ECHOES

EUROPEAN COLONIAL HERITAGE MODALITIES IN ENTANGLED CITIES

Methodological Toolkit

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INTRODUCTION ***by Casper Andersen, Britta Timm Knudsen and Christoffer Kølvraa***

This document represents the 'Methodological toolkit' for the Horizon2020 Project ECHOES; European Colonial Heritage Modalities in Entangled Cities. The ECHOES Project brings together scholars from a wide range of disciplines and nationalities and entails cases in cityscapes from Asia, Africa and South America and from Northern, Western, Southern and Eastern Europe. ECHOES focuses on various forms and levels of engagements with colonial heritage from local street performances to EU political discourse. The overall aim is to investigate decolonial heritage practices outside Europe in former colonized territories with multiple and different histories of colonialisms as well as to look at decolonial practices inside Europe while keeping in mind the very different trajectories of the different European colonial projects. The fact that Europe's colonial past is simultaneously present as an undeniable heritage in its cities, institutions and international relationships, and also constantly 'echoed' back to it from the former colonized 'outside' constitutes both the challenge and the promise of the ECHOES project; to look for way in which to engage a decolonized future by seeking inspiration in how the colonial past is managed, transformed and worked on by various artistic, political, heritage or civil actors in cityscapes within and beyond the with European continent.

The wide interdisciplinary, geographically, cultural and socio-politically localized perspectives as well as its transnational scope and participation is one of the great strengths of ECHOES. It also demands, however, that the necessary flexibility required by such a heterogeneous field of interests, contexts and approaches, be balanced with a concern for maintaining and facilitating cohesion across the project. Sharing a common theoretical, methodological and analytical vocabulary – developed, discussed and brought into being in and through the joint effort of producing the contents of this 'Methodological Toolkit' – is what secures sufficient cohesion to ground the ambition of engendering cooperation between scholars with different backgrounds and interests. Moreover, this shared vocabulary is prerequisite for providing a deeper understanding of colonial heritage in Europe and beyond, through comparisons and contrasts between the many different cases included in ECHOES.

In this short introduction we will first more fully present the idea, ambitions and structure of the ECHOES project. We will then further discuss the challenges faced and the solutions chosen in relation to working on a 'methodological toolkit' for a project of this size and heterogeneity; more specifically this entails explaining why the toolkit ultimately has taken the form of a collection of 'ECHOES keywords'.

The ECHOES Project

ECHOES brings together scholars from University of Cape Town, Fudan University (Shanghai), Federal University of Rio de Janeiro State, University of Coimbra, University of Warzaw, University of Rennes, University of Amsterdam, Aarhus University and University of Hull, to address European colonialism as a complex heritage in European history that has not adequately made it into a public narrative at European level. ECHOES faces this deficit and proposes to Europeanize colonial heritage by developing new models of engaging with this legacy, both at the level of exploring and developing decolonial entanglements

between different European and non-European societies and cities, and at the level of the European Union. "Europeanizing" difficult colonial heritage is becoming all the more necessary because the EU is increasingly operating in contexts, relationships and geographies where its deficit towards accepting colonialism as a part of *European* history – and not just as one parceled out to individual nation-states – is counter-productive inside as well as outside Europe.

To remedy this, it is necessary to examine the internal memory discourses and silences of European institutions. This project includes such a politico-institutional dimension but it also moves beyond it to explore how colonial heritage is being practiced and is re-emerging in new and dynamic ways in and through the entanglements of European and non-European *cities*.

ECHOES adopt a multi-dimensional view on colonialism, as it investigates contemporary sites of entanglements between former colonizers and colonized both inside and outside of Europe through the lens of *de-coloniality*. To opt for the concept of de-coloniality means firstly acknowledging the dynamic role of globalization with its global networks and mobilities, while at the same time accepting that globalization and increased mobility is framed, perceived and embodied differently depending on the place we inhabit; secondly, to break with the dominant Western epistemology and make former marginal voices and bodies seen and heard; and thirdly to build "new" entangled partnerships and forms of diplomacy between Europe and the countries formerly colonized that proposes alternatives to ignorance or Eurocentrism. We argue for a 'lateral universalism' as an alternative to the 'exceptionalist universal' that is just masked eurocentrism. A lateral universalism is open-ended and it has to prove itself in the way it fights for emancipation for all (Amselle et Diagne 2018: 85).

The investigation of entanglements involves the following cities: Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon, Nuuk, Copenhagen, Bristol, Cape Town, Marseille, Shanghai, Amsterdam, Warzaw. The project views these cities as important sites of entanglements and nodal points through which former imperial connections passed and were condensed, and in which the legacies and traces of colonialism are manifest. The urban areas in the studied cities are first and foremost characterized by Europeans and large numbers of migrants from Europe's ex-colonies, shorter or longer-term contract employees, tourists, visitors and passers-through of all kinds that in themselves are the visible traces of colonial ties and of increased mobility. The migrant communities change the cities they inhabit by introducing new global connections and flows of resources and by obviously deconstructing the binary opposition between 'insider and outsider' exactly because their very presence in the cities makes an 'old' and in many cases repressed or forgotten mobility flow between 'colony' and 'metropole' re-emerge.

Cities, therefore, are important nodal points of entangled imperial systems. Cities are the sites of important heritage organizations such as large metropolitan museums and arts galleries. They are also sites of new heritage practices, many of which are associated with specific city "quarters" or "districts" that are identified with specific ethnic groups both historically and in the present day. These neighborhoods typically reveal themselves to be sites of divergent cultural practices, whether formal or informal (festivals, fairs, parades) which see citizens inhabiting and appropriating particular spaces often possessing direct links to the colonial past. Cities are often where dominant discourses around heritage are created, where divergent heritage

practices occur and where political battles around processes of representation and recognition of heritage happen.

ECHOES work on colonial heritage in different settings of the city and with different actors.:, with institutionalized spaces such as museums, memorial landscapes, monuments, and with citizen engagements, activities and artistic creations. The project aims at forming hybrid clusters of scholars, EU-officials and partners in the selected cities including museum experts, activists and artists as well as citizens. By circulating practices and knowledge in cities and between cities ECHOES will contribute to creating connections and renewed entanglements between these actors and activities. The inter-city dialogue on colonial heritage constitute the first – or horizontal – level of science diplomacy within the project. The second – or vertical – level of science diplomacy involves policy makers and professionals within the relevant European institutions. The exchange at both horizontal and vertical levels aims to bring forward a de-colonial perspective on Europe's global engagements and promote innovative approaches to science diplomacy. To achieve this end, ECHOES conceptually develops the notion of science diplomacy which in an EU context traditionally have been approached from a "diffusionist perspective" in which Europe diffuses experts, knowledge, equipment and ideas to further diplomatic relations with partners outside Europe. In the traditional understanding of science diplomacy, heritage concerns archaeology in conflict-ridden areas where the EU assists partners outside Europe to their work to secure endangered heritage. The ECHOES approach to science diplomacy is fundamentally different as the role of ECHOES is to serve as a link or interface between on the one-hand citizen groups and institutions inside and outside Europe and on the other hand stakeholders and policy makers within the EU system. ECHOES finds the conceptual basis for this function in the notion of intercultural dialogue and what Wole Soyinka has labeled "the hermeneutics of listening". The aim of ECHOES is, in this respect, ultimately, to develop decolonial practices of sciences diplomacy.

Constructing a Methodological Toolkit for ECHOES

As already indicated the idea of a common 'methodological toolkit' shared across ECHOES situated itself in a field of tensions generated simply by the need to, on the one hand, respect and make room for a productive variety of approaches and cases, while, on the other hand, ensuring that such heterogeneity does not lead to fragmentation. The concern has been to ensure cohesion without enforcing homogeneity. Through our discussions it quickly became apparent that the answer concerned both the process through which the toolkit would come into being as well as the form which it would eventually take.

Regarding the latter there was a shared feeling that the designator 'methodological toolkit' served well to convey the ultimate ambition of thinking through how the ideas and aims embodied in ECHOES necessarily spilled over into methodological concerns such as how research questions were asked, to how empirical material should be gathered and how to 'read' colonial heritage practices. But we did not want to allow the connotations of a strict 'rulebook' to determine our discussions or destination. We rejected both the notion that working on a common methodological toolkit had to necessarily mean the hegemonic instituting of a standard universalist 'laboratory' procedure. And we also rejected the idea of an absolute

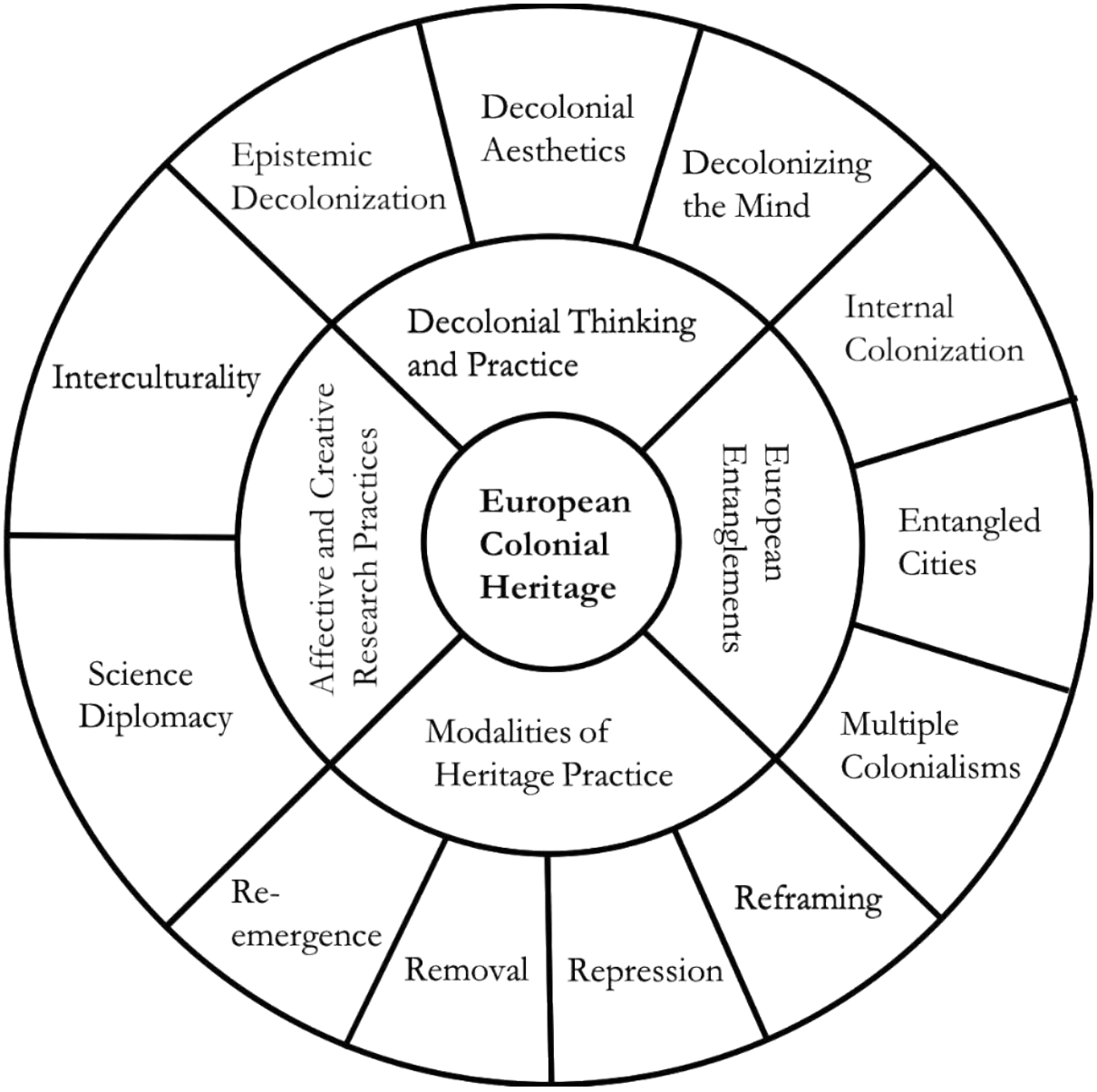
relativity and lack of intercultural translation between our cities. The decolonial values at the heart of ECHOES insist that we remain vary of epistemologies wielding claims to universal validity and applicability and at the same time acknowledging the connections and interculturality of all our heterogenous areas of study.

Thus the cohesion of our methodological toolkit would be the cohesion of an ongoing conversation rather than that of a final authoritative law. This meant that instead of pushing towards a set of 'standards' or 'rules' for how things were to be done, we would instead concentrate on collectively generating a common vocabulary which could ground and make mutually intelligible the ongoing discussion about what we were doing – or hoping to do. In more concrete terms we therefore became much more inspired by how other scholarly projects or activist collectivities had utilized the textual form of a collection of interrelated 'Keywords', such as can be found in Shepard and Robins' 'New South African Keywords' and the web-based keywords anthology from the Pew Center for Arts & Heritage, Philadelphia for contemporary cultural practice featuring essays and interviews from artists, curators and scholars.

Beyond however the shift in form, it was also – partly exactly because of the transition to thinking in terms of various distinct 'keywords' – necessary to think through and establish a procedure which would include and generate a common ownership and attachment to this vocabulary across the project. More fundamentally we needed to avoid that another form of hegemonic monologue imposed itself through an anonymized and 'encyclopedic' voice decreeing beyond reproach what this or that keyword could mean; we wanted in other words to reject the false universality of any one of us speaking in the name of ECHOES as such. The simple solution is that each keyword has its authorship clearly marked. The text of a given keyword therefore represents a specific reading of what it might mean in an ECHOES context, but does not presume this to be the end of the story, or to be a dogma consensually signed up to part and parcel by all voices in the project. The process leading up to the actual writing of most of the keywords by the various scholars across the project, sought conversely to ensure that un-privileging consensus did not mean giving up on intercultural conversation. In a very concrete way this conversation was engendered in meetings and workshops arranged in Hull, Warsaw, Lisbon, Marseille and Amsterdam, where core terms, ideas, approaches or theories – in other words the various elements which could be collected under different 'keywords' - were considered, debated and put in relation to the accumulating experience of working empirically in the different cities, as well as offered for comment or critique from invited guests be they academics, artists or activists.

Whereas the main product of these discussions is the keywords and therefore make up the bulk of this document, we have chosen to include also the "echoes" of the discussions which brought them into being. We do this by including – in the appendix - a select number of the papers given at our various workshops. The papers can be divided in three sections that treats the decolonial perspective on three different levels, a conceptual of the key-concept of colonialism, a level of practices in urban spaces and a more concrete level of decolonial methods in education, museum exhibition and in research. The papers thus unfold and expand the scope of our research in the keywords.

ECHOES KEYWORDS



Decolonial Thinking and Practice *by Nick Shepherd*

Decolonial thinking and practice, also the modernity/coloniality/decoloniality (MCD) project, is the collective project of a group of South- and Central-American (or "Latin American") thinkers, writers and activists, that gained momentum in the period post-2000, but has only broken the horizon of visibility in the Anglo-American academy in the last ten years or so. It is associated with such key figures as the Argentine-Mexican writer and philosopher, Enrique Dussel, the Peruvian Sociologist, Anibal Quijano, the Colombian Philosopher, Santiago Castro-Gomez, the UC Berkeley-based Sociologist, Ramon Grosfoguel, and the Rutgers University-based Philosopher, Nelson Maldonado-Torres (Shepherd in press). The English-language publications of Walter Mignolo, based at Duke University, have done a great deal to broaden the appeal of this important critique (Mignolo 1999, 2003, 2005, 2011), as have two further, key publications: the 2008 publication in English of the Colombian-American Anthropologist Arturo Escobar's major work *Territories of Difference: Place, Movement, Life, Redes*; and the publication in the same year of the volume *Coloniality At Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate* (Morana et al 2008). Apart from these more self-consciously academic framings, decolonial thinkers point to deeper points of origin, including the Bandung Conference, the work of the anticolonial and antiracist thinker and revolutionary Frantz Fanon, and the thinking and practice of Amilcar Cabral, Aimé Césiare, Rigoberta Menchú, Gloria Anzaldúa, amongst others.

One way of understanding the scope and originality of the MCD project (or "decolonial thinking and practice") and of distinguishing it from other, similar projects - like postcolonial theory – is to follow some of the conceptual moves that decolonial thinkers make in their critique of colonial modernity. The first of the three conceptual moves that I will outline here is a geographical / temporal move that serves to reframe our understanding of the relationship between colonialism and modernity. Canonical postcolonial thinkers have tended to focus on the British and French colonial experiences and empires. For Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978), this meant the Levant, North Africa and the "Near" and "Middle" East (the spatial locators, of course, reference Europe). For Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, in different ways, this meant the British colonial experience in India. For other postcolonial thinkers, especially scholars of postcolonial literatures (and it has preeminently been the fields of Literary Studies and Comparative Literature that have driven the postcolonial project) the comparatively late colonial experience in Africa has been important. One unintended consequence of this focus is that it has done little to disturb the orthodox account of the relationship between colonialism and modernity. According to this narrative – relayed to all of us at some point in the course of our training – modernity is a phenomenon that begins in Europe, and is associated with various advances in technology and the world of ideas: the secularization of knowledge, the rise of the individual, a new trust in the scientific process, and the idea of progress linked to technological developments that promised to unlock the future (Delanty 2007, Giddens 1990, 1998). In this perspective, colonialism becomes an epiphenomenon, a "secondary symptom" of modernity; unfortunate, but not causally related to the main event, which is modernity itself. In part, this is achieved through a temporal sleight of hand: the British, French, and even the Dutch colonial empires, tend to post-date major events

in the timeline of European modernity. Thus, the first move carried out by decolonial thinkers is to shift attention to the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires inaugurated by the Colombian crossing of the 1490s, and the almost simultaneous rounding of the Cape of Good Hope (Mignolo 1999, 2005, 2011). They argue that the flow of wealth from the New World to the Old, and from the plantation economies of the Atlantic World, were key drivers of European modernity, along with flows of people, ideas, technologies, pathogens, and new, exploitable plant and animal species. In this perspective, colonialism is present as an economic and political institution at the birth of modernity, and far from being an epiphenomenon becomes its inescapable other "face", albeit a face that is generally disavowed in conventional narratives of modernity. As Mignolo puts it: "there is no modernity without coloniality". He writes: "The basic thesis is the following: 'modernity' is a European narrative that hides its darker side, 'coloniality'. Coloniality, in other words, is constitutive of modernity – there is no modernity without coloniality" (Mignolo 2008: 39).

The second of the three conceptual "moves" carried out by decolonial thinkers is to foreground questions of knowledge in their analysis. This is in contrast to underdevelopment theory, world systems theory and Marxism and neo-Marxism, which tend to foreground questions of political economy and social organization. It is also in contrast to postcolonial theory, which has tended to focus on questions of culture and representation, rather than on knowledge *per se*. Decolonial thinkers tell the following story in relation to the coloniality of knowledge, which I will render here as a kind of fable. The founding move of Western knowledge is to universalize its terms, to become *all* knowledge. In its historical encounter with ways of thinking and being in other parts of the world, typically two things happen. The first is that it internalizes, or "eats" (or "cannibalizes") elements of local knowledge that it finds useful or compatible. This is almost always done in unacknowledged ways, and it almost always involves trimming or editing these elements of local knowledge of any radical or critical potential. In this way, Western knowledge appropriates core elements of local knowledge, in the process reframing these elements and claiming them for its own. The second thing that typically happens in the encounter between Western knowledge reframed as universal knowledge, and local knowledge, is that Western knowledge subalternizes or destroys (or "extirpates") local knowledge traditions and practices. The particular form in which this subalternization of local knowledge takes place is instructive. Local knowledge practices are placed under the heading of culture, tradition, or belief; in other words, they figure as forms of "non-knowledge". As such they become the object of study of the discipline of anthropology (Shepherd 2016, Shepherd in press, Mignolo in press).

Apart from this historical drama, reproduced and recapitulated in encounters across the globe over the last 500 years, the other aspect of modern Western knowledge that decolonial thinkers critique is its tendency to operationalize itself around a series of key oppositions: subject vs. object, reason vs. emotion, mind vs. body, nature vs. culture, white vs. black, male vs. female, head vs. heart, present vs. past, and so on. These binary terms and their cascading systems of value create an "inside" and an "outside". To be "inside" is to be white, to be given to reason, to live in the present, to own and make culture, to be a subject of universal history, and so on. The territory outside is ceded to beings described as black, as well as to women, emotion,

passion, the body, nature, and so on. One effect of this binary structure is to produce a radically restricted conception of what knowledge is and how knowledge proceeds. Knowledge becomes a matter of reason (not emotion), the head (not the heart), the mind (not the body). Exiled, or excluded from the knowledge relation are memory, experience, desire, imagination, the affect, and the senses; in fact, every aspect of our living, sensing, embodied selves that serves to distinguish us as beings located in particular ways in relation to other beings, and to histories of colonialism and modernity (Shepherd 2016, Shepherd in press, Mignolo in press). When the senses are admitted to the knowledge relationship, it is most often via the eye, which becomes the sovereign of the senses in modern sensorial regimes (Clark 2007). This myth of disembodied knowledge - the myth that we approach knowledge as abstracted minds and seeing eyes - is necessary in order to sustain the myth of Western knowledge as universal knowledge. For, argue the decolonial thinkers, how else could the Western self, with all the particularities of her/ his being, otherwise claim to be universally abroad in the world, "knowing", "seeing", making sense of phenomena? The disembodied self of Western knowledge becomes, in effect, the idealized subject of Castro-Gomez's "point zero" epistemology (Castro-Gomez 2008). The corollary of this subject position is that, in order to join the club of Western knowledge, the non-Western self has to exclude from the knowledge relationship the very thing that so savagely marks her/ his experience of colonial modernity: embodied being in the world.

In his recent work, Mignolo has described the forms of knowledge attendant on colonial modernity as an "ego-politics of knowledge", grounded in the Cartesian dualism between mind and body. Against this ego-politics of knowledge he proposes a "body-politics of knowing/ sensing/ understanding", grounded in an understanding of the place from which knowledge proceeds (Mignolo 2013: 132). In conversation, he talks of linked processes of "reasoning" and "emotioning" (Mignolo pers. comm. 2015, Shepherd and Ernsten 2016). Some of Mignolo's most engaging writing takes place in his evocation of this embodied other place of knowledge, imagined not as an essentialized outside of Western reason, but as an embodied inside/ outside: the place of "border thinking" and of things known "in the bones". In the same passage on "The grammar of decolonial thinking" from which I have taken the opening lines of this essay, he considers the relationship between European theorists of modernity and a project of critical theory, and decolonial thinking and practice. He writes: "The de-colonial shift belongs literally to a different space, to the epistemic energy and the lack of archive that has been supplanted by the rumour of the dis-inherited or the *damne s* in Fanon's conceptualization" (Mignolo 2007: 485), and continues: "The difference between the 'space of experience' and the 'horizon of expectations' is not the same for Koselleck, soaked to the skin in the memories and traces of European history, as for Lewis Gordon, flooded in the memories and traces of slavery in the Caribbean with all its past and current consequences and for Jacqueline Martinez, drenched with the memories and traces of Mexican-Americans and the meaning of homosexuality" (Mignolo 2007: 494).[1] Later in the same passage he writes: "In Munich, you do not see or feel coloniality. In La Paz, Bolivia, *you feel it all the way, all the time, in your bones*: modernity is constantly reproducing coloniality" (Mignolo 2007:

[1] Reinhart Koselleck's work, in particular his formulations around the "space of experience" and the "horizon of expectations", is a key source for Jurgen Habermas's conceptualisation of modernity.

495, my emphasis). As a source for these various ideas, Mignolo cites the "prayer" with which Fanon so memorably concludes *Black Skin, White Masks*:

> Oh my body, make me always a man who questions.

He writes: this single sentence expresses "the basic categories of border epistemology" (ibid.).

A third 'move" performed by decolonial thinkers is to refuse the label of theory. The argument goes like this: in the world of the professionalized disciplines in the neoliberal academy, theory becomes a specialist language that marks off techno-scientific and critical elites and is often the final area of attainment for disciplinary neophytes. Students are taught the five or ten keywords and key concepts that characterize the latest stream of theory. They are also taught to pick and choose between multiple "schools" and "paradigms", sometimes drawing on and combining multiple aspects of theory. In this world, "theory" is opposed to "practice" and sits alongside "methodology", frequently becoming a chapter in a thesis or a sub-section in a proposal that requires filling out. As a result, students often "do" the theory last, adding references to thinkers and texts as an embellishment to what it is that they wanted to say in the first place (Shepherd in press).

Against this conception of theory, which we might describe as "theory as a game of words", the decolonial project situates its own conceptual practice, and is at once more and less ambitious. It is more ambitious in the sense that what it attempts to achieve is not just a new theoretical orientation, but the kind of total shift in perspective that makes it impossible for us to think about modernity in the same way again. As Mignolo and Tlostanova put it, the aim is to "change the rule(s) of the game – and not just the content" (2006: 208). We are asked to rethink modernity, as it were, from its underside, and from the logic of those whom it systematically enslaves, annihilates, exploits, and reduces to the condition of bare life: not as unintended consequence, but as systematic effect.

This is a strangely immodest claim. Decolonial thinkers seem to be refusing the label of theory only to claim something even more grand, an epistemology. A second reason for rejecting the label of theory qualifies this perception. Decolonial thinkers like Mignolo reject the label of theory on the grounds that their ideas should not constitute a new, hegemonic paradigm or school, understood to have universal applicability and relevance. Rather, decolonial thinking is a multi-stranded project, existing among many other schools, strands of thinking and projects, in a world characterized by "pluri-versality as a universal project". At root, this position is a rejection of the kind of abstract universalism that characterizes modern Western thinking. Mignolo writes:"Pluri-versality as a universal project is quite demanding. It demands, basically, that we cannot have it all our own way. The struggle for epistemic de-coloniality lies, precisely, here: de-linking from the most fundamental belief of modernity: the belief in abstract universals" (2007: 500).

From this brief introduction, we might note that decolonial thinking offers a critique in two directions: a critique of colonialism as historical project and formative ground for many disciplinary projects, and a critique of modernity as political, economic and epistemic project and as way of being in the world. In this sense, it might be thought of as a harnessing or yoking together of two already existing lines of critique, the postcolonial and the postmodern (although many decolonial thinkers would likely reject this characterization). Certainly, it adds as a layer to anti-colonial and anti-racist critiques, the idea of an anti-modern (or non-modern, or counter-modern, or even an "off-modern") critique (Boym 2001).

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European Entanglements *by Elizabeth Buettner*

Since the 1990s, a growing number of historians and academics in related disciplines have carved out innovative paths in illuminating the diverse ways that Europe and other parts of the world have 'entangled histories', or *histoires croisées* (Werner and Zimmermann 2006). From the early modern era onwards and gathering further momentum in the nineteenth century, Europe's evolution became increasingly intertwined with far-flung transoceanic regions as maritime empires expanded and transformed. For Western and Southern European colonial powers like Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Germany, a burgeoning scholarship insists that the domestic histories and cultures of European metropoles be recognised as inseparable from those of the Americas, Africa, and Asia together with islands large and small scattered from the Caribbean to the Pacific. 'Home' and 'away' were—and indeed in many respects continue to be—mutually constituted arenas, not hermetically sealed 'separate spheres', with Europe itself transformed through unequal geopolitical power relations, an increasingly globalised economy, and mobile peoples and cultures (Stoler and Cooper 1997). Global flows of people (whether enslaved, indentured, or voluntary), goods, capital, and ideologies linked European colonizing countries with overseas possessions and spheres of influence during an extended age of empire; today, these complex colonial legacies and heritage remain central not only to postcolonial societies overseas but also still echo resoundingly across Europe itself.

Recasting Europe 'at home' as colonial or postcolonial, however, is still a patchy and incomplete endeavour. Comparative and transnational studies of Europe's colonial entanglements are few and far between when set against research concerned with discrete national experiences. Just as Anglophone scholars were long at the vanguard of postcolonial studies, so too were historians of modern Britain and the British empire prominent in the early stages of conceptualising a 'new imperial history'. Britain-focused work remained overly represented, even as Portugal's entanglements with Brazil and Africa, France's with its vast empire, Belgium's with Central Africa, and Italy's with Northern Africa (to name but a several) gradually received closer attention, as did their postcolonial resonances (Hall and Rose 2006; Buettner 2016; Lombardi-Diop and Romeo [eds.] 2015). Invigorating and necessary though this single nation/empire research literature has been, countless themes and places long continued to be understudied at best if not virtually ignored.

Although some historians of Europe have yet to be fully convinced of the centrality of imperial history to the internal evolution of specific European countries, even those who have eagerly observed or participated in this 'imperial turn' still have blind spots of their own. Just as many histories of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe tend to leave little space for Northern Europe while focusing on manoeuvres by the 'great powers' in and outside Europe, World Wars, fascism, totalitarianism, the Holocaust, communism, and East-West dynamics during and after the Cold War, Nordic histories of colonial and global entanglements are still largely neglected by all but a handful of specialists (Loftsdóttir and Jensen 2012). Scandinavian regional and national histories, not to mention contemporary culture and society, have rarely been reframed with an eye to their imbrications with colonialism or empire, even though Sweden too once had an East India Company just as Britain and the Netherlands did (albeit a far less successful one!).

Denmark, for its part, did not just historically encompass far more contiguous territory within continental Europe than it currently does but also claimed territories in India, West Africa, and the Danish West Indies. With its 'tropical' possessions having been transferred or sold to other Western powers well before widescale decolonization gathered pace in the mid-twentieth century, ongoing Danish control over territories in the North Atlantic and Arctic region has seldom been viewed through colonial/imperial lenses. Recognising the enslavement of Africans until the nineteenth century as part of Denmark's history as well as that of the leading European overseas powers and acknowledging that Iceland and Greenland have effectively counted as Danish colonies simultaneously yields a different national narrative and a fuller transnational history of empire, whether within continental Europe or across today's Global South or Global North.

Looking North is only part of the process of Europeanizing the colonial past and its lingering postcolonial ramifications. Extending the remit to include cases like Denmark's that have largely been repressed in public and academic awareness comes alongside manifestations of 'colonialism without colonies'. If 'Europeanization' can be understood as 'a variety of political, social, economic and cultural processes that promote (or modify) a sustainable strengthening of intra-European connections and similarities through acts of emulation, exchange and entanglement and that have been experienced and labelled as "European"' (Von Hirschhausen and Patel 2010, p. 2), then the extent to which countries that held no territories of their own on other continents were nonetheless shaped by broader continental and global histories of empire becomes clearer. Modern Sweden and Switzerland count among societies that 'had an explicit self-understanding as being outside the realm of colonialism, but nevertheless engaged in the colonial project in a variety of ways and benefitted from these interactions' (Lüthi, Falk, and Purtschert 2016, p. 1). Individuals' involvement in other powers' colonial projects as explorers, missionaries, and scientists; profitable trade and overseas investments; colonial commodities and artistic and literary cultures; racial understandings of their majority populations as 'European', 'white', 'civilised', and 'superior' when contrasted with black and Asian 'others': all count among the ways that Europeans across national lines could become complicit and 'entangled in the colonial endeavor' in what were often empowered ways, whether they hailed from London, Paris, or Antwerp or from Stockholm or Zürich.

European imperial entanglements also extended to European places and peoples that were themselves tantamount to having been 'colonized'. Ireland's history was both one of 'internal colonisation' at home by an England-dominated Britain and also of participation in British imperial conquest and governance, whether as administrators or as the soldiers upon whom the British army relied so heavily across its empire. Internal colonialism could apply to unequal (and often racialized) power relations within European nation-states that had acquired overseas colonies (whether of Ireland within Britain, or Italy's South by its North) as well as in countries without empires that embarked upon 'civilising missions' at home among ethnic minorities who were scored as 'primitive' and 'backward' candidates for 'improvement' or assimilation. The treatment of the indigenous Sámi of northern Sweden, Norway, and Finland provides an example of this, as do the histories of continental land empires further South and East.

Central and Eastern Europe's history, in this reading, can be cast in colonial and postcolonial terms, with small states in the region having undergone a series of internal colonisations by larger adjacent powers like the Habsburg empire and Tsarist Russia followed by the Soviet Union (Feichtinger, Prutsch, and Csáky 2003; Głowacka-Grajper 2019). Modern Germany offers examples both of short-lived overseas colonialism until 1918 and a protracted history of encounters with Eastern Europe, particularly Poland, that were tantamount to colonial power relations and involved widespread understandings of its populations as racially inferior (Conrad 2012). The Third Reich's targeting of Eastern European spaces for conquest and settlement and of Jews, 'Slavs', and other ethnic groups for merciless suppression, removal, or outright annihilation extended from longer histories of regional domination, to be sure. Yet they also drew upon widely-shared European colonial mentalities and practices recurrent on other continents, not exclusively from Germany's own history of genocidal war in early twentieth-century South-West Africa (Mazower 2009). The entanglement of Nazi occupations and the Holocaust within Europe with colonial oppression and violence outside Europe was set to continue into the age of decolonization, with memories of atrocities under Hitler informing responses to European brutality while combatting anti-colonial insurgencies in French Algeria and other theatres of conflict in Asia and Africa after 1945 (Rothberg 2009).

Viewing intra- and extra-European forms of European colonialism as candidates for comparative treatment and potential cross-fertilisation rather than splendid isolation allows empire to be examined as a common European heritage that defines the continent as much as it defines the wider world (Burbank and Cooper 2010; Leonhard 2016). Decolonization in this sense did not just occur outside Europe as Western and Southern European nations were pushed out of most of their Asian, African, and Caribbean possessions in the decades following the Second World War. With the dissection of the Tsarist and Habsburg empires after the First World War, Eastern Europe indeed became the first 'site of decolonization' of the twentieth century—only to find itself under Nazi and then Soviet occupation as communist satellite states during the Cold War (Mark and Slobodian 2018). Situating Eastern Europe within global histories of colonialism and decolonization during the Soviet empire illuminates important ideological solidarities and material interconnections linking the 'Second World' of state socialism with the 'Third World' fighting for decolonization and against Western-dominated neocolonial arrangements. As such, it connects Europe's East as well as its 'First World' West with wider global transitions as overseas empires drew to a close.

Rethinking late colonialism and decolonization as a transnational European and global history alike also extends to their links with the European integration process since the European Economic Community/European Union's origins in the late 1950s (Hansen and Jonsson 2014). The multifaceted and often contentious forms of colonial heritage and decolonization experiences that mark so many EU member states today are now increasingly, albeit unevenly, re-emerging in public culture and politics at the local and national levels. Their inadequate Europeanization to date, however, is matched by the ongoing neglect—which might arguably qualify as active or unthinking repression—of empire as an EU history with lingering consequences. Fully reckoning with the EU's global engagements past and present is long overdue, both at the official EU level and among scholars and wider publics. Doing this comes hand in

hand with recognizing the Europeanness of Europe's millions of ethnic minorities, most of whom are EU citizens, whose families often hail from the ex-colonies of so many EU countries (Buettner 2016). The EU's much-lauded aspiration to embody 'Unity in Diversity', as its motto celebrates, demands that greater attention be paid not only to national diversity but to its multicultural diversity that long-standing colonial entanglements have made an irrevocable part of postcolonial EUrope.

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Affective and Creative Research Practices *by Britta Timm Knudsen*

The concept of heritage

Predominant contemporary understandings of heritage agree that heritage is formed in the present, and that these formations – politically contested or not – pave the way for a certain future to happen (Lowenthal 2004, Harrison 2013 etc.). Looking closer at ways of understanding heritage practices in the present, I take as a point of departure two prominent scholarly definitions. Firstly, Laurajane Smith puts forward her definition of heritage as discourse, stressing that heritage production always involves the exertion of power and authority of some groups over others who are invited to 'share', 'learn' and 'become educated' about authorised heritage values and meanings. Thus, heritage always involves power asymmetries. Such focus on identity, representation and access was more broadly a key concern in the new museology from the 1990s (Vergo 1989, Karp, Kreamer, Lavine 1992), and Smith seeks to highlight the politics of representation of official heritage sites and narratives by arguing that heritage is not only a thing or a site, but "a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present" (Smith 2006: 44). Heritage practice is, according to Smith, what people 'do' – subjectively and culturally – at heritage sites or with the concept of heritage itself, and these processes and practices are what a heritage scholar should investigate.

Secondly, however, I also draw on the understanding of heritage advanced by Rodney Harrison, who, inspired by indigenous ontologies and new materialism, questions heritage as a primarily discursive, intellectual and exclusively human endeavour. In his view, heritage practice means to enter a dialogue with or establish a relation to the affordances of the human and the non-human material world. Harrison and Rose initially defined heritage in absolute accordance with Smith as "the processes and practices of keeping the past alive in the present" (Harrison and Rose 2010: 265 in Harrison 2013: 217), but in Harrison's later book *Heritage, Critical Approaches*, heritage is defined as "a fundamental quality of experience of the material (and hence social) world" (Harrison 2013: 217). Here, heritage is thus a relationship, a connection established to other species, things, sites, technologies etc., and it is also the *experiential quality* of this specific encounter for a human being. Therefore, the focus shifts from the representation and access of authorised heritage to the affective and sensorial dimensions of encounters between human bodies and the material-social world. In museology, a parallel shift can be seen towards more performative understandings of citizenship in which other ecologies of knowledge such as affects, memory and sensory forms of knowledge production as well as emotional relationships such as care, sympathy and empathy are rehearsed (Chakrabarty 2002, Witcomb 2013, 2015). Witcomb even coins the term "a pedagogy of feeling" to describe the ways in which contemporary exhibition practices stage affective encounters between viewer and viewed in order to promote the sociopolitical work that many museums see themselves engaged in (Witcomb 2015: 322).

I find both of these approaches valuable and necessary for colonial heritage research and for the affective and creative methodologies part of ECHOES' 'toolkit' that I propose pieces of in the following.

A collaborative and self-organised future of heritage

The call to decolonise archives and the turn to "pluriverse" epistemologies in the acknowledgement of non-canonised ecologies of knowledge and alternative embodied sensations of the world are core ambitions of ECHOES as a research project, which thereby engages with recent work on decolonial heritage practices (Mignolo 2007, de Sousa Santos 2011, Mbembe 2016). In order to seek knowledge of these activities and processes, it becomes crucial to ask how to support the decolonial view methodologically. If we bear in mind both the discursive and the relational affective definitions of heritage above, three possible paths to decolonise Western epistemologies through our methodological choices can be outlined. The first concerns the distribution of power and authority through participatory and collaborative methods of research. Since the 1960s and 1970s, participation has been pursued as a cultural logic in development and indigenous studies (now global studies), in political theory and in media studies. Especially due to the connective power of digital and mobile media around the globe, people today increasingly work together to collectively classify, organise and build worlds (Delwiche and Henderson 2013). This means that we need to look at and understand how people organise themselves to meet their needs and survive economically, socio-politically and culturally as a community (Cohen and Uphoff 1980, Gibson-Graham 2006, 2013). Of course, increased participation can be addressed in various ways and with different normative agendas. A very optimistic perspective on participation praises the potential for enhanced democratisation imminent in the participation processes, whether they are initiated by official authorities and institutions or whether they are more self-organised. Some even put forward that participation as the production of either material products or symbolic knowledge simply increases happiness among the participants and is furthermore capable of producing networks and connections across continents (Jenkins 2006, Bruns 2008, Simon 2010, Gauntlett 2011). But others have been critical of the very broad definition of participation supporting such arguments, and even argue that such an all-inclusive understanding of participation can sometimes "cover up" business-as-usual research practices or even be accused of taking advantage of participants as work force (Carpentier 2011). To go counter to that tendency, the critics suggest that only participation narrowed down to political decision-making – as early scholars in the 1960s and 1970s indeed first understood the term (Arnstein 1969) – should be considered true participation. Nonetheless, I would largely agree with those participation scholars who – while acknowledging the risks – insist on broadening the scope of participation enough to include multiple values such as educational, capacity-building, affective, connective, voice and visibility gains for participants in collaborative processes, even though political decision-making is delegated to well-known expert entities. They argue that participation and its forms and impacts are to be looked upon as complex phenomena that need to be evaluated individually in each and every case according to the desires of the different participants and the aims and visions of the various projects (May 2006, Cohen and Uphoff 2011, Kelty 2014).

Also in this vein, the museum and heritage sectors' turn to user studies is very focused on how to make visitors/citizens participate on different levels, thereby pursuing a more socio-museology-based approach focusing primarily on the museums' role in local and regional re-generation. This often also means moving beyond the interactive technologies in exhibition designs that produce 'user engagement on the spot', and

instead consider how heritage institutions can generate spaces in the long term, i.e. socially lasting, participatory engagements, for example by engaging in different types of deeper user participation conceptualised by Simon as involving 'contributory', 'collaborative', 'co-creative' and 'hosted' exhibition forms shared between the museum and the public.

However, while the museological field has thus begun to internalise much of what would be needed to 'decolonise' exhibitions, there are still some major challenges when it comes to decolonising research practices within communities. Firstly, while most sites in the world are increasingly 'multicultural', 'mixed' or 'hybrid', many research methods remain monocultural, and as such neglect the need to situate the researcher in an intercultural dialogue with heterogenous groups that he/she hopes to understand. Secondly, traditional research methods are routed in Western colonial cultural ecologies of knowledge, even if this is often denied or repressed by Western scholars (Gobo 2011 in Kara 2015). Thirdly, researchers often are and feel responsible to (funding) institutions rather than to the participants with whom they engage (Kara 2015: 44).

In this light, it is little wonder that indigenous or formerly colonised populations often consider the attention of 'Western' research to be a continuation of or at least linked to the history of European colonialism (Tuhiwai Smith 2012), thereby undercutting rather than empowering their desire to become self-determining and to take control of individual and collective destinies. Tuahwai Smith therefore argues that methodological debates must be more broadly concerned with the politics and strategic goals of indigenous research in relation to the populations it addresses (ibid: 144). As Kara argues, the urge to institute social change needs to come from the communities themselves, but researchers can play a facilitating role by offering transformative research frameworks, such as those inspired by participatory, feminist, decolonising or 'creative' methodologies. This means that the participants should be involved in setting the parameters for the intervening research projects, and therefore that the ones who need to change are often the departments and agencies involved, who will ultimately need to redirect policies, design new programmes and train staff differently (Kara 2015, Tuahwai Smith 2012).

In decolonising research practices, it is fundamentally important to consider the levels of participation and the degree to which the research design and processes include non-researchers in their set-ups. One way to meet such concerns would be to think in terms of 'hybrid forums' involving experts, citizens, technicians, politicians etc. who come together to discuss research priorities, practices and results, thereby undermining the divide between laypersons and experts (Callon et al. 2011, Harrison 2013: 223).

The future of affects

The turn to affect as an experiential quality of any heritage relation is sometimes portrayed as though it involves giving up on – or at least offering a strict alternative to – any discursive framing of heritage. I would pose the relationship between meaning-making and affective relationships differently. Any encounter in the socio-material world happens through social and cultural practices that to some extent are established socially and culturally. This inevitably involves – but is not exhausted by – the way a certain heritage is discursively framed. Whether humans are attracted to or repulsed by a given heritage 'thing' or site therefore

also has to do with the ways in which various societies discursively valuate given heritage forms (Ahmed 2004, Wetherell 2012). Thus, affects, emotions and discourses are always knitted together, but they are not simply two sides of the same coin. As argued in the edited volume on *Heritage, Affect and Emotion* (2017), "heritage and its economies are driven by affective politics and consolidated through sensibilities such as pride, awe, joy, pain, fear" (Tolia-Kelly et al. 2017: 4). This entails the important awareness of how the affectively attuned forms of analysis *could* give access to new knowledge that a solely discursive exploration would not catch (for example through an analysis of rhythm and atmosphere instead of a socio-political analysis of a contested site). An affectively focused analysis proves its worth when it dislocates established patterns of knowledge, for example by showing how alternative connections, alliances and forms of solidarity are produced differently through the lens of affective research. In this case, such an analysis would be capable of identifying emergent practices and significations that could point in new directions (Knudsen and Stage 2015). Thus, affective research methods must both complement ad confront the discursive constructions of their 'sites' in order to point to emergent or re-emergent practices capable of transforming exactly the established discursive frames and perceptions of both researchers and publics.

Crucially, this means that an affective approach to research must begin with the researcher's self-awareness of her/his own embodied investment in the field of study (Blackman 2012, Sundén 2012, Knudsen and Stage 2015). We can say that this self-awareness is an affective equivalent to the epistemological perspectivism of insisting that subjects and bodies always see and speak from certain positions. It involves a double rejection of the illusion of objectivity-based research models adopted into the humanities and social sciences from the natural sciences.

But it is also a self-awareness that becomes an ethics of entanglement. In a decolonial framework, the focus on more-than-representational layers of knowledge production needs careful attention, as it becomes entangled in a wider range of (colonial) knowledge ecologies and relational connectivities concerning colonial heritage. Such self-awareness might lead to auto-ethnographic methods, which often use art-based techniques such as poetry, photography and creative fiction, and in which the researcher's *moved* body *moves* the readers' bodies affectively in the research results. Such methods have increasingly entered contemporary research, and are important as decolonising tools because they include and acknowledge a wider range of affective and discursive engagements regarding sites or objects of colonial heritage (Trandberg Jensen 2015, Kara 2015, Vannini 2015).

