Decolonizing North

Konsthall C
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The present publication includes the transcription of the contributions by several speakers at the international conference Decolonizing North, which took place on 8th December 2017 and organised by: Konsthall C, the Advanced Course in Decolonizing Architecture at Royal Institute of Arts Stockholm and CEMFOR (Center for Multidisciplinary Research on Racism) at Uppsala University. The texts therefore have kept to a large extent their orality and the original format in which they were addressed by the speakers.

Decolonizing North

Corina Oprea,
Alessandro Petti
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Introduction

SHAHRAM: So how did the idea for the conference started?

CORINA: I've been working since January 2017 at Konsthall C with the topic of decolonization in the North from different aspects – in connection to gender, to non-awareness or not being present in the mainstream and historical discourse about how Sweden is a colonial power. Both from wishing and taking part in the more traditional colonial history for the past centuries, but also the contemporary forms of colonialism in relation to the on-going colonization of Sápmi territories, and through different industries and trade including the weapons industry and finally in relation to migration politics. So, all the aspects I have been dealing with through exhibitions and public programs at Konsthall C. Then, I always find important to also have the theoretical base that supports the curatorial discourse, and also non-the

less the fact that these social issues are very often connected to places like the outskirts or the suburbs. I thought it was important to place the questions in the center, in the white institutions, and this was the case with the Royal Art Institute and I was really happy when the course initiated by Alessandro Petti was announced in April 2017. It felt like a natural connection which made me approach him as well as Mattias Gardell and Irene Molina at CEMFOR – The Centre for Multidisciplinary Research on Racism – which was also announced in February 2017. It felt like a good momentum to bring up the question of decolonization from different institutions. I think that there is a strength in this connection between the theoretical, academic discourse and art institutions. This connection is important. So, that's how it all started and I was lucky enough that everyone said yes.

ALESSANDRO: I was particularly happy when Corina contacted me, because we[1] were planning to move Stockholm after more than fifteen years of work in Palestine where the notion of

decolonization has a specific and urgent task: to get rid of decades of the ongoing Israeli colonization. We felt that in this historical moment, with the so-called refugee crisis, the notion of decolonization could be mobilized from within Europe rather than only outside its territories. Coming from the East Mediterranean countries, it is quite striking to see how the question of the refugeeness is understood in Europe: first as if there is no connection between displacement and the military operation led by western countries and secondly how the small number of people that arrived in Europe, compare in proportion to the huge number of refugees that are in Lebanon, Turkey or Jordan, produce such deep fear and hate. I believe that this can only be explained by the persistence of a colonial gaze, a colonial heritage.

SHAHRAM: I was not in the beginning of the conversation, I came in late, but I think it was a very good and necessary intervention to bring all these linkages you mention: linkages between the suburbs and the colonial legacy. To insist on the connection between "why are they here?" and we were there. This reference to the very famous sentence by Ambalavaner Sivanandan "we are here because you were there", also works as a very important reminder: that you are still there. Today we know that British, French and US attack Syria, Damascus, so why are we surprised they are coming?[2] Because you are there! And in the context of the Nordic – look at Afghanistan. In the Nordic context, Afghanistan has the highest number of asylum seekers in Europe, including Sweden. Almost all rich countries have soldiers in that country. We can present it as "peacekeeping projects", but there are soldiers, with guns there. This linking between what is going on in the suburbs and what is going on in the countries they are coming from, or their parents came from a long time ago sometimes I think this is intentional construction of ignorance: "we don't want to know". That's very important. But also in terms of a country like Sweden, which is presented as not having been a colonial power, to remind us that you don't need to be. I mean it's in a way like being a man, or to be white. You don't need to be violent – you get privileged automatically. I cannot say I'm a good man, I never mistreat women and therefore I cannot be blamed. I get privileges automatically, just for being a man or just for being a white person. So, that's also an interesting question, how Sweden gets so much privilege, resources, access to locations, fields – just by being part of Europe, white European nations. So, you don't need to be a colonial power like France or the UK.

CORINA: In order to understand the violence in terms of migration politics – when it comes to Sweden and other European countries – one has to go backwards, and trace the fact that there has never been discussions of Sweden as a colonial power even from a historical perspective. The general convention was that colonialism happened somewhere else – it's about the UK, Holland, France and Denmark. If one doesn't have that kind of awareness of yourself and if one doesn't deal with its white supremacy and with the fact that there has always been an intention of being a colonial power, and participating in slave trade and other oppressive colonial forms, it becomes more difficult to deal with the fact that you have a colonial mindset that manifest today in the social and political infrastructures that Sweden creates.

ALESSANDRO: One interesting aspect of "Decolonizing North" is the possibility to question the tendency that associate "north" with progress, modern, advancement and south with tradition, slowness and being premodern. All these categorizations are in fact colonial categories and oppositions aiming to establish power relations and legitimizing certain policies. In the context of Sweden these geo-cultural categories are somehow inverted: the image of the metropolitan south and the underdeveloped north. We just came back from a trip to Boden, a city in the north of Sweden, where its military history as outpost against possible Russian invasion it is intrinsically linked with today´s presence of refugees and the Sápmi struggle for self-determination.

CORINA: I think it was very interesting at the intervention of Gunilla Larsson who also

mentioned the same thing with the North being associated with civilization and advancement, as you said. The fact that in the case of Sweden – and probably also with the other Scandinavian states – there was this kind of push of the Sápmi population towards the North. Today we only present it as the North territory as being the Sápmi territory, which is in fact something that was a historical process of the state. Where maybe in the rest of Europe it was the South, pushing towards the South. It's of course extremities, but it's also interesting to address that there's another geography that we look at in the case of Scandinavia. In relation to migration I think this connection, between how not to deal or how to deal, with the colonial past is immediately and directly connected to the politics of migration. It was Gurminder K. Bhambra who made these connections between the colonial history and today's migration politics.

ALESSANDRO: What today's migrations and globalization make more evident is the connection and feedback loops between Europe and its former colonies.

Take the experiment of the camp as an example: the camp as a device to manage population for security reasons was for the first time deployed outside the territories of Europe at the end of the 19th century after just few decades, was used in European soil in between the second war world as death camps. This death face of modernism was always quite evident in the colonies but in Europe was hidden by the notion of modernism as progress, beneficial to everyone. It would be interesting in this historical time to invert the gaze, and for example understand the project of modernism also as an internal project of colonization. It might help to understand how in the city of Stockholm for example you have the juxtaposition of one of the most successful story of progressive modernization, think about the million program, and at the same time being among the most segregated cities in the world. The worst result can be the product of good intentions. The camp has in fact this double sides, it is a site where people can take protection from political violence but it is at the same time a site where people are stripped from their political dimension,

they are reduced to humanitarian subjects and therefore to objects.

SHAHRAM: You mention the camp, but also basic theoretical racist theories, came from colonies. Nazi-German racist theories were imported from the U.S. They translated books and texts; so, the racist theories developed in the US against African-Americans and against so-called American Indians ended up in the Second World War, the concentration camps and the holocaust. The theories were first used first against non-Europeans and came from anti-black racism in the colonies. And that's also very important to mention that theories on racism until the 1950s ignored black people. It was always focused on antisemitism. It was first with people like Fanon who said that this kind of anti-racism didn't include us. He said that we should add something more; we should have a different form of anti-racism. So, until the 1950s anti-racism was always focused on racism against other white people, but what it came also from colonies - black anti-racism, that's also an important element of history.

CORINA: The concept of decolonization started to be used more at large with the writings of Walter Mignolo in the early 2000s as a particular context in South America but one can trace to anti-colonial struggles and writings by black feminist scholars such as Audre Lorde. Today in Sweden the emergence of the interest towards the discourses around decolonization is a result of several social movements in the suburbs, movements in anti black-racism, the continuous work of sociologist Tobias Hübinette of showing the segregation and discrimination that is mainly based on the colour of the skin. In my case, it was a reaction towards the change in the discourse on migration, even when it comes to the left side of the politics towards migration, and how this has changed even if we compare it to the nineties. Today it has become more and more radicalized on the whole spectrum of politics and media. "How should we manage" has replaced the question of how infrastructures should change because the population is changing. I felt it was important to bring this topic of colonial

history to trace and nuance the background of this discourse on the other. Then, as with everything, you have to repeat it and repeat over and over again until one can create a larger circle that enables the work to continue on different fronts and not be stamped with only one place or one discourse or one voice or one execution. The trap is that it may become just another keyword. For example, in our team at Konsthall C we said that our barometer is not if another white institution comments and says: "Oh Konsthall C just works with this new keyword", but the barometer is having activists working with this topic, and if they will come and say that it's just an empty word or an empty program, then it's obvious that we are doing something wrong. So, this is our barometer, but I think at some point – after one makes a program that is called decolonization, and then you make a conference and then you make a symposium – then I think at some point there is a need to deconstruct the word and see what it means, or find other ways of naming this process and how it translates into social effects.

SHARAM: Yeah, that's also important maybe to have the introduction about the format, the location and the organizing of the room.

ALESSANDRO: To avoid using the term decolonization in an abstract way and to pay attention to cultural and academic forms of appropriation it was important for us to ground the term decolonization in experiences, bodies and spaces. Therefore, the format of the conversation, the way how people interact, the relation with the institutional spaces, needed to be coherent with our critical ambitions. The students worked on how to disrupt the frame of an academic conference by "forcing" the public to acknowledge their privileges, the position from which ones speaks. By borrowing chairs, sofa and tables from offices and classrooms, they forced conference participants to choose where to sit. The aim was double, on one side to disrupt the burocratic everyday functioning of the institution ("this chair is participating to the conference" was the note left in the place of a chair) and on the other hand to create a space

made of different re-used chairs. I must say that in some cases, these disruptions brought some tensions, some people really got irritated. I think that's worked well, trying to decline the theoretical discussion in the physical space of the room and how bodies are located. The format made clear that we always have a certain position when we listen or speak, neutrality is not an option, and as you know, in Sweden neutrality plays an important role in people perception about themselves.

Shahram Kosravi
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ed. note: Alessandro Petti and Sandi Hilal are the initiators more than a decade ago of DAAR (Decolonizing Architecture Art Residency) an architectural office and art residency based in Palestine and Campus in Camps and experimental pedagogical program in Dheisheh Refugee Camp in Bethlehem.

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ed. note: On the night of 13th April 2018 US Army forces with the support of Brittish and French governments attacked military bases in Damascus, Syria.

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Lesley Ann Brown

When terrorism has a white face

excerpt from the book Decolonial Daughter:
Letters from a Black Woman to Her European Son

> What have the Romans ever done for us?
> *Monty Python, Life of Brian*

What better gift could a mother give her child than the knowledge of who came before him or her, a narrative that her child could use to navigate this one?
I begin with an idea of what pre-Christian Europe may have looked like in order to draw some connections to the indigenous peoples who were encountered in the so-called New World. Although I use the word "indigenous" and examples from the Americas, I think it is important that we recognize that there were great similarities in which Europe met Africa and her people, and that there exists an intersection between what it means to be Black and indigenous peoples. I have read that many of the Europeans who landed in the Americas felt a kinship with the indigenous peoples, so much so that laws had to be passed to halt intermixing and the Europeans' record-speed abandonment of settler towns in exchange for the indigenous ways of living. Many Europeans, like the Celts, found these peoples' customs familiar — so I am aware that European contact with the indigenous peoples was of course not as black-and-white as is often presented. However, the fact cannot be argued against that it would be one culture that would soon dominate and obliterate other ways of being, and it is this that I am most interested in. As many indigenous scholars and activists repeat time and time again, including the Native American activist Leonard Peltier, the future of the land we currently call America and her people depends on opening up to the wisdom of those who premise their culture, their ways of being on the sacred circle of life.

We in the West do not do this and this is, quite frankly, the crux of the matter.

