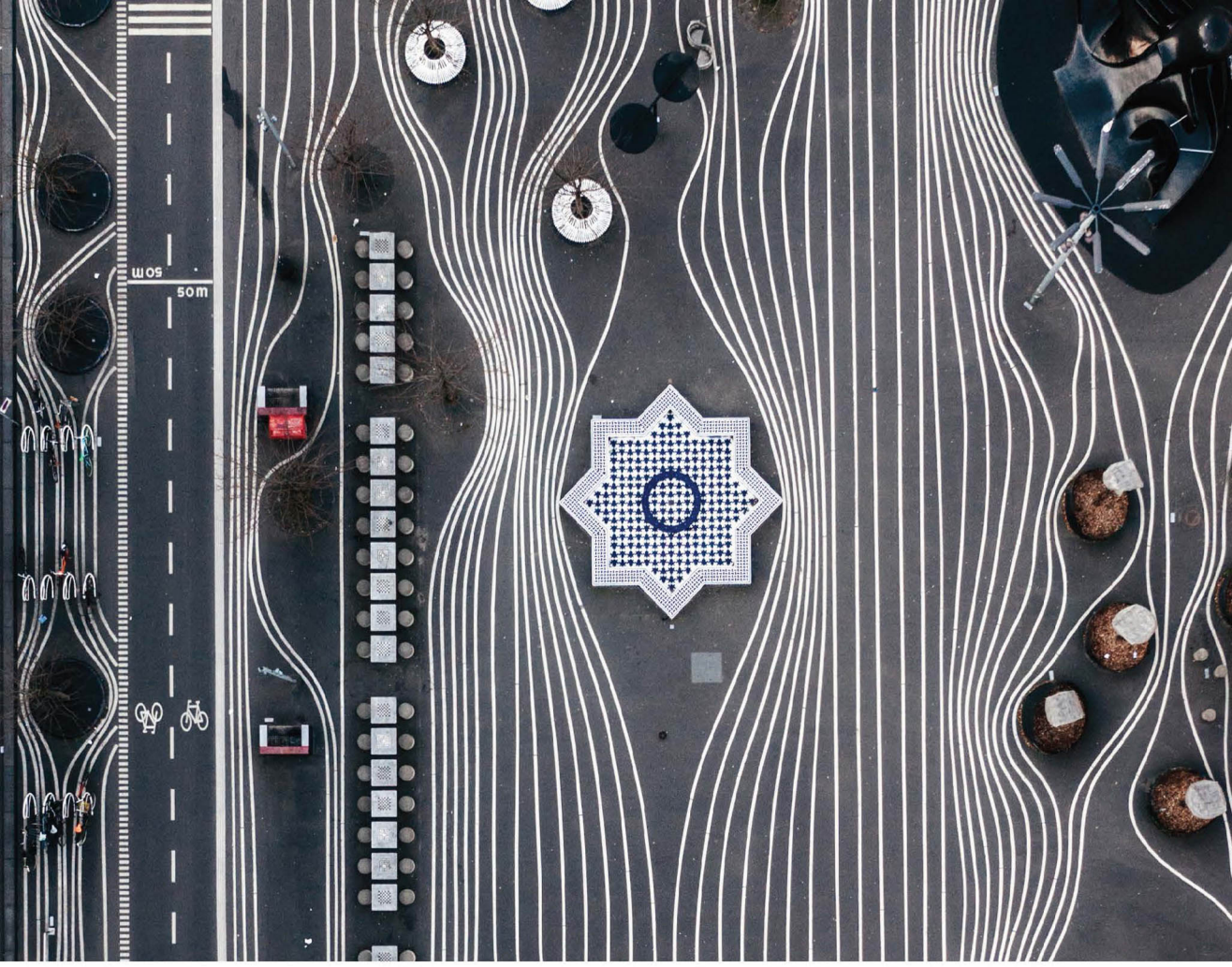

ROUTLEDGE RESEARCH IN ART AND POLITICS

POSTMIGRATION, TRANSCULTURALITY AND THE TRANSVERSAL POLITICS OF ART

Anne Ring Petersen

ROUTLEDGE

Postmigration, Transculturality and the Transversal Politics of Art

This is the first book to develop a postmigrant analytical perspective for the study of art, concentrating on how postmigration reopens the study of contemporary art and migration.

The book introduces art historians and other scholars with a methodological interest in cultural analysis to the innovative concept of postmigration, offering a comprehensive introduction to the various meanings and uses of the term as well as translating it methodologically to an art historical context. The book analyses art projects from Denmark, Germany and Great Britain, which address some of the current challenges to European societies of immigration, and by drawing on theory from fields such as migration studies, transcultural studies and feminist, postcolonial and political theory, as well as re-engaging established concepts such as imagination, commemoration, belonging, identity, racialization, community, public space and participation.

The book will be of interest to scholars working in art history, art and politics, migration studies and transcultural studies.

Anne Ring Petersen is Professor of Modern Culture and Contemporary Art at the University of Copenhagen.

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Contents

Figures

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Introduction

Contemporary Art and the Problem-Space of Postmigration

The Challenge of Migration

This book explores how contemporary art grapples with Europe's so-called 'migration challenge'. It asks how does it register with contemporary art that migration operates as a plural social force which contributes to the reconstitution of communities and identities by challenging the existing systems of representation and mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, thereby reshuffling the boundaries that separate 'us' from 'them'. As the Swedish cultural theorist Stefan Jonsson has observed, the European debates on migration and integration are 'a contorted affair, rich in fear-mongering and false dilemmas… Preservation of welfare systems has wrongly been pitted against refugee solidarity, and migration insidiously launched as an explanation of fascism.'[1] Although the coupling of the two spectres – the migrant and the fascist – is often cloaked in different language in media discourses,[2] these discourses are nevertheless feeding into the popular anxiety about migration and the right-wing anti-immigration sentiment that many artists seek to counter with alternative forms of representation and empowering practices.

As Jonsson observes, there are many arguments to the effect that if immigrants and refugees were admitted in large numbers, migration would inevitably provoke 'reactions of white identitarianism'. Such statements reawaken dark memories of nationalist and colonialist pasts when white or European culture rejected 'otherness' by rolling out systems of control, detention, deportation and annihilation of supposedly alien populations, which, if reimplemented in some form, would 'undercut the self-image of peace, cosmopolitanism and human rights by which the continent's leaders have laboriously sought to redress Europe's past in the postwar era'.[3] With eminent precision, Jonsson identifies what is at stake in the European debates on migration and integration: it is not so much the movement of people that is at issue; rather, it is the political future of Europe, because European ideas of what a democratic society is depends on how the presence of immigrants and the fact of migration as an ongoing societal process are understood:

> If they are today understood as exceptional problems, tomorrow will be nationalistic, racist or fascist. If migration and the presence of migrants are understood as perennial instances of human mobility, the future can be envisioned as in some sense cosmopolitan and transnational.[4]

Scholars in the humanities and social sciences contribute to shaping the understanding of migration by adding some of the many shades of nuance that are often lacking in political and public debates. And so do works of art. Through close scrutiny of some

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contemporary works of art and art projects, this book seeks to contribute to the critical analysis of the struggles over 'migration' in contemporary democratic societies and the imagining of their future as what Jonsson describes as 'in some sense cosmopolitan and transnational', or to use the term adopted as a scholarly lens in this study, as *postmigrant*. It would be a task beyond the limits of this study to also discuss the vast topics of fascism, nationalism and racism, although nationalism and racism are considered here as key factors in the contemporary struggles over migration. The book thus positions itself in the intersecting fields of art history, cultural studies and postmigration studies as it seeks to develop analytical perspectives for art and cultural analysis from migrant thought and conversely, to contribute to postmigration studies both theoretical concepts and a knowledge of how the visual arts partake in the transformation of European societies into postmigrant societies and the imagining of their futures. In this context, art and aesthetics are understood to be a specific form of knowledge production that can lead to a better grasp of and sometimes even transform prevailing structures and experiences.

Some scholars, such as the cultural theorist Mikkel Bolt Rasmussen and art historians Angela Dimitrakaki and Harry Weeks, have theorized the current political situation as predominantly fascist.[5] For instance, Bolt Rasmussen posits that 'fascist parties are gaining ground everywhere' as the result of a global politico-economic crisis described by the historian of fascism Geoff Eley as a 'fascism-producing crisis'.[6] In his combative Marxist critique of contemporary fascism, *Late Capitalist Fascism*, Bolt Rasmussen uses the term 'fascism' to describe an extreme and often violent nationalist ideology that seeks to prevent 'an attack on the structure of private property' by restoring 'an imagined organic community' and excluding and stigmatizing foreigners. In Bolt Rasmussen's analysis, the new fascism sometimes becomes almost indistinguishable from the exploitative neoliberal capitalism that permeates contemporary societies, their political and media systems as well as the level of everyday life and popular culture. Unlike the historical European fascist movements of the period 1922–1945, the 'updated fascism' has spread globally after neoliberal capitalism has gained ground worldwide[7]:

> The new fascist parties have stepped in and are upholding the national democratic systems they are allegedly protesting against. Fascism is a protest, a protest against the long slow neoliberal dismantling of the post-Second World War social state, or a certain idea of the world of that time. The fascist leaders conjure an image of that time, a better time, before unemployment, globalization and the emergence of new political subjects that threaten the naturalness of the patriarchal order. Migrants, people of colour, Muslims, Jews, women, sexual minorities and communists are perceived as the causes of a historical and moral decline that the fascist leaders promise to reverse engineer by excluding such unwanted subjects and restoring the original community.[8]

As opposed to the studies of new forms of fascism, this study does not take as its starting point the perception that the political landscape is characterized by a radical and unequivocal turn to the far right. Contrary to the pessimistic determinism of these studies, I emphasize the coexistence of conflicting positions in pluralist democratic societies continuously renegotiating their relations to one other and struggling to gain hegemony. Thus, I seek to highlight the complexities and ambiguities of the postmigrant condition by taking my cue from the sociologist Juliane Karakayalı and the educational scientist Paul Mecheril, who perceive European societies of the twenty-first century to be marked

by 'an increasing number of conflicting positions: right-wing extremist, openly nationalist and racist statements on the one hand, and affirmative actions for plurality in the migration society on the other'.[9]

Radicality, and radicalization, is not only an issue in the political sphere but also in art and culture, and this is not new. The notion of radicality has often been invoked in twentieth-century discourses on avant-garde movements and experimental art. In avant-garde discourses, the adjective 'radical' carries connotations and expectations of fierce political commitment to change as well as determined transgression of social norms and aesthetic boundaries. While the discourse on the 'avant-garde' has increasingly run out of steam, discourses on radicality have persisted. Etymologically, the term 'radicality' refers to the state or fact of being radical. In other words, it signals change or action, usually a far-reaching change that goes to the root of something, touching upon or affecting what is essential and fundamental. In recent years, new conceptions of radicality have been introduced into the discourses on art, culture and politics, transforming the understanding of what radicality can be. They include concepts such as 'radical diversity',[10] 'radical conviviality'[11] and 'radically democratic museum practices'.[12] These concepts resonate with the more established theory of 'radical democracy' developed by the political theorist Chantal Mouffe.[13] The concept of radical democracy has been central not only to political theory but also to the discourses on culture and the arts and the stake they have in democratic societies and the formation of citizenship. Interestingly, in some of her essays, Mouffe has considered the phenomenon of art activism or 'artivism'. She has suggested that artivism should be seen as a radically politicized form of artistic practice, unfolding in the borderlands between art and activism. It could be argued that the artistic and curatorial practices under discussion in this book are situated in these borderlands, where the boundaries between art and politics are deliberately transgressed.

The proliferation of such chains of equivalence that link artistic and curatorial practices to democracy and radical democratic politics is indicative of a desire for radicalization that is itself an issue deserving of critical analytical attention. I submit that the proliferation of 'radical' concepts and battle cries in the cultural spheres reflects a widely felt need to move beyond the established concepts of democracy, multiculturalism and national belonging and identity. Thus, the sense of urgency that fuels the calls for radicality is linked to a growing awareness that the established concepts cannot adequately take into account the complexities of alterity and plurality. This flaw has made them unsuited as frameworks for understanding contemporary cultures and societies and unfit to address the need for responsible institutional policies of democratic participation in postmigrant Europe.

The concept of *postmigration* (*das Postmigrantische*) emerged from this realization. It refers to the 'after-' (*post-*) effects of migration on society, not population movements as such, nor to the reasons for migrating – including capitalist exploitation, devastating crisis or pull-push factors – which are commonly used to explain the movements of refugees and migrant workers. Thus, the radical gesture of the discourse on postmigration is its insistence that migration and migrants are integral to society. They are what Oliver Marchart has called 'the-other-in-the-same',[14] not the constitutive outside and the Other of 'the people' and 'the nation'; hence the need for more radical thinking and for concepts of radicality.

The observation of this widely articulated desire for radical change and recognition opens up an additional question: how do such 'leftist' and artistic forms of radicality relate to the concurrent forms of nationalist and fascist radicality, mentioned above, and

to the critical discourse on the troubling increase and transnational spread of such right-wing forms of radicalization, which has been critically examined in recent studies on nationalism, right-wing populism and gender politics as well as fascist political aesthetics.[15] It is beyond the scope of this book to explore this political territory, but I would like to suggest that the divergent articulations and manifestations of radicality – postmigrant, radical democratic, nationalist, fascist and more – can perhaps best be understood as different but entangled responses to the profound social, political and cultural transition of Europe that immigration and globalization have brought about and which are incapsulated in the concept of postmigration. The rekindled debate on the German concept of *Heimat* (homeland), to which I return in Chapter 4, is a thought-provoking instance of how different positionalities struggle with each other and for the power to either preserve *Heimat* as the place of ethno-cultural kin or to 'radicalize' the notion of homeland by opening it towards ethno-pluralism and a sense of multiple belonging.

This book's focus on Denmark, Germany and the UK necessitates a brief outline of the history of immigration to Western Europe after the Second World War. The sociologist Kevin Robins has proposed a rough distinction between two major phases of migration into Europe. The first, in the 1950s, was dominated by migrations of colonial and postcolonial populations to 'the imperial "mother countries"' – from West Africa and the Maghreb to France; from the Caribbean and South Asia to Great Britain; and from Indonesia to the Netherlands. In this phase, immigration was to particular and limited destinations and primarily determined by shared (albeit unequally) historical, cultural and linguistic connections.[16]

Robins's periodization does not mention the guest worker programmes, which determined, for the most part, immigration to Germany and Scandinavia from the 1950s until the Oil Crisis and high unemployment rates brought them to an end in the mid-1970s. I suggest that the guest worker programmes could be seen as an intermediate stage between Robins's two phases and patterns of migration. The term guest worker is most commonly associated with the German term Gastarbeiter, designating the mainly Turkish workers admitted to West Germany after the Second World War to help rebuild the country's infrastructure and industries. Sizable numbers of Gastarbeiter also came from Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Morocco, Portugal and Tunisia. When the guest worker programmes ended, many of the Gastarbeiter stayed on with their families and became permanent residents, so that, in the twenty-first century, they and their descendants constitute large ethnic groups within Germany. It should be noted here that immigration into Germany was also significantly impacted by the end of the Soviet Union and its extended Eurasian empire, and by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the reunification of the two Germanys in 1990. The political and economic instability caused by these ruptures precipitated movements of migrant workers and displaced people to Western Europe. Between 1989 and 1990, roughly 3.7% of the population in the region of the former German Democratic Republic (excluding East Berlin) emigrated to West Germany (including West Berlin).[17] Migration of ethnic minorities moving to so-called ancestral homelands where they had a right to citizenship also increased, and Germany was the most important destination: since 1989, approximately 2.2 million ethnic Germans and 235,000 Jews have migrated to Germany. However, after an initial hike in numbers, East-West migration did not grow to the massive proportions initially feared, and the opening up of a new 'labour frontier' in Central and Eastern Europe, with countries such as Poland, Ukraine and the Baltic republics becoming new source and transit regions of migrants, could not replace increasing labour migration from outside Europe, as expected (or hoped) in the 1990s.[18]

The second phase of Robins's periodization is characterized by a profoundly different geo-political dynamics, leading to migration of a different kind. What is distinctive about 'the new migrations of globalisation' is that the new generations of migrants have not travelled to an imperial centre but 'to whichever European country would accept them'.[19] Groups arriving throughout the 1990s tended to be dispersed relatively widely across the continent and beyond, that is, the pattern of dispersion was distinctly diasporic and engendered new transnational migrant practices 'from below' that shifted the focus away from national minorities and their national incorporation. Robins concludes:

> What is distinctive, then, is the nature and degree of transnational connectivity and connectedness between what are variously referred to as "transnational communities" (Portes et al. 1999), "transmigrants" (Glick Schiller et al 1995), or "new global diasporas" (Cohen 1997). Migrant populations are connected to each other, and commonly also in close connection with their country of origin. This is precisely the transnational dimension of their lives. Absolutely crucial here, of course, is the technological and communications infrastructure that now makes this kind of interconnection possible and even routine… What communication technologies are now making possible is the enlargement of the lifespace of migrants, involving the capacity to be synchronized with lifeworlds situated elsewhere.[20]

Postmigration – Battle Cry, Historical Conjuncture and Theoretical Concept

In this book, the concept of *postmigration* will be used as a theoretical framing and a heuristic tool to capture some of the key aspects of the political, social and cultural changes and conflicts that constitute the historical conjuncture from which the artworks and cultural phenomena under discussion have emerged. In other words, the purpose is dual: to harness theoretical work on postmigration to generate a productive analytical lens on contemporary art; and to explore how artists and art projects contribute to postmigrant societies and participate in the struggles and negotiations that shape them, sometimes even in ways that feed back into the theoretical debates. It is hoped that this exploration of the visual arts from a postmigrant perspective will also help towards a better understanding of the societal conjuncture of postmigration and conveying how art can further the recognition of migrants and their descendants.

This book proposes that a combined postmigrant, transcultural and feminist perspective can provide a scholarly lens which enables thinking beyond the polarizing dichotomy between 'majority' and 'minorities'. This change of perspective can help in moving beyond the stigmatization and discrimination this invariably breeds, while at the same time recognizing that social antagonisms remain an integral part of any society and need to be reckoned with, negotiated and mitigated but can never be transcended. Thus, the book takes a fresh and conflict-aware approach to the transformative impact of migration on society and the need to accommodate cultural diversity.

The term *postmigrant* (*postmigrantisch*) was first developed into a *critical* term around 2004–2006, when it was harnessed as a tool for self-empowerment on the cultural scene in Berlin, most notably in theatre, where the term *postmigrant theatre* became a battle cry against the widespread marginalization of actors and other cultural producers of migrant backgrounds. In the late 2000s, the term began to gain traction in the humanities and social sciences in Germany, where scholars developed it into a theoretical concept of *postmigration* (*das Postmigrantische*), which offered new perspectives on the role of

migration and diversity in culture and society – that is to say, in *postmigrant society* (*die postmigrantische Gesellschaft*). This concept was elaborated in the social sciences. Its leading proponent, the political scientist Naika Foroutan, has described postmigrant societies as 'societies of negotiation' (*Aushandlungsgesellschaften*).[21] The sociologists Vassilis S. Tsianos and Juliane Karakayalı have also formulated a broad and historically sensitive definition of postmigrant society that is also apt for cultural analysis:

> With the cipher 'postmigrant society' we refer to the political, cultural and social transformations of societies with a history of post-colonial and guest worker immigration. The adjective postmigrant does not seek to historicise the fact of migration, but rather describes a society structured by the experience of migration – which is also relevant for all current forms of immigration (such as flight, temporary migration), both politically, legally and socially.[22]

Similarly, Naika Foroutan underscores that *postmigration* does not (falsely) assume that migration has ended. The concept provides rather 'a framework of analysis for conflicts, identity discourses and social and political transformations that occur after migration has taken place, while migrants struggle to be recognized as legal stakeholders in society'.[23] Thus, seen through the lens of postmigration, migration is no longer considered to be an exceptional form of social existence but a structural characteristic of society.

Since the mid-2000s, *postmigration* has served as an instrument of critical social and cultural analysis in the debates on identity, culture, migration, integration, marginalization, racism, diversity and plural democracies in Europe.[24] The first and second chapters of this book will unpack the concept of postmigration in greater detail and consider its academic genealogies, trajectories and potential. Postmigration was introduced as a polemical and contested concept that refuted the national(istic) distinction between 'us' and 'them', that is, between a sedentary 'white' majority population and a 'migrant' population of ethnic minorities and racialized people, perpetually constructed as the 'newly arrived' who are expected to divest themselves of their 'foreign habits' and 'assimilate' into the allegedly homogeneous, consensual national culture of their 'new' homeland, even when they have been born and raised in that country. Postmigrant thought counters this polarizing binary by insisting on the overall plurality and inevitable diversity of backgrounds, languages and forms of belonging in contemporary Europe. It turns against the marginalization and othering of people with a migrant background in the prevailing essentialist understandings of national culture. Rather than referring to an irreversible temporal shift – *after* the actual act of migration – the prefix 'post' in postmigration thus implies a change of perspective on the overall narrative of the nation-state, its historical foundation, its evolution and its imagined community. As the sociologist Erol Yildiz has phrased it, postmigration 'makes visible marginalized ways of knowing the world, irritates national myths, presents new ways of grasping notions of "difference" and creates a new historical consciousness and understanding of history'.[25] The Swiss-based historian Kijan Espahangizi likewise sees the discourse on postmigration as heralding a new historical consciousness and argues that the social history of the individual and collective struggles that have shaped a given postmigrant society has to be written as a transnational and transcultural history, which invariably presents a challenge to the prevailing national history. Espahangizi asserts that the concept of postmigration does not signal 'a naively utopian remake of a "colourful" multiculturalism or a "colour-blind" postracial society', but rather introduces 'an updated analysis of racism' tailored to societies that

are obsessed with the themes of migration and integration, as has been pointed out by the Islamic studies scholar Riem Spielhaus.[26]

In German academia, the concept of *postmigration* has been used as a perspective on the ways in which past and present migration has changed European societies and engendered this obsession. In other words, it has served as a scholarly lens on societies that are presently in the process of realizing that they have become culturally and ethnically heterogeneous and are struggling to come to terms with this historical transition – retrospectively, so to speak – and to articulate more plural and inclusive understandings of society, history and democratic culture. Accordingly, I understand postmigration to be what the anthropologist David Scott has called a *problem-space*, that is, a specific historical period with its own 'ensemble of questions and answers'.[27] A problem-space also brings forth its own discourses and generates a particular horizon of goals to be achieved. The concept of a problem-space bears some resemblance to the concept of a *historical conjuncture* as developed in cultural studies. Both imply that a contextual consideration of the historical configuration and social circumstances is paramount to gaining a critical and profound understanding of the object under study and acknowledge that the questions asked (and by implication, the theoretical frame within which the questions are formulated) determine which conjuncture presents itself to the analyst. As the cultural studies scholar Lawrence Grossberg has explained, a conjuncture does not exist a priori; it needs to be articulated by the analyst: 'a conjuncture has to be constructed, narrated, fabricated… What constitutes the unity of the conjuncture then is its problematic(s), which is usually lived (but not necessarily experienced per se) as a social crisis of sorts.'[28]

The term *postmigration* designates the problematic(s) and the *social crisis* that this book studies through the lens of contemporary art and its creative contributions to finding new ways of living together in difference. Accordingly, I use the term *postmigrant society*, which is by now well established in German language academia, to designate societies that are grappling with the problem-space of postmigration, understood as a historical conjuncture in which European societies are profoundly affected and transformed, albeit in uneven ways, by the increased sociocultural diversity characterizing the period under study. I would like to stress the *transitional implications* of the term *postmigrant society*, that is, it designates a plural society still very much in the making, struggling to divest itself of old Eurocentric, colonial and monocultural structures. Besides, I also seek to avoid diluting the terminology. As migration is a structural characteristic of all societies, any society could, in principle, be described as 'a postmigrant society', but such a broadening of the concept would render it analytically and historically useless.

How, then, is art connected to the problem-space of postmigration? Art and those who engage with or study art have an important part to play in the transitions that postmigrant thought seeks to work through, because, in many respects, it is a process of rethinking 'representation', that is, the *what*, the *who* and the *how* of representational practices. Many contemporary art projects reflect in various ways on the difficult, conflictual process of becoming a more culturally diverse society with all the struggles that entails – struggles over individual, collective and national identity; over issues of recognition and racialization; and over equal access to resources and representation, including the representation of history and the power to decide how it should be told. A crux of the postmigrant struggles is the struggle against racism and for recognition of people of colour and their place in 'white' or European national histories, public spaces and cultural institutions. It is on such issues that I hope to shed some light in this book. In summary, the reason why I turn to the theoretical work on postmigration is because it offers a

productive perspective on art and culture that have emerged from postmigrant conditions. It enables me to explore how the visual arts have engaged with and contributed to these struggles and transitions and how they may further the recognition of migrants and their descendants.

Framing Art's Engagement with Postmigration

More specifically, this book explores art's position within a postmigrant landscape where 'culture' has become a particularly contested territory in a larger social battlefield. It examines how artistic practices shape and are shaped by disagreements resulting from the need to tackle the conflicts and changes that occur when people have to live together in difference and how art can reorient the discourses on migration and integration away from the fearmongering coupling of the 'migrant' and the 'fascist'.[29] The book aims to answer questions such as: How can art help us (re-)imagine society? How can artworks add new narratives of identity, community and history to the shared spaces and public memories of European nations that have been profoundly transformed by migration? How can art encourage democratically engaging forms of participation (often synergistically enhanced by the curatorial framing) and enable dissent and differences to be negotiated within the critically reflective sphere of art?

This book has a certain focus on art's role in some of the public spaces of Europe, because these spaces have become major scenes for a range of responses to the challenges of migration, nationalism, globalization and digitization. As arenas for the expression and exchange of values and beliefs, public spaces are sites of friction-filled negotiation and incessant contestation.[30] The book examines how artworks can re-imagine identities, communities and histories, thereby serving as particular kinds of public sites for negotiation of these matters. As a specific form of knowledge production, artworks often depend on curators as enablers and can resonate with their conceptual framings. Furthermore, artworks generate responses and reverberations far beyond the actual exhibition space and the physical location of 'the work'. Thus, I understand art's engagement with public spaces to encompass not only the proverbial 'public sculpture' but also multiple other types of media, sites and strategies of communication, interaction and collaboration. *Public spaces* are here defined broadly, and it is implicit that they comprise both material and symbolic dimensions as well as various forms of public discourse, dissent and protest in physical as well as media spaces. In this age of online social platforms and globally interconnected digital networks, physical and media spaces often operate as interlinked spaces that may support or influence one another in different ways and to varying degrees. Although this definition is admittedly a broad one, this book's focus on contextual analysis of specific projects will narrow down the meaning of the term in each case study.

While each of the six chapters has a precisely delineated focus (as described below), the overarching aims of *Postmigration, Transculturality and the Transversal Politics of Art* are, first, to explore artistic expressions and aesthetic knowledge as a way of understanding sociopolitical processes, that is, as a way of making sense of the societal and historical conjuncture that the book subsumes under the term *postmigrant society*. Second, it seeks to show how artistic interventions into postmigrant public spaces have served as arenas for a range of politicized and affective responses to the challenges of migration as well as breeding grounds for an emerging culture of integration that contests and redraws borders, negotiates conflicts and strives for new inclusive ways of living peacefully together along with democratic forms of participation. As these two aims suggest, this book takes

a two-pronged approach to the study of 'the work' produced by artists and considers the work as an *object* or *project* as well as a form of *agency* or *process of interaction* with various publics within specific cultural and political contexts, with the aim of impacting these publics and contexts.