Fundamentally, it is crucial that the researcher pursuing affects and emotions has a clear idea of how to actually trace affects empirically. In language, the communication of affective content can be revealed through special phenomenological interview techniques or through poststructuralist reading techniques looking for certain rhetorical tropes such as hyperboles, repetitions, outbursts, emojis, onomatopoeia, silences etc. Field observations and shadowing can equally reveal affect through bodily expressions, practices, particular spatial and temporal intensifications of how bodies spread and gather, as well as in the ways bodies imitate each other or diverge in being attracted to or repulsed by a heritage phenomenon.

Of course, in the context of the particular research project, the researcher must decide how affective or embodied knowledge production can enter the research in valuable ways. Mixed-methods research and

research using technologies in various constellations might be utilised in order to engage citizen groups in data gathering of affective and emotional realms. Adding to this, very often the data production could be handed over to participants who can keep diaries or log books, produce videos and drawings and take part in researchers' cultural mapping strategies, but one might also go even further and involve everyday props such as photo-elicitations or more fictional text productions (imagine writing a break up letter to your local museum, for example) (Gaver, Dunne, Pacenti 1999, Waterton and Watson 2015). But a more elaborate methodology can also be mobilised by initiating or co-creating experiments intervening in everyday settings.

Hope in experiments

'Experiments in living' as coined by Noortje Marres present a notable device of social and cultural research, and they have to balance their easy ways to enroll social actors in new environments, new sensibilities and habits without creating contestation, discussion or adjustment (Marres 2012: 14). She opts for an openness of the experiments in order to let the participants become co-creators of what the future could be like with – as in our case – changes towards more decolonial practices in the forefront. Experiments are interesting as affective method devices because they present a will to engage with reality as well as reflecting on the experiment. Experiments can be seen as micro-utopian moments in which a socio-material situation is imagined, revealed and invented (Knudsen, Stage, Zandersen 2019). Experiments in themselves must be the change that some actors want to see on a small scale. Beginning with *imagining* new futures – for example decolonial futures – entails assemblages of things, institutions, individuals and technologies that go together and imagine how the event-not-yet realised can be constructed and prepared for. The experiment – which could take place in public space or in institutionalised contexts such as a museum – can also *reveal* strong local resources, solidarity, forces and energies invested in the topic, unknown practices, relations and alliances already in play. And the experiment adds components to the socio-material environments in which it plays out. Which material, relational, discursive and affective transformations were produced by the experiment? The invention part of experiments opens up to what exceeds current understandings. The successful experiment is thus one in which normative goals such as decolonial futures are met with local resources and investment, and that is in fact realised and felt on a small scale in the form of a micro-utopia. Having done that, the decolonial future on a large scale could seem within reach.

One extraordinary example of an art-based research experiment will end this keyword entry. Dalila Mahdjoub carried out a project entitled *The Voices of the Objects* [La Voix des Objets] as part of an initiative of Mucem regarding a future exhibition on the entangled histories of France and Algeria. Mahdjoub, 4th grade students (11 years old) from the highly mixed secondary school Longchamp in Marseille and their professors finished a learning module resulting in a co-created work of art on colonial heritage. In the process, the students were exposed to several archives to facilitate an affective engagement in the colonial past. Images representing the colonial past were presented as projections on the floor, while the participants were placed in a circle around the images, viewing each image for 4 second. This was followed by rounds of reactions from the students, some quite intense, crying out: "It is racism, it is racism". Mahjoub and the professors shared their own memories and histories to unleash the often-untold family memories amongst

the young participants. Entitled Human Zoo, a second round of engagement with the visual imagery involved displaying some post card images from 1909, which the students were asked to analyse. Often, they represented half-naked colonised bodies next to a fully equipped coloniser body. After covering the colonised bodies with white silk paper transforming the image into a white silhouette, the students were asked to make the colonised bodies re-appear in a re-emergent gesture. The mixed groups of participants were also asked to co-curate elements of the exhibition by bringing objects, photos, news footage, official documents etc. from their homes to the exhibition, and they were also involved in a cultural mapping procedure entailing an everyday object, a capacious plastic bag, Le Sac Belsunce. Equipped with a minor questionnaire and a map of the investigated neighbourhood, the students were to collect knowledge about the outlook, use and commercial stories of this everyday object often used as travel device for families visiting the countries of their parents/grandparents. *The Voices of the Objects* let the participants feel and reflect on themselves as part of the colonial history of France and Algeria, as well as allowing them to become producers of re-emergent decolonised bodies in the archival material, and, finally (and I have not mentioned all the aspects of this outstanding experiment), the participants could become part of the collection process as co-curators and co-researchers in their own hometown, Marseille in France.

Decolonising methodologies are a huge task and only a few components of this necessary endeavour are mentioned here. In terms of methods, decolonial futures are plural, mixed, affectively invested and replacing stable hegemonic structures with intercultural encounters. In some sense the future emerges in the form of experiments, often but not solely art-based, giving us a glimpse of the not-yet that is already here.

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Modalities of Heritage Practice *by Christoffer Kølvraa*

ECHOES propose four modalities for analyzing how colonial heritage is managed and practised: Repression, Removal, Reframing and Reemergence. The concept of heritage practice emphasizes that, although many cases will deal with actual material heritage or heritage sites, the practice and management analyzed encompass not just the materiality and discursivity of colonial heritage, but also the performativity, affectivity and wider social contexts in play in and around various forms of heritage. Indeed, the idea of an immaterial heritage of colonialism is inseparable from any understanding of how sites and objects connected to this heritage are and can be engaged with in new and innovative ways.

Therefore, I want to start by emphasizing that what these modalities are meant to describe is more than the concrete and actual actions taken towards a given material heritage 'object'. In my view, they should also extend to seek to capture the overarching attitude or orientation that pervades a given heritage practice. That is, how – in relation to a specific site, object or art work – this practice treats, relates to, produces or reduces the echoes of the colonial past in and through the significations, displays, actions, interventions and social relations mobilized. Drawing from the emergent field of hauntology (Derrida 1994, Frosh 2013), one might say therefore that the modalities of repression, removal, reframing and reemergence can fruitfully be thought of as indicating how different heritage practices deal with the 'colonial ghosts' in contemporary societies and communities (Khanna et al. 2003).

Neither strict taxonomy, nor moralistic teleology

It seems important to stress here that even if these four modalities constitute a heuristic tool for structuring the analysis and comparison of a great variety of heritage practices, the logic which links the four is neither teleological nor that of a dogmatic and sharply defined taxonomy.

There is, in my opinion, a certain normative dimension to the framework. 'Repression' is a modality with few redeeming or progressive qualities, whereas 'Reemergence' is the modality through which we seek to capture those practices carrying the promise of entangling the colonial past with the hope of better futures, yet in a state of becoming. But there is no inherent logic or set route of progression. One does not necessarily 'graduate' from practices of repression to those of removal, nor does one necessarily have to 'pass through' reframing in order to hope to advance to reemergence.

Also, I do not conceive of these modalities as strict and mutually exclusive categories when it comes to actual cases of heritage practice. Most cases will probably contain elements of more than one mode, reside on the border between two modes, or mainly practise one mode yet contain elements which might point to another. This is not a taxonomy serving to eliminate that which does not fit its logic, but rather a conceptual framework geared to contain and accommodate a pluriverse of 'dirty cases', hybrid forms and heterogeneous experiences: for example, Reframing practices which nonetheless threaten to collapse into the binary thinking of Repression, or political activism for the Removal of a certain colonial heritage which at moments, and due to exceptional performative or aesthetic innovation, opens up horizons of what we understand under the mode of Reemergence.

The four modalities and the schema that unites them (which I discuss below) could therefore be described in terms of the Weberian idea of ideal types, yet I find it even more useful to think of them in terms of Manuel Delanda's idea of the 'parametrizing' of theoretical concepts. The idea here is that our concepts should be able to describe not just different states of social reality, but also be able to capture how one state gradually approaches and finally transforms into another analogous to what in physics would be the transition between phases of matter (such as water's transition from gas to liquid to ice). Delanda proposes that one might 'paramatrize' a single concept (for him this concerns the concept of 'assemblage', here it would be 'heritage practice') *"to allow it to exhibit qualitatively different phases"* (DeLanda 2016: 19) according to the degree of certain parameter values. Figuratively, he suggests the image of 'installing knobs' on one's concept with which certain parameter values might be turned up or down – giving, as a consequence of this 'blend' – the concept qualitatively different expressions (i.e. phases). For Delanda, this is a way of establishing a differentiated conceptual analytics, without regressing into dualistic thinking or rigid taxonomies. I believe this should equally be a priority in conceptualizing the modes of heritage practice employed in ECHOES. So even if we are forced to separate and define Repression, Removal, Reframing and Reemergence to distinguish them from each other (making of them somewhat clear 'pure phases' or ideal types), they should nonetheless – especially in their analytical employment – be conceived of as phases of heritage practice which fade into each other, though each of them is nonetheless constituted by a certain combination of common parameters.

In what follows, I want to suggest that these parameters (our 'knobs') might here be conceptualized as, first, the extent to which a heritage practice articulates a situation of social control or of political dislocation, rupture and potential change. And, second, the extent to which a heritage practice expresses a binary or an entangled imagining of colonial heritage.

Social reproduction or Political Rupture

The first parameter (the horizontal axis in the schema) might be further conceptualized in terms of the Argentinian political theorist Ernesto Laclau's distinction between 'the social', as a sphere where signifiers have become sedimented in stable structures and are as such no longer radically questioned, challenged or reinterpreted, and situations of 'dislocation', in which the re-contestation of core societal signifiers opens up 'the political' ushering in of overt struggles for hegemony (Laclau 1990). We have as such a fundamental (but ideal-typical) distinction between, on the one hand, a state of social stability and control in which established constructions of community and social order are reproduced and taken for granted, and on the other hand, situations in this social construction is 'dislocated' – i.e. destabilized – through antagonistic confrontations between different imaginaries of societal presents and futures. In terms of Memory Studies, elements of the same kind of distinction are also at play in historian Charles S. Meier's differentiation between 'hot' and 'cold' memories (Maier 2002), in Jan Assman's distinction between Cultural and Communicative memory (Assmann 2008) and in Trouillot's attention to the extent to which a certain past has been 'tamed' by contemporary society (Trouillot 1995).

More concretely, in terms of ECHOES modalities, this axis indicates – or for Delanda 'parametrizes' – to what extent a given colonial heritage practice articulates an idea about the past which is largely conventual, commands a high degree of consensual support (among dominant groups) in society and as such reproduces already established social relationships, narratives and power hierarchies. Or conversely, to what extent it seeks to break such complacency and thus force through fundamental changes in society.

Under this parameter, Repression and Reframing can be grouped together, because while Repression often reproduces existing social conditions by way of attempting to silence or marginalize the horrific dimensions of colonial heritage, reframing might achieve the same result by other means. The Reframing of the colonial past for example into contexts of artistic production or public leisure activity always carries the risk of de-politization through its degrading to a voyeuristic thrill or a commercial trivialization (although this is by no means a necessary outcome). But one might also suggest that Reframing potentially entails a mode to control the ghosts of the colonial past, even more effectively than the forceful denial of repression. In Reframing this haunting, it is so to speak forcefully put on display, made to perform and thereby put 'in its place'. By confining our ghosts to certain contexts (the fairground haunted house ride comes to mind as a metaphor), we might rob them of the fundamental 'spectral privilege' of turning up inconveniently, unexpectedly, even shockingly – a privilege which they to some extent retain even under conditions of 'Repression'.

By contrast both removal and reemergence are highly dislocating modes of heritage practice. Removal, because it radically articulates the horrific past and uses it to challenge contemporary and future social conditions, in a sense drags the ghosts into the light even as it demands and attempts to exorcise them. Re-emergence is likewise a highly political heritage, but it does not simply seek to exorcise the ghosts, nor does it affect the compartmentalizing domestication of displaying them. Rather, we might here hope to find forms of heritage practice engaging with these spectral remnants, by facilitating networks or assemblages that might not only radically articulate and perform this heritage but distribute these unsettling echoes into the wider spheres of public life.

Binary thinking or Entangled imaginaries

If the first axis can thus be said to indicate the political intensity of a given heritage practice, I would venture that the second axis instead might be said to describe the complexity of the social imagination articulated in and through it.

This parameter, in part, draws on a core dimension of decolonial critique – and one that it shares with various strands of psychoanalytic, poststructuralist, deconstructivist, postmodernist and new materialist thought – namely, the rejection of binary thinking. This axis, as such, concerns the extent to which a heritage practice articulates or performs a binary – whether dualistic, dialectic or antagonistic – imagining of the social structure of colonial and decolonial experiences. Concretely, such dualism is often expressed in the biased distinction between European Modernity and the non-European world, the Metropole and the colony, black and white. Both ideas of the colonial relationship as an essentialized

hierarchy (Said 1995), or a 'postcolonial' challenge to such discourses in terms of imagining the struggle as an uncompromising confrontation between two entirely different and separate camps (Fanon 1990), might be said to be premised on binary thinking. Opposed to this would be more multifaceted and complex conceptualizations of the colonial and decolonial situation, allowing not only for 'multiple modernities' but also hybridized subjects and 'third spaces' (Bhabha 2004, Cooper 2005).

In terms of ECHOES modalities, this parameter thereby highlights that Repression and Removal might share a fundamentally binary conceptualization of the colonial heritage. If, in Repression, this is ingrained in the grand narrative of European modernity and its dichotomous imaginary of 'the West and the rest', then in Removal it finds expression in the hope that the colonial past might be entirely erased, allowing the colonized society to return to an original and authentic mode of existence. I do not want to suggest, however, that binary thinking is always or by definition nostalgic or regressive. Such a radical reduction of actual social complexity, either in the form of 'strategic essentialism' (Spivak 1987) or in the articulation of a social antagonism (Laclau 1990), might be crucial to the initial mobilization against repressive colonial practices and heritages.

Nonetheless, such binary thinking does stand in contrast to the multiplicity and hybridity associated with practices of Reframing and Reemergence. In Reframing, a hybridity often results from the very re-contextualizing of colonial heritage in new milieus, highlighting the complex connectivity, the common space of experience and myriad mutual exchanges, thereby explicitly or implicitly undermining the dichotomous separation of colonized and colonizer. In Reemergence heritage practices, this entanglement expresses itself more through the building and decomposing of assemblages, which not only includes multiple subject positions but attempts to imagine new forms of decolonial subjectivity, and thus not only expands and makes more complex the imagining of the colonial and de-colonial situation, but actively attempts to generate, provoke or become itself a new kind of experience of the decolonial.

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Repression *by Christoffer Kølvraa*

In its most basic form, repression as a mode of colonial heritage practice or management signifies the various ways in which communities might refuse or reject dealing with their colonial heritage – or at least with its problematic ('traumatic') elements. Repression is, as such, at stake in heritage practices which either simply ignore that given objects or sites are enmeshed in a colonial history, or which articulate that colonial history in heroic or apologetic discourses, thereby reproducing established social hegemonies through its recycling of the fundamentally binary imaginaries of colonialism: civilized/savage, metropole/colony, modernity/backwardness. This grand narrative of European modernity, and of its supposedly benevolent extension to the entire world, has tended to repress not just the systemic violence entailed in this process and the often predatory motives behind it, but also the entire alternative chronology that European modernity was born of the exploitation of non-European territories (in South America), rather than justifying their later occupation (as regards Africa and Asia) (Quijano 2007).

I am, however, fully aware that to signify such practices with the concept of 'repression' is not uncontroversial, and it potentially invites the well-known critiques which have in recent decades sought to expel 'psychologizing' or 'psychoanalysing' language from the (sociological) study of collective memories and their attending heritage practices. But while the choice to, nonetheless, stick with 'repression' here is not meant to signal a return to Freudian dogma, it is also not simply an empty stylistic gesture solely aimed at maintaining alliteration across the four main concepts in ECHOES (Repression, Removal, Reframing and Reemergence). Rather, I believe it is exactly the 'psychoanalytic baggage' in the concept of repression which makes it – for our purposes – what might be called a generative analogy; not a strict theory to be applied to a social phenomenon, but a way of discovering new ways to think about certain kinds of colonial heritage and its practice/ management. This is because – even while I do not want to import the link to instinctual drives or the Freudian theory of the unconscious (Freud 1953 [1915], Jones 1993) – 'Repression' does direct our attention to aspects and elements of heritage practices (and collective memory) which are lost in too strict a separation between that which is articulated and that which is silenced. Repression connotes a rejection of the past which is never completely successful, and therefore a situation where the past haunts the present, establishing a space *between* what is articulated and what is not; a space of ghostly remainders neither fully acknowledged nor able to be completely dispelled from communal life (Frosh 2013). Therefore, unlike what is at times claimed in Memory Studies in order to justify its rejection (cf. Smelser 2004: 51), Repression does not signify an 'Orwellian' notion of the past as completely malleable by those who hold power in the present. On the contrary, the concept of Repression simultaneously connotes the forceful rejection of a past experience, and its 'return' or lingering existence despite this effort. 'Repression' carries with it, therefore, a more complex understanding of the interaction between past and present than notions such as the 'silenced', 'marginalized' or 'forgotten' past which seem to constitute its major conceptual alternatives in contemporary Memory Studies.

By using 'Repression' as a generative analogy for certain heritage practices we can question not only the reduction of collective memory processes to the dichotomy between presence (what is clearly articulated) and absence (what is forgotten), but also its accompanying strict separation between the

individual and the collective. Sweeping claims rejecting psychoanalytic ideas as only relevant to the individual level, such as Wulf Kansteiner's remark that *"[n]ations can repress with psychological impunity; their collective memories can be changed without a 'return of the repressed'"*(Kansteiner 2002: 186) or Iwona Irwin-Zarecka's insistence that *"collective remembering has to be out in the open, as it were*"(Irwin-Zarecka 1994: 116), ignores the fact that, as Dominic LaCapra insists, *"there is nothing 'individual' about such concepts as repression (…)"* (LaCapra 1998: 43). Indeed, in the post-Freudian theories of, for example, Laplanche or Lacan, the unconscious itself unfolds in language and in interaction with others (Frosh 2013).

But more importantly, such strict divisions between absence and presence, collective and individual, might cause us to overlook how certain heritages can be a part of social life even if they are not clearly or fully articulated; even if they are reduced to a haunting disturbance or potentiality at the edges of social practice. It is such omissions, silences or taboos – shared across generations – which constitute the 'collective' character of repression. To enlist repression as a generative, therefore, does not mean that we have to accept Freud's pseudo-Lamarckian ideas of traumatic experiences being literally inherited. In Torok and Abraham's work on the idea of the Phantom, there is no 'inherited trauma' but instead a silence communicated in a communal sphere, and as such passed between socially interacting generations (Abraham and Torok 1994). The phantom is the cultural inheritance of a lack, of a realm about which we do not talk, without necessarily being fully aware why or exactly what it is that is, as such, prohibited. Insofar as the dynamics of repression can be said to play themselves out *socially* in language (as well as in other socially-communicative practices) – in what is said, not said, unsaid, indicated, hinted at or surrounded by *uncomfortable* silences – their exile to a pristine and neatly bordered sphere of 'the individual' becomes hard to maintain. Instead, repression as a mode of heritage practice should direct our attention to the conspicuous or 'noisy' silences in communal life and collective memory.

Repressed heritage practices

It is crucial to emphasize that the forms of colonial heritage practice which might fall under the mode of repression are various, multifaceted and might even accommodate the partial articulation of colonial atrocities. Elements or objects of a colonial heritage can be articulated, displayed and admitted in ways that in fact serve to repress it. Most straightforwardly this would be true for practices which make of the colonial heritage something else, which retain its material objects or sites, but signify these with little reference to their embeddedness in a colonial context and relationship; for example, warehouses for colonial goods admired *solely* as mercantile architecture or railways in postcolonial territories becoming entirely decontextualized emblems of engineering and technological progress. Unlike reframing, where the colonial signification persists even as it is inserted into novel frames, such practices would constitute repression to the extent that the colonial signification is not simply reframed but crossed out; to the extent that the practice seeks to entirely free the railways of their meaning as an infrastructure of domination and subjection, and the warehouses from their echoes of slave labour. And yet, as argued above, even in such instances we should still pay attention equally to the extent to which such echoes are not entirely eliminated

– silenced once and for all – but remain as a ghostly presence, something about which questions could be asked, but no one does.

Perhaps especially the realm of popular culture seems replete with examples of such ghostly remnants, in and through which the colonial past is simultaneous present and absent. A poignant example, mentioned by Astrid Nonbo Andersen in her book on Danish colonial memory (Nonbo Andersen 2017: 259–260), is that of the Danish children's Christmas TV sequel 'The island of the pixies' (2003). This is the story of a group of Santa's elves, set in the former Danish colonial possessions in the West indies. As Nonbo Andersen remarks, these islands are portrayed as a tropical paradise where everybody speaks Danish, but while the sale of these possessions to the US in 1917 is mentioned, little else about Danish colonialism is openly dealt with. And yet clues and reminders seem to be enigmatically strewn across the production. The Danish elves meet up with two coloured local elves (one played by a Danish-Ghanaian actor, the other by a Danish actor in heavy makeup) who – as it is somewhat euphemistically remarked – were 'left behind when the Danes left the island'. Even though one of these West-Indian elves is called 'Sugar' and they live in an abandoned sugar mill, any explanation of why these local elves are African/ coloured in appearance or why sugar seems to be such a central referent in this context (slave labour being the answer to both questions) is simply neglected.

My point here is that this is more than a simple silencing. The Danish colonial past is not eradicated, silenced or disallowed in some banal totalitarian fashion – it is the very setting and context of this production. And yet, it is simultaneously denied articulation, robbed of its own signification. It becomes instead something that disturbs or unsettles this harmonious tableau of Christmas joy through a series of non sequiturs. Slavery, for example, becomes a kind of ghostly presence, at the same time blindingly obvious and studiously ignored. An exploration of repression as a heritage practice might start from the question of how such simultaneity of presence and absence, this conjuring trick of something made transparent – 'spectral' – right before our eyes, is achieved and maintained in concrete political, cultural and social performances.

There are surely other forms through which repression might work. One could also suggest the idea of repression through 'compartmentalization', involving admitting to one aspect of coloniality (e.g. slavery) in order to, all the more, effectively silence the vast remainder. Or indeed repression through 'separation', which might signify admitting to the atrocities of coloniality, only while simultaneous severing them from the speaking present, confining the sphere and effects of such events to times long ago, places far away and people long dead. It is not the intention here to make a comprehensive list. Rather, repression as a mode of heritage practice/ management should be recognized through its overarching features; through the way in which it constitutes a binary in order to maintain established social hegemonies, e.g. through narratives of national innocence or European modernity. Yet, as I have argued, it is equally important to pay attention to how the colonial past leaks back in, haunts the present hegemony, and thereby makes repression an ongoing practice, rather than a once and for all gesture of elimination.

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Removal *by Christoffer Kølvraa*

Heritage practices in the mode of 'Removal' are, at core, characterized by an openly articulated desire to be rid of, eliminate or finally leave behind the colonial past. As such, they are a highly politicized mode of colonial heritage management. The colonial past is no longer covered over, silenced, marginalised or ignored, rather it is dragged out into the open with the intense hope of once and for all being able to expel it. Such gestures and performances of removal can take many forms. Most spectacular is perhaps the removal – or calls for removal – of statues or monuments which have been a feature of many struggles for independence, such as the large-scale removal of statues of Marx and Lenin from various sites in Eastern Europe after the end of the Cold War. But monuments can of course become focal points of protest, even long after political independence is achieved. For example, demands for the removal of a monument in the Namibian town of Swakopmund to German soldiers who helped to crush the Herero revolt against German colonial authorities only emerged in 1917 in the context of ongoing talks between Germany and Namibia regarding recognizing the defeat and subsequent wilful elimination of the Herero as a genocide. Likewise, the conflict around the removal of Confederate statues in the Southern States of the US – most notably that of Robert E. Lee in Charlottesville – is of course embedded in wider societal struggles and conflicts, as became tragically clear in Charlottesville.

But removal need not be reduced to a politics of monuments; the attempt to eliminate the use of certain (often derogatory) terms, insofar as this is done in an attempt to free language and communication from colonial echoes, is also a form of removal. But one of the most basic forms of linguistic removal is simply the practice of renaming sites, streets, cities or countries in an act of discarding significations which either directly or implicitly signal colonial domination. Of course, such renaming has been integral to most postcolonial spaces, but in Europe too controversies about streets bearing the names of notorious colonialists have emerged. In Berlin, for example, it has thus been suggested that streets in the 'African Quarter' should be renamed to bear the names of opposers of colonialism, rather than of those who oppressed them.

Removal is therefore not to be conceived of as a heritage practice employed exclusively by the formerly colonized against the former colonizers. Just as formerly colonized societies can sometimes be party to heritage practices under the mode of repression, so colonized societies are not barred from engaging in removal. Indeed, European societies might be said to be presently engaged in large-scale removal through the increasingly tenacious attempts to eject their 'colonial' citizens, and thereby entertain a fantasy of returning to a state of communal (and ethnic) authenticity – even if the extent to which this is removal, rather than repression, depends on whether the colonial past is politicized or silenced in the process.

Thus, while removal certainly, unlike repression, succeeds in politicizing and articulating the colonial past – invoking the ghosts all the better to exorcise them – it remains in the same binary imagination as repression. As already argued by Fanon, in order to mobilize political energy to reject colonialism, the rejecting community needs to constitute itself in clear opposition to, and as ultimately separate from, the foreign elements to be removed (Fanon 1990). Therefore, in heritage practices of removal, it is often not

far to at least a 'strategic essentialism' (Spivak 1987), if not to a fully-fledged nostalgic fantasy of returning to an original and authentic form of communal life.

It is not my intention here to simply condemn heritage practices of removal for their essentialism. Indeed, it would seem both just and obvious that formerly colonized societies are in no way obliged to tolerate the monumental presence of their former oppressors in their urban environments. Rather, as Frederick Cooper rightly points out, the essentializing of original or traditional culture, as a response to the overbearing narrative of European modernity, is a social mobilizing strategy which has proved successful in many decolonial struggles, but also one that has often underpinned subsequent postcolonial dictatorships (Cooper 2005). Indeed, Mobutu Sese Seko's dictatorship in Zaire formulated an official policy of *Authenticité* aiming to return the nation to its 'authentic' form. Likewise, more intellectual endeavours in this vein, such as Ngugi's engagements with the project of 'decolonizing the mind', certainly do not fall back on simple essentialism, but none the less do manoeuvre within the basic dilemma that a complete rejection of the colonizer's knowledge, and the heritage of this long historical relationship, does imply that the colonized community can fall back on or find its way back to a 'pure' place and time before becoming entangled in European colonialism (Ngúgí 1981).

Matters of Mobilization

Removal as a mode of heritage practice and management is, as such, often associated with activist mobilization. If repression discretely enforces a social hegemony, then removal instead energizes and focuses a political struggle. The practices in this mode tend to be more unitary and directed, often simply because they crystalize around the specific demand that a particular object or practice be eliminated. But in analyzing such practices it is crucial to maintain that they are not reducible to the object, site or practice against which they are aimed. Rather, these are materialities which become something akin to 'empty signifiers' (cf.Laclau 1996), in which the entirety of the grievances and hopes of the decolonializing struggle is condensed. I emphasize this not only to make the perhaps banal point that such struggles are always about more than, for example, the concrete statue around which they coalesce, but also because it means that the source of the immense political energy which sometimes emerges in such struggles should not be explained solely in relation to the ultimately arbitrary materiality in which it finds its empty signifier. Ultimately, the removal of heritage signifies a political desire to change the community's past, i.e. to shape or order it into a form worthy and amenable to a re-imagined future – sometimes itself imagined as a 'return' to a past stage of authenticity. To explore heritage practices of removal is therefore not simply to take an interest in what is to be removed and why, but to seek to get at the communal imaginaries – nostalgic, activist or utopian – which find an anchoring point and a place of iteration in these struggles.

The shadows of Empire

A prominent example of a heritage practice of Removal is the 'Rhodes must fall' movement in South Africa, which finally succeeded, in that the statue of Cecil Rhodes was removed from its plinth on the UCT Campus in Cape town on 9 April 2015. This example, however, also amply illustrates the dilemmas of such practices

and their possible resolution. Because almost as soon as Rhodes was gone the vacant space left behind itself threatened to become a ghostly presence. Indeed, there were those who had specifically argued that the statue should not be removed because its physical disappearance from the public space would only serve to petrify the illusion of a false liberty – given that the wider social injustices that the movement articulated in and through its fight against the statue would remain unchanged (Goodrich and Bombardella 2016). As Knudsen and Andersen argue, this hardly amounts to a convincing argument for conserving such oppressive monumental heritages forever (Knudsen and Andersen 2018). Yet, it does point to a crucial aspect of heritage practices in the mode of removal, namely, the potential disappointment that these might encounter at their very moment of victory, because the materiality around which the struggled has been crystalized does not translate into the social issues which it sought to articulate.

Ultimately, removal is therefore plagued by a haunting of its own. While these practices are different from repression in and through their insistence on dragging the ghosts into the light, what nonetheless likewise haunts them is the lingering suspicion that the binary imaginary of removal will also, ultimately, be frustrated by such spectres. The ghosts might be out of the shadows, but the imagined exorcism fails to dispel them. One suggestion for what should be done with Rhodes' vacant plinth seems to embody and aesthetically realize the persistent absence-presence of the ultimately indestructible and immobile entanglements of past and present, colonizer and colonized. The proposal was simply to paint the shadow of the absent statue on the ground next to the plinth, simply and elegantly implying Rhodes' ghostly remainder. Indeed, in this gesture, even if it is embedded in a removal practice, the artist seems to arrive at an understanding of the at once necessary and limiting character of a binary imagination, thereby transcending the logic of mobilization inherent in treating concrete materialities as empty signifiers, and instead self-reflexively appreciating that decolonizing universities, not to say societies, is not achieved solely through weeding out their monumental representations. Indeed, it might point exactly towards the insight that such clean breaks are ultimately illusory and should in the end be re-oriented towards modes of reemergence which admit and invite the complexity of continued entanglements; which neither ignore nor seek to exorcise the ghosts of this past, but instead attempt to grant them an agency in relation to a common future.

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Reframing *by Britta Timm Knudsen*

The colonial heritage practice of reframing is literally a heritage practice that frames colonial heritage as a renewable resource. Reframing entails inserting and staging a legacy into new narratives and creating experiential material environments or curatorial spaces around them to offer public leisure activities that *can* sensitize larger audiences to colonialism as a difficult past. In this sense, reframing approaches the politicized mode of re-emergence. But reframing runs the risk of simply overlooking the difficulties and severe long-term consequence of colonialism by being eager to reposition the colonial heritage in question. And reframing can likewise too willingly comply with voyeuristic desires of publics and thereby turn into dark heritage sites for thrill-seeking visitors. In that case, the colonial past tends to become de-politicized, packaged and consumed as just another 'experience'. A reframed colonial past can then, while boosting local, regional or even national economies, prevent awareness of, public debates on and actions relating to the past in question.

Ill. 1

Two students frame the main building at the University of Cape Town in April 2015 as a comment to the RMF movement. The photo is staged by Wandile Kasibe, Public Programs coordinator at Iziko South African Museum, SA. Internet photo.

The word reframing contains three elements that I would like to distinguish from each other here. The prefix 're', and the words frame and framing. To begin with *frame*, we can say that frames are presupposed dominant trivial meanings that citizens in prescribed sociocultural contexts have at hand to

identify and make sense of what is happening in their world (Goffman 1974). In communication theory and media studies, *framing* is used to describe the power of a communicating text when it becomes informative and performative (Entman 1993) (Ill. 1). With framing, an overtly discursive as well as an often intentional and strategic purpose to a situation of communication is added in the way framings support, negotiate or run counter to dominant frames. Such framings are more or less explicit in the ways they state and address their own framings. An interesting case of a heritage practice that has shifted from being trivial and just supporting dominant meanings to become informative and here regarded as a biased and race-insensitive utterance in public space – and therefore subject to contestation – is the phenomenon of Zwarte Piet, the black companion of Sinterklaas [Santa Claus] in the annual celebration of the Sinterklaasfeest [Christmas] in the Netherlands. The politicization of Sinterklaasfeest and its reading as an overt (neo)colonial cultural practice is a distinct expression of the fact that trivial frames – and not only particular framings – are changing. Trivial frames are often targeted in decolonial criticism and heritage practices.

To reframe colonial heritage as a renewable resource, then, entails inserting its legacy into new narratives and alternative material settings that can help to create a 'new' heritage. Reframing can take various forms and build in various degrees on the specific colonial historical past in question.

As all kinds of past are renewable resources, tourism and the heritage industry enter our conversation on colonial heritage as strong parameters of local, regional and national growth and development. It is very often the case that both framings and reframings of colonial relics, landscapes or practices are encouraged and fuelled by new mobility patterns. The concept of framing is used by Dean MacCannell in tourism studies as part of what he calls sight sacralization. Looking at how to produce a tourist attraction, he defines it as a relationship or a situation of communication between a tourist, a sight and a marker (signs, guidebooks, travelogues, TripAdvisor etc.). Framings have the function of either protecting or enhancing the sight, and they can be investigated discursively or materially (MacCannell 2013: 44). In order to produce sight sacralization, massive institutional support is one strategy. Another is to search for other agents, artistic or citizen activist groups who, at specific in situ places, with pronounced haunting atmospheres and with the help of strong charismatic materialities, are capable of attracting audiences to a sight. Being a part of the experience economy colonial heritage is re-inscribed as a hybridity between metropole and culture. Both are present in the immigrant and diaspora groups living in and visiting cities and in the historical markers of colonialism and subsequent decolonial practices in the urban fabric.

When a difficult and atrocious past such as colonialism is translated into business, the risk is always present to compartmentalize, domesticate and tame the critical and transformative potential of that heritage, but this need not always be the case. It really depends on the framings and reframings used and what kinds of actors are in play. Cities and regions use, to some extent, their difficult pasts in their branding strategies because tourists reclaim site specificity and depth in their experiences. Continuing our focus on frames, we can say that in the experience economy, business is considered as theatre – and as such Goffman's and MacCannell's theatrical metaphor for social interaction as being on stage is continued – in which the imaginary fourth wall between the actors on stage and the audience no longer exists (Pine and Gilmore 1999). An experience of full immersion and even co-creation is now researched and widely reclaimed

(Boswijk et al. 2007, 2012). As such, whole cityscapes and large areas can be part of a colonial reframing that stages social interaction in particular ways. It is these ways – the interaction modes, as well as the impact of these modes – that we as colonial heritage scholars in ECHOES need to investigate closely in each case.

An example of a colonial past in a cityscape that is reframed and cherished, for its strong symbolic brand value and iconicity, is the urban district of Shanghai French Concessions which, from 1849 until 1943, was occupied and governed by France, and as such part of the French Colonial Empire in Asia (Ill. 2). Today, private tour companies offer Walking Tours in the area and they frame the area in the following way,

> The French Concession is one of Shanghai's hippest and most historic neighbourhoods, constructed by French consuls during the 19th and 20th centuries. During this fun and informative walking tour, you'll be joined by a private guide on a stroll through the leafy, European-built neighbourhood. Discover hidden charms, such as art deco mansions and French-style parks, as you explore the city's unique mix of old European and classic Shanghainese. *TripAdvisor, Shanghai Melody Walking Tours*

Ill. 2

The Former French Concessions in Shanghai. Internet photo.

As a tourist offering, French Concessions are hip, historic (singled out as such) and a mix of Europe and China. Giving the district a strong taste of decadence that is echoed in its cultural signification as a tourist site, one could ask what the French Concessions are to contemporary inhabitants of Shanghai: a gentrified area with skyrocketing real estate prices? The site of a difficult colonial past? Does anyone remember or commemorate the fact that the parks during colonial times were forbidden land for the Chinese and dogs (Bickers and Wasserstrom 1995)? Or is the area only supposed to evoke a nostalgic longing for a vague imperial past fulfilling all desires? For Amanda Lagerkvist (Lagerkvist 2013), the reframing of French Concessions is a-critical and nostalgic. Being an economic driver and a major tourist attraction of this mega city's development as a cultural hub in East Asia, the reframing of colonial traces apparently works by using a no longer disturbing discourse around the past that is re-contextualized as nostalgic hipness. Here, Europe

becomes a leisure-scape tainted with nostalgia and re-vitalized through new tourism actors and their practices. But one can also see French Concessions as an entanglement of "old European and classic Shanghainese", as a way of reclaiming this heritage, and it is up for debate whether this gesture is further silencing an unacknowledged colonial era or is just an expression of this place's pluriversity and hybrid inscriptions.

Decolonial initiatives in the experience economy

As already mentioned, reframing strategies for any heritage relate to economic factors such as competitiveness between cities and regions and the degree to which colonial heritage can attract audiences and serve as cultural and economic drivers of development. The concept of dark tourism has a lot of unhealthy and unholy connotations in the form of atrocity hungry, thrill-seeking narcissist tourists who only want to satisfy their own exoticizing tourist gaze of consumption. Moving heritage into the experience economy does not necessarily entail corruption and less ambition as to the critical potential of the initiative. The consequences for those who have to be investigated are documented in each case. Below, I will explore a reframing strategy for Nowa Huta, an outskirt "outcast" area in Krakow performed by local young entrepreneurs.

Ill. 3

One of the icons of the Crazy Guides Communism Tours is the polluting and noisy Trabants that are used for tourist transport to Nowa Huta. Private photo.

Crazy Guides Communism Tours to Nowa Huta, built as a model Communist city in the mid-1950s by the Soviet Union around the steelworks of Stylowa, are an example of a tourism strategy built upon a form of colonial past. Local young Polish entrepreneurs reframe quite a few things through their tourism design (Ill. 5). Highlighting an unwanted past and a local area in low esteem as a site worthy of tourism merchandize is a bold move that reframes the whole assemblage (people, buildings, practices) and the inherited past into tourism. In this move, a certain nostalgia for the 'communist other' can be detected in Western tourists, but this nostalgia is both met and critically undermined (Knudsen 2010). And first and foremost, the crazy guide team of symbolic workers perform affective labour through their own investment, which provides a very fertile ground for personal and intercultural connectivities.

In conclusion, investigating reframings means looking at frames and framings as material and discursive sight sacralizations and experiential stagings of the colonial heritage in question. Analyzing reframings implies looking at if and how the reframing confirms or transforms trivial frames in specific contexts. It also implies looking at who is staging the colonial heritage anew, what kinds of mobility flows are facilitated, which experiences are afforded and which kinds of connective relationships are encouraged by the reframed sites and events.

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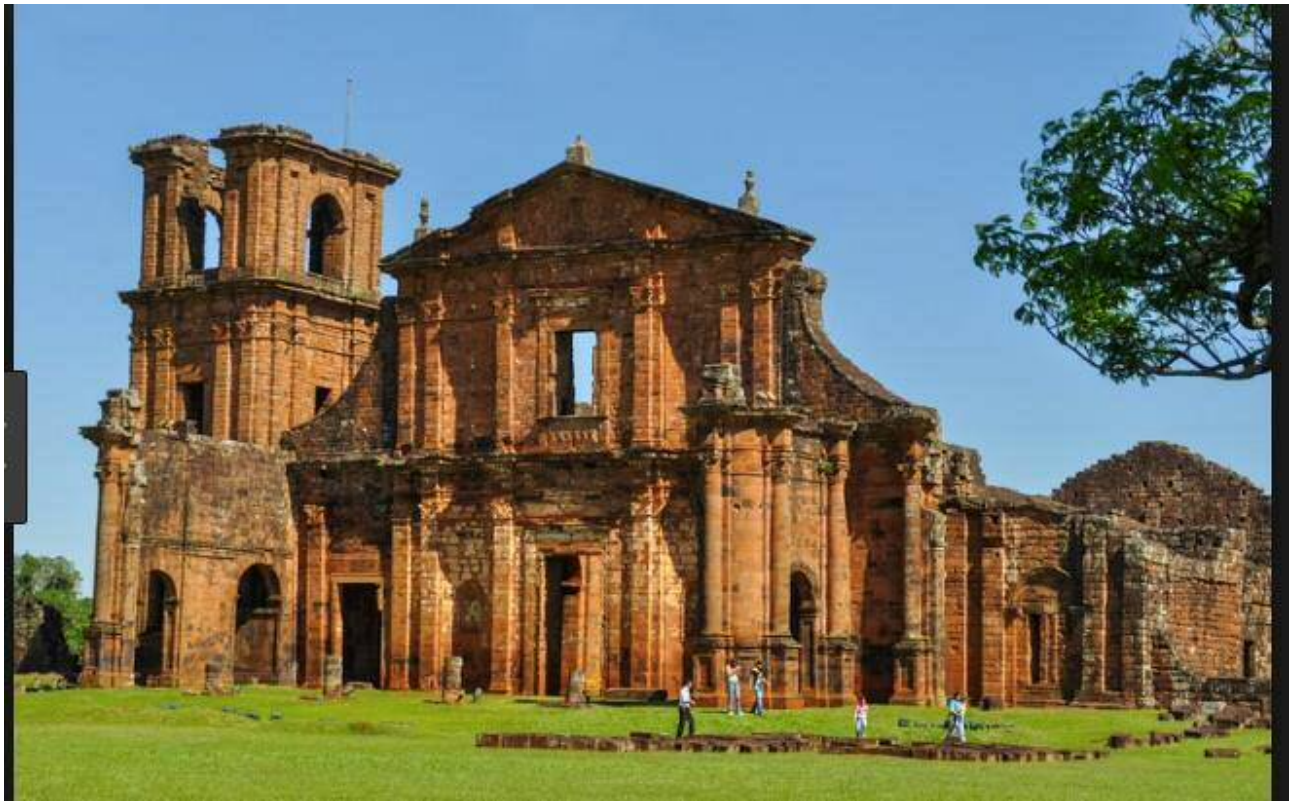
Re-emergence *by Britta Timm Knudsen*

Re-emergence is a key colonial heritage modality for ECHOES and signifies an apparent paradox between a return of something and something new appearing. Re-emergence as a concept transgresses this paradox. Any emergence in the colonial field is also a re-emergence of past un-acknowledged possibilities actualized at a specific time and moment. Or, to rephrase it, re-emergence is a lost opportunity from the past that returns to offer itself for creating alternative futures. Contrary to both repression and removal and like re-framing, re-emergence allows the ghosts of the colonial past to re-appear in the becoming of new futures.

One the most important symbols of Western civilization in Brazil is the ruins of the Jesuit Church of Sao Miguel das Missoes in the Rio Grande do Sul state, a Unesco World Heritage Site and a site of pilgrimage for thousands of tourists every year.



The colonial relic of the Jesuit Church of Sao Miguel das Missoes in The Rio Grande do Sul state in Brazil. Internet source.

The ruins commemorate colonialism, being a relic of the Jesuits of the Society of Jesus and their evangelizing mission in the 17th century of the indigenous people in the North of Bacia do Rio Prata. As such, the site could become a site of criticism and contestation, but what has happened is that the contemporary local Mbyia-Guarani people have begun to cherish the marks that their ancestors left on the stones of the church that they worked so hard to build. Suddenly, Sao Miguel das Missoes re-emerges as a proud edifice of the former colonized, giving voice and material existence to the contemporary Mbyia-

Guarani people, allowing pluriverse epistemologies (Mignolo 2009, 2017) to emerge and re-enforcing local pride in craftmanship and endurance as part of history-making all along. Re-emergence also appears as the church, through the reclaiming gesture of the local descendants of the labour force building the church is reconfigured as entangled materiality between cultures.

(Re)emergence and assemblage

The term emergence draws on materialist and new feminist materialist philosophy and from sociology. ANT, for instance, proposes that society constantly emerges according to the actions and constellations of actors and environments at a certain time and place in history. On close examination, every performative action enacts society. On those lines, sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos has offered us a *sociology of emergence* that can be useful when dealing with re-emergences of colonial heritage futures. Challenging a Eurocentric modernity narrative that does not take into consideration its own foundation on the exploitation of non-European territories, new Epistemologies of the South offer alternative modes of being in, seeing and sensing the world. Sousa Santos is not primarily arguing for an essentialized Southern perspective but is pointing more to how such modes could indicate the re-emergence of a *critical utopia* itself (2017). He is interested in intercultural communication and introduces the concept of *dia-topical hermeneutics* (2011) to say that all cultures are incomplete and become enriched by dialogues and encounters with other cultures. Yet another aspect of a sociology of emergence is evoked through the emphasis on *affects and emotions* in generating new knowledge and practices and in channelling effects such as enthusiasm and anger into *collective actions* of social change (2003). Re-emergence as a decolonial heritage practice could, from this perspective, open up new forms of collaboration, dialogues and connective actions in the 'one' world we all inhabit.

Working with emergence and re-emergence requires a *network or assemblage approach* to the phenomena under scrutiny. Assemblage theory (DeLanda 2006) evolves around the relationship between a whole and its component parts. Thus, an assemblage approach to colonial heritage in cities would pay attention to at least three entries of emergence that could open and change an entity. One should look at the *capacity* to interact with other entities, at processes of *de-territorialization* meaning processes that destabilize spatial boundaries, thus increasing internal heterogeneity, and at processes of *decoding* that give rise to individual actors or collectives to express convictions and personal styles in relation to the colonial heritage under scrutiny.

A plan to make slavery visible at Rio's Valongo Wharf. *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, vol. 108, nr. 4, April 2018.

Materialist philosophy and new feminist materialist philosophy give us two important insights that we can use in order to build up the concept of re-emergence in the colonial heritage field. First of all, by stressing the atmospheric liveliness and agency of non-human actors such as monuments, natural landscapes and buildings, the focus is on what these non-human actors are capable of. Do they, as relics of the colonial past, force us into certain 'sad' encounters or do they attract us charismatically and seduce us into enthusiastic jerks of a new political life? Giving agency to vibrant matters, as Jane Bennett calls it, and to look at the impacts on concrete audiences is what an analytical framework on re-emergence should practise.

