports, she keeps advocating for fair and longstanding working relationships between corporations, factories, and their millions of workers and their families.



Lina Ben Mhenni

Tunisia



Lina Ben Mhenni is a blogger and cyber-activist. She started the blog *A Tunisian Girl* to chronicle social issues in her home country. Lina Ben Mhenni experienced censorship for the first time in 2008 when attempting to comment on the Gasfa Mining Basin revolt, which was brutally suppressed by Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's regime. Despite her subsequent escalating battle with censorship, she has expanded her web activism to platforms like Twitter and Facebook and has coordinated online campaigns, student strikes, flash-mobs, and peaceful street protests. Lina Ben Mhenni's initiative and determination, combined with the fact that she uses her real name when reporting, made her stand out quickly as one of the upheaval's front-line leaders, both online and on-the-ground. Her movement, primarily aimed at defying censorship, exploded in December 2010 after Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation in Sidi Bouzid. Combined with other movements, her activism fueled a full-scale revolution that ended Ben Ali's twenty-three-year-long dictatorship in 2011, and triggered a revolutionary wave throughout the region known as the Arab Spring.



Lydia Cacho

Mexico



Lydia Cacho, a journalist and writer, is a defender of women's rights and a persistent critic of Mexico's culture of impunity. In a country where 90% of violent crimes are not investigated, she has researched and exposed abuses ranging from Cancún's sex tourism to violence against women, pedophilia, and sex trafficking. Rape, prison, death threats, and assassination attempts have not stopped Lydia Cacho from bringing these issues to light through her writing, reporting, and firm stand against Mexico's judicial system. Never shying away from dangerous and controversial matters, she notably exposed scandals about powerful businessmen and politicians involved in human trafficking and pedophilia rings. In 2007 she lost a lawsuit against several officials of Puebla, including its governor, after being abducted and threatened to death by police officers. While nine out of ten women in Mexico never report abuse, Lydia Cacho was the first woman to take her case to the Supreme Court. She has been offered asylum in many countries in response to the escalating threats and assassination attempts on her life, but she refuses exile and continues to work in Mexico.



Mahnaz Mohammadi

Iran



Mahnaz Mohammadi is an Iranian documentary filmmaker currently detained in Evin prison on the outskirts of Tehran. In 2006 her film *Travelogue* documenting Iranians fleeing the country through Turkey earned her a travel ban. She was arrested three times prior to her current sentence. Once was for laying flowers on the tomb of Neda Agha-Soltan, a 26-year-old woman who became a rallying symbol for the anti-government movement after being shot during protests against the 2009 re-election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Mahnaz Mohammadi worked on *We Are Half of Iran's Population*, a documentary by fellow filmmaker Rakhshan Bani-Etemad about women's demands during the 2009 election campaign. Her work as a cinematographer exemplifies how change can be incubated through culture. Additionally, Mahnaz Mohammadi has produced short documentaries about Iranian women for news outlets like Al-Jazeera. Operating in a country where collaborating with foreign media that are considered subversive by the government is perceived as espionage, her actions made her culpable of "endangering national security" and promoting "propaganda against the Iranian regime." This led to a five-year prison sentence starting in June of 2014.



Malalai Joya

Afghanistan



Malalai Joya was the youngest Parliamentarian to be elected at the National Assembly of Afghanistan, where she served for two years. She was dismissed in 2007 for outspokenly denouncing the corruption and presence of warlords, criminals, and drug barons in the Afghan Parliament. She then became a writer and activist and has since suffered fierce harassment, death threats, and several assassination attempts. She flees from safe house to safe house and must travel with guards at all times. From 1998 to 2001, under the Taliban regime and prior to her abruptly shortened political career, Malalai Joya organized underground schools for girls. In 2003 she opened the first free clinic in Farah Province, despite threats from local warlords. Since dismissal, her work to encourage Afghan women to seek an education and vote continues underground. Malalai Joya also campaigns around the country and the world, denouncing the corruption of United States and NATO-backed politicians, as well as the United States and NATO themselves for committing violence of equal cruelty to the Taliban whom they fight.