Postmigration has become a travelling concept in the humanities and social sciences that has proven itself able to reinvigorate a whole range of critical discussions pivoting around 'migration'. Just as 'postcolonialism' has been used to focus discussions on the effects of colonization and decolonization, 'postmigration' has served as a general descriptor to refer to the transformative impact of immigration on society, but the concept has also proven its worth as a scholarly lens or methodology to investigate such phenomena. In the discourses on postmigration, the term *postmigrant* is basically used in three different ways: to refer to subjects (usually long-settled immigrants and descendants of immigrants), to a societal condition ('postmigrant society') and to an analytical perspective, a critical lens. However, when the term is used as a tool for studying specific phenomena, such as visual art or urban culture, it cannot stand alone but needs to be coupled with concepts that are analytically operational in the field in question. Accordingly, the third aim of this study is to tailor *postmigrant thought* to become a theoretical and analytical tool for art history – a tool with a potential for wider application in the study of migration and culture and in cultural analyses of other types of material and practices, including the study of theatre, literature and film, where the concept was introduced already in the early to mid-2010s,[31] as opposed to art history where its potential is still underexplored. The book's contribution to the theoretical and methodological renewal of art history is a set of theoretical concepts tailored to the analysis of artistic expressions and culture emerging from postmigrant societies and tested in a string of case studies: the postmigrant imaginary, postmigrant public space, postmigrant re-memorialization, postmigrant transversal politics and postmigrant epistemic communities. These concepts serve the dual purpose of contributing fresh ideas to postmigration studies and of bringing postmigrant thought to bear on the longstanding debate on art in public spaces, which is often contiguous to issues of democratic participation and 'the public', as well as on art historical methodology more generally.

Before moving on, a note on the translation of the German term *postmigrantisch* into English is needed. Writing about '*der Begriff/der Diskurs des Postmigrantischen*' may work perfectly fine in German, but a direct translation into English would read 'the discourse of the postmigratory' and 'the concept of the postmigratory' ('postmigratory', to avoid confusion with 'postmigrant' as referring to individuals and groups). To avoid these tortuous phrases, I have preferred the expressions *discourse/concept* of *postmigration*, which reads much better in English. However, it should be stressed that the noun *postmigration* is used to refer not to a fixed or factual state but to *dynamic processes* of ongoing societal and cultural transformation.

The basic premise of the book is that as a sensory and conceptual way of exploring the world and making sense of it, art offers ways of deepening our understanding of certain aspects of the sociopolitical and transcultural processes resulting from immigration. An 'implied mode of reception' is built into the form of any work of art, no matter what medium or genre. For this reason, works of art can sometimes make us look at the world differently by aligning our perception with the mode of attention they convey.[32] Artists can also help us understand where the current transformations of society may lead to, thanks to art's 'prefigurative' potential to envision what a future formation might look

like by creating a blueprint of it – for instance, a blueprint of a society in which migration is regarded as 'normal'. As Jonsson observes, quoting Theodor W. Adorno, 'only the person who can conceptualize a different society from the existing one can experience it as a problem. Only through that which it is not, will it reveal itself as that which it is.'[33] Accordingly, following Jonsson's interpretation of Adorno, it is only when acknowledging that 'ours is *not* a society in which migration is seen as normal' that we acquire knowledge about the inequalities and exclusionary structures that make a significant number of citizens feel that they are not duly recognized as citizens who truly belong, and only then can we start looking for the signs of change.[34]

As the book is concerned with the issue of recognition in plural democratic societies, a note on the complex term *citizenship* is in order. *Citizenship* is a sociocultural and a legal concept as well as referring to a membership in a political community which orders the relationship between states and subjects. Not only has the traditional concept of national citizenship become highly contested, it has also been put under pressure by migration, globalization and neoliberalism.[35] The critique of the regulatory and exclusionary effects of citizenship and nation-building in recent citizenship theory testifies to this. The feminist social policy scholar Ruth Lister is among those who have analysed the exclusionary effects of citizenship. She points out that the concept of citizenship – that is, the understanding of who belongs to society, culturally and socially as well as legally – operates in various ways to create not only citizens but also non- or partial citizens.[36] Lister advances the idea that we need to be attentive to the different modes of citizenship and conceptualizes those internal to the nation-state by introducing the twin concepts of *citizenship* and denizenship. The former denotes legal and political membership of a state and the latter refers to those who do not have formal citizenship in their country of residence but a legal and permanent residence status.[37]

To analyse the mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion, Lister also introduces a helpful distinction between a 'formal' mode of citizenship, which is based on legal and political rights, and a 'substantive' mode of citizenship, that is, the social, cultural and economic rights, duties and opportunities residents may have within a state. Substantive rights, duties and opportunities do not automatically follow from legal citizenship because they are also dependent on social and cultural belonging and recognition. Thus, residents who do not have formal citizenship can be made to feel that they belong and have rights and opportunities if they are recognized by the surrounding society, because substantive citizenship is generated in the domains of social and cultural life not granted by the juridical system. Conversely, 'full and equal rights and opportunities' do not necessarily follow from formal citizenship, as evidenced by the racial discrimination, stigmatization and harassment experienced by many immigrants to European countries.

Because exclusion and inclusion operate differently on the legal and sociocultural level of citizenship, it is sometimes necessary to distinguish between them. When a distinction is needed, I use the term *cultural citizenship*. It is a translation of the Danish term *medborgerskab*, which is often invoked in discussions on democracy and democratic participation in culture and society.[38] It is usually translated as 'cultural citizenship' because there is no equivalent term in English (a direct translation of the word would be 'co-citizenship'). I use the term for two reasons. Firstly, cultural citizenship is a part of substantive citizenship, so the term can bring into focus the sociocultural and discursive marginalization of minority ethnic citizens in the democratic culture. In a debate piece about the low percentage of people of so-called non-Western backgrounds who vote at

Danish elections, the sociologist Jinan Hammoude suggests how marginalization and stigmatization hampers democratic participation:

> Although I am born and raised in Denmark, I often feel that democracy is not made for someone like me. Because a person of my background is normally someone who "threatens" democracy in Denmark and the West. It is a bit contradictory to write this debate piece as an ethnic minority person and at the same time maintain that democratic participation is reserved for the majority. I know, but I often think about how little I and others like me get involved in public debate.[39]

As a minority ethnic citizen, Jinan Hammoude experiences citizenship, in its substantive sense, as exclusion. This quote from Hammoude points to the fact that a distinctly second-class citizen status is produced when immigrants and their descendants are denied full substantive and/or formal citizenship rights. Secondly, I use the term *cultural citizenship* to refer to the sociocultural level of society and the ways in which the arts have taken an active part in the construction and dissemination of hegemonic notions of citizenship, for example, through monuments and paintings as well as literary works, representing (white) model citizens and communities as well as civic virtues and norms, that is, core components of substantive citizenship. What I want to stress is that legal citizenship rights are part of a more complex set of affective relationships, collective identifications, material practices and imaginative forms of participation in public life. As the sociologist Bilgin Ayata has noted, affects and emotions play a part in the relationship between the state and its subjects, and it cannot be reduced to the practices of the state because it is also shaped by the practices through which 'citizens and non-citizen subjects negotiate, contribute to, or contest the state's efforts to govern through affect' – for instance, people's responses to how a state construes some citizens as 'desirable' and others as 'undesirable'.[40] Ayata draws attention to the growing body of research that has emerged under the rubric of *affective citizenship* and aims to analyse 'how affects and emotions are employed within mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion' in contexts of increasing societal and political pluralization.[41] In other words, *affective citizenship* can be adopted as a conceptual lens to decipher sociocultural forms of discrimination that marginalize '"quasi" or "technical" citizens, whose belonging to the political community remains in question despite holding citizenship', and who must perform additional affective and emotional efforts to confirm their rightful political belonging.[42] Who one grieves for, respects or mistrusts and what one fears, cherishes or cheers for are part of proper citizen conduct, that is, part of the practices of *cultural citizenship* that constantly draw and redraw the boundaries between insiders and outsiders, since emotions influence whom people identify as 'alike' and whom they consider to be 'different'.[43]

It is these affective and cultural relationships and practices that enable any sense of inclusive citizenship and of belonging as a citizen; and art, notably, can play a formative part in their production. Or to use Lister's terminology, art has a formative influence on whether minoritized citizens, such as people of colour, immigrants and their descendants, are excluded from or included in substantive citizenship.

Why this is so is pinpointed by the cultural theorist and literary scholar Frederik Tygstrup: 'Art's mode of being is social: it exists where it meets the world.'[44] By combining material, sensory, affective, political and social dimensions into an aesthetic whole, and by being addressed to an audience or 'a public' that is never uniform, works of art invite different forms of collective and individual engagement and participation, including types

of responses that cannot be anticipated. As Tygstrup notes, art is not only addressed to and experienced by individuals on a subjective level but it is also addressed to the collective, and in that collective address to a public 'a community is already somehow prefigured'.[45] It is by dint of art's democratic and aesthetic agency that 'the affect of the art encounter' may engage a public in 'a collective negotiation of a social self-image'.[46] Thus, in its capacity to engender collective engagement and democratic participation, art is conducive to the establishment of communities and collective imaginaries.[47]

Togetherness in Difference

The title *Postmigration, Transculturality and the Transversal Politics of Art* gestures towards this social and collective dimension of art. The social problem-space of postmigration can be linked to what cultural studies scholar Ien Ang has termed 'togetherness-in-difference'. The phrase suggests that the contemporary world is one of negotiations, and that the fulcrum of those negotiations in culturally pluralized societies is the challenge of finding ways to live peacefully together in conditions of postmigrancy and in proximity to 'difference'. Ang introduces her idea of 'togetherness-in-difference' in her seminal book *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living Between Asia and the West*, in which she examines the disparate experiences that make up diasporic existence in multicultural Australia. Ang demonstrates convincingly the potential of opening up the discussion of diaspora identities and the 'in-between' spaces of contemporary multicultural societies by foregrounding 'togetherness' rather than 'difference' in order to get a better grasp on the fact that a constellation of ethnic/racial groups have to make do with sharing the space. There is a significant difference, however, between Ang's study of Australia and my study of Europe, namely that my study is not concerned with multiculturalism. In fact, most contributions to the discourse on postmigration distance themselves from the idea of multiculturalism, understood as a governmental and/or institutional policy to manage cultural diversity within a pluralist nation-state that seeks to both encourage and contain cultural diversity by organizing differences 'into a neat, virtual grid of distinct "ethnic communities" each with their own "culture"', as Ien Ang describes it so trenchantly, before she moves on to pinpoint the inability of multicultural policies to respond adequately to inter-group dynamics, connections and hybridization:

> It is an all too ordered and well-organized image of society as a unity-in-diversity… multiculturalism is based on the fantasy that the social challenge of togetherness-in-difference can be addressed by reducing it to an image of living-apart-together. Acknowledging this is one way to understand why multiculturalism has not been able to do away with racism: as a concept, it depends on the fixing of mutually exclusive identities, and therefore also on the reproduction of potentially antagonistic, dominant and subordinate others.[48]

As explained above, a postmigrant lens is better equipped for examining the entanglements of *togetherness-in-difference*. Art's ability to bring them to the surface and the kind of understanding of postmigrant societies that is to be gained from studying art are perhaps best explained by way of an example.

In 2013, the Berlin-based author group Rimini Protokoll (Helgard Haug, Stefan Kaegi and Daniel Wetzel) collaborated with the organization Metropolis/Copenhagen International Theatre on *100% København* ('100% Copenhagen') – the staging of a

Copenhagen version of their successful *100% City* concept at the Royal Danish Theatre. The *100% City* is a performance with a hundred individuals selected based on statistical criteria, with each individual representing 1% of a city's inhabitants and the whole group collectively drawing a sociological portrait of the city's population (see Figure 0.1). Since the premiere of *100% Berlin: A Statistical Chain Reaction* in 2008, which 'showcased Berlin's diverse population in an inclusive and cheerful atmosphere',[49] it has been developed into many productions, including *100% Melbourne* (2012), *100% Gwangju* (2014) and *100% São Paulo* (2016). In the performance *100% København*, the one hundred citizens on stage were therefore selected based on statistical criteria, as prescribed by Rimini Protokoll's *100% City* concept.[50] More than half a million inhabitants were registered in Copenhagen in 2012. According to the statistics of that time, 22.2% were foreigners, 51% women, 8% registered unemployed and 68% voted left of centre.[51]

Rimini Protokoll's *100% City* stages civilians as statistical samples. The hundred participants on the stage in Copenhagen were chosen according to five statistical criteria that reflected the city's demographics from census data: age, gender, ethnicity, family composition and place of residence. With each participant representing 1% of the city's inhabitants, Rimini Protokoll effected an interesting tension between individual and type and between individual and community. Each participant had to answer a set of questions that were subjected to statistical analysis, revealing, for instance, how many participants wanted the city centre to be free of cars, how many were in favour of all-day schools and how many of them had saved a life. The answers cut across the usual divides between communities, gender and age in surprising ways.

Thus, a core strategy of *100% City* was to portray the participants alternately as a visually mediated community and as individuals and groups differing from and among one another.[52] By having these one hundred Copenhageners enact a series of statistical groupings of the answers – like a giant pie chart brought to life on stage – *100%*

Figure 0.1 *100% København* ('100% Copenhagen'), 2013. Theatre production by Rimini Protokoll in collaboration with Metropolis/Copenhagen International Theatre and the Royal Danish Theatre. Screenshot from the video documenting the performance published on YouTube.

København broke down established categories and revealed the entanglements and complexities characteristic of postmigrant societies. From the national stage of the Royal Danish Theatre, *100% København* offered the audience a different perception of the 'we' of the capital, standing in for the national 'we'.

In the *100% City* performances, the citizens of each city group and regroup every time a question is posed to this model community and they speak, in turn, about their identities, lives and opinions. As the performance historian Douglas Eacho has noted, these performances put 'ordinary' or 'authentic' citizens on stage and thus reiterate and epitomize the 'consensual dramaturgies of participation' that became mainstream with the so-called participatory turn in the visual arts, performance art and theatre in the 2010s.[53]

The nexus between ordinary citizens and authenticity is important here. Two strands of authenticity enter into an ambiguous interplay in a *100% City* performance such as *100% København*, one related to the notion of sincerity and the other to the notion of genuineness. On the one hand, the piece may give audiences the impression that they have access to the performer's personal stories and that these accounts are honest and sincere; and on the other, it evokes the idea of referential truthfulness, as the use and citation of statistics create the impression that the show portrays the urban community in statistically accurate ways.[54] In *100% København*, this effect was enhanced, as the first person to come onto the stage was an elderly statistician from the Statistics Office of the Copenhagen Municipality who introduced the five selection criteria and explained how they had been implemented. At the same time, the participation of 'ordinary people' accentuated the paradox of the *100% City* format – that it is, on the one hand, a global type of project and a transposable dramaturgy to be applied anywhere, and on the other, a production that highlights *locality* and what it means to belong to a genuinely local community. Thus, the piece's political significance lies in its affirmation of belonging and civic participation to many who might not look like a city's iconic population.[55]

The inclusion of ethnic/national origin as one of the five demographic markers ensures that every variant of *100% City* includes stories of migration. As Eacho explains:

> The performative "we are Melbourne", spoken by immigrants from China, Indonesia and the United States, ensures the openness of the term "Melbourne". The city appears as an Andersonian "imagined community", a collective whose "unbound seriality" he [Anderson] praised as a unique capacity by which diverse people can speak as one.[56]

Although Copenhagen is not 'multicultural' to the same degree as Melbourne, the principle of including immigrants and minorities in the portrayal of the city's imagined community still applied, however, to *100% København*.

I submit that the way *100% København* portrayed the community of the capital as a postmigrant community can be read as a prefigurative representation or model of the larger society becoming or realizing that it has already become a postmigrant society. The urban community is portrayed as being both genuinely local with characteristics peculiar to Copenhagen (or Danish culture) *and* transnationally interconnected, like the globally circulating *100% City* concept itself. However, I have not chosen *100% København* only to illustrate what a postmigrant society looks like or to exemplify how cultural producers have found ways to represent it in art and theatre, but also because it reflects the principal geographic focus of my book and my own situated perspective as a white female scholar from Denmark and a Copenhagener. Furthermore, the entanglement of the local with global migration, which Rimini Protokoll's *100% City* concept stages, supports my

previous argument that a postmigrant perspective needs to be coupled with a transnational and transcultural perspective.

Copenhagen, Berlin, London

This book has a transnational and translocal focus on contemporary art projects exploring 'postmigration'. The artworks and art projects I engage with are mainly from Denmark, Germany and the UK, or to be more specific, the art scenes and public spaces of their capitals: Copenhagen, Berlin and London. The Danish context takes pride of place, whereas the German material enables me to explore the interfaces between postmigrant theory and culture as well as how institutional infrastructures on different scales can facilitate the interweaving of postmigrant and transnational networks of actors committed to a common cause (see Chapter 4). Last, but importantly, Black British art is included occasionally to trace the early deployment of art in the anti-racism struggle for the recognition of people of colour and immigrant backgrounds in Europe. Compared to the postcolonial, postmigrant and anti-racist activities of the artistic environments in London and Berlin, artistic engagement with postmigration and anti-racism in Denmark has surfaced belatedly, which explains why the Danish material is still somewhat understudied. By taking a comparative approach, I aim to place the Danish material in a European context from which it cannot be separated. 'Postmigration' is not a national phenomenon and problematic but a transnational one that calls for a transnational/translocal comparative perspective. As previously mentioned, my selection of material from all three contexts has a certain emphasis on art in public space, and consequently also on the participatory practices that have come to play a major part in this field.

The last decade has seen the publication of a series of scholarly books and articles on Black British art since its breakthrough as a movement in the 1980s, along with major survey exhibitions and retrospective solo exhibitions of key protagonists such as Lubaina Himid, Steve McQueen and Frank Bowling.[57] This reflects a broad recognition in Britain of the significance of the cultural and artistic contributions of immigrants and their descendants to the cultural life of the nation-state and an awareness of the importance of writing the hitherto neglected histories of the multiethnic art scenes of Europe.

In both Germany and Denmark, the most prominent non-ethnic German/Danish artists have been included in exhibitions and won critical acclaim for their work. However, in contrast to the UK, attempts to systematically survey and trace the wider impact of the diversification of the art scenes and the change of perspectives and topics that results from it are scarce, both in academia and in museums. In 2021, the American art historian Peter Chametzky published the first survey of the multiethnic scene of contemporary art in Germany as a site of engagement with the problem-space of postmigration and its political struggles. Such profound groundwork has not yet been undertaken with regard to contemporary art in Denmark, and basic research into its historical genealogies inside and outside the country is long overdue. To fill the gaps will require the joint and sustained effort of many scholars and curators, as has been the case with the research and exhibitions that have paved the way for the due recognition of Black British art. One of the aims of the present study is to provide a theoretical cornerstone and some analytical starting points for similar groundwork on art from Denmark as well as tracing its vital connections to the struggles that artists engage in other parts of Europe. In order to do so, I foreground a key characteristic of art created by artists of migrant and diasporic backgrounds: the artistic, political and intellectual genealogies that their work draws on

are rarely, if ever, limited by the borders of the nation-state. Their work often resonates intensely with the work of artists and other cultural producers from their international network as well as with struggles fought elsewhere, as is exemplified by several of the case studies outlined here.

The difference between the way art is harnessed in the struggle for recognition and belonging in the UK and Germany is perhaps best explained by juxtaposing two examples that also testify to an affinity of spirit and concern across time and space. The first example is drawn from the London art scene and its more than forty-year-long political struggle and artistic tradition of challenging the structures and institutions of white culture. However, this artistic tradition does not seem to have any connection to the more recent German debates and the concept of postmigration. Rather, it is linked to and spurred by a British genealogy of critical thought on difference and diversity revolving around the conceptualization of new ethnicities.[58] By contrast, most of the German material I have selected originates from the artistic environment in Berlin that first used the term *postmigrant* as a defiant social self-description and a battle cry to stir debate. In this milieu, the term thus played a critical and empowering role not unlike the role assigned to the term 'Black', which was used as a politicized self-descriptor in the artistic and activist circles of the UK in the 1980s and 1990s.

Black Arts in London

Lubaina Himid is a British artist of Tanzanian descent and a protagonist of what has been referred to as a 'Black Arts Movement' in Britain that carved out a space for itself in the exclusionary British culture of the 1980s.[59] The term is shorthand for a broad range of practices and ideas propounded by artists of colour working in Britain during that decade; it gained currency in the twenty-first century when scholars and curators began to systematically map, discuss and exhibit the work of racialized artists in Britain.

In the context of the 1980s British culture and anti-racism struggles, the term 'Black' was used as a politicized label. Much like the term 'postmigrant', emerging on the German cultural scenes of the twenty-first century, 'Black' was associated with a politics of resistance and the recognition of the multiplicity of positionalities and backgrounds of the group of people to whom it referred. Both Black and postmigrant are multiracial categories. While the term 'postmigrant' is not used exclusively about people of colour but broadly about people of migrant heritage, the British term 'Black' was used specifically about racialized people, particularly people of African, Caribbean and South Asian descent.[60] For this reason, 'Black' is sometimes compared to the American designation 'people of colour'.

The 1980s was also a time of germinating revisionist academic work uncovering the continued presence of people of African, Caribbean and South Asian descent in the UK as a result of British imperialism and the slave trade as well as the mid-twentieth century recruitment of people from former British colonies to help rebuild the country after the Second World War. In art history, this revisionist approach resulted in the publication of books such as David Dabydeen's *Hogarth's Blacks: Images of Blacks in Eighteenth Century English Art* (1985). As Mora J. Beauchamp-Byrd has argued, Himid and her peers associated with the Black Arts Movement also committed themselves to this revisionist endeavour, contributing artworks and curating exhibitions with Black British artists 'to ensure that an enduring Black *and* British presence would not be forgotten'.[61]

Since the 1980s, Himid has created radical feminist and anticolonial works of art. She was awarded the prestigious Turner Prize in 2017 for her remarkable achievements,

and was both the oldest (sixty-three at the time) and the first black woman to receive the award, testifying to the growing official recognition of Black artists in Britain as well as the usual tardiness in the acknowledgement of female artists. In her so-called cut-outs from the early to mid-1980s, Himid developed 'a radical new "blueprint" for African diasporic female representation'.[62] A crucial work is *We Will Be* from 1983 (see Figure 0.2). It is a collage of inscription, drawing, newsprint, playing cards, strands of brightly coloured wool and drawing pins on a plywood board cut in the shape of a life-size woman. The top of the woman's dress is decorated with a shimmering ornament of gold- and silver-coloured pins reminiscent of a coat of chain mail armour. It is resonant with the idea of militant resistance as well as evoking the painful work of inserting the numerous pins, which Himid shared collaboratively with friends.[63] The cut-out figure is not furnished with a visual background, but conjures rather the political background of the 1980s. The years under Thatcherism were marked by civil unrest in the socially deprived areas of major cities across the UK. Brixton and Tottenham in London, Handsworth in Birmingham, St Paul's in Bristol and Toxteth in Liverpool were all inner city areas with predominantly black and Asian populations plagued by unemployment and poor housing. These multicultural areas became 'the epicentres' of the growing racial tensions between residents and police, fuelled by 'mutual resentment and deep-seated mistrust',[64] but also providing the fuel for artistic responses to police brutality, marginalization and racism in British society, such as Himid's cut-out figure of the revolutionary leader of the Haitian revolution in *Toussaint L'Ouverture* (1983) and the self-confident woman in *We Will Be*.

Himid insists that her cut-outs are paintings, but the liberation of the figure from the picture's surface and frame shifts the figure into another realm. The cut-outs assert their presence in physical space, almost becoming a proxy for a real body. Beauchamp-Byrd has convincingly argued that 'they are intentionally confrontational, forcing viewers, perhaps, to acknowledge their own place in such racialised systems'.[65]

In *We Will Be*, the woman's white headwrap emphasizes her height (182 cm). She is literally standing tall, head high, her face turned defiantly to the side, refusing to confront the viewer and instead fixing her gaze on the far distance, on *what will be*. Her autonomy and determination are further underscored by Himid's decision to depict her with her arms folded across her chest in a gesture exuding composure, self-confidence and empowerment rather than defensiveness or hostility. This impression is supported by the inscription in black capitalized lettering on the skirt of the woman's dress, right above a collage photomontage of symbols of cultural and political liberation, most conspicuously male figures associated with the anticolonial movement such as Nelson Mandela, Abdullah Ibrahim, Eldridge Cleaver, Peter Tosh and Bob Marley.[66] The inscription is a poem and manifesto in one; it serves the purpose of both art and politics, uniting them in the call for recognition of minoritized artists and citizens of colour:

WE WILL BE
WHO WE WANT
WHERE WE WANT
WITH WHOM WE WANT
IN THE WAY THAT WE WANT
WHEN WE WANT
AND THE TIME IS NOW
AND THE PLACE IS HERE

Figure 0.2 Lubaina Himid, *We Will Be*, 1985. Newsprint, marker pen, paper, drawing pins, watercolour, crayon, pencil, yarn, foil and playing cards on plywood, 182 × 89 × 10.5 cm. National Museums Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

+ THERE AND
HERE + THERE
+ HERE
NOW NOW
NOW NOW
NOW NOW
HERE HERE HERE NOW
HERE NOW + NOW HERE
NOW NOW.

Himid's own allusion to the female figure's iconographic resemblance to Phillis Wheatley may suggest why the artist used a poem to express her insistence on 'the Black-woman artist's right to creative play, intellectual freedom and political liberation'.[67] As a child born in West Africa in the mid-eighteenth century and trafficked into enslavement, the intellectually and artistically gifted Phillis Wheatley was enslaved in the household of the prominent Boston commercialist John Wheatley, where she learned to read and write, later becoming an internationally renowned author of poetry.[68] Himid's palimpsestic superimposition of her own poem/manifesto onto the historical figure of the poet dissolves the temporal boundary between colonial and postcolonial times, and yet the emphasis is emphatically on the *here* and *now*, not on *there*; and *then* is not even mentioned. Although the subaltern perspective of the enslaved/colonized, there and then, is entangled with the diasporic perspective, here and now, the emphasis is, I assert, on the contemporary site of diasporic settlement and diasporic situatedness, not on the place of origin. As one of the lines reads, 'The Place Is Here'. In 2017, this political statement became the title of a comprehensive survey exhibition of Black artists in 1980s Britain, *The Place Is Here*.[69] I submit that Himid's poem is also expressive of a particular *epistemic location* that is not bound to a particular place and decade, but rather is reflective of certain historical conjunctures. It captures the embodied situatedness and the impatience – the urgent desire and need for change – that also fuels the postmigrant struggles in Germany and Denmark in the twenty-first century: 'The Time Is Now, And The Place Is Here'.

But there is more. The poem raises the question of what kind of collectivity the pronoun 'we' invokes: who are the 'we' claiming the right to choose how to self-identify (instead of being labelled by others)? Who insists on the freedom of settlement and the liberty to forge relationships and build communities with whom they want and to shape them according to their own visions? Is the 'we' invoked a particular ethnic minority community with which Himid identifies? African Diasporas or African Diasporic artists in general? 'Black' artists in Britain, Black as in the 1980s British sense of the word? Or is it a 'we' comprised of feminist Black women artists, as the 'carrier' (the cut-out figure of a black woman) and Himid's statement above suggest? Ultimately, *We Will Be* leaves it up to the viewer to 'identify' the 'we' and to identify or disidentify with it. However, as a white female observer, I am struck by the paradox that a work that claims equal rights and access for artists/people of colour, so forcefully perpetuates the polarizing and racializing dichotomy between 'black' and 'white', 'us' and 'them', thereby instilling into the viewer yet another important insight: that any construction of a 'we', no matter how politically justified or democratic it seems, is based on the demarcation of a boundary between an in-group and those relegated to the outside. Any group formation is contingent upon some form and degree of closure, that is, exclusionary mechanisms.