Although there was no pre-European paradise, the unprecedented scale in which European colonisation altered the landscape of the so-called New World is undeniable. Some estimates of the indigenous genocide that resulted from European contact run as high as 75 million. Remember, we're talking about people in the Americas, from north to south and throughout the Caribbean. A recent Indian Country Today article on the Anthropocene says:
No historian seriously questions that the European invasion of the Americas resulted in millions of deaths. The serious debate has been how many millions. What if it was enough millions to change the carbon dioxide (CO_2) content in the atmosphere and therefore the climate and ultimately the geology of the Earth?
Many times I use our lineage as a narrative and geographical thread to pull themes of race, power, gender and even land rights together. I'm a strong proponent of Audre Lorde's insistence that the personal is the political, or as the sages of the past have pronounced, as above, so below. The micro is the macro and so forth… there is so much separation in this world, and while my opinions on race emphasise our differences, I only do so in the spirit of having to go back in order to move forward. It is true that race is a construct — but one must wonder what good this is as long as social structures still exist that are grounded in the creation of "Black" and "white" and further perpetuate inequality that can, mostly, still be drawn along racial lines.

I touch a little on identity politics, hoping to illustrate how our identities can actually bring us closer together as opposed to pushing us further apart, as some critics claim. We must deconstruct the hierarchical structures of our societies, as well as take various power dynamics into consideration so that we can create new ways forward. We are socialised to often think in binaries, extremes: good/bad, black/white, etc. I believe the world is lacking in nuance — and by this I mean that there are those

who believe European colonialism to have been a necessary step towards progress, while others see it as the very opposite. It is part of my spiritual practice to accept that there is a divine order in this seemingly chaotic world and that rather than lament the atrocities of the past I would rather sift through the carnage for what, from various eclipsed cultures, can be salvaged and help us as humanity, move forward.

In my dreams I do like to envision an existence without this current power and social structure that we know in the West. And this vision is important, as envisioning something is an integral part towards manifesting this into a reality. What I think is necessary today, more than ever, is to open ourselves up to more varied epistemologies, to move away from this falsehood that knowledge somehow just sprung up primarily from one region of the world, and that this region of the world is superior to others. It is obvious to me that our knowledge systems are the result of an amalgamation of various cultures and teachings, and it is my belief that when this is recognised and practiced more, there will be more dignity to be had for all students of knowledge, no matter their background. It is said that if a child does not see him- or herself in education, then the education system has failed. A good example of this is the influence that Islam has had on Western thought, which few of us ever seem to learn about. I've thought about this much as a mother to a biracial child in Denmark and as a teacher. I would like to include a plea for us to wake up and admit that there is a reason why education in the West is structured in the way that it is, and that unfortunately too many of our children are not seeing themselves in the education that they receive.

A wise person once said that the primary endeavour of education is to instil in our children a sense of dignity and pride in who they are. From this premise, new worlds can certainly be created, rather than the reproduction of out of- date knowledge systems and rote learning. Part of the reason why I have written the book for my son is so that he can receive some information that could perhaps balance

what he has already learned, or not learned, in school. Unlearning is a tenet of decoloniality. I've also attempted in the book to connect white settler colonies, such as the US, with Europe, for although Europe likes to cast a judgemental eye on what is the undeniable racism and racist structures to be experienced in the States, I find the lack of accountability and ability to see how this is connected to European expansionism troubling. No man is an island, the poet John Dunn has written, "[...]so therefore, ask not for whom the bell tolls, for it tolls for thee." These are fitting words. Right wing nationalism is not only happening in the States; for the past twenty years or so there has been empirical evidence that similar patterns are at work in European politics. With memories of World War II becoming dimmer and dimmer in the minds of the everyday European, what will there be to remind us of the atrocities to be had from ignorance and bigotry? And what role does this historical amnesia play in the continual control and detainment of Black and brown bodies throughout the West, and especially here in Europe, under the pretence of artificial borders? I also hope that it is evident that I am as committed to scrutinising myself as I am to scrutinising countries. Change starts from within — and if there is one thing I can commit to, no matter how faulty I may sometimes be, it is to a life of constant self-examination and, hopefully, improvement.

Too often in this world, we expect things to be plastic — unmoving and unchanging, like the glossy pictures in a magazine. But we are dynamic beings, nature is dynamic and people are capable of change. The change that is needed most, however, is a change in consciousness — and I hope this work inspires this.
I am acutely aware that Denmark, compared to many other countries around the world, could — as I mentioned in a previously published piece entitled "Conversations in Denmark"[1] — seem like Disneyland. I want to make it clear that it is not my intention to compare Denmark, or the Scandinavian model for that matter, with anywhere else that exists on Earth. I do, however, want to hold up this model to the very idea of perfection itself, as this is exactly how we progress as humans, and not to do so would be complacent and

a sign of moving backwards.

As Martin Amis says, "The first thing that distinguishes a writer is (s) he is most alive when alone." This is true, but loneliness, especially on foreign land, can seem even more of a heavy burden to deal with. We are all alone, in the end, they say — and living in Denmark has helped me deal with this universal truth a bit more authentically, I suppose, than if I had remained in the States.

But in the end, nothing could ever make up for the fact that I am a mother, away from my own family, navigating life in a foreign land. There is a mourning that must happen, a reckoning with both the past and the present, to push forward. Sometimes I shudder when I think about what the experiences must be of those who do not have the privilege of Western citizenship. Of mothers who have fled war, who cannot speak eloquently in the language of empire, whose educations get erased by biased criteria.

As I mentioned before, it wasn't too long after I arrived that Denmark started to turn up the debate on immigration and, although folks told me time and time again that it was not people like me (translation: "You're not Muslim") who were being targeted, I couldn't help but feel uncomfortable — I mean, if someone could be targeted in a society as Muslim immigrants were in Denmark, then that meant anyone could be, as far as I was concerned. In a recent article in The Conversation entitled "Scandinavia: the radical right meets the mainstream", Mette Wiggen writes:

> A legitimisation of radical right-wing ideology is taking place around the world. The world was shocked by the events in Charlottesville, America, and by 45's failure to condemn racist violence. But it may be even more surprising to some to learn that the radical right has achieved a mainstream foothold in Scandinavia and the right-wing parties and groups have been accepted as legitimate and part of the mainstream. […] In Sweden, the Sweden Democrats (SD) is the second-biggest party in the polls, despite its fascist roots. Parties such as SD owe their success largely to their stance on immigration […] The Danish and Norwegian parties are more established and more professional than most of their European sister parties and have long been accepted by mainstream political parties.[2]

As someone who has spent a great part of her life studying history — particularly how it is related to race — I would be remiss if I did not mention that it should be apparent to all that white supremacists are in governments all over the Western world. Despite this glaring truth, in the many years that I have had the privilege of living here, I have experienced the hesitancy there is to talk about race in Denmark. This reluctance, unfortunately, has meant that progress in a collective understanding of how the past impacts the present is relatively slow-moving. This however, does not mean that there are not folks who want to learn.

Recently, I was contacted by a Danish director who had decided to do a puppet show for kids about Danish colonisation. However, it all seemed to go wrong when on one of the first days of the production, the only child of colour in the audience, a young biracial girl, began to cry. I was recommended as a consultant and the script was sent to me to review. As I read the piece, it became clear to me why this young girl felt so sad. The play was faulty not in its intention, but in its execution, as it was full of racist stereotypes and an oversimplification of the kidnapping and enslavement of Africans and the role it played in advancing Denmark and her people. There was nothing to make a young child of colour feel good about him- or herself. The imagery and story only further reproduced hierarchical notions of race. In further discussions with the director and actors, and after seeing the play a couple of times, the theatre decided to stop the production of their own volition. What I most appreciate with this situation is that they could tell something was wrong — and they did not run from this because it made them feel uncomfortable. The experience was an enriching one for both the theatre and myself. Throughout this job, the Danes expressed to me frustration at how little they knew about this period of Danish history. I was pleasantly surprised at their determination to better understand the historical variables at play and their openness to hearing where they could do better.

I was moved by their insistence to get it right, and pleased that they did not silence and dismiss my review. Yet the experience illustrated to me once again the uncomfortable truth of the privilege many have of never having to consider race because their own lives have never been directly impacted by it (or at least they are not aware of how). I was made to realise, yet again, how many only equate overt acts of racism as racist as opposed to the subliminal ways in which it is often reproduced; and how insidious yet seemingly innocuous acts can abound in white spaces, rarely to be challenged because very few ever consult people of colour. There seems to be an idea in Denmark that racism is a thing that only happens in the US — not something that exists here despite the tacit acceptance of the white norm.

I once got in a conversation about race with someone, a woman who was the mother to three Black children. "You're always talking about race!!" she said to me, somewhat annoyed. I was confused. Her response and volume of her voice did not match the conversation I thought we were having. "You are the racist, Lesley, you are the racist, with all your talk about Blackness!" What!?
In Denmark, folks love to say, "I don't see race" — but what about the others? What about the thousands of children who live here and who must deal with the violence of erasure every day? Who deals with public debates discussing how much they are accepted (or not) in the society in which they find themselves? And what about the fact that when we don't talk about race, we end up talking only about whiteness? Luckily for me I have met many Danes who want to reach a better understanding of this issue. But in the trickster world of white supremacy, people like me are labelled racist. This is the genius of "the death project": turning all on its head and emptying words of their true meaning.
In Race, Rights and Rebels, Julia Suárez-Krabbe writes:

> Following the lead of the indigenous Nasa people of Colombia, my understanding of the death project refers to the exercise of violence in coloniality, which targets the actual processes of life

and the conditions for existence: in short, plurality. The Nasa describe the death project as such: "The conquerors brought with them their death project to these lands. They came with the urge to steal the wealth and to exploit us in order to accumulate [wealth]. The death project is the disease of egoism that turns into hatred, war, lies, propaganda, confusion, corruption and bad governments.[3]

I want to make clear that I find little difference between these situations that I have experienced in Denmark and what I have experienced in the US, or Trinidad and Tobago, even, when it comes to whiteness. The only difference is that here in Scandinavia, the population has managed, through policy, to keep its populace relatively homogenous.

Race, my dear son, is a construct, they say. And it certainly is. It was constructed to justify the enslavement and subjugation of people that was necessary to Europe's death project. It was constructed to create a class, a class upon whose labour all other labour would be based. An erased class, whose stories continue to be buried by the tales of the very people who enslaved them. It is true, historically speaking, that calling oneself white or Black is a relatively new affair. In a recent Aeon article entitled "How 'white people' were invented by a playwright in 1613," Ed Simon writes:

> The Jacobean playwright Thomas Middleton invented the concept of "white people" on 29 October 1613, the date that his play The Triumphs of Truth was first performed. The phrase was first uttered by the character of an African king who looks out upon an English audience and declares: "I see amazement set upon the faces/Of these white people, wond'rings and strange gazes." As far as I, and others, have been able to tell, Middleton's play is the earliest printed example of a European author referring to fellow Europeans as "white people". [...] The scholar Kim Hall explains in Things in Darkness (1996) that whiteness "truly exists only when posed next to 'blackness'" [...] Hall

explains: "Whiteness is not only constructed by but dependent on an involvement with Africans that is the inevitable product of England's ongoing colonial expansion." As such, when early modern Europeans begin to think about themselves as "white people" they are not claiming anything about being English, or Christian, but rather they are making comments about their self-perceived superiority, making it easier to justify the obviously immoral trade and ownership of humans.[4]

As we've talked about before, many people don't even dig using the terms "Black" or "white," finding them inadequate adjectives to capture the depth of who they feel themselves and each other to be. But racism is not dependent upon individual beliefs in its power. No. When there are systems in place that are rooted in the idea that land can be owned, and that one group of people can own another group of people, it cannot so easily be dismissed — especially when these systems are ripe for abuse in the hands of people who are either unaware of the historical processes that have brought us all to this present place, or perhaps don't even care to know. As the New Oxford American Dictionary states:

> Although ideas of race are centuries old, it was not until the 19th century that attempts to systemize racial divisions were made. Ideas of supposed racial superiority and social Darwinism reached their culmination in Nazi ideology of the 1930s and gave pseudoscientific justification to policies and attitudes of discrimination, exploitation, slavery and extermination. Theories of race asserting a link between racial type and intelligence are now discredited. Scientifically it is accepted that there are subdivisions of human species, but it is also clear that genetic variation between individuals of the same race can be as great as that between members of different races.[5]

Why is it that Westerners have carte blanche in terms of borders, but those from the vestiges of empire do not? Why is it that a visa to travel to most countries in Africa is a relatively possible affair if you are European or American, even, but travel the other way around is so controlled? It is historically irresponsible to insist that race does not still play a large role in how we see and relate to each other.