Two pitfalls of binary thinking are present here. Emergence without 're' would be to opt for either de-Westernized or re-Westernized modes of decolonial futures. It would be to believe in a 'pure' modernity of progress in new Eurocentric disguise with the oblivion and repression of the colonial history as natural outcomes. Emergence and an inherent repression of coloniality also lie in the de-Westernized alternatives that societies which dispute the control of the colonial matrix of power offer (e.g. China, Russia, Iran). 'Re' without emergence, however, entails a nostalgic version of a utopian past – either an idyllic pre-colonial past in a (formerly) colonized country or a romanticized version of colonial rule for the colonizers. Even if neither of them has ever existed, they are nonetheless taken as models of ideal futures in contemporary politics (Boym 2001, Mignolo 2017).

Let us take a recent example of re-emergence in the sphere of decolonial art. On 31 March 2018, in the aftermaths of the centennial commemoration of the sale of the Virgin Islands in 1917 to the US, a monumental sculpture entitled I AM QUEEN MARY was revealed at the Danish West Indian Warehouse

(actually hosting the Royal Cast collection of copies) in Copenhagen as a colonial power and those who fought against it.

I AM QUEEN MARY is the first monument commemorating Danish colonialism and post-colonial hardship times in Denmark. The momentary statue in polystyrene is placed in front of the West Indian Ware House at the harbor front in Copenhagen actually hosting an all-white Royal Cast collection of copies. Private collection.

The plinth of the statue is made of coral stones cut from the ocean around the US Virgin Islands by enslaved Africans, and these were originally used to form the foundations of most of the colonial era buildings on the islands. The figurative side of the sculpture is a merging of the historical figure of Mary Thomas, an important leader of the Fireburn labour revolt on St Croix in 1878, and an uprising against contractual servitude 30 years after the abolition of slavery. The peacock chair is a direct reference to Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party. The face and body of QUEEN MARY emerge and re-emerge due to scanning technology as a hybrid between Mary Thomas and two artists, Virgin Islander La Vaugh Belle and Danish/ Caribbean Jeannette Ehlers. An excellent example of an activist curatorial-artistic practice that re-politicizes the colonial in an entangled mode.

The two artists, Virgin Islander La Vaughn Belle and Danish/Caribbean Jeannette Ehlers in front of *I am Queen Mary* at the inauguration of the statue 31 March 2018. Private collection.

This piece of decolonial heritage is introduced into a setting ripe of repressed colonial relics and references: right onto the waterfront and in front of the West Indian Warehouse through which the triangular trade circulated, with the colonial cast collection as the all-white background against which the colossus of black QUEEN MARY appears. I AM QUEEN MARY is all the more interesting because of its spatial capacities interacting with and altering the urban fabric at this exact spot. Due to the corals in the plinth, the placement in the seaway and the intercultural encounters in and between the artists, I AM QUEEN MARY can be regarded as a powerful de-territorializing force destabilizing the internal homogeneity of an expanded Danish nationhood, of Copenhagen joining a community of former colonizers (finally) commemorating colonialism. It introduces an intercultural communal multi-vocal artistic work as a politically appropriate answer to colonial heritage issues. The sculpture can be remarkably decoded when it comes to its representational layers. Here, multiple sources are at play, they merge, emerge and re-emerge, at one and the same time, representing all of them and none of them entirely, with the past-future axis blown apart, and with a hopeful modesty, depicting the not yet of a more inclusive future.

A few Black Lives Matter protesters joined the inauguration of *I am Queen Mary*. Private collection.

Re-emergence and spectrality

Three kinds of re-emergence can be located in semiotician and literary theorist Walter Mignolo's thoughts on decolonial futures. *Subjects re-emerge* as they gain visibility and voice through joining global coalitions of citizen-activists. In these empowered global publics, the sense experience of the racialized subject's socio-genesis (Fanon 1967) is replaced by the emergence of a more empowered subject of collective and connective action. *Historical re-emergence* of political hope from the years 1955–61 colours actual political and economic hope of a third way of moving societies forward, a way that is neither capitalist nor communist. The re-emergence of political hope happens from below the state level and comes out of thousands and thousands of decolonial communal projects. *Aesthetics re-emerges* as artisanal productions fuelled by memories, skills and knowledge that were there before European education intervened, and before creation and creativity became entirely trapped in categories of folklore and religious-mythological beliefs, and these are acknowledged as aesthetic artefacts in their own right.

Re-emergence calls spectres into being. Philosopher Jacques Derrida calls hauntology the emergent re-emergence of haunting pasts. In a usual deconstructivist gesture, spectres trespass on the acknowledged ontological differences between the living and the dead, absence and presence, and break a past-present-future linearity. The spectre is at one and the same time appearing in the present, stemming from the past and opening up the future as the *not yet* acclaimed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos. A true recognition of the haunting spirits and materialities would reconfigure the course of history and of politics because spectres always appear in times of crisis. The impressive number of contemporary television series showcasing

ghosts in various forms, *Les Revenants/ The Returned* (2012), *The Leftovers* (2014), *River* (2015), *Le Chalet/ The Chalet* (2016), *13 reasons Why* (2017), tells us that it has become a theme in popular culture to evoke awareness of unresolved and difficult pasts. The sole presence of the undead is a sign of not having dealt with past deeds. And, in consequence of this, spectres call for a shared sense of responsibility for the injury done. Ghosts and spectres are not supposed to be put to rest, rather we need to learn to live with them and even to be enchanted by their spirits.

Spectres have strong agency: they scare, they attract, they evoke compassion and pity in their status as living dead not capable of dying, they are felt as an unruly mood and atmosphere (Cho 2006). Their agency is made up of different materializations that the ghosts require as new versions of old wounds. It is noteworthy that the reaction towards a spectre is not the same as that towards a traumatic wound. Trauma paralyzes and produces testimonies and witnessing procedures, while haunting is distinctive for producing a something-to-be-done, evoking action, even activism (Gordon 1997). Being haunted is precisely, for Gordon, being drawn affectively, sometimes against one's will and always a bit magically. Spectres draw us into structures of feeling of a reality we come to experience, not as cold knowledge but as an offer of a hot transformative recognition.

In conclusion, re-emergence primarily happens through two procedures: 1) through the creation of old/ new assemblages having the capacity to open up pluriverse epistemologies, entangled materialities and communal efforts that avoid the trap of identity politics; 2) through hauntings/ spectrality – staged or just unveiled – that give rise to activism and responsibility often afforded by affects, moods and atmospheres.

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Multiple Colonialisms *by John Oldfield*

Colonialism is usually associated with practices of domination that involve the subjugation of one group of people by another. Part of the problem in defining colonialism is that it is sometimes confused with 'imperialism'. Critics often use the two term interchangeably, or assume that they mean, approximately, the same thing. Imperialism also involves domination but of a kind that is best understood as political or territorial. It describes the way one country exercises domination over another. Colonialism, on the other hand, implies the transfer of people from 'metropole' to 'colony'. This process is usually described as 'colonization', that is, the compact settlement of overseas territories by outsiders, usually white Europeans, who create new societies while maintaining political allegiance to their country of origin. For this reason, debates around colonialism invariably depend on a number of key binaries, among them 'coloniser/colonised', 'civilisation/barbarism', 'universalism/inequality'.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term colonialism dates from the late nineteenth century. In fact, world history is full of examples of the practice of colonialism, dating back to the ancient Greeks. Underlying this historical process were two key drivers: the demand for new territory and, linked to this, the demand for natural resources. The prevailing view in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was that in a world where resources were considered 'finite', colonies were necessary to further the interests of European nation-states. In mercantilist terms, the function and value of colonies were twofold: 1) to provide Europe with raw materials (sugar, rice, tobacco, cotton, minerals); and 2) to provide a ready-made market for European goods. We can trace the same underlying principles in the expansionism of the late nineteenth century, when the term colonialism came into vogue. They are also implicit in the Nazi concept of *Lebensraum*, which in the eyes of some critics, among them Sven Lindqvist, self-consciously mimicked older European notions of colonialism.

Colonialism also depended on notions of othering that assumed that indigenous peoples were inferior, backward and, in most cases, disposable. Skin color was an important register here, but so, too, were physical characteristics, customs and traditions. Indigenous peoples were dismissed as savages, their nakedness and unwillingness to work reinforcing notions of racial superiority that set an unbridgeable distance between colonizer and colonized. Colonisation, as a result, was invariably characterized by acts of violence and brutality that resulted in indigenous peoples being either removed or destroyed, making way for settler societies organized on European principles, including the rule of law. Colonialism, therefore, in its purest form was a rapacious historical process, driven by a disregard for indigenous people, their customs and traditions. Resistance was often futile, particularly in the face of European naval and military forces equipped with the latest technology. The sacrifices and self-abnegation demanded of native rulers were other symptoms of European 'superiority'.

The association between colonialism and extreme brutality was noted by Enlightenment thinkers, among them Diderot and Kant. The second half of the eighteenth century also witnessed the emergence of calls to abolish slavery and the slave trade, predicated on the idea that Africans were 'fellow creatures', worthy of respect and fair treatment. 'Abolition' would become one of the most successful reform movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nevertheless, it did not signal a retreat from empire.

On the contrary, reformist tendencies re-energised colonial discourse, lending it a new legitimacy. The 'New Imperialism' of the late nineteenth century, for instance, took it as axiomatic that it was the duty of European nation-state to look after those (in Africa, Asia and the Pacific) who were too weak to look after themselves. This is what Rudyard Kipling meant by the 'white man's burden', a patriotic slogan that rested explicitly on notions of European racial superiority.

It followed, as a matter of course, that the colonized had no history. Histories of empire written during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were generally written from the perspective of European nation-states, or those of (white) settler communities. In the same way, Europeans took little account of local customs or linguistic norms. (Consider here the British Government's decision in 1835 that English should replace 'Persian' as the official language in India and that it should be introduced as a medium of instruction in all institutions of learning.) Instead, indigenous communities were expected to absorb European rituals and to join settlers in the celebration of events that reinforced their outsider status. Colonialism in this sense was a linear process that made no concessions to colonial others. European contact with Africa was particularly destructive. The transatlantic slave trade looms large in this history but so, too, does the brutality of King Leopold of Belgium's 'stewardship' of the Congo Free State. The cultural amnesia that surrounds these and other atrocities, particularly around the capitals of Europe, is another legacy of colonial mentalities that more often that not imagined (and treated) indigenous peoples as perpetual aliens and perpetual menials.

Multiple colonialisms

Colonialism was a global phenomenon. It was also dynamic. In its original guise, colonialism was driven by a sense of (white) privilege that necessarily brought European nations into conflict with each other. The Caribbean island of Trinidad was a Spanish colony for 200 years before being seized by the British in 1797, after which it was administered by the British according to Spanish law. Sint Eustatius (again in the Caribbean) changed hands twenty-two times before finally becoming a Dutch colony in 1816. No one, it seems was immune to these incursions. Eastern Europe can properly be considered a zone of multiple colonialisms. Torn between great land empires in the nineteenth century, it was subjugated to the Nazi and Soviet totalitarian regimes in the twentieth century. Racism, slave labour, internment and warfare caused millions of deaths in these European 'bloodlands', as well as massive dislocations. The history of post-Soviet Russia has also been characterized by ruthless and pre-meditated incursions into neighbouring countries, as witness what has happened in the Ukraine and Georgia.

These interventions were divisive and unsettling, especially for those who found themselves on the wrong side of history. The cultural legacies were profound. In South Africa, for instance, racial hierarchies (black/white) disguised bitter rivalries between Afrikaners and those of British descent that were played out in cultural and linguistic terms. The result was a sometimes undignified scramble for status and authority, exemplified by the Voortrekker Monument (1949), which was symbolic of a revitalized Afrikanerdom (the monument commemorated the Voortrekkers who had colonized the interior of South Africa in the nineteenth century) that defined itself against British imperial capitalism. These entanglements,

moreover, were refracted through the experiences of the victims of the apartheid era, notably those displaced under the 1959 Group Areas Act, a specific form of *removal* that had a lasting impact on South African society, as well as its landscape and environment.

The ending of apartheid shattered these old certainties. If the privatization of the Voortrekker Monument represented a form of *repression* (the monument still has a ghostly presence in modern South Africa), the 'Rhodes Must Fall' campaign witnessed the emergence of a more thoroughgoing critique of white power and authority that raised serious questions about the Eurocentric nature of knowledge, the university curriculum and the over-representation of white scholars in the academy. In this charged political climate, the politics of *removal* (really an agenda) have taken on an added resonance and meaning, inextricably linked to issues relating to land, resources and economic justice. Colonialism presses heavily on these debates. Yet in other instances it has *re-emerged*, not least in the work of contemporary South African artists (Mary Sibande and Sue Williamson, for instance), who are keen to explore (and re-interpret) the often tangled relationship between colonized and colonizer.

What has happened in South Africa is in many ways symptomatic of wider efforts to reinscribe the experiences of those marginalized by the European colonizing project. Slavery is an important factor here, hence the huge emotional and financial investment in projects such as the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, DC, which while being an important memory work in itself also serves as a forum for debate and discussion. So, too, is the history of indigenous peoples. Here again, museums have been quick to respond to these challenges, even if the results (the First Peoples' Hall of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, for instance) have attracted adverse criticism. Inclusion comes at a risk, however, particularly if it fails to meet indigenous peoples on equal terms. This is why some indigenous scholars have called for a new politics, which places emphasis instead on notions of *repression*, in this case a refusal to engage with Western liberal norms. What is needed, they argue, is not assimilation or inclusion but a process of rebuilding from within, an idea that draws heavily for its inspiration on Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952).

The recovery of indigenous traditions, including the oral tradition of storytelling, obviously implies a rejection of white European priorities, just as it foregrounds attempts to imagine and perform 'new' heritage practices that challenge the hierarchical relationship between colonizer and colonized. Colonialism, as a result, has become a contested space, increasingly inseparable from claims for reparations (Africa and the Caribbean region), the restoration of ancient lands (Australia, Canada and New Zealand) and discussions around diversity and cultural distinctiveness. Almost without exception, these debates assume that colonialism is an ongoing process, reflected in a range of issues, including 'hate speech', economic injustice, black incarceration and psychological alienation. They also emphasise the serious damage caused to formerly enslaved and indigenous peoples by centuries of economic exploitation, unfair labour practices, displacement and violence and brutality.

In these different ways, our understanding of colonialism has changed dramatically in the past fifty years. Once regarded as a justifiable extension of European influence, colonialism now conjures up images of violence and exploitation, racist othering and blatant disregard for indigenous claims to land and natural

resources. Attitudes have changed. Yet the legacies of colonialism live on, evident in the vibrancy of debates around land, rights and reparations. Logic dictates that these debates will continue to evolve. Even the term colonialism itself has invited close scrutiny, not least when used to describe experiences that by their very nature were sharply differentiated. Localism has become an important interpretative register, as has migration. If migrants seek new opportunities in Europe, they also bring with them assumptions that make them resistant to assimilation, particularly if that means the loss of their cultural independence. The 'insider/outsider' status of many migrants from Europe's ex-colonies highlights the ongoing significance of colonialism, both as an idea and a process.

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Entangled Cities *by Lorena Sancho Querol, Marcia Chuva; Astrid Nonbo Andersen; Giuseppina Raggi; Cristiano Gianolla; Paulo Peixoto;*

The concept of "entangled cities".

The concept of "entangled cities" as proposed in the ECHOES project, refers primarily to cities tied together by their shared colonial history in the context of European colonialism. We shall consider the cases of two transatlantic relations, the North-South Transatlantic one between Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, and the North Atlantic one between Nuuk and Copenhagen.

The origins of the present day "entanglement" dates back to the unequal power relations of colonialism., Contemporary tensions and disputes must be studied and understood from a historical perspective whose multiple echoes reach down to the present day.

Within this context we seek to understand how the political scenario informs discussions on the colonial heritage and to study entanglements not as a narrow binary relation between two cities, but as two focal points in clusters of entanglements, that should be understood both on a vertical and horizontal level.

On a vertical, or historical level, and staying true to the observation that "context is key", each pair of cities share a common past:

- The relationship between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro was formed by the dynamics of colonial domination that have been marked by enslavement since the 16th century. In the eighteenth century, Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the Portuguese colony to replace Salvador and relations between the two cities intensified.

In the process of Brazil's independence, an ideal arose of a kingdom with two capitals: Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, since the king of Portugal had lived in Rio de Janeiro since 1808. However, different competing interests led to the political rupture that came to a head in 1822 with the independence of Brazil. The presence of Portuguese merchants, particularly with links to the slave trade, remained intense and involved both capitals – the port cities that were the key to relations between the two empires until the end of the slavery in Brazil in 1888 and the foundation of the Republic in 1889. Since that time, Rio and Lisbon have been uniquely tied together by a dense network of relations involving trade, immigration and culture, and a problematic post-abolition process in progress since then.

- Nuuk was not an important town in Greenland before the advent of Danish colonialism, as the Inuit of Greenland were a semi-nomadic people living in small settlements who moved when needed. Moving people into larger towns – by either temptations or by force - is a key characteristic to Danish colonialism in Greenland, even after 1953, when colonialism formally ended, when Greenland was integrated into Denmark. It even remains a fiercely debated topic in contemporary political discussions after 2009, when Greenland obtained Self-Government.

When studying the Nuuk-Copenhagen entanglement, it should be noted that the two cities are in many ways a shorthand for the two countries of which they are capitals. This banal fact is important to keep in

mind due to the rolling process towards gaining state sovereignty, which Greenland has been going through over the past 40 years. The fact that Greenland and Denmark are so far still part of the same realm therefore informs the political context of the heritage discussions and also mean that the historical inequality between the two countries is not a thing of the past.
Moreover, the broader colonial past of Denmark is intrinsically linked to the history of Copenhagen, which historically constituted a focal point linking together many different places in the world, and thus Greenland to places in the Caribbean, West Africa and East India.

On a horizontal or contemporary level, the same non-binary approach to entanglements involves the challenge of dealing with multi-ethnic realities and multiverse echoes.

- Rio de Janeiro is still considered the largest Portuguese city outside Portugal. At the beginning of the last century, 16% of the city's population were Portuguese, and during the first three decades of the century, Rio received an average of 25,000 Portuguese citizens per year. Likewise, Brazilians are the largest immigrant community in Portugal, settling largely in Lisbon. Thus, to this day – from both a cultural and an architectural point of view – Rio and Lisbon remain highly entangled. The African and multi-ethnic aspect of the two cities is long-standing and remains a striking feature today. Even if during the urbanisation processes of the 19th and 20th centuries, and through heritage policies only endorsing a Portuguese perspective, most traces of the African presence were erased in both cities, today new forms of valuing the multi-ethnic identity of the cities are emerging and the dominant narratives of colonialism are being contested.

- Around 16,370 Greenlanders live in Denmark today. Most are living in the provinces of Northern and Eastern Jutland, whereas around 2,300 people live in Copenhagen. Around 4,400 Danes live in Greenland[2]. This latter number includes both Danes that have taken up permanent residency in Greenland and Danes who work in Greenland's civil service, healthcare and educational system for shorter periods. Marriages between Greenlanders and Danes are and have been frequent for several decades.

On a contemporary level, Nuuk and Copenhagen (and by extension Greenland and Denmark) are thus entangled on both a political level in terms of the central political institutions in both cities, but also on a personal level in terms of people living in one of the two cities. Moreover, as Copenhagen is the former capital of a colonial realm, discussions of colonial history from other perspectives inform and are entangled in ongoing discussions on the historical and contemporary relationship between Denmark and Greenland. Discussions on their shared history quickly become very emotional and hard to even begin to have, both on a Greenlandic and Danish side

Entanglements in these two pairs of cities should be understood from a multi-focused perspective, as they have from the beginning been entangled in a web of connections to other places (in Greenland and Denmark, the North Atlantic, the Caribbean, East India, West Africa and other parts of Europe; in Brazil and Portugal, the English presence, immigrants from different Western European regions, connections

[2] Due to the counting methods used, this number includes children of Greenland parents born in Denmark.

with Portuguese African colonies, new countries in the American continent and the world at large). However, they must also take into account the categories of "present pasts" and "difficult pasts" to overcome the linear and simplistic views of history and to be able to understand in depth the consequences on the dynamics, debates, possibilities and expressions that colonial heritage and decolonial heritage practices have in the two pairs of cities.

The layers of meaning of a multileveled entanglement

To understand the different layers of meaning and the consequent echoes of this kind of entanglement, we propose an analysis of these entangled relationships from three different perspectives, to be able to reflect on the levels of integration/disintegration, connection/disconnection, dependence/autonomy and intertwining/separation which uniquely characterises these relations:

1. The colonial condition: the history of the legal and political ties of which they are a part, as well as the presence of hierarchical levels of subordination and demographic transformations;

For example, in the case of the Rio-Lisbon entanglement, and from a demographic perspective, Rio de Janeiro received the highest number of African people slaved from the Portuguese-managed trade (about 2,200,000). Half of these people arrived within the short period of the first decades of the 19th century.

In the case of Nuuk-Copenhagen, colonialism was gradually rolled back first with the constitutional change in 1953, followed by the introduction of Home Rule in 1979 and Self-Government in 2009. However, Greenland together with the Faroe Islands are still part of the Danish realm, each having 2 seats in the Danish Parliament. Whereas vital areas such as Defence, Health, Police and to some degree Foreign Policy is still managed by Denmark.

2. The economic bases of colonialism: knowledge of the functions and roles that were a priority in the relationship and the bonds between these cities;

For example, in the Rio-Lisbon entanglement, the discovery of gold and diamonds in the Minas region increased the demand for imports of African people slaved and, at the same time, strengthened the system of colonial exploration between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, which for this reason became the capital.

In the case of Greenland, Danish administrators realized that they would make the highest revenues by persuading Greenlanders to stick to their traditional ways of hunting especially seal and whale and simultaneously trying to seal of Greenland to modernity. This policy meant that parts of the Inuit lifestyle was kept alive, whereas missionaries playing a key role to the early colonization period banned other parts of Inuit cultures. It also meant that the rash modernisation conducted after 1953, including new economic policies, was experienced as extremely radical by Greenlanders.

3. Cultural practices[3] relating to colonial heritage[4]: knowledge of the unique configuration of each city through field research, to identify agents, cultural practices relating to heritage assets and other heritage invention processes.

Interpreting these layers in a cross-disciplinary way can lead to broader understandings of how colonial heritage is shaped, transformed and coexists in tangible and intangible form with other cultural heritages within today's multicultural societies.

The most relevant entanglements of these transatlantic relations

In Rio-Lisbon entanglement:

- The African enlace.

  Colonial relations between Brazil and Portugal were overcome in legal terms almost 200 years ago (Brazilian independence from Portugal occurred in 1822). The transition was concluded and the political rupture consolidated. During the colonial period and afterwards, the economic basis of colonial relations was the enslavement of African people. Slavery continued entangling Portuguese traders in Rio de Janeiro Port and Brazilian land and slave owners until 1888. The Port of Lisbon was also the main entry point for African people in Portugal under different conditions of subordination including the enslaved, indigenous and immigrants. African people became entangled in these cities with the difficult past of European colonialism. Their ontology was deeply racialized and their life marked by oppression and violence. This entanglement is not something closed in the past, the racism created then was strongly ingrained in Portuguese and Brazilian cultures, and it resisted until today.

- The official heritage discourse.

  In order to think about the category "entangled cities", it is fundamental to know the various agents involved and the struggles for representation involved in the processes being studied. Official heritage policies in Brazil selected colonial cities, monuments and vernacular architecture as the most important symbols of national identity. The image of the nation - the authorized heritage discourse[5] – always refreshes the memory of its Portuguese (and then, European) origins, ignoring the African, indigenous or immigrants presence. However, social movements need to be part of the imagination of the nation through official recognition. That is why the agents, besides the official agencies that are present in the tense arena for consecrating heritage, cannot be ignored as important interventions in the city and in

[3] Cf. CHARTIER, Roger. *História Cultural*. Entre práticas e representações. São Paulo: Difel, 1990.

[4] The category "colonial heritage" is ambiguous and may have different appropriations. Here it is understood as a colonial way of seeing and recognizing any asset as heritage. Given that any heritage is the result of value attribution processes, it is these processes and the assigned values that make it a colonial or de-colonial asset. Cf. MENESES, Ulpiano. O campo do Patrimônio cultural: uma revisão de premissas. Conferência Magna. 1º Forum Nacional de Patrimônio Cultural. Ouro Preto: IPHAN, 2009.

[5] Cf. SMITH, Laurajane. *The Uses of Heritage*. New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2006.

people's lives[6]. They have been co-responsible for renewing heritage values and also, often, for reproducing colonial values.

- Urbanistic development

  The Port of Lisbon area represents the main hub of colonial entanglements with Rio on both a horizontal and vertical level. These relations were translated into urban structures that closely connected the palaces of power with the slave markets. Likewise, it is possible to identify a similar urban type in the area of Rio de Janeiro, where the former palace of power is close to the archaeological find of the Valongo Warf - the place where African people slaved were taken to during the colonial era - which was declared UNESCO *World Cultural Heritage* in 2017.

  There is now an emerging recognition of the multiplicity of views on the past. In Rio, strong initiatives have defended and defend the new concepts of heritage in its strongly collective, diverse and open form; in Portugal the debate started has only produced strong tensions. This is the case of the heated controversy currently over the naming of a future museum on the issue in Lisbon (The Discoveries Museum?) and, simultaneously, the will of the afro-descendent associations to build a Memorial of Slavery on the main riverside area of the city.

In the Nuuk-Copenhagen entanglement:

- Christianshavn in Copenhagen and the Colonial Harbour in Nuuk.

  The area of Christianshavn contains a wide range of colonial entanglements on both a horizontal and vertical level. Historically the area was a nodal point in Danish colonial trade involving entanglements in terms of both different regions of the world, various products and not least humans from all walks of life intersecting with each other there. With particular regard to Greenland, the area also hosts a number of important locations in today's relations between Denmark and Greenland, including Nordatlantens Brygge - home to the representations of Greenland and the Faroe Islands and the Embassy of Iceland, and thus an important venue setting new agendas in discussions on colonial heritage. It is also home to strong resident groups currently involved in shedding light on the colonial past and to Kofoed Skole, an institution helping out homeless people in Copenhagen. The Colonial Harbour in Nuuk likewise features a number of sites key to both historical and contemporary relations, such as the National Museum of Greenland; Hans Egedes hus home to the first Danish-Norwegian coloniser and today used to house key events of the Greenland Government; and the statue of Hans Egede, which has featured in various activists' artistic and heritage reflections on colonialism.

[6] The practices of those agents can be understood as small daily subversions. Cf. Certeau, Michel de. *A Invenção do Cotidiano*. Artes de fazer. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1998.

Internal colonisation *by Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper*

Internal colonization is a term used in the social sciences and humanities to define the subordination of one European people to others in terms of 'colonialism'.

The prospect of 'intra-European colonization' was used for the first time to describe Ireland's subordination to the British Empire. It is in fact the example of Ireland that has inspired the production of a rich body of literature presenting this country as a victim of intra-European colonization (see Deane 1990). However, from the beginning of the transformation of the political system in Europe's post-communist countries, the postcolonial perspective also began to be applied to the history and modern situation of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE).

Researchers dealing with 'internal European colonization' point to analogies between the policy pursued by colonial empires and that pursued by subordinate European and non-European nations. In their opinions, the CEE societies underwent similar processes to those of Europe's maritime colonies. In the case of CEE, the analogy argument can be traced down to at least three colonizing forces: the West (specifically German-speaking countries and, in general terms, European or even global modernity), the East (Russia and Soviet Union) and the countries in this region with imperial ambitions (Poland and Hungary). In addition, such arguments by analogy share an (often inexplicit) assumption that postcolonial theory helps to highlight issues overshadowed by more conventional notions used by the historiography of the region, such as foreign occupation, nation-building, totalitarianism, (post)communism, (post)socialism, and others. The second type of argumentation is more historical in its essence, placing CEE in a wider, global framework of colonization and decolonization processes. The most significant example of this argumentation is the research on parallels between colonialism and Nazism and the German concept of 'Mitteleuropa'. In the Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Slovenian and Croatian cases, German speaking countries have always been the main colonizing Western 'other'. Inspired by such a perspective, a number of authors have depicted the extreme version of biological racism that appeared in the twentieth century and the turning of CEE into a colonial space and laboratory for the Nazi social and racial experiments as an evolution of nineteenth-century German cultural chauvinism, especially in Poland's case (see e.g. Nelson 2009).

One of the important elements of postcolonial narratives is a critique of 'Eurocentrism' (McLennan 2003). However, from the point of view of researchers dealing with post-communist Europe, Eurocentrism is above all 'West-centrism'. This causes colonialism to be perceived almost exclusively through the prism of actions taken by Western European countries in relation to regions located outside of Europe. This perspective is based on a strict division of the East and West of Europe, which makes the experiences of Eastern European nations invisible from a postcolonial perspective (see Cavanagh 2004). Thus, there is a noticeable diversity among descriptions of the phenomenon of 'intra-European colonization', which depends upon which colonizer we are dealing with. Researchers point out that the unconscious assumption in mainstream postcolonial reflection is that Western European countries are 'exemplary' colonial empires and hence the Russia/Soviet Union and Ottoman Empire do not appear in this paradigm (Tlostanova

2015). This assumption is also based on the conceptual reduction of all empires to colonial ones although only some of them developed colonial structure and ideology.

This happens, on the one hand, because the Ottoman Empire and Russia/Soviet Union are only presented as partially European countries or even as Asian ones, and attitudes to them are correspondingly diverse. For example, when Bulgaria was struggling against the influence of the Ottoman Empire, it perceived Russia as a European country that could provide it with support in its struggle against a culturally and religiously alien colonizer. Other nations subjected to similar pressure were in turn seeking support in Western Europe. It would therefore be necessary to distinguish the issue of 'the colonizing of European nations' from 'intra-European colonization'. From the point of view of CEE countries, however, the basic issue concerned was relations with Russia and the fact that their region was a collision point between the spheres of influence of Russia and those of the German-speaking imperial countries (whose Europeanness was not questioned).

On the other hand, thinkers from nations subordinate to the Soviet Union emphasize that it is difficult (for ideological reasons) for researchers supportive of postcolonial movements based on Marxism to perceive the communist country as an oppressive colonial empire (see Riabczuk 2015; Tlostanova 2015). Researchers draw an analogy between the imperial policy of Tsarist Russia and the presence of a similar racist policy towards non-Christian peoples, which appeared in the activities of other colonial empires (Burbank, Cooper 2010; Tlostanova 2012, 2015). Moreover, Russia's successor, the Soviet Union, is often seen as a colonial power that hid its colonial ambitions behind a 'smokescreen' of progressive ideology and the support it granted to the decolonization movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In fact, the Soviet empire reinforced tendencies like Russification, exploitation of the non-Russian republics, domination over countries in CEE, deportations and ethnic cleansing, forced labour and crimes against indigenous people (e.g. Korek 2007; Stefannescu 2012; Tlostanova 2012).

The third important (post)colonial approach relates to Poland and Hungary's own imperial ambitions. In the early modern era, at the peak of its territorial development, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth covered the greater part of today's Baltic states, as well as Belarus, Ukraine and some parts of Russia. After regaining independence in 1918, the Second Polish Republic still had significant territories in the East. Critical anthropology and culture studies point to the serfdom-based economy of this rural country and claim that divisions of its social structure among the gentry and peasants, and the cultural effects of these, were similar to those of the slave economies of colonial powers. They have also stressed the Orientalization or forced Polonization of various minorities, in particular the Ruthenians, Belarusians, Ukrainians and Jews (see Fiut 2003; Bakuła 2006). Moreover, the signs of nostalgia for a former 'empire' can still be seen today in some spheres of Polish culture (see Mayblin et al. 2016). Moreover, Hungary was an important political and cultural force that affected neighbouring nations, such as the Romanians, Slovaks and Croats. The disintegration of Hungary resulting from the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 and loss of two-thirds of its territory (which remains outside the Hungarian state to this day) is still a form of trauma for Hungarian society today (see Gerner 2007).

The postcolonial perspective allows the history of CEE be placed within a global context of reflecting on global relations of power and subordination. as well as their lasting consequences. It can be perceived as a critical tool for defining political, economic and cultural dependencies and opposing them. In this respect, quite a distinct approach has emerged. It relates to the way the consequences of the 1989 breakthrough in CEE have been depicted by a branch of postcolonial theory cultivated by critical anthropology complementary to postsocialist studies. Although this approach was developed by a different group of scholars interested in different historical processes, it still engages with the way the notion of Western modernity was imposed on the region. In particular, critical anthropology has described the situation of 'transitional' societies – that have transformed from socialism to capitalism and dictatorship to democracy – as 'postcolonial' due to the teleological, modernizing and globalizing neoliberal tendencies that enjoyed a hegemonic position in the region at the time. The situation of CEE societies at that time has also sometime been termed 'neocolonial' due, on the one hand, to the presence and influence of advisors from international organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund or World Bank, who were advocating liberalization, democratization and marketization in the region at the same time and on the other hand, the internationalization of domestic policies caused by accession to the European Union. These processes are seen by some researchers as a new version of 'internal colonization' in which Western countries of the EU are placed in the role of colonizing powers (Buchowski 2006; Csepely, Örkény, and Scheppele 1996; Sowa 2011).

It is also worth noting that rejecting the framework of 'postcolonialism' has also recently become popular among authors studying various forms of socialism and post-socialism. In a foundational article, anthropologists Sharad Chari and Katherine Verdery (2009) called for the liberation of "the Cold War from the ghetto of Soviet area studies and postcolonial thought from the ghetto of third world and colonial studies". They proposed that both terms, that is, 'post-socialism' and 'postcolonialism', be rejected in favour of working on a single broader framework enabling the exploration of Cold War ideology's effects worldwide. Such a framework may be established by the 'post-dependency' paradigm, which has been developed to encompass different forms of dependency, processes of liberation and the social, political and cultural transformation of subaltern nations (see Zarycki 2016).

Although the postcolonial discourse on Central and Eastern Europe is still barely present in the mainstream of postcolonial literature, it is flourishing among researchers dealing with the problems of the region. It should be noted, however, that the Eastern European postcolonization literature is extremely diverse and elaborated by representatives of various disciplines (including sociologists, anthropologists, cultural studies scholars, Slavists and historians) who often classify different phenomena using the same term – 'postcolonialism'. One example of this diversity is the application of the term 'internal colonisation' to social and class differences rather than those arising from nation or state of origin. The creator of this approach is the Russian researcher Alexander Etkind (2013), who presents Russia as a country colonizing its own citizens, who are in turn defined by the elites not in terms of their nationality or race but in terms of class differences. However, this approach is criticized because it conceals the fact that Russia and the Soviet Union have been pursuing a policy of Russification towards ethnic and religious groups based on

discrimination and racism (Tlostanowa 2015). In the Polish scholarly discourse, an 'internal colonisation approach' based on the assumption that cultural elites colonize all other social strata, destroying their cultural diversity, is primarily represented by Tomasz Zarycki (2008).

CEE researchers' adoption of a postcolonial perspective indicating the existence of the phenomenon of 'internal European colonisation' has a deep critical potential and moral dimension. Colonialism has been assessed globally as a negative phenomenon and the use of expressions from the postcolonial studies in relation to European countries that implement imperial policies reinforces any negative assessment of their actions. This is particularly important in the case of Russia (especially as the Soviet Union used to describe itself during the Communist Era as a country opposed to the politics of the Western imperial colonial powers). The positioning of the 'subaltern' as a victim of colonialism is therefore a moral position and, like every victim's position in the modern world, it enables the building of moral capital that can be later used in domestic and international politics (Lim 2010; Łuczewski 2017).

Processes of internal colonisation produced heritage which is still problematic for CEE countries such as Poland. An example here could be Warsaw, where the long presence of Russia and the Soviet Union has left its mark on the city landscape (in the form of technical infrastructure, buildings, monuments, Orthodox churches and cemeteries). After the beginning of the socio-political transformation, only monuments were removed as a visible element of the symbolic domination of Soviet Union in the city space. However, the main symbol of Russian domination – citadel which was a military base and a prison – has become the subject of the heritage reframing practices. Referring on the moral argument – that is, giving justice to the victims of Russian colonialism – the Polish authorities transformed the citadel into a museum dedicated to the victims of Russian and Soviet imperialism. At the same time, a museum of Polish history is being created there, which is supposed to show Polish resistance to hostile colonial politics of neighboring empires.

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Decolonizing the Mind *by Casper Andersen*

In recent years contestations around European colonial heritage and legacies have been voiced around calls "to decolonize" institutions, public spaces, curricula and forms of knowledge. To decolonize has different meanings, but the underlying assumption is that the effects of colonialism on the cultures of the colonized have been profound, negative and enduring. Decolonization, therefore, is not merely (or indeed primarily) an *event* that took place when and where formal colonial rule came to an end, but rather a *process* of challenging the cultural and epistemic legacies of colonialism in broader fields of history, aesthetics and culture

The ideas and social movements that have driven the calls to decolonize have originated outside Europe and, from there, found their way into public arenas and academic discourse within Europe. And they have a long history. Mahatma Gandhi's insistence that real independence required the rejection of Western universalist claims and Walter Rodney's indictment that colonialism was a one-armed bandit shared, for example, with Edward Said's critique of orientalism, the idea that decolonization and the challenge to the alleged universality of Western epistemologies were intimately connected concerns. The most prominent recent example may be the Rhodes Must Fall Movement that began with student protests at the University of Cape Town in March 2015, with demands to decolonize higher education in South Africa. From Cape Town the movement spread to other campuses and cities outside and within Europe, notably the University of Oxford in Britain. Despite important differences in social and political contexts, the Rhodes Must Fall Movement in both Cape Town and Oxford gathered momentum around a call to decolonize that meant at least three things: First, changing or removing iconography, monuments and other material legacies of colonialism in and around the universities, notably the statues of the British imperialist and colonial politician Cecil John Rhodes (1953–1902); second, a call for more black South African academics (in the case of UCT) and more racial diversity (in the case of Oxford); and third, the inclusion of more non-Western authors, approaches and topics in order to decolonize curricula and allow a broader representation of epistemologies (Knudsen & Andersen 2018).

Ill 1: RHODES MUST FALL, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN: challenging the "Colonisation of the Mind" (2015)

Ill 2: RHODES MUST FALL, OXFORD: Calls to decolonize education in Oxford (2016). The RMF movement began outside Europe and from there spread to cities within Europe

Contestations over the same issues – material legacies of colonialism, discriminatory practices and knowledge diversification – have also been central to demands to decolonize voices in other Europeans cities in recent years, including Amsterdam and Copenhagen.

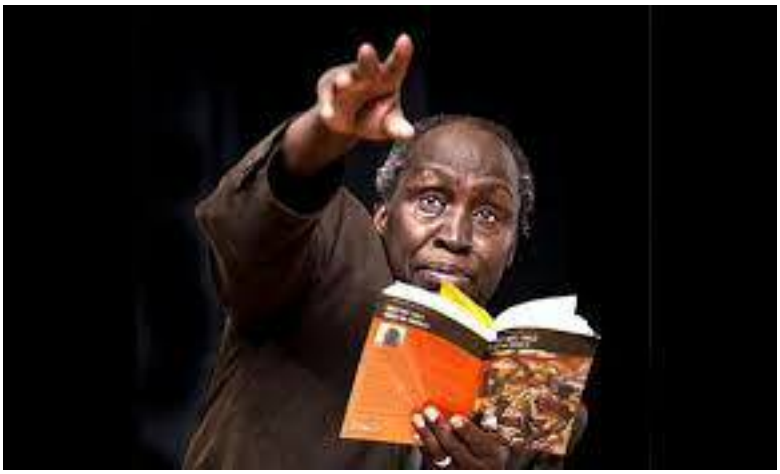
Ngugi's Decolonizing the mind

The intellectual history of the calls to decolonize culture and history is long and broad. In the twentieth century alone, strands of post-colonial thought, intellectual movements like Negritude, alliances among the non-Aligned, and a wide range of individual citizens, artists and academics have taken part in debates that have spanned the globe (Jansen and Osterhammel 2015, Chapter 6).

Important theoretical contributions to the "decolonizing turn" have come from decolonial thinking and practice employed and promoted by a group of South and Central American thinkers, including Walter Mignolo, Enrique Dussel, Anibal Quijano and Ramon Grosfoguel, whose refined critiques of coloniality have pointed out news ways of construing the relations between south and north in both political and epistemological terms. A connected development has also been notable among intellectuals in different parts of Africa, beginning in the wake of the end of formal colonial rule. A key contribution, which remains influential among activists and scholars in many parts of Europe and Africa today, is that of Kenyan novelist and literary theorist Ngúgí wa Thiong'o and his *Decolonizing the Mind* from 1981. In this short book, Ngúgí asserts that colonialism's "most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to

the world" (Ngugi 1981, 17). Colonialism detonated a "cultural bomb" that almost annihilated people's belief in their language, heritage and environment and made them regard their own cultural background as "a wasteland of non-achievement" that had to be left behind as quickly as possible (Ngugi 1981, 3). Western cultural expressions and Western ways of knowing became and remain the benchmark, Ngúgí claims, against which all other traditions are to be measured and ranked. These were models that the colonized could strive for but never achieve because of their alleged cultural and racial inferiority that had been sanctioned by the very same Western traditions of knowledge.

The colonized mind had to be decolonized. For Ngúgí this meant giving up the language of the colonizer in his own writings and a struggle to change an educational system that gave precedence to Western traditions at the expense of all others. Above all, to decolonize was (and remains) to Ngúgi a search for "a liberating perspective" that aims to find new ways of seeing one's place in the world through new forms of unity among people of African descent (Ngugi 2009). For Ngúgí, decolonizing the mind means a process to end a false universalism in the guise of "Westernized" canons that attribute truth only to Western forms of knowledge production but without succumbing to a relativism in which all perspectives are equally valid. As Mbembe has asserted, in Ngugi's terms, "'decolonization' is about rejecting the assumption that the modern West is the central root of Africa's consciousness and cultural heritage. It is about rejecting the notion that Africa is merely an extension of the West" (Mbembe 2015)



Ill 3: NGÚGÍ WA THIONG'O (1938-) coined the expression decolonizing the mind in the 1980s. Today the call to decolonize is key to movements and groups inside and outside Europe that seek to challenge colonial legacies and demand institutional change for the future.

Arguably, Ngúgí has one foot in a tradition that essentializes African knowledge and aims to replace European knowledge, and another foot in a tradition that subscribes to a more open notion of knowledge and seeks a continued dialogue between the global north and south in the engagement with the entangled colonial past and decolonial present. This fundamental tension is key to the calls to decolonize that ECHOES engages with. Concretely, this means focusing on and giving voice to new actors and other practices that have been marginalized by Western epistemology, but without the essentialization of a nostalgic traditionalism. For Mbembe and also for de Sousa Santos, for example, decoloniality constitutes

a horizontal strategy of openness to dialogue among different epistemic traditions. This does not abandon a notion of a universal knowledge, but rather instals "pluriverse" epistemologies in the common world that also enable dialogue when dealing with the troubling and lingering legacies of colonialism.

From post-colonial act to de-colonial process

The calls to decolonize cover a spectrum from the philosophical and epistemological to the institutional and specific. On the philosophical level, the calls to decolonize attack the "epistemic coloniality" of hegemonic Western ways of knowing which relegate other ways of knowing to the margins by attributing truth and value only to traditions which, in Cartesian fashion, claim the detachment of the known from the knower. On the institutional level, the call to decolonize is a demand for change, particularly in higher education. In the *African Leadership University* (ALU) – to take one example – this involves commitments such as the exclusive use of open source material, the inclusion of language beyond English, programmes to ensure equality in student mobility, and developing collaborative modes of teaching and research (Auerbach 2017). A crucial point in the calls to decolonize is that philosophical and epistemological critique has to led to institutional and pollical change.

Importantly, the agenda to challenge colonial legacies and the alleged universality of Western knowledge production have also been central to post-colonial theories including, for example, Chakrabarti's influential insistence on the need to provincialize European thought, traditions and epistemologies. What seem to be more prominent in the calls to decolonize in the South American and African tradition is the attention to action – to artistic interventions and citizen involvement. Language is important here: You cannot post-colonize but you can try to decolonize public spaces, academic institutions and modes of thinking. Certainly, it is notable how new alliances around the call to decolonize are being made between artists, citizens and academics – and between formal and informal institutions – in their engagements with the legacies and heritage of colonialism.

For ECHOES a key task is the attentiveness to the different meanings and strategies that produce – and which are produced – in the calls to decolonize currently voiced in cities inside and outside Europe by heterogenous groupings working in more or less formalized relationships with heritage institutions and in connective grass roots formations.

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Decolonial Aesthetics *by Marine Schütz*

Decolonial aesthetics: an expression of decolonizing processes ?

Since the beginning of the 1990s, global contemporary art worlds have seen the emergence of many artistic, art criticism related and curatorial projects associated with notions such as decolonial turn, decolonization of the museum and decolonial aesthetics. The dynamic consisting in acknowledging how the colonial experiences have shaped the values in art and society, and of mapping art as a point of mobilisation to engage in critical ways with this enduring heritage might constitute a common thread running between these variegated projects. The simultaneous statement and undoing of colonialism's effects seem eager to inscribe these aesthetic propositions within the frame of decolonizing processes. Indeed, they espouse the words spoken by Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano on knowledge, of which aesthetics is constitutive: "if knowledge is colonized, then one of the tasks ahead is to de-colonize knowledge" (Quijano 1997).