Mathilde Muhindo

Democratic
Republic
of the Congo



Mathilde Muhindo was a member of the Congolese parliament from 2003 to 2005. A midwife by training, she created a parliamentary committee to investigate the use of rape as a weapon of war. She also fiercely pushed for laws against sexual violence and pressured the United States and the European Union to acknowledge and address the rampant atrocities plaguing her country. The thirty-one-year-long dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko, installed and supported by Belgium and the United States in 1965, has ravaged the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Mobutu's regime was followed by civil war. This conflict, considered the deadliest since World War II, has so far killed 5 million people and displaced another 2 million. The country's 80% youth unemployment rate drives militia enrollment and feeds a cycle of conflict, rape, and sexual enslavement. Mathilde Muhindo now directs the *Olame Center* in South Kivu. The center enables women to fight sexual violence by providing them with medical and psychological support, job training, health and nutrition programs, as well as creating pathways for microfinance and community reconciliation.



Nawal El Saadawi

Egypt



Nawal El Saadawi, a doctor and writer, has been one of Egypt's most committed activists over the past five decades. She was fired from the Health Ministry in 1972 for openly discussing taboos, particularly Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), and was forced to flee the country from 1988 to 1996 to escape death threats and political persecution. She nevertheless continues to fight FGM, which affects 90% of Egyptian women, and to challenge related social problems such as honor killings, sexual repression, rape, and censorship. Through writing, teaching, founding organizations, organizing conferences, and protesting, Nawal El Saadawi consistently brings fiery issues into the open from medical and anthropological angles. Notably, she founded the *Arab Women's Solidarity Association* in 1982 and published dozens of books, including fiction, non-fiction, plays, short stories, and memoirs. In 2011, at the age of eighty, she camped in Tahrir Square and co-organized the *Million Women's March* to encourage younger activists. She remains a role model for Egyptian youth to this day.



Ni Yulan

China



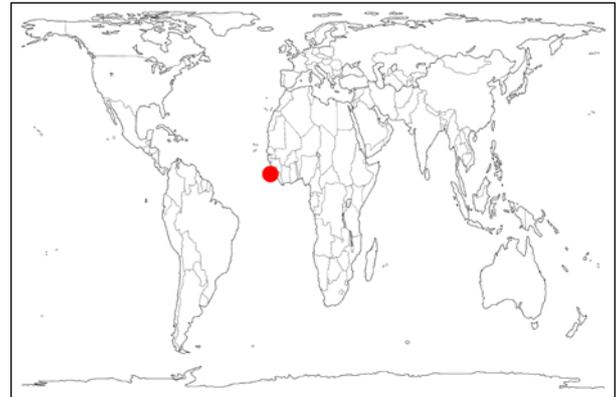
Ni Yulan is a civil rights lawyer relentlessly and violently harassed in retaliation for giving free legal advice to citizens persecuted by Chinese authorities. The victims she defends include displaced residents, notably visible prior to the 2008 Beijing Olympics, as well as individuals persecuted for their spiritual beliefs, like Falun Gong practitioners. In 2002 Ni Yulan was imprisoned for “disrupting public service” as she documented the destruction of a neighbor’s home. While in prison she was so severely beaten that she can no longer walk. This has not stopped authorities from twice more imprisoning her and putting her under house arrest. Her own family home was demolished in 2008, forcing her to camp in a Beijing park. She was then evicted from the park and forced to move into a hotel, where electricity and water were soon cut off. Meanwhile, she was simultaneously banned from renting any place or staying with friends. Ni Yulan was last released from prison in October 2013. She continues to be ill and appears muted by the authorities’ continuous watch and censorship.



Olayinka Koso-Thomas

Nigeria /
Sierra Leone

Olayinka Koso-Thomas is a gynecologist who has committed her life to campaigning against Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). Generally mutilated between infancy and 15 years of age, approximately 130 million women have been subjected to FGM worldwide, 91 million in Africa alone. Typically carried out in homes, hidden from view and under poor sanitary conditions, cutting frequently leads to infections, complications, and death. Originally from Nigeria, Olayinka Koso-Thomas works in Sierra Leone where the FGM rate is around 94%, among the world's highest. Despite receiving numerous death threats and being accused of witchcraft, Olayinka Koso-Thomas works tirelessly on grassroots campaigns that educate about FGM through writing and in-person discussions with people and circumcisers across villages. She advocates for social, religious, and cultural change by educating highly illiterate areas, empowering individuals to make their own decisions, exposing the medical risks of FGM, and condemning the economic motives behind this cruel practice. Her success nurturing a movement to eradicate FGM is particularly noteworthy in a country where politicians earn their popularity sponsoring the circumcision of young girls.