Sometimes I want to leave Europe and go home. But, dear son, where is home for me? Is it the Brooklyn where I was born, but which no longer exists as communities continue to be pushed out through a new form of colonialism, now called gentrification? Is it Trinidad and Tobago, a place in which I have not lived since the late Eighties? Son, after much thought it is, in the end, where you are. And why should it not be? Why should I feel that I have any less of a right here, in Denmark, or Europe even, due to the colour of my skin? As the poet and urban geographer Teju Adisa-Farrar proclaimed in one of her recent tweets, "We live here. We exist and always will. And oh, just so you know, We Are Staying."[6]
The West is not in the West. It is a project, not a place.

1
Henry De Tessan, Christina (ed.), Expat: Women's True Tales of Life Abroad, Seal Press, 2002.

2
Wiggen, Mette, 'Scandinavia: the radical right meets the mainstream', The Conversation (online), (Last time consulted 4 September 2017).

3
Suárez-Krabbe, Julia, Race, Rights and Rebels: Alternatives to Human Rights and Development from the Global South, Rowman and Littlefield, 2015, write p.16

4
S Simon, Ed, 'How 'white people' were invented by a playwright in 1613', Aeon (online), (Last time consulted 12 September 2017).

5
'Race', New Oxford American Dictionary, Third Edition, Oxford University Press, 2010,

6
@MissTeju_Global, (Last time consulted 15 August 2017).

Gunilla Larsson

Decolonizing history: making the invisible visible

The paper discusses the invisibilisation of Sámi history in academia, and at all level of education. The prevailing, racist ideas from the 19th century, in which social darwinism classified Sámi people together with other indigenous people as too primitive to have a history, are still affecting education. The history of Sámi in general is absent in course material in History training of teachers to be at the universities, in schoolbooks and within historical narratives. Moreover, archaeological research and survey has traditionally been very nationalistic until the 1980s. Here the idea of one nation, one people, and one type of archaeological remains was governing until the National Survey for Ancient Monuments at the Swedish Board of Antiquities opened a new office in Luleå with the intention to develop new methods to find other types of archaeological remains than the ones found in southern Sweden. It became an increased awareness of the Sámi cultural heritage and related research was initiated along with new methods for finding Sámi remains. However, this survey ended after a few years. If not documented and registered, Sámi heritage and history in the ground are threatened to be forever eradicated by the current boom of mining enterprises and other exploitation projects. This paper discusses a threatened, invisible Forest Sámi history at Gallok/Kallak, by the Lule River in Norrbotten County, and in Forsa Parish, Hälsingland, Gävleborg County. In my paper I will also give some examples of how social darwinistic and race biological ideas are still largely influencing academia, history writing, scientific and popular presentations of Sámi history.

Sámi and Sápmi

Sámi people are the Indigenous People of Scandinavia. But our history has never been written, our opinion is never seriously considered when important decisions are taken for the exploitation of Sápmi – our homeland. Our memories are not documented and protected but, rather, they are under threat to be blasted away in the plans of enormous mining projects.

In the myth of the Sámi, we are presented as an exotic people in the far north, nomadic reindeer herders in a mountainous area. In reality, Sámi people have lived in Central and Northern Scandinavia for millennia. Sápmi, our own word for the Sámi land, has in the course of colonization been divided up between the four nation states Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia. As the agricultural society expanded in Finland in the Middle Ages, Sámi were pushed back to the north. In Middle Sweden, the regional authorities and the king tried to force Sámi to move north in the 17th and 18th centuries, and there were also an ethnical cleansing. Lappland was created 1749-1751 as the province where Sámi were allowed to live. Despite this, many Sámi remained in Southern Sápmi, living together with the Germanic society as Sámi have done for millennia. The myth of the reindeer herding, nomadic Sámi has been very strong and still is. It is only a smaller part of the Sámi population that have lived from reindeer herding, the Mountain Sámi, that earlier lived a nomadic life. Sea Sámi have never been herding reindeer but lived instead off the sea, fishing, hunting seal, whale and walrus, and have been sedentary with small farms and animal husbandry. Forest Sámi have had a mixed economy where hunting, fishing, handicraft, trade, smithing, tar making and other activities have been sometimes combined with a limited Forest reindeer herding. Forest Sámi have not been nomadic, but stayed in their skatteland the whole year, with one main camp and then summer pasture camps by bogs where the forest reindeer have summer pasture.

Only a few reindeers were kept, by some Forest Sámi; for milking, for transports, and for attracting wild reindeers at the wild reindeer hunt. Forest Sámi lived in timbered huts in the forested areas, the areas that were first colonized, and where forestry today destroys

large amounts of Forest Sámi archaeological remains since they are not known and protected. Forest Sámi were seen by the race biologists as a dangerous mixture of races, a mixture between "real" reindeer herding and nomadic Sámi, and Swedes. This was thought to increase the bad race hygienic consequencies.

Colonial historywriting

Like for many other Indigenous Peoples, Sámi history has not been part of the colonizing State's history-writing, but this history is still preserved and hidden in archaeological remains. In these remains lies the silent proof of Sámi history, existence and presence where there is a lack of historical documents. These are especially important in areas where Sámi traditional rights to land and reindeer grazing grounds are continuously being questioned. This archaeological information would be a valuable contribution if the surveying is performed on the basis of knowledge of Sámi cultural remains. Moreover, when registered by the National survey and the National Board of Antiquities, these remains are protected by Swedish national law for the protection of the cultural environments. In this way, none of the registered sites would be possible to destroy without proper investigation and documentation.

Sámi history is largely absent in national Swedish history-writing and Swedish history education at primary schools, secondary schools, high schools and university teachings, and it is only very limitedly present within research in Sweden. Sámi past has been defined almost only by ethnology. As has been in the field of history, archaeological research has also traditionally been very nationalistic; the idea of one nation, one people, and one history has dominated and for a long time. In archaeological surveying the result was that, for a long time, only remains of the Swedish population and settlers where documented and registered for protection by national law. Nordic archaeology has, since its beginning in the 19th century, been specifically developed to define Scandinavian, and especially Germanic, prehistory.

Methods developed 1984-1996

During the last years of the National Survey for Ancient Monuments by the Swedish Board of Antiquities, 1984-1996, a local office was opened in Luleå. Northern Sweden lacks the types of ancient monuments and remains that are associated with Swedish settlements in the south of Sweden. Because of this, the office of the National Board of Antiquities in Luleå, responsible for the survey in the northernmost counties in Sweden Västerbotten and Norrbotten, developed new methods for finding remains of settlements of another type than in the south. As a result, there became an increased awareness of the Sámi cultural heritage and related research was initiated. Completely new methods for finding Sámi remains were also developed. However, in 1996 the National Survey for Ancient Monuments ended - and only when this work had just started. When this survey ended the specific knowledge and methods disappeared. Responsibility was transferred to the regional counties, but without the same economical resources. Today, lack of knowledge and documentation means that Sámi heritage and Sámi history preserved in the ground are under threat to be eradicated by mining enterprises, dams and other exploitation projects.

An important part of the methods were that traces in vegetation was observed. Rich vegetation with grass and herbs revealing high nutrition in the ground is the first indication of a pasture area in association with a Sámi camp site, where reindeers have been gathered for milking. When such a place was found, a special geological survey stick was used on elevated structures that could be the remains of hearths, to see if there were remains of charcoal or burnt sand. Often storage pits used for wooden containers for milk mixed with herbs, could also be found during the surveying. Knowledge of Forest Sámi economy meant that habitations were found by lakes, but summer camp sites also by bogs, where the summer pasture for the Forest reindeer was found. By these new methods, thousands of Sámi ancient monuments and

traces were found in these counties, but only in the areas surveyed before the systematic survey stopped. These remains were also found along the Bothnian coast and in the archipelago- a proof of an earlier Sámi presence in a larger area, from which Sámi were driven away in the 16th to 18th centuries.

Making an invisible history visible. I. Gállok area and the "Lap Tax Land" Tjäruborgares land.

One of many places where our heritage is threatened is Gallok, outside Jokkmokk, and situated in the earlier skatteland "Lap Tax Land" Tjäruborgares land within the Jokkmokk Forest Sámi village, in the heart of Sápmi. In this area, almost encircled by the Little Lule River, a big open shaft Iron Mine is planned by the company Beowulf Mining. Before any actual mining can start, there must according to the law be an archaeological investigation. Such an investigation was performed for the area of Gállok 2011, complemented by the author in September 2012, as a collaboration between Sámi activists struggling against the mine and Sámi scholars from Uppsala University resulted in that many Sámi archaeological sites were identified.

This area is also representative for the situation in all of northern Swedish Sápmi, where both the land and the full rights to land and water have been lost in the process of colonization, and where a colonizing history writing has invisibilized this history. It has also become a symbol of a beginning of a decolonization, as the first site in Sweden a spark lit a flame of combined resistance, and where the Sámi parliament for the first time made a common statement against new mines in Sápmi. In cooperation with other indigenous peoples, participants were also inspired by the international "Idle no more" movement started by indigenous women in Canada. Historically, a lappskatteland "Lap tax land"was a 'tax paying district' based on old Sámi family areas, but also included in a Swedish administrative system. It was a territory that the tax paying Sámi family in the beginning was seen as legal owners to, and in

which they had exclusive rights to hunting, fishing and reindeer herding. Anyone for instance fishing on Your land could be sued and taken to court. These territories could be bought, sold and inherited like other property[1]. It is situated in the region called Lappland, a province created 1749 within the Lappmarksreglemente by the Swedish government. Even though colonisation by Swedish settlers was encouraged, the document Lappmarksreglemente stipulates that Sámi economic activities like hunting, fishing and reindeer herding should be left undisturbed by the settlers. The settlers were only allowed to fish within five kilometers from the new settlement, and the Sámi could stop any settlement that harmed their activities. In the Lappkodicillen of 1751, a State-border treaty document between Norway and Sweden, it is also stipulated that the Sámi owns their skatteland [taxed property and land], and that their trade and movements across the border within reindeer herding should not be disturbed. A little more than hundred years later, the area was significantly reduced, when in 1867 the Swedish Government created the "cultivation border". This was done with the same intentions as before - to have an area within which a limit for colonization with new settlements should prevail. However, this promise did not last for long. The skatteland were stolen by the Swedish State in 1886. Today, the State government encourages full-scale exploitation that threatens not only the Sámi cultural heritage; this is also a complete blow to Sámi economy and way of living. A survey for ancient monuments was made in 2011 by the Norrbotten Museum, resulting in mostly Mountain Sámi settlement sites. In September 2012, an additional archaeological survey was made, focused on Forest Sámi remains, and also in a larger area.

A collaboration between local Sámi activists, local inhabitants, Sámi scholars and scholars of Sámi origin from Uppsala University, including Gunilla Larsson from the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History and May-Britt Öhman at the Center for Gender Research. During the four days of fieldwork with the new methods developed in Luleå, twenty-one historic Sámi localities were found. These localities include settlements and camp sites

from the stone age up until the 19th century and arran [hearths], hunting pits, storage pits, marked travel routes, portages along the communication route, a sacrificial site, and a probable gravesite.

Already, on the first day of the fieldwork, the remains observed by lake Gállokjaure could be identified as a Forest Sámi camp sites on two locations at the best places by the lake. At one of the sites an old remain of a timmerkåta [timbered hut used by Forest Sámi the last couple of centuries] was identified together with a storage pit- called buorna in Sámi, and is always found at the Sámi summer camp sites. On the other site the foundation for a timmerkåta was discovered together with traces of fireplaces. These were found having a geological stick, as well as storage pits and remains of timbered constructions by the lake where they were likely used for storing fishing equipment. This was the very best location, since a small stream was passing beside it from the lake- but, surprisingly, it had still not been observed or registered by the earlier, Beowulf-financed survey. Also, good bogs for summer pasture of the Forest reindeer were in the vicinity. Fire-cracked stones at this site revealed that it had been used for millennia.

Together with good winter pasture grounds containing reindeer lichen and many remains of felled trees with the leichen skägglav [famine food for reindeers], were traces of the winter camp sites of the Mountain Sámi village Tuorpon. These sites were at the shore of Lake Parkijaure, in the Little Lule river system that has been used for the movement between the summer and winter pasture grounds. Here Sámi fireplaces were found, but also remains of settlements from the Stone Age and onwards, indicating continuity in dwelling at this site, as well, for thousands of years. In the village of Björkholmen many remains of Sámi history are preserved, such as old fenced areas for the winter gathering of reindeer herds. Swedish law also protects these remains. Here, also, were old skis still leaning against the trees - skis are a Sámi invention that made us superior in hunting.