Postmigrant Theatre in Berlin

Turning to my second example, I move to Berlin and forward in time to 3 October 2018, and Elena Philipp's report on an event: 'Day of German Unity in Berlin, folk festival around the Brandenburg Gate: with bratwurst, beer, boulette there is a portion of we-reinforcement, beats at the height of the music industry and a pinch of political education. Also, through theatre.'[70] The thousands of citizens who had gathered to celebrate the commemoration of the German Reunification in 1990 in front of the Brandenburg Gate became the mass audience for an extraordinary premiering performance: the Polish director Marta Górnicka's and the Maxim Gorki Theatre's chorus production *Grundgesetz* ('Basic Law').[71]

Grundgesetz (see Figure 0.3) featured fifty professional and non-professional actors of different ages, gender and backgrounds, representing different spectra of civil society.[72] Announced by the theatre as 'a choral stress test', the performance asked on whose behalf the German constitution speaks. In doing so, it tested the limits and the resilience of the legal text in the context of the political tensions in postmigrant German society: what political community can be represented by its introductory formulation 'Wir, das deutsche Volk' ('We, the German People')?[73]

This question was articulated by the artistic form of *Grundgesetz*, with its combination of a collective performance by a diverse cast – expressing themselves through recital, singing and choreography – and a political intervention in a public space rich in history and symbolic meaning, a very special place associated with both unity and division: the division of Germany into two states, that is, two social and ideological systems, after the

Figure 0.3 Marta Górnicka, *Grundgesetz* ('Basic Law'). Production of the Maxim Gorki Theatre premiered on October 3, 2018, at the Brandenburg Gate, Berlin. Photograph: Ute Langkafel.

Second World War; and the reunification after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Dressed in colourful clothes highlighting their mutual 'difference' and the 'diversity' of the cast, the fifty performers first formed a line covering the width of the Brandenburg Gate, symbolically embracing it, along with the huge black and white photo of a crowd of young people storming the Berlin Wall that crowned the monument. Three cut-out silhouettes of security guards, scaled up to the size of the gate's pillars, fulfilled the role of giant male caryatids supporting the rebellious youth on the Wall celebrating 'Freedom', as the eye-catching graffiti inscription on the Wall spelled out. Flanked by two smaller stages equipped with huge video screens showing close-ups of the performers, the scenography provided a visual backdrop resonant with *Grundgesetz*'s affirmation of political ideals such as freedom, democracy and the right to resist, along with citizenship, nation-state, homeland, the right of asylum, gender equality, justice and unity – the united 'we' of the German people. As Górnicka explained shortly before the premiere, the battle between two different notions of community as either homogeneous or diverse is also fought in Germany – an observation resonant with Stefan Jonsson's characterization of Europe at the crossroads between nationalism/fascism and cosmopolitanism/transnationalism quoted above. To Górnicka, the legal text is the 'simmering center' of this conflict: 'Who is the nation? To whom does the law belong? How can we describe "all Germans"? "All Germans" – this is constantly repeated in the German constitution. What does this mean today, "all"? Is there a "we"?'[74]

The question of who belongs to the 'we' of the imagined community of the nation is at the heart of much of the Gorki Theatre's work. It is the smallest of Berlin's five state theatres as well as the most diverse, both in the makeup of its artistic ensemble and the audience it has attracted since Shermin Langhoff was appointed artistic director in 2012, with Jens Hillje as co-artistic director from 2013 to 2019. Langhoff was headhunted from a position as artistic director of the independent theatre Ballhaus Naunynstraße in Berlin-Kreutzberg, which had spearheaded the so-called postmigrant theatre, to continue her commitment to develop a form of theatre dedicated to sharing the untold stories of marginalized groups, performed by an ensemble with a majority of actors with origins outside Germany and in more visible and well-funded theatre. In this way, the Gorki became a kind of model for other theatres following suit and beginning to diversify their companies.[75] It was Langhoff who brought the term 'postmigrant' to public attention when she collaborated with Kira Kosnick, Martina Priessner and Tunçay Kulaoğlu on elaborating it into a concept in connection with festivals of film, theatre and art in 2004 and 2006. When she took over the Ballhaus Naunynstraße in 2008, she applied the term to an institutional setting where it served several purposes. Actively positioning this theatre as 'postmigrant', it functioned as a self-labelling gesture and a part of what Langhoff has termed 'an empowerment strategy of appropriation'.[76] It also served as a discursive tool to articulate a political and cultural critique of the pervasive exclusion of immigrants and their descendants from the institutions of art and culture in Germany.[77] As the repertoire and artistic renewal of the Ballhaus Naunynstraße gained increasing official recognition – starting with Jens Hillje and Nurkan Erpulat's play *Verrüctes Blut* ('Mad Blood') being chosen by the journal *Theater heute* ('Theatre Today') as Play of the Year in 2011 – 'postmigrant theatre' also became a kind of brand, providing first the Ballhaus Naunynstraße and subsequently the Gorki Theatre with a distinct profile in the competitive Berlin theatre market, a profile associated with diversifying change in repertoire and artistic agenda as well as in the ensemble and the staff.[78]

Moving forward to 2018, the chorus production *Grundgesetz* was modelled on an earlier piece by Górnicka, *Constitution for the Chorus of Poles*, which premiered at the Nowy Theatre in Warsaw in 2016.[79] As the title indicates, the libretto of this was based on the Polish constitution, and *Grundgesetz*, like this earlier piece, also comprised three parts. *Grundgesetz* began with a brass band overture, for which the Berliner Fanfarenzug e.V. and SG Fanfarenzug Potsdam e.V. played *Potsdamer Fanfarenmarsch*, followed by *Fherbelliner Reitermarsch*. As one critic observed, the brass bands have historical links to the communist youth association Freie Deutsche Jugend in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) and thus served as 'a proof of a living FDJ tradition, a reminder of Prussian militarism and its parody in carnival processions'.[80] Next, the chorus of citizens took to the stage, reciting quotes from the German Basic Law, followed by a concluding 'patriotic disco', for which the brass bands and the conductor joined the performers on stage.[81]

At the centre of the whole chorus performance was Marta Górnicka, conducting the recital of the constitutional text that began with a single Afro-German woman chanting the preamble:

> Conscious of their responsibility before God and man, inspired by the determination to promote world *peace* as an equal partner in a united Europe, the German people, in the exercise of their constituent power, have adopted this Basic Law. Germans in the *Länder* of Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein and Thuringia have achieved the *unity and freedom* of Germany in free self-determination. This Basic Law thus applies to the entire German people.[82]

A second voice joined the chant on the word *Frieden* (peace), as if echoing it, then a third voice joined in, the repetition of 'peace' emphasizing its importance. The three voices continued chanting in unison. Other voices joined in as they began to list the names of all the *Länder* of Germany, thus conjuring up the image of Germany as a unity of sixteen federal subdivisions or states that retain a measure of sovereignty. Just like *Frieden*, the words *Einheit und Freiheit* (unity and freedom) were repeated for emphasis. Finally, all the voices of the chorus joined in for a repetition of the preamble, now transforming the chanting into a canon ending in a seemingly unstoppable repetition of the words of the preamble 'das gesamte deutsche Volk' ('the entire German people') in an almost threatening manner. The frontality of the singers, forming an army-like wall of bodies on stage, and the loudness of their voices made this moment emotionally disturbing. Then a moment of cacophony occurred as individual performers spread across the stage to simultaneously declaim different fragments of the constitutional text on their own, making only those voices that continued to invoke 'das deutsche Volk' audible over the hubbub.

A stress test is a scientific practice of simulating certain circumstances beyond the normal to gauge how certain phenomena respond and to assess their robustness. In an interview, Aljoscha Begrich, the dramaturge of *Grundgesetz*, used an example to explain how the choir's diversity tested the legal text's ability to represent everyone. The statement of article 11 on freedom of movement, 'All Germans shall have the right to move freely throughout the federal territory',[83] was read by refugees who had arrived recently and did not have that freedom of movement, thereby exposing a contrast between the law and what it means to different people.[84]

At some point, the performers coordinated themselves and all returned to rapping out 'Wir, das deutsche Volk' ('We, the German People'). No longer standing in collective line, they moved individually towards the front of the stage. Suddenly they all stopped and proclaimed together 'Wir sind/Alle/Deutsche' (We are/All/Germans).[85] As the cultural studies scholar Louise Décaillet has noted, such overlaps and tensions between collective and individual voices continued throughout the performance and was underscored by the choreography.[86] The cacophony and the tension between the collective and the individual can be interpreted as an expression of the fact that a community does not necessarily speak with one voice united by a common cause. There are disagreements – or, as Chantal Mouffe would have it, antagonisms and agonisms.[87] In other words, in *Grundgesetz*, the notion of the German people was periodically deconstructed or better, reconstructed as a range of individual voices, thereby suggesting that there is no homogeneous and consensual 'we' of the nation.[88]

This impression was strengthened by the fact that the chorus recital of quotes from the constitution was interspersed with songs: the theme of freedom, for example, was underscored when a singer unexpectedly began to sing David Hasselhoff's pop song 'Looking for Freedom'. As the best-performing single in Germany in 1989, this song became closely associated with the fall of the Berlin Wall, as Hasselhoff performed it before a crowd of pro-German reunification activists at the Wall on New Year's Eve, 1989.[89] At another point, a few voices began mumbling Joy Division's 'Love Will Tear Us Apart', as if to draw attention to the ambivalence involved in the portrayal of 'the German people' as a community torn by differences and tensions that stands together despite internal divides.[90]

Furthermore, the repetition of certain words and phrases of the legal text was used to emphasize some of its democratic principles and key concepts; for instance, the repetition of the preamble foregrounded the federal structure of the German Republic. At a later point in the performance, the right of all citizens to resist and to fight attacks on Germany's democratic constitution was reiterated. In doing this, *Grundgesetz* put a certain emphasis on the so-called German *Ewigkeitsklausel*. The eternity clause of the Constitution establishes that certain fundamental principles of Germany's democracy can never be removed from its constitution, not even by parliament. They include the acknowledgement of human rights and the protection of fundamental principles, such as the sovereignty of the people, based on the democratic political system and the rule of law.[91]

I would like to expand on the way *Grundgesetz* conjured up the image of 'the German people' as a political community or a public assembly, and the sense of tension and discomfort that *Grundgesetz* evoked, because this tension is indicative of the core conflicts of postmigrant societies and art's potential to address and expose them. The repetitive invocation of '*das deutsche Volk*' inevitably recalled other uses of this expression, especially Germany's Nazi past, thus summoning up the spectres of authoritarianism and the ethnically purified, monocultural nation-state as a reminder of the disturbing fact that militarized authoritarianism can grow from within a society and in democratic states. The historical connotations invariably drew attention to the resurgence of right-wing nationalist movements in the political context of 2018. The year before, the EU-sceptic, anti-immigration and nationalist party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) had gained seats in the *Bundestag* (the German parliament) as the third largest party, and since 2018, AfD has had seats in all sixteen *Landtagen* (state parliaments), despite the party's connections with more extremist groups and movements, such as Pegidia.[92] Décaillet has argued that through the utterance 'we, the German people', the chorus proclaims itself

to be a collectivity, that is, it does not 'refer' to an existing entity, the people, but 'performs and produces' a people claiming constitutional rights by enacting and prefiguring it.[93] However, as Décaillet infers, the enactment of 'the people' remained ambiguous. The performance of a political community in action addressing a crowd recalled the ways in which choruses were used in mass spectacles during the Weimar Republic by the National Socialists and the Social Democratic Movement. Décaillet points to the striking similarities with the Nazi *Thingspiele* (huge outdoor speaking chorus performances involving audiences to invoke a folk/national community) and the German Worker's *Sprechchöre* ('speaking choruses').[94] Crucially, *Grundgesetz* may have played with this German tradition of using chorus performance for political mass spectacles and used it to question historical visions of a homogeneous community, as the Gorki Theatre chorus portrayed the people to come as 'a plurality of bodies and voices whose unity is guaranteed by fundamental rights and whose community needs to be shown and performed in order to be lived out'.[95] Thus, in *Grundgesetz*, the imagined community of the nation was portrayed as a paradoxical community: individual bodies were seen and individual voices were heard, but individuals only appeared as connected to others and as part of a collective body that searched for and attempted to generate a 'we', a 'people', while also handling with suspicion such unifying endeavours and identifications, including the very notion of a 'we'.[96]

To conclude, it was not only the resilience of the Basic Law that was subjected to a stress test in *Grundgesetz*. The chorus that performed the unifying moves and mechanisms required to engender 'the people' was also tested by being subjected to the demanding exercise of producing equality and togetherness in difference, that is, a plural democratic society where all citizens enjoy the same rights and life opportunities, a society characterized by complicated entanglements and mixed-up differences.[97]

An Overview

After explaining the aims of the book and its focus on contemporary art engaging with postmigration, this Introduction concludes with an overview of the subsequent six chapters. They are organized in pairs, beginning with Chapter 1 on theory and Chapter 2 on method. As the discourse on postmigration has not yet gained traction in art history, Chapter 1 provides a thorough account of the concept of postmigration as well as its academic genealogies and trajectories, explaining how scholars in the humanities and social sciences have theorized and used the term in different ways to generate new knowledge and research perspectives. Chapter 2 proceeds to the methodological question of what avenues can productively be pursued when exploring contemporary art emerging from postmigrant conditions. To this end, Chapter 2 surveys previous publications on art and (post)migration and proposes a model for what a postmigrant methodology for cultural analysis might look like, one that specifically takes into consideration the orientation towards participatory practices characteristic of contemporary art. Readers who are not keen on elaborate theoretical and methodological discussions and who wish to move on to the art projects more quickly might want to go directly to Chapter 3 and especially Chapters 4–6.

Chapters 3–6 explore what insights can be gleaned from artistic and curatorial practices when they are examined through the lens of postmigration. These four chapters elaborate the book's key analytical concepts and use them to explore matters of political and cultural significance to postmigrant societies. Each of the chapters revolves around

a case study of one or more artistic and/or curatorial projects that address the problem-space of postmigration in ways that permit postmigrant public spaces and transversal politics to emerge.

Chapters 3 and 4 both seek to develop further this book's overarching theoretical framework. Chapter 3 'acts on' the account in Chapter 1 of postmigrant thought as inward-looking, in the sense that it is primarily concerned with the nation-state as the arena where postmigrant struggles and transformations play out. Chapter 3 seeks to develop the postmigrant lens further by adding an outward-looking perspective and adapting it to the study of visual art by strengthening the transcultural and transnational dimension which is immanent in postmigrant analytical perspectives, but rarely foregrounded in the analyses of and debates on 'postmigrant society' in the social sciences. More specifically, Chapter 3 uses three snapshots from Berlin, London and Copenhagen – the opening of the 4. Berliner Herbstsalon ('4th Berlin Autumn Salon', 2019), Steve McQueen's *Year 3* (2019) and Maja Nydal Eriksen's *100% FREMMED?* ('100% FOREING?', 2017–2019) – as analytical stepping stones to linking the concept of postmigration to the concept of transculturality, as defined by the art historian Monica Juneja. It also initiates the book's conceptual groundwork by coining the concept of a postmigrant imaginary as distinctly different from both national and diasporic imaginaries.

Chapter 4 adds a feminist perspective to the amalgamated postmigrant and transcultural perspective of Chapter 3, in order to account for the coalitional and feminist aspects of postmigrant cultural practices and politics. To this end, the chapter presents a comprehensive analysis of the Maxim Gorki Theatre's series of Berliner Herbstsalons as a model to learn from, especially in regard to bridge-building between artistic, activist and academic fields of expertise, and to a practice of alliance-building across different social and cultural positionalities that mobilizes *aesthetics* as a particular kind of knowledge production. The fourth Herbstsalon mobilized feminist, transcultural and postmigrant perspectives to counter rising nationalism, and it epitomizes the Theatre's endeavours to engender what Chapter 4, building on feminist theory, designates a postmigrant epistemic community and a postmigrant transversal politics. Thus, the gist of my argument in Chapter 4 is that the Herbstsalon format has significantly enhanced the Theatre's generative potential as a cultural institution to forge postmigrant alliances *in public*.

Art in public space is key to understanding art's engagement with postmigration, so public art figures prominently among the examples in this book. Accordingly, the aim of Chapters 5 and 6 is to provide a distinctly postmigrant take on art's generative role in public spaces by unpacking theoretically and testing analytically the concept of postmigrant public space, already briefly explained above. In addition, Chapter 5 elaborates on the idea of 're-memorialization' as a crucial task for art in the public spaces of postmigrant societies, exemplified by the struggles over historical monuments of recent years and by the specific example of La Vaughn Belle and Jeannette Ehlers's memorial *I Am Queen Mary* for Copenhagen Harbour (2018). Conversely, Chapter 6 focuses on art's potential to generate not only objects but also physical and symbolic spaces. By examining the Copenhagen urban park *Superkilen* (2012), designed by Superflex, BIG and Topotex 1, Chapter 6 examines how the cultural plurality and frictions of an urban neighbourhood can be articulated visually, and how art can shape a public space.

Finally, the Afterword returns to the question of art's roles in postmigrant societies. It attempts a synthetic answer deduced from the book's case studies as to what we can learn from them about art's agency. It also sums up the book's methodological considerations in a description of the mode of praxis informing this study as a whole.

Notes

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3 Jonsson, 'A Society Which Is Not', 206.
4 Jonsson, 'A Society Which Is Not', 206.
5 See Angela Dimitrakaki and Harry Weeks, 'Anti-Fascism/Art/Theory: An Introduction to What Hurts Us', *Third Text* 33, no. 3 (2019), https://doi.org/10.1080/09528822.2019.1663679; Rasmussen, *Late Capitalist Fascism*.
6 Geoff Eley, 'Fascism Then and Now', in *Socialist Register 2016: The Politics of the Right*, ed. Leo Panitch and Colin Leys (London: Merlin Press, 2015), 93. Quoted from Rasmussen, *Late Capitalist Fascism*, 18.
7 Rasmussen, *Late Capitalist Fascism*, 3–4.
8 Rasmussen, *Late Capitalist Fascism*, 9.
9 Juliane Karakayalı and Paul Mecheril, 'Contested Crises: Migration Regimes as an Analytical Perspective on Today's Societies', in *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Anna Meera Gaonkar et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 76.
10 See Max Czollek, *Desintegriert Euch!* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2018).
11 See Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung, 'Barakunan Interview Curator and Author Bonaventure Ndikung for Day 3 of Electronic Literature Day', interview by Barakunan, March 12, 2021, 24–27 min., https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l4SNedypVE4; Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung, *Savvy Contemporary the Laboratory of Form-Ideas: A Concept Reloaded* (Berlin: Savvy Contemporary, 2017), https://savvy-contemporary.com/site/assets/files/2811/savvy_concept_2017.pdf.
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13 See Chantal Mouffe, *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically* (London: Verso, 2013).
14 Oliver Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics: Artistic Activism and the Public Sphere* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2019), 116.
15 See Gabriele Dietze and Julia Roth, 'Right-Wing Populism and Gender: A Preliminary Cartography of an Emergent Field of Research', in *Right-Wing Populism and Gender: European Perspectives and Beyond*, ed. Gabriele Dietze and Julia Roth (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020), 7–21; Rasmussen, *Late Capitalist Fascism*; Dimitrakaki and Weeks, 'Anti-Fascism/Art/Theory'.
16 Kevin Robins, 'Transnational Cultural Policy and European Cosmopolitanism', *Cultural Politics* 3, no. 2 (2007): 153.
17 See Frank Heiland, 'Trends in East-West German Migration from 1989 to 2002', *Demographic Research* 11, no. 7 (2004): 176, https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2004.11.7.
18 See Hein de Haas, Stephen Castles, and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. Sixth Edition (New York: The Guilford Press, 2020), 129–30.
19 Robins, 'Transnational Cultural Policy', 153.
20 Robins, 'Transnational Cultural Policy', 154.
21 See Naika Foroutan, *Die Einheit der Verschiedenen: Integration in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft* (Osnabrück: Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS) der Universität Osnabrück, 2015); Naika Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft: Ein Versprechen der pluralen Demokratie* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2019).
22 Vassilis S. Tsianos and Juliane Karakayalı, 'Rassismus und Repräsentationspolitik in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 64, no. 13–14 (2014): 34. The English translation is quoted from Anna Meera Gaonkar et al., eds., *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 20.
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24 See Moritz Schramm, Sten Pultz Moslund, and Anne Ring Petersen, eds., *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition* (New York: Routledge, 2019); Gaonkar et al., *Postmigration*.
25 '[Das Postmigrantische] macht marginalisierte Wissensarten sichtbar, wirkt irritierend af nationale Mythen, zeigt neue Differenzauffassungen under erzeught ein neues Geschichtsbewusstsein' Erol Yildiz, *Die weltoffene Stadt. Wie Migration Globalisierung zum urbanen Alltag macht* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2013), 177.
26 Kijan Espahangizi, 'Das Postmigrantische ist kein kind der Akademie', *Geschichte der Gegenwart. Beiträge zur öffentliche Debatte* (June 16, 2016), n.p. See also Riem Spielhaus, 'Studien in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft: Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung', in *Kongressdokumentation 4. Bundesfachkongress Interkultur, Hamburg 2012*, ed. Marius Koniarczyck et al. (Hamburg: Kulturbehörde der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2012).
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29 Jonsson, 'A Society Which Is Not'.
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32 See Frederik Tygstrup, 'The Work of Art: From Fetish to Forum', *Academic Quarter* 16, Autumn (2017): 150.
33 Theodor W. Adorno, *The Positivist Dispute in German Sociology* (London: Heinemann, 1976), 120; quoted from Jonsson, 'A Society Which Is Not', 216.
34 Jonsson, 'A Society Which Is Not', 217.
35 See Bilgin Ayata, 'Affective Citizenship', in *Affective Societies*, ed. Jan Slaby and Christian von Scheve (London: Routledge, 2019), 332.
36 See Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*. Second Edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 43.
37 See Lister, *Citizenship*, 49. For a critical biopolitical analysis of the exclusionary mechanisms of citizenship, see Willem Schinkel, 'From Zoëpolitics to Biopolitics: Citizenship and the Construction of "Society"', *European Journal of Social Theory* 13, no. 2 (2010): 155–72.
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39 Jinan Hammoude, 'Ikkevestlige holdes uden for debatten', *Politiken*, November 6, 2021.
40 Ayata, 'Affective Citizenship', 334.
41 Ayata, 'Affective Citizenship', 330.
42 Ayata, 'Affective Citizenship', 330.
43 Ayata, 'Affective Citizenship', 330–34.
44 Tygstrup, 'The Work of Art', 157.
45 Tygstrup, 'The Work of Art', 157.
46 Tygstrup, 'The Work of Art', 161.
47 See Frederik Tygstrup, Knut Ove Eliassen, Solveig Gade, Ansa Lønstrup, Helena Mattsson, and Sidsel Nelund, *Kunsten som forum. Et forskningsoplæg om kunst og sociale fællesskaber* (Copenhagen: Statens Kunstfond, 2017), 9–12, https://www.kunst.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/Kunst_dk/Dokumenter/Om_os/Forskning/Kunst_og_sociale_faellesskaber/Kunsten_som_forum_2017.pdf.
48 Ien Ang, *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living Between Asia and the West* (London: Routledge, 2001), 14; see also 11 and 17. See also Ien Ang, 'Together-in-Difference: Beyond Diaspora, Into Hybridity', *Asian Studies Review* 27, no. 2 (2003): 141–54.

49 Ulrike Garde and Meg Mumford, 'Berliners with an "Authenticity Guarantee": Cultural Complexity in *100% Berlin* and *100% City*', in *Theatre of Real People: Diverse Encounters from Berlin's Hebbel Am Ufer and Beyond*, ed. Ulrike Garde and Meg Mumford (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 105.
50 See Douglas Eacho, 'Serial Nostalgia: Rimini Protokoll's *100% City* and the Numbers We No Longer Are', *Theatre Research International* 43, no. 2 (2018): 185. For the theatre production of *100% København*, see https://www.rimini-protokoll.de/website/de/project/100-kopenhagen and https://www.metropolis.dk/tag/100-koebenhavn/, accessed January 6, 2023. For a recording of the performance, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d2oisa3Eh4I, accessed January 6, 2023.
51 See '100% Copenhagen', accessed January 6, 2022, http://www.rimini-protokoll.de/website/en/project/100-kopenhagen.
52 See Erik Exe Christoffersen, '100% teater og billedkunst: Interferens mellem danskhed og fremmedhed', *Peripeti*, no. 19 (April 29, 2022): 103, https://tidsskrift.dk/peripeti/article/view/132301.
53 Eacho, 'Serial Nostalgia', 185.
54 See Garde and Mumford, 'Berliners in *100% Berlin*', 106.
55 See Eacho, 'Serial Nostalgia', 190.
56 Eacho, 'Serial Nostalgia', 191. Eacho quotes from Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 2016), 145.
57 See David A. Bailey, Ian Baucom, and Sonia Boyce, eds., *Shades of Black: Assembling Black Arts in 1980s Britain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, in collaboration with inIVA and Aavaa, 2005); Kobena Mercer, 'Art History and the Dialogics of Diaspora', *Small Axe* 16, no. 2 (2012): 213–27; Eddie Chambers, *Black Artists in British Art: A History since the 1950s* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014); Celeste-Marie Bernier, *Stick to the Skin: African American and Black British Art, 1965–2015* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018); Nick Aikens and Elizabeth Robles, eds., *The Place Is Here: The Work of Black Artists in 1980s Britain* (Berlin and Eindhoven: Sternberg Press and Van Abbemuseum, 2019). Lubaina Himid's retrospective in 2021–22 was shown at Tate Modern in London, which also organized a retrospective of Steve McQueen's work in 2020. A large exhibition of Frank Bowling's paintings curated by one of the most influential proponents of African and African diasporic art, the late Okwui Enwezor, was shown at Haus der Kunst in Munich in 2018 followed by a huge retrospective for Frank Bowling at Tate Britain in 2019.
58 See Stuart Hall, 'Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities', in *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. Anthony D. King (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 41–68.
59 See Mora J. Beauchamp-Byrd, 'Cut-Outs and "Silent Companions": Theatricality and Satire in Lubaina Humid's "A Fashionable Marriage"', *Burlington Contemporary*, no. 2 (2019): 3, https://doi.org/10.31452/bcj2.himid.Beauchamp-Byrd. Chambers, *Black Artists*. Bailey, Baucom, and Boyce, *Shades of Black*. Bernier, *Stick to the Skin*.
60 See Beauchamp-Byrd, 'Cut-Outs', 25, note 8. A critical discussion of the label 'Black Arts Movement' and an explication of the British nomenclature of B/black are found in Nick Aikens and Elizabeth Robles, 'Introduction', in *The Place Is Here: The Work of Black Artists in 1980s Britain*, ed. Nick Aikens and Elizabeth Robles (Berlin and Eindhoven: Sternberg Press and Van Abbemuseum, 2019), 9–10.
61 Beauchamp-Byrd, 'Cut-Outs', 5.
62 Celeste-Marie Bernier, Alan Rice, Lubaina Himid, and Hannah Durkin, *Inside the Invisible: Memorialising Slavery and Freedom in the Life and Works of Lubaina Himid* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), 74.
63 See Lubaina Himid, 'Artist Statement I: Gathering and Reusing', in *Inside the Invisible: Memorialising Slavery and Freedom in the Life and Works of Lubaina Himid*, ed. Celeste-Marie Bernier et al. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), 54.
64 Aikens and Robles, 'Introduction', 251.
65 Beauchamp-Byrd, 'Cut-Outs', 17; see also p. 20.
66 See Beauchamp-Byrd, 'Cut-Outs', 5.
67 Bernier et al., *Inside the Invisible*, 78.
68 See Bernier et al., *Inside the Invisible*, 74.