The critical nature of the ways in which recent aesthetic experiments connect to the values of art inherited from the Modern European heritage form another argument for reading decolonial aesthetics as a movement that owes to the processes of decolonization. The reworking of European legacy within which revolves the decolonial turn of art undolds in frames of protestation, resistance and emancipation, that may remind the operations driven in the 1980s by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o of decolonizing the mind, as a "contestation around European colonial heritage and legacies" (Andersen 2018).

The impulse to decolonize can be seen as a response to today's structural forms of privilege and oppressive hierarchies. In spite of the end of political colonization, effects of coloniality defined by Quijano as a "matrix of power that produces racial and gender hierarchies on the global and local level" (Quijano 1997) pervade, especially the "racial stratification of labour and the proliferation of inequality and racism" (Muñiz Reed 2017: 99). The realm of culture has also been constructed out of Western imperial categories like the museum, which has historically given impetus to artists and curators to attempts to decolonize aesthetics.

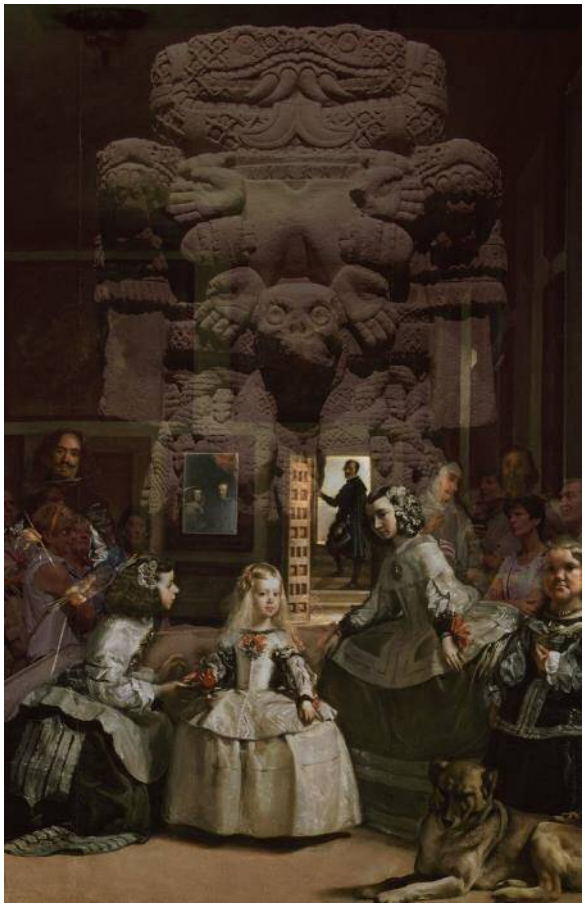
Decolonizing the museum

In *Mining the Museum* (1992), the Afro-American artist Fred Wilson, who had been invited by the Maryland historical society to make a site-specific work in the Baltimore's Contemporary museum, attempted to raise the implications for curators and museums for telling history.

Ill. 1. Fred Wilson, *Modes of Transportation, 1770-1910,* from *Mining the Museum : An Installation by Fred Wilson,* The Contemporary Museum and Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, 1992-3.

If decolonial practising is about re-inscribing histories and perspectives that have been devalued (Maldonado-Torres 2014), then exercise of undoing the coloniality of power could unleash in the re-arranging of objects of existing collections. Assembling historical objects of the collections, *Modes of transportation* worked on the association of Ku Klux Klan hood and a baby carriage and had provocative effects on the viewer, who, at first, could think he was seeing a baby. By reshuffling the objects in a display that brought to visibility some of the artefacts of collections including accounts of colonization, slavery and abolition that were, usually, not shown, the artist reinforced the Baltimore museum's status as a place where history is not only subjectively told, but told 'from a specific viewpoint, namely that of its white male founding board' (Ginsberg 2014).

The Black Mirror / Espejo Negro series started in 2007 by Mexican artist Pedro Lasch relied on the same basis of a re-arranging of museums' objects. Its decolonial stake comes from the fact that the context of the museum is used to pose the question of coloniality of knowledge. *Coatlicue and Las Meninas* was based on the gathering of these two iconic works of pre- and colonial periods, usually separated in collections in Madrid and Mexico - bringing out the fact that imperial history has been that of a 'modernity/coloniality union' (Lasch 2013).



II. 2 Pedro Lasch*, Coatlicue and Las Meninas*, *from the series* Black Mirror, 2007–present.

Lasch's decision to separate the works confronted in the Mexico City's National Museum of Anthropology and Prado's contexts by a black glass entailed strange perceptive effects of light reflections that involved the audience bodily, and of superimposition, colliding indigeneity, coloniality and the Self. Lasch, thus designed interesting ways of handling the colonial heritage. These were less about getting rid of it, than making it an opportunity to imagine a physical dialogue where Modern and Indigenous have the same status, where the physical experience of cotemporality translates the extent to which copresence of cultures was and is constitutive of the Mexican and Spanish identities.

Walter Mignolo and Rolando Vázquez's decolonial aesthetics: questioning aesthetics and making decolonial aesthesis, as ways to delink from aesthetic Modern colonial heritage

For theorists like Walter Mignolo, much of the necessity to re-conceptualise aesthetics relies on the failure of the museum fueled with the values inherited from Modern aesthetic heritage – addressed by Wilson – to provide the people of the transmodern world with categories suitable to their current experiences. Around Duke University's Transnational Decolonial Institute, a group of researchers, artists and theorists (gathering Pedro Lasch, Alanna Lockward, Walter Mignolo and Rolando Vázquez) adressed decolonial aesthetics on this basis. Their aim was to point the limits of Modern model, throughout a philosophical investigation of aesthetic concepts. Their main assumption was based on the fact that

aesthetics constitutes and is constitutive – like knowledge, politics and economy – of systemic expressions of the colonial matrix of power that began in the sixteenth century with the emergence of the Atlantic slave trade as a capitalist commercial circuit and the colonization of the New World.

The issue, thus, was to challenge Modern espitemology and to change the hegemonic ideas of art. They did so by the use of terminological de-naturalization. Mignolo considered this as a way of exploring coloniality of knowledge. The Kantian aesthetics comes as the concept around which Mignolo and Vázquez engaged their epistemic critique of aesthetic knowledge. From a mainstream/modern point of view, Kantian aesthetics could be seen as a coupling of art as skill and theory of beauty. But a decolonial gaze on it – which is Mignolo and Vázquez' one – would describe it as a normative standard that attempts to superimpose its own sense of beauty over the world (Mignolo and Vázquez 2013). Aesthetics then is twice an operation of reduction. Firstly, for as came with Immanuel Kant the enunciation of a theory of beauty that reduced the plurality of the organic senses encapsulated in the Greek word *aesthesis* or *aiesthesis* to a single visual sense. Secondly, since non-Western ways of sensing were denied by aesthetics' universalist claims. Once this regulating of the beautiful became projected 'to the entire population of the planet' (Mignolo and Vázquez 2013), reduction gave way to a control of Europe over the world. By way of consequence, aesthetics entered into a colonization of the different types of aesthesis in the world. This argument of aesthetics as an operation of control over the senses owes much to Frantz Fanon's concept of sociogenesis (quoted by the two thinkers) which exemplifies how colonized subjectivity was made by the colonial gaze. In other words, from a decolonial point of view, Modern aesthetics was nothing else than a form of sensory colonisation, that dovetails with other economic and political forms of control.

The de-naturalization of the terms stands for the first step of an epistemic critique that contests the Western hegemonic ideas. Besides, the decolonial option aims to strive to incorporate "the perspectives/cosmologies/espistemic visions of the Global South critical thinkers" (Grosfoguel 2007). Discussion on the new functions for art, by Mignolo and Vázquez, who called for the word *aesthesis* to replace aesthetics, dovetail with the Global South epistemologies' project to reflect on the subalternized bodies and spaces. In the beginning of the 2010s, the Greek and pre-colonial word *aesthesis* was elected in relation to the use Afro-Colombian researcher Adolfo Alban Achinte had made of it, ten years before. He addressed then the practices of everyday creation, which had been denied validity under the Modern aesthetic hegemony (Mignolo and Vázquez 2013). *Aesthesis* then talks of concrete re-existance of ways of sensing through the everyday practices (Mignolo and Vázquez 2013) and enters in one the three kinds of re-emergence upon which could be enacted 'decolonial futures' (Knudsen 2018).

For Mignolo, the powerful agency of *aesthesis* plays as a source for coining an aesthetic model founded on the liberation of senses. In contrast to Adolfo Alban Achinte, *aesthesis* is less about the recognition of the senses than about articulating, through the liberation of senses, a delinking from aesthetics as based on regulation of the senses. This new model does not only oppose to the Kantian one, but wishes to decolonize it (Mignolo and Vázquez 2013). The political sounding of words chosen to rebuilt aesthetics's meaning might be explained by decoloniality's dialogue with the Global South genealogies,

Mignolo and Vázquez lean on, that of Fanon, inscribing thereby decoloniality in dialogue with struggles for emancipation, and that of the Abya Yala knowledge, absorbing thereby a part of indigenous way of understanding human actions with the topic of healing (Mignolo and Vázquez 2013). From these traditions, the theorists define *aesthesis* as both a practice of resistance and of healing. Though reflecting *aesthesis'* significance in the process of decolonization of aesthetics, Mignolo and Vázquez felt necessary to distinguish between *aesthesis* and an other current: *decolonial aesthesis.* Replaying old Modern European divide between folkore and art, the first was seen as a basic human global skill while the second as the interventions within the world of the contemporary arts aimed at challenging 'the hegemonic normativity of aesthetics in its own field' (Mignolo and Vázquez 2013).

Decolonial aesthetics and intercultural identities. Some perspectives on decolonial practices in Europe

Critical voices that speak from the center of colonial power are also especially crucial for ECHOES project, which addresses bodies of artworks located in Bristol, Cape Town and Marseille.

Ill. 3. Martine Derain and Dalila Mahdjoub, *D'Un seuil à l'autre,* installation, Marseille, 2007.

Artists based in Marseille, Martine Derain and Dalila Mahdjoub have explored indigenous culture and historical vacuums as part of decolonial strategizing. *From a threshold another* (2007) revolves around a physical residence where old former colonial Algerian workers in Marseille live today. The burial, deep into the soil, of two doors coming from the first residence built during French Empire to host colonial workers in metropole (in the aftermath of World War II) completes the installation. The feeling of injustice, born out the research led by Dalila Mahdjoub in colonial archives services, pointing to poor housing of Algerian workers, was the source a creation that addresses delinking from colonial heritage *via* epistemic disobedience.

Ill. 4. Martine Derain, Exhibition catalogue reproducing the photographic archive of historical barrack where overseas workers debarked to work in Marseille since the beginning of the twentieth century, 2007.

Indeed, throughout the image of the dwell and the use of a Kabylian proverb, the work questions the notion of belonging, partly reminiscent in the title of the installation. The dwell, as conceived in the proverb as the site of impredictibility, rather than enclosure, challenges the notion of belonging since domesticity is often equated with national space (Meskimmon 2010).

Moreover, the issue of the disruptive effects of positionality on the Western Self is important to understand how decolonial aesthetics challenges power structures. But it ought not to be restricted to the position of the subjects/artists in the world. The way Mignolo discusses the decolonial aesthetics seems sometimes to reduce the other parameters entering in the formation of identity, especially class and gender, what could bring, when applied to artworks, to read the contestation of colonial/Modern values in unidimensional ways. Concerning the post-colonial subject addressed by decolonial thinkers, it should be interesting to consider effects of transculturation that decolonization had also on subjects in Europe (Hulme quoted in Rycroft 2015), identity and the inter-aesthetical/inter-epistemic ways of sensing and thinking. The fact that transculturation eschews binary ways of being obliges us to re-read the sometimes binarity from which decoloniality adresses aesthetic phenomena. It brings us to ask what kind of definitions of identity should be mobilized to get frames that recognize how decolonial aesthetics also comes to negotiate power-relations in terms of class and gender. Indeed, class and feminist discourses do encapsulate

decolonial artworks and many decolonial artworks locate at the crossroads of entangled struggles. Ivan Muñiz explains this multidimensional expressions of the links between identity and decolonial art by the fact that "many of the normative principles of male dominance have been propagated by the same matrix of power" (Muñiz-Reed 2017:101). This comment seems especially right, due to the fact that Martine Derain and Dalila Mahdjoub's work can certainly be understood as a decolonization of colonial aesthetic knowledge, but also as a challenge to cultural hegemony ; that the resistance it produces certainly responds to colonial history, but also to the oblivion of the history of the colonial workers and to the restrained artistic space for women artists. Therefore, a suited methodological approach would be to inform the inquiry in intersectional terms, by drawing on other academic fields like feminism and cultural studies. Kimberlé Crenshaw's concept of intersectionnality would also help to understand the extent to which power-relations might be articulated within decolonial aesthetics. Interestingly, the discussion she developed to address the crossings of the feminist and the black liberation movements were underpinned by a conception of identity as multifacted, lying at the intersection of class, gender and race. This could precisely pave the way to a rethinking of decolonial aesthetics in more mobile and flexible ways.

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Epistemic Decolonization *by Nick Shepherd*

> "The hegemonic modern/colonial and Eurocentred paradigm needs to be decolonized. But how does epistemic decolonization work? What is its grammar (that is, its vocabulary, syntax and semantics)?" (Mignolo 2007:485)

"Epistemic decolonization" is a phrase that one hears more-and-more often these days, but what does it mean? Some things are immediately obvious. The notion of an episteme is a philosophical term from the Ancient Greek word of similar pronunciation which refers to knowledge, science and understanding. In a more contemporary sense it derives from Foucault's usage in *The Order of Things* (1994), in which an episteme refers to the historical a priori and underlying assumptions that ground knowledge and discourses in any particular period (it thus becomes possible, for example, to talk about a "modern episteme"). To talk of epistemic decolonization, then, is to suggest that knowledge itself has been colonized, and needs to be decolonized. This is an arresting idea, but what, precisely, does it mean? What forms does the coloniality of knowledge take, and how should we set about decolonizing the episteme?

In this short essay I will try to answer the first part of this question, on the different forms taken by the coloniality of knowledge (that is, the different ways in which knowledge has been colonized). Because it does not make sense to talk about such high-flown ideas in an abstract way, I will try to be specific, and will exemplify my argument by referring to a single discipline, the discipline of archaeology. In my own work, I have argued that the coloniality of knowledge exists as a form of deep inscription in disciplines like archaeology. We might think of this as a kind of hidden legacy, or ambiguous inheritance, passed down to us as we are interpolated into disciplinary worlds of practice. I have also argued that the coloniality of knowledge has at least three dimensions, a structural and logistical dimension, an epistemic dimension, and an ethical and moral dimension. Extending this argument to the discipline of archaeology produces the following account, which is a brief summary of longer published versions (Shepherd 2015, 2016, in press).

A first dimension of the coloniality of archaeology is structural and logistical. A significant part of the historical development of archaeology as a discipline took place in colonial situations. Archaeology tended to operate as an expeditionary science, in which territories of the global south and global east figured as field sites and research opportunities, sites from which to harvest or collect data (Shepherd 2002, 2015). Frequently, the flow of data or information was in one direction, and was basically extractive. Information, observations and objects moved from locations in the global south and east, to the disciplinary metropoles in Europe and North America, where they were worked up into publications (site reports, regional syntheses, typologies and systems of classification, and so on). In the ordering of rank and hierarchy in the discipline, scholars in metropolitan institutions held primacy, while scholars in the global south were frequently treated as local enablers or collaborators "on the ground" (Shepherd 2002, 2015). Local assistants on the periphery of the discipline were described by a variety of names: informants, diggers, or often just

"boys" (Shepherd 2003). Key metropolitan journals and publishing houses and university presses held sway in the politics of publishing, and citation circles centred on figures in the global north meant that certain debates and lines of investigation were pursued, while others languished. All of which is to say that in its structural and logistical aspects, the discipline of archaeology recapitulated relationships in the colonial worlds of practice that had been such a formative part of its development as a discipline. I would argue that this situation, which I have described as an historical situation, is still very much with us and forms part of the inbuilt coloniality of the discipline, in its structural and logistical aspects (Shepherd 2016). In fact, I would argue that in an era in which migrancy, cultural hybridisation and social media have vastly complicated the scope and complexity of transnational exchanges, academic and disciplinary worlds of practice offer some of the most lingeringly colonial situations that we have, as witness the habitus of the average Fellows dinner at Cambridge or Oxford.

In a way, the structural and logistical aspects of the coloniality of disciplines like archaeology are readily visible. The wonder is that they are not commented on more often, or with more outrage. A second dimension of coloniality is more subtle in that it demands that we interrogate the accustomed categories and concepts through which we think, as well as our understanding of what knowledge is and how knowledge works. This is coloniality in its epistemic dimension. The task here is slightly different. It involves understanding how the twinned contexts of colonialism and modernity express themselves in the way in which knowledge is thought and constructed in the disciplines. In the case of archaeology, this takes us to core notions of time, place and personhood. For example, with regard to time we might tell the following story. Colonialism/ imperialism is not only concerned with the conquest of space or territory, but also with the conquest of time (Shepherd 2016). The conquest of time takes many forms, including the cancelling or subalternization of local histories and temporalities, and their replacement with modern Western understandings of time and history. The contours of this understanding of history are familiar: to be of the non-West is to stand outside of history, to dwell figuratively in the time of the past, and so on. Archaeology, in this account, becomes one of the technologies whereby people and territories in the global south are enfolded or interpolated into modern Western temporalities and versions of history (Shepherd 2016).

Modern temporalities tend to be linear and projective, or forward-looking. The past is ruptured from the present, and the present from the future. One of the functions of archaeology is to emplace the past within the past, physically and conceptually separating it from the present (Shepherd, Gnecco and Haber 2016). Disciplinary regimes of care frequently take the form of physical and typological boxing. The gridding of a cave deposit in units of one square metre, becomes the opening act in a proliferating series of squares and boxes that characterize the work of the discipline. The fate of the buried dead vividly illustrates the capture, bureaucratization and governmentalization of the disciplined past (Shepherd and Haber 2014, Shepherd 2015, 2016). In many contexts, the remains of the buried dead, figured as ancestral remains, have a particular potency and meaning, and intervene in contemporary ways of life. As remains in the ground, they frequently act as both literal and metaphorical guarantees of rights to territory, and the continuity of ways of life. In Southern Africa, as in many other regions, one of the first acts of disciplinary archaeology in newly

conquered territories, was to exhume the remains of the ancestral dead from burial sites and sacred places in caves, cattle kraals, rock shelters and sites on the landscape. Refigured as archaeological remains, they were first exposed through excavation, then photographed, numbered, measured, bagged, boxed, and transported to centrally located repositories. Frequently, this enterprise took the form of a kind of mass harvesting of the dead. The archaeological stores of the South African Museum contain approximately 10 000 boxes of material, of which an estimated 1000 boxes contain human remains. Stacked in cardboard boxes on floor-to-ceiling metal shelves, in the fluorescent glare of the museum store, the ancestral dead enter a new time/ space, marked by objectification and quantification (a discourse on empirical science), and the stasis of an eternal present (a discourse on conservation and preservation) (Shepherd and Haber 2014, Shepherd 2015, 2016). Wrenched from any meaningful articulation with contemporary ways of life, they are returned to their communities of origin as points of data in authorized (that is, disciplined) histories. Hence one of the claims of disciplinary archaeologists to affected communities and publics: "we will give you back your history" (Shepherd 2007).

This short account of a larger, unfolding argument begins to illustrate the entanglement of modern conceptions of knowledge and science, with colonial worlds of practice. In my published work, I have explored several ideas arising out of this entanglement. One has been to explore ideas around epistemic violence, drawing on the work of Foucault and Gayatri Spivak (Spivak 1993). The brief account given above evidences three forms of epistemic violence associated with disciplinary regimes of care: a violence of objectification, a violence of excision (or cutting), and a violence of alienation. The first form of epistemic violence is perhaps the most familiar. The second form, the violence of excision involves the removal or cutting of phenomena from one context and regime of care, and their forced emplacement in another context (the archaeologist's trowel acts as an instrument of excision). The third form, the violence of alienation describes the process whereby phenomena are claimed for universal knowledge and Western science, away from their origins in local history, memory and practice (Shepherd 2015). A second line of investigation in my work has been to explore the proposition that for much of its history, archaeology operated as a form of racial science. By this I mean more than the idea that archaeology was a form of science that operated in the racialized landscapes of colonialism and apartheid; I mean that archaeology was a form of science for which race was an organizing idea (Shepherd 2015). In the first half of the twentieth-century, much of the energy of the discipline was directed towards developing typologies of race. Human remains, and especially crania, were a prized form of evidence. A standard method of excavation involved deep-trenching the back of cave sites, the likely location of human burials. In Southern Africa, this disciplinary interest in human remains was accompanied by a vigorous, quasi-legal trade in human skeletons, many of them destined for museum collections in Europe (Legassick and Rassool 2000, Shepherd 2015).

A third dimension of coloniality is ethical and moral. This speaks to the rights and entitlements that disciplinary practitioners accrue as part of their training, that allow them to intervene in sites and situations, not only as a right of science, but as an act of virtue. In the worlds of practice of which I write, archaeologists routinely excavated sacred places ad burial sites (Shepherd and Haber 2014, Shepherd 2015). When

permission was sought, it was typically sought from the white landowner, rather than from the black or indigenous community attached to the site. Recently in Prestwich Street, Cape Town, archaeologists went over the heads of a self-identified descendent community of enslaved persons, to excavate an early-colonial burial ground near the centre of the city. While the aptly named Hands Off Prestwich Street Committee argued for non-excavation and the preservation of the site as a site of memory and conscience, the majority of archaeologists argued for the excavation of the burial ground on the basis of its scientific value. Colonial forms of entitlement were updated for contemporary times via a discourse on "cultural resource management" and via practices of troping. Archaeologists involved in the exhumations said "bones are like books", "leaving bones unexcavated and unexamined is like burning a library", "each skeleton is a piece in a jigsaw puzzle", and "we will give you back your history" (Shepherd 2007, 2012). Indeed, I would argue that while schools of theory come and go, and methods change through time, historically entrenched forms of entitlement are some of the most durable aspects of disciplinary operations.

This has been a necessarily brief tour through a complex terrain. My hope is that it might help to specify both what it meant by the coloniality of archaeology, and the possibilities of a decolonial reading. A host of questions follow: Could we imagine forms of practice that are not, in themselves, epistemically violent? Are there other ways of knowing, outside of the protocols of classification and empirical science? Is non-excavation an option? Could we imagine an archaeology of silence? How might we conduct the discipline so that it does not take the form of a white gaze on black bodies? Can we switch the dynamics between disciplinary centres and their peripheries? Can we imagine time differently? What would it mean to think in terms of ideas of co-presence and continuity? What would it mean to decolonize time? Can we begin the business of refiguring disciplinary rights and accountabilities? Can we imagine what a decolonial archaeology might look like? Or is the coloniality of archaeology so deeply written into the discipline, that we arrive at something else: not archaeology as we know it, but an anti- or counter-archaeology, a kind of archaeology after archaeology?

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Interculturality *by Jan Ifversen*

Human lives are entangled. Societies are made up of networks. International relations must be viewed as dense entanglements between varieties of actors. Until recently, histories were mainly written within national or subnational boundaries, but are now framed as entangled histories, as histoires croisées where transfers of all kinds constitute and transform entities and identities (Werner & Zimmermann 2006; Pernau 2012; Ifversen 2015). Often, first encounters led to permanent transfers and to systematic entanglements. The circulation of goods, peoples, thoughts, words and death between different parts of the world uphold these entanglements. They were formative in creating new ideas, new cultures and new societies as well as destroying existing ideas, cultures and societies. In 1492, Europeans 'discovered' a new world, which changed their old world forever. The indigenous peoples of this European New world experienced the destruction of their own world.

The figure of entanglement is used to conceptualize networks of interaction within different systems, such as the international system, the economic system, the media system, the knowledge system and so on. In a globalized present, we constantly speak of global connectivities to describe human existence. Globalization is, however, yet another form of entanglement layered on top of other, older forms of entanglement. The colonial system formed in the 16th century by European powers, is such an older entanglement, which still constitutes a matrix for relations between what is now termed the Global North and the Global South. This colonial matrix is the basis for a logic of coloniality supported by a global ideology of modernity (Mignolo 2011). European modernity in its different forms constitute the present backbone of this structural logic. De Sousa Santos speaks of "an abyssal line", which excludes and make invisible what is simply an object of European modernity. Those objects or territories are simply being violently appropriated (De Sousa Santos 2016).

Entanglements are often set within systems constituted of asymmetrical relations. The colonial matrix formed by European colonialism and imperialism is one such system. Its centrality is uphold by the constant creation of inferiority, invisibility and marginality. If we – and for the moment I leave this inclusive 'we' unquestioned – are to engage in encounters within this system we have two options, either to endorse a European modernity and thus keep drawing the line or to cross it. In the latter case, encounters demand a prior, *decolonial* move, which first means to deconstruct coloniality within the existing hegemony of European modernity. Mignolo speaks of a necessary delinking, which places 'you' – and here I insert a position that I am not immediately part of – outside European modernity where alternative visions of life and society become visible for decolonial subjects. Delinking corresponds to what de Sousa Santos calls a sociology of absence that makes present that which the system silence and make invisible. He is thus adding a temporal perspective to Mignolo's spatial thinking. By bringing in temporality, de Sousa Santos also opens up to the non-yet. Decolonal thinking is also a way of generating hope for the future. This affective undergirding of the delinking mode is what he calls a sociology of emergences.

Decolonial strategies are seen as alternatives to existing strategies within a world formed by the colonal matrix such as re-westernization and de-westernization. The former would simply mean to accept a

(rejuvenated) modernity either under a US banner or in a softer EU-European version. De-westernization, on the other hand, entails a radical dismissal of past entanglements and a "thinking without the other" (Mignolo 2011, p.49). This dismissal can either take the form of a traditionalisation (an imaginary return to a pre-colonial past) - what Fanon criticized as "the old tribal attitudes" adopted by the assimilated ruling classes (Fanon 1968, p.157) – or of a relegation of colonialism to a past long overtaken by a prominent global present. Both of these strategies make decolonial entanglements difficult. Re-westernization operates a logic of assimilation, and de-westernization a logic of alterity.

The decolonial strategy not only proposes a delinking and a sociology of emergences, it opens up a framework for rethinking and practicing entanglements. The hope linked to the sociology of emergences is produced by intercultural encounters or what de Sousa Santos calls "intercultural translations". These are "the alternative(s) both to the abstract universalism that grounds Western-centric general theories and to the idea of incommensurability between cultures" (de Sousa Santos 2016, p.334). They are thus the medium to attain that pluri- or transversality, which is the alternative to the dominant Eurocentric universalism. Pluriversality both involves unlearning modernity and engaging in "epistemic diversality" (Mignolo 2011) or in different "ecologies of knowledge" (de Sousa Santos 2016). Some scholars prefer transversality because this term more explicitly points to the crossing and intersecting (Miike 2010), but all agree that the strategy avoids cancelling out universal knowledge and encounters. On the contrary, it is "a horizontal strategy of openness to dialogue among different epistemic traditions" (Mbembe 2015 p.19).

Interculturality is a concept closely linked to the field of intercultural communication. While encounter and dialogue are abstract terms, intercultural communication deals with the specific practice of communication. It is defined as involving "interaction between people whose cultural perceptions and symbolic systems are distinct enough to alter the communication event" (Samovar, L.A., Porter R., and McDaniel, E.R. 2010, p.12). Culture thus becomes the distinctive feature, which produces an unusual interface between groups or individuals communicating (whereas inference is the usual asymmetry within communication). Scholars in intercultural communication are certainly aware of the structural asymmetries embedded in constituting the 'inter' in communication. Coercion, appropriation, imposition, assimilation, resistance and so on works to create asymmetries. These scholars are, however, primarily focused on how to make intercultural communication possible through the possession or the formation of intercultural competences (including respect, tolerance, and ethno-relativism). To conceptualize possible meeting points, they use such terms as intercultural space or third space. Obviously, these spaces cannot be seen as neutral arenas of negotiations. They are zones of contact and friction.

Spatial metaphors make it easier to imagine the production and effect of interculturality. De Sousa Santos prefers to speak of contact zones that are "zones in which rival normative ideas, knowledges, power forms, symbolic universes, and agencies meet in usually unequal conditions and resist, reject, assimilate, imitate, translate, and subvert each other, thus giving rise to hybrid cultural constellations in which the inequality of exchanges may be either reinforced or reduced" (de Sousa Santos 2016, p.342). The plethora of possibilities listed here demonstrates the complexity of interculturality. It is, however, important to note two central aspects at play in this process. The first is that contact zones only exist if there is a willingness

to produce them. The geopolitical vocabulary is rich on terms for zones or territories designed to limit contacts (buffer zones), to control them (limes), to assimilate them (the frontier) (Walters 2004). Assimilation or imitation are certainly ways of managing relations, but they hardly produce interculturality. With his list of modalities within the contact zone, de Sousa Santos probably wants to emphasize the difficulties and the tensions involved in entering them. Secondly, contact zones are only effective if they leave reciprocal traces. As shown in much research on intercultural communication, there is an apparent risk of becoming self-affirmative, of essentialising identities and of caging others on stereotypes. When moving into a contact zone groups or individuals come armed with identity politics that replace the incertitude and the indeterminism with control and certitude. They turn the contact zone into a comfort zone. It is often claimed that contact zones are hotbeds of hybridity; they challenge existing catalogues of identities and leave their mark on them. Homi Bhabha, who has placed hybridity at the centre of his cultural theory, see it as a "third space" where new positions can emerge and old identities are being displaced. In his elegant rhetoric, the third space becomes a strategy to "elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves" (Bhabha 1994, p.56).

Before moving on to discuss how interculturality is performed in the contact zone, I need to include another figure, which comes up very often when discussing crossings, intersections etc., namely border space or liminal space. Using the border as a metaphor highlights the difficulties of crossing or the unsecure feeling of moving into uncontrolled land (the liminal spaces beyond order). Zones can be viewed as borderlands where others turn into potential strangers. Etienne Balibar conceptualizes borderland as a place "where the opposites flow into

one another, where `strangers' can be at the same time stigmatized and indiscernible

from `ourselves'" (Balibar 2009, p.210). This a zone of blurring and of tension where discourses are stretched and stress produced. It might lean to more control and regulation of entry points, or it deconstructs existing discourses and ecologies of knowledge. Borders can, however also be used to emphasize the possibilities of resistance and transformation. Mignolo adopts the notion of border thinking to conceptualize a possibility of speaking and deconstructing from a position of marginality. In his use, border thinking is a deconstruction with the purpose of bringing forward the colonial difference, which then can be replaced – or rather displaced – with new forms of knowledge from the perspective of the subaltern. Thinking from the borders set by the dominant position creates the potentials of resistance and transformation. Borders can thus also be creative zones of transformation (emergence).

Hybridity or third space must be seen both as a structural condition of contacts and transfers (they leave traces), a certain process (the involve practices) and a normative goal (they allow for changes). The practice is often captured with the figure of translation. Contact zones make translation possible, but the latter is the practice through which actors engage in potentially transformative processes leading to hybridity. Translation works both at the semantic and the communicative level. By communicating, actors negotiate meanings. They furthermore articulate positionalities in a communicative sense (the subject of enunciation) and in a discursive sense (the subject position). Translation thus at the same time reveals different positionalities (who are *you* translating?) and the potentials for accessing other meanings. Souleymane Bachir

Diagne sees this learning of other languages – his term for cultural differences – as a first departure from a colonial centrism and a possibility for constituting a third space where universality and interculturality meets. In his rendering, translation is "a language of languages" – with a term borrowed from the Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiong – which opens of a horizon of universality (Diagne and Amselle 2018).

To produce interculturality through translation and communication presupposes a set of conditions. First there must be a moral willingness, "converging motivations" or even a "cosmopolitan emotion of sharing the world with those who do not share our knowledge or experience" (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p.345, 360) to enter the contact zone and engage in translation. Secondly, there needs to be an analytical effort to deconstruct the existing hegemony (coloniality, the abyssal line, the colonial difference) and the positionalities through which it operates. This is particularly important when speaking from a position of the Global North where memories of coloniality have been repressed. Thirdly, there must be a political will to change the power geometries that influence or even hinder translations.

Where can we locate interculturality? In a poignant text, Achille Mbembe takes up the issue of decolonizing knowledge in African higher education as a response to demands made by the South African students around the movement of Rhodes Must Fall. He certainly agrees with the students 'removal' of colonial heritage, including part of existing curricula in the universities. The removal will, however, have to followed by a new engagement with the Western archive without which the risk of traditionalizing knowledge is immanent. This engagement has to be critical. As he succinctly writes: "Yet the Western archive is singularly complex. It contains within itself the resources of its own refutation. It is neither monolithic, nor the exclusive property of the West" (Mbembe 2015, p.24). Here interculturality is not only produced through a translation of parts, but also by including the internal deconstruction of Eurocentrism. This, however, demands that the positionality of ownership is questioned. Interculturality is so to speak built into the Western archive, even though this tends to be sublimated in European higher education and elsewhere. Mbembe's view of interculturality at work in African knowledge nicely corresponds to Eduard Glissant's hailing of the Africans as eternal cultural brokers even in the most terrible moments of the African diaspora.

Let me end my reflections on interculturality by turning to European historiography. It has long been acknowledged that histories of Europe can only be viewed as nets of entanglements and constant borderlands. Historians have pointed to contact zones in different fields (knowledge, trade, migration) and in different places (the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the European metropoles of the 19th century, the Jewish diaspora). We see increased efforts to decolonize European historiography, although it is less accepted what Enrique Dussel argued long ago, namely that the rise of *modern* Europe was the result of colonialism (Dussel 1995). To take a further step towards decolonizing European historiography would be to write a history of a Europe as constantly formed by interculturality. This would have to be a history of Europe on the move; a history of series of contact zones through which Europe has always been challenged and transformed. Within a European self-affirmation there is often a tendency to turn interculturalities into essential or even existential European questions. The Jewish question is constitutive of Europe as such, the colonial question, which is now being reformulated as the migrant question, is constitutive of universal Europe. What we – and here I include myself – need to do is to provide intercultural answers to these questions.

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APPENDIX

DECOLONIZING THE CONCEPT OF COLONIALISM

Multiple Colonialisms *by John R. Oldfield*

I

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the world 'colonialism' dates from the late nineteenth century, although its precepts and associated processes (e.g. colonization) have a much longer history than this might suggest. The prevailing view in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was that in a world where resources were considered 'static', colonies were necessary to further the interests of European nation-states. In mercantilist terms, the function and value of colonies were twofold: 1) to provide Europe with raw materials (sugar, rice, tobacco, cocoa, coffee, cotton, minerals); and 2) to provide a ready-made market for European manufactured goods. These relations, in turn, were regulated and protected by so-called navigation acts, which limited the ability of colonies to forge their own economic and political independence by ensuring that they traded only with their respective 'mother countries'. Colonies, in other words, were outposts of empire, designed to give European nation-states an advantage over their competitors, hence their strategic importance in European wars throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As a philosophy, colonialism was paternalistic, racist and oppressive. In its name, European explorers – among them Francis Drake, Christopher Columbus, John Cabot and Vaco Da Gama – staked out huge territories across the globe that were nominally considered part of Europe. Whether these territories were originally intended to be settled or plundered (the Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire is important here) is a moot point. Nevertheless, as the promise of quick riches receded, most European nation-states turned their attention to long-term compact settlement – in the Americas, Asia, Australasia and parts of the Pacific. Colonization, in turn, depended on migration, whether voluntary or involuntary. Carving out settlements in often hostile environments where death and disease were constant hazards depended on a regular supply of people, just as it depended on maritime/naval power and the ability to police important sea lanes – the Atlantic being an obvious case in point.

As a historical *process*, colonization was often brutal and violent. Disease, suppression and systemic brutality radically changed the histories of the non-European world, in some cases (e.g. the Caribbean and South America) wiping out native peoples and cultures – or, in the case of Native Americans, pushing them (again and again) beyond the frontiers of European (white) 'civilization'. Others – in India and Africa – were subjugated under oppressive regimes that assumed, on the one hand, the superiority of European civilization and, on the other, the inferiority of local practices and cultures, including linguistic norms. (Consider here the British Government's decision in 1835 that English should replace 'Persian' as the official language in India and that it should be introduced as the medium of instruction in all institutions of learning.) In effect, colonialism assumed a division between colonizer and colonized that rested on notions of racial and cultural difference that in the eyes of many – not least colonial administrators – were fixed and unbridgeable.

In other regions, notably the Americas, European expansion coincided with the development of slave economies that, in turn, relied on the forced movement of people from Africa to the New World. All of the major European powers (France, Britain, The Netherlands, Spain and Portugal) at one time or

another entered the slave trade, just as most of them possessed slave colonies. Estimates vary, but it seems likely that between 1525 and 1866 something like 12.5 million Africans were shipped to the New World, 3.5m of them by Britain alone. The transatlantic slave trade was one of the great 'engines' of empire, depopulating Africa but also creating new 'slave societies' in the Caribbean, Latin America and mainland North America that earned huge fortunes for European merchants through the production (and exportation) of sugar, tobacco and rum. Here again, slavery rested on notions of racial and cultural difference that had a lasting impact on colonial legacies in ex-colonies. Legal (slave) codes defined enslaved Africans as perpetual menials and perpetual aliens. Even after emancipation – itself a long drawn out process that would stretch from 1833 (Britain) to 1888 (Brazil) -- these norms would continue to shape former slave societies, whether in the form of de facto discrimination or legalized (de jure) segregation, as was the case in the United States where slavery was replaced during the 1890s by so-called 'Jim Crow' laws that denied African Americans basic civil and political rights, and in Southern Africa, where the settler nationalist South African state that was established after 1900 was based on white minority rule and an ideology of racial segregation – after 1948 officially named apartheid.

During the nineteenth century, European powers switched their attention from the Americas to India and Africa. The 'Scramble for Africa' would see Britain, Germany and France establish important colonies in Africa, driven by imperial rivalries and the demand for raw materials: cotton, minerals (copper and tin), rubber and cocoa. Perhaps the most notorious and controversial of these imperialistic ventures – certainly in terms of the brutal suppression of indigenous peoples – was the Belgian Congo, originally a personal fiefdom ('Congo Free State') of King Leopold III, which eventually became a Belgian colony in 1908. The USA also showed a growing interest in Africa, mainly as a site of black resettlement. Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society (1816), nearly 5,000 African Americans were transported back to Africa between 1820 and 1843, forming the basis of what would become the independent republic of Liberia. Abraham Lincoln also showed an interest in black colonization. Meanwhile, the British sponsored the settlement of Sierra Leone, the earliest black colony in West Africa. In this way, Britain and the USA were responsible for the creation of black settlements in Africa, really marginal communities that for complicated reasons struggled to integrate with indigenous African peoples; indeed, the histories of Liberia and Sierra Leone were bedeviled by rivalries (internal and external) that had their origins in the colonizing moment.

II

Colonialism was a global phenomenon. In the early 1900s, most of the Arabian peninsula transitioned from the Ottoman Empire to the British Empire, although the British left much of the peninsula's vast interior relatively untouched. Parts of modern-day Turkey were divided among World One's European victors, though Turkish nationalists successfully expelled them almost immediately in a war for independence. Something similar happened in China, where European powers established parts of coastal cities or trade ports as 'concession', which they occupied or controlled. Some, such as Shanghai, were divided into multiple European concessions. Others, like British-controlled Hong Kong, were fully absorbed into European empires. Eastern Europe can properly be considered as a zone of 'internal

colonialism'. Torn between great land empires in the nineteenth century, it was subjugated to the Nazi and Soviet totalitarian systems in the twentieth century. Racism, slave labour, internment and warfare caused millions of deaths in these European 'bloodlands', as well as massive dislocations of populations. The history of post-Soviet Russia has also been characterized by ruthless and pre-meditated incursions into neighbouring territories, as witness what has happened (and is happening) in the Ukraine and Georgia.

The history of the United States can be viewed as a history of colonialism. European settlers colonized vast tracts of the American continent, in the process pushing indigenous peoples off the land ('Indian Removal'). American colonization of Texas during the 1830s was a prelude to the Mexican War (1848) in much the same way as the colonization of the Kansas-Nebraska Territory propelled the nation towards a bloody Civil War. Traditional accounts of Westward Expansion have been dominated by the idea of the 'frontier', popularized by Frederick Jackson Turner as a kind of 'melting pot'. Revisionist scholars, however, insist that the West was a contested place shaped by asymmetrical power relations, a place undergoing processes that should be viewed in terms of invasion, conquest, exploitation and colonialism. In this sense, the USA was not exceptional at all but actually shared a great deal in common with European-derived colonialism and European 'habits of empire'.

In its original guise, colonialism was driven by a sense of (white) privilege that necessary brought European powers into conflict with each other. Given their geo-political importance colonies could - -and often did – change hands. The Caribbean island of Trinidad was a Spanish colony for 200 years before being seized by the British in 1797 – after which it was administered by the British according to Spanish laws. Sint Eustatius (again in the Caribbean) changed hands 22 times before finally becoming a Dutch colony in 1816. No one, it seems, was immune to these incursions. In Southern Africa, settlers of Dutch and British descent consistently battled each other and African groups for political supremacy. There were similar disputes in Quebec, nominally a French colony, which was captured by the British in 1760 and ruled as a British colony until 1867, when it became part of the new Federal Dominion of Canada. The United States seized huge amounts of territory – including California – from Mexico in 1848, while New Orleans successively passed through the hands of the French and the Spanish before becoming part of the USA in 1803. Florida – formerly a British and Spanish colony – was not ceded to the United States until 1821 and became a state in 1845.

These incursions – what we might call 'multiple colonizations' -- were divisive and unsettling, especially for those who found themselves on the wrong side of history. The cultural legacies were profound. New Netherland came under British control in 1664. Despite this transfer of power, many parts of the colony remained culturally Dutch up to and beyond the American Revolution. Or take the case of St Lucia. Although the French lost control of the island to the British in 1814, the legacy of early French colonialism is still evident. The vast majority of place names are of French origin, Roman Catholicism remains the predominant religion and, most notably, 80 per cent of St. Lucians speak Kweyol – a French-lexicon creole similar to that spoken in Guadeloupe and Martinique. At worst, these transferences of power created a form of cultural dissonance that pitted one group against another – the British and the French in

Quebec, British and Dutch settlers in Southern Africa. Heritage in this context was less fluid than it was in other parts of the world, creating barriers that stood as proxy for centuries old European rivalries.

I want to extend this analysis by looking at the relationship between colonization and migration. We increasingly live in a world where people are on the move, whether for political, economic or environmental reasons. As a result, new communities are made and remade. Demographers sometimes refer to these migrants – whether moving over long or short distances – as 'settler colonists'. So, just as we might say that a particular holiday destination has been 'colonized' by week-enders, we might say that a particular city or suburb has been 'colonized' by Hispanics, Koreans or Italians. (Note: depending on one's political persuasion, this phenomenon might be perceived as positive or negative.) These settler colonists act as anchor communities, much as they did in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when European migration to the New World was at its peak. In the face of migration, communities change shape, so that a black neighbourhood becomes a Hispanic neightbourhood, and so on. Sometimes, the same neighbourhood experiences successive waves of migrants/colonists, each of which brings its own distinctive culture. The vibrancy of cities as diverse as Rio de Janeiro, Shanghai, Lisbon and Paris owes a great deal to these trends, even if popular discourses around migration and refugees are rarely framed in terms of colonization or colonists.

III

The history of colonialism can be told in many different ways. In the places where European colonizers settled, it was typically their history that dominated. For years, British imperial history was dominated by a discourse that assumed – in the simplest of terms – that the empire was 'a good thing'. Empire, according to this way of thinking, was synonymous with civilization and progress – either that, or as means of protecting those that were too weak to protect themselves. Uncomfortable subjects – slavery, for instance -- were pushed to one side. Britain, after all, had freed the slaves and it was this tradition of humanitarian interventionism that defined a lot of the thinking behind the 'new imperialism' of the late nineteenth century. Similarly, the history of the USA was commonly presented as an epic of white heroic endeavour, best summed up in the phrase 'How the West was won'. According to this sentimental discourse, the peopling of America followed a God-ordained path – what Americans called 'manifest destiny' -- that made all resistance futile. Significantly, America's sense of mission drew its strength from a rampant Anglo-Saxonism. In his highly acclaimed *Our Country* (1883), Social Gospel leader Josiah Strong asserted that the Anglo-Saxon was 'divinely commissioned to be, in a peculiar sense, his brother's keeper'. His compatriot, John Fiske, echoed these sentiments, stressing the superior character of Anglo-Saxon ideas and institutions. The English 'race', he argued, was destined to dominate the globe.