Making an invisible history visible II.
Forsa Parish, Hälsingland

The history of the Sámi in Middle Sweden is the least known. This was an area, southern Sápmi, where Swedes and Sámi were living together and depending on one another. Previously, many Sámi were living here. Despite efforts to force the Sámi to move, old people in an ethnological investigation 1954 could tell much about the Sámi in these areas when they were young. Here it were Forest Sámi, so called sockenlappar 'Parish Laps', Mountain Sámi on the way to the winter pasture areas along the coast, Sámi on trading journeys to towns and markets, Coastal Sámi living from fishing like Sea Sámi in Norway, and so called tiggarlappar 'beggar Laps' the last group often deriving from Härjedalen, where in the 19th century reindeer herding Sámi were persecuted, most of the land taken away and reindeers shot by local landowners and especially the owner of Ljusnedals bruk, a sawing factory whose leader hated Sámi. In the first half of the 16th century the county courts ordered the county bailiffs in several counties in the area to move, especially in Hälsingland county and it was forbidden to have Sámi living on Your grounds. In 1671 it was a royal decree that all Sámi outside Lappmarken had to move to Lappmarken the area that later became geographically specified and became Lappland.

When Fredrik I became king in 1720, he saw the Sámi as a threat to the royal hunt, his main occupation. He made new decrees in 1720 and 1723 that the Sámi should be forced to move to Northern Sweden to the inland. Sámi were captured, taken to prison and later transported to especially Jämtland. The peasants complained, because the Sámi were the only ones who could make a lot of handicrafts products, like baskets and fishing equipment made from roots. They were also the only ones who could hunt and kill wolves and bears, which were a big problem for the peasants animal husbandry. Sami hunted the wolves on skis – a Sámi invention – while Swedes used trapping pits that were not effective. So it was decided that one or two families in each Parish should be allowed

to stay, employed by the parish as sockenlappar 'Parish Laps' doing things that the Swedes did not want to do like killing horses, dogs and cats, in combination with the traditional handicrafts that the Swedish peasants were depending of.

Southern Sápmi, outside the mountains, have never been surveyed for Sámi cultural heritage, since the old myth of Sámi have dominated into the 21th century. Not until after 2000, it was Gävleborg county museum that made a survey limited to places with Sámi related names like Lapp- and Kåta-. One site, Kåtaudden in Lake Järvsjön outside Söderhamn was archaeologically investigated, and it turned out to be a Medieval Sámi settlement site. Only in Forsa Parish, I have found several Sámi settlement sites, with the same types of remains as in the Forest Sámi settlement sites in the north. In the farms that owns the land where these settlements are situated, there are many remaining Sámi handicraft products, like baskets of different kings, Sámi boots, ropes, and belt purses with tin thread broderies, a Sámi speciality, made for the Swedish womens traditional dress. The museums are also full of Sámi handicraft from the area. If surveyed, Sámi are also present in the church archival records. But their history have never been written, not until now.

The Inheritance from the Race Biologists

The race biologists main idea was that the reindeer herding Sámi were the only real Sámi, and other Sámi only a race mixture between "real" Sámi and other people. In the Reindeer Herding Law 1928, it was also said that only Sámi living from reindeer herding were Sámi according to the law with the rights to hunting, fishing and reindeer herding. All other Sámi lost their rights, and their reindeer herding grounds were transferred to reindeer herding Mountain Sámi. By measuring skulls the race biologists tried to define a Sámi "race". They failed, and later the State Race Biological Institute was transformed to the State Institute for Genetics. They continued to try to find a special Sámi genetic signature, but failed again.

The last decade new genetic investigations have been performed in an innocent way to try to trace "Sámi origin":

Here, we present an analysis of the complete mtDNA genome from the northern and southern Swedish Sami groups, with the purpose of studying the genetic structure of the populations and addressing the origin of the Sami people." Ingman & Gyllensten 2007 in Nature.

Once again a varied origin was found:

The northern Swedish Sami have two dominating mtDNA haplogroups, similar to other Sami populations. The presence of these two haplogroups in all Sami populations, albeit at different frequencies, points to a common origin for all Sami populations in the northern Shield area. Among the Sami, the southern Swedish Sami are outliers in their distribution of mtDNA haplogroups. The high frequency of the haplogroups present in Continental Europe in the southern Swedish Sami with non-traditional occupations indirectly supports admixture with the (European) Swedish population. The admixture analysis confirms this observation, lending no support for the southern Swedish Sami having a different genetic origin than the northern Sami.
Ingman & Gyllensten 2007 i Nature.

But the interpretation of the results shows ghosts from the past: "[…]we stratified the southern Swedish Sami sample into those with traditional occupations (ie reindeer herding) and those with nontraditional occupations, on the premise that those with traditional occupations are more likely to have exclusively Sami ancestors. The reindeer herders have a haplogroup distribution similar to that of northern Swedish Sami, with a lower frequency of haplogroup H and a higher frequency of V and U5b1b1. The southern Sami with nontraditional occupations have a haplogroup distribution similar to that of the Continental European population,

with a high frequency of H and other 'non-Sami' haplogroups constituting more than 70%." Ingman & Gyllensten 2007 i Nature.

The southern non-reindeer herding Sámi were not seen as real Sámi since they were not reindeer herding, and could therefore not be supposed to have a "Sámi origin". The southern Sámi had a southern origin, similar to Europeans in the south, which further convince the genetic researchers that the southern Sámi are not real Sámi with a Sámi origin. Southern Sámi are here equal to Sámi in Västerbotten. Forest and Mountain Sámi in the large area from the Dalarna and Middle of Sweden are not considered, nor are Sea Sámi that have never been reindeer herders. Similar to the view of the race biologists, Sámi not living from reindeer herding, like Forest Sámi are (that are not mentioned), are not seen as real Sámi and can therefore not have a Sámi origin.

Also in public representations of Sámi, like on the open-air museum Skansen in Stockholm, Sámi are represented only by reindeer herding Mountain Sámi, in a created mountainous environment. In fact, when Skansen opened 1891 the Forest Sámi were represented and a timber hut was built. But when the Sámi camp was moved in the 1920s, the race biological ideas that Forest Sámi were not real Sámi was dominating, and the Forest Sámi was eradicated and since then only Mountain Sámi are represented, and not anywhere Forest Sámi are mentioned. But in the different houses from the Middle of Sweden, their handicraft is present everywhere, but without a voice and without a place in the national history writing on display at the museum.
It is clearly time to decolonize academia and history writing.

1
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Gurminder K. Bhambra

European colonialism and the limits of cosmopolitanism: the crisis for refugees

The crisis that faces us most starkly in the daily reports of the media is that of refugees fleeing war, persecution and the devastating destruction of their homes and homelands. Caught between Assad and Isis and their various allies and other powers and the violence and destruction that's being perpetrated all around them, Syrians have been fleeing in historical numbers and many of them are seeking refuge in neighbouring countries. While the conflict in Syria continues to be the biggest driver of people moving, the on-going violence in Afghanistan, in Libya, in Iraq and serious abuses in Eritrea are also causing people to flee their homes and seek refuge elsewhere. Now whilst most people when using the term "crisis" refer to the people who are in crisis, the majority of media commentators and politicians across Europe talk more often about the crisis facing Europe on being called upon to aid these people in fulfilment of our commitment to international treaties. While there have been many crises in Europe – the issue of austerity, what's happened to Greece, and also Brexit – I argue that the refugee crisis, very specifically, is a crisis of Europe.

All EU countries are signatories to both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention of Human Rights. This means that we are obligated, by law if not by moral conscience and our claimed common values, to accept people claiming refuge when they are fleeing conditions of war, violence, and persecution. Indeed, the cosmopolitan liberal order that is seen to define the European project is founded on a commitment to human rights. So if there is a crisis in Europe, it is a moral crisis associated with Europe's failure, in the main, to act in a manner consistent with what

are claimed as European values. This, I suggest, has implications for the European project as a whole, and, perhaps, has served to undermine it through the facilitation of forms of exclusionary nationalism, populism and nativism that we see dangerously on the rise all around us.

What I'd like to do in this talk is to first set out the broad contours of the crisis facing refugees and the paucity of Europe's response. I'll then discuss the ways in which the language we use when discussing the crisis is complicit in the perpetuation of the identified problems, centred as they are, around understandings of the legitimacy of belonging. In particular, I address the distinction between citizen on the one hand, and migrant/refugee on the other hand, and how that distinction is used to determine who belongs (and has rights) and who doesn't (and perhaps shouldn't). I examine how this distinction has been constructed on the basis of understandings of national histories of states when many of these states were often imperial with broader constituencies. Political legitimacy in the present is predicated on the demonstration of historical belonging to the nation, and yet most European states were imperial states, not nation states.

If we think about Britain for example it's clear that its history is an imperial history, not a national history. But the whole debate around Brexit has been framed around "taking back control", of national sovereignty – it is framed in a history of Britain as a nation. What representing the history of Britain as a nation does is only allow those who in the present demonstrate a belonging historically to the nation to be regarded as legitimate in the present polity. However, if we accept Britain's history as an empire, that empire then gives rights to many more people than in the present. So extending the concept of the state and its associated political community to be consistent with the imperial boundaries of those states, I suggest would change the way in which we construct the very idea of migrant or other. Why this is serious, in part, is because even European intellectuals who think about the project of

Europe – such as Jürgen Habermas – rarely discuss these broader histories of Europe. When Habermas talks about multiculturalism, for example, he associates it with what he calls, and I quote: "postcolonial immigrant societies", that is, with those 'others' who migrate to Europe. What he fails to address is the long standing histories of empires and colonialism that have already connected those others to Europe. And It's the failure to address the colonial histories that enables the dismissal of the postcolonial and multicultural present of Europe and their associated populations – whether they come as migrants – simply people who move – or as people seeking refuge and asylum. So, in this sense, I suggest that a properly cosmopolitan Europe would be one that understood that its historical constitution in colonialism cannot be rendered to the past simply by a denial of that past. Acknowledging and acting upon this in the present would open up different political possibilities.

Europe is the richest continent on the planet – in part, as a consequence of colonial appropriation - yet it takes in the smallest proportion of the world's refugees. It is commonly accepted that developing countries host over 80% of the world's refugees, with Europe taking at most about 6%. According to recent reports by the UNHCR, there are over 13.5 million Syrians requiring humanitarian assistance, of whom over six million are internally displaced within Syria, and about five million are refugees outside of Syria. The majority of the Syrian refugee population is located in the region. As of February of this year, 2 million Syrians are registered by the UNHCR in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon, an additional almost 3 million registered by Turkey, as well as over 29,000 registered across North Africa. In Lebanon, the refugee population constitutes over 20% – that is, one fifth – of the total population of the country – 1.2 million refugees in a country that has a national population of about 5 million. In contrast, For Europe, as a whole, 884,461 asylum applications by Syrians were made between April 2011 and October 2016. Although Germany had the most asylum applications in 2015, Hungary was reported to have had the highest

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in proportion to its population. The proportion in percentages of asylum applications per local population ranges from 1.8% in Hungary to 0.06% in the UK, with the average in Europe being about 0.25%. In other words, this 'crisis', in the way that it's reported in the European press and furthered by many European politicians, is constituted by the arrival of people who, together, constitute less than 0.25% of the population of Europe.

The relentless hostility in the mainstream European media towards refugees and asylum seekers was briefly interrupted in September 2015 by the global circulation of images of the washed up body of the 3 year old Syrian boy, Alan Kurdi. For a short period, compassion gained the upper hand over resentment, grief over antipathy, and a number of European countries were moved into action. Germany temporarily suspended the Dublin regulations that required asylum seekers to claim refuge in the first country they entered, and the Balkan route was opened up, providing safer passage across central Europe. This was required as a consequence of Hungary having closed its borders with Serbia which was leading to a potential humanitarian disaster in that area. Chancellor Merkel's statement, 'we can do this', became a rallying cry for action. The official policies put in place in the aftermath of Alan Kurdi's death were included in the establishment of a relocation scheme that would enable EU countries to share in the resettlement of refugees. However, there was no general agreement on the scheme, with Hungary and other Eastern European countries a key obstacle to the process, and, a year on, it was quietly abandoned.