69 The exhibition was first shown at Nottingham Contemporary from 4 February to 1 May 2017, and then split into two smaller shows running concurrently at Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art and the South London Gallery from June until the autumn of 2017. *The Place is Here* was subsequently documented in a comprehensive book with new research on the topic and illustrated with installation shots from the exhibitions. Aikens and Robles, *The Place Is Here*.

70 Elena Philipp, 'Bratwurst, Bier und Wir-Bestärkung', *Die deutsche Bühne*, October 4, 2018, https://www.die-deutsche-buehne.de/kritiken/bratwurst-bier-und-wir-bestaerkung.

71 The 'Basic Law' is a part of the German Constitution. For a short video documentation of *Grundgesetz*, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xlnj129F8O4&feature=youtu.be, accessed January 6, 2023.

72 According to Górnicka's portfolio of *Grundgesetz*, the performance would feature 'actors of the GORKI THEATER, including the EXILE ENSEMBLE, children, people with Down's syndrome, actors of the Ramba Zamba Theatre, members of the Berlin Seniors' Association, refugees, sports fans, people with disabilities. 50 representatives of different religions, worldviews, languages and heritages.' Martha Górnicka, Grundgesetz Portfolio, English, c2018, Unpublished. The names of all participants and co-producers are listed on Górnicka's website; see https://gornicka.com/projects/grundgesetz-ein-chorischer-stresstest/, accessed January 6, 2023.

73 See Louise Décaillet, 'Marta Górnicka's *Grundgesetz*: The Chorus as Portrait and Proxi of Political Community', *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 70, no. 3 (2021): 124, https://doi.org/10.36744/pt.830.

74 Górnicka, quoted in Hannah Lühmann, '"Es gibt so viele stumme Stellen in diesem Text!"', *Die Welt*, October 2, 2018, https://gornicka.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/DIE-WELT-02.10.2018-Es-gibt-so.....-GRUNDGESETZ-internal-use-copy.pdf.

75 See Naveen Kumar, 'Devising German Democracy', *American Theatre* 36, no. 10 (2019): 42.

76 'eine Empowerment-Strategie der Aneignung' Langhoff, quoted in Lily Martin, 'Shermin Langhoff "It's Stories That Make History"', *renk.Bazar*, February 10, 2015, https://renk-magazin.de/en/shermin-langhoff-stories-make-history/.

77 See Anne Ring Petersen, Moritz Schramm, and Frauke Wiegand, 'Introduction: From Artistic Intervention to Academic Discussion', in *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition*, ed. Moritz Schramm, Sten Pultz Moslund, and Anne Ring Petersen (New York: Routledge, 2019), 3–4.

78 See Lizzie Stewart, 'Postmigrant Theatre: The Ballhaus Naunynstraße Takes on Sexual Nationalism', in '(Post-)Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 5 (2017): 57, https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2017.1347474.

79 My analysis draws on Godlewski's analysis of this production; Godlewski, 'We? The People? On Marta Górnicka's *Constitution for the Chorus of Poles*', *Polish Theatre Journal* 1, no. 5 (2018): 1–12. There are some formal similarities between the two pieces despite the very different political contexts of Germany and Poland, including their constitutions.

80 Philipp, 'Bratwurst'. The brass bands are listed among the participants on Górnicka's website, https://gornicka.com/projects/grundgesetz-ein-chorischer-stresstest/, accessed January 6, 2023. I thank Dr. Frauke Wiegand for identifying the pieces of music and pointing out the connection to the FDJ tradition mentioned in Elena Philipp's review; email to the author on September 16, 2020.

81 The transition from recital to disco was signalled by a girl performer shouting 'Now we come to you and then we all dance together'. It suggests that Górnicka and the Gorki intended to bridge the gap between stage and stalls, performers and audience, but that the attempt remained a symbolic gesture rather than an actual transformation of the huge crowd into participants. See also Décaillet, 'Marta Górnicka's Grundgesetz', 132–33 and 137–41.

82 Translation from: 'Basic Law from the Federal Republic of Germany', https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_gg/ (emphasis added), accessed January 25, 2022. The German libretto reads: 'Wir, das deutsche Volk, haben uns in dem Bewußtsein unserer Verantwortung vor Gott und den Menschen, von dem Willen beseelt, als gleichberechtigtes Glied in einem vereinten Europa dem *Frieden* der Welt zu dienen, kraft seiner verfassungsgebenden Gewalt dieses Grundgesetz gegeben. Die Deutschen in den Ländern Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein und Türingen haben in freier Selbstbestimmung die *Einheit* und *Freiheit* Deutschlands vollendet. Damit gilt dieses

Grundgesetz für das gesamte deutsche Volk.' Górnicka slightly amended the constitutional text of 'Die deutsche Grundgesetz', as is evident when the libretto (quoted from Décaillet, 'Marta Górnicka's Grundgesetz', 125.) is compared to the constitutional text; see https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/gg/BJNR000010949.html, accessed January 6, 2023.

83 Article 11 'Freedom of movement'. Quoted from https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_gg/englisch_gg.html#p0061, accessed January 27, 2022.

84 See Timo Grampes, 'Irritation am Brandenburger Tor. Aljoscha Begrich im Gespräch mit Timo Grampes', *Kompressor*, October 2, 2018, https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/grundgesetz-ein-chorischer-stresstest-irritation-am-100.html.

85 See Décaillet, 'Marta Górnicka's Grundgesetz', 125.

86 See Décaillet, 'Marta Górnicka's Grundgesetz', 125.

87 See Chantal Mouffe, *For a Left Populism* (London: Verso, 2019), 87–93; and Mouffe, *Agonistics*.

88 Stanislaw Godlewski makes similar observations in regard to *Constitution for the Chorus of Poles*. Godlewski, 'We? The People?', 5–6.

89 The song 'Looking for Freedom' by the German music producer Jack White was originally released in 1978 with German singer Marc Seaberg. A decade later, White re-released the song with American actor and singer David Hasselhoff. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Looking_for_Freedom_(song), accessed January 6, 2023. In the context of the celebration of the Day of German Reunification, the song can thus be said to symbolize the beginning of the process of reunification.

90 See Décaillet, 'Marta Górnicka's Grundgesetz', 131.

91 See 'Entrenched clause, Germany', https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Entrenched_clause#Germany, accessed January 6, 2023. I thank the German studies scholar Moritz Schramm for making me aware of the *Ewigkeitsklausul* and its historical and political significance.

92 See 'Alternative für Deutschland', *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, accessed January 6, 2023, https://www.bpb.de/politik/wahlen/wer-steht-zur-wahl/bundestagswahl-2021/338930/afd. The connections between AfD and extremist movements and individuals are mapped and discussed in Moritz Schramm, *Kampen om midten. Tysk politik i det 21. århundrede* (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 2021), 145–67.

93 Décaillet, 'Marta Górnicka's Grundgesetz', 130.

94 See Décaillet, 'Marta Górnicka's Grundgesetz', 127–28 and 133–35.

95 Décaillet, 'Marta Górnicka's Grundgesetz', 128.

96 This suspicion against unifying mechanisms in Górnicka's earlier work is discussed in Agata Łuksza, '"I'm Calling Out to You": On the Choral Theatre of Marta Górnicka', *Polish Theatre Journal*, no. 1–18 (2015): 8, https://www.polishtheatrejournal.com/index.php/ptj/article/view/53/108.

97 See Ang, 'Together-in-Difference', 141.

1 Postmigration – A Theoretical Framework

Challenging the 'Migrantology', Shifting the Perspective

One of the most frequently cited statements in the academic discourses on postmigration is cultural anthropologist Regina Römhild's proposition that scholars need to 'demigratise' migration research while 'migrantising' research into culture and society, that is, the humanities and social sciences writ large. Such a double-sided process of migrantization and demigrantization of the perspectives on migration, culture and society is necessary, argues Römhild, if we want to undo the 'migrantology' that structures contemporary nation-states[1]:

> One underlying problem here is that migration research is often understood merely as 'research about migrants', producing a 'migrantology' that is capable of little more than repeatedly illustrating and reproducing itself; a 'migrantology' that at the same time plays its part in constructing its supposed counterpart, the national society of immobile, white non-migrants.[2]

For Römhild, the aim is not to study migration as a special research area – 'research about migrants' – but rather to 'observe society from the perspective of migration, in the sense of examining it from the margins it has itself created'. The best way to do this is to make migration and a transnational understanding of mobile culture the starting point for new concepts and 'a necessary cosmopolitanisation of culture'. What Römhild envisions then is a 'fundamental change of course towards a postmigrant migration research' that enters 'the as yet untouched "majority society" and its institution' to make migration more visible within overall societal developments and debates on culture.[3]

Using Römhild's concise identification of the task ahead as a launch pad, this chapter sets out to unpack the concept of postmigration and place it in a wider theoretical field. First of all, I consider the emergence of the discourse on postmigration and postmigrant societies. Next, I discuss some related concepts in order to clarify in which respects postmigration departs from the well-established frameworks of integration, cultural diversity, multiculturalism, interculturalism, super-diversity and – not forgetting the less frequently used but nevertheless important concept of – conviviality. I then go on to explain the different usages of the term *postmigration* in academic discourse and examine the genealogies and trajectories of postmigrant thought, before moving on to discuss the conflict sensitivity inherent to postmigrant thought, which becomes most explicit when the postmigrant lens is applied to racialization and racism as fundamental sources of friction and discrimination in postmigrant societies. As Chapter 2 on methodology

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explains in greater detail, this book seeks to enhance this conflict sensibility by adding to the postmigrant lens elements of conflict theory drawn from Chantal Mouffe's theory of antagonism and agonism as foundational to democratic participation in society and the political processes of democracy as well as the political theorist Oliver Marchart's theory of conflictual aesthetics. This development of a postmigrant methodology for art serves the book's overarching aims: to use the theoretical work on postmigration to generate a productive analytical perspective on visual art capable of uncovering the insights into conditions of postmigrancy that art harbours and to explore how art participates in the struggles that shape postmigrant societies, sometimes even in ways that feed into the theoretical discourses as can be demonstrated by postmigrant theatre.

Origin or Genealogy: What Is a Postmigrant Society and When Does It Start?

In a seminal historiographic discussion of the periodization of postmigrant developments, the historian Kijan Espahangizi explores the question of when and under what conditions societies become 'postmigrant'. Espahangizi juxtaposes two different ways of answering the question of the origins of a 'postmigrant society' – one founded on a supposedly linear trajectory of national political history and one based on the tracing of multiple coexisting and sometimes contradictory genealogies. Espahangizi starts from the observation that migration has always been a factor in history and that all modern societies can therefore be considered 'postmigrant'. From an analytical point of view, such a generalizing perspective that categorizes all societies with histories of migration as postmigrant is not helpful. Not only does the concept of postmigration lose its analytical acuity, but the historical question of *why* the discussions around postmigrant society have been brought to the forefront of public discourses is also sidelined.

To underpin his point, Esphangizi contrasts his own study of the findings of the Swiss committee on foreign workers in the 1960s with Naika Foroutan's periodization, which is based on the development in German politics. Following Espahangizi, the transition to postmigrant societies in European nation-states is marked by the emergence of a discourse on integration, in which integration is understood to be the organized societal participation and inclusion of immigrants and their descendants, accompanied by policy measures to tackle problems and strengthen inclusion, such as the Swiss Federal Consultative Commission on the Problem of Foreigners.[4] Conversely, for Foroutan, the founding historical moment of a postmigrant society is not marked by a transformed demographic composition of a society and a nascent integration discourse but by official political recognition. Foroutan's proposition generalizes the outcome of the so-called Süssmuth Commission, led by the former President of the Bundestag, Rita Süssmuth. The commission concluded that Germany should prepare for permanent immigration and that the country should develop a coordinated policy aimed at integration.[5] The Commission's findings were made public in 2001, marking the first official recognition of Germany as a country of immigration and 'an important paradigm shift in German politics' that ended the long-standing ignorance of social reality in the country during Helmut Kohl's chancellorship.[6] However, the Süssmuth Commission's findings also sparked fierce public debate and political controversy, reflecting the deep-seated German belief of not being an immigration country and demonstrating how ingrained this belief was in German society and politics.

From a German point of view, Foroutan's proposal for a 'recognition date' may seem plausible as a starting point of postmigrant society, but it does raise some historiographical questions. Is such an act of political recognition legally binding, and are its effects

sufficiently widespread to become 'a recognizable threshold'? Is the political recognition able to change the practices of institutions and everyday life enough to make a difference? And what about the fact that political recognition does not automatically include a commitment to policies of inclusion?[7] In Denmark, for instance, the powerful anti-immigrant discourses since the 1990s have arguably contributed significantly to the acknowledgement of the social reality of immigration, to thematising it and responding to it as 'a fact', albeit negatively. This negative recognition of the fact of immigration has also unfolded in a frictional interplay with various pro-integration and social justice discourses. Given that social issues are increasingly falling under the rubric of issues related to migration – such as public security, work force, unemployment, housing, gender issues, racism, company and institutional diversity politics, food and language in nursery schools and so on – there is some truth to Espahangizi's proposition that migration has moved to the centre and become 'a constitutive mode of socialisation' without this leading to 'a politically inclusive acceptance and socially valued integration of immigrants'.[8] Rather, what we have seen is the rise of a permanent problematisation of the figures of the migrant and the refugee. It must be said in fairness that although political recognition on the national macro level is a key criterion in Foroutan's definition of postmigrant society,[9] she does emphasize that the recognition of Germany as a country of immigration in 2001 was not solely the result of a national political act but also an outcome of 'the engagement of countless migratory and civil-society actors' whose activist struggles began long before any official recognition.[10]

Not forgetting the many differences between Denmark and Switzerland (the focal point of Espahangizi's study), there are nevertheless so many similarities between the two countries' postmigrant conditions that his historiographic points can be applied to Denmark as well as to many other (European) nations[11]:

> Compared to the role of migration in the national self-images of 'classic' immigration countries such as the United States and Canada, Germany's self-perception as such remains rather contested. Moreover, current postmigrant approaches clearly emphasise Germany as a case study, which limits the analytical power these approaches have offered so far. Not least in relation to other comparable cases – such as Switzerland – that do not necessarily have a 'recognition date' based on a specific governmental act, report or commission. Nonetheless, very similar social processes and 'obsessive' media debates around questions of migration and integration can be discerned in the two countries… Akin to Germany, Switzerland is also an immigration country à contre cœur – despite its dominant self-perception… If Germany is the only country that can accurately be described as postmigrant, then little is gained analytically.[12]

The migration and education studies scholars Veronika Kourabas and Paul Mecheril add to Espahangizi's historiographical critique an important observation on the consequences of basing the concept of postmigrant society on a selective consideration of governmental migration policies. The focus on migration and integration politics within the nation-state entity in Foroutan's definition tends to bypass the national border politics and the ongoing fortification of German and by extension, EU borders against unwanted immigrants and refugees that is anything but immigration-friendly. When postmigration is understood from the perspective of the nation-state as a task related to the shaping of society rather than from the perspective of, for example, the border crossing subject, there is a risk, argue Koroubas and Mecheril, of uncritically 'stabilizing' the racializing

structures and hegemony of the nation-state and turning a blind eye to the fact that anti-immigration border and refugee politics is also a characteristic of postmigrant Germany.[13]

Arguably, the national and the transnational levels do not operate as separate systems in regard to migration. Thus, the social dynamics within nation-states must be explored as part of transnational entanglements and processes of exchange and resonance, while also acknowledging the fact that the nation-state is a fundamental political and legal framework that continues to shape society. My study is therefore in harmony with Espahangizi's proposal that the concept of postmigrant society must be flexible enough to address different contexts and histories and to capture the interplay between different levels by enabling researchers to move across different scales and domains. Espahangizi finds a viable proposal in Vassilis S. Tsianos and Juliane Karakayalı's broad and historically sensitive definition of the term *postmigrant society* as denoting 'the political, cultural and social transformations of societies with a history of postcolonial and guest worker immigration', also mentioned in the Introduction to this book.[14] As opposed to Foroutan's definition, which is extrapolated from governmental acts specific to Germany and therefore difficult to apply to other countries and historical conjunctures, Tsianos and Karakayalı's perspective is applicable transnationally, argues Espahangizi. It presents 'a promising analytical framework' for examining 'different thresholds within processes of societal transformation' in countries pervaded by 'ambiguity towards their immigration realities'.[15] I concur with Espahangizi that Tsianos and Karakayalı offer a helpful framework for understanding that postmigrant societies emerge from the interplay of different historical processes of transformation and come into appearance when multiple social actors and social institutions realize that societal transformations have taken effect and begin to change their perception of society accordingly; a framework that is sufficiently flexible to accommodate the interplay between different levels – national, transnational, supranational – as well as between different communities and their lifeworlds and spaces of socialisation.

This book thus adopts Karakayalı and Tsianos's broad understanding of postmigrant society. It takes its lead from Espahangizi's focus on historical genealogies, junctures and moments of upheaval rather than essentialisms and origins. Like Espahangizi, I stress that the postmigrant perspective is historical but not teleological. It does not assume a linear history of progress because '[t]he future of any given society is as uncertain as it is contested'.[16] A focus on genealogies and conjunctures allows for an examination of different paths towards realizing and theorizing 'the fact of immigration'. As we shall see, this approach is pertinent to a transnational examination of postmigrant thought and art emerging from different postmigrant contexts and predicaments.

Related Key Concepts

The concept of postmigration has gained currency, because, first, it provides a critical change of perspective on the political, cultural and social transformation of societies with a history of postcolonial and so-called 'guest worker' immigration, as seen in many European countries; and second, because of its productive conflict sensitivity and ability to use migratory perspectives to open up broad societal questions of equality and difference in new ways. As the sociologist Erol Yildiz has observed, postmigration concerns 'the retelling and reinterpretation of the phenomenon "migration" and its consequences'.[17] The concept thus positions itself in and challenges the ever-growing cluster of concepts used to study the interaction and coexistence of different ethnic groups. Like postmigration,

they are all contested, with the critical contestation contributing to the clarification of their respective meanings, assets and flaws. Before turning to the concept of postmigration, I would therefore like to consider some of the most widely used concepts that have preceded it in order to track the lineages of the conceptualization of migration and ethnic cohabitation and to situate 'postmigration' in its wider theoretical setting.

The dominant term in migrant settlement studies is *integration*, a term which has been contested by critical migration scholars and even rejected by some because it has been politically instrumentalized and is inextricably linked to the logic of the nation-state and its foundational binary constructions such as us/them, belonging/not belonging and citizen/non-citizen. Nevertheless, integration is still the dominant term in political and media discourses where it has remained virtually unquestioned. Despite the increasingly obvious limitations of the concept, integration has established itself as 'the most widely used general concept for describing the target of post-immigration politics'.[18] The migration studies scholars Aleksandra Grzymala-Kazlowska and Jenny Phillimore note that integration is the most prominent idea in the discourses on immigrants' settlement and social adjustment in Europe; but although the EU definition states that 'Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents', it is often used by policymakers to imply assimilation rather than a process of mutual adaptation.[19] If postmigration is positioned in relation to the dominant concepts in migration studies, it could be said that its central concern is not transnational cross-border *migration* and the experience of uprooting and displacement, but what is commonly termed *integration*, that is, the long adaptation processes that play out after settlement in the host community – although the perpetual circulation across borders and the predicament of the newly arrived, especially refugees and asylum seekers, is also a concern. This is reflected in a German language 'glossary' of keywords in studies of culture and society from 2022, for which Naika Foroutan and Frank Kalter co-authored the entry on 'integration'. The two co-directors of the Deutsche Zentrum für Integrations und Migrationsforschung (German Centre for Integration and Migration Research) in Berlin used the opportunity to update the concept with a 'postmigrant perspective on integration', asserting that although the concept of integration needs to be sharpened, it is a necessary analytical concept for highly complex societies and should not be abolished.[20]

As Espahangizi has explained, with postcolonial and 'guest worker' immigration into postwar Europe, a new discourse on migration and integration emerged, promoting certain narratives, images, figures, concepts, research programmes and types of knowledge. In the 1960s, sociology became the leading discipline for the study of integration and provided the narratives for the negative discourse on integration as a sociocultural problem, with its articulation of 'foreign workers' as 'problems'.[21] Espahangizi coins the concept of the 'migration-integration complex' to describe 'the assemblage of forms of realisation and obsessive problem management' evolving in the second half of the twentieth century. He deploys the concept of postmigration to critically analyse how this 'knowledge-power complex' organizes the sociopolitical terrain as a forcefield of inclusions and exclusions, which constantly shift and rearrange the historical boundaries of national, ethnic and cultural belonging.[22] In doing so, Espahangizi distances himself from much integration theory, with its predominant focus on migrants' adaptation to the new society rather than on how the adaptation of host societies may be understood. As Römhild points out, this common one-sidedness has reinforced the perception of the host community as sedentary guardians of a somewhat static singular culture and homogeneous identity.[23] Furthermore, the concept of integration has generally been

used to analyse migrant adaptation in 'traditional' integration, when immigrants settle permanently in a new country to become part of a society perceived to have a dominant (usually white) majority population.[24] However, as Gryzmala-Kazlowska and Phillimore point out, the concept has not been sufficiently reworked to apply to so-called new migration, wherein a considerable number of migrants do not settle permanently, or maintain close connections to more than one country that are often sustained by the ways in which new communication technologies enable people to maintain enduring and synchronized social relations as well as aiding 'new spatially unspecific relationships' to evolve.[25] The problem with the lens of integration (in this respect) is that it bypasses the adaptation processes that play out when migrants and descendants operate in transnational social fields – as is common among artists and curators – or settle in places where there is no clear majority population, which raises the questions of social cohesion and 'integration into what?'.[26] The emergence of new forms of migration, not readily captured by integration, has thus created a need for alternative conceptualizations of migrant settlement.

Brief definitions suffice to indicate how the concept of postmigration is related to yet also distinguishes itself from the established alternatives to 'integration'. All the terms discussed below aim at conceptualizing aspects of lived multiethnicity, and each foregrounds different aspects of the general problem-space. None of them cover it all or replace other ways of thinking about immigration, urban diversity, racism and the hierarchies of belonging, that is, the new 'pecking orders of integration' and the recent 'racial reordering' or 'differential inclusion'.[27] These selective and conflict-ridden processes are based on how the granting or withholding of tolerance were produced historically and on the fear and suspicion that structured these affective transactions. It needs to be stressed that the concept of postmigration and postmigrant analytical perspectives cannot cover all the aspects of 'migration', so postmigration is not proposed here as a substitute for concepts such as mobility, immigration, integration, diversity and transculturalism, but as an epistemologically productive addition to the existing theoretical vocabulary.

I have chosen not to adopt the by now somewhat worn and conceptually diluted term *cultural diversity* or the endlessly contested concept of multiculturalism, which have both been vital to the British debates, at least since the 1980s. However, I wish to stress that the *problematics* that cluster under these blanket terms are not new, nor has there been any move beyond them. The historical context has changed, perhaps even dramatically so, and the more recent discourses on postmigration are sensitive to these changes and the conflicts they have bred. Yet, the basic problematics remain more or less the same. For this reason, I also draw on older seminal work by, among others, Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy, whose visions of a new sense of place and belonging and whose critical analyses of the proliferation of new and old forms of racism and discrimination are very much in line with the recent theories coming out of academia and cultural debates in Germany.

Starting with the concept of cultural diversity, this blanket term is used widely in many areas of society to refer to multi-ethnicity and cultural pluralism. It is often used interchangeably with multiculturalism and interculturalism to describe 'the view that cultures, races, and ethnicities, particularly those of minority groups, deserve special acknowledgement of their differences within a dominant political culture'.[28] However, it lacks the kind of theoretical framework that underpins multiculturalism and interculturalism, leading to conceptual vagueness. Moreover, it does not address the processes that produce exclusion, inequality and racism. Moving on to multiculturalism, this complex and much debated concept is often used to refer to the policy framework of multi-ethnicity, as

in the coexistence with and through ethnic differences. As the sociologist Jan Nederveen Pieterse has explained, ethnicity and multiculturalism are essential for understanding globalization and the challenges that global migration poses to nation-states. Nation-states emerged from multi-ethnicity, which exists both within and outside their borders, and multi-ethnicity has been 'an ordinary state of affairs through most of history', whereas multiculturalism is 'an institutionalization of multiethnicity, a set of policies that usually imply a positive evaluation of multiethnicity'. Moreover, it is 'a work in progress' that usually concerns relatively recent immigration.[29]

Under the headline 'The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism?', the political philosopher Will Kymlicka has analysed the historical development of multiculturalism in the West and the reasons why the critique of policies with regard to multiculturalism and the depreciative discourses on immigration-induced multi-ethnicity have spread since the mid-1990s. These discourses have led to 'a surprising consensus that we are indeed in a post-multicultural era' and, it could be added, have intensified the search for alternatives to the politically tainted concepts of multiculturalism and integration.[30] According to Kymlicka, the 'master narrative' of multiculturalism outlines two phases, a 'rise' and a 'fall'. From the 1970s to the mid-1990s, Western democracies generally adopted multicultural policies in order to increase the recognition and accommodation of minority rights. Yet, since the mid-1990s, 'a backlash and retreat from multiculturalism' has taken place, resulting in 'a re-assertion of ideas of nation building, common values and identity, and unitary citizenship – even a return of assimilation'.[31] This change has manifested in different ways across Western countries, where majority groups have been infested with fears that diversity is threatening their way of life, often leading to the rise of populist and nativist right-wing political movements. Coinciding with this, doubts have spread among the centre-left that multiculturalism has failed to support the intended beneficiaries – the minorities themselves – by unintentionally contributing to their social isolation, resulting in a shift, even in centre-left policies, towards a discourse that endorses ideas of integration, social cohesion and common values. Kymlicka concludes that although the social democratic discourse of national integration differs from radical right discourses in stressing the need for a more inclusive national identity and policies that fight discrimination and racism, it nevertheless distances itself from the discourses and policies of multiculturalism.[32]

To advance his proposition that the failure of multiculturalism is exaggerated, Kymlicka introduces a distinction between three broad patterns of multiculturalism in the West: first, new forms of empowerment of indigenous peoples; second, new forms of autonomy and power-sharing benefiting sub-state national groups; and third, new forms of multicultural citizenship for immigrant groups. All three combine cultural recognition, economic redistribution and political participation. Kymlicka submits that while there has been 'no retreat from the commitment to new models of multicultural citizenship' for indigenous peoples and national minorities, neither in law nor public opinion, 'it is only with respect to immigrant groups that we see any serious retreat. Here, without question, there has been a backlash against multiculturalism policies relating to postwar migrants in several western democracies.'[33]

Thus, Kymlicka's distinction between different patterns of multiculturalism confirms one of the key points in postmigrant thought: that it is over immigration-induced pluralism specifically and not cultural pluralism in general that the antagonistic perceptions of migration and diversity as threat *and* potential collide. These are the cause of the 'moral panics' that spread quickly and widely in society through broadcast and social media.[34]

Indirectly, Kymlicka's study also suggests why 'multiculturalism' has never really caught on in studies of art and migration, except as a term for cultural policies and institutional strategies of inclusion.[35] As multiculturalist policies seek to maintain the distinctiveness of minority ethnic communities, they tend to place a particular burden on cultural producers because their work is often expected to express a specific national, ethnic or religious *group* identity. As a result, reductionist or stereotyped ethnic labels are often assigned to cultural producers and their work. The postmigrant approach offers ways of sidestepping some of these challenges of multiculturalism and ethnic labelling.