It went without saying that enslaved Africans, Native Americans, Mexicans – indigenous peoples generally – were written out of these histories. Until the rise of the 'new imperial history' and subaltern studies in the 1990s, no one paid much attention to those at the other end of the civilizing process. It was almost as if these people did not exist. Very few European nations paid much attention to the slave trade, or, if they did, integrated into narratives that stressed the importance of overseas trade. Even fewer probed the impact of colonialism on indigenous peoples, Belgium's cultural amnesia over what happened in

Leopold's Congo Free State being an obvious case in point. Slowly, things began to change. In the UK, for instance, the final decades of the twentieth century saw a much closer engagement with the legacies of transatlantic slavery, particularly within museum and gallery spaces. In France and the Netherlands, too, deliberate steps were taken to 'commemorate' slavery. In May 2006, France celebrated the first day devoted in metropolitan France to the memory of the slavery, the slave trade and their abolition – an important declaration of intent that has stimulated debate about the legacies of slave ownership across mainland Europe. Across the Atlantic world, scholars have turned their attention to excavating the slave past – and not just the slave past but the legacies of empire. The new imperial history takes it as axiomatic that Empire was not merely a phenomenon 'out there' (that is, remote from mainland Europe) but a fundamental part of European culture and national identity at home. At the same time, subject peoples (the colonized) have been given a voice – not least in terms of what they did to resist empire.

We now take a lot of these new perspectives for granted. Since the 1990s, traditional views of the relationship between colonizer and colonized have been turned on their head. Nevertheless, we are still some way from producing an integrated history of colonialism – one that not only gives a voice to the colonized but also reflects the shifting and diverse nature of the colonization process itself. Sociological studies of indigenous or settler/colonist experiences can only take us so far. An alternative way forward might be to concentrate on 'place' – and particularly those places that have experienced multiple colonizations. That way we might be able to better understand the processes whereby different colonist groups have shaped and re-shaped cities and communities (even whole countries) and what they have left behind. We might also be able to better understand what 'heritage' means in different settings – and how heritage practices (to borrow Walter Mignolo's paradigm) are 'reframed', often by introducing multiple perspectives and the voices of marginalized subjects. These enquiries are at the heart of the ECHOES project. If, on the one hand, we are interested in how heritage has worked in the past – on the other, we are interested in how heritage can work in the present, not least as a way of 'inventing new ways of living together and building upon centuries old entanglements with the hope of [creating] a better, more equal and just future'.

Colonialism was at the heart of the European experience during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – leaving an indelible mark on cultural norms that created 'acceptable' distances between colonizer and colonized. In many ways, we are still working through the broader meanings and resonances of these modes of behavior – 'ways of seeing' that normalized prejudice, discrimination and racism. ECHOES challenges us to think of new ways of imagining these entanglements. We cannot be sure what this new cultural and political landscape will look like. One thing is certain, however. The old consensus, the one that privileged white cultural assumptions, has broken down. It may be too early to predict what will take its place, but we should not underestimate the extent to which new histories of empire and colonialism – together with migration and the contemporary refuges crisis – have forced Europeans to look again at the paradoxes embedded in national histories that first colonized and then 'liberated' millions of people previously considered marginal or disposable.

The Diversity of Postcolonialisms in Central and Eastern Europe - A Critical Review of an Emerging Research Field *by Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper & Joanna Wawrzyniak*

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Abstract

This paper identifies the main approaches within the ever-expanding body of multidisciplinary literature that either defines Central and Eastern Europe as a (post)colonial space or relates this region to the global history of empires and colonialism. After introducing some basic premises of postcolonial theory in relation to Central and Eastern Europe, and particularly Poland, the paper discusses the diversity of existing approaches and groups them into two main clusters: (post)colonial parallels and global entanglements. Furthermore, it draws attention to how postcolonial theory has been instrumentalized by national essentialist elements in the CEE public discourse. Finally, it identifies some possible applications of the so-called decolonial option to this region.

> 'It is no doubt that there is, on this planet, not a single square meter of inhabited land that has not been, at one time or another, colonized and the postcolonial' (Moore 2001: 113)

> 'The notion of postcolonial theory has been floating around the Polish intellectual scene for the last ten years like a colorful balloon that nobody can ever quite capture or claim.' (Bill 2014: 1)

Introduction

The European Colonial Heritage in Entangled Cities (ECHOES) Project aims to study current practices centred around colonial heritage in several cities in Europe and beyond[8]. It uses a broad conceptual framework of 'multiple colonialisms'[9] and includes Central and Eastern Europe (represented by a case study of Warsaw) as an example of Europe's 'internal colonization'. The principal goal of this paper is to identify the main arguments within the ever-expanding body of multidisciplinary literature that either defines Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) as a (post)colonial space or relates this region to the global history of colonialism. The discussion of this summary at the workshop to be held in Warsaw in September 2018, which involves experts on both Central and Eastern Europe and overseas colonization, should represent a step towards the clarification of common concepts to be used within the ECHOES project.

The above quotes from Africanist David C. Moore and UK-based Slavist Stanley Bill draw attention to the existence of a profound disagreement concerning how postcolonial theory should be

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[8] Amsterdam, Bristol, Cape Town, Copenhagen, Lisbon, Marseilles, Nuuk, Rio de Janeiro, Shanghai and Warsaw.

[9] See paper by John Oldfield distributed to the Workshop's participants.

applied to Central and Eastern Europe among scholars of the region and beyond. While a growing number of authors see CEE as a space strongly affected by internal European colonization and are eager to reconceptualize this region's history within a global (post)imperial framework, many of those authors also claim that postcolonial theory has been overstretched and overused by CEE public intellectuals for politically instrumental reasons that fail to add any further value to its findings. Instead of taking a definite stance in this discussion, this paper maps several existing approaches that use the term 'postcolonial' in relation to CEE to highlight some general arguments on the postcolonial condition of the region. The paper has a clear Polish (and even Warsaw-centric) bias due to the ECHOES research being planned in Warsaw. This means that we do little more than acknowledge the vast corresponding discussions on the Balkans, Baltics, or Ukraine as well as those on the legacies of the Habsburg or Ottoman Empires in the region. Nonetheless, the geographical location of Poland, and Warsaw in particular, encapsulates the specific regional sense of in-betweenness provoked in this case by being caught, on the one hand, between Prussian/Nazi and Russian/Soviet imperial projects and on the other, Poland's own imperial aspirations, all of which have in turn resulted in the production of a variety of postcolonial discourses.

The paper develops as follow. First, it briefly introduces the premises of postcolonial theory in relation to Central and Eastern Europe. Second, it identifies the variety of postcolonial approaches being applied to Central and Eastern Europe and divides them into two main categories: parallels and entanglements. Third, it points to an inherent normative stance in postcolonial theory, which has, in Poland's case, both a progressive and a conservative-populist dimension. Finally, it shows some possible applications of the so-called 'decolonial option' that can be applied to the part of the ECHOES Project concerning Poland. In general, it offers a navigation tool that should enable researchers to find their way through a tangle of discourses on the postcolonial condition of CEE that are at once international and local, academic and public and descriptive and normative.

Beyond East and West, North and South? Europe's invisible internal colonization

One of the key components of the postcolonial narrative is criticism of Eurocentrism (McLennan 2003). However, from the perspective of researchers of Eastern Europe this narrative has a tacit assumption of Europe as a self-evident and coherent geographical entity which exercised colonialism outside its borders. They question this assumption by noting that imperial powers such as Russia and the Soviet Union, Bismarckian and Nazi Germany, the Ottoman Empire, or Austria-Hungary pursued colonial policies *inside* Europe.

Madina Tlostanova, a scholar specializing in decolonization in Eurasia, explains why Russian and the Ottoman Empire fail to appear in the mainstream of postcolonial paradigm. Tlostanova stresses that:

> most decolonial thinkers… equated modernity with capitalism and Christianity with Catholicism and Protestantism. The rivalry with the empires of lighter weight categories (non-capitalist, non-Christian, or with a "wrong" Christianity, alphabetically non-Latin, non-modern, and non-European or questionably modern and European) such as Russia or the Ottoman Sultanate – was beyond the interest or competence of most decolonial thinkers. The Soviet and post-Soviet

> experience tinted with characteristically ideological deceptions only added to the decolonial reluctance to venture into analyzing Eurasia, especially that some of decolonial theorists had decidedly Marxist origins and refused to see the Soviet Union as a colonial empire, while others tended to see Russia and the Soviet Union as a blurred zone of semi-periphery or even a colonial zone comparable to India and Latin America and not to Britain or Spain.' (Tlostanova 2015: 270-271).

By the same token, the postcolonial discourse relating to Central and Eastern Europe is barely perceptible in mainstream postcolonial literature. However, it is rapidly developing among researchers examining this region. Terms such as Germany's 'adjacent colonialism' (Nelson 2009), a 'subaltern empire' (Morozov 2013), Russia's internal class-based colonization (Etkind 2011), Poland's 'impressive post-colonial credentials' (Cavanagh 2004), the 'self-colonising cultures of Eastern Europe' (Kiossev 1999, Sowa 2011), the 'internal periphery' (Zarycki 2016) or the notion of Ukraine as an 'inner colony' and its 'post-colonial syndrome' (Riabczuk 2015) have now permanently entered the academic discourse of Central and Eastern Europe. At the same time this literature is diverse, engaging representatives of different disciplines (sociologists, anthropologists, cultural theorists, Slavists, historians, etc.) who do not necessarily read each other's work and use the term 'postcolonialism' to denote phenomena that often vary from one another.

What is more, in public and academic debates, differences can be observed over how the phenomenon of 'internal European colonization' is defined. These depend on which colonizer is under investigation. For example, while Bulgaria was grappling with the influence of the Ottoman Empire, it saw in Russia a European country that could provide it with support during its struggle with a colonizer that was more distant in terms of culture, religion and civilization. By contrast, other societies looked to the Western Europe to support them against Russia. Russia itself was both a colonizer and subject to the colonial (primarily cultural, but also economic) influence of Western Europe. However, from Poland's point of view, the fundamental issue was relations with the German speaking countries and Russia and it is to these that the following reflections are mainly devoted.

Making sense of diverse (post)colonialisms: from parallels to entanglements

This paper identifies several ways of addressing CEE within a postcolonial framework. At the same time, it posits the claim that they can all be divided into two main types of argument which focus either on *colonial parallels* or *global entanglements*.

In short, the first type of argument posits that CEE societies underwent *similar* processes to those of Europe's maritime colonies. Postcolonial approaches to CEE were inspired by such canonical authors in the global field as Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Robert Young, Dipesch Chakrabarty, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Leela Gandhi and Homi K. Bhabha. Following the publication of these works, the researchers of Eastern and Central Europe began to apply concepts such as Orientalization, altering, resistance, delegitimization and hybridization to their region of interest. In the case of Poland's geographical location,

the *analogy* argument can be traced down to at least three colonizing forces: the West (specifically, German-speaking countries and, in general, European/global modernity), the East (Russia and the Soviet Union) and Poland itself. The second type of argumentation is pursued by nowadays historians and places CEE within the broader, global framework of colonization and decolonization processes. A number of scholars 'go beyond noting parallels between colonialism and Nazism and .... [have] begun to chart the material and discursive means of transmission that link them' (Rothberg 2009: 104). Others study various connections between the decolonized world and the Soviet Union and its satellites. Both types of argument share an (often inexplicit) assumption that postcolonial and post-imperial approaches help to draw attention to processes overshadowed by more conventional notions used by the historiography of the region, such as the partitions (of nineteenth-century Poland), foreign occupations, nation-building, totalitarianism, the 'Second World', (post)Cold War, transformation, (post)communism, (post)socialism, and others.

(Post)colonial Parallels

The West as colonizer

The canonic book in this field is Larry Wolf's *Inventing Eastern Europe* (1994). Echoing Said (1978), for whom Orientalism was, above all, a web of discursive practices through which the West constructed the East, Wolf examined the Enlightenment vision of the world and claimed that at that time the North-South divide which separated the 'savage' from the 'civilized' was complemented by a new cultural construct: the East-West divide, similarly tainted by dichotomies such as civilization-barbarity, culture-nature, cleanliness-dirtiness, laziness-industriousness, etc. Wolff's ideas were later followed and nuanced by a number of authors, such as Maria Todorova (1997), who wrote a very successful book on the Balkans.

Similarly, a number of research projects have sought the Enlightenment roots of the German concept of *Mitteleuropa*: 'a space between East and West… for conversion, civilization, modernization, while its inhabitants, who were basically different, foreign half-animal, would be the objects of a humanizing operation' (Neuger 2007: 25). In the Polish case, German-speaking countries have always been the main colonizing Western 'other'. 'All the hallmarks of the new imperialism of the nineteenth century, as well as both its more murderous and more informal manifestations in the twentieth century, exist in the history of Germany and Eastern Europe' claims Robert Nelson (2009: 6-7), adding that one needs no 'salted sea between Berlin and Warsaw' to see another chapter of colonialism. Taking such a perspective as a point of departure, a number of authors have depicted how German cultural chauvinism of the nineteenth century evolved into the extreme version of biological racism associated with the twentieth century and how Eastern Europe was turned into a colonial space and laboratory for Nazi social and racial experiments (for summaries, see e.g. Nelson 2009; Surynt 2006; Keim 2014; more can also be found in the section on entanglements in this paper).

The consequences of the 1989 breakthrough in Central and Eastern Europe were depicted in quite a distinct manner by a branch of postcolonial theory cultivated by critical anthropology that complemented 'postsocialist'/'post-Soviet' studies. Although this approach was developed by a different group of scholars interested in different historical processes, it still engaged with the way the notion of Western modernity

was imposed on the region. In particular, critical anthropology characterized the situation of 'transition' societies—evolving from socialism to capitalism and dictatorship to democracy— as 'postcolonial' due to the teleological, modernizing and globalizing neoliberal tendencies that enjoyed a hegemonic position in the region at the time. The situation of CEE societies has also sometimes been called 'neocolonial' due to the influence of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, NATO, and the European Union that advocated liberalization, democratization and marketization in the region.

Critical anthropology (sometimes echoed by the conservative right) claimed that neo-Oriental figures dominated international discourse and 'creolized' local elites, who became exponents of 'the West'. According to this approach, local intellectual traditions were erased to the cost of international English-speaking expert and academic cultures and this whole process contributed to Orientalization and the downgrading of those who were the biggest losers of the transition, in particular the poor and unemployed, to 'civilizationally incompetent' and the circulation of patronizing figures of speech and dichotomies such as 'modern-backward' (Buchowski 2004; Buchowski 2006; Csepely, Örkény, and Scheppele 1996). Scholars would also point to negative stereotypes of Poland circulating among Western European societies and media that saddled the country with the image of being a source of massive migration, cheap labor and crime as well as a security risk (Schmidtke 2009).

The development of this critical anthropology discourse was accompanied by the establishment of the more nuanced approach of 'self-colonizing cultures'. The latter attempted to investigate 'colonial influences' on Eastern Europe, while taking into account the local ideologies that were stoked up internally by their situation. A good example of such an analysis is a book by a Polish sociologist, Jan Sowa, who attempts to show the modernizing influence that colonizers – be they German speakers or Russians – had on the Polish economy and society. At the same time, he perceives Polish self-identification with the West in terms of a form of self-colonization that becomes a choice for societies not possessing their own cultural or social accomplishments (Sowa 2011).

Further discussions gave rise to postulates for more complex postcolonial approaches that would stop focusing on dichotomies and difference and begin to stimulate research on entanglements and interactions between Eastern and Western Europe. Colonizers and colonized were to mutually construct their identities and the positioning of internal subaltern subjects (for instance, gender relations) became an important subject of research. Furthermore, a combination of various transnational developments and trends including migrations or new forms of political and cultural activism form a new basis for rethinking interactions between post-socialisms and post-colonialism (e.g. Cervinkova 2012; Chari and Verdery 2009; Hladik 2011; Mayblin, Piekut, Valentine 2016; Owczarzak 2009; Stykow 2013; Tlostanova 2017).

Russia/The Soviet Union as colonizer

On the other side of the Central and Eastern European 'in-betweenness', there are the legacies of Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union as (an) imperial power(s) that colonized not only this region but also parts of Southeastern Europe, Eurasia and the borderlands of Transcaucasia. In the case of nineteenth-century

Russia, researchers draw colonial analogies such as the acquisition of territory; exercising of military power; subordination of local administrations to a metropolitan power; limited or absent political rights of populations settled on acquired territories; boosting of colonial settlements, with special privileges for colonists; economic exploitation of natural and human resources; industrial and agricultural specialization at the behest of the metropolitan power; dominant position of the Russian language; Orientalist, racist or patronizing attitudes towards local populations; resistance to Russian control and the cooperation of local elites; turning different ethnic and political groups against each other according to the principle of 'divide and rule'; and also some positive effects in raising levels of health and education (e.g. Carey and Raciborski 2004; Thompson 2000, 2010; Tlostanova 2015).

In his recent nuanced study of Poland's place in nineteenth-century imperial Russia, a German historian, Malte Rolf (2014) focuses on the circulation of ideas and practices between the centre and the empire's periphery. In his view, Poland became a laboratory in the Western part of the empire for modern administrative practices that penetrated the inner empire and supported the consolidation of its bureaucracy. Rolf uses this example to argue against the sweeping generalizations of oversimplified colonial analogies. Instead he proposes to apply a multiple modernities perspective. He shows that on the one hand, much as was the case with other European colonial powers, knowledge and practices acquired from the Polish periphery influenced the Russian metropolis. On the other hand, in stark contrast to the situation pertaining in other European overseas territories, Poland was Russia's 'window on the West' and some modernization processes reached the Romanov Empire via its Polish periphery. These trends also had their opponents in Moscow and St Petersburg, where the struggle against Polish ideas inspired by Latin Europe strengthened the position of those who supported Russia's own civilizational project and its distinct developmental path (see also Buruma, Margalit 2004: ch. 4; Kola 2004).

Imperial Russia's successor, the Soviet Union, is often seen as a colonial power that hid its colonial ambitions behind a 'smokescreen' of progressive ideology and the support it granted to decolonization movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In fact, the Soviet empire reinforced tendencies such as Russification; exploitation of non-Russian republics; domination of countries in Central and Eastern Europe; deportations and ethnic cleansing; forced labour; crimes against indigenous people (e.g. Kolarz 1952, Korek 2007; Stefannescu 2012; Tlostanova 2012; 2017). Carey and Raciborski (2004) identified several types of Soviet colonialism: classical colonies in Central Asia, where Muslim communities were brutally suppressed; inner colonies comprising two subgroups – the Transcaucasian and the European republics (the Baltic States, Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova); and semi-colonies, i.e. Soviet satellites in Central and Eastern and Southeastern Europe. On this basis they argued that the overall effects of the transition from socialism were different in different parts of the empire due to historical and political-institutional path dependencies.

However, regardless of important differences the decay and fall of the Soviet Union, much like the fall of other colonial empires, unleashed processes such as anti-colonial nationalisms (facilitated by the preceding Soviet-sponsored development of limited nationalism among various groups), revolutions in power and social structures, tendencies favouring 'rule by law rather than the rule of law' combined with

low levels of trust towards the state as well as judiciary institutions and politicians (Care and Raciborski 2004). One important indirect outcome of the fall of the empire has been a specific memory of 'colonialism and decolonization' and the way it affects contemporary cultural and political identities. In countries like Poland or the Baltic states, public memory preserves mainly negative representations of imperial Russia and the USSR. Stories of the cohabitation and collaboration of Russians with local societies have usually been silenced in the political and cultural realms (Carey and Raciborski 2004, Zarycki 2004).

In Poland, sociologists point out that one of the legacies of Soviet times was Russia being perceived in terms of its supposed inferiority. From the outset of the capitalist and democratic breakthrough of 1989, Russia has been exploited in Polish public discourse as a point of reference that smooths over Polish shortcomings, a trend Tomasz Zarycki summarizes as follows: 'the key role of Russia in Polish political discourse directed both at the foreign and internal public is that of rescaling of Poland's weaknesses. Russia is used as the key point of reference, allowing [participants in the Polish political discourse] to reduce the scope of their own problems while at the same time not hiding or forgetting them … This comparison of weakness … plays an important role both in strengthening the self-confidence of Poles in their confrontations with foreigners as well as in healing their frustrations at home.' (Zarycki 2004: 599-600). Such an approach leads to Russia being presented in a manner typical of the Orientalist approach described by Edward Said, that is, as an undifferentiated 'Other' that is civilisationally inferior, wild and unpredictable. However, exclusively focusing on this Russia-Western Europe opposition impedes perception of another element of the 'multiple colonialisms' in Europe, the fact that Russia and Poland are separated by territories inhabited by other groups (primarily Ruthenians, Belarusians and Ukrainians) that have been colonized by both countries for centuries.

Poland as colonizer

Thus, the third important (post)colonial approach relates to Poland's own imperial ambitions. During the Early Modern Era, when it was at the peak of its territorial development, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth covered the greater part of today's Baltic states, Belarus, Ukraine and some parts of Russia. After regaining independence in 1918, the Second Polish Republic still had significant territories in the East. Critical anthropology and culture studies point to the serfdom-based economy of this rural country and claim that divisions of its social structure among the gentry and peasants, and the cultural effects of these, were similar to those of the slave economies of colonial powers. They have also stressed the Orientalization or forced Polonization of various minorities, in particular the Ruthenians, Belarusians, Ukrainians and Jews (see Fiut 2003, Bakuła 2006, Mayblin et al. 2016). The Commonwealth and Second Republic's acquisition of space and employment of cultural and racial stereotypes were accompanied by the propagation of the myth of Poland's exceptionality as a bulwark of Christian civilization and the defender of Europe against the Ottoman Empire or the Bolsheviks. The country's expansion to the East has contributed to the popular (until today) mythic notion of a Polish Eastern Borderland (*Kresy*). The notion contains different and often conflicting images such as, on the one hand, the *Kresy* as a zone of contact with enemy forces and site for the forging of a heroic Polish-Catholic identity and on the other, a nostalgic vision of the *Kresy* as a land of

peaceful co-existence among various ethnic and religious groups under the allegedly tolerant roof of the multinational Polish Republic (see, for example, Zarycki 2014). This image was further developed by the cultural and political elites of the end of the nineteenth century, and particularly those of the Second Republic, contributing to the circulation of fantasies of Poland acquiring colonies in Africa (Kowalski 2010) or teaching various Muslim countries 'how to build a European state' (see Borawski, Dubiński 1986).

On the whole, the recent reconstruction of this Polish colonial discourse proposed a radical turning of the tables by offering an alternative to the topoi of Poland as an eternal victim of German or Russian colonialism. It called for a critical and deconstructive approach to the country's academic and public history. Within this discourse, Poland has been depicted as imitating the colonization practices of other states, while at the same time internalizing the Orientalizing gaze of the West, being subjugated to Russian military supremacy and tending to transfer its inferiority complex to Poland's lower strata (Zarycki 2008), or other ethnicities, in particular Jews, Belarusians and Ukrainians (see, for example, Bakuła 2011; Borkowska 2007; Gosk 2008; Sowa 2011; Snochowska-Gonzalez 2012; Zarycki 2013).

Central and Eastern Europe in Global Colonial Entanglements

The second type of argument enabling us to reconsider Central and Eastern Europe under the framework of 'multiple colonialisms' has primarily been fleshed out by contemporary historical interest in globalization that concentrates on entanglements rather than on analogies. However, this very recent literature follows many earlier intuitions, such as those exposed by Hannah Arendt in the *Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951) and Aimé Césaire in *Discourse on Colonialism* (1955[2000]) about the precursive role imperialism in Africa played with regard to the rise of National Socialism and the Holocaust; or by W.E. B. Du Bois in his essay on *The Negro and the Warsaw Ghetto* (1952) in which he revised his idea of the "color line" to accommodate all instances of racial segregation, which, for him, was the main problem of the twentieth century. As Michael Rothberg (2009: 101) opined, 'it has taken scholars half a century to catch up to these early insights'.

One of the most active recent proponents of the thesis on the direct links between German colonial expansion in Africa and in Eastern Europe is German scholar, Jürgen Zimmerer. In numerous texts, including a book bearing the telling title *From Windhoek to Auschwitz* (2011), Zimmerer claims that the Holocaust and Central and Eastern European historians tend to overlook the long-term background to the Nazi policies driven by a purported need for *Lebensraum* in Eastern Europe. He seeks such background in the colonial practices of the Wilhemine Era. He shows how the rise in popularity of geography in the late nineteenth century accompanied colonial projects, and this in turn provoked growing interest in and enthusiasm for colonial expansion (Zimmerer 2004a). He looks for continuities of ideas, practices and people by underlining the extent to which the concept of space – especially in relation to race – was key to both German colonialism in Africa and Nazi imperial strategies in the East. The space won through 'the discovery and conquest had to be developed and civilized and made ready for the settlers'. Above all, Zimmerer looks for connections between the genocidal aspects of both projects. The war against Herero and Nama in Southwestern Africa (1904-8) was the first in which German imperialism practised methods of mass killing and dehumanization. The Holocaust became the largest genocidal atrocity, but it was not

without precedent, as other ethnic groups have also fallen victim to 'dual legal systems' that separate colonizers from the colonized on the basis of racial criteria.

The key to Zimmerer's argument is that the Third Reich's policies in the East were neither analogous with nor sought to emulate the conquests of the Americas, Australia, Asia or Africa by Europeans. Instead, they were an extremely radicalized variant of these conquests based on bureaucratic organization and the state involvement. According to Zimmerer, 'The German war against Poland and the USSR was without doubt the largest colonial war of conquest in history' due to the number of people and resources mobilized, numbers murdered and the sheer size of the envisaged empire, which was to reach far beyond the Ural Mountains. After all, Hitler said 'The Russian territory is our India' (Zimmerer 2004b: 49). Although Zimmerer has been criticized for not giving enough evidence to his claims about connectivities between German colonization in Africa and the Nazi genocidal policies in CEE, a number of other authors have been independently pursuing a similar course with a research focus on different aspects of the Nazi colonial empire and German administrative and military culture (see e.g. Lower 2005; Hull 2005).

The entanglement argument has not only been developed within genocide and colonial studies, it has also recently become popular among authors studying various forms of socialism and postsocialism. In the foundation article, anthropologists Sharad Chari and Katherine Verdery (2009) called for the liberation of 'the Cold War from the ghetto of Soviet area studies and postcolonial thought from the ghetto of third world and colonial studies'. They proposed the rejection of both terms – 'post-socialism' and post-colonialism' –in favour of working on a single broader framework enabling the exploration of the effects of Cold War ideology worldwide:

> 'Not only were Eastern Europe and much of the former Soviet Union under a form of colonial domination, but numerous other "Third World" countries—Cuba, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Laos, and so on—had entered the Soviet orbit as part of establishing their independence from one or another western imperial power. To think about these geopolitical peripheries with tools from both postcolonial and postsocialist studies enables thinking critically about colonial relationships together with market and democratic transitions' (Chari and Verdery 2009: 12).

Similar concerns are shared by the team of an ongoing project titled 'Socialism Goes Global: Cold War Connections Between the 'Second' and 'Third Worlds', which is led by a historian, James Mark, who is affiliated to the University of Exeter. Mark and Slobodian (2018) see Central and Eastern Europe as a trendsetter for decolonization processes following the fall of empires after World War I by citing the following example: 'the very term "decolonization" was first used in English in the 1930s to connect the already-achieved independent state in Eastern Europe with an argument about the inevitability of the liberation of nations in Africa and Asia in the near future' (2018: 2). Still, the focal point of this project is the position of the socialist bloc in the decolonization processes of the second half of the twentieth century.

The scholars gathered around Mark trace the Soviet empire's double life. One life was represented by the reinstating of the colonizing pattern prevailing in Tsarist Russia and the other was evident in the support the Soviet Union granted to the liberational tendencies of the Third World. In addition, by the

mid-1970s, a period of global appeasement enabled greater cooperation between socialist and capitalist states on various projects in Africa and the Middle East that influenced new international entanglements. In a recent volume, a number of authors trace various links between the Global South and Eastern Europe and Eurasia with regard to the circulation of ideas, people, capital and goods (Mark, Kalinovsky, Marung, under review). In another volume independent of this project, Adam Kola (2018) shows how, in socialist Poland, politicians, journalists, writers, literary critics, historians and the reading public were fascinated with decolonization processes.

Whither postcolonialism?

Thus, a postcolonial perspective towards Central and Eastern Europe has developed over the last thirty years as a research tool. Two explanations can be provisionally presented for its popularity in this region. First, the postcolonial perspective allows the history of Central and Eastern Europe to be incorporated into the global context of reflection on global relations of power and subjugation and the varied consequences of these, as shown by the literature cited above. Second, this perspective has political potential and a moral dimension.

The latter explanation is bound up with this approach's popularity in Poland and the attempts to employ it in public discourse, intriguingly, as both a progressive liberal and a conservative right-wing project, a phenomenon that Tomasz Zarycki (2014: 89-114) analyses in detail in his book. The leftist tones of postcolonialism come as no surprise because these are built into postcolonialism as critical theory. Nonetheless, it should be noted that in Poland, researchers and public intellectuals with progressive sympathies primarily employ the postcolonial perspective as a tool for criticizing the contemporary Polish right and deconstructing national myths. 'The task is usually defined as a moral mission in service of both Poland and the wider European community, which can be threatened by unchecked outbursts of nationalism', as Zarycki wrote (2014: 106). Postcolonialism is therefore basically becoming, for the leftist public intellectuals, one of a number of tools for criticizing various manifestations of Polish ethnocentrism, and in particular for demanding that their opponents be held to account for any instances of anti-Semitism, which is becoming an important axis of the Polish culture war currently being fought. Furthermore, Zarycki notes that the internal conflicts within the Polish elites and the place occupied in these by a vision of East and West are mirrored by the conflict between Poland and Russia over the primacy of their respective 'Europeanness':

> Just as Polish liberals deny their conservative opponents the right to represent modernity and identify with Europe, Poles, as a nation, also question Russian credentials in this respect. Polish conservatives see themselves as not only true patriots, but also as true Europeans, faithful to the old continent's Christian roots. In the same way, Russians often see themselves as more European and modern than backward, neo-feudal and Russophobic Poland (Zarycki 2014: 263).

The public Polish debate is therefore, at the same time, one of a number of examples of the postcolonial approach being incapable of resisting 'appropriation by the right'. It is becoming a useful tool for Poles to communicate their unique historical traumas that also complements nationalist anti-communist, anti-Soviet, anti-Russian, anti-German, anti-European (and currently also anti-immigration) discourses (Skórczewski 2008; Zarycki 2014: 111). In one author's view, Polish postcolonialism is simply an 'aberration of nationalism and martyrdom' (Snochowska-Gonzales 2012: 709). Postcolonialism is also becoming a way of producing nostalgic content, myths, cultural illusions and legitimizing fictions. For example, right-wing publicists often use the illusion of an authentic, wealthy, mighty and tolerant Poland 'stolen' from the Poles that they find in pre-partition times. A frequently cited example within this context is the positive reception in Poland granted to Ewa M. Thompson's book *Imperial Knowledge: Russian Literature and Colonialism* (2000), in which the author, influenced by Said, defined Russian literature as an imperial discourse of power creating objects of its own knowledge in order to subjugate them. The anti-imperial discourse serves in this case, however, to bolster nationalist resentments to reclaim Poland as a colonized nation that continues to be oppressed.

Generally, it is on the right side of the Polish debate that accusations directed against Russia most frequently appear, as do accusations against the West, perceived as a hegemon allegedly marginalizing Poland's role in European political and cultural space. However, in the latter case, the intention of advocates of a postcolonial approach is not, as Neil Lazarus notes, to 'unthink Eurocentrism', 'provincialize Europe' or promote a 'post-European perspective' or some version of 'post-Occidentalism'. On the contrary, the main concern of the conservative elites is 'to seek to install oneself at the very heart of "Europe" – as "core European" – by way of emphasizing not only one's modernity … but also, and however paradoxical this might sound, one's postcoloniality, which is inextricably bound up with the victim syndrome' (Lazarus 2012:126).

The position of 'subaltern' and victim of colonialism is therefore a moral position enabling the building of moral capital to be subsequently employed in internal and international policy. The Polish sociologist Michał Łuczewski draws on Pierre Bourdieu's categories to define this capital as follows: 'Moral capital is a reserve of attributes of individuals or groups that, in the public perception, grant them moral status, moral value, or also moral character' (2017:113). Memory of victims has a moral dimension that makes it difficult to dispute unless the indication is that the victims are also perpetrators, as happens in the German-Jewish-Polish case or in entangled German-Soviet-Ukrainian-Polish relations. This all leads to a 'victimhood contest' and the monopolization of suffering by refusing other groups the right to commemorate it, which leads on by the same token to 'victimhood nationalism' (cf. Lim 2010).

On the whole, in the Polish case, the postcolonial approach's robust intertanglement in the more powerful national discourse and the critique of this discourse leads to both the rightest and leftist variants of the approach frequently falling into the trap of essentialism and epistemological contradictions (Bill 2014; Kołodziejczyk 2010; Lazarus 2012). Although many classical authors associated with the postcolonial trend, from Frantz Fanon to Leela Gandhi, have underlined that nationalism is an important component of decolonization that enables anticolonial identities to crystallize, they have also made clear this is not the

ultimate goal because once nationalism is given free rein, it becomes little more than a copy of oppressive colonial ideologies. Meanwhile, some participants in the Polish postcolonial debate appear to forget that the overriding goal of postcolonial research is deconstruction, 'the decolonization of minds' and the stimulation of continuous intellectual, political and cultural negotiations among variously situated actors. The classics of postcolonialism clearly perceived that and warned against describing the relation between colonizers and the colonized 'as a simple, undialectical one in which the rule and mind-set of the one either wholly reconstructs that of the other in its own image, or by contrast unleashes a "pure" form of resistance and oppositional consciousness' (McLennan 2003). The postcolonial approach should therefore identify and deconstruct colonial categories, but above all, propose new ones in order to encompass ambivalences, hybrids, subjectivity and new agencies.

A de-colonial way-out?

The CEE case is problematic because thinking about it in terms of 'colonization' and 'postcolonization' is still a new approach among academics (and raises many doubts among historians and social scientists). The question arises of whether the application of the 'postcolonial approach' to the region does not equate to 'colonizing the minds' of its inhabitants with categories and assumptions developed elsewhere. It is also worth remembering that the colonial worldview may be found in the language of postcolonialism, as Ashar notes:

> 'The decolonial project, having found expression in nationalist movements, in political and epistemic resistance, and in reform and revival, nevertheless continues to be undertaken in the language of coloniality. This language – one in which we continue to attempt to make sense of ourselves and fight our silent battle against coloniality – is a problematic one. It not only facilitates a regeneration of the discourses of coloniality but also is otiose and obscures all that resides outside of the imperial worldview.' (Ashar 2015: 263).

Furthermore, the notion of CEE itself is problematic as it would appear to offer a method of essentialising regional identity and tradition (without recognizing its diversity and different cultural networks within the region and beyond). Using the 'multiple colonialisms' approach and making use of existing reflection on Central and Eastern Europe's postcolonial condition may sometimes mean falling into the trap of making artefactual assumptions about both historical and contemporary actors. On the other hand, the postcolonial approach may offer an opportunity to break free from categories connected with national states, political transformation and westernization (conceived as modernization). What, then, are the options for using the 'postcolonial' and 'decolonial' approaches in an effective and meaningful manner?

The first option is to preserve equidistance between all the proposals discussed above for expressing Central and Eastern Europe as a postcolonial space. In research practice, this would mean

looking for the appearance of various postcolonial discourses, rather than favouring a single option. The research question in the case of Poland may therefore be stated as follows: first, how, in what terms and through what means are the country's relations with Europe, Germany, Russia/the Soviet Union and ethnic minorities expressed or presented? Second, do these narratives/ representations reference globally and locally accessible postcolonial discourses, and if they do, how do they do this?

The second option takes as its point of departure the more potent 'decolonial option' (Mignolo 2011), which transgresses postcolonial discourses, breaking away from them in its quest to establish a new balance of power. As Tlostanova notes, 'The advantages of the decolonial option in this respect lie in its radical conceptual stance, given the way that it touches upon and destabilizes the very mechanisms of knowledge production and institutional assumptions in an attempt to shift the geography of reasoning.' (Tlostanova 2015: 280). She adds that this proposal has become especially important in the face of contemporary civilizational processes: 'The decolonial option has been steadily globalizing in the last decade, finding parallels and responses in the sensibilities of the people from seemingly quite different local histories of Eastern and Western Europe, South-East Asia, Africa, the Arab world, Russia, and the post-Soviet countries.' (2015: 279). In this sense, as Moore (2001: 127) also argues, it is not particularly helpful 'to judge whether place X "is postcolonial or not"'. It is better to question whether 'postcolonial hermeneutics might add richness to studies of place … X or Y or Z.' The decolonial proposal, thus conceived, enables us to break free of existing subjugation/dependency narratives and seek new links that might not have been obvious before. Pursuing the decolonial option may also mean abandoning language connected with colonialism/postcolonialism to concentrate on heritage and the way it is understood, created, managed and presented. In this approach, the existence of postcolonial ways of thinking is not pre-assumed and researchers may search for emic categories used in social space and locate them in the global context. Under such conditions a new social and cultural theory may develop.

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READING URBAN DECOLONIAL PRACTICES

Decolonizing the Colonial Heritage in Rio: Afro-Descendants in "Pequena África" *by Márcia Chuva, Brenda Fonseca, Keila Grinberg, Leila Bianchi Aguia*

1. Introduction[10]

Racism against blacks and indigenous, violence against LGBT+s, hatred of the left, denial of state crimes committed by the military dictatorship in Brazil and criminalisation of social movements are practices and values that have spread to broad sections of Brazilian society and have been present in the political campaign and speeches of Jair Bolsonaro, elected on 28/10/2018. His defence of carrying arms, censorship, torture and a single history have been the benchmarks of the president-elect throughout his entire career as a parliamentarian. In the last week, shortly after the announcement of the final result of the lawsuit, in lieu of a live press conference, he prayed, hand in hand with his wife and religious advisers, via social networks, before addressing the population that elected him. A theocratic state in Brazil has gradually been established, under the hegemony of the Evangelical Parliamentary Front and with the strong presence and support of officers in the armed forces.

The dehumanisation of blacks and the poor, often murdered in *favelas* and suburbs and transformed into statistical data - happening today in Brazil - was not invented by the group that has just legitimised itself in power. It originated in the long process of enslaving Africans, which underpinned Brazilian colonial and imperial society and was only abolished in 1888. It originates, above all, in the ways in which political elites produced the post-abolition of slavery, as well as the explanations that shaped Brazilian social thought in the twentieth century on racial democracy, *cordialidade* and miscegenation (FREYRE, 1936). These ideas reached extensive currency and rootedness, and became naturalised in people's ways of acting, of coming and going, in their ways of being in physical and social space. Brazilian society has profoundly changed in the last three decades, and much progress has been made in scientific research in relation to these interpretations and in the achievements of social movements, such as quota policies for blacks in universities. With such changes, what was hidden or obscured by the old interpretations became explicit in the fight against the social and racial reforms introduced in Brazil. This agenda is urgent in Brazil today, especially after the outcome of the Brazilian presidential elections.

What has all this to do with our project ECHOES?

1.1. Decolonising ECHOES

We believe that some sensitive issues could be addressed at this time, so as to move forward in developing the project, because we understand that it is not possible to make theoretical, conceptual and methodological choices independent of political positions.

Theoretical issues:

[10] This is a synthesis of the research project in progress and a preliminary version of an article. The final version will include the results of the research described here.

In the WP4 (UNIRIO) team, we took up the challenge of working with the concept of coloniality (DUSSEL, 2005; MIGNOLO, 2005) to deal with the idea of 'European Modernity', which is central to the project. The notion of coloniality views European modernity and colonialism as two sides of the same coin, and thus inseparable. In other words, modernity only materializes in terms of colonial relations. Therefore, Modernity does not expand into the New World, but is constituted in it, with it, in a two-way process.

In this sense, the binary proposition of the categories European modernity (Repression) / traditional culture (Removal) maybe problematic for our research. To avoid that bipolar opposition, we rely on Canclini's conceptions of hybrid cultures and interculturality (CANCLINI, 2000). We would also like to reflect on the concept of *colonial heritage*. In this case, we are interested in perceiving its ambiguities within the dynamics of the processes of turning from the colonial to decolonial heritage and its movements back and forth.

To broaden this debate, it would be interesting to reflect on the relationships that are being established within the ECHOES project itself. We want to share some discomforts, believing that our ECHOES can find empathy among their team. I am encouraged to speak in these terms, because I believe that we have a great team to make difference in the usual way that academic field plays, sometimes just worried to add curricula.

We would therefore like to raise some questions:

1. What is the role of NON-European researchers and universities in the project?

2. How does ECHOES resonate in the physical-social spaces directly involved as objects that can construct the subjects of the research?

3. Would it be possible for ECHOES to intervene in the deconstruction of this naturalised relationship between subject and object (LATOUR, 1994)? Or between North and South?

The will that guides our actions in ECHOES as the global South - of which we speak - is to build horizontalities and bridges and reduce hierarchies between expertise and knowledge; to reduce hierarchies and reflect on naturalised relations between centres and peripheries/deconstruct centralities and peripheries, to learn in different directions and extinguish the abyss studied by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (SANTOS, 2010); to wonder without denying, to wonder and to create empathy, to wonder and to understand the difference.

In this sense, we think that the following question is guiding the decision-making about the research to be developed:

Do we really imagine the possibility of intervening or producing transformations in the **relations** between us and the communities involved in scientific production and in the networks for exchanging experiences and affections that we are creating in the project?

Valongo Wharf is the centre from which the research radiates:

The area condenses many activities connected:

Tourism – intensified with the "Porto Maravilha" (*reframing*);

Gentrification – after the large real estate developments (*repression*);

Recongition – The World Heritage title for Valongo Wharf as symbol of African inheritance (*removal*);

Occupation - cultural practices of Afro-descendant groups occupying the zone in decolonial heritage way, uncovering discourses of slavery and post-abolition in Brazil (*re-emergence*).

Archeological site of Valongo Wharf in Rio de Janeiro - UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE 2017. Photo by Oscar Liberal.

2. Delimitation of area and subject matter

We will make a brief presentation of the area in which we intend to work, the port region of Rio de Janeiro or 'Little Africa'.

We shall define Valongo Wharf - now a UNESCO World Heritage Site - as the centre from which the physical area of our research radiates. This spans a section of the former "Little Africa". Some buildings (Church of Santa Rita, Valongo's Garden, Pretos Novos Institute, Harmonia Square; José Bonifácio Cultural Centre) are physically delimited by the port and by Conceição Hill (*Morro da Conceição*). Some public places such as Av. Marechal Floriano; Av. Presidente Vargas; Av. Rio Branco, and the perpendicular axis that leads to the Central of Brasil Railway Station were opened in the early twentieth century under different urban modernisation programmes, breaking the continuity of the large area called "Little Africa" and, in some ways, creating barriers and isolating the area near the port.

This area is a section of "Little Africa" that condenses a series of activities that we are interested in researching, related to: tourism, which has intensified in the area with the "Porto Maravilha" programme (*reframing*); with the social and urban problems arising from the large real estate developments in the area (*repression*); with the heritage and award of world heritage site for Valongo Wharf (*removal*); with the flourishing cultural practices of Afro-descendant groups in the area, considering the narratives on slavery and post-abolition in Brazil (*re-emergence*).

Although we have noted above the project's four key words, it is worth noting that we do not exclusively include them in each of these activities or that they do not interact and transform themselves through struggles, resistance, violence, provisional consensuses, strategic essentialisms and various other forms of occupation and action in the port area of Rio de Janeiro.

Given that there are multiple **territorialities** (HAESBAERTH, 2004), the previously delimited physical area will give way to a **territory** (idem) in the research process, as the layers of life histories and struggles involving the right to the city become known, together with other related rights. Overlapping and/or disputed spaces, layers of occupations that accumulate, clash, overlap synchronously today, and are also amenable to analysis as appropriations/reinventions of the materialities produced in diachrony.

The survey of empirical material will be carried out with different methodologies and will result in the construction of a map (cultural mapping)[11], with entries on each point marked, as well as a glossary of recurring terms, to be classified as colonial or decolonial.

This proposed glossary should be developed in line with the "Glossary of Decolonial Practices of Education in National Museums", also conceived as part of WP4 (cf. Presentation by Lorena Sancho-Querol).

3. Thematic and Methodological Outlines

Considering the diversity of agents and activities relating to the African heritage, we would like to emphasize the relation of **colonial heritage** to Afro-Brazilian cultural expression and matrices, especially those relating to women. We therefore propose the following entries:

a) Candomblé women resident in the area and events relating to them which take place in public, and relate to cultural assets, tourism and other forms of occupying public space (e.g. washing of the stones at Valongo Wharf);

[11] To find out more about the methodology of *Passados Presentes*, see http://passadospresentes.com.br/site/Site/index.php

Candomblé women resident in the area: forms of occupying public space (religious ritual of **washing of the sacred stones** at Valongo Wharf). Photo: Porto Maravilha http://portomaravilha.com.br/fotos_videos/g/56/pagina/2

b) The samba events connected to women, which occupy the street, these relate to cultural assets and tourism, establishing their own ways of occupying public space (e.g. Women's samba circles).[12]

[12] The Brazilian National Institute for Heritage (IPHAN) recognised Rio de Janeiro Samba as Brazilian intangible cultural heritage in 2012.