I lived in Birmingham at the time, the second largest city within the UK and the local newspaper had on its front page: "The refugee crisis – Birmingham does its bit". As I was pleased to hear that, I read the article to see what it was that Birmingham was doing, and it says that Birmingham had taken in 22 refugees. It was not 22 000, not 22 families, just 22 individuals. So in the context of trying to establish a common European solution to what is going on, we can see that whilst often eastern European countries are blamed for their reluctance, Britain has done nothing, and France similarly nothing.

While most European countries have been beset by political scaremongering about increased security threats posed by taking in refugees – and the wilful untruths published and circulated by mainstream newspapers about the risk that refugee men pose to European women – the local responses across the continent have been rather different. Local volunteer groups and civil society actors across Europe have stepped in to fill the gap left by policy failures and have sought to support in a variety of ways those seeking refuge and asylum. There's a study done within Germany of local volunteer groups and even at the height of the various moral panics that were being circulated within the press, the numbers of people going in to volunteer at refugee centres continued to increase.

A lot of attention has been focused on Sweden and Germany – and I think, that there has to be recognition of the way that Sweden and Germany have responded to this crisis – we should not forget that at the frontline of this crisis are the everyday activities of many Greeks and Italians who assist those who get into difficulties whilst crossing the Mediterranean and who then provide support for them as they either wait there or seek to make their way further across Europe. Contrast this with the UK government's official policy of 'creating a hostile environment for migrants'. This is the UKs official policy towards migration in order to discourage movement. It becomes clearer why a common asylum policy has been so difficult to agree and implement across the European Union.

The refugee crisis has sparked any number of debates within public policy circles, activist groups, the media, as well as within communities of scholars working within the areas of migration and refugee studies. The debates have ranged from arguing about specific policy proposals to alleviate the conditions for refugees to geopolitical arguments for 'no borders', and so on. There has also

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been much discussion about the distinction between refugees and economic migrants and the implications of the language we use within the media and within debates. Across the range of viewpoints and the scale of the debates, the one thing that appears to be missing is a historical contextualisation, not just of the current crisis, but of the configuration of the world within which the crisis is manifest. Now, it may appear a rather arcane issue to be concerned with in the light of the more immediate concern of people's very existence being at stake, but I argue that the concepts that we use in political debates matter.

The shape of those concepts matter – that is, the ways in which they are configured in relation to acknowledging of particular histories and the silencing of other histories. This matters because, in the way in which concepts are constructed and deployed, people are recognised as being in, or out, of place. Their movements are facilitated (as citizens) or constrained (as refugees or migrants) as a consequence. My argument is about the ways in which our everyday understandings of citizens, on the one hand, and refugees and migrants, on the other, are shaped by inadequate histories. And this picks up on what I was saying about the outside, about how we understand citizenship to have come about is largely associated with what we understand as the history of the nation state. So as the nation state emerges, alongside that emerge political concepts such as citizenship, and so the nation is seen to provide the shape for that concept. As I've been arguing, most European states were imperial states, not nation states.

In particular, what I want to argue is that the contemporary political category of 'the migrant', and relatedly, 'the refugee', is historically produced out of the processes of decolonisation associated with earlier forms of European colonialism. Now, I recognize that colonial histories across Europe are different – and those differences will also have implications for the ways in which we think about these issues – but I want to just give you, very briefly, a history of citizenship in the context of Britain and then perhaps,

in the discussion period, we can think about how that history and relation has associations with other parts of Europe which are often understood as not having the same colonial past.

Now, a quick question: does anybody know when British citizenship came into being? When British citizenship referred specifically to the people on the islands of Britain? You can take a century guess or a decade guess, anybody?

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: Probably much later!

GURMINDER: How much later?

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: 19th century?

GURMINDER: Ok, good – you don't know! It's 1981. So, British citizenship in its legal form associated specifically with the populations of the British islands is not legally established until 1981. British citizenship is first legislated for in 1948, so still a lot later than we assume. We assume citizenship as emerging in a longer distant past, associated with the processes we think shaped our present. So we often forget how recent many of these processes are. In 1948, in part as a consequence of India's movement towards independence, in part as a consequence of the settler dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand separating themselves more completely from Britain, each of these countries start to establish their own forms of citizenship. Because they were establishing their citizenships, Britain also thought that they needed to define citizenship for themselves. So in response to decolonization, Britain establishes the British Nationality Act of 1948. This established four types of citizenship, two of which are the most important. The first is that you would be a citizen of the 'UK and its Colonies'. There was no separate citizenship for being in the UK or in the colonies. This was a common, shared citizenship. So whether you got your British passport in Nairobi – Kenya or in Kingston – Jamaica or in London –your passport would have stamped on it: "Citizen of the UK and its Colonies". The second form

of citizenship was "Commonwealth citizenship". This was given to every individual who lived in a country that had been a former colony of Britain and was now part of the Commonwealth. This citizenship gave people the right to enter Britain, to live in Britain, to reside in Britain, to work in Britain. In 1948, the British government gave citizenship to an excess of 800 million people. Now you might think: "Why on earth would they do that? Especially with all the attendant rights?" But in part you have to remember that up until that point the direction of movement had been from Britain to the rest of the world. I mean, how is an empire created except through migration? Migration produces empire. And, in part, because Britain was in the process of losing its empire – but wished to maintain a sense of global status – it gave citizenship to all these people. It didn't imagine for a minute that anybody was going to come to Britain, or at least not the darker population of the empire. When they start coming to Britain, that's the point at which Britain seeks to limit this, by bringing in what's called the Commonwealth Immigration Acts. These were passed in 1963, 1968, and 1971. As people start to come, they suddenly raise concerns within Britain about what's called "coloured migration" and the problems that these people will pose – except that most of them come, not as migrants, they come as citizens.

One of the famous events, often seen as the beginnings of British multiculturalism is the moment 500 West-Indians disembark from the 'Empire Windrush' at Tilbury Docks. This is presented as the point at which Britain becomes multicultural – and it's incorrect for two reasons. One is that the British empire was a multicultural entity, it governed over linguistically plural, culturally plural populations. So the idea that Britain becomes multicultural in 1948 as a consequence of immigration, and not through the establishment of empire itself is problematic. Secondly, the West-Indians who came, did so carrying British passports. They were British citizens who had the right to live, work and reside in Britain. They were not migrants crossing national borders. None of the people who came from the Commonwealth, carrying British passports, were migrants from another nation. And yet, within the literature, within various fields and certainly within migration studies, they always construct those of us who are darker citizens as migrants or second generation immigrants.

What does it even mean to be a second generation immigrant? An immigrant is someone who moves – you can't pass that on to somebody who's then just been in the one place – it doesn't work. Yet, the point is, that these people are citizens to begin with. At the same time, as we have the movement from the West-Indies and other parts of the Commonwealth to Britain – this is the movement that constitutes the moral panic on coloured immigration that leads to the construction of the immigration acts, which then eventually restrict citizen rights to these people – you have white migration to Britain. And this is actually the movement of white migrants from other nations, because these are people without British citizenship. Basically the proportion of white migrants to darker citizens moving from other parts of the Commonwealth was ten to one. These migrants came from Ireland, which had gained independence from Britain but refused to join the Commonwealth and so didn't share the same basis for rights as the other former colonies. There were also 120 000 Polish ex-servicemen who were given the right to live in Britain as a consequence of fighting for the Free Polish Army. Then there were over 200 000 or more Europeans who were asked to come to Britain in the post-war period to help rebuild Britain. These were people who came from the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Italy and Germany. Significantly, there was an explicit prohibition on Jews being part of this scheme –Britain didn't allow Jewish migrants at that point. These were people who came as migrants and yet within the literature on migration they're never discussed as migrants – it's only coloured migration that is talked about and those coloured migrants were actually citizens. This points to what is going on in the way in which we think about the categories of citizen and migrant. In effect, what we are doing is ascribing racialized characteristics to these concepts – not actually looking at them politically, in the terms in which they've been developed and associated.

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So that's Britain. Next, I'll also talk a little bit about Europe, because there's also the argument made that Britain indeed did have an empire and so its citizenship is problematic in specific sorts of ways. But let's talk about European integration. So much of it has been around an idea of the European Union being a project of peace, Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson also wrote about the fact that the 2012 Nobel peace price being awarded to the EU is deeply problematic to the extent that this mythology effaces the history of European dominion in the past as well as exclusions of territories and citizens in the present. Now, when the history of the European Union is discussed it's often presented in terms of the coming together of nations to get away from the murderous past that created the difficulties in the mid-20th century and to start with something different.

It's commonplace now to say that this history is deeply problematic and that you have to look at the fact that the Algerian war was fought after the very emergence of the European Union and led to the loss of lives of over a million lives during this period. So the idea that the European Union has seen no war – as a consequence – is deeply problematic. There's also another point – and again I'm drawing on the work done by Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson – is that Algeria was a part of the EEC at the at its very outset. In 1957 when the EEC was established its borders went into Africa. Algeria was a member of the EEC and it had all rights that the other member states had except for two: One was that black Algerians who lived in Algeria were not to receive social insurance at the same rate as other Europeans. Secondly, the Algerians workers were not free to move between member states. So at the very outset of the European Union, it is a racialized construct that embeds racialized difference into its very constitution, and as other countries come to join the European Union, they partake in that same racialized construct. To the extent that some countries claim that they didn't have any empires or colonies and can't be expected to pay for the mistakes that other countries made – as a member of the European Union you can't partake in the benefits of Europe

without also sharing the responsibilities that Europe bears.

In this sense I would suggest that the idea of the political community as a national political order has been central to European self-understanding, and yet most European states were imperial states as much as they were national states. In this way, the political community of each state has always been much wider and more stratified than is usually acknowledged. In this context most were multicultural political communities, organized in relations of domination and subordination. Following decolonization many European states have purified their histories as national histories, so it's this idea that the way in which we imagine the European present is separated from its past. They have purified their past to imagine themselves as nations in the present and to think about the idea of cosmopolitan Europe as the coming together of these nations. There's a politics of selective memory that's currently playing out in Europe. Europe claims rights that belong to its cosmopolitan citizens but it doesn't think that these need to be shared with multicultural others. In this way, what was imperial inclusion – based on hierarchical and racialized domination – is now reproduced as national, joint European exclusion, which nonetheless reflects earlier forms of domination and is similarly racialized. And I would end with a request that we need to take our broader connected histories into account, because it's those connected histories that enable us to think about how our concepts at the moment are constructed on the basis of parochial histories and that leads to those concepts being inadequate in terms of dealing with the manifest problems that we face. My last point returns then to this question of rights and this crisis of Europe. If Europe has understood itself as being based on human rights – and however we might disagree with that to contest that particular history – the claim is nonetheless that the European Union project is a project founded on liberal cosmopolitan values. Human rights are central to that. Over the last year, one of the things I've heard when going around speaking of these sorts of things, and even by some on the left, is that we no longer need rights and maybe

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it's time for Europe to give up this commitment to rights. I would suggest that rights that are not extended to others are not rights, but privileges. So we need to think about that in the context of what it is that we're doing.
Thank you.