Furthermore, multiculturalism's academic credibility has also been undercut by the common association of multiculturalism with consumption and a marketable celebration of ethno-cultural diversity, customs and cuisines. Think of the British 3S model of multiculturalism – samosas, steel drums and saris[36] – or Stuart Hall's description of multiculturalism as 'the exotica of difference'.[37] However, a tight boundary should not be drawn between the discourses on multiculturalism and postmigration, since critical studies in British multiculturalism, such as those of Hall, are also part of the genealogies of postmigrant thought (of which more below).

An influential concept of *interculturalism* was developed in Canadian political theory as the Quebec term for a range of policies that are related to but in some respects also deviate from multiculturalism, understood as a set of policies for the management of diversity. It provides a theoretical and policy framework as well as a narrative for countries 'in which there is still a historic cultural majority, which has later been joined by, and is still receiving, people of other, diverse backgrounds',[38] and in which there is 'a concern for preserving the fundamental values of the host society' as well as for the need to combine the future of a majority culture with that of the minorities.[39] As the concept refers to a situation similar to that of many Western European countries with regard to demography and the concern for the heritage and language of the host society, it has also gained some traction in European academia.[40] According to its leading theoretician, Gérard Bouchard, interculturalism is an 'inclusive secularism' or 'integrative pluralism' that seeks to preserve the francophone settler culture of Quebec as a minority culture and language on the North American continent in the face of the dominant anglophone Canadian culture.[41] Contrary to Canadian multiculturalism, in which there is in principle no majority culture, only ethnic groups of the same standing,[42] Canadian interculturalism acknowledges the special position of the francophone majority culture and seeks to reformulate the common public culture in terms of community cohesion, the promotion of solidarity and the formation of a common public culture with diversity at its core and aiming for a balanced majority-minority relationship. In its definition, interculturalism thus opposes the recognition of separate groups' assertiveness in the public sphere commonly attributed to multiculturalism.[43] However, like multiculturalism, interculturalism promotes a group-oriented understanding of the condition of multi-ethnicity, and this makes it unfit to consider as a framework for art-related studies.

Thus, on the face of it, the more recent concept of *super-diversity* seems to be a better match for art history. It is increasingly used in sociological and ethnographic studies to describe and analyse the sociocultural diversification of diversity and the new challenges, tensions and forms of inequality that emerge from increased demographic complexity.[44] Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore argue that 'a new demographic reality' emerges with the increasing diversification of migrants' origins, and that 'the scale, speed and spread of superdiversification' are noticeable across much of the industrialized world.[45] As regards recent regional transformations, the migratory patterns of the EU have been

moulded by the influx of high numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in the wake of the Syrian Civil War around 2015–2016 and, more recently, after the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022. This raises difficult questions concerning the human rights of refugees and humanitarian migrants, about changes to legislation that reposition immigrants' status and about policies that privilege one status of migrants over others. In short, questions about the position of 'the newly arrived' in postmigrant societies are placed centrally in the public and political discourses of Europe.

Coined by Steven Vertovec in 2007, the concept of *super-diversity* offers an analytical lens on the transformations engendered by multiple sociocultural, legal, political and economic differentiations.[46] Like *postmigration*, *super-diversity* is an alternative to the dominant binaristic approaches to ethnic minority groups and their divisive vocabulary of majority/minority, them/us and dominant/non-dominant. Super-diversity emphasizes variables within minority ethnic groups such as gender, legal status, education and length of stay, and how these variables interact intersectionally to shape immigrants' and descendants' sense of belonging, lifestyle, transnational relations and so on.[47] In academic and public discourse, super-diversity is thus perceived to be defined by the arrival of many individuals from many different places who may differ across variables such as social and cultural capital, their orientation towards mobility, their degree of openness to develop relationships with 'others' and the extent to which they are connected to their place and country of origin. Bearing in mind Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore's observation that '[t]he perspective of super-diversity highlights that new migration adds additional layers of complexity as it interacts with existing diverse populations thus moving beyond the notion of multiculturalism',[48] super-diversity could be described as a conceptual tool to move beyond ethnicity as the primary focus of research into how migrants and descendants of migrants live in transnational social spaces.

Like the term *cultural diversity*, *super-diversity* has also been subjected to criticism because of its failure to address social conflicts and divisions as well as for its generalist scope, which makes it conceptually vague and analytical operationalization difficult.[49] Moreover, the fact that it is designed to conceptualize demographic difference as an aid for sociological and anthropological studies of human interaction makes it unsuited for analysing cultural representations. Last but importantly, although super-diversity can be used to account for aspects of the sociocultural circumstances from which cultural representations arise, Vertovec's influential theorization makes no connection between the legacy of empire and racism and newer racist hierarchies.[50] This omission is closely linked to another problem. The asset of Vertovec's theory is its acknowledgement of the fact that minority ethnic groups are heterogeneous and divided internally into multiple intersecting social groups, but he does not address the question of whether the majority is also super-diverse, and if so, how this would affect the concept of super-diversity. As Moritz Schramm has argued, this concept only offers a significantly improved understanding of 'them'. This is exactly where postmigrant thought shows its strength by making the decisive move to consider super-diversity as a condition pertaining to all members of postmigrant society, thereby destabilizing the us-versus-them dichotomy that Vertovec's concept does not question.[51] A concept better geared to grapple with the ongoing constrictions that colonial legacies impose on the lives of racialized individuals and groups is the concept of *conviviality*. Since the mid-2000s, conviviality – glossed over provisionally as the capacity to live together – has become a key term in the theorization of multiculture as the capacity to live in proximity to difference. As one of the foremost theorists of racialization and racism, the cultural studies scholar Paul Gilroy has

made a significant contribution by articulating the question of how communities 'stick together' in the context of mobility and migration in a postcolonial, culturally complex and globalized world.[52] When Vertovec introduced the concept of super-diversity, he used London as an exemplar of the diversification of diversity and what Doreen Massey has termed the 'throwntogetherness' of urban life.[53] In their ethnographic study of young migrants' homemaking, the sociologists Les Back and Samser Sinha likewise consider the diversity of post-imperial London; but instead of turning to Vertovec, they adopt Gilroy's concept of conviviality as their analytical lens to focus on 'the paradoxical co-existence of racism and urban multiculture'.[54]

Distancing himself from the pivotal term 'identity' and the forms of multiculturalism that have been politically instrumentalized by governments and reified by consumer capitalism, Gilroy's aim is to introduce a term that can better describe the radical openness of the interpersonal encounters that are part of 'the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of social life in Britain's urban areas and in postcolonial cities elsewhere'. Thus, conviviality directs attention away from the fixity of 'identity' towards the 'always-unpredictable mechanisms of identification'.[55] For Gilroy, conviviality is always interacting with its negation because racism, national/imperial nostalgia, 'anti-terrorist' securitization and war generate tensions in everyday life and hamper the impulse to live differently. Gilroy thus offers a way of understanding conviviality as 'an unruly, spontaneous social pattern produced by metropolitan social groups living in close proximity with each other' in diverse communities where racial differences in many situations become ordinary, even banal, aspects of city life.[56] In contrast to terms such as post-ethnic and post-race, Gilroy's concept of conviviality does not conflate with the uncritical discourse of 'overing', suggesting that all obstacles have been overcome and that racism is a 'historical' problem that has been put behind us. Rather, Gilroy's concept of conviviality suggests that racism plays out in a different context where it has come to signify different things in the absence of any strong belief in absolute or biological races. Put differently, it has transformed itself into what the philosopher Étienne Balibar has called 'racism in new forms' and 'neo-racism'.[57] Thus, Gilroy's concept does not describe 'the absence of racism or the triumph of tolerance' but their re-inscription within the messy social entanglements of plural societies and the 'subversive ordinariness' of convivial everyday intermingling.[58]

As argued above, concepts such as *conviviality* and *postmigration* can complement each other as lenses that spotlight different aspects of living together in difference. Furthermore, both concepts place the negotiation of cultural differences at the centre of the problematic of cohabitation while remaining attentive to social conflicts. I thus return to conviviality in Chapter 6.

British Precursors of Postmigrant Thought

Like the concepts of integration, cultural diversity, multiculturalism, interculturalism, super-diversity and conviviality, the concept of *postmigration* draws on several coexisting theoretical traditions that are both distinct and overlapping. The overlaps are indicative of postmigration's radical potential to cut across boundaries, or in Kijan Espahangizi's eloquent formulation: 'The neat distinction between knowledge and politics, theory and practice, analysis and intervention, critique and resistance is a privilege that the postmigratory does not have. It is a mongrel. This is its strength.'[59] To this, I would like to add that it is precisely its cross-cutting ability that distinguishes the concept of postmigration

over the others, and makes the postmigrant lens an apt one for studying the connective and creative ways in which art manifests itself in public spaces to interlink different spheres and amalgamate aesthetics and politics in ways that agitate reaction and instigate plural, agonistic debates.

Furthermore, postmigration is also a genealogic cross-breed, as observed by Anna Meera Gaonkar, Astrid Sophie Øst Hansen, Hans Christian Post and Moritz Schramm in their brilliant comprehensive survey of the theoretical genealogies and subject areas that make up what has in recent years come to be known as postmigration research and postmigration studies.[60] The reasons for this ramification are to be found partly in the field itself, as it is the outcome of critical discussions of the concept of postmigration and shifting focal points among researchers, and partly in the transnational spread of postmigration research across many countries, including but not limited to Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, France, Italy, Canada and the UK.

British academia has held a special place in the field from early on. Scholars such as the art historian Marsha Meskimmon, cultural studies scholar Roger Bromley and theatre scholar Lizzie Stewart have used the concept of postmigration in enlightening ways in recent years.[61] It is also from a British 1990s context that the earliest uses of the term post-migrant (written with a hyphen) derive and in which closely related theoretical frames for understanding were first fleshed out, albeit under different names: ethnicity and, as previously mentioned, conviviality. As Gaonkar et al. observe, the early use of the term 'ethnicity' in the UK suggests that it initially appeared in postcolonial deliberations on the role of ethnicity and identity formation.[62] The anthropologists Gerd Baumann and Thijl Sunier were apparently the first to make this nexus between ethnicity, identity and postmigration explicit in the title of their 1995 anthology *Post-Migration Ethnicity: De-Essentializing Cohesion, Commitments, Comparison*. This anthology includes studies of countries such as the UK, the Netherlands and Germany and explores issues such as 'ethnic visibility', 'the construction of ethnic identities', 'ethnic differences in social mobility' and the possible move 'towards a new identity'.[63] As Gaonkar et al. note, it anticipates later actor-oriented approaches, such as the more recent studies on the lifestyles, self-empowerment and culture of 'post-migrant youth'.[64]

A few years later, in 1998, the political scientist Tariq Modood used the related term *post-immigration ethnicity* in his research on British multiculturalism and national belonging. However, in Modood's writings, *post-immigration* remains an unmarked term and is not elaborated theoretically.[65] It is used mainly as a generational descriptor for the emergence of a different sense of identity and belonging among the inhabitants of societies undergoing profound migration-induced change, and it is used discursively in close proximity to 'integration', and especially 'multiculturalism'. The term reappears in Modood's report from 2012, *Post-immigration "Difference" and Integration: The case of Muslims in Western Europe*, which confirms the impression that *post-immigration* is part of a cluster of concepts, with *integration* and *multiculturalism* serving as the nodal points or key terms that are elaborated theoretically. Interestingly, Modood not only observes that the 'high levels of fear of and hostility to Muslims and Islam' make Muslims 'so central to the question of integration that it is unlikely that they can integrate without some sort of multiculturalist approach'.[66] He also links the descriptor *post-immigration* to other nouns than ethnicity, thus adding further inflections to the meaning of post-immigration. When Modood refers to 'post-immigration minorities',[67] 'post-immigration "difference"'[68] and 'post-immigration hyphenated identities' (which have become 'commonplace in Britain'),[69] he comes, I contend, close to suggesting that post-immigration is

the collective process of integration of differences, perceived as a process of 'enlargement, hyphenation and internal pluralising of national identities'.[70] Or, put differently, as the process of living together in difference.

The emergence of the terms 'post-migration' and 'post-immigration' in a British 1990s context reflects a broader orientation in British intellectual debates towards postcolonial theory, which coincided historically with a growing engagement with terms such as 'ethnicity' and 'identity' in the flourishing field of British cultural studies. This is perhaps most notable in the writings of Paul Gilroy and Stuart Hall, who theorized these terms in the historical context of 'globalization' and 'multiculturalism'. Hence, I would like to dwell a little here on how Modood's analysis of 'post-immigration' sits in this 'postcolonial' or 'Black British' genealogy. I submit that Modood's 1989 analysis prefigures some of the basic tenets of postmigrant thought, as already suggested in my consideration of his use of the term 'post-immigration'. The references in Modood's 1998 study 'New Forms of Britishness: Post-Immigration Ethnicity and Hybridity in Britain' suggest that it was written in dialogue with the writings of both Gilroy and Hall. Among other things, Modood shares their basic premise that the transformation of British social, economic and political life had to be understood from a migratory perspective that takes into consideration the formation of African, Caribbean and Asian diasporas in the period of postwar migration. It could thus be argued that Modood, Hall and Gilroy engaged with the problem-space of postmigration as it was configured, differently, in the UK of the 1980s and 1990s.[71]

Modood used the term *post-immigration* to designate hybridizing identity formation in population groups with a migrant heritage, arguing that group identification with 'ethnic and family origins' persists down the generations.[72] Modood thus emphasized the stability of group identification and explicitly distanced himself from Hall and other theorists who insisted on the fluid and hybrid nature of contemporary 'post-immigration ethnicities' in Britain, and who posited that British Blackness is pluralized and includes people of Asian origin, too.[73] In his influential double lecture 'The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity' and 'Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities' from 1989, Hall sought to dismantle essentialist notions of ethnicity and identity based on fictions of static sameness. By rethinking identity through difference and ambivalence,[74] Hall opened up ethnicity and identity to a dynamic understanding of identity formation as a hybridizing, intersectional and always historically situated and locally grounded process.

Hall's attempt to de-essentialize ethnicity is powerfully articulated in this double lecture, and Hall's thinking directly influenced Baumann and Sunier's and later Modood's use of the term 'ethnicity'. It is also worth noting that Baumann and Sunier were informed by postcolonial critiques, but this did not narrow down their focus to the migratory aftermaths of colonialism since they considered population movements from former colonies as well as from within and outside Europe.[75] Thus, like Hall's lectures, these studies of 'ethnicity' helped transform postcolonial concepts into what the cultural theorist and video artist Mieke Bal has termed *travelling concepts*, which are put to work in other fields – in this case, the study of other kinds of migration.[76]

An important aspect of Hall's attempt to dismantle ethnic essentialisms is his use of the term 'Black' as a political moniker and broad term for all people of colour. As a category, Black bridges ethnic divisions, is usually connected to an anti-racist awareness and holds a potential for transversal politics and coalition-building which do not negate the fact that people who identify as Black also maintain a bond with their 'ethnic and family

origins' (Modood). Hall thus also acknowledges that ethnicity is a formative component of identity. Noting that an enunciation is always made from somewhere, he illustrates his definitory statement 'ethnicity is the necessary place or space from which people speak'[77] with a locally situated example:

> Third generation young Black men and women know they come from the Caribbean, know that they are Black, know that they are British. They want to speak from all three identities. They are not prepared to give up any one of them.[78]

Like Hall (and in contradistinction to Modood, Bauman and Sunier), Paul Gilroy is positioned in the field of British cultural studies and cultural theory. It is Gilroy's proposition, mentioned above, that multicultural conviviality is interwoven with old and new forms of racism which resonates with the understanding of the role of racism in postmigrant society that underpins this book.

Returning to Tariq Modood to conclude my account of the British genealogy of postmigrant thought, it is interesting to observe that in his 1989 study, Modood does concede that Hall has a point in stressing the importance of what he himself describes as an emerging 'British mixedness' because it reveals that 'ethnicity is very different from nationalism'. Ethnicity is structured by racial/colour and ethno-religious divisions rather than nationality and citizenship, explains Modood. It is 'not a sub-state category' in the manner of Scottishness or Catalan, for example, but 'a form of complex Britishness'.[79] Modood contends that hybrid identity formation often goes hand in hand with a strong sense of belonging to Britain and an equally strong sense of being entitled to be treated as equal, as a socially included citizen. Thus, Modood's argument approximates those of the proponents of postmigrant thought and the postmigrant tenet that it is not only the migrantized minorities but also the sedentary population, the white majority, who have to 'integrate' into the postmigrant society:

> In Britain there are people who want not just to be black or Indian in Britain, but positively want to be black British or British Indians… They are less seeking civic rights against a hegemonic nationality than attempting to politically negotiate a place in an all-inclusive nationality… Certainly multiculturalism, which so far has been largely a social, a bottom-up movement, requires greater mainstream political commitment and leadership than it has received hitherto. The change in attitudes that is required amongst the white British is a real political challenge.[80]

Postmigration and Its Genealogies

When turning to the genealogies of postmigrant thought emerging from German scholarly debates, it is important to remember that the debates on the cultural scene not only preceded but actually instigated the debates in academia, and to stress the generative reverberations of the agenda set by so-called postmigrant theatre and its practitioners' transformative intervention in the status quo of German theatre. In their detailed mapping of the emergence of the critical usage of the term *postmigrant* in German theatre, Gaonkar et al. argue that Shermin Langhoff, together with Tunçay Kulaoğlu, Kira Kosnick and Martina Priesser, introduced the term 'postmigrant theatre' at the Berlin workshop 'Europe in Motion' in 2004, and suggest that the term may have been drawn from the 1998 Swansea-based, English language conference 'Turkish-German Post-Migration

Culture: Transnationalism, Translation, Politics of Representation' organized by the Welsh literary scholar Tom Cheesman.[81] This conference thus constitutes a likely connection point between the British and the German terminologies, although the debates on the German artistic and cultural scenes do not seem to have been directly influenced by the British academic discussions on ethnicity and postmigration. It is more likely that, although Stuart Hall has been widely read in German academic and artistic milieus, inspiration was primarily drawn from German political and cultural life, including the activist alliances of the 1990s, such as the Kanak Attak movement, as well as from the concurrent German language critique of well-intentioned literary categories like 'guest worker', 'foreigner' and 'migration' literature. These terminological gatekeepers of the boundaries of the body of literature considered to be inherently 'German' added fuel to the fire by defining a 'terminological ghetto' that left the monocultural norm unquestioned, even when seeking to expand the literary canon.[82] Thus, in the theatre context, the term *postmigrant* became a tool for empowerment and for gaining control over how to identify and position oneself instead of being labelled by others. The discussions launched by practitioners of postmigrant theatre centred on postmigrant subjectivities, echoing the artistic agenda of Shermin Langhoff's ensembles at the theatre Ballhaus Naunynstraße and later the Maxim Gorki Theatre to use theatre to inscribe their diverse stories into the narratives of present-day Germany (see Chapter 4). The critical approach of Langhoff's crews were therefore in synchronization with Hall's understanding of 'new ethnicities' and 'new identities', and operated in a similar interventionist and liberating way.

Inspired by these discursive and creative interventions by practitioners of postmigrant theatre, scholars have sought to break new ground by elaborating postmigration into a theoretical framework. The term *postmigration* comprises three dimensions: empirical, analytical and normative. The empirical aspect relates to the condition of postmigrancy, that is, the increasing heterogeneity of society as an empirical fact, whereas the analytical dimension is related to the ways in which the term can be operationalized in different fields of study. The normative dimension is first and foremost associated with 'a normative-political idea of how we want to live together in societies marked by increasing heterogeneity',[83] but I would argue that it is also associated with the arts and culture. Thanks to their ability to create aesthetically, affectively and intellectually moving narratives and images, art and culture can materialize knowledge of contemporary world-making processes that put forward ideas of how to live together in diversity and help dismantle the boundaries and barriers built by migrantizing practices.[84]

At least three different conceptualizations of postmigration or three different academic genealogies can be identified in the still evolving discourses on postmigration, in addition to the initial discourse on postmigrant theatre and postmigrant subjectivities.[85] The first conceptualization revolves around the notion of a *postmigrant generation* of the descendants of migrants. It is closely related to the initial use of the term postmigrant to refer to the lived reality of artists and cultural producers born and raised with mixed heritage, and to postmigrant theatre's objective to stage their experiences and stories. It is also aligned with the early British uses of 'post-migration' by Bauman and Sunier about the descendants of migrants and Stuart Hall's development of his notion of 'new ethnicities' from the experience of postcolonial immigrants and their descendants in Britain to whom the development of 'new identities' and anti-racist strategies were paramount. Focusing on identifiable social agents and on the formation of subjectivities, the generational or actor-oriented approach to postmigration is most common in sociologically oriented studies and in theatre studies, which often explore questions of identity formation and representation,

agency and empowerment as well as experiences of racialization and marginalization. Significant early examples are Naika Foroutan's essay on 'New Germans, Postmigrants and Hyphenated Identities: Who belongs to the new Germany?' and Azadeh Sharifi's book on postmigrant theatre, both published at the threshold of the 2010s.[86] Erol Yildiz's and Mark Hill's numerous studies of the urban ways of life and modes of belonging developed by postmigrant youth and labour migrants examine how postmigrant generations develop strategies for living from their distinctive positioning between transnationalization and discrimination. They are exemplary models of how postmigration studies can foreground descendants' transnational experiences and flexible movement between shifting subject positions as characteristic *positive* and *empowering* resources.[87] By demonstrating how the 'hybridized life-projects' of the postmigrant generation centre on 'overlaps, marginal and in-between spaces',[88] Yildiz and Hill have turned the concept of postmigration into a critical tool to counter the perpetual migrantization of citizens who consider themselves to be part of society and to subvert the binary discourses that routinely 'differentiate between native normality and "immigrant problems"'.[89]

In the early 2010s, two distinct yet interconnected usages of the term postmigrant branched out. The term *postmigrant society* was put into circulation as a descriptor for society at large. Concurrently, a growing number of scholars began to use the adjective postmigrant to refer to an *analytical perspective*, a change that was reflected, retrospectively so to speak, in the titles of two weighty contributions to the development of postmigration studies. Attentive to the advancing methodological reorientation, Yildiz and Hill subtitled their 2015 anthology *Nach der Migration* ('After Migration') *Postmigrantische Perspektiven jenseits der Parallelgesellschaft* ('Postmigrant Perspectives beyond the Parallel Society'), while Foroutan, Karakayalı and Spielhaus titled their 2018 anthology *Postmigrantische Perspektiven* ('Postmigrant Perspectives').[90] The second conceptualization thus emerged from the general shift of focus from the formation of postmigrant subjectivities to the formation of a *postmigrant society*.[91]

The conceptual shift of emphasis from a *postmigrant generation* to a *postmigrant society* involves a significant methodological change of approach, from singling out a social group to widening the analytical perspective to multifaceted transformations throughout society and across different groups. The problem with the generational, actor-oriented approach is that it entails the risk of 'migrantizing' the individuals or groups under study, despite the commendable intention undergirding this approach to afford visibility and recognition to those marked as migrants and to render immigration as a productive societal and cultural force.[92] In 2014, Regina Römhild, together with fellow anthropologist Manuela Bojadžijev, suggested that 'the conception of a postmigrant society that declared everyone to be "affected" by migration and creators of the conditions thus constituted' could be used to shift the focus onto society, thereby potentially avoiding the pitfall of migrantization.[93] They found inspiration for an extension of the postmigrant lens in the extended use of a postcolonial one, which likewise focuses on contemporary societies and how their historical development and contemporary condition can be understood as constituted by coloniality in contradistinction to a narrower definition of the postcolonial as referring to (formerly) colonized groups and societies.[94] By bringing the postcolonial and the postmigrant perspectives together, Bojadžijev and Römhild were able to spotlight how the historical legacies of migration and colonialism are intertwined and still work as constituents of the postcolonial and postmigrant reality of contemporary European societies and global politics.

The concept of a postmigrant society is based on a political and ethical stance that does not consider migration to be an exceptional form of social existence but a structural

characteristic of society. The concept suggests that postmigrant societies must be understood as societies *in transition,* and that this process is inconclusive and fraught with contradictions. So, while the concept champions the 'normalization' of migration, it also highlights, as another distinguishing feature of postmigrant societies, the collective obsession with migration and the ways in which this obsession generates antagonisms and negotiations that restructure multiple aspects of society, including such contested generators of community and social life as norms, national identity and mechanisms of social inclusion and exclusion. Or, as pinpointed by Riem Spielhaus in a definition that approximates Espahangizi's stress on the discursive and political battles over integration and migration, the adjective postmigrant not only refers to 'the stage after migration' but is also a cipher for 'the obsession with immigration that has taken place long ago'.[95] Spielhaus's phrase 'long ago' carries an important dual reference. It suggests that the collective realization that society has been transformed by former and ongoing migration has happened belatedly, and as a result, important histories of migration have been silenced. The cultural heritages of immigrants have largely been neglected by the cultural institutions and historical archives tasked with collecting and preserving the heritage of the nation-state. The controversies over the long-standing silencing of German and Danish colonial histories – which are arguably histories of violent and exploitative transnational migration – are just the most obvious examples of a more widespread national institutional negligence in collecting and documenting the heritage of diasporic communities and the stories of 'how they got here'.

I turn now to the influential conceptualization of postmigrant society elaborated by Naika Foroutan and her research team at BIM Berliner Institut für empirische Integrations- und Migrationsforschung (Berlin Institute for Empirical Integration and Migration Research) at the Humboldt University. From 2014 to 2018, Foroutan and her team also published a series of empirical studies titled *Deutschland postmigrantisch I, II* and *III*, examining how postmigrant transformation processes manifested in different federal states, including Berlin, Hamburg and Baden-Württemberg.[96]

As explained above, for Foroutan, postmigrant society is defined neither by past and ongoing migration movements nor by the 'migration-integration complex' analysed by Espahangizi and the pervasive political and public obsession with migration diagnosed by Spielhaus, but primarily by the *political* recognition of migration as a constitutive part of society.[97] These differences notwithstanding, Foroutan's understanding that postmigrant societies are born from struggles over migration and for recognition that play out belatedly is aligned with those of Espahangizi and Spielhaus. Interestingly, Foroutan elaborates on the conflictual aspect by turning to Chantal Mouffe's theory of plural democratic societies and her twin concepts of antagonism and agonism in the book *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft: Ein Versprechen der pluralen Demokratie* ('Postmigrant Society: The Promise of a Plural Democracy') – Foroutan's most comprehensive theorization of postmigrant society.[98]

In Foroutan's view, postmigrant societies are conflict-ridden and highly polarized societies, but they also generate new alliances that defend plural democracy. She sums up her understanding of the 'interaction dynamics' of postmigrant societies in five keywords: recognition, negotiation, ambivalence, antagonisms and alliances.[99] Ultimately, she condenses her definition of a postmigrant society into three characteristics:

1 Society is marked by previous immigration, and migration is *politically recognized* as constitutive of the social order and what Foroutan terms the 'macro norm'.
2 The negotiation of migration issues is dynamically driven by two opposing positions: one that wants to expand political recognition and another that wants to limit it. This

struggle generates new *alliances* and new *antagonisms*, leading to a polarization of society in regard to the 'micro negotiations' of migration issues.