Ocuppying Pedra do Sal - also resistance: "Samba que elas Querem" [Women's samba circles] Rio de Janeiro Samba as Brazilian Intangible cultural heritage (2012). Photo: Bel Palmeira

As a hypothesis, we affirm that the two heritage situations (a and b) relate racial and religious issues to urban city management issues (It is worth remembering the attempt by the evangelical mayor to end the Pedra do Sal samba).

c) Cultural assets of a material and immaterial nature heritagelized at federal, state, municipal and world level, relating to African cultural presence in the area. In order to develop this approach, relations with the protected material and immaterial cultural heritage that promote affirmation/recognition (decolonial/re-emergence) and others that promote repression/reframing will be analysed. We therefore imagine it will be possible to understand the appropriations, uses and reinventions of these assets over time, considering how the populations that circulate (and circulated) in the region appropriate (and appropriated) such goods and spaces and produced different layers of meaning, times and subjectivities, around the activities and agents pointed out in items a and b.

d) Heritage and urbanisation policies relating directly or indirectly to housing policies that affect Afro-descendant populations in the region, especially the Candomblé women living in the area. In this regard, we propose a diachronic analysis of the 1980s until the inclusion of the Valongo Wharf on the World Heritage List and the closure of the Porto Maravilha project.

As a hypothesis, we affirm that heritage policies are more effective in democratic contexts.. In this sense, the policies are interrelated and integrate the processes under analysis, such as popular housing policies focusing on the relationship between equity, quality of life and social rights in the area in the 1980s.

Related methodologies:

"How do you select/collect/capture/map your city data on colonial heritage and which methods do you put to use?"

- Oral history:

Production of life stories with Candomblé women residing in the region (partnership with researcher Stefania Caponi); to relate these dwellings to the protected cultural heritage ; and highlight the occupation activities of Candomblé women (such as the ritual washing of the wharf stones).

- Participant observation / field research:

Field research to raise and map collectives and their activities, such as **occupation** of the public space related to women's SAMBA ("Samba they want" and their presence or absence in other circles); to create typologies on the public (tourists, locals, workers etc., to identify the musicians), focusing on the acts of women and blacks, associated or not. (Partnership with researcher Martha Abreu).

Field research to verify the current uses of the protected assets on visits to the sites and in contact with their users, to put together the diachronic analysis and produce a typology.

- Documentation survey:

Documentation in the archives of the official agencies for cultural heritage, on the protected assets selected, to uncover the justifications and the production of the authorized discourse of the heritage (SMITH, 2006); documentation on urbanisation and housing programmes relating to the protection of heritage, to reflect on the effects of these policies for the establishment or expulsion of Afro-descendant populations in the region, and check whether the inclusive policies of the 1980s have been abandoned.

- Inventory of terms:

Survey of the toponymy of urban buildings, stores, services, as well as the recurring terms used by the agents participating in the research, including those linked to the social movements with which we will contact.[13] In this way, we seek to contribute to understanding colonial and/or decolonial practices, including the strength of relationships established through the words used in everyday life.

- Mapping:

Development of a collaborative cultural map, with various territorialities and temporalities, as mentioned previously.

4. Institutional and research partnerships

- "Pretos Novos" Institute: focus on its catalytic role with a series of actions in the region, as a space for civil society, a place of **resistance**. Confrontation with public authorities, lack of resources.

- MUHCAB – Museum of Afro-Brazilian History and Culture [Museu da História e Cultura Afro-Brasileira] in Rio de Janeiro.

- IPHAN - Central Archive and researchers.

[13] In this case, the terms and their meanings are conscious keys of positioning and understanding way of beings in the world.

- National Historical Museum - institutional and with researchers, also aiming at the Echoes exhibition. Researcher collaborator - Stefania Caponi.

5. Final considerations

"Why do these materialities/performances/exhibitions/activities constitute an interesting colonial heritage within the framework of ECHOES?"

This question posed by the WP1 team was key to delineating our investigation. We think that we have partially answered this question in the course of this paper. In summary, we would say that the materialities chosen relating to the African heritage in the port area of Rio de Janeiro condense intense, multiple, diverse and contradictory dynamics through relations of power, resistance and negotiations that forge colonial and decolonial meanings for heritage, with not a single path being previously mapped. For this reason, they seem to fit the central proposition of ECHOES, which we hope will contribute to the construction of decolonial assets.

The development of collaborative cultural maps in territories marked by African slavery and post-abolition in the city of Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon will allow analyses on both sides of the Atlantic on the different appropriations and uses of the past by local groups or even by the media, tourism and educational institutions in both cities, as well as on heritage and memory policies in the chosen areas.

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How to deal methodologically with decolonial entanglements in artists' responses to the repression of colonial memory in Marseille *by Marine Schütz*

WP5 takes a broad view of artistic activities in Bristol and Marseille as modes of transnational connectivity between Europe and countries that were formerly colonized and which is capable to entail re-emergence as a new kinds of heritage practice, especially in decolonial forms. Addressing cross cultural entanglements among multiple identities as a feature of social life worldwide, their interventions brought renewed urgency to our understanding of art and society in an era of globalization when the West centered interpretations of modernism and modernity were thrown into crisis (Mercer 2017 :1).

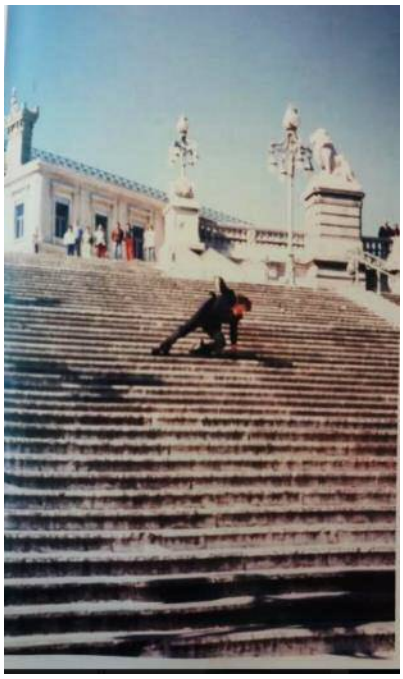
The general purpose of this paper is to present the bodies of works reconstructed during this first year of research. In starting considering the context on which these artworks take ground, my point is to explore one underlying fact: that the dominant modes of handling colonial heritage, before the 1990s in Marseille, can objectively be read as repressive forms while the artworks produced in the meanwhile can be read as forms of resistance. The works that contest such dominant approaches informed by forces of reframing and re-emergence appear in strong ontological contrast with the hegemony and owing to this voluntary breakdown, the dislocating potential of art on the social norms has to be noticed. The second part of the paper explores how the artists in Marseille yearn for the transformation of social relationships. This will bring to question the proximity that exists between decolonial and postcolonial visual forms. After pointing that decolonial aesthesis is less about a strictly defined visual form than about being a critical, interventionist and emancipatory strategy, one will ask and retrace, drawing on decolonial thinking, in which conditions an artist may effectively delink from coloniality.

Marseille in the 1990s: a repressive context for colonial heritage

As epitomized by the complete absence of any discussion of the overseas empire in Pierre Nora's highly influential book *Les Lieux de mémoires* (*Realms of Memory*), recent research has highlighted the marginalization of French colonialism in insititutionalized forms of historical knowledge. Repression comes as a main fact when dealing with decolonial initiatives artists and citizens in Marseille. It is necessary to fully introduce this background, of the widespread desires that attempted at positively repress colonial memories in the postcolonial France. As Alec Hargreaves has put it, such amnesia relates to several factors. Firstly, the shorter aspect – when compared to Britain – of the colonial experience generated less extensive memories of empire in France than in Britain. Secondly, humiliating and painful loss of French empire, with the series

of bloody and futile campaigns in Indochina and then in Algeria that resisted Independance Wars - are contributing factors to public forgetfulness (Hargreaves 2005: 2).

However, the city is full of signs of colonial heritage and cultural policies have, long after independances, been largely indebted to coloniality. To illustrate this point, we can mobilize two cultural events, set in 1982, that is two years after the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism,* for as they allow us to consider Marseille's relation to hegemony, as the cultural scene was dominated by monocultural interpretations of modernism and understanding schemes pertaining to Eurocentrism. These have secured, in the city, interpretations of colonialism that proved to have strongly resisted to the development of the logic of a decentering, that artists do settle in the following in the 1990s. These two cultural events, which form major context in which case studies in Marseille emerge, might be read under the category of *repression*. Julien Blaine's performance, entitled *Chut* (1982) (ill.1) is a first and a good example of the paradoxical situation for the arts in Marseille in the 1980: while colonial sites were sometimes framed as theatre for performance the political significance of the latter was neglected.



Ill.1. Julien Blaine, *Chut, Chute*, performance, 1982

In a logic where colonial remnants seem visible, as the performance was happening in the stairs of the Saint-Charles station which stand for colonial Marseille most important physical heritage, the voluntary fall in the stairs operated by the artist was rather conceived as a quote of Eisenstein's famous scene in *Battleship Potemkine*. The performance was set in the stairs decorated with sculpted groups, which in the 1920s, had been ordered to three artists by the city affairs for

Saint-Charles railway station at the occasion of the colonial exhibition (1922). Depicting the figures of Asia, gateway to the East, and Africa, gateway to the Orient, it is set in a pure place of colonialism and maybe of coloniality. As Robert Aldrich put it in his comments on the gendering of "the most famous allegorical statues of the colonies" (Aldrich 2004 : 174), these representations of Africa and Asia are shown semi-reclining, rather than sitting or standing as are, generally, allegorical figures of France, cities or Republic. (Ill.2)

Ill.2. Louis Botinelly*, Colonies d'Afrique, sculpture, Saint-Charles station stairs,* 1927

While Aldrich identifies the contrast ruling politics of representation, by stating how womanizing colonies lends to dichotomous perception of colonies and empire, the general structure of the sculpted groups, we argue, can help consider expressions of coloniality in monuments. In his analysis of what he calls coloniality of knowledge, that is extension, thrived by ideal of totalization, through space and through time of the values of European rhetoric of modernity, Walter Mignolo makes clear how epistemic tradition in Occident relied on the abstraction of its own spatial position (Mignolo 2008:471). Equating center with self, and space with alterity, location was thus used as way to materialise the difference of non-European, interpreted as the sign of their subaltern status. As a result, it is the very notion of space that is colonised. Characteristics of coloniality can be told to qualify Marseille's monument whose strong symetry, perspective, by means of ceremonial stairs designed for spectacular sight performances. These qualities, and the position of the viewer's gaze, as it dominates visually the statues epitomizing the world, provide the conditions under which the viewer can symbolically and physically experiment his own location of centrality as a position of dominancy.

Julien Blaine's work title *Chut,* which is in French an injunction to silence, allegorises the 1980s relationship of colonial history, that of act of not recognizing " the sites objects or sites are

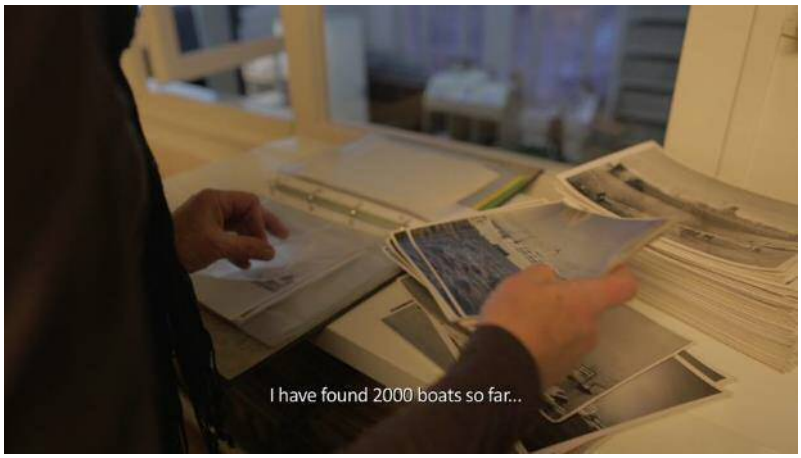
enmeshed in a colonial history, or which articulate that colonial history", what is constitituve of repression (Kølvraa 2018). But apart ignoring, we can also identify in Marseille's cultural events of the 1980s apologetic discourses about colonialism, "thereby reproducing established social hegemonies" (Kølvraa 2018) as the kind of recycling of the fundamentally binary imaginaries of colonialism Christoffer Kolvraa has identified as informing repression, when are replayed dichotomies of the civilized/savage, metropole/colony, modernity/backwardness as emanations of the grand narrative of European modernity, and of its supposedly benevolent extension to the entire world (Kølvraa 2018).

In 1982 cultural project *L'Orient des Provençaux,* a compendium of 17 exhibitions addressed colonialism in apolegetic this way. Though documenting the cultural production (mainly Orientalist painting) covering the whole time French colonization was politically and culturally ruling Algeria, the exhibition symbolically established the relationship Marseille had to Orient. As shown by use of genitif (*Provencals' Orient*), Orient and Algeria, largely represented in the French Orientalist paintings exhibited, were reclaimed as possessions. As a consequence, this internalised forms of repression pertaining of the representation of colonial memory in cultural production, has for long prevented from expressing narratives based on the possibility of reciprocal gaze, thus attesting to the persistance and maybe nostalgia feelings for old power representations of the city that once made Marseille a capital.

The motivations of the artists studied in *Artists and citizens* can be variegated, but they all share the common attempt to reconstruct colonial memory and to break with this modality of handling memory which, in reproducing established social hegemonies, lays the ground to today social and racial problems in the city that may be seen as originating in classifications coined during Modernity. From the deconstruction of today's remaining stereotypes to the awareness of the hard living conditions of postcolonial workers in the city, they want to produce transformations in the ways we address social, cultural and epistemic realities. Ranging from actions around the colonial remnants - the sites and monuments - to projects that approach colonial past decolonially or delink with the aesthetic knowledge, some results that have been recollected in terms of artistic intentions can be presented along the following lines :
We can quote

(1) The projects that function as devices of transnational agency and aesthetic collaborations between artists from Marseilles and ex-colonies. Such is the case of artworks produced around the Marseille's pier, like that of Martine Derain and la Source du Lion, a collaboration based on *in situ* installations of the piers of Algiers, Marseille, and other cities of the Mediterranean area, the artist cover with fake gold leaf.

An other example is Zineb Sedira's project for Marseille Capital of Culture 2013 (formed by a video project and photographs all refering to the sea and colonial time) (Ill.3).



Zineb Sedira, *Transmettre en abyme*, 2012, Three screens video installation, Part I: single screen, 18 minutes - Format 16:9

The video, *Transmettre en abyme,* was made with shots of photographer Marcel Baudelaire who took pictures of the vessels connecting Marseille and Africa in the 1930s. The video dealt with the handling of these archives in the hands of the heir today's Baudelaire collector, Hélène Détaille. As the photographs depicted Marseille and the sea from a specific point of view, on the 7 km seawall which had been constructed during colonial time on the model of Algiers' one, Sedira wanted to recover this access to seawall, for the audience, and the managed to get this right during the exhibition in spite of the fact it had been for years unacessible. Wandering on the pier and looking at the video, exhibited in a gallery (La Jetée) forstered poetic displacement from Marseille to Algiers, whose seawall had itself served as model to the building of Marseille's one built in 1925. It produced a spatial entanglement and geographic echoes between Marseille and Algiers and makes the frontiers uncertain. The sea, indeed acts in redefining the sense of Marseille's geographic definition, by unfolding its maritime dimension as a possibility to renew the representation of the city. Sedira's work is not so much about what makes a city local, specific, than global and entangled. There occurs thus, critical shifts facing the construction of Marseille's representation: first it is not anymore a national space, but it is defined by the role of geographic indeterminacy. Second, in depicting Marseille as part of Mediterranean sea becomes a means to productively engage with symetrical relationships of transnational exchange which set the conditions under which getting to grip with the legacies of the colonial relationships envisioning the dominion on a city on the other.

The fact that art processes have established Marseille as an artistic nodal point where entangled relations are performed is also visible in moveable works, that travel and connects several points of the globe. This is true for *Mari-Mira* project, by La Compagnie les Pas perdus. Making a device to chart cultural mobility, this collective installation set between 1997 and 2005 moved from a city to another (from Port Louis, Mauritius, Marseille, Paris, France, Suva, in the Fiji Islands, and Durban) and was made with local inhabitants, who enriched the shacks they produced by objects that were locally collected and local knowledge, often popular. (Ill.4)

(Ill.4) Guy-André Lagesse, *Mari-Mira,* Saint-Jean Plaza, J4, 2007, mixed-media, Marseille

(2) the works whose intention is to challenge the relation to the past as it has been conceptualized by modern ego, that is as a repression of colonial heritage, history or colonial subjectivity and visuality. Archives and images have long been used as deconstructive means by postcolonial artists to dismantle colonial and modern stererotypes. Dalila Mahdjoub's production brings us on an other terrain pertaining to the capacity of an artist to write history. Recollecting archives related to the colonial workers in Marseille she advocates for the inscription of colonial traces in aesthetics in a way similar to association *Ancrages*, which was created in 2000, advocates for inscribing the history of migration into national heritage.

With Martine Derain she has explored indigenous culture and historical vacuums as part of decolonial strategizing in *From a threshold another* (2007). Revolving around a physical residence where old former colonial Algerian workers in Marseille live today, it was based on the burial, deep

into the soil, of two doors coming from the first residence built during French Empire to host colonial workers in metropole (in the aftermath of World War II). Concerns were mainly: creation as a means to question the notion of belonging, partly reminiscent in the title of the installation, refering to the dwell and the use of a Kabylian proverb as the site of impredictibility rather than enclosure, and challenging it as the notion of belonging since domesticity is often equated with national space (Meskimmon 2010).

From a treshold an other at artist run space la Compagnie included not only an installation and reasearch-based practices, but a publication, series of talks with sociologists and militant practice of history, leading to turning repressed memory of colonial subject to be turned into heritage. The latter is connected to Martine Derain role in the project. She engaged in a practice leading concretely to turning into a collection of photographs she discovered in Studio Rex, located at Porte d'Aix, marking the northern limit of Belsunce district, into heritage of the city thereby confering them a significal historical value. This project, will be successful with the help of curator Christine Breton. The images she found were piles of old portraits made by Grégoire Keussayan, in the 1950s, who had photographed workers living in Marseille, of single men, families, couples etc. In some, they appear in boubous or in djellabah. Others are dressed in Western fashion, making thereby the picture of a multi-ethnic micro-society which reveals how Marseille's was shaped by the coming of colonial subjects, workers, before independance, and of immigrants, after the African decolonisations. As she found them in the trash bin of the studio, Martine Derain saved these collections in *extremis* from the destruction but above all she turned them into heritage. (Ill.5)

Ill. 5. A silver print of Algerian men in Marseille during colonial time, Keussayan collection now preserved in Archives municipales of Marseille

As the photographs are not only documents of social conditions, but of fantasies provoked by the encounter with French modes of life in the metropole marked by access to objects, to consumption, to

wealthness, central points in lot of them is mass consumption objects. Their presence tends to disrupt the fixed divide between representation of colonial subjects and colonizers. Facing the photographs, we also discover a whole range of personas, mimicking the archetypes of repertoire tapped into the of French life, as a Western novel of modernity or US cinematographic figures, as some evoke the mobster, the bachelor, the good son etc. Thus, these numerous silver prints foster representations of colonial subjects that open reflexion on the performance of being a French, modern and as such allow questioning, this material colonial heritage as a space where one negociates the assigned image of colonial subject as opposed to modernity, decentering thereby the narrative that secured the hegemony of monocultural interpretations of modernism (Mercer 2018: 4). Martine Derain reveals that beneath the categorical boundaries of modernism and coloniality, the agency of intermixing had always taken place in spite of the rigid binary oppositions among the tribal and the modern, the original and the copy, the authentic and the imitative, the individual and the mass – which "were all vertical hierarchies, never horizontal contrasts" (Mercer 2018: 4).

(3) The works that question colonial heritage through sites, works that locate at the place where arrived colonial subjects in Marseille, since the beginning of the XXth century. This interaction is at stake in La Compagnie's project, which is an artist run space, in the Algerian district of Belsunce. The same is true in Bristol, where sites such as Pero quayside (in the work of Libita Clayton) are framed and considered as places for creation, whose aim is to rewrite the space, through performances, as an archive of slavery – a fact that remains for artists still to be pointed, discussed, denounced, in spite of growing British memory policies in favor recognizing slavery.

Why to conceptualize the corpus as decolonial and not as postcolonial entanglements

On a methodological level, one capital question is what kind of theory do we have to use to conceptualize and discuss works and projects that address the reemergence of colonial heritage when the inter aesthetical, the polyglot layering, and the yearning for visual and cultural plurality and pluriversalism stands for its main features ?

Art history has been laxed thinking about methods and often fails to engage in any breadth with questions of methodological limit, effectiveness and scope in cultural analysis. However, we have at hands several models to engage with the interpretation, especially with postcolonial theory and decolonial theory.

As art historians, to address productions formed in part by the development of several key themes, including a rethinking of the center and periphery, frames and contexts, and the

concept of multiple cultures, we encounter many currents and theories able to cope with art seen from an "intercultural perspective" (Zijlmans 2007: 294). They range from *Global Art* to *postcolonialism* to the most recent current of decolonial aesthesis, as defined by Walter Mignolo. To be able to locate properly the works addressed in *Artists and citizens* in the theoretical field, we need to address one problems: the difficulty to select one or another, as the works seem visually and conceptually to dialogue with postcolonial and decolonial strategies. If we conclude too easily that the works made in Marseille can be regarded as postcolonial, we will too promptly replay the epistemic reflex according to which one work's place of production is determining elements in selecting the theory we apply to it. One should first notice that postcolonial frames should be more suited than decolonial frames for geographical and plastic reasons. Indeed, on the one hand, decoloniality has been conceptualized by Walter Mignolo as a frame suited to ex-colonized territories while postcolonial theory, as suggested by Stuart Hall, finds more easily its ways in topics studying the critique of modernity in Europe. The British author draws, to argue that point on the concept of transculturation, that is the long term historical and cultural effects of the colonising societies as powerfully changed as had been the colonised ones (Hall 1999). Following this line, postcolonial critique would fit to European cultural and social relations whereas decolonial would fit to non-Western spaces. Precisely, to avoid to replay determinist and binary modes of analysis, we suggest that reclaiming decolonial thinking for thinking Europe's cultural production and to use decolonial tools to think European art is a critical choice we have to make to secure methodological choices that allow us to avoid, epistemically, reproducing hegemonic modes of thinking.

It remains however that visual production makes it difficult to cut the link with postcolonial aesthetics as the ways artists of Marseille have elaborated reemergence processes rely in modernism. At the level of philosophy, the necessity to break with European archive, for instance, what decolonial thinking operates in delinking with poststructuralism sets conditions under which, modernism, which is in aesthetics the Western archive per excellence, could make it difficult to discuss European's production from a decolonial point of view. Dalila Mahdjoub's work *D'un Seuil l'autre* embodies plastically the move that Edward Said described well, writing about certain writers who work to reappropriate already established or infiltrated forms by imperial culture (Said 2000: 301). Indeed, the work that buries into the soil the door of the first residency open to welcome colonial workers, during colonization relies on the reappopriation of a form already established here in modernism, at the basis American artist Walter de Maria, *The Vertical Earth Kilometer* made in 1977. Dalila Mahdjhoub's work uses then a readable form so as to translate her idiosyncrasical knowledge (as indicated by uses of Kabyle proverb giving the work its title) sustaining the visibility of social concerns connected to her Algerian community

through conceptual that exemplifies a specific response in the debate of postcolonial art: the necessity, for the processes around the archives and their discussion, to be set in visual context which make them readable from the outside, the audience of contempory art. While the use of mainstream in works and, what is the most important, could define visually the works as primarily postcolonial and put it at distance of decolonial aesthesis and its attempts of delinking plastically in getting rid modernism, Ann Ring Petersen's recent arguments are interesting to dismantle such divides. Indeed, she argues that care should be taken of not to validate neo-essentialist notions of particular or decolonial aesthetics that promote the illusion of the singularity and detachment of decolonial art from contemporary art forms. For Ann Ring Petersen, this complicity with the Western economic social, cultural and art institutional system does not stifle these artists' critique ; quite the contrary, this complicity would be the very precondition for their decolonising infitration of Western institutions in order to launc their critique *from within* the institution. This possibility of art to fight 'hegemonic normativity of aesthetics in its own field' (Mignolo and Vázquez 2013) with help of forms suited to the market is the reason why Mignolo and Vázquez felt necessary to define *decolonial aesthesis* – as the type of the interventions aimed at challenging coloniality within the world of the contemporary arts. Interestingly, this difficult mirror image between decolonial aesthetics and decolonial epistemology underlines the kind of resistance of aesthetics to espouse the same conceptualization of decolonial thinking, and to give aesthetic heritage a role similar to that of French theory in the decolonial thinking that reveals the extent to which aesthetics constitutes a realm that does not rest on of imitation. This statement of the non imitative stake of aesthetics should be extended to the understanding of the relation between aesthetics and society. It reveals how artworks generate their own responses and interpretations and are constitutive of social relationships rather than just tools to decipher them.

As we see, a first advantage to use decolonial critique as a window for analysis, while European body of works would call to postcolonial, is the possibility to debunk the coloniality of knowledge. It allows us to adopt an epistemic position that is fitting to ECHOES' conceptual frame to rethink European identity (in our case from aesthetics) in more flexible and decentered ways. This shift is a capital to think entanglements. The main argument to use decolonial thinking is then to coin a homologic epistemic position to the subject of the research, leading to embodied possibilities. Beyond that, decolonial thinking seems an option particularly interesting to adopt in order to get resources that allow us to think the critique of modernity, enhanced by the production we deal with, but more especially to discuss both critical points : (1) the ways the visual works have come to address knowledge more than representation issues (2) and the transformative yearning they stand for. While the first

(1) Decolonial thinking as a necessity to address work questioning coloniality of knowledge

As we have suggested above, decolonial thinking is still marginal in the conceptualization of aesthetics in Europe, especially in France. However, at many respects the projects brievly presented dovetail on the fact that they embody new attitudes relating to colonialism and coloniality. Located in post-representationl realm of ways of creating, they express how aesthetics has progressively shifted from the 1980s artistic positions indebted to a critique of image, to that of knowledge. For instance, we can point in the Mari Mira project of making the presence of an inter-aesthetic approach (for instance in Mauritius many motifs, like the dog were related to local Vodoo beliefs) a contestation of the conceptions of modernity that are based on the dichotomy of center/periphery. The rewriting of geographical imaginary under interesthetic modalities is one interesting aspect that highlights the necessity to understand works in Marseille as decolonial. But the ways in which art has been transformed in engaging more and more in processes that resist the writing of history, such as it was envisioned by Modernity (national oppositions, especially colonial modernity with the repression of the colonial lives), in shadowing archives make decolonial thinking even more relevant. In Dalila Mahdjoub's work, the question at stake is to reconstruct, through archive shadowing, the colonial past of Marseille and to contest the coloniality of history as she recollects French history as a history of entanglements.

(2) Apart the shift in the critique of coloniality from representation to knowledge, that is reflected in the practices, the necessity to explore the works with decolonial frames is directly connected to the aim this critique of coloniality knowledge is set, that is in interventionist modes, and yearning for agency and contestation.

If decolonial thinking is a certain mode of practising critique which favours an interventionist mode of doing or performing art, culture and politics, with the aim of mining and thereby undermining colonial perceptions of the worlds (Ring Petersen 2018: 122), the words of the artists recollected indicate that bodies of works can be framed as decolonial. For instance, Martine Derain describes her approach as a "Critical reverse-angle to the monumental history, disturbing the instrumentalized representations of winners". The contestation of the narrative, in the case of Bristol, is for Shawn Sobers a recovering of sense of self, helped by the use of symbols as the Sankofa symbol, as representing culture, heritage, traditions, and a sense of African identity. The filmmaker lets proliferating his " response to the landscape of Bristol, which as a history of making vast wealth through the Trans-Atlantic slave trade" (as indicated in the artits's abstract for WP1/WP5 workshop). This is an attempt to change the city's relation to memory, dominated by the silencing of slavery history in spite of citizen led actions.

The delinking aimed at as revealed by artists' words seems, however, not only to depend on the colonial resurfacing and espistemic disobedience but on the extent to which the artists' specific positions as subjects, acting in geo and bodypolitics, as worded by Walter Mignolo, can be read as countering the ego-politics, that is the conceptualisation of the Self made during Renaissance (Mignolo 2008). Mignolo asserts that in the systemic colonial system, being and aesthetics are organically articulated and so are their decolonizing processes. Knowledge (including aesthetic part), like gender, sexuality and subjectivity, he explains, are subsumed under a larger category, that of being. As art is inscribed into this architectonic epistemic structure summoned by being, an effective decolonizing of aesthetic knowledge would take into account a critique of Modern being. Mignolo has made clear how epistemic tradition in Occident relied on the abstraction of the Modern subject's own spatial position (Mignolo 2008). In this respect, to be processes of effective decolonizing, artistic practices need to transform, disrupt or hybridize the classical subject. The artists situated outside the canon of egopolitics, in a body politic or geopolitics realms are especially likely to perform this decolonizing of art from their own positions as subjects.

The issue of the disruptive effects of positionality on the Western Self is important to understand how decolonial aesthetics challenges power structures. But it ought not to be restricted to the position of the subject in the world. The way Mignolo discusses the decolonial aesthetics seems sometimes to reduce the other parameters entering in the formation of identity, especially class and gender, what could to bring, when applied to artworks to read the contestation of colonial/modern values in a unidimensional way. Concerning the post-colonial subject addressed by decolonial thinkers, it should be interesting to consider effects of transculturation that decolonization had also on subjects in Europe (Hulme quoted in Rycroft 2015), identity and the inter-aesthetical/inter-epistemic ways of sensing and thinking. The fact that transculturation eschews binary ways of being obliges us to re-read the sometimes binarity from which decoloniality adresses aesthetic phenomena. It brings us to ask what kind of definitions of identity should be mobilised to get frames that recognize how decolonial aesthetics also comes to negotiate power-relations in terms of class and gender. Indeed, class and feminist discourses do encapsulate decolonial artworks and many decolonial artworks locate at the crossroads of entangled struggles. Ivan Muñiz explains this multidimensional expressions of the links between identity and decolonial art, by the fact that "many of the normative principles of male dominance have been propagated by the same matrix of power" (Muñiz-Reed 2017:101). This comment seems especially right, due to the fact that Martine Derain and Dalila Mahdjoub's work can certainly be understood as a decolonization of colonial aesthetic knowledge, but also as a challenge to cultural hegemony ; that the resistance in produces certainly responds to colonial history, but also to the oblivion of the history of the colonial workers and to the restrained artistic space for women artists. Therefore, a suited methodological approach would be to inform the inquiry in intersectional terms, by drawing

on other academic fields like feminism and cultural studies. Kimberlé Crenshaw's concept of intersectionnality would help also to understand the extent to which power-relations might be articulated within decolonial aesthetics. Interestingly, the discussion she developed to address the crossings of feminist and the black liberation movements were underpinned by a conception of identity as multifacted, lying the intersection of class, gender and race. This could precisely pave the way to a rethinking, in more mobile and flexible ways, of decolonial aesthetics.

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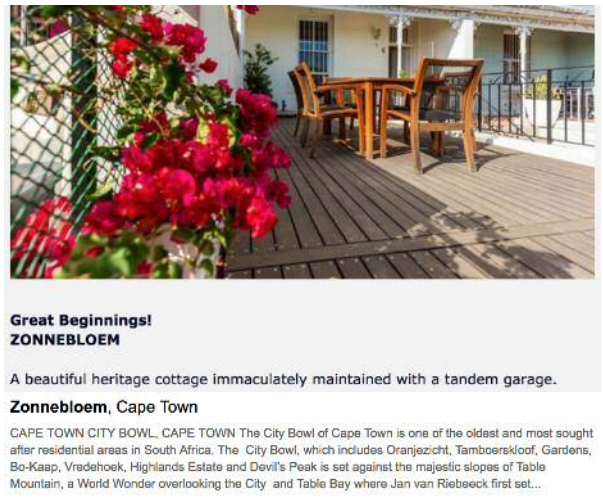
Dirty laundry: Artistic responses to colonial baggage in Cape Town *by Daniela Franca Joffe*

***Cape Removals*. Photo by author (2019)**

Repression

AfriForum's #dankieJan campaign at Paul Kruger statue, Pretoria (2015). Parallel campaigns occurred in Cape Town and Stellenbosch

Zuma Must Fall banner, Cape Town (2016)

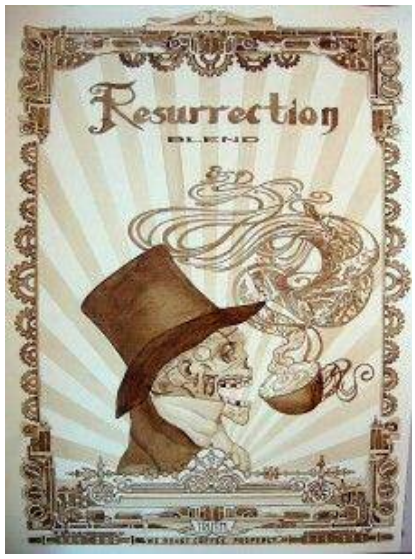


Kapstadt International advert and marketing for property in District Six ("Zonnebloem") (2019)

Reframing

***Perceiving Freedom*, Michael Elion/Ray-Ban, Sea Point Promenade with Robben Island in the distance (2014) (see Ernsten, 2017)**

***The Harvest* mural, Faith47/City of Cape Town, Dewaal Flats (2014)**

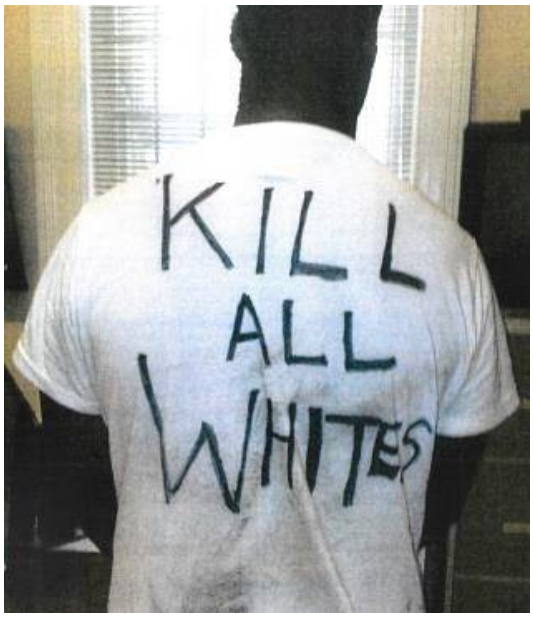


Truth Coffee's "Resurrection" blend, Cape Town (n.d.) (see Ernsten, 2017; Shepherd, 2013)

Removal+

Shackville protests and burning of "colonial" art, UCT (2015)

Anti-gentrification and -tourism protests, Bo Kaap (2018)



(s)Kill all whites t-shirt, UCT (2015)

Reemergence

Tokolos-Stencils intervention at *Perceiving Freedom* installation, in the aftermath of Marikana (2014) (see Ernsten, 2017)

The Reaper, XCollectiv intervention at *The Harvest* mural, in response to Dewaal Flats eviction threats (2014)

Space Invader series, XCollectiv, revealing the specter (in the form of an ancestral hut of the dispossessed) that floats above upper-class Cape Town (n.d.)

Introduction

I am only three months into my two-year (part-time) postdoc with the ECHOES project, but already I am beginning to "read the signs", as it were, through the project lens and methodology. It is already clear to me that the methodology will be extremely useful for mapping Cape Town's heritage practice and entanglements, and that the city will also be able to respond to and enrich the methodology in turn. Above are just a few plot points on the map I am developing of artist and citizen-activist responses to the very polarizing questions of colonial heritage, memory, trauma, and restitution in Cape Town, which play out in similar and different ways in other parts of South Africa.

In this paper, I would like to share with you, my first audience, some examples of reemergence that I have begun to identify in the art I am encountering in my research. I see this sharing exercise as an opportunity to test out the ECHOES vocabulary and framework with some actual potential case studies.

Reemergence in Cape Town

Judith Westerveld
"The underlying trauma that remains compartmentalized"

Judith Westerveld is a Dutch-born, South African-raised artist who works between Cape Town and Amsterdam with mixed media. Two of her works stand out in particular for me. In the first, *Mukalap*, Westerveld enters into a dialog that was initiated by a Khoikhoi man named Mukalap in 1938. Mukalap sent a recording in his indigenous tongue (!ora) to the Third International Congress of Phonetic Sciences in Ghent, making an urgent appeal for recognition of the language, but also asking the audience to send a recording back to him. The request was ignored and the conversation was effectively silenced.

The last living !ora speaker died in 2011, but Westerveld uses fragments of what remains of the language, in combination with the colonially entangled languages of English, Dutch, and Afrikaans, to stage an alternate ending for this colonial encounter, responding to Mukalap from her own position as part of the "European audience" (Westerveld, 2019). The piece consisted of an audio installation and was performed live in Cape Town and at the Hague in the Netherlands in 2018.

Top and bottom: Judith Westerveld, *Mukalap*, Cape Town and the Hague (2018). Photo by Jhoeko photography

Judith Westerveld, *Mukalap*, Cape Town and the Hague (2018). Photo by Jhoeko photography

In another piece, *The Remnant*, Westerveld complicates the botanical landscape of Cape Town, which in mainstream imagination and discourse tends to be completely stripped of its colonial baggage and presented as a straightforward, prized part of national heritage. Westerveld uses a multitude of voices to tell the story of a particular hedge of indigenous Wild Almond trees housed in the Cape Town Botanical Garden. The thick, thorny hedge was originally planted in 1659 by Jan van Riebeeck and—along with a series of walls and watchtowers—formed part of the 25-km-long eastern boundary of the Dutch colonial settlement, erected to prevent the Khoikhoi and San tribes from using the land for grazing and from "stealing" the Dutch's cattle.

In Westerveld's short film, fragments of van Riebeeck's diary—read out in Dutch in the artist's own voice, and attesting to the "peaceful" nature of the VOC's agreement with the indigenous people—are put into conversation with the account of a local tour guide, who questions where van Riebeeck got "his" cattle in the first place, and who also creates a link between the early botanical and manmade barriers erected by the Dutch and the later apartheid demarcations that saw him and his family "kicked out" of their homes in Cape Town under the 1948 Group Areas

Act. The voice of a local botanist is added to the dialog, explaining how the natural properties of the indigenous plant were exploited for hostile purposes.

By relinking the serene greenery in the Botanical Garden, and the serene poetics of van Riebeeck's diary, to a history of violence and dispossession and to "the underlying trauma that remains compartmentalized in...personal memories" (Westerveld, 2016), Westerveld initiates a decolonial conversation, involving herself as a ventriloquist for Dutch erasure narratives. The work is site-specific and "diatopical" (Knudsen, 2018) in that it was displayed first at the Framer Framed gallery in Amsterdam and then at the District Six Museum in Cape Town, close to the site where the forced removals mentioned by the tour guide took place.

Judith Westerveld, *The Remnant* (2016). Photo by Eva Broekema

Mary Sibande

"An elsewhere space or dream space"

Picking up on the theme of conversation, I want to turn to the work of visual artist Mary Sibande, who has in many ways been at the forefront of decolonial dreaming and memorying practice in

South African art. Her ongoing sculptural installation series "Sophie-Ntombikayise", initiated in 2006, features an alter-ego of that name—a domestic worker who finds refuge in dreams. Cast from Sibande's own body, "and thus bearing the markers of her genetic inheritance" (Stielau, 2013), the sculptures also draw from Sibande's maternal lineage of domestic labor under colonial/apartheid rule.

We see Ntombikayise (the artist's own Xhosa name; renamed "Sophie" after a would-be white employer), eyes necessarily closed, in the throes of various fantasies, during which she shapeshifts into a hybrid self—one that is not a nostalgic return to the precolonial past but rather fully enmeshed in colonial tropes of glory and power, which she borrows and transforms into decolonial symbols within an alternate space–time.

Judith Westerveld, *The Remnant* (2016). Author's screenshot

Judith Westerveld, *The Remnant* (2016). Author's screenshot

Left: Mary Sibande, *The Reign* (2010)
Right: Mary Sibande, *They Don't Make Them Like They Used To* (2008)

In one piece, *Conversations with Madam C. J. Walker*, which showed alongside Judith Westerveld's *Mukalap* in Cape Town and Amsterdam, Sophie weaves a dress of synthetic hair for the actual Madam C. J. Walker, a self-made African-American millionaire from the early 1900s, who becomes an alternate "madam" for the protagonist, and an occasion for solidarity, sisterhood, and dialog, rather than the servitude and subjugation usually signified by that word.

In another piece, we see Sophie either weaving or unraveling a European-style coat of arms bearing her own initial—a powerful image of colonial entanglement, as well of the potential to alter or play with that entanglement, which lies firmly in the protagonist's hands.

Mary Sibande, *Wish You Were Here* (2010)

I could not articulate the artist's vision better than she herself does:

> Sophie's aspirations do not lie in wanting to be anything (i.e. white woman) other than what she is. She is a black woman and a mother. Sophie's desires are located in an elsewhere space or dream space; the material objects of her desires are illusive and can only remain as dream objects. Closing her eyes is the only way to concretize them. Perhaps her desires

can be described as "envious", an adjective which is committed to attaining freedom in response to a context wherein freedom is denied materially. The dresses hybridize a different identity by forging the blue fabric that usually makes workers' overalls with the suggested form of a Victorian dress. With this combination, an alternative maid's uniform is created, symbolically attempting to transcend beyond the dichotomy set up by the racial ideology of the colonial and apartheid gaze. The women in my family...present to me the possibility of multiplicity. Sophie attempts to disempower that constructed dichotomy.

[...]

The institutions of apartheid, colonialism or slavery were centered on limiting the black female body in all the possible forms. [My] work often opens imaginative possibilities of how to think of this body. (*Bubblegum Club*, 2017)

Top and bottom: Mary Sibande, *Conversations with Madam C. J. Walker* (2006)

Burning Museum Arts Collective

"The baggage of colonial discourse"

The Burning Museum Arts Collective has been involved in a number of truly remarkable and nuanced projects that exemplify, for me, the spirit of reemergence and entanglement (as I understand these terms). I will just highlight two projects from their archive.

In 2015, the collective was invited to participate in the Dresden leg of the "Boundary Objects" moving exhibition, which featured interventions in Cape Town, Porto-Novo (Benin), and Germany. Taking as its point of departure the fact that "South Africa and Germany share a colonial and missionary history", the group "engaged with the specific missionary archives housed at the Moravian missionary station of Genadendal, South Africa[,] and the Moravian headquarters at Herrnhut, Germany" (Burning Museum, 2015). In their performance and installation, they challenge the "Eurocentric legacy of, and fetish for, objectivity, facts and 'truth'", particularly as it is manifests in the history of archive-building. By cutting out, sewing in, and reframing, the artists reinsert into the missionary archive the specters of those who were effaced from it, allowing these ancestors (who are also their ancestors) the chance to return the gaze and the message.

As the artists explain:

> Arriving in Dresden with the baggage of colonial discourse, we blend the archive in a "boundary practice" of connecting and disconnecting personal narratives with historical narratives, to arrive at a place where we can ask questions differently.
> [...]
> The installation seeks to invert the binary of missionary and native, subject and object, both visually and textually, to the extent that we assume the position of neo-missionary, returning "The Message". (Burning Museum, 2015)

Burning Museum, *The Mission and the Message* (2015). Caption: "Genadendal girls tower over a bridge in Herrnhut. They look beyond the bridge while simultaneously framing the gaps of the bridge with their gaps"

Burning Museum, *The Mission and the Message* (2015). Caption: "A group of girls from Genadendal return the gaze over Moravian missionary Georg Schidt's letters, sent from Genadendal to missionary head Count Zinzindorf in Herrnhut"

Burning Museum, *The Mission and the Message* (2015). Caption: "The four African boys in this image are nameless; their anonymity in the archive is the starting point for their removal from the picture plane"

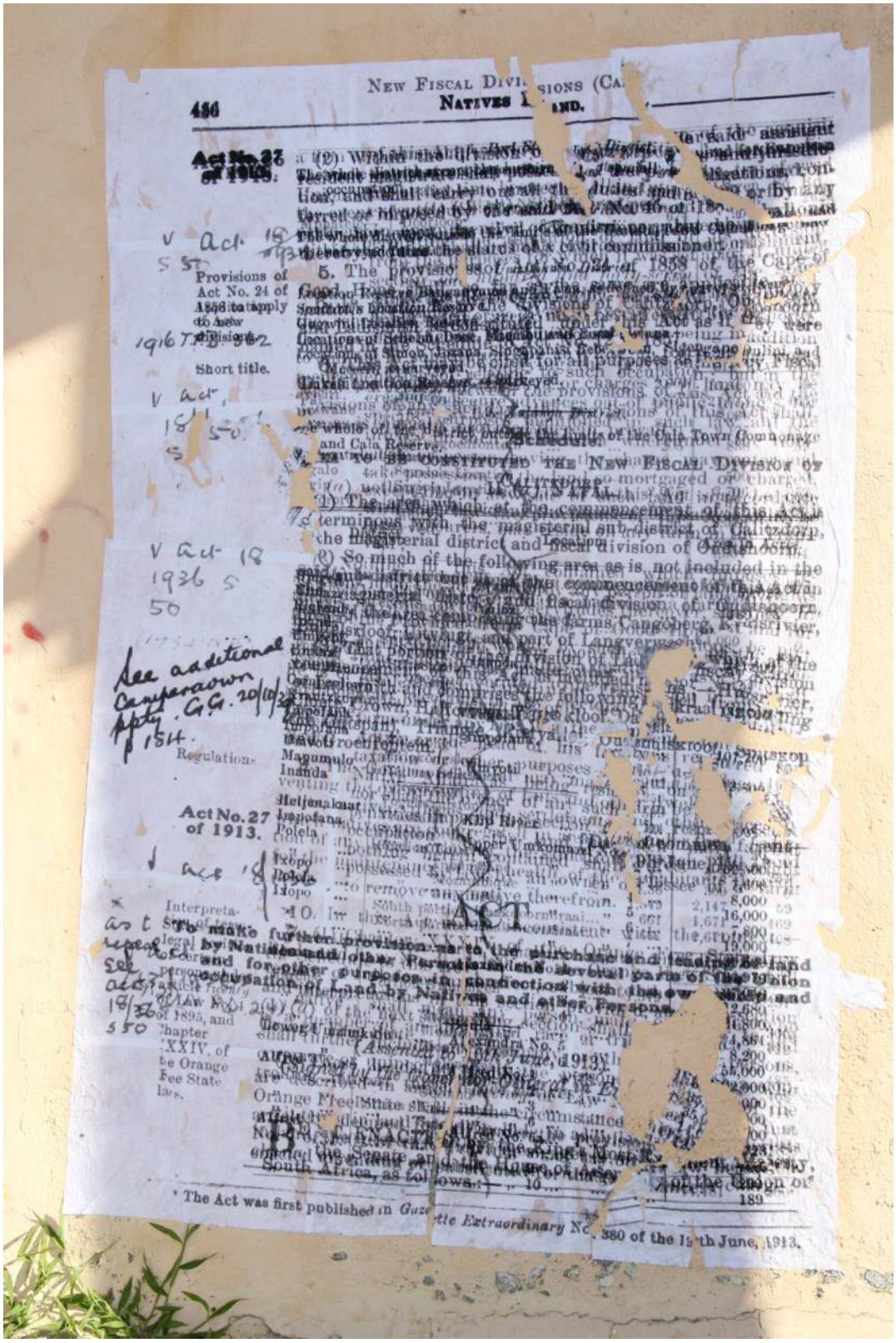
Burning Museum, *Burning Bridges*, Woodstock, Cape Town (2013?). Wheat paste and enlarged photocopies from the Van Kalker photographic collection

In another, ongoing series, the collective continues its work against historical and socio-economic effacement, this time by erecting (or resurrecting) at sites of apartheid-era forced removals and current-era gentrification evictions the bodies and faces of individuals who have been pushed out by this city's seemingly never-ending agenda of "planning", renewal, and beautification.