[Applause]

Response from Ylva Habel

YLVA: What does our ambition to decolonize the north demand of us, and who are we? What roles can we play, coming from various disciplines in this process? These are of course questions that I'm not ready to answer myself here and now, but see important to us in our context – more specifically since decolonizing-initiatives in our region are still mostly lead by white institutions. Given this, what particular strategies can we use to decolonize ourselves in the nearly all-white contexts in which we work? Decolonization means to take into account the particular rationalities that are invested in our power structures locally. So how do we deal with our various repertoires of exceptionalisms and white eurocentrisms? This is also why I think that the point of the approaches that Gurminder Bhambra and Gunilla Larsson have chosen for their presentations are so important. In different ways they choose the histories of connectedness before and through empire – as they show another register of accountability, they acquire for us to be serious about decolonization and also – which I will ask for later – its concrete strategies that we can discuss today. Bhambra and Larsson both question the normalcy of national boundaries and white northern and Eurocentric history-writing. The often repeated refusal to acknowledge the many ways in which the past-ness of colonial history is not really past, but is ramified, reproduced and also reinvented through new terminologies, new forms of legislations and presentist word-choices. In my later questions I will try to return to this topic: How colonialism survives and its legacy also is reproduced in our discourses and also the discourses that go into

practices? Both papers also point to the active amnesia mobilized by presentist narratives of national belonging. As Gurminder ended, by pointing to cherry-picking historization of European identities, we also see self-congratulatory discourses on a mutual, or allegedly mutual and peaceful dream of Europe. Departing from what you have presented here – how do you envision political and academic strategies re-historicizing Europe, visualizing the inseparable connectedness across regions, across waters – establish routes that further the coming together of economies through colonial processes – before the coming into being of the nation state? The second question is: If I interpreted your paper correctly you call for a process of European responsibilization. We're living in a time where academics are increasingly targeted for articulating postcolonial and decolonial critique – so how can we come together in ways that transgress the national contexts to which we are bound. Because at this moment, it seems as if we're sort of imprisoned by a national context and the typical types of oppression that we see coming from our universities.
The last one is a leading question: Would you say that parochialism, play into exceptionalist structures, such as recolonize differently, and not so much or not at all?

GURMINDER: Thank you for the comments and the questions. I'll try to respond briefly to them. In part, we all need to act where we are, so there's an aspect for me being an academic at a university – one of the things that's been of concern to me is in the ways in which particular histories that I'm aware of get to become part of the general and overall curriculum. And in a sense there's this aspect of "how does this come about?" In part you could say that any person within Britain who comes associated with one of Britain's colonies, knows that there's a relationship between Britain and that colony because that's the reason that they're there in Britain in the present. Every person with that background knows it, but many people who have been born, brought up or live in Britain and their family has always been in Britain are sometimes unaware of why there are all these people who look so different to them. Particularly – given

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the ways in which the media presents people as migrants and as others – they structure them as migrants and this structuring goes very deep. To give you a personal account of this, I grew up thinking of myself as a second generation immigrant because that's what my school told me, that's what the general media told me – It was just the general framing and you sort of accept what you're told to a large extent. It was only very recently that my father was going through some of his things and came across a number of passports – his passport, my grandfather's passport and other passports – and these were all British passports, so I asked: "When you came to Britain did you come on a British passport?" And he said: "Yes of course, we were British." So why are we called migrants then? Because to be a migrant you have to cross a political boundary, that's what makes you a migrant, otherwise you simply move. If you move from York to London you're not a migrant, you're just somebody who moves within a single polity. So when you're moving within the circuits of empire – why are you a migrant? It was at that point that I started thinking about why I believed myself to be a migrant, when in fact I am a citizen – how deep does this go? And then looking at that history and recognizing that this actually is all deeply problematic and also beginning to do talks in relation to this and doing talks with migration studies scholars, I remember making this argument – that I'm a citizen and not a second generation migrant. The next person to ask me a question asked: "So as a second generation migrant, what do you think about…" What does that mean? What would it mean to be British if you started with me? Not that I'm saying "I'm British" with any particular sense of pride, just a sense of history, it's an empirical fact.
I think that such facts are important to contest the dominant narratives because the dominant narratives structure a particular politics, and that's the politics that continues on the basis of a parochial reading of history in disaggregated terms when it's actually connected histories. In eastern Europe, for example, there is sometimes a conversation about "oh we didn't have any colonies" whenever these issues are brought up. Sometimes in Scandinavia as well there are internal colonial relationships, and

obviously as the presentation set out, this colonization goes north. Even if we were to leave the local manifestations of colonialism aside, how do you think the United States became the United States? Over one million Swedes migrated in the 19th century from Sweden and moved to lands that were not yet the United States, because the United States consisted of 13 colonies on the eastern border. They took land from native populations, dispossessed them, eliminated them, appropriated it, extracted resources and were part of the construction of the settler colonial empire that became the United States. The Swedish government supported them in this. There was actually a book that was written to help Swedish migrants – who were called migrants, not colonialists. That's also part of the language of our history. In Växjö there's a museum, (Utvandrarnas hus / Smålands museum / Svenska emigrantinstitutet) celebrating this movement. Would you want to celebrate it if you took seriously the genocides that many of those populations were involved in? Why is that missing from the histories that are told of these emigrants? In that sense I would suggest that it's not just Scandinavia, it's Polish people, Czechs, Hungarians – all the populations of Europe settled and created the United States. So we have to understand colonialism not just as a state process, but in the ways in which populations move and how states supported that movement. That would enable us to think differently about our obligations to those who come to our shores as a consequence of the bombs that we sold to their governments to kill them with. I'm happy for anybody to say that they don't want to accept refugees, if they then stop their governments from producing them. There's nobody who's naturally a refugee. Refugees are produced, and they are produced by our governments. So if refugees are produced by our governments, then we have to ensure that our governments take responsibility for those consequences and for producing them. I hope that answers all your questions.

[Applause]

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Timea Junghaus

Peripheries unite

The notion of decoloniality in the Roma context

I would like to press the importance of applying the frameworks of understandings of decoloniality and postcolonial critique for the analysis of the history representation and present day situation of largest European minority: the 10-12 million Roma. Based on the critical theoretical knowledge in the works of Frantz Fanon, bell hooks, Walter Mignolo, Gayatri Spivak, Achille Mbembe, Belinda Kazeem and Paul Gilroy I would like to relate their ideas to the current state of capitalism, migration, racism, class and gender. I suggest to reform and re-formulate our existing vocabulary for the depiction and representation of Roma people.

> Why do we start the practice of decolonization in an art institution (which I actually believe is the right place to start from)?

As a result of the research into the Roma image in the history of art we can conclude that the imaginarium which condenses Roma into the iconography of the stranger, pagan, alien, thief, evil and ugly, the palm reader, the pickpocketer etc. already developed in the 15th and 16th century, through the works of among others Gates, Breughel and Bosch.

The visual systems or scopic regimes of the later centuries continue to reproduce the subordinate position of Roma in European societies. Moreover what we find when studying the art of the 19th century, is that in the Central European panoptic regime of modernity Roma became the pendants of Western Europe's African and Asian "primitives". Examining the archeology of these images, we can demonstrate how Central European societies created their

own "black", through "wild" groups and individuals and primarily through their own local Roma colonies. We may also see how the Roma body is sexualized and feminized – similarly to the "black body" – in European modernity. [1,2] European visual production forced Roma into the conceptual ghetto of the "Gipsy outcast".

The Roma colony

The "colony" as such, in the case of the Romani community "is internal to the state, comprising subaltern classes and those human subjects perceived to be infrahuman". One could easily identify and highlight these internal colonies on today's map of Europe, geographically positioning Roma in the Balkans and the Central and Eastern European region. These areas, as Angéla Kóczé and Nidhi Trehan point out, "can be viewed as a colonised space marked by the profound influence of global capitalist forces based in Western capitals, and by the academic and institutional hegemony of the West".[3] Colonialism should be understood, in relation to Roma, as the "majorities" strategy for maintaining asymmetrical relations of economic and political power (just as Edward Said talks about orientalism as deploying a variety of strategies whose common factor is the resultant position of superiority for Westerners vis-à-vis the "Orient"[4]).

We find such patterns and uneven power relations in many fields that have been well-explored during the analysis of the colonial power. The Roma history of exclusion, slavery, and of larger and smaller genocides in Europe is still unknown, strategically oppressed and hidden in Europe. With regard to the Roma experience, for instance the knowledge about "the Roma" as it is produced and circulated in Europe, is an ideological accompaniment of colonial power. The "civilizing mission" of the European white man, dating back as far as the Habsburg's attempt to civilize Gypsy inhabitants between 1753-1783, has continued to the present day, through government policies and regional and European programs targeting Roma. These civilizing

impulses towards Roma reformulate the policies that reflect the pervasive belief in "Romani deviance and inferiority" – a belief that continues to produce pernicious narratives of "Gypsy otherness" in contemporary European society".[5] Kóczé concludes that without applying the postcolonial theoretical framework to describe the situation of European Roma, what we conserve is the "Gypsy problem" – the discourse that tends to construct the problems that Roma experience (unemployment, poverty, and other manifestations of social exclusion) as essentialized by-products of the Gypsies' own culture. Situating Roma in the domain of the postcolonial "challenges this characterization by identifying the European institutional and individual racism and discrimination as being at the root of the problems Roma people face."[6]

Oppressed and hidden
genealogies

Before the 1970s Roma-images were – for centuries – created exclusively by the non Roma, and Roma creative production was represented as not being the work of individual authors, but rather as collective facts of nature, which only become a concrete representation when they were in some way presented by an art collector or folklorist[7]. There are over 2 million photographs of our Roma ancestors in European Archives, which preserve and treasure almost exclusively the names of the ethnographers and photographers (and sometimes their ill-intentions). Since the First World Romani Congress in 1971, hundreds of exhibitions, performances, artworks and conferences construct a long hidden and unknown genealogy. Building the chronology of these cultural events we may tell the story, or more courageously saying – the history – of Roma art.[8]

The practice of Opposition

Roma creative practices aim to make a positive intervention into Roma representation, and an attempt for transforming the Roma image. Roma art seeks specific practices to "re/configurate diasporic gazes into subjects and to invite ourselves to be viewers; to uncover the colonial discourse inscribed in us and to depict it in exhibitions so that it is quasi-disenchanted, in order to unmask the Western master-discourse as a historical legend".[9] The legitimacy of Roma visual production is also affirmed by the need for Roma images in the fight against Anti-Roma (visual) propaganda as a counter-culture in resistance: The increasing number of paramilitary organizations, racist and neo-nazi groups and nationalist formations in Europe are using visual propaganda in their campaigns for increasing and disseminating anti-Roma hatred and violence.

The practice of arts and culture
as resistance and survival

The Roma artists are looking for analytic and practical "options confronting and delinking from the past [...]called and Roma woman artists use a form of "epistemic disobedience"[10], "epistemic de-linking": [11]

Roma women artists demonstrate how to de-link, how to unlearn the western, Eurocentric discourse. A The artistic carriers of eg. Omara, Kiba Lumberg, Selma Selman, Delaine LeBas demonstrate the operation of structural oppression towards the Roma, and offer new models on how to revolt against this oppression, and on how to reject the majority's dominance in order to construct new Roma woman identities. They appear in contemporary art (canon) as an outsider, and still they are integral part of the (artistic, political and academic) system, they appear as incoherence, threat or a dangerous element hindering its systematic operation.
The contemporary art reflections on the memory of the Roma holocaust are always in search of the possibility of reconciliation between Roma subjectivity and Gadzo (this is how we call non-Roma) reality. The Czech Roma and Jewish artist, Tamara Moyzes's performative action entitled Roma Holocaust Memorial took place

at the field of the former "Jew and Gipsy collection campsite". Her protest against the building of a Tesco supermarket on this historical location was successful, and today a memorial serves the memory of the victims. On how to induce constructive shame we turn to Paul Gilroy. Gilroy in his groundbreaking book entitled Postcolonial Melancholia, while he tries to differentiate between inherited guilt and constructive shame he writes about the need "to transform paralyzing guilt into a more productive shame that would be conducive to the building of a multicultural nationality that is no longer phobic about the prospect of exposure to either strangers or otherness." [12]

The decolonizing practice of Roma art may sound of "essentialist" prominence – or rather as I like to say strategic essentialist prominence – but it is a term of multiple ambitions (and I apologize for the slightly didactic closure, I just really need to make sure you take these few thoughts home with you, today!) :

1. it aims for a productive intervention in the depiction and (re) presentation of Roma.
2. It celebrates Roma creativity, and the precious moments of our Roma cultural movement.
3. It produces a counter visual against anti-gipsyism and neo-fascism.
4. We do not need to argue for the legitimacy of Roma art, – if Roma cultural rights would be recognized and fulfilled…all this heated argumentation would be unnecessary.

"opposition is not enough. In the vacant moment after one has resisted there is the necessity to become – to make oneself anew"[13], and in this hard labor over "making ourselves anew" Roma art has the most vital and defining role.

I advocate a decolonial movement which departs from the cultural context which offers creative and critical practices for different minorities, subaltern groups and peripheries through which our widely dispersed and fragmented voices can unite, "transcend national boundaries, creating a mutually accessible,

translatable, and inspirational political culture that invite[s] universal participation"…

1
Kovács, Éva, 'Black bodies, white bodies'. Speaker, 14. 2009. 1. 74-90. See http://blog.c3.hu/categories/feet-tests-feher-testek (Last time consulted 2013. October 12).