Razan Zaitouneh

Syria



Razan Zaitouneh is a Syrian human rights lawyer turned journalist who disappeared in December 2013. Working as a lawyer prior to the current Syrian conflict, she specialized in defending victims of human rights violations committed by the government. In 2001 she became one of the youngest and most active members of the *Human Rights Association in Syria*, the first human rights group established under Bashar al-Assad. Razan Zaitouneh was so politically outspoken that the government imposed a travel ban on her. Later she founded the *Syrian Human Rights Information Link* to legally represent political prisoners. Her work gradually branched into journalism as the civil war began in 2011. Razan Zaitouneh specifically focused her reporting on the peaceful aspects of the uprising (before the situation degenerated), and on denouncing abuses committed by security forces. Despite threats of getting arrested and risking her life each time she used her phone or the internet, she kept reporting until the end of 2013, when she and three of her colleagues were kidnapped. Razan Zaitouneh's whereabouts are still unknown.



Sandra Gomes Melo

Brazil



Sandra Gomes Melo is a human rights attorney who has focused her work on addressing violence against women. As head of the Women's Prison in Brasilia, she battled the chronic problem of men abandoning their imprisoned wives by creating prison education programs. These programs provide women the professional skills needed to achieve independence when they return to civilian life. Currently she serves as director of the Brasilia Civil Police Academy, where her background in law improves on-the-ground investigations and enables her to provide victims with quality legal advice. Shortly after joining the police academy, she created a mobile police unit to reach women in disadvantaged communities who are less informed about their rights. These women are encouraged and supported to come forward, thereby contributing to the overall reduction of domestic violence. Her persistent improvements allow the academy to stand as a role model for Brazil's larger law enforcement community, which has a history of precipitating violence. In a country where domestic abuse kills ten women every day, Sandra Gomes Melo's work is a vital breach into the culture's acceptance of violence against women.



Susan Burton

United States



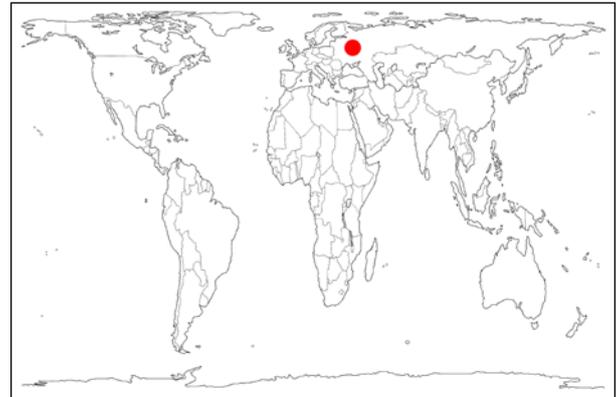
Susan Burton has dedicated her life to assisting former prisoners and confronting the system of mass incarceration in the United States. A former inmate herself, she was originally convicted for drug use caused by the trauma of losing her five-year-old son, killed in a road accident by an off-duty police officer. She spent twenty years in and out of prison, trapped in a vicious cycle of recidivism and renewed sentences. As one of the 75% of incarcerated people in the United States who return to prison within five years, Susan Burton was stuck. She recognized that the system prevents prisoners from returning to normal life by refusing them housing assistance, food aid, professional licensing, and narrowing their access to employment. In 1998 Susan Burton founded *A New Way of Life*, an organization which provides shelter and assistance to other women released from prison. Susan Burton's work also draws attention to the fact that people of color, 30% of the general population, account for 60% of the prisoners in the United States, by far the country with the highest incarceration rate in the world.



Svetlana Gannushkina

Russia

Svetlana Gannushkina is a Russian activist who focuses on defending migrant rights and fighting ethnic persecution. For the past thirty years she paired her career as a mathematician and professor with her activism. During the Karabakh conflict (1988-1994) she assisted hundreds of Armenian and Azeri prisoners of war to return home. In 1990 she co-founded the *Civic Assistance Committee*, which provides on-going medical, social, legal, and financial support to thousands of refugees, internally displaced people, and labor immigrants. Svetlana Gannushkina also tackles rising trends of Russian ultra-nationalism and xenophobia. She has openly denounced the state's brutality against immigrants, particularly Chechens and citizens of post-Soviet states like Ukraine. In 2002, Svetlana Gannushkina served on the Presidential Commission for Human Rights. She visited, documented, and publicized the atrocities committed in Chechen refugee camps, despite threats from authorities deliberately trying to prevent her from communicating with refugees. Her reporting amplifies the work of journalists, many of whom have been murdered with little or no investigation. Svetlana Gannushkina fights for freedom of expression and continues to engage in numerous non-violent protests against impunity, corruption, and ultra-nationalism.