3 Hybridization and pluralization are increasingly blurring the boundaries between migrants and non-migrants and making it difficult to distinguish between them without resorting to racist discourses. As a result, the prevailing *collective conscience* is questioned.[100]

Espahangizi's focus on the migration-integration complex and Foroutan's attempt to outline the overarching sociopolitical order and interaction dynamics of postmigrant societies can aid the understanding of the historical conditions and developments of postmigrant societies, but they offer little help in describing the relationship between postmigration and the arts. As Moritz Schramm, Frauke Wiegand and I have argued elsewhere, the one-sided perception of integration that characterizes public debates on migration issues is rarely the target of artistic critique. The 'migration-integration complex' and 'postmigrant society' may be the context in which and against which works of art are created, but artistic practices cannot be subsumed under them.[101] As the following chapters demonstrate, artists tend to focus on other aspects of what I call the problem-space of postmigration: on issues such as identity, racialization, alliance-building, belonging, history/ies and the transformation of modes of representation.

In conjunction with the conceptualization of postmigration as a cipher for the many ways in which migration plays into the sociocultural pluralization of democratic societies, postmigration has evolved into a diversified set of research perspectives. When the literary scholar Sten Pultz Moslund and I set out to develop a postmigrant analytic for cultural studies in the essay 'Introduction: Towards a Postmigrant Frame of Reading', our approach thus shared common ground with the perspectives on postmigrant societies put forward by Espahangizi, Spielhaus, Foroutan, Yildiz and others, as indeed does this book.[102]

To begin with, a postmigrant cultural analytic has to tackle the conundrum of avoiding reproducing the potentially migrantizing focus on generations, groups or individuals identified as migrants, while at the same time developing a pliable perspective on what are often highly individualist art products created in art institutional contexts that typically fetishize the singular creator – the genius, the *auteur* – and implicitly assume that the artist's biography (in this case, their 'migration background') is a privileged key to the artist's work. For this reason, we chose another path than the researchers who have sought to define a corpus of 'postmigrant literature and art', with the risk of reserving this category for cultural productions by migrants and descendants. Our approach was in conversation with that of the literary scholar and cultural theorist Moritz Schramm, who has suggested that a postmigrant perspective should not be defined, and thus restricted, by its subject matter but instead offer an analytical view of the negotiations of migration-related issues that surface in the literary texts and cultural representations themselves.[103] Starting from the idea that it is our analytical frames of reading that are postmigrant, not the objects of analysis, Moslund and I have sought to develop postmigration into 'an analytical perspective that can be applied to every cultural or artistic phenomenon'.[104] Furthermore, we have suggested that such an analytical framework:

> … is generated from within the very interaction between society, theory and the spheres of the arts. It is carved from observations of contemporary sociocultural conditions; developments within works of art that reflect migration as a key factor in shaping societies in the twenty-first century; and reappraisals of analytical concepts adopted primarily from postcolonial and migration studies.[105]

The strength of the postmigrant perspective is that it opens up for more comprehensive and complex readings. It is based on situated knowledges,[106] and it arguably produces diffractions when applied to different objects of study and within different fields and methodologies, both in and beyond studies in art and culture. Thus, the term *postmigrant perspective* is to be understood as a generic descriptor and an umbrella term that encompasses a multitude of case- and context-specific frames of reading, as is also suggested by the use of the plural form 'postmigrant perspectives' in the two anthologies mentioned above. Furthermore, in the postmigrant perspective, the emphasis is shifted from the concept of *integration* to that of *participation*. Here, participation and integration (integration understood as a two-way process) are not opposites but blend into each other. As Moslund and I submit:

> A postmigrant perspective thus substitutes the ideal of integrationist participation with a pluralist understanding of participation as involving, sometimes conflictual and difficult, negotiations across cultural and political differences – and on various local and subnational levels, too …[107]

The fact that my introduction to the postmigrant perspectives draws on the work of Danish-based scholars is no coincidence. With few exceptions, the leading scholars of postmigration studies in Germany are based in the social sciences, so theoretically reflected postmigrant frames for reading artistic and cultural representations are therefore scarce in German language postmigration studies, even if postmigrant theatre is widely recognized as the instigator of the debates on postmigration. Admittedly, some attention has been paid to the quantitative aspects of representation in the debates on the role of institutions of postmigrant society ('counting heads' and examining other indicators of institutional under-representation and exclusion) as well as to the negative effects of majority-dominated forms of representation in media and theatre (silencing, misrecognition, stigmatization, racism). However, the aesthetic, semiotic and participatory aspects of 'representation' by means of which the 'meaning' of works of art is articulated are often disregarded, as are the ways audiences experience and make sense of them.

In the research project 'Art, Culture and Politics in the "Postmigrant Condition"', a group of scholars from the universities of Odense, Aalborg and Copenhagen came together in 2016 to make a collective, interdisciplinary attempt to develop an analytical framework for artistic practices – literature, theatre, film and the visual arts – and to test variegated, case-sensitive frames for reading artistic expressions and analysing cultural institutions. Drawing on different kinds of expertise and assuming different vantage points, the group also pioneered the application of postmigrant analytical perspectives to art and culture emerging from Danish postmigrant contexts.[108]

In addition to the three major genealogies, a fourth genealogy dedicated to the rewriting of the histories of postmigration is, I contend, gathering momentum. Migration also brings about changes in collective memory, leading to demands that institutional commemorative culture, established historical narratives and educational curricula should be adapted to fit it. This genealogy thus works towards the recognition of the historical roles of labour, of postcolonial and forced migration. It is arguably more historiographical than conceptual and perhaps also more far-flung. It counts among its most significant contributions Espahangizi's above-mentioned theorization of the migration-integration complex as well as Stjepandić and Karakayalı's tracing of the origins of postmigrant alliance building to the political movements of the 1980s and 1990s, Azadeh Sharifi's

mapping of the historical transition from 'migrant' to 'postmigrant' theatre,[109] along with the countless acknowledgements of the groundbreaking role of the 'guest workers' that pepper postmigration studies – a *historical* role that is summed up succinctly in Yildiz's call for 'the re-narration of the migration history of the guest workers… the pioneers of a transnationalization in concrete terms as they were forced, under precarious living conditions, to find new ways or detours to position themselves locally'.[110]

Also of note is the ambitious 900-page volume *Project Migration* and the related exhibition at the Kölnischer Kunstverein and other venues in Cologne in 2005–2006. The project considered the impact of migration on German politics, economics, culture, society and art from 1955 to 2005 and has served as a kind of precursor to a museum of migration in Cologne.[111] In other words, the historiographical genealogy in postmigration studies finds a parallel in the increasing number of European museums of migration and flight,[112] which conversely has generated a growing scholarly interest in museums and exhibitions of migration as well as migration memorials, especially within museum and curatorial studies.[113]

In summary, as an analytical perspective and a reframing of migration histories, postmigration offers, in Yildiz's wording, 'a radical questioning of the conventional view on migration and so-called Western values'.[114] Postmigration has thus served as an instrument of critique and intervention into the public debates of the early twenty-first century, comparable to the deconstruction of ethnic essentialism and the anti-racist reconceptualization of 'Black' in the British context of the 1980s and 1990s.

Conflictual Postmigration: Criticism and Anti-Racism

The various usages of the term *postmigration* has also been met with criticism, primarily from within the field itself and principally aimed at normative usages of the concept, which may sometimes idealize societal and political improvement and raise suspicion of an implied progressionism.[115] Paul Mecheril, for example, has inferred that the prefix 'post' introduces an unfortunate 'normative distancing' from the migratory, suggesting that migratory phenomena belong to the past, that is, the migratory processes are concluded even if they still bear on the present.[116] In a similar vein, the film and media scholar Nanna Heidenreich has read postmigration as a cipher for 'a narrative of progress' that reproduces the integrationist idea of a linear progression towards the 'arrival' of the 'foreigner' in society. In doing so, the concept contributes to a 'de-thematization' of racism in the face of 'massive racist violence'.[117] The American-based cultural theorist Fatima El-Tayeb has formulated an even harsher criticism of the concept of postmigration for invoking a vision of Germany as a post-racial society that has solved its problems with migrantization and discrimination of parts of its citizenry. She likens 'postmigrant' to the much-debated American term 'post-racial', which has likewise been used to describe the progression to the next step in the fight to overcome racism in the USA and which critics have accused of postulating an unrealistic overcoming of the deep-seated racist structures and ongoing struggles over 'race' in American society. At best, Germany has taken the first step to openly face migration issues, and El-Tayeb argues that this is not reasonable grounds for speaking of postmigration. Thus, the task for scholars engaging with postmigration is to make the international research into racism a part of the political and academic debate on the postmigrant society and to challenge the denial of racism in Germany.[118] Although Heidenreich and El-Tayeb are right to stress the urgent need to confront racism and matters of racialization in postmigrant societies, most

conceptualizations of postmigration are critically attentive to the unresolved issues of migration and integration and the conflicts they engender, just as they acknowledge that migration will not cease and therefore cannot be 'overcome'. An indicative example of this conflict sensibility is Juliane Karakayalı and Paul Mecheril's essay on 'Contested Crises', which adopts the concept of the migration regime as an analytical lens on the complex power relations, political polarization and racist violence of contemporary postmigrant societies and how this migration regime incessantly stages the 'integration' of migrants as a crisis.[119] Furthermore, since 2014, when Tsianos and Karakayalı published their essay on racism and the politics of representation in postmigrant society as an early contribution to the academic discourse on postmigration, linking postmigration to new forms of racism and arguing that 'racist strategies' operate 'more fluidly' in 'the era of the postmigrant society', many scholars have followed suit and combined postmigrant and anti-racist perspectives to interrogate racist structures, acts and discourses.[120] The volume *Rassismus in der Postmigrantischen Gesellschaft* ('Racism in the Postmigrant Society') is a co-ordinated attempt to do just this. Espahangizi et al. begin their introduction by stating:

> For more and more people in Germany, racist discrimination and violence are part of everyday experience. This is no secret… Unlike in the 1990s, when it was practically impossible in the Federal Republic to understand racism as a problem of contemporary society and also to describe it as such, it is today possible, at least in parts of the public sphere, the media and politics, to convey corresponding problematizations. This also applies to the scientific field.[121]

Over the course of three decades, the widespread pluralization of German society resulting from immigration has made (post)migration and multiple affiliations commonplace. At the same time, the everyday reproduction of racism continues, although the social transformations have shifted the racist boundaries of German society.[122] As a result, the fight against racism has assumed new forms and modes of individual and collective expression. Concurrently, German academia has eventually stepped up and begun interrogating racism in Germany, based on recent international racism studies. The intertwinement of these different but interdependent transformations can be accurately captured, Espahangizi et al. contend, by the concept of the postmigrant society:

> The figure of the postmigrant society is thus no naive, nominal recognition of diversity but a social science attempt to synthesize the consideration of the migration-related demographic change in the immigration society, and of the lived reality and biographical dimension of social diversification through multiple affiliations and multiple discriminations, with a new critique of racism.[123]

I would like to briefly revisit the British debates in order to draw the strands together with the proposition that the critical interrogation of contemporary forms of racism, including antisemitism and anti-Muslim racism, constitute another crucial connection point between British and continental European theorizations of postmigrant societies. The process of getting accustomed to living in proximity to difference, which is implicit in the understanding of postmigration racism formulated by Espahangizi et al. in the quotes above, was theorized in a British context by Gilroy as a nexus between 'conviviality' and 'racism', that is, a conviviality with transfigured racism. In fact, a basic similarity

of approach is suggested by Espahangizi's essay '"The Cultural Turn" of *Postmigrant Conviviality*', in which he uses the term postmigrant conviviality to describe the social practices of postmigrant diversity in Switzerland and how they have been framed and re-framed, discursively in the 1970s through to the 1990s.[124] The relevance of Gilroy's concept of conviviality to recent conceptualizations of postmigrant society underscoring racism is also indicated by Florian Ohnmacht and Erol Yildiz's study 'The postmigrant generation between racial discrimination and new orientation: from hegemony to convivial everyday practice', where they outline a postmigrant 'ethics of conviviality' by building on Gilroy's concept as well as Bach and Sinha's reading of it. Ohnmacht and Yildiz submit that life 'in-between' and the perpetual tackling of negative attributions prepare 'the postmigrant generation' for grappling with the sociocultural ambiguities and frictions of their heterogeneous lifeworld and for creating a 'culture of conviviality' in postmigrant society that other groups may learn from.[125] Like Gilroy, they remain observant of racism and argue that the exploration of the 'convivial resources' of everyday life must go hand in hand with criticism of the 'racist structures' of society: 'What is important rather is to think of the two phenomena interlinked together and to contextualize them anew.'[126]

Although British and continental race studies resonate with one another, it is important to understand that the racisms that play out today in Germany and the Nordic countries differ somewhat from the post-imperial British scenario outlined by Gilroy. In the decades following the Second World War, Germany and the Nordic Countries were shaped more by so-called guest worker migration than by postcolonial migration, even if both forms of work-related migration were found in and have impacted continental Europe as well as the UK. What European postmigrant societies are wrestling with is not only 'postcolonial' racism that can be traced back to the eugenics and hierarchical race thinking developed in colonial times, but also new forms and local variants deriving from the fact that in Europe, the term 'migrant' is, to quote El-Tayeb, a 'deeply racialized concept'.[127]

A form of racism – or rather, denial of racism – of particular relevance to my study is the widespread myth of Nordic 'colour blindness' or 'racial exceptionalism', with its accompanying silencing of racism in everyday life and social institutions. As the art historian Mathias Danbolt and gender studies scholar Lene Myong have explained, racial exceptionalism has been central to 'the branding of the region's unprecedented commitment to equality, tolerance, and solidarity'. It has created 'a culture of normative color-blindness, where the avoidance of "seeing" and verbalizing racialized signs, such as skin color, has been thought of as a non-racist strategy', and where 'those who criticize racism appear to be the ones who introduce racial thinking into the conversation'.[128] However, colour blindness is also commonplace in other European countries. An equivalent form of culturally sanctioned ignorance has been theorized with reference to a Dutch context as 'white innocence' by Gloria Wekker and as 'entitlement racism' by Philomena Essed. Essed's critique of the self-conferred license to humiliate (non-white) others that remains blind to the harmful effects is often cited by Nordic scholars, and rightly so.[129]

At this juncture, a remark on the prefix 'post' is needed. Theoretical 'post' terms – such as poststructuralism, postmodernism and postcolonialism – usually signal an epistemic turn and a passage or a transition to a new vocabulary.[130] Thus, in the broader scope of things, the evolving discourse on postmigration signals that there is a movement within studies of migration away from its marginal role as 'separate' minority studies and towards the centre of the social sciences and the humanities. Rather than postulating that

we are over the thing that 'post' calls out and instead of turning phenomena such as colonialism and migration into issues of the past, the prefix has rekindled the debates and fuelled them with fresh interest, introduced new critical positionalities, shifted the analytical perspectives and furthered a different, revisionist understanding of established narratives and hegemonic relationships. As Ohnmacht and Yildiz contend:

> The "post" in postmigrant designates not just a condition of "afterward" in the sense of a clear and unambiguous process. Rather, what is necessary here is to sketch a *genealogy of migration* and to radically rethink the total overall context into which migration discourses flow. A postmigrant reading of social conditions thus points to an *epistemological turn*.[131]

On this note, I revert to the postcolonial genealogy, but this time it is to add some concluding remarks on the new inflections it has assumed in the recent German language discussion of the relationship between the discourses on postcolonialism and postmigration.[132] Already in 2014, Bodjadžijev and Römhild suggested that the two 'post' terms were confronting society analytically in similar ways and that it is therefore potentially rewarding to inquire about their 'productive entanglement'.[133] The histories of colonialism and the deportation of enslaved people via the 'middle passage' are histories of migration and transcultural interdependencies. In most European countries, the overdue examination of their own histories of colonial exploitation and capitalist extractivism is a recent endeavour, as is the realization that these powerful colonial legacies can be traced in today's 'postcolonial' racism and migration movements as well as in the deterritorialized European border politics. For this reason, it is necessary and illuminating to read the postmigrant alongside its supposed predecessor, the postcolonial. As Römhild notes, 'a postmigrant perspective unveils the migrant prehistory of today's refugee and migration movements'.[134] In doing so, it can aid a more profound understanding of how postmigrant societies in Europe have been structured by their colonial prehistory of migration, deportation and flight. In addition, postmigrant thought is, I submit, better equipped for addressing the complexities of postmigrant societies, as postcolonial approaches often remain locked in binary modes of thinking based on the opposition between colonizer and colonized groups as an inverted version of the 'us' versus 'them' logic of the nation-state. Moreover, they have also remained so fixated on notions of difference, subalternity and marginality that they have paradoxically contributed to a Western tradition of othering non-Westerners and citizens of non-Western heritage.

Considering the similarities, it is no surprise therefore that most of the contributors to an edited volume dedicated to the exploration of the relationship between postcolonialism and postmigration agree that the two discourses are interwoven.[135] As Erol Yildiz asserts in his contribution, the discourse on postmigration draws on the preceding discourse on postcolonialism, but it cannot be subsumed under it. Postcolonialism is the 'genealogical foundation' of the discourse on postmigration, but the latter goes beyond any postcolonial critique of eurocentrism, methodological nationalism, the nation-state, rationalist modernity, imperialism and colonialism. Postmigration transforms the specific critical implications of postcolonialism into a 'positive' epistemology, thereby bringing to light differently situated perspectives and other possibilities, argues Yildiz. It thus lays out 'a different genealogy' than the hegemonic narratives of history and offers 'a new topography of the possible'.[136]

Römhild's articulate commitment to demigrantizing migration research and exploring the productive entanglement of postcolonial and postmigrant perspectives has made her one of the most cited theorists of postmigration. Not only has Römhild left her stamp on the conceptualization of postmigrant society and introduced analytical perspectives that travel flexibly across the disciplinary borders of anthropology, sociology and cultural studies, she has also been instrumental in advancing a critical, historical understanding of postmigrant society by theorizing the conjuncture between (post)colonial and (post)migrant influences and by demonstrating that an amalgamation of postcolonial and postmigrant perspectives can ensure that, to quote the decolonial scholar Walter D. Mignolo, 'the darker side of Western modernity' is given due consideration in postmigration studies.[137]

This outline of the major genealogies of postmigration has demonstrated that postmigration studies have produced a signficant variety of approaches encompassing a multitude of areas. Obviously, they cannot be exhausted in this chapter. As Gaonkar et al. observe, with every new usage of the concept, new possibilities for experimenting with different approaches open up. One of these avenues that have recently opened up examines postmigrant social and urban spaces, including practices of space- and world-making. This urban and spatial orientation is also apparent in Chapters 4–6, where it manifests as a keen interest in postmigrant public spaces and the active role that art plays in them.[138]

Notes

1 Regina Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic: For Postmigrant Cultural and Social Research', in '(Post)Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017): 70, https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2017.1379850. This was first published in German in 2015; see Regina Römhild, 'Jenseits etnischer Grenzen. Für eine postmigrantische Kultur- und Gesellschaftsforschung', in *Nach der Migratia2on. Postmigrantische Perspektiven jenseits der Parallelgesellschaft*, ed. Erol Yildiz and Marc Hill (Bielefeld: transcript, 2015), 37–48. See also Janine Dahinden, 'A Plea for the "De-migranticization" of Research on Migration and Integration', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39, no. 13 (2016), https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1124129.

2 Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic', 70.

3 Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic', 69–70.

4 Kijan Espahangizi's work on Swiss immigration history and the methodologies of postmigration studies has informed much of my thinking on postmigrant genealogies and the concept of integration in this chapter; see Kijan Espahangizi, 'When Do Societies Become *Postmigrant*? A Historical Consideration Based on the Example of Switzerland', in *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Anna Meera Gaonkar et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 60–61. As I argue below, Espahangizi's general observations also apply to Denmark, which saw similar political initiatives taken only eight years after the Swiss government set up their first expert commission in 1961 and where there has been a similar reluctance to fully include migrants and their descendants. In 1969, the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs set up a committee that presented their report on migrant labourers' conditions with recommendations on various social, health and working conditions of importance for 'foreign workers', thus stressing the importance of providing satisfactory conditions in these areas. Five years later, a 'working group' of experts was tasked with writing a report evaluating whether the committee's recommendations had been followed and providing further suggestions for 'what else can be done to improve the possibilities for the foreign workers' social and societal adaptation to this country'; see 'Betænkning om udenlandske arbejderes sociale og arbejdsmæssige tilpasning her i landet. B761 fra december 1975', 2 (Copenhagen: Ministry of Social Affairs, 1975).

5 See Jan Schneider and Peter Scholten, 'Consultative Commissions and the Rethinking of Integration Policies in the Netherlands and Germany: The Blok Commission and the Süssmuth Commission Compared', in *Integrating Immigrants in Europe: Research-Policy Dialogues*, ed. Peter Scholten et al. (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015), 78.
6 Espahangizi, 'When Do Societies', 58. Naika Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft: Ein Versprechen der pluralen Demokratie* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2019), 37–39.
7 See Espahangizi, 'When Do Societies', 58.
8 Espahangizi, 'When Do Societies', 68.
9 See Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft*, 60–61.
10 Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft*, 38–39.
11 This claim is supported by the sociologist Dirk Geldof's study of super-diversity in Belgium and the Netherlands. As Geldof remarks, '[d]uring the past half century most of the countries in Western Europe have evolved into immigration societies, yet we still find it hard to come to terms with the migration and the diversity inherent in this evolution. Our migration history is about a past whose passing we fail to accept and a present whose reality we refuse to recognize.' Dirk Geldof, *Superdiversity in the Heart of Europe: How Migration Changes Our Society* (Leuven and Den Haag: Acco, 2016), 16.
12 Espahangizi, 'When Do Societies', 58.
13 See Veronika Kourabas and Paul Mecheril, 'Wissen um Rassismus in migrationsgesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen', in *Postkolonialismus und Postmigration*, ed. Ömer Alkin and Lena Geuer (Münster: Unrast, 2022), 301–2.
14 See Vassilis S. Tsianos and Juliane Karakayalı, 'Rassismus und Repräsentationspolitik in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft'. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 64, no. 13–14 (2014): 34. In their co-authored book *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition*, the Danish-based postmigration research group (on which more below) coined the term 'the postmigrant condition' as an alternative to the term 'postmigrant society' used in German social sciences to accommodate the Danish examples included in their book. It is doubtful whether Danish society as a whole can be described as postmigrant, and like Switzerland, it does not have a 'recognition date'. Furthermore, the politically and sociologically oriented concept of the postmigrant society is not always apt for framing *cultural* analysis. Schramm, Moslund and Petersen, *Reframing Migration*, xi-xii, 7-9, 38, 59. Terminological differences aside, German and Danish scholars share an understanding of postmigration as referring to a conflictual societal predicament, and this common understanding undergirds my examination of art's transformative potential in postmigrant public spaces. Despite being a research group member, co-author and co-editor of *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts*, I have chosen to use Espahangizi's and Karakayalı and Tsianos's broad definition of the term *postmigrant society* throughout this book, as it enables me to move flexibly between German, British and Danish contexts.
15 Espahangizi, 'When Do Societies', 58–59.
16 Espahangizi, 'When Do Societies', 66.
17 Erol Yildiz, *Die weltoffene Stadt. Wie Migration Globalisierung zum urbanen Alltag macht* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2013), 177.
18 Aleksandra Grzymala-Kazlowska and Jenny Phillimore, 'Introduction: Rethinking Integration. New Perspectives on Adaptation and Settlement in the Era of Super-Diversity', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 2 (2018): 187. See also 81, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341706.
19 Council of the European Union, *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration in the EU* (2004), 17, https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/common-basic-principles-immigrant-integration-policy-eu_en. Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 'Introduction: Rethinking Integration', 181.
20 See Naika Foroutan and Frank Kalter, 'Integration', in *Begriffe der Gegenwart. En kulturwissenschaftliches Glossar*, ed. Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber and Manuel Liebig (Vienna: Böhlau, 2022), 157, 59–60.
21 Espahangizi, 'When Do Societies', 63.
22 Espahangizi, 'When Do Societies', 66.
23 See Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic', 70.
24 See Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 'Introduction: Rethinking Integration', 181 and 187.
25 Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 'Introduction: Rethinking Integration', 186.

26 Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 'Introduction: Rethinking Integration', 187.
27 See Les Back and Shamser Sinha, with Charlynne Bryan, 'New Hierarchies of Belonging', *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15, no. 2 (2012/04/01 2012): 140 and 150, https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549411432030.
28 Jennifer L. Eagan, 'Multiculturalism', in *Encyclopedia Britannica,* Accessed May 27, 2022. https://www.britannica.com/topic/multiculturalism.
29 Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Ethnicities and Global Multiculture: Pants for an Octupus* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 2–3.
30 Will Kymlicka, 'The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism? New Debates on Inclusion and Accomodation in Diverse Society', *International Social Science Journal* 61, no. 199 (2010): 97.
31 Kymlicka, 'The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism?', 97.
32 See Kymlicka, 'The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism?', 97–98. The difference between the right and the centre-left obviously varies over time and across the countries under study here. For instance, the Danish Social Democratic Party has not yet developed anti-racist policies or a vision of a more ethnically inclusive national identity. For more than a decade, they have been deeply invested in winning back voters from the right-wing Danish People's Party and have thus been tough on immigration. As Kymlicka's study is from 2010, it does not consider this development or the long-term consequences of Brexit for British cultural pluralism. For a perceptive analysis of the Danish policies on immigration as they manifest in the Security Initiative and the governmental strategy paper *Tryghed for alle danskere* ('Security for All Danes') from 2020 and the Parallel Society Law known as the Ghetto Law until 2021, see Chapter 5 'Affective evictions' in Anna Meera Gaonkar, 'Feeling Sick of Home? A Cultural Study of Postmigrant Homesickness in Contemporary Denmark' (PhD diss., University of Copenhagen, 2022). For a comparative study of relevant multiculturalisms, see Nasar Meer, Per Mouritsen, Daniel Faas, and Nynke de Witte, 'Examining "Postmulticultural" and Civic Turns in the Netherlands, Britain, Germany, and Denmark', *American Behavioral Scientist* 59, no. 6 (2015), https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764214566496. See also Nasar Meer and Tariq Modood, 'The "Civic Re-Balancing" of British Multiculturalism and Beyond ...', in *Challenging Multiculturalism: European Models of Diversity*, ed. Raymond Taras (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 75–96.
33 Kymlicka, 'The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism?', 104.
34 See Espahangizi, 'When Do Societies', 68.
35 See Anne Ring Petersen, *Migration into Art: Transcultural Identities and Art-Making in a Globalised World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 64–84.
36 See Kymlicka, 'The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism?', 98–99.
37 Stuart Hall, 'Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities', in *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. Anthony D. King (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 55. See also Kymlicka, 'The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism?', 98.
38 Charles Taylor, 'Foreword', in *Interculturalism: A View from Quebec*, ed. Gérard Bouchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), vii.
39 Gérard Bouchard, *Interculturalism: A View from Quebec* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 59. For Bouchard's discussion of the differences between Canadian multiculturalism and Quebec interculturalism, see pp. 60–70.
40 See Riva Kastoryano, 'Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Redefining Nationhood and Solidarity', *Comparative Migration Studies* 6, no. 17 (2018), https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-018-0082-6.
41 Bouchard, *Interculturalism*, 58.
42 Bouchard, *Interculturalism*, 60 and 64.
43 See Kastoryano, 'Multiculturalism and Interculturalism', 2–3. Bouchard, *Interculturalism*, 58.
44 See Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 'Introduction: Rethinking Integration', 179.
45 Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 'Introduction: Rethinking Integration', 182–83.
46 See Steven Vertovec, 'Super-Diversity and Its Implications', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 6 (2007), https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701599465.
47 See Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 'Introduction: Rethinking Integration', 80.
48 Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 'Introduction: Rethinking Integration', 183. See also 84.
49 See Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 'Introduction: Rethinking Integration', 185.