2
bid., 79.

3
Kóczé, Angéla and Trehan, Nidhi, 'Racism, (Neo) colonialism and Social Justice: The Struggle for the Soul of the Romani Movement in Post-socialist Europe' in Racism Postcolonialism Europe, ed. G. Huggan (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 50-77.

4
Kóczé A, Trehan, N., Ibid. 56.

5
Kóczé A., Trehan N., Ibid. 53.

6
Kóczé, Angéla, Sites of Visibility, presentation at the international conference Context, Visibility, Representation, , 17 April 2010, Trafó House of Contemporary Arts in collaboration with the Hungarian Roma Parliament, Budapest.

7
During the 1960s, a number of Roma organizations were established in France and the United Kingdom. As their numbers grew, there was increased interest in the creation of an international Roma organization. After years of extended effort Roma from a number of European countries met in Orpington, near London, in April 1971 for the first World Romani Congress. This congress, considered the first truly international meeting of Roma, brought a number of successes. The International Roma Union was founded, the Roma flag was accepted, and the song Gelem, Gelem composed by Jarko Jovanović was adopted as an anthem. As well, the delegates unanimously declared 8 April

as International Roma Day. The congress also concluded that the politically correct term for all Roma, Gypsies, travellers, Gitani, Manoush, Kalle, Kalderash, and other Roma groups shall be "Rom," meaning man/human in the Romani language.

8
The movement started with single events of cultural recognition and success in the late 1960s, such as, for example the discovery of artist János Balázs, Hungarian poet Károly Bari, and writer Menyhért Lakatos and the achievements of the Central European Roma activists such as Ágnes Daróczi, Karel Holomek, and many others.

9
Piesche, Peggy et.al., Museum. Space. History: New Sites of Political Tectonics. A virtual exchange between Belinda Kazeem, Nicola Lauré al-Samarai, and Peggy Piesche, Translated by Tim Sharp. Transversal, June 2008. http://eipcp.net/transversal/0708/kazeemetal/en
10

Mignolo, Geopolitics of Sensing and Knowing. On (De) Coloniality, Border Thinking, and Epistemic Disobedience, September 2011, http://eipcp.net/transversal/0112/mignolo/en

11
Mignolo, Delinking: The Rhetoric of Modernity, the Logic of Coloniality, and the Grammar of Decoloniality, 2007: 450.

12
Gilroy, Paul, Postcolonial Melancholia, Wellek Library Lectures, Columbia University Press, 2008.

13
hooks, b. , Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics, South End Press, Boston MA,p.15.
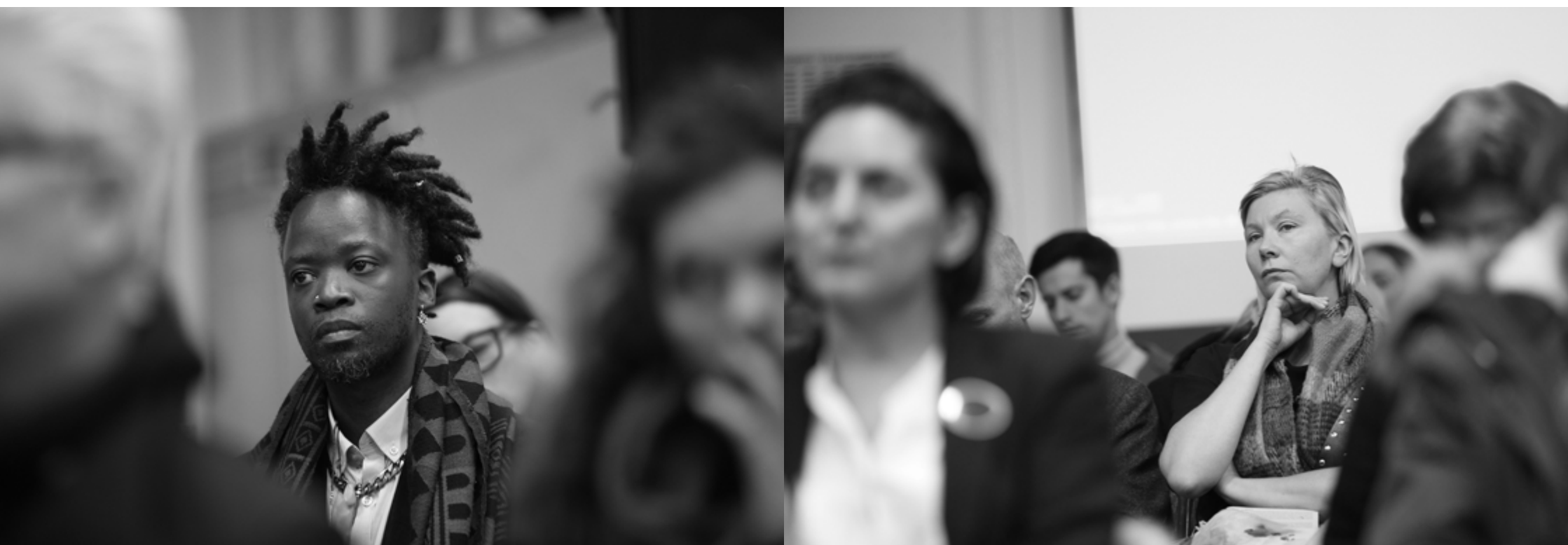
Neutrality is a privilege

Disrupting and reframing an academic conference.
Spatial interventions by the students of Decolonizing
Architecture Advanced Course led by Alessandro Petti
and Elof Elstrom.

Embedded in the programme of the conference "Decolonizing
North", a series of spatial interventions aimed to destabilize
the traditional format of knowledge production and interaction
in exhibitions and academic conferences. The elements that
constitute a conference – speakers, audience, projection, audio,
registration, coffee break – become the raw materials for a
"discursive exhibition". Both the white cube and the conference
room are often thought of as 'neutral' spaces, however their spatial
configuration – from the neat artworks aligned on a white wall to
the image of the speaker-on-a-podium pitched against a passive
audience – reveals a specific power relation which ties into the
disciplinary architectures of schools, churches, and patriarchal
homes. In so doing, we underline the fact that, far from being
natural or neutral, space is a historical and political construction
reproducing social reality. In other words – space is politics.

The attendees to the conference are received in the lobby by a
sound installation that critically interrogates the role of neutrality
as a neo-colonial ideological tactic. Contemporary forms of
colonization do not merely allude to military conquests but the
production and dissemination of a civilizing cultural 'neutral'.
The production of a "Nordic neutrality" carries within it the
production of its very antagonism: the uncivilised Other. Is it
possible, after all, to be neutral?
Doesn't remaining neutral in conflictual situations imply always
taking the side of the powerful? A robotic 'neutral' voice from
a disturbing language lesson tape accompanies the audience

throughout the space, recalling the alienating, almost traumatic
nature of learning through the imitation and repetition of dominant
codes and discourses.

The second spatial intervention at Rutiga Golvet is a 'weaponised
landscape' addressing the problem of neutrality by juxtaposing
and collapsing a bucolic and innocent image of Swedish nature
with its national military industries. The nature in Rutiga Golvet is
packaged and sold. Trees are chopped and used for seating and
the moss is hiding landmines that Sweden has historically been a
major exporter of. At home the Allemansrätten, the law granting the
right of public access, gives people the freedom to roam anywhere
in the countryside, yet abroad the minefield heritage denies access
to land and kills and injures innocents.

The third spatial intervention at Muralen creates a situation in
which remaining neutral is simply not an option, anywhere. The
supposed neutral setting of a conference with its rows of equal
seating is substituted by different kind of seating borrowed from
the university office, classrooms and libraries. Different groups of
chairs resemble different neighbourhoods, compelling conference
attendees to make a decision if they want to sit.

Decolonizing Architecture Advanced Course   Neutrality is a privilege

Decolonizing Architecture Advanced Course   Neutrality is a privilege

Corina Oprea

Nordic trouble

Nordic Trouble brought together nine artists based in the Nordic region who address through their individual artistic practices specific contemporary issues which trouble the North of Europe: environment, colonialism, white supremacy, weapon industry and the double sided foreign politics vs. trade.

The exhibition Nordic Trouble was a vivid link to the conference Decolonizing North organised by Konsthall C in partnership with Royal Institute of Art, Decolonizing Architecture Course and Center for Research on Racism (CEMFOR – Uppsala University). A symposium and publication on curatorial agencies and accountabilities followed in February 2018. Nordic Trouble aimed to generate a critical aesthetic and discursive platform for engaging questions of artistic and curatorial potentiality regarding the social realities of the Nordic region and their relationship to the global world order. Examining the multifaceted relations between historical colonialism, capitalist globalization, and neocolonial forms of exploitation on the one hand and postcolonial forms of conviviality on the other – the platform offers an opportunity to reveal, undermine, unthink, and alter Nordic culture. The exhibition started out by discussing the aesthetic-political concept of the trouble through the historical roots (weapon industry and neutrality), repressed traumas (colonization), recent migration, and, finally, to looking ahead to a fairer future in which things and subjects that have been divided and kept apart are reconstructed.

Works in the exhibition:

Kujalleq, 2017
Performance for video
By Cecilie Ullerup Schmidt &
Camilla Aviaja Olsen

The performance for video "Kujalleq" (Greenlandic: "neighbour to the South") is a personal reformulation of the history of Danish colonialism. Passing through a landscape of memories from their common childhood in West Jutland, Denmark, Schmidt and Olsen question the continuation of (de)colonial relations within the production of art. Performance for video by and with Camilla Aviaja Olsen & amp; Cecilie Ullerup Schmidt
Camera Søren Meisner
Sound recordings of ice from Greenland by Jacob Kirkegaard
Commissioned by Konsthall C
In co-production with Salon New Love

Miessávrre – det osynliga ljudet
(Miessávrre – the invisible
sound), 2017
Video, 12 min
Katarina Pirak-Sikku

In the late 1950s, between Vuollerim, Jokkmokk and Nattavaara, there was Messaure, a community/settlement with 3000 inhabitants, Vattenfall, the largest temporary community/settlement. Construction started in 1957, the power plant was built and owned by Vattenfall and its artificial lake allowed to drain the ancient villages of Njuoravuolle. The dam that was built as part of Messaure Hydro Power Station in 1957–1963 was one of the largest in Europe at the time. It is Vattenfall's most extensive dam construction. The dam at Messaure is nearly 2 kilometres long and 101 metres high. Just as the cartographic imagery questions concepts of territory, symbols of capitalism reframe the economic domination of indigenous settlements. Miessávrre accentuates the lack of traces left by the very recent colonial processes and the missing vision of vanished lands and communities. The sound of the production of electricity alongside the underwater footage of what is no longer to see or to find expresses the links between capitalism and territory.

Possible Islands, 2017
Installation
Santiago Mostyn

Tuff, painted wooden sculpture
by Luise Kimme, 1995.
· Grand Courland Bay (10:30),
silent super 16mm film loop, 2017
· Asynchronous audio loop
(12:00), 2017
· Enlarged plaster cast of a batik
stamp found by the artist's mother
in Ghana, 1987.
Svenska minnen på utländska
orter, collected and printed by P.
G. Berg, Stockholm, 1874.
· Red dracaena marginata plant
· Found postcard
· Black paper backdrop

Entanglements between a
broader politics of representation
and colonial rule have been
consistently argued in the case of
production of colonial imagery.
The installation Possible Islands
troubles the viewer in multiple
ways. The projected 16mm film,
recorded on the site of Sweden's
short-lived 18th century
settlement on the north coast of
Tobago, makes reference to the
colonial ambitions of the Swedish
crown and its entanglements
with the West Indian slave trade,
while the figurative sculpture Tuff

– carved by a female, European
artist who spent her artistic life
focused on the depiction of
local Tobagonians – creates a
juxtaposition that subverts these
two colonial hierarchies and
rewrites the political implications
embedded in imagery. An audio
loop offers bursts of manipulated
sound recorded on the island
and sourced from online archives,
making audible the contemporary
traces of hidden histories and
fictions that continue to hunt us.