Crucially, the collective itself must constantly contend with the risk of being swept up in that same agenda. As one observer explains:

> [A]s these images are undeniably poetic and dignified, the interventions run the risk of being co-opted into the Woodstock beautification project[,] which they oppose. Conscious of this, the collective routinely pair the wheat-pasted portraits with reproductions of the 1913 Land Act; drawing a visual parallel between the forced removals that the act resulted in and the communities being displaced by gentrification. It is in this way that the project becomes agonistic, disrupting the façade of dominant narratives while asserting the marginalized. (Leibbrandt, 2015)

Burning Museum, *The Boys*, Salt River, Cape Town (2013). Wheat paste and enlarged photocopies from the Van Kalker photographic collection. In this image, the 1913 Native Land Act is superimposed on the image of the boys. The sign adjacent to it says PRIVATE PROPERTY: TRESPASSERS WILL BE PROSECUTED



Burning Museum, *Native Land Act 1913-2013*, Woodstock, Cape Town (2013). Wheat paste and enlarged photocopies from the Van Kalker photographic collection

Sue Williamson

"An insubstantial enactment of return"

In a joint submission for the Cape Town Live Art Festival and the Kochi Biennale last year, Cape Town–based veteran artist Sue Williamson staged a piece called *One Hundred and Nineteen Deeds of Sale*, which performs the colonial entanglement and decolonial solidarity between these two cities (Kochi and Cape Town) in interesting ways.

The artist had 89 cotton laborers' shirts and 30 pieces of white muslin, representing wraps for women, sent from Kochi in India to Cape Town, on which she then inscribed in block print the details of slaves who had been sent directly from Kochi to Cape Town by the Dutch East India Company in the 17th century ("name", sex, age, seller, buyer, price, and place and date of sale). Williamson used actual records of sales that she had discovered in the Cape Town Deeds Office—fragments of a history that is seldom if ever included in official slave histories of the city (Tichmann, 2013). In a public ceremony at the Castle, the early Dutch colonial fort in Cape Town and the place where many slaves would have been held, the identifying details of each slave were read aloud to the audience and the items were then dipped one by one in mud, before being hung up to dry on cramped washing lines in an open room in the Castle.

Sue Williamson, *One Hundred and Nineteen Deeds of Sale*, Cape Town (2018)

The muddied shirts and wraps were on display for two months in the Castle—quite literally the "dirty laundry" of Cape Town, visible for any visitor to see. Thereafter, they were shipped back to

Kochi, where they were washed at Dhobi Khana, a public laundry set up by the Dutch to wash officers' uniforms in the colonial era.

Finally, the 199 items, their inscriptions now legible, were hung up facing the sea for the duration of the Kochi Biennale. As the artist explains: "Not all the dirt can be removed, suggesting the impossibility of erasing history" (Williamson, 2019). The piece offers what she calls "an insubstantial enactment of return" (Williamson, 2019). In this necessarily partial homecoming, in which the stains of the past remain intact, the deeds of sale hover along the Kochi coastline like a spectral presence, but the ancestors they represent are given the chance to gaze outward onto the ocean and perhaps dream of a different kind of journey. The old Dutch laundry is repurposed for this project of decolonial dreaming, as a site where the erasure of slave identities is counteracted (rather than enacted).

I would be curious to know what fate these items met once the Biennale ended. This chapter of the story is not included in any of the accounts I have read of Williamson's traveling installation.

Sue Williamson, *One Hundred and Nineteen Deeds of Sale*, Kochi (2018)

Some questions

A few methodological questions have come up for me in these initial months of my research.

The first question relates to what I understand to be a potential tension between two principles that emerge in the methodology: on the one hand, the need to privilege the marginalized or subaltern perspective need and, on the other hand, the need to avoid an essentializing identity politics. For example, is there a distinction that needs to be made, even a grounds for inclusion or exclusion in the ECHOES portfolio, between the Burning Museum's curatorial work and that of Sue Williamson, who is white and who does not bring with her a lived or embodied experience of marginality? Williamson also does not implicate herself, her body, and her personal heritage in the colonial entanglement she documents, in the way that someone like Judith Westerveld, embodying Jan van Riebeeck or the "European audience" in her work, does. I am wondering to what extent, if at all, these questions should inform my engagement with artists as part of this project. I hope this question does not seem myopic or simplistic, but it something that has come up for me.

The second question relates to the category of removal. How do we identify the limitations of the discourse and energy of removal while still acknowledging the way heritage campaigns of this nature tend to be tied, in the Cape Town context at least, with highly effective policy and advocacy campaigns, producing historic social reform outcomes at the local and national level? In the case of the Rhodes Must Fall, Fees Must Fall, and Shackville movements, these outcomes include having UCT's outsourced contract workers (cleaners and security guards) insourced by UCT, with full benefits and job security; having free tertiary education approved as a line item on the national budget; instituting drastic reform to hiring practices and curriculum design; and, in early 2016, securing housing for thousands of students who would otherwise have been homeless.

In a city such as Cape Town and a country such as South Africa, both in the throes of a constant, protracted crisis, there is a real place for removal practices such as these that are closely tied with large-scale structural reform. These practices have the potential to be intensely generative, spilling out of the category of removal into something else. (It is for this reason that I have titled the category "Removal+" in my tentative grid at the start of this paper.)

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DECOLONIZING EPISTEMOLOGIES IN TEACHING, LEARNING, EXHIBITING AND RESEARCHING

Decolonial educational practices at national museums in Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon ***by Lorena Sancho Querol, Fernanda Santana Rabello de Castro, Aline Montenegro Magalhães, Rosário Severo & Ana Botas****

INTRODUCTION

The ECHOES project, *European Heritage Modalities in Entangled Cities*, focuses its attention on the study of the decolonial uses and practices of original heritage of, or relating to, colonial history. To this end, it takes as its starting point phenomena, initiatives, histories and realities linking six European countries with three countries located in Africa, Asia and South America respectively, involving both the study of the tangible and intangible aspects of selected situations. ECHOES is divided into six Work Packages that connect countries and situations inside and outside Europe, and which are considered as units of research directed at a specific dimension of the problem under study.

Work Package 4 takes as its starting point two pairs of cities connected by different colonial histories - Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, Copenhagen and Nuuk - to carry out research on decolonial educational practices in museums, street art and multicultural festivals, the emergence and transformation of new ethno-landscapes in the first pair of cities, and the study of new expressions in the field of contemporary art in the second.

Activist graffiti made by afrodescendants at Pedra do Sal.
Rio de Janeio Harbour. October 2018
Photo credit: Lorena Sancho Querol

In this article we present the first steps in the research on the practices of decolonial education in museums. While still in the initial stage of work, the study is being developed together with educational teams from the National Historical Museum in Rio de Janeiro and the National Museum of Ethnology in Lisbon. Both

* This is a preliminary version of the article "*Decolonial Educational Practices at National Museums in Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon*". The final version will include: a) a section about cultural policies in both countries; b) a section about educational policies in museums, also in both countries; c) a more developed section of the "GLOSSARY OF DECOLONIAL EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES IN (NATIONAL) MUSEUMS", including some other examples of the glossary under construction.

museums have in their collections objects from colonial history, collections that seem to speak to each other and that are called on to strip away homogeneous, unique and peaceful stories, to tell us other truths. Both assume their social responsibility as spaces of critical education to uncover unknown dimensions in this history. Both accept the challenge of communicating from, to and with a culturally diverse and constantly changing society. Both wish to be seen as conspicuous spaces, decoders and decompressors of stories often ignored in the discourses and practices used by the museums holding collections that document this history.

In this mission, the museum may see itself as a 'appeaser of the past' and deal in a neutral, fragmented and/or domesticated way with history, or it can become a fully public space for the construction of a polyphonic and multidimensional public history, where so-called 'taboo heritages' are the target of a pluralistic, attentive and sensitive musealisation capable of teaching us with every look the values of a culture of peace.

The two museums that have accepted the challenge of ECHOES are keen to be part of the second group, where the challenges of an education attentive to the diversity of histories and presents do not make for an easy task.

Together we want to understand which educational practices are being created and used on both sides of the Atlantic. We want to analyse how they can be emancipatory or colonial, by analysing the very place of the museum, of educators, of discourse. We want to understand how far the educational function of the museum can go when the starting point is the taboo history that we were not told in school. We believe we urgently need to initiate a historiographical debate between institutions and public agents to decode, document and teach this history.

Finally, in response to the multiple forms of colonialism that we still experience in our societies, we want to identify, disseminate and improve the best decolonial education practices that have emerged over the course of this research.

To this end, we will briefly present the profile of each of our museum partners, as well as an initial radiography to reveal basic data on the anatomy and functioning of their educational services. Finally, we will present a small sample of one of the tools that we want to create. This is the result of a collection of practices and concepts of interest that are worth defining and disseminating, and go by the name of *'Glossary of Decolonial Educational Practices in Museums'*.

1. THE STUDY IN NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND THE MULTIPLICITY OF HISTORICAL (UN)COUPLINGS

Museums today are spaces of multiple relations (sensory, experiential, cultural ...) where we can find, learn or understand other realities hitherto unknown to us, or discover other dimensions, interpretations, meanings and values of realities that we thought we knew, in one form or another.

Historical museums, history museums, or museums whose mission is to 'tell the story of some place, person(s) or time(s)', hold in their collections pieces that carry essential information which allow us to perceive in a more diverse and clearer way the world we live in or how we have got here, and the present.

History museums, which in their mission and/or the collections that they contain, are also called on to give voice to the 'age of discoveries', the 'colonial empires' or the 'conquest and civilization of unknown worlds', not only allow us to know better the world in which we live or the history that precedes us, but also, and above all, are called on to make a commitment to uncover each of the layers of an especially complex, deeply inhuman history.

From the outset, museums have the power to show reality, to narrate a phenomenon, to explain logic, cause and effect. This power transforms them into makers of erudite, sacralised, and often still unquestioned discourses. Therefore, the question that has been posed in the last few decades[14] has to do with the place and the role of the subject in each of the functions allocated to a museum[15]. That is, it has to do with the power of discourse and the discourses of power. It has to do with who is talking in the museum. With the place of the speaker. With the history that they are recounting (and no longer recount) about a particular subject. With the echoes that they produce from this history told in a very particular place.

This is why, to be a museum of any kind of history today is to be (or should be) a tool for questioning and coming up with new responses arising from the diversity of interpretations, but also from the diversity of uses that make sense in today's societies. This is why to be a history museum today is to be (or should be) a place of meeting, disagreement and reunion, a place of reflection and discovery, a place for listening, a place for the other.

From this perspective, to be a museum that deals with colonial history means (or should mean) to abandon homogeneous, linear, pacified, silencing interpretations. It is to be (or should be) a museum that collectively and pluralistically appropriates its collection to tell the most well-known stories and the least known, from multiple perspectives, from other protagonists involved in the same story, which have so far, at best, remained behind the scenes of history.

The museums that we are studying in the research on museum education as part of WP4's work have the following profile: they are museums of history - each one for its own perspective- which are mediators of their collections and are aware of the challenges, commitments and social and historical responsibilities related to the innumerable objects coming from a history such as the colonial one, and which now inhabits the museum's public space.

With them, and from the hands of their museum education teams, we are initiating a comparative and collaborative study where we want to know in depth: a) the public policies of museums on both sides of

[14] Especially since the 1970s, with the recognition of the social function of museums, the emergence of New Museology or the museology of proximity, or the establishment of democratic systems in various parts of the world.

[15] According to the International Council of Museums (ICOM), a museum's technical functions are inventory, conservation, exhibition, research and education.

the Atlantic, as well as education policies in museums or their attempts and approaches; b) the educational programmes of both museums, in order to analyse: their rationale, their key concepts, their good practices of inclusive cultural communication, their working models with visitors and users, and their impacts.

2. THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL MUSEUM

Created in August and opened in October 1922 in the architectural and military complex of *Ponta do Calabouço*[16], the National Historical Museum (NHM) was the first history museum in Brazil.

Later, divested of its military functions, the *Ponta do Calabouço* complex was renovated and took on neo-colonial features to house the Pavilion of Great Industries for the International Commemorative Exhibition of the Centenary of the Independence of Brazil.

In major Brazilian cities, a process of modernisation and ruptures with the past was being undertaken, as urban reforms modified and destroyed important landmarks in the nation's history. The idea was to sanitize and beautify the major urban centres so that they could represent the nation's progress, especially with the celebrations of the centenary of independence.

Against this background, the founder and first director of the museum was Gustavo Barroso. He was a defender of the historical discourse produced by the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (IHGB) since the end of the 19th century. The collections of exhibits and the organisational systems set up by this director followed the logic of cultural superiority of whites over Indians and blacks, and of Western civilization over the 'barbarism' of indigenous societies. In the same way, the search for the 'origins of the nation' was also evident in the selection of artefacts for museum collections, which referred to members of the aristocracy, monarchy, the Armed Forces and the Catholic Church.

Over time, the NHM would become important in terms of national museology, to the point where, in 1932, the first Museum Course of Brazil was created, and in 1940 the museum represented the country at the Portuguese World Exhibition held in Lisbon. In the same way, and from other directions from 1970 onwards,the emphasis was on extramural activities and training courses, with an average of 20 to 30 themed courses per month beginning in the 1980s.

Since 1985, under the direction of the museologist Solange Godoy, a document entitled 'The new proposal for the National Historical Museum' was drawn up, stating that history should be the science behind the NHM's actions. The fact that other museums existed to cover periods or themes from the History of Brazil did not negate the NHM's role in reflecting the nation's history as a whole. The institution was thus a museum-synthesis of national history, and advanced wide conceptual change that became known as the 'Revitalisation of the National Historical Museum'. This would include the reformulation of the permanent exhibition circuit, where chronological organisation was replaced by thematic modules such as 'Colonisation and Dependence' or 'Expansion, Order and Defence'.

[16] This complex was named *Ponta do Calabouço* [Dungeon Point] because it was located on a promontory facing the sea and because of the slave prison built there in the XVII century.

Likewise, in the final decades of the 20th century and first decades of the 21st, the NHM moved from presenting a historical narrative in its exhibition rooms to the concepts of modern historiography. Initiatives have been put into practice that seek to desacralize museum artefacts. These have now come to be understood as sources of information about the past. In this way, the Museum came to be conceived as an information system, an intermediary between artefacts - which were now understood as documents - and users and researchers.

Between 1994 and 2005 there was a change in the acquisition criteria of the institution's collection, with the formalisation of a Collection Acquisition Policy. This document recognised the institution's difficulty in accounting for the nation's history as a whole, without short cuts, and the need to break with the idea of a glorious history played out by great characters and events. The NHM was now perceived as a place of national memories, where it tried to correct 'distortions' and display elements 'forgotten' from the traditional narrative. Objects representing groups and social activities that were not previously included in the NHM started to be collected by technical staff and the institution's curators.

At the same time (in 2001), the Cultural Heritage Advisory Council of IPHAN issued a favourable report on the preservation of the architectural complex that houses the NHM as well as its collections, excluding the bibliographic collection. Currently, the NHM has a collection of about 273,000 objects. Of this total, 54% is devoted to collections of numismatics, 20% to the archival collection, 19% to the bibliographic collection and 7% to the museum collection.

The NHM is the largest of all the Brazilian museums under the Ministry of Culture[17]. The result of almost 100 years of acquiring a variety of objects and diverse directions and strategies, the NHM's mission today is '**To promote collective mobilization to increase historical awareness and the right of access to Brazil's cultural heritage, through the formation and preservation of the collection, educational action and knowledge-building**'.

National Historical Museum, Rio de Janeiro. October 2018.
Photo Credit: Lorena Sancho Querol

[17] Turned Ministry of Citizenship in 2019 on Jair Bolsonaro Presidency.

2.1. Museum Education in NHM

The National Historical Museum Education Unit is linked to the Department of Cultural Dynamics, both of which are subordinated to the Technical Division of the National Museum.
In this context, the team of this Unit carries out their activity based on an Education and Culture Programme (ECP), still in processes of development, which acts as an education policy in the museum. The ECP makes it possible to carry out the educational mission of the Museum Plan of the NHM, its theoretical and methodological frameworks, objectives, programmes, projects and educational actions.
The actions of the Education Unit aim at promoting the integral formation (Semeraro, 2018) of visitors by using dialogical, emancipatory practices based on critical thought regarding the collection and the history narrated in the exhibition circuits of the museum. Their objective is inclusion and social transformation. Different methodologies are used, such as guided visits, workshops, courses, seminars, extramural actions, and producing educational materials.
The main objective of ECP is the democratisation of the museum and of society, and its specific objectives are: planning, coordinating, supervising and evaluating the programmes, projects and educational actions. From this perspective, it structures its action in four programmes, three of which try to draw the attention of the public, considering their different features, profiles and needs. One programme is dedicated to research in the field of museum education:

1. Development and Full Education Programme;
3. Accessibilities Programme;
4. Development and Research in Museum Education Programme.

These programmes are brought to life through the following educational activities

- Guided visits. They are scheduled in advance. Their thematic focus is discussed with the group leaders. The indications of the exhibition circuit are respected. In this context, educational discourse is free to approach themes as it sees fit, which can be done in very different ways, namely through the contents and selections of the museum's expography and the design of exhibitions of long duration. To fulfil this role, the mediators define the educational narratives to be developed.

- Continuous projects, such as the Bonde (tram) and the Bondinho da História (history tram), aim to activate a returning audience with thematic visits at the weekends. These meetings are prepared by the team of the Education Unit based on the identification of heritage, discourses and stories that are not in the expographic narrative.

- The research line "Museum Education: concepts, history and policies" is anchored in the Research Group of the National Historical Museum together with the National Council for Technological and Scientific Development (CNPq). This line of research includes researches carried out on museum education of several institutions and themes. It aims to produce data on the field, to write

articles and texts, in addition to bringing forward tools and evaluation indicators. Researchers, educators and students from museum-related areas meet every month.

- Educational visits with staff and support teams. Their goal is to transform the internal public into visitors, making them see museums as a place of enjoyment for themselves and for their families, and not just as a workplace. This action is carried out through visits and workshops that feature parts of the exhibition circuit. The target public is the different outsourced staff of the museum, whose tasks include cleaning, security and reception.

- Public surveys, which have been continuously carried out since 2013. Their objective is to identify the public who visits the museum, and become aware of which groups are absent and which groups are a potential public. In addition, they generate data that is used by the different sectors of the museum.

Bonde da História "Violências Históricas", based on *Tronco de Escravos*.
May 2018. Photo Credit: Valéria Abdalla

3. THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ETHNOLOGY

Founded in 1965, at the time with the name "Museum of Ethnology from Overseas" (Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar), the National Museum of Ethnology (MNE) was created with the goal of displaying the cultures of the peoples of the world. Therefore, it was not restricted to Portugal nor to the territories under its administration.

Today, the mission of the NME is to preserve, promote, publicize and study its collections from a multicultural perspective, in line with the universalist principle advocated by its founding team: to represent the cultural diversity of the whole world on equal terms.

National Museum of Ethnology, Lisbon. September 2018
Photo Credit: Lorena Sancho Querol

Inseparable from the emergence of modern Portuguese Anthropology, many of the NME's collections are the result of scientific research projects in Portugal and other countries. The founding team defended an anthropological research detached from a theoretical and ideological framework which focused on building a national identity and on its origins. At the same time, it consolidated methodologies of scientific work favouring direct observation and the systematic use of recording tools, including photography, film and audio recordings. As a result, the museum is today the holder of an ethnographic heritage of great relevance at the national level. Its collections include more than 380 cultures from 80 countries and 4 continents, with a major presence of African, Asian and Amerindian cultures, as well as the traditional Portuguese culture.
Its collections are available to the public through permanent and temporary exhibitions and also through the two Visit Reserves of the museum: Galleries of Rural Life and Amazon Galleries. The latter have been accessible to the public since 2006 in order to facilitate the contact with objects from a wide array of peoples

from the Brazilian Amazon. Here one can find one of the most recent collections of objects gathered in the context of a research project among the Wauja Indians of Xingu. They were active participants.

3.1. Museum Education in the NME

The general objectives of the Education Service (ES) of the NME have been anchored since its inception in the mission of the museum. For this reason, its agenda and approach are very close to the collections, in terms of education for multiculturalism, seeking to contribute to make different publics aware of the knowledge of and mutual respect between different communities and cultural traditions.

From this perspective, the methodologies used are based on critical pedagogy and on the deconstruction of closed cultural formats and attitudes, on communication with and towards diversity, and on the profile and wide experience of the small team of the ES.

One of the key tools used by the ES is what we call the "System of Sensitive Visit Registration", because it implies the knowledge and prior registration of the characteristics of the groups concerned and the pedagogical goals of the visit to the museum, so as provide an adequate welcome, and use an adequate discourse and carry out meaningful activities, that will be associated to the respective profile.

With this objective in mind, the activities of the ES are developed, mediated and coordinated so as to generate a sense of identification by the different audiences with cultural practices that are unknown to them. The goal is to provide moments of critical reflection during visits and make people understand the Other by decoding and relativizing who is Different, thus encouraging vigilant attitudes against prejudice and discrimination.

Among the pedagogical activities developed by the ES team, the guided visit and the workshops of plastic expression stand out. They are directed at children and teenagers. Other important playful pedagogical initiatives stand out with themes related to the exhibition.

In the same way, bearing in mind the goal of decreasing the gap between the Museum and education locally, the Museum has done a partnership with the municipality of Lisbon through the initiative "School Passport". Its target-audience is the schools of Lisbon. This initiative is intended for preschool and elementary school students. Its educational offer allows students to expand their knowledge by visiting the Museum and carrying out activities in the Museum.

The “Dialogs in Diversity Programme” has been active since the beginning of 2018 and will be active until 2020 and it counts with the support of external bodies. Dialogs is directed at the school community as a whole, including students - from Elementary Education to Secondary Education and Night Classes -,

teachers and carers, and it extends the pedagogical offer of the ES, allowing other approaches to the collections and NME themes to emerge through Workshops, Theatre plays, Debates and Performing Arts.

With this objective in mind, and also in line with the mission of the museum, Dialogs intends to contribute to the development of values and attitudes that lead to the exercise of a full citizenship in the context of an increasingly multicultural society. It has two main axes to attract participants:

- Reflection on the stereotypes based on racial, ethnic and cultural aspects. It is still important to combat and eliminate these stereotypes in order to ensure the principle of equality and non-discrimination for each member of the Portuguese society;

- Reflection on the social role of the Museum and the relevance of its collections to the knowledge about cultural diversity, nationally and globally, as well as to the promotion of the principle of equal dignity for all cultures.

Prison for slaves (no. inv. NME: AP.019)
Minas Gerais, Ouro Preto, Brazil.
Photo Credit: MNE

4. THE NEW CHALLENGES: FIRST STEPS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A "GLOSSARY OF EDUCATIONAL DECOLONIAL PRACTICES IN MUSEUMS"

Although the research groups are still in an initial phase regarding the implementation of a network of inter-work between museums, identifying the historical heritage within the context of each institution, or exploring its different uses and readings, one thing has become increasingly evident: the teams of these museums take their role seriously as mediators between taboo memory - until now often invisible - and society in its multiple forms, in order to make the museum a space of questioning and construction of collective responses, both about the past and about the present.

In this sense, and in the quality of what we dare call *agents of historical awareness*, *mediators of collections in time*, or *translators of a codified history*, these teams are contributing with their museological ethics and their daily activities, to identifying colonial practices that are still carried out in each museum. They also contribute to the emergence of a set of decolonial practices that should be systematised and subsequently spread in the context of ECHOES.

In fact, the first experiences of teamwork have resulted in an idea which seems to make sense in this context, and which at the same time transforms the museum into a laboratory of cultural decolonization: the creation of a "Glossary of Educational Decolonial Practices in Museums".

In this context, we have recently started the progressive and careful selection of these concepts and practices, in order to define them. These definitions are developed in a collaborative way and are outlined by the team of the museum that uses them (for each case). They shall be subsequently adjusted by the other research teams. These definitions will include, whenever possible, practical examples of real situations in partner museums, or in other museums with historical collections of the sort and situated in the axis Lisbon-Rio de Janeiro, if it is pertinent.

As an example, we'll present the definitions of two of the most important concepts, from all the ones identified so far:

ECHOES WP4 Museumsteam: Aline Montenegro & Fernanda Castro (MHN-RJ), Rosário Severo & Ana Botas (MNE- Lisbon), Lorena Sancho Querol (CES-UC)

INVISIBILISED HERITAGE (ECHOES Keywords - *Repression?*)

This is heritage that although present in museographic discourse (in the act of collecting, in the exhibitions, in educational initiatives, etc.), is not necessarily visible to the public, either by the acquisition policies of collecting and musealising the heritage, or due to the lack of information on the musealised heritage; or by a type of presentation by which it is usually subalternised, pacified, or domesticated. In the case of heritage being present, the acts of the agents who made it, used it or are related to it in some way are not visible.

One example: in a room in the National Historical Museum called 'Abolition and Exile', the space for objects belonging to the Imperial Family, who were banished after the proclamation of the Republic, is separated from objects relating to slavery, mostly instruments for torturing slaves. In the discourse of this room, there are three ways of presenting heritage about the liberation of the slaves:

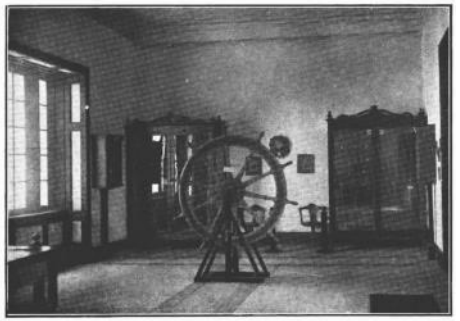
1. **Subalternised** because a historical event, such as the Abolition of Slavery, is seen as one of the last reforms of the Brazilian monarchy before the proclamation of the Republic, the 'Golden Law' being a decision taken from the top down. Any agency by the blacks involved in the struggle for freedom, their different forms of resistance and abolitionist movements are neglected in this representation.

2. **Pacified** because every form of conflict between the monarchical state and the status of slavery, masters and slaves, etc., is concealed from the perspective of a factual retelling based only on laws, decrees and

Example:

Image of Room "Abolition and Exile".

Exhibition at the National Historical Museum in 1924. (Barroso 1924: 170)



Sala de Abolição e do Exílio

Images fr
relating t

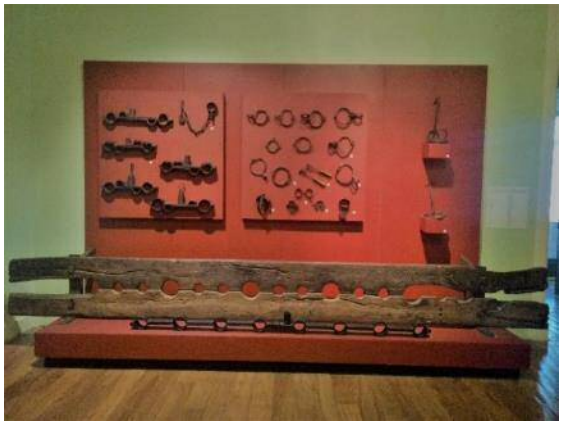
so on. Abolition is seen as another stage in history and not as the culmination of a complex process of struggles, resistance, negotiations, conflicts, demands, etc.

3. **Domesticated** refers to a form of invisibilising the cruellest heritage, since it domesticates slavery and empties it of all the tensions involved in enslaved relationships. In apassage from the *Book of Embraces,* by Eduardo Galeano, we see a summary of the process of building a homogeneous identity by which different social groups should feel positively represented. In this process, we can identify a form of domestication of the past.

> *'In the French Caribbean islands, history texts teach that Napoleon was the most admirable warrior in the West. In those islands, Napoleon re-established slavery in 1802. With blood and fire, he forced the free blacks to return to being slaves on the plantations. About this, the texts say nothing. The blacks are Napoleon's grandchildren, not his victims'.*
> Eduardo Galeano. La Desmemoria /3. in: *The book of embraces*, 2014

It is notable that, sometimes through educational discourse, especially through the use of dialogic methodologies, investigation and research, and through museographic resources as the artifice of temporary and themed exhibitions, invisibilised heritage emerges and gains prominence, even when it involves an exhibit that is absent.

Room "Abolition and Exile", 2018.



BLACK PRESENCE *(Re-emergence? Reframing?)*

Example:

Bahian figurines Erotides de Araújo.

These figures represent the black presence in society,

Conceived in opposition to the idea of *black influence*, it can be understood from the intercultural perspective of social relations, in which black agency is recognised in the way history is constructed so that it highlights relationships of conflict, resistance, tension and negotiation. In this view, the idea of influence is not supported because there is no given, naturalised culture that influences another culture which is also given and naturalised.

In the Brazilian case, for example, we must recognise the agency of all actors in constituting what we now know as Brazilian cultural diversity, according to which there is no predominance of one specific social segment that is influenced by another, or vice versa. In this sense, we break with Gilberto Freyre's interpretation of what he called the miscegenation process. According to this author, Brazilian culture is hegemonically the inheritance of the Portuguese culture that here would have been influenced by blacks and indigenous people. This view becomes meaningless with the recognition of different presences, of different agencies in the history of Brazil, as well as an awareness of the existence of power relations in which certain social actors exercise cultural, social, political and economic hegemony over others.

which was rare in the 19th century. They reinforce the idea of presence in place of 'influence', which argues for a white society with black and indigenous influences.

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Cycle Algérie-France, La Voix des Objets *by Dalila Madjoub*

Algérie-France – La voix des objets

Au début des années 2000, la ville de Montpellier décide de consacrer un lieu dédié à l'histoire coloniale de la France en Algérie : le projet de « Musée d'Histoire de la France et de l'Algérie » est finalement abandonné en 2014. Il en subsiste une riche collection d'œuvres et d'objets (tableaux, objets ethnographiques, textiles, affiches, arts graphiques, archives, photographies, cartes postales, etc., de la période ottomane à 1962). Une partie de cette collection a été présentée à deux reprises, d'avril à juin 2017, puis en avril 2018, dans une vitrine spécialement conçue et installée dans l'espace du forum au Mucem. A ces occasions, le musée a inauguré un dispositif inédit mêlant étroitement cette installation, des tables rondes réunissant universitaires et acteurs du monde des arts (dessinateurs, musiciens, romanciers, etc.), ainsi que des performances musicales. Ce dispositif a permis d'ouvrir le musée aux débats postcoloniaux et de libérer la parole du public, qui a trouvé au Mucem un agora propice aux débats et aux récits de mémoires entrecroisées entre Algérie et France.

Pour chacune des saisons, des thématiques directrices ont été choisies : en 2017, six soirées ont permis d'interroger les enjeux et les défis qu'une telle collection pouvait poser au regard de l'histoire et de ses répercussions présentes, ainsi que le rôle des objets ; en 2018, ce sont différentes communautés d'Algérie qui ont été mises à l'honneur. En mars 2019, il sera question de l'Algérie fantasmée, recréée par les images (orientalistes, politiques et touristiques) produites durant la période coloniale, mais aussi par les descendants d'immigrés vivant en France, dont les retours au « bled » ou les souvenirs de famille constituent un nouvel imaginaire du territoire algérien ancré dans le contemporain. C'est particulièrement cet angle contemporain qui sera abordé avec les élèves.

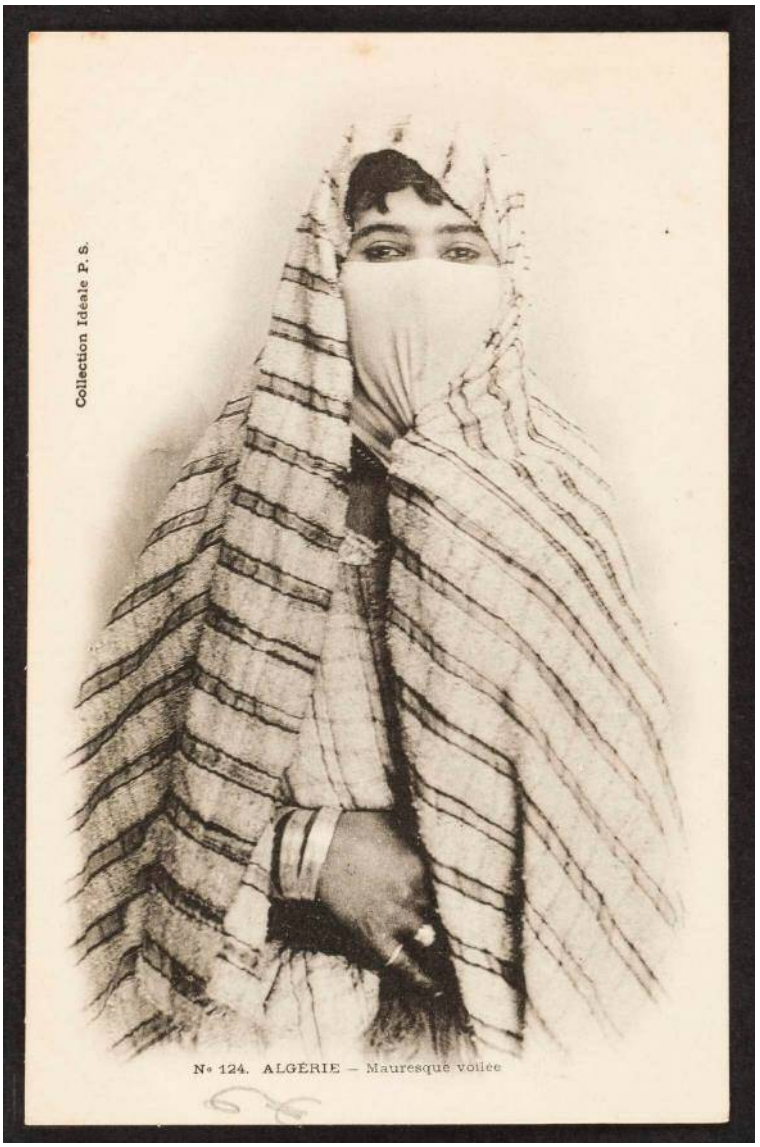
Pour cette troisième saison, l'équipe du Mucem souhaite aller plus loin et inclure le public, ou du moins une partie, dans la création même de la nouvelle installation. Pour ce faire, le musée s'associe avec un établissement scolaire marseillais, le collège Longchamp.
Une classe de 4ème est ainsi conviée à réfléchir et à concevoir, aux côtés d'un artiste familier du questionnement des représentations et des mémoires liées au passé colonial, une œuvre collective, qui intègrera la vitrine de présentation des collections du MHFA, dans le forum du Mucem.

<u>Calendrier prévisionnel :</u>

- Jeudi 8 novembre 17h : réunion au CCR avec l'équipe pédagogique du collège Longchamp
- Réunion de cadrage à caler en novembre avec les équipes du Mucem + équipe peda
- A partir du 3 Décembre => 8 février 2019 : une intervention hebdomadaire au collège avec les élèves (excluant les vacances scolaires de Noel)
- 8 février au 4 mars 2019 : production de l'artiste, rassemblement des éléments
- 5 mars 2019 : montage dans la vitrine Algérie-France
- 14 mars 2019 en soirée : valorisation du travail avec les élèves, invitation des familles et du personnel de l'éducation

Dalila Mahdjoub \ Novembre 2018

LA VOIX DES OBJETS

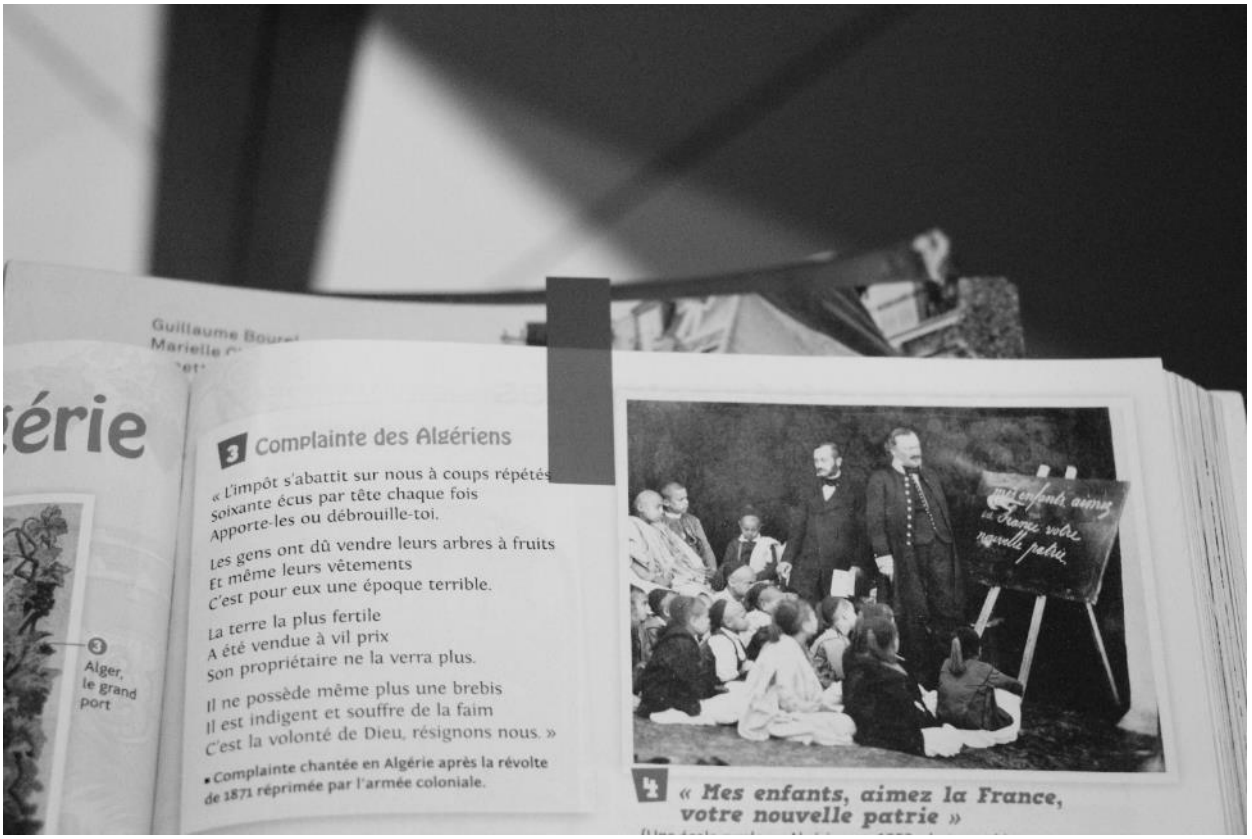


Autour d'une sélection d'objets issus de la collection du Musée d'Histoire de la France et de l'Algérie de Montpellier, en dépôt au Mucem à Marseille.

Note d'intention

Déroulé de la première rencontre du jeudi 6 décembre 2018 de 10h à 12h avec la Classe de 4°4 comprenant 28 élèves / Johanna Cremer - Professeure d'Histoire / Collège Longchamp Marseille 1ier. Salle A. 103

Professeures associées ; Ariane Carmignac - Professeure d'Arts Plastiques, Nathalie Chauvin - Professeure d'Arts Plastiques , Virginie Boudet - Professeure de Français, Soline Henzel – Professeure d'Anglais, Mme Piccoli – Professeure d'Histoire Géographie



Détail du manuel d'Histoire Géographie / Éditions HATIER / 2016

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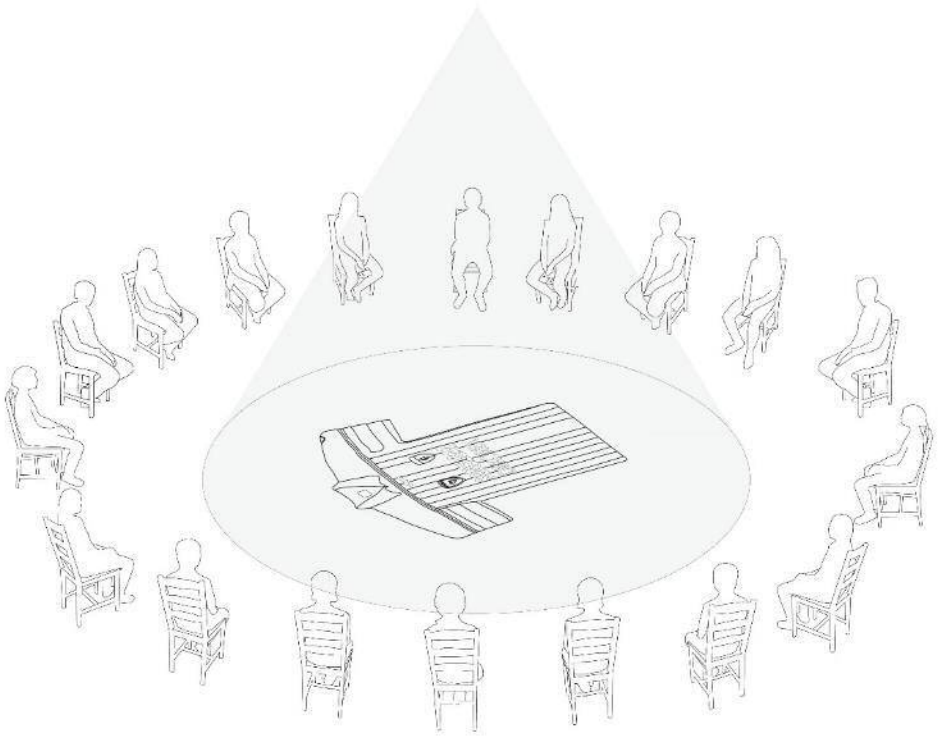


Dispositif panoptique

Un « dispositif panoptique » qui se donne pour objet de renverser les regards, bouleverser la hiérarchie habituelle d'une salle de classe professeur / élèves en nivelant sur un même plan nos regards adultes / enfants.

32 chaises de collégiens disposées sur un cercle d'environ 6,50 m de diamètre orientées vers le centre.

Disposition alternée filles / garçons.

Une captation sonore sur la durée complète de l'intervention (max. 2h)

Préambule

Présentation du contexte, brève histoire du projet de Musée de l'Histoire de la France et de l'Algérie. Prise de parole par Johanna Cremer, professeure d'Histoire.

Premier temps

(Idéal dans une salle sombre)

Une projection circulaire d'un diamètre d'environ 3m, des images d'objets, « tombera » sur le sol. Absence de son.

4 secondes par image.

150 images défileront sur une durée de 10mn.