50 See Les Back and Shamser Sinha, 'Multicultural Conviviality in the Midst of Racism's Ruins', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 37, no. 5 (2016): 521, https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2016.1211625.
51 Email exchange with Moritz Schramm, November 22, 2022.
52 See Amanda Wise and Greg Noble, 'Convivialities: An Orientation', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 37, no. 5 (2016): 424, https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2016.1213786. Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial culture?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004).
53 See Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), 149.
54 Back and Sinha, 'Multicultural Conviviality', 518.
55 Gilroy, *After Empire*, xi.
56 See Back and Sinha, 'Multicultural Conviviality', 522.
57 Gilroy, *After Empire*, xi. Étienne Balibar, n.p., 'Étienne Balibar: War, Racism and Nationalism', in Clemant Petitjean ed. *Verso Blog*, 17 November 2015, 2015; Étienne Balibar, 'Is There a "Neo-Racism"?', in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, ed. Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London: Verso, 1991).
58 Gilroy, quoted in Sten Pultz Moslund, 'Towards a Postmigrant Reading of Literature: An Analysis of Zadie Smith's *NW*', in *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition*, ed. Moritz Schramm, Sten Pultz Moslund, and Anne Ring Petersen (New York: Routledge, 2019), 96. For Moslund's perceptive discussion of Gilroy's concept of conviviality in relation to the terms post-ethnic, post-race and post-other, see Moslund, 'Towards a Postmigrant Reading', 95–97. See also Gilroy, *After Empire*, xi, 166.
59 Kijan Espahangizi. 'Das Postmigrantische ist kein Kind der Akademie'. *Geschichte der Gegenwart. Beiträge zur öffentliche Debatte*. June 16, 2016. http://geschichtedergegenwart.ch/das-postmigrantische-kein-kind-der-akademie/.
60 See Anna Meera Gaonkar, Astrid Sophie Øst Hansen, Hans Christian Post, and Moritz Schramm, 'Introduction', in *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Anna Meera Gaonkar et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 12–23. 'Postmigration Studies' is also the name of the book series in which this anthology is published. The series is edited by Mark Hill and Erol Yildiz and published by transcript Verlag, and it has contributed considerably to establishing the academic field. Studies foundational to the field include but are not limited to: Germany (Naika Foroutan, Coşkun Canan, Benjamin Schwarze, Steffen Beigang, and Dorina Kalkum, *Deutschland postmigrantisch II. Einstellungen von Jugendlichen und jungen Erwachsenen zu Gesellschaft, Religion und Identität. Zweite aktualisierte Auflage* [Berlin: Berliner Institut für empirische Integrations- und Migrationsforschung, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2015]; Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft*; Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic'; Manuela Bojadžijev and Regina Römhild, 'Was kommt nach dem "transnational turn"? Perspektiven für eine kritische Migrationsforschung', in *Vom Rand ins Zentrum. Perspektiven einer kritischen Migrationsforschung*, ed. Katrin Amelang et al. [Berlin: Labor Migration and Panama Verlag, 2014]; Espahangizi, 'When Do Societies'; Azadeh Sharifi, *Theater für Alle? Partizipation von Postmigranten am Beispiel der Bühnen der Stadt Köln* [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011]); Denmark (Anne Ring Petersen and Moritz Schramm, eds. '(Post) Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 2 [2017]: 25–35; Schramm, Moslund, and Petersen, *Reframing Migration*). For the UK, see the next note. For additional references, I refer to Gaonkar et al.'s comprehensive survey which cites a broad array of both humanities and social science-based literature on postmigration. References to studies in visual art and postmigration are given in Chapter 2.
61 See Roger Bromley, 'A Bricolage of Identifications: Storying Postmigrant Belonging', in '(Post) Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017), https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2017.1347474; Roger Bromley, 'Class, Knowledge and Belonging: Narrating Postmigrant Possibilities', in *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Anna Meera Gaonkar et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 133–43; Marsha Meskimmon, 'From the Cosmos to the Polis: On Denizens, Art and Postmigration Worldmaking', in '(Post)Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017), https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2017.134

3082. See also Lizzie Stewart, *Performing New German Realities: Turkish-German Scripts of Postmigration* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021); and Lizzie Stewart, 'Postmigrant Theatre: The Ballhaus Naunynstraße Takes on Sexual Nationalism', in '(Post)Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 5 (2017): 56–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2017.1347474.

62 Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 13.

63 Gerd Baumann and Thijl Sunier, eds., *Post-migration Ethnicity: Cohesion, Commitments, Comparison* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1995), 10, 36, 118 and 165. See also Anne Ring Petersen, Moritz Schramm, and Frauke Wiegand, 'Academic Reception', in *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition*, ed. Moritz Schramm, Sten Pultz Moslund, and Anne Ring Petersen (New York: Routledge, 2019), 22–23, note 1. When discussing the early scholarly work, I follow the early usages of terms and write 'post-migration' and 'post-immigration' with a hyphen. Similarly, I capitalize the term 'black' when discussing Hall's usage of the term. Hall spells Black with a capital B to signal that this category is not defined epidermically by the colour line or ethnically by African origins but is a political and inclusive category.

64 Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 16. See also Kira Kosnick, 'How to do Things with Words, Oder: Postmigrantische Sprechakte', in *Postmigrantische Perspektiven: Ordnungssysteme, Repräsentationen, Kritik*, ed. Naika Foroutan, Juliane Karakayalı, and Riem Spielhaus (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2018), 159–72; Erol Yildiz, 'Postmigrantische Perspektiven. Aufbruch in eine neue Geschichtlichkeit', in *Nach der Migration. Postmigrantische Perspektiven jenseits der Parallelgesellschaft*, ed. Erol Yildiz and Marc Hill (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014).

65 See Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 14–15; Tariq Modood, 'New Forms of Britishness: Post-Immigration Ethnicity and Hybridity in Britain', in *The Expanding Nation: Towards a Multiethnic Ireland*, ed. Ronit Lentin (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin, 1998), 34–40.

66 Tariq Modood, *Post-Immigration "Difference" and Integration: The Case of Muslims in Western Europe*, ed. Peter Taylor-Gooby, New Paradigms in Public Policy (London: The British Academy, 2012), 14.

67 Modood, *Post-Immigration "Difference"*, 29.

68 Modood, *Post-Immigration "Difference"*, 25. On the first page of the report, Modood defines his concept of difference thus: '"*Difference*" primarily refers to how people are identified, not necessarily unambiguously or discretely, but in categories of "race", ethnicity, religion, culture and nationality. The policy problem is how to integrate difference so that it ceases to be problematic.' Ibid., 9. Modood distinguishes between four different and elaborately described 'modes of integration': assimilation, individualist-integration and two versions of multiculturalism, one of which he terms 'cosmopolitanism'. Ibid., 25ff.

69 Modood, *Post-Immigration "Difference"*, 37.

70 Modood, *Post-Immigration "Difference"*, 14.

71 See Modood, 'New Forms of Britishness', 34; Hall, 'Old and New Identities', 52; Paul Gilroy, 'The End of Anti-Racism', in *Race and Local Politics*, ed. Wendy Ball and John Solomos (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 195–203.

72 Modood, 'New Forms of Britishness', 35. See also Modood, *Post-Immigration "Difference"*; and Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 14–16.

73 See Modood, 'New Forms of Britishness', 39.

74 See Hall, 'Old and New Identities', 41, 47.

75 See Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 16.

76 See Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 3–21.

77 Hall, Stuart, 'The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity', in *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. Anthony D. King (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 36.

78 Hall, 'Old and New Identities', 39.

79 Modood, 'New Forms of Britishness', 39.

80 Modood, 'New Forms of Britishness', 39.

81 Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 17, note 9.

82 See Katarina Stjepandić and Serhat Krakayalı, 'Solidarität in postmigrantischen Allianzen: Die Suche nach dem *Common Ground* jenseits individueller Erfahrungskontexte', in *Postmigrantische Perspektiven: Ordnungssysteme, Repräsentationen, Kritik*, ed. Naika Foroutan, Juliane Karakayalı, and Riem Spielhaus (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2018), 84–85; and Moritz Schramm, 'Jenseits der binäre Logik: Postmigrantische Perspektiven für die Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft', in *Postmigrantische Perspektiven: Ordnungssysteme, Repräsentationen, Kritik*, ed. Naika Foroutan, Juliane Karakayalı, and Riem Spielhaus (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2018), 85. See also Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 17–18.

83 Naika Foroutan, 'Postmigrantische Gesellschaften', in *Einwanderungsgesellschaft Deutschland*, ed. Hans Ulrich Brinkmann and Martina Sauer (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016), 248.

84 See Anne Ring Petersen, Moritz Schramm, and Frauke Wiegand, 'Criticism and Perspectives', in *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition*, ed. Moritz Schramm, Sten Pultz Moslund and Anne Ring Petersen (New York: Routledge, 2019), 60.

85 The following draws on Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 19–23; and Petersen, Schramm, and Wiegand, 'Academic Reception'.

86 Naika Foroutan, 'Neue Deutsche, Postmigranten und Bindungs-Identitäten. Wer gehört zum neuen Deutschland'?, *APuZ Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, no. 46–47 (2010): 9–15; Sharifi, *Theater für Alle?*.

87 See Erol Yildiz, 'Die Öffnung der Orte zur Welt und postmigrantische Lebensentwürfe', *SWS-Rundschau* 2010, no. 3 (2010) 318–39; Yildiz, *Die weltoffene Stadt*; and Marc Hill, 'Eine Vision von Vielfalt: Das Stadtleben aus postmigrantischer Perspektive', in *Postmigrantische Visionen: Erfahrungen - Ideen - Refleksionen*, ed. Marc Hill and Erol Yildiz (Bielefeld: transcript, 2018), 97–119.

88 Yildiz, 'Die Öffnung der Orte zur Welt und postmigrantische Lebensentwürfe', 329.

89 Erol Yildiz and Marc Hill, 'In-Between as Resistance: The Post-Migrant Generation between Discrimination and Transnationalization', *Transnational Social Review* 7, no. 3 (2017): 277, https://doi.org/10.1080/21931674.2017.1360033.

90 Erol Yildiz and Hill Marc, eds., *Nach der Migration. Postmigrantische Perspektiven jenseits der Parallelgesellschaft* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2015); Naika Foroutan, Juliane Karakayalı, and Riem Spielhaus, eds., *Postmigrantische Perspektiven: Ordnungssysteme, Repräsentationen, Kritik* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2018).

91 The notion of a postmigrant society first surfaced in connection with the founding of the 'Netzwerk für die kritische Wissensproduktion in der postmigrantische Gesellschaft' ('Network for Critical Knowledge Production in the Postmigrant Society') in 2010. Counting among its members leading voices such as Naika Foroutan, Juliane Karakayalı, Vassilis S. Tsianos and Riem Spielhaus, the network has contributed significantly to advancing the debates on postmigration. See Petersen, Schramm, and Wiegand, 'Academic Reception', 15; Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 18–19.

92 See Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 20; Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic'.

93 Bojadžijev and Römhild, 'Was kommt nach dem "transnational turn"?', 18–19.

94 See Bojadžijev and Römhild, 'Was kommt nach dem "transnational turn"?', 19.

95 Riem Spielhaus, 'Studien in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft: Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung', in *Kongressdokumentation 4. Bundesfachkongress Interkultur, Hamburg 2012*, ed. Marius Koniarczyck, Claudia Niemeyer, Natascha Tomchuk and Anja Turner (Hamburg: Kulturbehörde der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2012), 97. http://www.bundesfachkongress-interkultur-2014.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Bundesfachkongress-Interkultur-2012-Doku.pdf.

96 See, for instance, Foroutan et al., *Deutschland postmigrantisch II*. See also Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 20.

97 As Foroutan et al. have stated in *Deutschland postmigrantische II*: 'It is not the moment of immigration and not the empirical presence of migrants or a certain percentage of migrant population in the demographic composition of society that is decisive for the description of a society as postmigrant, but rather the political moment of recognition of immigration, or migration, as a constitutive element of social self-description.' Foroutan et al., *Deutschland postmigrantisch II*, 16; see also Petersen, Schramm, and Wiegand, 'Academic Reception', 17–18.

98 See Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft*, 35–6, 190.

99 The alliteration of the 'five As' in the German original – *Anerkennung, Aushandlung, Ambivalenz, Antagonismen, Allianzen* – is unfortunately lost in translation. Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft*, 24.
100 Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft*, 60.
101 See Petersen, Schramm, and Wiegand, 'Academic Reception', 16.
102 The following draws on Sten Pultz Moslund and Anne Ring Petersen, 'Introduction: Towards a Postmigrant Frame of Reading', in *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition*, ed. Moritz Schramm, Sten Pultz Moslund, and Anne Ring Petersen (New York: Routledge, 2019), 67–8.
103 See Schramm, 'Jenseits der binäre Logik', 89.
104 Moslund and Petersen, 'Towards a Postmigrant Frame', 68.
105 Moslund and Petersen, 'Towards a Postmigrant Frame', 68.
106 See Donna Haraway, 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective', *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 575–99.
107 Moslund and Petersen, 'Towards a Postmigrant Frame', 73.
108 This research project ran from 2016 to 2019 and was led by Moritz Schramm. The group's key publication was co-authored by Moritz Schramm, Sten Pultz Moslund, Mirjam Gebauer, Frauke Wiegand, Sabrina Vitting-Seerup, Hans Christian Post and myself (Schramm, Moslund, and Petersen, *Reframing Migration*). Other project-related publications include: Anne Ring Petersen and Moritz Schramm, '(Post-)Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', in '(Post)Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017): 1–12, https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2017.1356178; Sabrina Vitting-Seerup, 'Repræsentationer af mangfoldighed. Kulturinstitutioners arbejde med kulturelle repræsentationer i den postmigrantiske tilstand' (PhD dissertation, University of Copenhagen, 2021); Gaonkar, 'Feeling Sick of Home?'; and Eva Jørholt, 'Banlieue Chronicles: A "Demigrantising", Historical look at Cinematic Representations of the Ill-Famed French Suburbs', *Studies in European Cinema* 14, no. 3 (2017), https://doi.org/10.1080/17411548.2017.1376858. As a member of the group, the film director and cultural studies scholar Hans Christian Post also produced the documentary *We Are Here*; see Hans Christian Post, 'We Are Here', in *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Anna Meera Gaonkar et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 221–34. An offshoot of the project's concluding conference is Anna Meera Gaonkar, Astrid Sophie Øst Hansen, Hans Christian Post and Moritz Schramm's co-edited anthology from 2021, *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe*. This present book is indebted to and in continuous conversation with the inspiring work of these scholars who may disagree internally, but find common ground in their shared effort to bring postmigrant perspectives to bear on art and culture.
109 See Stjepandić and Krakayalı, 'Solidarität in postmigrantischen Allianzen'; Azadeh Sharifi, 'Moments of Significance: Artists of Colour in European Theatre', in *The Culture of Migration: Politics, Aesthetics and Histories*, ed. Sten Pultz Moslund, Anne Ring Petersen, and Moritz Schramm (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 243–56; Sharifi, *Theater für Alle?*.
110 Yildiz, 'Postmigrantische Perspektiven', 22. Further examples include Jørholt, 'Banlieue Chronicles'; and Àlvaro Luna-Dubois, 'Recovering Migrant Spaces in Laurent Maffre's Graphic Novel *Demain, Demain*', in *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Anna Meera Gaonkar et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 265–82.
111 See F. Frangenberg, ed., *Projekt Migration* (Cologne: Kölnische Kunstverein og DuMont, 2005). Obviously, the British histories of migration have long been the object of exhibitions and publications too numerous to be surveyed here where the focus is on postmigrant rather than postcolonial approaches.
112 'Europe's largest migration museum' is under construction in Germany and scheduled for inauguration in 2027. Located in Cologne, it is named 'House of the Immigration Society' on the website of the initiating organization, the DOMID archive, which also organized *Project Migration*. The project is anchored in the German government's *National Action Plan for Integration* and aims to 'honor Germany's cultural wealth, which is also owed to immigrants' (quoted from https://domid.org/en/house-of-immigration-society/location/, accessed June 30, 2022). In Berlin, the Documentation Centre Flight, Expulsion, Reconciliation opened in Deutschlandhaus at Anhalter Bahnhof in the summer of 2021; it includes a permanent

exhibition that explores forced migration in twentieth-century Europe, https://www.flucht-vertreibung-versoehnung.de/en/home, accessed June 30, 2022. London hosts the Migration Museum – apparently the UK's only museum for the histories of people migrating to and from the UK across the ages. From 2013 to 2017, the museum staged pop-up exhibitions, events and education workshops across the UK, before moving to a former London Fire Brigade Workshop and, in 2020, to the Lewisham Shopping Centre in South London; see https://www.migration-museum.org/about-our-project/, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCED3a2p5W4UnMog-PxobU4ZA/videos?view=57 and https://www.unhcr.org/uk/refugeeweek/migration-museum/. Among the rich and variegated array of historical displays, exhibitions and online resources of the Museum of London, there can also be found a continuous exploration of London's 'Black History', including the Windrush generation; see https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/museum-london/london-black-history and https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/museum-london-docklands/windrush-stories. Interestingly, both museums have a strong and consistent focus on the postmigrant processes *after* settlement, that is, on the cultural history of immigration and migrants' contribution to British society. Conversely, the museum Flugt ('Flight') in Denmark is located in a former refugee camp from the 1940s and focuses on the experience and predicament of forced displacement since the Second World War, https://flugtmuseum.dk/. This opened in 2022, ten years after Immigrantmuseet ('The Immigrant Museum'), a museum for the cultural history of immigration to Denmark located in the capital region of Denmark, https://immigrantmuseet.dk/. All websites accessed August 2, 2022.

113 See Moritz Neumüller, 'Migration kuratieren', in *Migration und künstlerische Produktion. Aktuelle Perspektiven*, ed. Burcu Dogramaci (Bielefeld: transcript, 2013), 219–28; Stefanie Zobel, 'No Place – Like Home. Sichtbarmachung von Migration in Kunstausstellungen aus Europa', *Kritische Berichte – Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaft* 43, no. 2 (2015): 16–28; Natalie Bayer and Mark Terkessidis, 'Beyond Repair: An Anti-Racist Praxeology of Curating', in *Curating as Anti-Racist Practice*, ed. Natalie Bayer, Belinda Kazeem-Kamiński, and Nora Sternfeld (Helsinki: Aalto ARTS books, 2018), 47–63; Eureka Henrich, 'Museums, History and Migration in Australia', *History Compass* 11, no. 10 (2013): 783–800; and Joachim Bauer, *Die Musealisierung der Migration. Einwanderungsmuseen und die Inszenierung der multikulturellen Nation* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2009).

114 Yildiz, *Die weltoffene Stadt*, 178.

115 See Gaonkar et al., 'Introduction', 23.

116 See Paul Mecheril, 'Was ist das X im Postmigrantischen'?, *Sub\urban. Zeitschrift für kritische Stadtforschung* 2, no. 3 (2014): 107–8 and 111.

117 Nanna Heidenreich, *V/Erkenungsdienste, das Kino und die Perspektive der Migration* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2015), 300–1; see also Anne Ring Petersen, '"Say It Loud!" A Postmigrant Perspective on Postcolonial Critique in Contemporary Art', in *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition*, ed. Moritz Schramm, Sten Pultz Moslund, and Anne Ring Petersen (New York: Routledge, 2019), 79.

118 See Fatima El-Tayeb, Undeutsch. Die Konstruktion des Anderen in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft (Bielefeld: transcript, 2016), 12 and 23.

119 See Juliane Krakayalı and Paul Mecheril, 'Umkämpfte Krisen: Migrationsregime als Analyseperspektive migrationsgesellschaftlicher Gegenwart', in *Postmigrantische Perspektiven: Ordnungssysteme, Repräsentationen, Kritik*, ed. Naika Foroutan, Juliane Karakayalı, and Riem Spielhaus (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2018), 225–35.

120 Tsianos and Karakayalı, 'Rassismus', 36.

121 Kijan Espahangizi, Sabine Hess, Juliane Karakayalı, Bernd Kasparek, Simona Pagano, Mathias Rodatz, and Vassilis S. Tsianos, 'Rassismus in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft. Zur Einleitung', in *Rassismus in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft. Movement – Journal für kritische Migrations- und Grenzregimeforschung 2, no. 1*, ed. Kijan Esphangizi et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2016), 9. See also Naika Foroutan, 'Rassismus in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft', in '(Anti-)Rassismus', special issue, *APuZ Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, no. 42–44 (2020), https://www.bpb.de/shop/zeitschriften/apuz/antirassismus-2020/316760/rassismus-in-der-postmigrantischen-gesellschaft/. On 'differentializing racism' in postmigrant society, see Florian Ohnmacht and Erol Yıldız, 'The Postmigrant Generation between Racial Discrimination and New Orientation: From Hegemony to Convivial Everyday Practice', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 44, no. 16 (2021): 152–54, https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2021.1936113.

122 See Riem Spielhaus, 'Zwischen Migrantisierung von Muslimen und Islamisierung von Migranten', in *Postmigrantische Perspektiven: Ordnungssysteme, Repräsentationen, Kritik*, ed. Naika Foroutan, Juliane Karakayalı, and Riem Spielhaus (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2018), 129–43.
123 Espahangizi et al., 'Rassismus', 15.
124 By introducing this 'composite notion', Espahangizi aims to 'bring together the debates on postmigrant societies in a German-speaking context and Paul Gilroy's reflections on convivial culture'. Kijan Espahangizi, 'The "Cultural Turn" of Postmigrant Conviviality: A Historical Case Study on Practices and Discourses of (Multi)Cultural Diversity in Switzerland, 1970s-1990s', in *Diversity and Otherness: Transcultural Insights into Norms, Practices, Negotiations*, ed. Lisa Gaupp and Pelillo-Hestermeyer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 97.
125 Ohnmacht and Yıldız, 'The Postmigrant Generation', 152 and 155.
126 Ohnmacht and Yıldız, 'The Postmigrant Generation', 156.
127 Fatima El-Tayeb, '"The Birth of a European Public": Migration, Postnationality, and Race in the Uniting of Europe', *American Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (2008): 652.
128 Mathias Danbolt and Lene Myong, 'Racial Turns and Returns: Recalibrations of Racial Exceptionalism in Danish Public Debates on Racism', in *Racialization, Racism, and Anti-Racism in the Nordic Countries*, ed. Peter Hervik (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 43.
129 See Gloria Wekker, *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Philomena Essed, 'Entitlement Racism: Licence to Humiliate', in *Recycling Hatred: Racism(s) in Europe Today*, ed. ENAR (Brussels: ENAR, 2013), 62–76; Peter Hervik, ed., *Racialization, Racism, and Anti-Racism in the Nordic Countries* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); and Tobias Hübinette and Daphne Arbouz, 'Introducing Mixed Race Sweden: A Study of the (Im)possibilities of Being a Mixed-Race Swede', *Culture and Empathy* 2, no. 3 (2019): 138–63.
130 For a more thorough discussion of 'post-' terms and the interrelationship between the concepts of postcolonialism and postmigration, see Petersen, Schramm, and Wiegand, 'Criticism and Perspectives'; Petersen, '"Say It Loud!" A Postmigrant Perspective'.
131 Ohnmacht and Yıldız, 'The Postmigrant Generation', 150 (emphasis in the original).
132 Katrin Hüxel et al. even go so far as to suggest that the postmigrant perspective can be understood as 'a specification of postcolonial critique, and in terms of a specific application to (Western) European societies of immigration', which, of course, leaves open the question of the subsumption of the postmigratory under the postcolonial risks bracketing out other histories of migration, in particular non-colonial labour migration and irregular immigration/refugees. Katrin Hüxel, Juliane Karakayalı, Ewa Palenga-Möllenbeck, Marianne Schmidbaur, Kyoko Shinzaki, Tina Spies, Linda Supik, and Elisabeth Tuider, 'Postmigrantisch gelesen. Transnationalität, Gender, Care', in *Postmigrantisch gelesen. Transnationalität, Gender, Care*, ed. Katrin Hüxel et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020), 21. This tendency to subsume the postmigrant under the postcolonial is also seen in the anthology *Postkolonialismus und Postmigration* mentioned below. In their introduction to this collection of essays exploring the interrelations between the concepts of postcolonialism and postmigration, the editors suggest that there is a genealogical explanation for this. Postcolonial studies has cemented its position in German language academia, whereas postmigration research is still a germinating field and theoretically indebted to postcolonialism – and the concept is itself contested. See Ömer Alkin and Lena Geuer, 'Einleitung', in *Postkolonialismus und Postmigration*, ed. Ömer Alkin and Lena Geuer (Münster: Unrast, 2022), 12–13.
133 Bojadžijev and Römhild, 'Was kommt nach dem "transnational" turn?', 19.
134 Regina Römhild, 'Postmigrant Europe: Discoveries beyond Ethnic, National and Colonial Boundaries', in *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Anna Meera Gaonkar et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 46.
135 See the editors' introduction and the chapters by Erol Yildiz, Isabell Lorey, Marianne Peiper and Feben Amara in Ömer Alkin and Lena Geuer, eds., *Postkolonialismus und Postmigration* (Münster: Unrast, 2022).
136 Erol Yildiz, 'Vom Postkolonialen zum Postmigrantischen: Eine neue Topografie des Möglichen', in *Postkolonialismus und Postmigration*, ed. Ömer Alkin and Lena Geuer (Münster: Unrast, 2022), 81 and 93. A related but different approach to the intersections between the

discourses is taken by the contributors to a volume on 'Othering in the Postmigrant Society' who apply the postcolonial concepts of othering and Eurocentrism as a critical lens on the methodologies used to study postmigration in the social sciences. Irini Siouti, Tina Spies, Elisabeth Tuider, Hella Unger, and Erol Yildiz, eds., *Othering in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft. Herausforderungen und Konsequenzen für die Forschungspraksis*, Postmigrantische Studien (Bielefeld: transcript, 2022).

137 See Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011). See also Jens Adam and Regina Römhild, eds., *Europa dezentrieren. Globale Verflechtungen neu denken* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2019).

138 See Oliver Tewes and Garabet Gül, eds., *Der soziale Raum der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft* (Weinheim: Beltz Juventa, 2018); Yildiz, *Die weltoffene Stadt*.

2 A Postmigrant Perspective on Art

A Postmigrant Methodology

A postmigrant methodology examines long-contested issues of 'migration' in new ways by subjecting them to a postmigrant perspective. In order to do so, it establishes a critical frame for understanding by adopting the theoretical framework of postmigrant thought, as described in Chapter 1, and by harnessing relevant analytical concepts from postcolonial and migration studies as well as the broader field of political, social and cultural theory (for instance, concepts such as ethnicity, race, difference, hybridity, belonging, identification, participation and representation), along with terms used in art history (such as aesthetics, curating, participatory art, monument and art in public spaces). Where the migratory has been reduced to a negative marker of otherness and marginality, postmigrant thought intervenes to question such stigmatizing and marginalizing practices and discourses, as it seeks to place the migratory at the centre of the debate about communities, identities and cultural memories in contemporary Europe. Postmigrant thought thus prompts scholars to develop fresh approaches to enduring problems.