Sicherheit, 2017
Video 22 min, steel construction
Saskia Holmkvist, Ellen Nyman &
Corina Oprea

The film Sicherheit (German for
"Security") takes the temperature
on a series of current issues that
link to national self-image. The
installation refers to defence
technology and in the centre
of the movie sits an inherent
contradiction in the liberal West,
specifically in relation to its
policies towards conflict in the
outside world. Particularly in the
context of Sweden, one can see a
circularity between the weapons
industry and forced migration.
Sweden has one of the largest
weapons industries in the world

when measured per capita, and
under nonalignment principle
is able to sell weapons to cover
the national defence budget. It is
also a country that is receiving a
large number of asylum seekers
escaping regions destabilised
through the wars that the
weapons industry relies on.
One might see that the Swedish
weapons industry, which includes
the SAAB company based in
Gothenburg, as being dependent
on instability elsewhere in order
to secure the Swedish nation
state. This goes for many Western
nations, suggesting the current
world order has relied on an
incitement to regularly create
"ordered chaos", as described in
the film. The presence of fear and
insecurity in the current political
state of affairs can be seen to
push many in Europe towards
forms of right-wing nationalism
as well as into being police states,
suspending many rights and civil
liberties provided to minorities in
a secular society.

Solidarity, 2017
9 linocuts, 49 x 66 cm
Minna L. Henriksson

The work takes as its central
topic the official politics of the

Nordic countries toward, and
thebusiness ties with, South
Africa during the apartheid
regime.
The series of linocut prints
expresses multilayered
tensions between the shifts and
paradigms of Nordic politics in
relation to its commitment with
the South African anti-apartheid
movements. Through the
deconstruction of the circulation
and uncertainty of information,
Solidarity questions the way we
piece together what we think we
know about Nordic political
engagement and history. Nordic
countries supplied the apartheid
regime with material for the
military equipment as well as
of newsprint, a more subtle
means of upholding the regime.
International solidarity groups
campaigned to implement
sanctions, and frustrated by
the undecidedness of the
governmental politics, the trade
unions in all Nordic countries
started boycott of goods
between the Nordic countries
and South Africa in 1985.
Today the Nordic countries take
pride for their role in bringing
the apartheid regime to it's
knees, while silencing the role
working-class solidarity played it

pressuring the business and the states to adhere to black South Africa's calls for solidarity. Linocut is a simple method of print that has been masterfully employed by leftist artists especially in the first half of the 20th Century and during the anti-apartheid struggle.

They mighty …… thoughts …. theirs or mine? 2017
*Installation, sound, rope, cloth, metal plate, spices, coffee and salt*
Anawana Haloba

The installation with sound and sensorial elements revolves around
traces and material cultures of colonization. They mighty …… thoughts …. theirs or mine? makes reference to salt, minerals and products of lands and their historical significance as commodities of global trade. The work produced for Nordic Trouble creates a situation where spectators stand in a darkened space and become immersed in audio recordings of voices who recite the narrative of a self contrasted by the live mechanical trace of a circular movement of the dripping salt, coffee and

spices on a hard metal plate. The voice symphony, the scents, the traces drawn by the movement of the rope create an intimacythat shifts the contemporary subjectivity of the given location.

Solidarity, 2017
Minna L. Henriksson
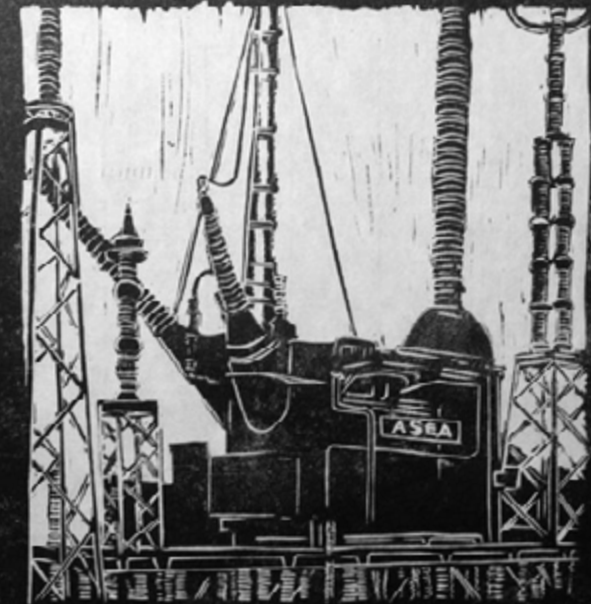
These mighty thoughts… thine or mine…
2017, Anawana Haloba,
photo: Paula Urbano

Kujalleq, 2017
Cecilie Ullerup-Schmidt
and Camilla Aviaja Olsen

Sicherheit, 2017
Saskia Holmkvist, Ellen Nyman
& Corina Oprea

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Possible Islands, 2017
Santiago Mostyn,
photo: Paula Urbano

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Miessavre, 2017
Katarina Pirrak - Sikku,
photo: Paula Urbano

Biographies

Gurminder K. Bhambra
is Professor of Postcolonial and
Decolonial Studies across the
Departments of Geography and
International Relations, School of
Global Studies at University
of Sussex. She is author of
"Connected Sociologies (2014)
and "Rethinking Modernity:
Postcolonialism and the
Sociological Imagination"
(2007), which won the 2008
Philip Abrams Memorial Prize for
best first book in sociology. She
has co-edited four collections,
"European Cosmopolitanisms"
(2016); "African Athena"
(2011); "Silencing Human
Rights" (2009); and "1968 in
Retrospect" (2009). She set up
the Global Social Theory website
(globalsocialtheory. org) and
is co-editor of the online social
research magazine, Discover
Society (discoversociety.org).

Lesley-Ann Brown
is a Brooklyn-born writer,
educator and activist who
currently lives in Copenhagen,
Denmark. She worked for four
years at Marie Brown Associates
with Marie D. Brown, a publishing
pioneer and one of the first
African-American literary agents
in New York City. Her activism
began in high school when she
became a member of the War
Resister's League which has been
instrumental in removing military
recruitment from mostly poor and
Black neighbourhoods. Brown
created the critically-acclaimed "
lackgirlonmars" blog and founded
Bandit Queen press. She currently
writes for NBCBLK and is the Vice
President for Black Women in
Europe Social Network, a not-
for-profit committed to uplifting
women of African descent
in Europe. Brown was a co-
organizer for the Women's March
in Copenhagen which drew over
5000 demonstrators and is an
active supporter of Black Lives
Matter, DK.

Gunilla Larsson
is Doctor of Philosophy from
Department of Archaeology
and Ancient History at Uppsala
University with the dissertation:
"Ship and Society. Maritime
Ideology in Late Iron Age
Sweden". Following she worked
as a researcher retracing Sámi

history on the base of the ancient monuments, in cooperation with May-Britt Öhman on Center for Gender Studies at Uppsala University. She developed two projects: "DAMMED: Security, Risk and Resilience around the dams of Sub-Arctica" and "Rivers, Resistance Resilience: Sustainable futures in Sápmi and other indigenous peoples' territories". Currently she is participating in Katarina Pirak Sikkus project at Uppsala University with the title "To Give me my perspective. The traces of Race Biology in Sámi society". She had participated in an eight member delegation of Sámi scholars and activists at Arctic Council and NAISA (North American Indigenous Studies Association) conference in Washington.

Ylva Habel
is a researcher in Media and Communication Studies, with a background in film studies. Her interdisciplinary research is on anti-Black racism and includes Black Studies, Afrodiasporical, intersectional, Postcolonial perspective and critical studies about whiteness. In her recent research about exceptionalistic affective economies, she focuses on discourse of relationships between contemporary Swedish and Dutch climate of debate. In both of these contexts there are often unspoken color-blind beliefs that our welfare policies makes antiracist perspectives and actions redundant.

Anawana Haloba
is a Zambian working between Oslo and Livingstone. Haloba's artistic practice explores positions of different societies within varied political, social, economic and cultural contexts, ideological and post-independence frameworks. Her artistic practice is symbiotically linked to and through her preparatory exercise in drafting poetry in the forms of sketches from which the artist abstracts to performative based artworks within moving image, installation, and sound, while creating situations where the material culture of any given place can be probed and reconsidered within the scheme of rapidly shifting contemporary subjectivities. Anawana Haloba's work has been featured in both solo and group exhibitions including the ZKM Museum of Contemporary Art, Karlsruhe, Germany; Museum Berardo Collection, Lisbon, Portugal; la Biennale di Venezia, 2009; Sydney Biennale, Australia; Manifesta 7, Bolzano, Italy and the Sharjah Biennial 08, and 11and recently the 32nd Bienal de São Paulo 2016, Shanghai Biennial 2016-17 and Lyon biennial 2016-17.

Minna L Henriksson
(born 1976 in Finland) is known for her investigations of the hidden stories found in seemingly neutral contexts and material, especially when it comes to issues of national identity and nationalism. Minna Henriksson is currently based in Helsinki. She studied art in Brighton, Helsinki and Malmö and has lived longer periods in South-East Europe. Her artwork is often dealing with hidden and underlying politics in seemingly neutral and natural processes. One of the fields of focus in her work has been the dynamics and power-positions in apparently neutral contexts. MInna has been dealing with the issue of nationalism in her artistic work as well as theoretically, in connection to contemporary art. She has exhibited broadly in Finland as well as internationally.

Saskia Holmkvist
is a conceptual artist, working mainly with video. In Saskia Holmkvist's work, questions of agency and professionalized language are explored through fractured narrative, employing performance, orality, film and improvision. A hybrid form of realism, Holmkvist appropriates typical interview scenarios to serve as allegory and example. The works address consequences of power structures in communication such as translatability of subject positions as well as historical trajectories and post colonial presence by interacting with methods of communication borrowed from fields such as interpretation, psychology, journalism, and improvisational theatre. Holmkvist is a Professor at Oslo Academy of Art.

Tímea Junghaus
is an art historian and contemporary art curator. She started in the position of executive director of the Berlin-based European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture in September, 2017. Previously, Junghaus was a Research Fellow of the Working Group for Critical Theories at

the Institute for Art History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences (2010- 2017). She has researched and published extensively on the conjunctions of modern and contemporary art with critical theory, with particular reference to issues of cultural difference, colonialism, and minority representation. She is completing her PhD studies in Cultural Theory at the Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest. In recognition of her curatorial activities Junghaus received the Kairos - European Cultural Price from the Alfred Toepfer Stiftung F.V.S., in 2008.

Santiago Mostyn
born 1981, is an artist based in Stockholm. Currently co-curator of the Moderna Exhibition 2018, Moderna Museet, Stockholm (October 2018). Santiago is a graduate of Yale University, Städelschule, and Royal Art Institute, Stockholm. He has exhibited across Scandinavia, Europe and the USA and his works are part of the collections of Moderna Museet, Stockholm, Statens konstråd / Public Art Agency Sweden, Hasselblad Foundation, Göteborg, Gävleborg State Collection, Gävleborg,

Fotografiska, Stockholm and MoMA Library, New York.

Ellen Nyman
is a Swedish actress, performance artist and theatre director. Nyman was born in Eritrea and grew up in Stockholm, Sweden. She attended the Århus Theatre School in Denmark 1993-1997. She is conducting a PhD Research at Lund University in "Performative strategies - dimensions of emancipation" based on the black performative practices that exist primarily in the performing and visual arts, such as performance art, happenings and political action, but it has also ambition to build bridges to other humanities and other disciplines within the same field of knowledge.

Katarina Pirak Sikku
lives and works in Jåhkåmåhkke/ Jokkmokk. After the training at Umeå Art University, she moved back to Jokkmokk. That is where she has her archive. She investigates its own identity. Its own story. And ponder much about nature having a memory. Currently she is finishing her project which started many years ago. The racial biology Institute's

operations in northern Sweden. What happened? How did it happen? By using artistic tools, she explores the archives, the places and the stories. She wants to write her own story with her own words.

Cecilie Ullerup Schmidt
performs, curates and writes in the field between cultural studies and performance art. Her artistic work is presented in theatres and fine art contexts. After teaching for five years at the Inter-University of Dance in Berlin, she currently holds a PhD stipend from the University of Copenhagen, Dept. of Arts and Cultural Studies. Most recent collaborative performances "Schützen" and "Exodus" are touring in Scandinavia, Germany, Switzerland and Canada.

Colophon

Konsthall C

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