Ta Phong Tan

Vietnam

Ta Phong Tan is a former police officer who, outraged by abuses committed by the Vietnamese police, switched careers to become a journalist, blogger, and writer. She started a blog in 2006 called *Justice and Truth* to report on human rights violations committed by the government, particularly police abuses, corruption, and censorship. That same year, the Communist Party revoked her membership after the BBC News started publishing her articles on their Vietnamese website. The frequency of her arrests, interrogations, and detentions escalated until 2011, when she was arrested and accused of “distorting the truth and denigrating the party and state.” In 2012 her trial for this arrest was repeatedly postponed without reason. Ta Phong Tan’s mother self-immolated in protest of her daughter’s detention, and she died from her wounds on the way to the hospital. Despite an international outcry from the United Nations, the United States, the World Organization Against Torture, and Amnesty International, Ta Phong Tan was sentenced to ten years in prison. She is imprisoned to this day, along with over thirty other bloggers, all condemned for their reporting using digital media.



Tetyana Chornovol

Ukraine



Tetyana Chornovol is an activist and, to many Ukrainians, a symbol of the peoples' war against corruption and a heroine of the EuroMaidan revolution. Prior to the 2013 uprising, she focused on political corruption and published many articles that began to shine light on pivotal public scandals such as the criminal background and eccentric personal property of then-president Viktor Yanukovich. In 2013 she exposed similar controversies about several government officials' lavish residences and was immediately beaten with extraordinary violence, ostensibly in retaliation for her revelations. In March 2014 Tetyana Chornovol was appointed to lead the government's new National Anti-Corruption Committee. Her position drained her as she battled against parliamentarians, judges, police staff, and prosecutors who, still in power from the pre-revolution government, kept obstructing her efforts. Her work was then further stonewalled by the oligarchs' control of the Ukrainian media, making her efforts even less visible. In August 2014 the killing of her husband, a volunteer fighter in eastern Ukraine, topped her desperation and led to her resignation in protest against the system.



Vandana Shiva

India



Vandana Shiva is an environmental activist who defends food rights, biodiversity, organic farming practices, and fair trade in India and across the world. She has co-authored more than twenty books on the subject as well as founded and co-started various organizations including the *Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology*, the biodiversity conservation initiative *Navdanya*, and the *Women's Environment and Development Organization*. She regularly decries problems arising from politicians, businesses, and economists' obsessive use of growth and GDP as the main measurements of wealth and development. Vandana Shiva advocates for more holistic measurements of success by including non-economic indicators such as dignity and sustainability, while also pressuring the World Bank and the World Trade Organization to better assess their impacts on local people. She has revealed that organizations such as these create seed monopolies, water and food droughts, and vicious debt cycles all under the auspices of free trade. Vandana Shiva urges that models for globalization be re-imagined.



Zainab Alkhwaja

Bahrain



Zainab Alkhwaja is a pro-democracy activist and one of the most prominent voices of the Bahraini uprising. Known for her leadership via online social networks, she has been arrested and imprisoned several times in retaliation for her civil disobedience, pressed with charges such as “illegal gathering of more than five people” and “participating in an illegal march.” Zainab Alkhwaja uncompromisingly denounces the government’s violent use of mass arrests and torture against opposition, as well as its manipulation of information in an effort to divert the uprising into a sectarian conflict. As she points out, Shia and Sunni peacefully cohabited for generations and originally united against the monarchy in a peaceful, cross-sectarian manner. Zainab Alkhwaja also condemns the United States for supporting the monarchy and continuing to use Bahrain for military purposes. She was released from prison in February 2014. She continues to call for the release of the near 3000 other Bahraini political prisoners still behind bars including her uncle as well as her father, the former president of the *Bahrain Center for Human Rights*, who is currently serving a life sentence.





The artist wishes to express his deep gratitude and admiration to the 22 extraordinary women presented in this project: *Your life gives us meaning.*

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A Project by Alfredo Jaar

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