Première image, au plus près de l'élève…: hors collection, cette image est extraite du manuel d'Histoire Géographie / Éditions HATIER / 2016, légende « Mes enfants, aimez la France, votre nouvelle patrie » (cf. ci-dessus)

Dernière image, au plus près dans le temps : « Maillot de football *SOLENGAZ*

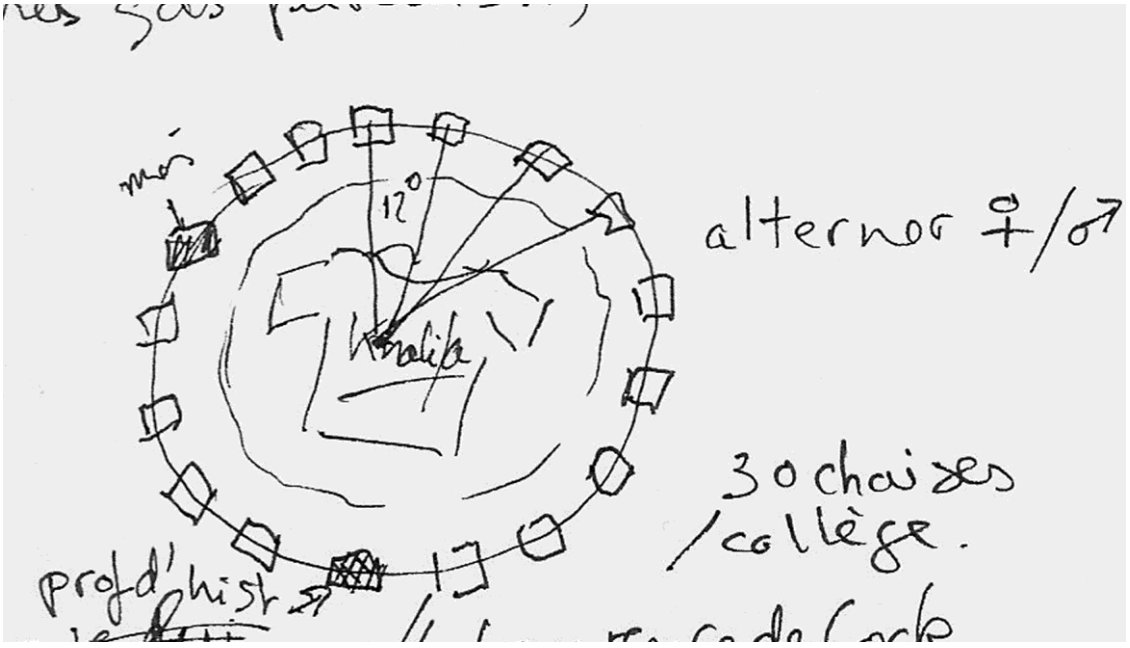


Schéma du dispositif

(lumière du jour)

S'ensuivent réactions (??), silences (??

Deuxième temps

« Qui je suis ? »
« Est-ce que je sais d'où viennent mes parents et mes grands parents ? »

Prises de paroles consécutives de chacun(e) des 32 participants(es).

Un portable permettant de capter chacune des prises de paroles circulera. Le(a) voisin(e) de celui(elle) qui parle sera en charge de filmer ce moment.

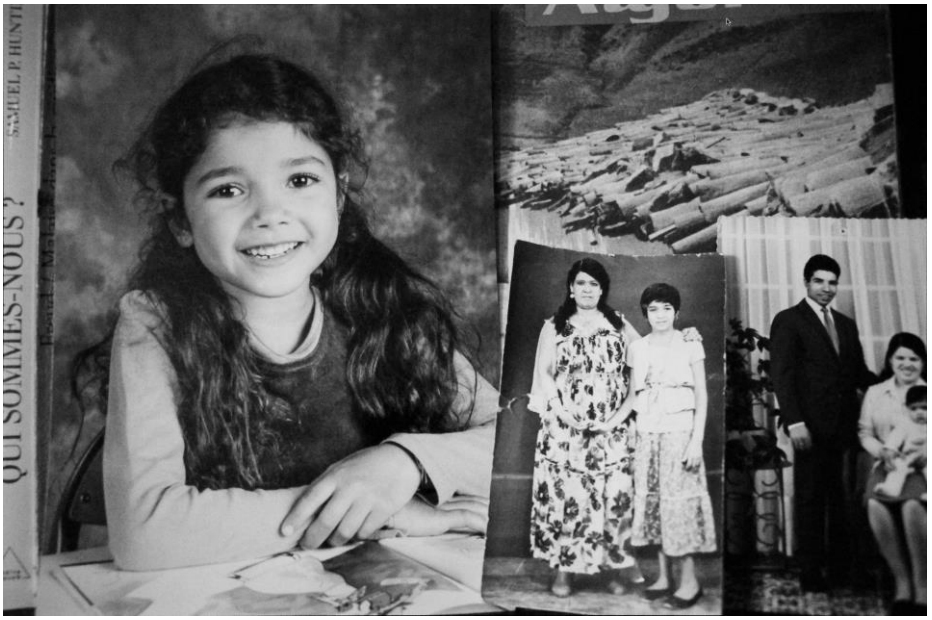
La seule consigne préalable à donner est celle d'un cadrage format « portrait ».

Pour ouvrir sur ce champ, que je souhaite plus « intime »…

• Je démarre par une brève présentation (nom, prénom, lieu de naissance) puis prends la parole à l'appui d'une image imprimée semblable à une photo d'album de famille.

Description de cette image composée de 5 documents :

- photographie d'école de notre fille cadette (gauche). 2013
- photographie représentant ma grand-mère maternelle et moi lors de mon unique voyage en Algérie, à l'âge de 12 ans. Prise de vue chez un photographe de Rass-El-Oued (centre). 1981
- Photographie de mes parents peu après la venue de ma mère en France (droite). 1968
- Détail de la couverture d'un ouvrage intitulé « Naissance de mille villages – Algérie »
- (haut droite) 1960
- Détail de l'ouvrage intitulé « Qui sommes-nous – Identité nationale et choc des cultures» de Samuel Huntington, Éditions Odile Jacob (gauche). 2004



Transition

Je lis à l'adresse de la professeure d'Histoire un passage de Laurence De Cock, auteure de

« Dans la classe de l'homme blanc – L'enseignement du fait colonial en France des années 1980 à nos jours », Éditions Presses universitaires de Lyon, Août 2018.

« Quand j'ai commencé à travailler là-dessus, je me disais c'est que c'était tout de même très compliqué, par exemple, d'enseigner la conquête algérienne

ou la torture en Algérie, à des gamins dont les parents, pour certains avaient vécu la guerre d'Algérie - c'était le cas de beaucoup de mes élèves. Donc cela m'intéressait moi, en tant que représentante de l'institution, en tant que bourgeoise blanche, et donc en tant que personne emblématique de ce que mes élèves pouvaient considérer comme le "camp ennemi", de m'interroger à ce propos. Je me disais : qu'est-ce qui peut se passer dans leur tête ? Et je ne savais pas s'ils connaissaient des pans de cette histoire, si cela circulait

dans les familles. Je pensais que c'était une douleur extrême pour ces enfants. De la même manière qu'avec mes élèves noirs de peau, j'avais énormément d'appréhension à évoquer l'esclavage, la traite transatlantique, et de comment on avait justifié cela. J'avais très peur que mes élèves entrent en identification avec ces acteurs du passé - il y avait en fait tout un panel de réactions, qui allaient de l'indifférence la plus complète à l'intérêt le plus total en passant par la colère.

En 2006, j'avais fait un projet avec mes élèves de 3e autour de l'exposition coloniale de 1931, à Paris. A ce moment-là, j'ai eu des élèves noirs qui se sont mis à angoisser terriblement, qui n'étaient plus capables de réfléchir historiquement, et qui disaient "c'est du racisme, c'est du racisme", certaines au bord des larmes. Et nous, quand on est représentants de l'institution, quelles que soient les critiques que l'on a à lui faire, on est tout de même les représentants, surtout les enseignants d'histoire, d'un idéal universaliste.

Cela tient à coeur d'avoir en face de soi des élèves à qui l'on peut dire : "vous êtes d'ici" - et c'est cela que j'appelle l'idéal universaliste

- Prise de parole par Johanna Cremer / professeure d'Histoire.

- Suivie par les prises de paroles à tour de rôle des élèves ainsi que Nelly et Ariane présentes ce jour là. …

Troisième temps

Choix d'un objet par chaque élève à partir d'un fichier imprimé.

Leur demander d'apporter pour la rencontre suivante (mercredi 12 décembre avec Ariane Carmignac) un « objet » personnel, familial ou autres, 2D ou 3D, (photographie de famille…) ayant une résonnance avec l'objet choisi…

NOTE D'INTENTION

… *Enchanteur* [1]

Mais au fond, pourquoi, madame, c'est pas nous les noirs qui avons mis en esclavage les Blancs ? [2]

« Les hideuses boucheries », perpétrées lors des conquêtes coloniales, prouvent que la colonisation, je le répète, déshumanise l'homme même le plus civilisé ; que l'action coloniale, l'entreprise coloniale, la conquête coloniale, fondée sur le mépris de l'homme indigène et justifiée par ce mépris, tend inévitablement à modifier celui qui l'entreprend ; que le colonisateur, qui, pour se donner bonne conscience, s'habitue à voir dans l'autre la bête, tend objectivement à se transformer lui même en bête. C'est cette action, ce choc en retour de la colonisation qu'il importait de signaler.[3]

CONTEXTE

Dans le cadre du projet « LA VOIX DES OBJETS » organisé par le Mucem autour de la collection d'œuvres et d'objets[4] issus du projet de Musée de l'Histoire de la France et de l'Algérie[5], je suis invitée, avec la classe de 4°4 du collège Longchamp[6], à « réfléchir et concevoir une œuvre collective »[7], à partir d'un questionnement autour de la sélection retenue pour le prochain cycle intitulé « Algérie rêvée, Algérie vécue, des regards en miroir ».[8]

Plusieurs professeures sont associées au projet. [9]

À l'heure où la mixité scolaire semble faire défaut dans plusieurs écoles du centre-ville marseillais, la classe de 4°4 présente le visage d'une France métissée. En effet l'Arménie, la France, l'Algérie, la Tunisie, le Portugal, le Cameroun, le Gabon… dessinent le hors-champ de ces multiples et riches univers individuels que je vais côtoyer.

La question qui nous est posée ;

« Etre Franco-Algérien aujourd'hui : quelles visions de l'Algérie depuis la France ? [10]

« Non pas une Algérie, mais des Algéries » [11]

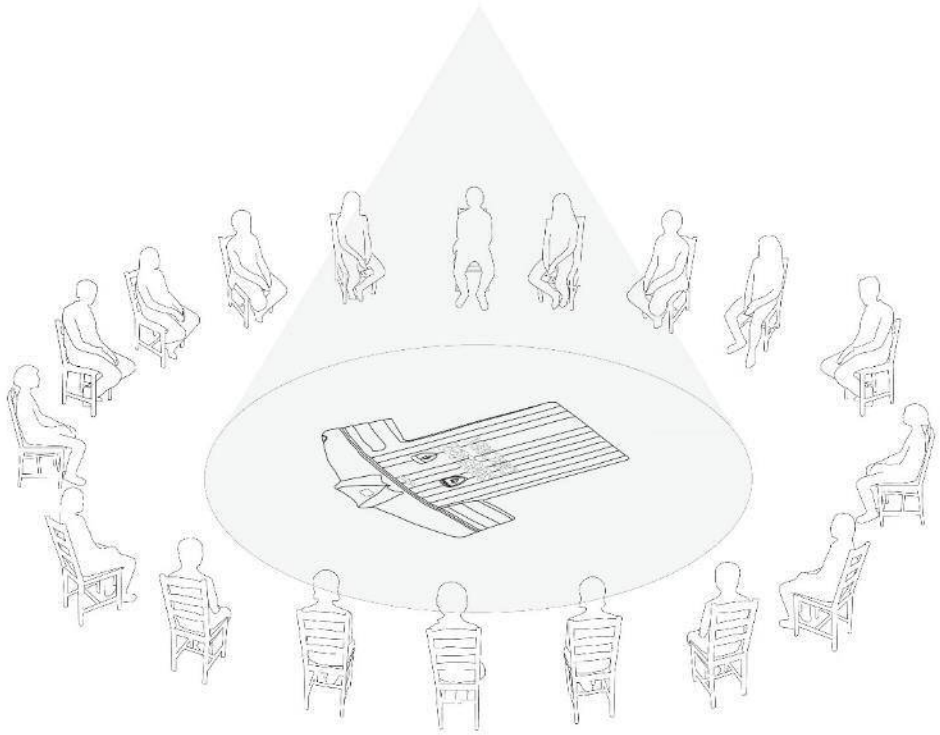
Un pluriel qui « inquiète »[12], un pluriel qui soulève la question d'une Histoire commune partagée et apaisée, des récits qui pourraient être comme les « images manquantes » du grand

« Récit/Roman National » enseigné à l'école.

À la thématique *coloniale* – abordée en fin d'année scolaire pour les classes de 4° - ne sont accordées que « quatre séances (évaluation comprise) »[13].

Élèves de la classe de 4°4 – Collège Longchamp, Marseille 1ier

OBJECTIFS DE RÉALISATION AVEC LES ÉLÈVES



Lors de la première rencontre avec les élèves, autour d'un « dispositif panoptique »[14] présentant très largement des images d'œuvres et d'objets issus de la collection, ont été soulevées diverses questions, je retiendrai les suivantes ; celle de l'Identité («Je suis algérien, ma mère est née en France, mon père est né en France, mes grands parents sont nés en Algérie… »), celle des zoos humains (« On les montre comme des animaux », « C'est du racisme »… ») et enfin un certain étonnement/questionnement face à la présence de certains objets dans la collection (« l'écharpe de l'OM », une carte postale « Tunisie »…).

Ils seront les principaux fils conducteurs qui m'amèneront à travailler avec les élèves ;

Ma méthode intègre volontairement une dimension empirique, une première phase d'immersion, permettant le tâtonnement, les ajustements, non éloignée du concept de

« gestaltung » ou de devenir formel.

S'il est un « objectif » – sur les premières séances – il réside alors dans cet espoir ténu d'une émergence de mots, posés par les élèves sur ces objets, de mots spontanés, débarrassés de cette gêne qui peut freiner lorsque l'on s'exprime à la première personne du singulier…

En fonction des « matières qui émergeront », elles pourraient permettre ce « pas de côté », ce décalage du regard sur les objets en proposant un « cartel inversé »

• *Analyse d'images*

La notion de « zoos humains » a été l'objet d'une analyse par les élèves, d'images projetées, à partir d'un corpus d'images de cartes postales « L'oasis saharienne – Les Touaregs à Paris 1909 ».

• *Dans la peau d'un(e) conservateur(rice)…*

Ce travail fait suite au précédent, en élargissant l'analyse aux œuvres et objets issus de la collection, travail par petits groupes, à partir d'un document imprimé présentant l'image de l'objet choisi par les élèves, accompagné de 3 champs à remplir ;

- Décrire cet objet.
- En quoi cet objet vous évoque-t-il (ou pas) un lien avec l'histoire de la France et de l'Algérie ?
- Représentez ou amenez (pour la séance suivante) un objet, qui vous évoque un lien avec l'histoire de la France et de l'Algérie, objet que vous auriez pu proposer pour « compléter » cette collection (un « objet » personnel, familial ou autres ayant une résonnance avec l'objet choisi, photographie de famille au pays ou territoire d'origine, article de presse, document administratif, affiche, image de monument, objets du quotidien, textile…).

• *Tentative de « réparation des corps dominés/ humiliés » ou l'impossible réparation*

À partir de quelques œuvres :

- « Le grand pavois » d'Alger de Paul Landowsky (modèle et représentation sur carte postale), « revisité » par M'Hamed Issiakem, « enrichi » par « enclosed » d'Amina Menia, m'a permis d'évoquer les notions d'effacement, de recouvrement, du « cacher », tenter de comprendre les raisons qui ont amenées à réaliser ce geste…

Ce geste qui me renvoie à cet adage « Li fet met » (Ce qui est passé est mort »), souvent entendu dans la bouche de ma mère.

- « Monument contre le fascisme » de Jochen Gerz et Esther Shalev-Gerz inauguré le 10 octobre 1986, dont la disparition totale dans le sol a eu lieu le 10 novembre 1993.

L'art est un mécanisme qui joue avec l'oubli. Il ne peut y avoir de mémoire là où il n'y a pas d'oubli. La mémoire doit surgir de l'oubli.

Comme reflet de la société, le Monument dans le sens double est problématique, puisqu'il ne rappelle pas seulement à la société le passé, mais en plus sa propre réaction à ce passé.

- « 10 on 10 » de Dennis Adams à partir des photographies de Marc Garanger – 1993
Dans la chambre noire qu'il s'était bricolée, Marc Garanger recadrait les portraits pour en faire des photos d'identité classiques avant de les montrer à son supérieur. « Quand il les a eues entre les mains, le commandant a eu ces paroles incroyables : "Venez voir ces femmes comme elles sont laides ; venez voir ces macaques, on dirait des singes" .

- L'ouvrage « Sexe, race et colonies » dirigé par Pascal Blanchard et Nicolas Bancel en évoquant la polémique suscitée par la publication de certaines images
"Fau t-il montrer ou cacher ces images ?"

Extraire les « corps humiliés » / Réparer les « corps dominés »
Matériaux ; papier de soie, peinture « blanco correcteur », pinceaux (n°2, n°6)
Produire « l'image manquante » en recouvrant le « corps indig ne » ne laissant ainsi la place qu'au « corps dominant ».
Rassembler les « bouts » de « corps indig nes » sur une même surface de papier de soie, Bouts de corps « entassés », « Charnier »,
Fragilité du support...
Un traitement au « Blanco » sur le recto (silhouettes) et le verso (fond) permettra de faire disparaître / réapparaître ces « bouts de corps blessés humiliés » - variation par brillance selon l'angle de vue.

L'élève choisira le document d'origine à partir d'un corpus de cartes postales. (...)

• *Notion d'identité*

Abordée lors de la 1ière séance avec « Qui je suis ? » (images vidéos réalisées par les élèves à partir d'un smartphone).
Cette notion sera à nouveau abordée par le biais du « vivre-ensemble » et de la mixité.
Supports : Discours de Jules Ferry sur le « devoir pour les races supérieures de civiliser les races inférieures », sans « son pendant [15] » salvateur[16]. Je proposerai préalablement aux élèves d'apporter leurs photos de classes des années antérieures.

Lecture, enregistrement et mise en scène, prise de vue, l'élève se tenant debout, devant la devise «Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité» à l'entrée du collège, avec le concours de ses camarades...

Des séances de travail commun sont en cours avec Soline Henzel, Ariane Carmignac et Virginie Boudet, en vue notamment de possibles propositions autour des cartels, mais aussi de la préparation des questions des élèves lors de la Projection « Sauvages, au cœur des zoos humains »

MES PISTES DE TRAVAIL

« Enfant,

Tu vois sur la couverture de ce livre les fleurs et les fruits de la France. Dans ce livre tu apprendras l'histoire de la France,

Tu dois aimer la France,

Parce que la nature l'a faite belle,

Et parce que son histoire l'a faite grande »[17]

L'école républicaine retrouve l'une de ses premières tensions du XIXe siècle : comment fabriquer de l'homogénéité à partir de la pluralité culturelle ?" la promotion d'une "histoire émancipatrice" ou "comment réfléchir à une histoire qui agirait comme tremplin d'un rapport critique au monde d'abord, puis d'une prise de conscience par les élèves de leur place à occuper en tant qu'acteurs de ce même monde"

« Une histoire plus inclusive et représentative de l'ensemble des élèves, plus articulée autour de son pendant économique et social, et qui interrogerait ses acteurs, "la grande absente de l'écriture scolaire de l'histoire [restant] la dimension sociale, ou la place de l'ordinaire" ».[18]

« … *Enchanteur* »

Coffrés dans du béton ; un manuel d'enseignement d'Histoire et de Géographie accompagné de nos tentatives plastiques de «réparations des corps» sur papier de soie.

Au recto, figurent en creux les mots « ROMAN NATIONAL ENCHANTEUR ».

Au verso, sérigraphiés à l'encre blanche des mots de Frantz Fanon redessinent le signe mathématique « = ».

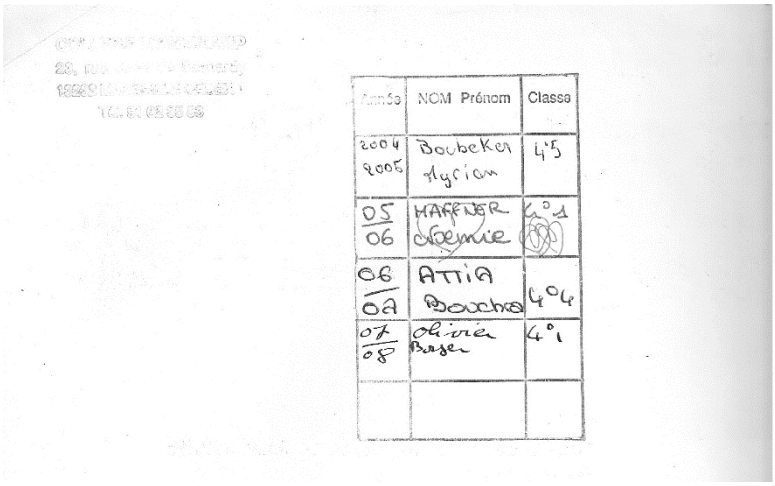
Dimensions environ 26 x 34 x 6 cm.

Poids non-déterminé à ce jour.

L'espace 3D de la vitrine pourrait l'accueillir en permettant une vision recto-verso, si les critères techniques le permettent… « Le pendant de »… Non loin… peut-être « Le Pavois ».

Hors vitrine, images et sons,

Formes non définies à ce jour



Détail manuel d'enseignement d'Histoire et Géographie 4e, 2004

Schéma du manuel et des « réparations

impossibles » « coffrés » dans le béton

Si celui qui s'adresse en petit-nègre à un homme de couleur ou à un Arabe ne reconnaît pas dans ce comportement une tare, un vice, c'est qu'il n'a jamais réfléchi. Personnellement, il nous arrive, en interrogeant certains malades, de sentir à quel moment nous glissons… En face de cette vieille paysanne de soixante treize ans, débile mentale, en plein processus démentiel, je sens tout à coup s'effondrer les antennes avec lesquelles je touche et par lesquelles je suis touché. Le fait pour moi d'adopter un langage approprié à la démence, à la débilité mentale ; le fait pour moi de me "pencher" sur cette pauvre vieille de soixante treize ans ; le fait pour moi d'aller à elle, à la recherche d'un diagnostic, est le stigmate d'un fléchissement dans mes relations humaines.
Extrait de "*Peau noire, masques blancs*", Frantz FANON, 1952

ROMAN
NATIONAL
ENCHANTEUR

NOTES

1- Natacha Polony avance que l'enseignement d'un « Roman national enchanteur » permettrait de lutter contre la radicalisation islamiste des jeunes. Citée par Laurence De Cock dans son ouvrage intitulé « Dans la classe de l'homme blanc – L'enseignement du fait colonial en France des années 1980 à nos jours », Éditions Presses universitaires de Lyon, Août 2018.

2- Propos d'un élève de 4° rapportés par Mme Johanna Cremer / professeure d'histoire géographie au collège Longchamp, 2018 3- Discours sur le colonialisme, Aimé Césaire, 1955

4- Collection actuellement en dépôt dans les réserves du Centre de Conservation et de Ressources du Mucem

5- Projet initié par la ville de Montpellier au début des années 2000 dans l'optique de consacrer un lieu dédié à l'histoire coloniale de la France et de l'Algérie, non sans soulever de nombreuse polémiques. Le projet est finalement abandonné en 2014.

6- Collège public situé dans le 1ier arrondissement de Marseille.

7- Période de travail avec les collégiens allant du 8 novembre 2018 au 14 mars 2019.

8- Mars 2019, titre non définitif.

9- Les professeures associées au projet : Johanna Cremer - Professeure d'Histoire/Géographie, Ariane Carmignac - Professeure d'Arts Plastiques, Nathalie Chauvin - Professeure d'Arts Plastiques, Virginie Boudet - Professeure de Français, Soline Henzel – Professeure d'Anglais, Mme Piccoli – Professeure d'Histoire Géographie

10- Compte-rendu de présentation en vue de la préparation du prochain cycle, Mucem, novembre 2018.

11- Giulia Fabiano, « Hériter 1962 - Harkis et immigrés Algériens à l'épreuve des appartenances nationales», Editions PU Paris Nanterre, septembre 2016

12- Bruno Le Dantec « Nos Algéries…, la belle affaire. Au lieu de rassurer ce pluriel inquiète. », extrait du texte « Monsieur des fruits amers » paru dans « Nos Algéries », Atelier de VlSU, Marseille, avril 2004.

13- Eduscol, novembre 2018.

14- Un « dispositif panoptique » qui se donne pour objet de renverser les regards, bouleverser la hiérarchie habituelle d'une salle de classe professeur / élèves en nivelant sur un même plan nos regards adultes / enfants.

32 chaises de collégiens disposées sur un cercle d'environ 6,50 m de diamètre orientées vers le centre.
Disposition alternée filles / garçons

15- Discours de Georges Clémenceau à l'Assemblée Nationale le 30 juillet 1885.

16- La lecture de la rubrique «PlEGES (ou ÉCUEILS) À EVITER DANS LA MISE EN ŒUVRE » dans Fiche EDUSCOL « Ressources pour faire la classe au collège » est particulièrement intéressante.
Exemple d'une fiche EDUSCOL « Ressources pour faire la classe au collège », juillet 2011

« PIEGES A EVITER DANS LA MISE EN ŒUVRE »

Investir l'étude d'un exemple de conquête coloniale d'un développement sur les causes de la colonisation qui ne reprenne que les argumentaires des colonisateurs (vieilles lunes des causes économiques, stratégiques et de prestige…). Le processus de conquête coloniale nait d'un rapport de force déséquilibré entre les puissances européennes et les sociétés colonisées ainsi que de l'activisme lobbies coloniaux qui y trouvent un intérêt économique ou nationaliste. Il s'appuie sur deux idéologies par ailleurs antagonistes dans leurs fondements, celle qui croit à la diffusion du progrès incarné par la modernité européenne et celle qui postule la hiérarchie des races ou des cultures.

Investir le traitement du thème des conceptions morales contemporaines ou d'un discours essentialiste qui opposerai une ignominie fondamentale des Européens à la vertu naturelle des colonisés : la critique du processus colonial existe au moment même où il se déroule, dans l'action et les argumentaires des anticolonialistes européens. Recourir à eux pour la conduire libère de l'anachronisme

17- Ernest Lavisse, Manuel d'enseignement, 1951

18- Pourquoi il faut substituer au "roman national" l'enseignement d'une "histoire émancipatrice" PAR Amélie Quentel - 25/03/18. Sur l'enseignement de l'histoire, Laurence de Cock, Éditions Libertalia
https://www.lesinrocks.com/2018/03/25/livres/pourquoi-il-faut-substituer-au-roman-national-lenseignement-dune-histoire- emancipatrice-111062224/

Escaping from the "white cube" of the seminar room *by Nick Shepherd*

One of the sources for the idea of the walking seminars is an irritation with the white cube of the typical seminar room, and an awareness of all that it excludes. The discourse of the seminar room imposes a stringent set of rules: we sit in chairs around desks; we meet as disembodied intelligences, eyes that see, mouths that speak; we speak one of the imperial ("global") languages; we talk about "theory"; we cite from approved canons; we mention the five of six currently trending keywords. Apart from a few important exceptions – discussions in Queer Theory, certain strands of Feminist Theory, forms of decolonial thinking and practice – we agree to leave at the door, as it were, many aspects of what defines us as embodied beings in the world: memory, experience, desire, imagination, fear, delight, the small details of daily life that saturate our affective selves. The discourse of the seminar room is presented here in slightly parodied form. Nevertheless, it is true that our principle forms of scholarly engagement are remarkably disembodied, and that they tend to be based on and to reinforce a set of distinctions: mind versus body, reason versus emotion and imagination, thinking versus feeling. I am interested in the political and epistemic consequences of this dominant form of scholarly engagement. What happens to black bodies, or to queer bodies, or to women, or to bodies that grown up speaking languages other than English in such a set-up? My past experience as a scholar based at the University of Cape Town in South Africa presented this situation to me on a daily basis as nothing less than a savage indictment of the coloniality of the university as institution. In the average seminar situation, students were required to discuss abstract knowledge in an imperial language, parking at the door, as it were, the things that condition their daily experience: being black, being a woman, being worried about personal safety, being worried about money, having to negotiate the long journey to and from the university each day, being denied the forms of discourse through which to have a meaningful discussion about any of these things. In other words, their relationship to knowledge begins by excluding the very thing that so profoundly conditions their experience under and after apartheid: embodied being in the world.

I would argue that this is a form of scholarly practice which is not so much about making the connections between things, as it is about making and enforcing a set of disconnections: disarticulating knowledge from experience, and thinking from feeling. So, how do we bring the body into play in more embodied forms of research practice? And how do we break down some of the distinctions set up by the discourse of the seminar room in ways that are productive and open out to new research understandings? There are many ways of answering these questions, with the walking seminar being one modest answer. The idea of walking as a form of embodied research practice draws from a rich literature on the anthropology of walking, referencing the work of Tim Ingold, Rebecca Solnit, and others. It also draws from a rich and productive strand in Urban Studies on walking as a methodology through which to engage city spaces, referencing the work of Michel de Certeau and others. Drawing on affective and sensorial research methods, it asks questions about what it means to encounter emergent Anthropocene landscapes through the surfaces of the body. Drawing on the debate around artistic research methods and practice as research, it asks questions

about the productive uses of imagination, creativity and desire in the pursuit of empirical research, and about the use of experience as a resource.

Perhaps most pertinently, it draws on contemporary discussions in decolonial thinking and practice around challenging hegemonic modes of knowledge production. In his recent work, Walter Mignolo has described the forms of knowledge attendant on colonial modernity as an "ego-politics of knowledge", grounded in the Cartesian dualism between mind and body. Against this ego-politics of knowledge he proposes a "body-politics of knowing/ sensing/ understanding", grounded in an understanding of the place from which knowledge proceeds (Mignolo 2013: 132). In conversation, he talks of linked processes of "reasoning" and "emotioning" (Mignolo pers. comm. 2015, Ernsten and Shepherd 2016). Some of Mignolo's most engaging writing takes place in his evocation of this embodied other place of knowledge, imagined not as an essentialized outside of Western reason, but as an embodied inside/ outside: the place of "border thinking" and of things known "in the bones". As a source for these various ideas, Mignolo cites the "prayer" with which Fanon so memorably concludes *Black Skin, White Masks*:

> Oh my body, make me always a man who questions.

He writes: this single sentence expresses "the basic categories of border epistemology" (Mignolo 2007: 495).

One of the things that I like about the walking seminars is that they involve passages of hard work and are sometimes physically challenging. We become aware of our bodies in new ways as we sweat our way to the end of the trail: our reliance on basic things like water, good shoes, a map and the ability to find our way around an unfamiliar landscape. We are thrown back on ourselves, and on the idea that our technology will not save us. All of this seems like good training as we journey deeper into the Anthropocene. A real concern on the most recent Table Mountain Walking Seminar (March 2018) was a concern with the physical safety of the group, following a spate of knife attacks on hikers. In the end, we put our faith in stout walking sticks, vigilance, and the solidarity of the group.

I like the idea that walking involves a certain kind of dwelling in the landscape, with ideas around duration (being in the landscape for a passage of time) and exposure (being open to, or exposed to, external influences). This works in both busy urban environments, and the more contemplative environments of the Table Mountain National Park. I also like the idea that the physical work of walking points towards a certain practice of respect, like a pilgrimage, as we pass through known and beloved or new landscapes. As climates change and beloved landscapes are transformed before our eyes, as is happening in Cape Town right now, perhaps the act of walking takes on an elegiac quality as we say goodbye to the landscapes that we know and begin our ambiguous journey into the future, into landscapes shaped by fire and drought and as yet unchartered social formations. As raced and gendered bodies, subjected to local histories of colonial modernity, our relationship to these landscapes will be very different and will run the spectrum from

hedonism to bare life. Table Mountain, one of the most heavily touristed sites in Africa and a recently proclaimed "natural wonder of the world", was historically a site of refuge for escaped slaves from the Cape colony, and is currently a refuge for migrants fleeing conflict and economic hardship on other parts of the continent.

Partly because many discussions of the Anthropocene take on a serious and censorious tone, as Latour has noted, I am interested in using playfulness as a resource through which to address a serious topic. I am thinking of playfulness not as the opposite of seriousness, but as something that exists in a more complex relationship to seriousness, even as the index of a special kind of seriousness. That the walking seminars often turn playful is a big part of their appeal.

The Walking Seminar: Embodied research in emergent Anthropocene landscapes *by Nick Shepherd*

I revisited Cape Town, a city in which I have lived on-and-off since 1985, in March this year, to convene what has become a semi-annual event, the Table Mountain Walking Seminar. The seminar brings together between twelve and eighteen scholars, artists, activists, curators and practitioners for an intensive week of walking, talking and sharing work and ideas. We follow the route of the Hoerikwaggo Trail, the approximately eighty-kilometer trail linking Cape Point to the city of Cape Town along the spine of mountains that make up the Cape Peninsula. Days of walking are interspersed with days of workshopping and practice. Nights are spent in the beautifully sited tented camps run by SANParks. I started the walking seminar in 2014, in collaboration with Christian Ernsten, an urbanist based at the University of Maastricht, and Dirk-Jan Visser, the Dutch documentary photographer.

Our starting idea was simple: bring together the most interesting possible group of people and create the kinds of environments that allow for the free exchange of work and ideas. At the core of the seminars is the practice and craft of walking, as a form of embodied research, and as a way of engaging the new and emergent landscapes of the Anthropocene. Each week-long seminar is convened around a theme. The second Table Mountain Walking Seminar which took place in December 2015 in the aftermath of the events of #RhodesMustFall, themselves sited on the lower slope of Devils Peak, a part of the Table Mountain chain, was themed around "Decolonizing Table Mountain". The most recent Table Mountain Walking Seminar (March 2018) was themed around "Fire and Water", picking up on the current water crisis in Cape Town. One of the intentions of the walking seminars is to flatten out hierarchies between theory and practice, and between scholarly and creative practices. We favor hybrid collaborations involving, for example, an architect, a philosopher and a choreographer in thinking about the micro-politics of collecting water from a particular city spring. We also favor a model of quick publication, whereby work is produced in multiple formats inside and outside the formal academic apparatus.

This raises questions about the possibilities and limitations of institutionalized systems of peer review, and standard academic formats like the journal article. It also raises questions about the terms of engagement between scholarly and creative practices in the process of research and the production of knowledge. Typically, in such engagements, creative practices play a supplementary role and the real business of knowledge production is understood to take place in the scholarly disciplines. We specifically reject such a characterization. Drawing inspiration from the field of STS and the debate around artistic research methods and practice as research, we are interested in a richer dialogue between these modes. On the one hand, we are interested in the forms of knowledge that emerge out of creative practices and artistic research methods. On the other hand, we are interested in using creativity and imagination as resources in more conventional forms of scholarship and empirical research.

Conceptually-speaking, the idea of the walking seminars draws from three main sources. The first of these is an irritation with what might be termed the "white cube" of the seminar room. Conventional forms of academic engagement are remarkable disembodied, or so it seems to us. We sit and talk… and talk, and talk: immobilized intelligences in color-neutral spaces. Drawing inspiration from debates in Queer Theory, Feminist Theory, Critical Race Theory and decolonial thinking and practice, we are interested in the political and epistemological consequences of disembodied modes of knowledge production. For us, some of these consequences include a loss of empathy and connectedness, and an over-valuation of things known abstractly but not "felt in the bones", as Walter Mignolo puts it.

A second key source for the walking seminars is the contemporary debate around the Anthropocene. We argue that, amongst other things, this debate gives us a strong mandate to pursue innovative transdisciplinary research methods, and to break with conventional distinctions between culture and nature, mind and body, intellect and imagination. In his important essay "The Climate of History", the postcolonial historian Dipesh Chakrabarty makes a startling admission. Writing about climate change and global warming, he says: "As the crisis gathered momentum in the last few years, I realized that all my readings in theories of globalization, Marxist analysis of capital, subaltern studies, and postcolonial criticism over the last twenty-five years, while enormously useful in studying globalization, had not really prepared me for making sense of this planetary conjuncture in which humanity finds itself today" (2009: 199).

To situate oneself in the Anthropocene is to write from the midst of a crisis. We argue that the nature of this crisis demands bold and unconventional responses, including from scholars and creative practitioners. An ironic contradiction between form and content characterizes much of the current debate around the Anthropocene, as we discuss the radical implications of the current conjuncture using familiar and tired old forms: jetting around the world to conferences and workshops, sitting in hotels and convention centers, setting up talk-shops that explore ideas at arms-length.

There are many ways of approaching the challenges of embodied research in the Anthropocene. For us, walking provides a productive and interesting way to open out to some of these questions and concerns. Rebecca Solnit writes: "Walking itself is the intentional act closest to the unwilled rhythms of the body, to breathing and the beating of the heart. It strikes a delicate balance between working and idling, being and doing. It is a bodily labor that produces nothing but thoughts, experiences, arrivals" (Solnit 2001: 5). Later in the same passage she writes: "Walking, ideally, is a state in which the mind, the body, and the world are aligned, as though they were three characters finally in conversation together, three notes making a chord. Walking allows us to be in our bodies and in the world without being made busy by them. It leaves us free to think without being wholly lost in our thoughts" (5). In this regard, she writes of "walking's peculiar utility for thinkers" (6). We like the fact that walking involves physical effort, and the fact that it provokes curiosity. For us, there is something respectful about walking as a way of engaging landscapes and socialities,

something effortful and up-close, very different from the kind of god's-eye perspective of conventional modes of scholarship. In a beautiful phrase, the Colombian philosopher Santiago Castro-Gomez calls this latter mode of engagement the "hubris of the zero-point". Walking discourages this kind of hubris, placing you firmly in a particular place and time, half way up a mountain with ten kilometers to go before dinner.

A third deep source for the walking seminars is the contemporary discussion around decolonial thinking and practice. The debate around the environment often seems like a rather white, middle class affair, especially in South Africa. The middle classes fuss about species loss and the destruction of habitats, while poorer South Africans struggle to survive amidst conditions of bare life. The disconcerting fact of the Anthropocene is that we are all in this together, but some are more "in it" than others. It seems likely that poorer and more marginalized individuals and communities in the global south will bear a disproportionately high proportion of the burden of climate change. The Anthropocene threatens to recapitulate the planetary injustices of colonialism and imperialism. It becomes vital to join the debate around global environmental change to the debate around social and economic justice, just as it becomes vital to understand the roots of the current crisis – which, after all, is the crisis of a certain kind of modernity and globalization – in historical processes of racism, colonialism and imperialism. Colonialism was not just about the conquest of people and territories, it was also about the conquest of the natural worlds, opened up by processes of geographical exploration and colonial conquest.

In his recent work, Walter Mignolo has described the forms of knowledge attendant on colonial modernity as an "ego-politics of knowledge", grounded in the Cartesian dualism between mind and body. Against this ego-politics of knowledge he proposes a "body-politics of knowing/ sensing/ understanding" (Mignolo 2013: 132). In conversation, he talks of linked processes of "reasoning" and "emotioning" (Mignolo pers. comm. 2015, Ernsten and Shepherd 2016). Some of Mignolo's most engaging writing takes place in his evocation of this embodied other place of knowledge, imagined not as an essentialized outside of Western reason, but as an embodied inside/ outside: the place of "border thinking" and of things known "in the bones". Slavoj Zizek has a line on global environmental change where he says "We know it, but we don't feel it", meaning that many of us know the basic facts of climate change abstractly, but not in such a way as to cause us to change our behaviors. Now, even as more and more people do "feel it" – in the sense of being affected by climate change – the challenge remains to develop forms of knowledge that derive from deep feeling, experience, and bodily engagement.

We have tried various formulations in thinking about the work (or craft) of putting together a walking seminar. We "stage" or "curate" these occasions, which feel performative in a relaxed and unselfconscious way. They also feel like interventions of a particular kind. Through time, we have developed certain practices and protocols, a kind of "how to" of walking seminars. The seminars always explore a particular theme or issue. The 2015 Table Mountain Walking Seminar was themed around "Decolonizing Table Mountain",

picking up on the energies around #RhodesMustFall. The 2018 Table Mountain Walking Seminar was themed "Fire and Water", picking up on the contemporary water crisis in Cape Town. A 2017 walking seminar in Groningen Province in the Netherlands with students from the Reinwardt Academy explored the recent incidence of earthquakes in the region, a consequence of gas mining. A walking seminar in ARTIS Zoo in Amsterdam in January 2018 explored "the future of the zoo in the Anthropocene". A recent walking seminar in the Maas River Valley on the border between the Netherlands and Belgium explored rewilding initiatives and "second natures". We invite participants on the walking seminars with the theme in mind, and we share literature and reading lists. We also invite "resource people" to drop in and tell us about their research, activism, or passion.

Some of our protocols speak to group dynamics and relationships. As conveners or curators we work hard to create a framework for each walking seminar, inviting interesting participants, and putting in place the logistics: warm beds, good food, viable routes. Then we tend to leave things alone, allowing the group to find their own logic and way of working. One of our ideas is that the group is its own resource. People bring amazing subject knowledges, rich bodies of experience, and incredible skills. It becomes important to open the spaces and occasions which allow these to be shared. Sometimes we intersperse days of walking with workshop days, and where we can manage it we locate these in inspirational settings: a tented camp next to the beach, or a stone cottage perched on the top of Table Mountain. Another guiding idea is the idea that the walking seminars are co-curated by all the participants, meaning that everyone shares responsibility for the outcome. Often these outcomes are subtle and difficult to define: a change in affect, or a deep change in feeling about a topic.

Creating flat hierarchies between scholars, creative artists and activists sometimes means working against established modes of engagement. We have experimented with encouraging ideas, but banning theory, where theory becomes the self-conscious performance of a certain kind of expertise: name-dropping, or using the five or ten keywords currently in vogue. We have also experimented with not carrying maps, and only having a hazy idea of the road ahead. Often the weather is unpredictable: high winds, harsh sun, sudden storms. Feeling lost, improvising, making a plan: all of this feels like good training as we journey deeper into the Anthropocene.

Often the seminars become playful as choreographers improvise movement exercises with the group, photographers play with different exposures, and scholars turn to poetry. In fact, thinking about the relationship between seriousness and playfulness, and about the uses of playfulness ads a resource through which to approach serious topics, becomes a conceptual point of departure. Focusing on methodology becomes an unexpectedly rich way of collaborating across disciplines. We love learning new ways of working. Sometimes our starting instruction to the group is: "Tell us how you would make sense of this issue or phenomenon, working from your own discipline or practice. Teach us how you work."

Of all the walking seminars that we have convened, the Table Mountain Walking Seminars feels the most transformative in their effects. Lasting a full week, they follow the route of the Hoerikwaggo Trail, the approximately eighty-kilometer route linking Cape Point to Cape Town. The format allows enough time for the participants to pass deeply into the material and the topic. There is something about Cape Town, with its disjunctive social and natural worlds, divided histories, and starkly polarized living situations that both confronts and amazes. Deep histories of human occupation and involvement are materially inscribed into the landscape. Along the route one passes Peers Cave, with an archaeological deposit stretching back for half-a-million years, the ruins of Red Hill Village, victim of apartheid forced removals, the dystopian racially segregated township of "Ocean View", the million-dollar homes of Kommetjie, and Hout Bay with its shacks and palazzos. Anthropogenic climate change has etched itself deeply into this landscape. In the four years of our involvement via the walking seminars it has been transformed, ravaged by drought and fire. Designated a "Natural Wonder of the World", the northern sections of the mountain are heavily touristed, while the southern sections are abandoned to all but the hardiest of walkers. History passes like a parade: Khoisan hunter-gatherers, runaway slaves and fugitives from the Dutch colony at the Cape, the specter of Cecil Rhodes, the evisceration of settlement at Simons Town by apartheid-era forced removals, the growing informal settlements as a post-1994 phenomenon, the refugee camp for victims of xenophobic violence grudgingly established on the windswept beach at Slangkop, racial division and run-away property speculation, AirBnB.

We are often asked, especially by funders, what are the outputs and outcomes of the walking seminars? We ask participants to make a commitment to collaborate, and to produce work in multiple formats. So, at one level, the outputs can be measured in standard format academic articles, photographic essays, creative non-fiction, poetry, musical compositions, project proposals, performance proposals and scripts, collaborative grant applications, work published for the media, public talks and lectures, conference presentations, and so on. At another level, the outcomes are more subtle and difficult to calibrate, and possibly more transformative. Putting people together for a week in an environment of shared challenge, thoughtfulness and creativity creates a hothouse atmosphere which can be generative of "newness": new ideas, new perspectives, new collaborations. Engaging the body, the senses and the affect aligns ideas with deep feelings and profound commitments. Being given permission to play does something interesting to academics who are increasingly treated as disposable knowledge workers in a cynically profit-driven industry.

I have been involved in a number of walking seminars over the years, and each time I take away something different. I think that for researchers it is probably a good thing to abandon a distanced and disinterested stance, and to feel more implicated in the situations that they study. Implication, entanglement, empathy, messiness: these are the strategies and situations to which, I believe, we will have to turn if we are to find a

way through the social and environmental challenges of the Anthropocene. The university as institution, with its lumbering traditions and hallowed formats, needs to be more nimble and more humble. Scholars should be encouraged to write from the heart, as well as from the mind.

I find that it is often in the weeks and months following a walking seminar that I feel the full benefits of the conversations, reflections, new experiences and ideas. As occasions, they nourish my research and teaching practice. Increasingly, I experiment with taking the classroom outdoors. My visits to Cape Town now take on a kind of valedictory aspect, which itself may be part of your shared journey deeper into the Anthropocene. I have seen landscapes that I thought I knew well over the course of thirty years, changed over the last four or five years. I feel like I have taken too much for granted, that I should be paying more attention – that we should all be paying more attention. Finally, this is what the walking seminars do for me: they provoke curiosity, they invite questions, they dare me to pay attention.

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