The aim of this chapter is to consider what innovative approaches postmigrant thought has prompted in the field of art history so far. In continuation of Chapter 1, I explain first of all how I have combined postmigrant, transcultural and feminist perspectives before I present a survey of previous studies of art and postmigration as well as indicating how this book positions itself in this field. As mentioned in the Introduction, this book examines art's aesthetic and democratic agency in European public spaces that have become major arenas for different and often conflicting responses to the interconnected challenges of migration, globalization and nationalism. I understand the public spaces of postmigrant societies to be open and plural, hence also conflictual domains of human encounter impacted by former and ongoing migration, by new forms of nationalism and by transnational entanglements resulting from globalization processes and the need to tackle climate change and other boundary-crossing global crises (e.g. the corona pandemic of the early 2020s) as a world community, albeit a divisive one. Accordingly, I use the term 'postmigrant public spaces' to refer to the material and discursive arenas of democratic participation where these entanglements and causes of conflict are negotiated. The term also points to the postmigrant theoretical framework I adopt to study them, that is, to my analytical framing of such sites as 'postmigrant public spaces'.

The Introduction made clear that migration and postmigration are vexed and profoundly politicized topics. When exploring how artists engage with them, it is helpful to observe Stefan Jonsson's distinction between, on the one hand, *migration politics* (how state authorities and civil society exert power and seek to manage migration flows and

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migrants according to particular needs and interests) and *migration and integration policies* (legal frameworks for entry, residency and citizenship, paths towards education and employment as well as mechanisms of inclusion and discrimination), and on the other hand, *migration as an instance of the political institution of society*, which is the focus of attention here. In this case, the capacity to act and exert an influence is no longer on the side of the state, the police and other governmental or political institutions, explains Jonsson. Agency emanates from migration understood as a social (and therefore also cultural) force that transgresses the boundaries that delineate communities. In doing so, migration contributes to their reconstitution and to changing the existing system of inclusion and exclusion, that is, the mechanisms that regulate, among other things, access to the political community and the criteria for qualifying as a citizen.[1] Jonsson concludes: 'This is not to say that migrants make up a constituent political agency (conscious of itself as a power in itself). However, to the extent that migration today manifests specific responses to global crises and contradictions, it represents a plural force that transforms the political ordering of society.' Put differently, we are facing 'the problem of *the political* as such'.[2]

This book asserts that it is productive to combine a postmigrant analytical framework for art with elements of transcultural analysis, as defined by the art historian Monica Juneja, in order to adapt the postmigrant perspective for the special methodological needs of studies in contemporary artistic practices and their conditions of excessive global circulation (in real space such as exhibitions and biennials as well as in online and other media spaces).[3] A crucial difference between transcultural/transnational and postmigrant analytical perspectives consists in their position on national space and the nation-state. As the historian Ulf Hedetoft has argued, the nation, understood as a group with close affinities and feelings of belonging among its members, has a long history, whereas the nation-state is a modern construct. Central to nation-state-building, especially the European model, was:

> a state that spearheaded or was the primary object of the modernization process in contravention of the old order… European *national* identities are therefore in a very fundamental, existential sense, *state* identities, since they presume an active, interventionist state apparatus….[4]

While the transnational perspective aims to expand, transgress or decentre national space, national space is the geographical/territorial focal point of the postmigrant perspective as it aims to redefine the national space, transform it even, by uncovering its sociocultural diversity and how everyday life reflects its malleability and the coexistence within it of a plurality of ethnic groups and cultural traditions. This aim is indicative of the genealogical connection between the postmigrant perspective, as it has been deployed in continental Europe, and the critical perspectives developed in British postcolonial and cultural studies already from the 1980s onwards by Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy and others (see Chapter 1).[5] Thus, while the postmigrant perspective tends to focus on issues and phenomena related to the transformative impact of immigration on a nation-state, studies in visual art require an approach that is more responsive to the logic of objects and artists on the move, which is why the 'methodological nationalism' inherent in the otherwise very productive postmigrant approach must be complemented with a transnational analytical perspective.

While the postmigrant perspective is still under-explored in studies of art, many art historians have applied transcultural and diasporic perspectives to rethink art history's

methodologies, particularly in regard to contemporary and modern art. As a result, there is now a considerable body of scholarly literature to draw on. I have found Monica Juneja's understanding of transculturality and how transcultural entanglements manifest in art as well as Kobena Mercer's theorization of a dialogic approach to black diaspora art practices particularly helpful in developing a combined postmigrant and transnational perspective for art. Both authors have shown ways to combine an emphasis on the reciprocity of transcultural artistic interchange with a critical interrogation of the power relations that such contact also involves (see Chapter 3).[6] Also to be mentioned is a more recent study of transculturality in contemporary art from East Asia and the Middle East by Birgit Mersmann. Taking as her starting point the idea that transcultural analysis of images is a kind of translational analysis, Mersmann develops an accurate terminology and theoretical framework for the study of image-based processes of transfer and transculturation.[7]

Feminist perspectives have been central to studies of art and transculturalism for some time.[8] In recent years, feminist approaches, especially transnational and black feminisms, have also begun to gain ground in postmigration studies, often in conjunction with transnational perspectives. This became evident in 2020 with the publication of the anthology *Postmigrantisch gelesen: Transnationalität, Gender, Care* ('Reading through Postmigration: Transnationality, Gender, Care'), in which the editors and contributors sought to bring a postmigrant analytical perspective together with feminist and transcultural perspectives.[9] As the editors note in their introduction to the volume, racism has become a central and by now established object of postmigrant analysis, but the discussions on postmigrant societies still lack 'a distinctly feminist analysis'.[10]

The aim of this book is not to offer such an analysis, although it amalgamates components of feminist theory with postmigrant and transcultural perspectives into an interdisciplinary framework. Above all, it is an intersectional understanding of identity formation that is central here. The idea that lived experience is multidimensional and that social identities are shaped by the interaction of several social vectors (such as race, gender and class) was first elaborated into a critical position in black feminism in the 1970s by the members of the Combahee River Collective of black lesbians, who argued that it is important to recognize that social class, race and sexuality produce both commonalities and differences between women and insisted on the need for strategic alliances across various categories of difference.[11] In 1989, the legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw put a name to this when she introduced the term *intersectionality*. Gaining traction in critical race studies in the early 1990s, this gradually evolved into a key concept in gender studies and a travelling concept across the humanities and social sciences. From its inception, intersectionality has focused in particular on the intersection of race and gender, turning it into an efficient tool to reject the 'single-axis' analysis often embraced by feminists and anti-racist scholars and for subverting race and gender binaries. At the same time, the concept captures the simultaneity of race and gender as social processes.[12] This approach can be applied to intersections of any other axis, including nationality and culture (a common marker of difference in migration contexts), along with the binary distinctions between sedentary and migratory lifestyles, majority and minority groups.

Thus, intersectionality has significant overlaps with and holds a potential as an analytical tool for postmigration research that rejects the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' and explores interdependence, hybridity and *positionings* at social and cultural intersections. Importantly, intersectionality offers a complexifying vocabulary and provides a means to avoid binaristic and polarizing identity politics that elide intra-group differences

and disregard inter-group commonalities. The fact that several of the contributors to *Postmigrantisch gelesen* foreground intersectionality and that we find Ann Phoenix, an influential British psychologist and theorist of intersectionality, among the contributors testifies to the concept's relevance as well as to the intersectional consciousness that permeates postmigrant discussions of diversity and racism, even when the concept itself is not mobilized.[13] As the professor of social pedagogy, Rudolf Leiprecht, explains in his contribution 'Rassismus und Sexismus' ('Racism and Sexism'), the concept of *diversity* at the heart of postmigrant thought offers both a descriptive perspective on the various structures of difference that operate in a specific place at a particular moment in time and a normative perspective with which the struggle against social inequality and for more social justice can be pursued. However, to be truly productive, diversity needs to be coupled with the analytical-empirical perspective that intersectionality offers.[14] As the feminist art historian Marsha Meskimmon has suggested, when exploring art, intersectionality can operate as a critical way of thinking about issues of sameness and difference, that is, as an 'analytical sensibility' attentive to what intersectionality does rather than what intersectionality is.[15] Meskimmon has developed intersectionality into a generative theoretical sensibility that facilitates an aggregated analysis of sameness and differences, and she is acutely aware of how intersectionality can 'create kin' and 'affective coalitions'. I thus follow Meskimmon's use of intersectionality as an analytic sensibility that 'builds bridges, not walls'.[16] Other important borrowings from feminist thought are the concepts of transversal politics and epistemic communities. I use these to characterize the nature of postmigrant coalition-building emerging from the arts, and in particular, the stake artists and other cultural producers have in creating such. Both terms signal crucial links between political, ethical and artistic agency. Moreover, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, they provide a helpful framework for understanding collaborative and infrastructural processes pertaining to the arts.

Having outlined how the book's methodological framework combines postmigrant, transcultural and feminist approaches, I give a brief overview of previous studies in the field and explain how my study positions itself within this. My account falls into two parts: the first considers studies in contemporary art and postmigration. As the scholarly literature is still scarce, I seek to provide a survey of important contributions to the development of postmigrant perspectives on contemporary art, concluding with a consideration of the need for a conflict-sensitive approach that serves as a bridge to the second part about art in public spaces. In contrast to the former, this field abounds with literature; and so accordingly, the second part does not seek to map the field but homes in on a few concepts and discussions that are central to my topic. Finally, this chapter turns to conflict theory, in order to advance the argument that art which grapples with the conditions and conflicts of postmigrant society in a critical, political or even activist way can perhaps best be understood as cultivating forms of what Oliver Marchart has termed 'conflictual aesthetics'.

In Chapter 1, a genealogical approach was adopted in order to trace the roots of the concept of postmigration. This can also be helpful when exploring the discourses on art in a transnational perspective. While 'postmigration' is apt for framing art emerging from continental European countries with a postwar history of 'guest worker' programmes, such as Germany and Denmark, there is a strong tendency in the UK, with its history of postcolonial immigration, to apply a postcolonial or a 'Black British' lens to art that engages with immigration-related issues. Despite these terminological differences, important insights can be gleaned from such studies, not only from the cultural theories of

Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy but also from British-based work on the entanglement of art with migration and multiculturalism. Due to the longer trajectory, such studies predate and have inspired continental studies.

Germinating Postmigrant Perspectives in Art History

Art's engagement with the problem-space of postmigration requires the translation of a concept with trajectories in the social sciences to the domain of representation and aesthetics. A postmigrant perspective on art examines how artists, curators and publics work through the struggles that societal pluralization entails – most notably, struggles over individual and national identity, issues of recognition and migrantization/racialization as well as unequal access to resources, public visibility and democratic participation. Contrary to literary, theatre and film studies, where the concept of postmigration was deployed in several book-length studies around 2012–2015,[17] the concept of postmigration and an analytical perspective informed by postmigration research has not yet gained traction in studies of the visual arts as an instrument for rethinking studies in migration and art. However, in recent years, studies in postmigration and contemporary art have begun to appear, testifying to the relevance of the postmigrant perspective to this field.

In 2019, Birgit Mersmann and Burcu Dogramaci published the anthology *Handbook of Art and Global Migration: Theories, Practices and Challenges*, signalling that 'art and migration' had now established itself as an area of research within art history, equipped with a 'handbook' for students and scholars venturing into the field. In a chapter titled 'Toward a *Migratory Turn*: Art History and the Meaning of Flight, Migration and Exile', Dogramaci presents a kind of reasoned vision statement to guide the efforts of future art history. She points to the fact that migrations across borders are difficult to align with canonical systems, periodizations and chronology because they are at odds with the traditional narratives of stylistic development, especially national and cultural taxonomies.[18] She calls for 'a disciplinary migratory turn' comprising new ways of writing art history and the elaboration of other concepts, approaches and topics related to art production, that is, methodologies that are better suited for the study of artworks and artistic practices emerging from experiences of flight, migration and exile.[19] As Dogramaci explains, the works of exiled modern artists, for example, have often been overlooked, suppressed and forgotten because they deviate from the artist's chief works or involve changes in the artist's practice and artistic idiom – for example, from non-figurative to figurative painting – making it difficult to situate the artist in existing narratives and often resulting in the exclusion of the exilic works, or the artist's entire production, from art history.[20] Aligning herself with the decolonial desire to create a 'pluriverse' in which many ways of knowing and being can fit,[21] Dogramaci invokes Ruth E. Iskin's term 'pluriversal canons' to gesture towards an alternative art history that builds on 'plurality, heterogeneity, postcolonialism and globalization' and embraces the many different forms of migratory heritage and transcultural interchange.[22] Importantly, the last of Mersmann and Doramaci's five thematic sections herald a more specialized offshoot from the broader field under the headline 'Beyond Migration. Post-migratory Concepts and Strategies'. It is symptomatic of the hesitancy of art historians to engage with postmigrant perspectives that three of the four chapters in the book were written by scholars positioned in other fields.[23]

In the research project that underpins this present book, curatorial studies scholar Sabine Dahl Nielsen and I have adopted the concept of postmigration and consistently sought to develop postmigrant perspectives on artistic and curatorial practices.[24]

Although such consistency is still rare, it should be stressed that some art historians are nevertheless committed to exploring the problem-space of postmigration from the perspective of visual art, even if the concept of postmigration does not figure in their writings. This applies to the American-based art historian Peter Chametzky's *Turks, Jews, and Other Germans in Contemporary Art*, published in 2021, the first book-length study of postmigration in contemporary visual art in Germany (of which more below). Here, Chametzky foregrounds the important and prolific work of the Turkish German art historian Burcu Dogramaci as 'an exception to art history's general silence on such issues'.[25] Already in 2011, in her article 'Kültür für Deutschland' ('Cültüre for Germany'), Dogramaci submitted that German art history's neglect of the significance of migration to the contemporary German art world reflected a general hesitancy among the German populace to acknowledge 'the fact that Germany is a country of immigration', despite the everyday reality testifying to this historical condition.[26]

Dogramaci concluded in her article that it was 'time to establish migration as a field of research for art history' in Germany.[27] The article appeared in a themed issue of the German art and cultural studies journal *Kritische Berichte* on 'Migration', to which she also contributed a seminal interview with art historian Kobena Mercer, who had edited and written the introductions to the series Annotating Art's Histories, a groundbreaking exploration of cultural difference and migration as constant factors in the history of art. The dialogue between Dogramaci and Mercer aimed to transfer methodological insights and starting points from the more advanced English language studies in art and migration to German language art history, with a specific focus on Turkish-German artists and how immigration may change the historiography of a national art history. Among other things, Mercer stressed the necessary interdisciplinarity of this field:

> What has happened over the past twenty years is a slow filtration of methods from cultural studies via visual studies into art history departments that would previously have regarded migration as a remote background factor only applicable to the social history of art. When I observe that more books on African American artists were published between 2000 and 2010 than in the 1980s and 1990s put together, I feel we are at a tipping point, to which I hope the four books in my Annotating Art's Histories series also contributed. But art historiography is notoriously slow to change.[28]

Since Dogramaci made this intervention into German language art history, she has been among the proponents among the (primarily female) art historians who have taken on the task of establishing this field in Germany. A foundational study in this field is Dogramaci's edited volume from 2013, *Migration und künstlerische Produktion. Aktuelle Perspektiven* ('Migration and Artistic Production: Current Perspectives'), which aimed to initiate 'a new field of research for the German-speaking world'.[29] The anthology goes beyond generalizations and introduces differentiations between different types of relations between art and migration along with an interdisciplinary spectrum of approaches to artistic and curatorial practices. It brings studies of historical situations of exile into a productive dialogue with studies of contemporary work migration and its influence on artistic practices, concepts and themes. Overall, Dogramaci asserts the most significant difference between exile and work migration concerns the motivational forces of emigration: on the one hand, persecution; on the other, economic distress; and, among artists themselves, the desire for change or professional advancement. In addition, exile usually precludes a return because of the risk of persecution, even death, and return migration is

not a foreseeable possibility. Conversely, work migration is often characterized by regular visits to the country of origin and thus by participation in the community of the old homeland and the preservation of family ties.[30] These circumstances shape the experience of migration and settlement differently, with a bearing on the artistic engagement with migration. Art historical analysis must therefore be sensitive to and able to articulate such differences.

In 2018, Dogramaci published the report *Kunst in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Beiträge der Künste für das Zusammenleben in Vielfalt* ('Art in the Society of Immigration: Contributions of the Arts to Coexistence in Diversity'), initiated by the Bertelsmann Stiftung in collaboration with the German Commission for UNESCO. Dogramaci's survey of how migration has impacted art and society in Germany since the Second World War explores what significance artists with a so-called migration background have today, and how artistic practices contribute to negotiating differences and serve as laboratories for living together in diversity.[31] It is supplemented by an introduction with recommendations co-authored by representatives of the Bertelsmann Stiftung and the German Commission for UNESCO[32] and, in addition to this, by thirteen case studies of performative arts, art projects and exhibitions, films, festivals, blogs, and more by the journalist and editor Barbara Haack. Among other things, the case studies demonstrate that migration is a topic that cuts across the boundaries of artistic and cultural genres, and that artists have successfully contributed to finding new ways of living peacefully together in 'the society of immigration' and to forging a new sense of community.[33]

The title of the Bertelsmann report, 'Art in the Society of Immigration', positions the study of art within the problem-space of postmigration. Dogramaci actually uses the terms 'postmigrant' and 'postmigrant society' several times, yet she does not adopt a postmigrant theoretical framework.[34] Instead, her report revolves around the nodal points 'diversity' and 'difference'. However, the very fact that an art historian is invited to write this kind of policy paper on art's potential with regard to postmigrant cultural diversity is noteworthy. Moreover, Dogramaci effectively promotes a postmigrant perspective on the arts, as her explicit aim is to explore cultural forms of expression as 'resources for living together in the diverse immigration society' that Germany has become and to demonstrate that 'artistic production' can fulfill several purposes. It can include migration and diversity as well as make the new (migrant) actors visible; it can open up a scope for action and claim critical and creative positions that point to the conflicts and challenges as well as the opportunities emerging with migration-induced diversity.[35] To conclude, Dogramaci's work supports my methodological point that a postmigrant approach is not a substitute for the methodologies and perspectives of migration studies, but rather complements them, especially with regard to issues such as integration, discrimination, racism, recognition, diversity, belonging and the formation of identities, communities and hybrid cultures.

Postmigrant thought is attentive to the entanglements of new and old histories of immigration, to generational differences between immigrants and their descendants, and to how older histories of immigration can determine the reception of newly arrived immigrants in both positive and negative ways. Some recent studies, including Dogramaci and Haack's report, have considered how artists and cultural producers responded to the 2015 'refugee crisis'. Others, such as the cultural studies scholar Sabrina Vitting-Seerup, have applied a postmigrant perspective to explore cultural representations of refugees in the wake of the 2015 situation.[36] In both cases, an actor-oriented approach is applied. In the Bertelsmann report, Dogramaci is careful to distinguish between, on the one hand,

cultural representations and social conditions pertaining to refugees arriving from 2015 onwards and, on the other, those pertaining to 'the postmigrant generation' born and/or raised in Germany.[37] The question of 'climate refugees' and the resettlement of forcibly displaced citizens due to environmental destruction and disasters is not singled out by Dogramaci, nor will it be in this present book. This is a new topic that deserves to be studied within a different theoretical framework that incorporates the planetary problematics of the Anthropocene, including extractive capitalism – a task beyond the scope of this study, which is not concerned with the *causes* of refugeedom and migration but with their societal *effects* in the receiving country.

Besides Dogramaci's work, a consistent commitment to exploring visual artists' engagement with the postmigrant problem-space can be found in Peter Chametzky's book *Turks, Jews, and Other Germans in Contemporary Art*. Like much of Dogramaci's work, Chametzky's study maps artistic production, giving priority to close readings of selected works and thorough historical contextualizations. His approach approximates a postmigrant analytic, although he does not use the term 'postmigrant'. Chametzky's explicit goal is to 'diversify our view of German art, to identify some common concerns among those who are diversifying it, and to offer one overriding idea: that German art and culture is increasingly hybrid', and he shares with the artists under study the view that this is 'a positive development'.[38]

Chametzky's book has a consistent focus on German-based artists of dual heritage, along with some writers and examples gleaned from food culture, cinema, music and popular culture in Germany. Like Dogramaci's report, it clearly adopts an actor-oriented, postmigrant approach, foregrounding artists that are 'part of contemporary German culture and its art world *due to their citizenship and/or long-term residence* in Germany'.[39] Crucially, Chametzky opens up the potentially migrantizing category of 'other' German artists. The book has a certain emphasis on artists and writers of Jewish German backgrounds, such as Tanya Ury and Esther Dischereit, as well as artists who question Germany's national identity and its National Socialist past. Moreover, works by 'some "unhyphenated" German artists', such as Candida Höfer, Micha Kuball and Rolf Zimmermann, are also analysed, not only for their individual artistic visions but also as 'indices of broader cultural conceptions of diversity and community in Germany'.[40] Importantly, Chametzky also cracks open the national framing of his study by continuously putting Germany in perspective through making comparisons with artistic and political phenomena drawn from the multicultural context of the USA.

Besides the major achievements of Dogramaci and Chametzky, a number of other scholars have applied the concept of postmigration in significant articles and essays on contemporary visual art since the mid-2010s. Particularly helpful is Marsha Meskimmon's introduction of the concepts of denizenship and 'postmigration worldmaking' in a study published in 2017 in one of the first English-language publications on postmigration and culture: a special issue of the *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* entitled '(Post) Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New challenges to imagination and representation'.[41] Also to be mentioned is Meskimmon's generous and powerful trilogy *Transnational Feminisms and the Arts*, the first two volumes of which have been published. *Transnational Feminisms, Transversal Politics and Art: Entanglements and Intersections* (2020) and *Transnational Feminisms and Art's Transhemispheric Histories: Ecologies and Genealogies* (2023) elaborate a decolonial, ecocritical feminist art history, 'walking alongside' many different women and gender-diverse artists, thinkers, activists and writers, especially of black feminist, indigenous and ecocritical backgrounds, to provide

a new understanding of the relationship between art and politics on a more than human scale and suggesting sustainable strategies for collective belonging and survival. Along the way, Meskimmon introduces helpful concepts for cultural analysis, such as transversal politics and epistemic communities (vol. 1), and trans-scalar ecologies, trans-canon and the proposition that decolonial, ecocritical feminist art histories can 'story pluriversal worlds, and world pluriversal stories, *with* art' (vol. 2).[42]

Meskimmon does not use the terminology of postmigration in her books, but positions herself and her trilogy within transnational and ecocritical feminisms, materialist thought and decolonial critique. Nonetheless, Meskimmon's intertwining of feminist and transnational perspectives and her keen attention to issues of migration – including the forced displacements caused by ecological destruction and climate change – make her trilogy a valuable contribution to studies in art and (post)migration that address topics such as belonging, racialization, identity formation, participation, alliance-building and solidarity, not forgetting the broader question of art's engagement with politics and ethics. What makes Meskimmon's work valuable is her ambitious attempts to put radically new theoretical concepts, analytical frameworks and modes of writing into circulation – all tools for creating new and more inclusive discourses (in art history and beyond) and other ways 'to know, imagine and inhabit a world beyond "the master's house"'.[43]

Also of note is Maria Photiou and Marsha Meskimmon's anthology *Art, Borders and Belonging: On Home and Migration* (2021). This edited collection of essays examines art's potential to weave together experiences of migration, borders, homemaking and belonging, and it is remarkable also for its innovative use of feminist and transnational perspectives as entry points to works by female artists.[44] Bénédicte Mijamoto and Marie Ruiz's edited volume *Art and Migration: Revisioning the Borders of Community* (2021) also contributes to the field some important critical discussions of the conjunctions between art and activism related to migration and refugeedom, which tend to be uncritically celebrated in the existing literature where the use of stereotypes in 'artivism' is often overlooked or even silenced.[45] Furthermore, a handful of essays exploring postmigration and contemporary visual arts have been published in the interdisciplinary volumes *Postmigration: Art, Culture, and Politics in Contemporary Europe* and *Postkolonialismus und Postmigration* ('Postcolonialism and Postmigration'), published in 2021 and 2022, respectively.[46]

So far, little research has been conducted on postmigration and curating. Sabine Dahl Nielsen has contributed to developing postmigrant perspectives for curatorial studies by consistently combining postmigrant and curatorial analytical perspectives with Chantal Mouffe's theories of radical democracy in case studies of the art spaces Savvy Contemporary (Berlin) and CAMP (Copenhagen), the artist-led transnational projects *Silent University*, initiated by Ahmet Öğüt, and *Al Madhafa* by Sandi Hilal.[47] In addition, there are a number of studies that analyse exhibitions exploring immigration into Europe through the lens of art and culture. However, these studies are rarely committed to developing new (post)migrant perspectives on curatorial practices in and for societies of immigration. As Stefanie Zobel noted in 2015, in a comparative study of two exhibitions on the histories of labour migration and irregular immigration into Europe, 'the new art exhibition formats dedicated to the theme of migration have previously hardly been examined', as opposed to the many studies of historical exhibitions on migration and museums of migration.[48]

Taking stock in the early 2020s, the overall impression is that the curatorial discourse on art and migration has not yet discovered the critical potential of the concept

of postmigration, although some recent studies, such as Natalie Bayer and Mark Terkessidis's 'Beyond Repair. An Anti-Racist Praxeology of Curating' and Nina Möntmann's 'Small-scale art organizations as participatory platforms for decolonizing practices and sensibilities', do offer some important critical and constructive perspectives on how to curate events and exhibitions in and for postmigrant societies.[49]

The general impression is that the transdisciplinary field, described elsewhere by Dogramaci as a 'migratory turn', has now established itself as a field. However, the various strands of research that contribute to it still lack proper infrastructural co-ordination and institutional platforms for sharing knowledge and co-developing new methodologies that can interconnect postcolonial and transcultural art histories with exile and (post)migration studies under a common questioning of migration-related phenomena and their aesthetic implications.[50]

The books and essays mentioned in this literature review are part of a profound shift of emphasis in the discourse on contemporary art and migration towards approaches that consider migration to be an integral part of plural democratic society and confirm that art plays a crucial role in the negotiations of the problem-space of postmigration. Although the authors have chosen different paths, they have all sought to develop methodologies for analysing multiplicity, mutability and difference without neglecting the conflicts and frictions that are also inherent to plural societies. This present book positions itself in this field, adding to it a postmigrant framework and set of theoretical concepts for cultural analysis. As already explained, the book uses the idea of *postmigration* as an analytical perspective on art, but it seeks to avoid the pitfall of categorizing particular artists as 'postmigrant artists' as well as suggesting that there could be such a thing as a distinct 'postmigrant' aesthetics or genre. The former would lead to a migrantization of the artists, as it ascribes an alterity to them that may exclude the artists so labelled from the 'national' art scenes of which they are an active part; the latter raises problems of delimitation, because artists who grapple with the problem-space of postmigration do not limit themselves to using a specific set of 'postmigrant' artistic methods. In addition, such categorizations entail a risk of essentialism, which is at odds with the tendency to self-dissolution intrinsic to the postmigratory as a 'category'.[51] Artists with a so-called migration background participate fully in the linguistic and cultural space of the country (or countries) where they live. Their works also share many commonalities with so-called 'global art'[52] as they pursue international careers, thereby connecting their local anchoring(s) to the cosmopolitan, just like any other artist pursuing an international career in the global artworld.

A Conflict-Sensitive Approach

As a transformative social force and an instance of the political institution of society,[53] migration poses the fundamental question about the legitimacy and functionality of the prevailing social order. According to Karakayalı and Mecheril, this is one of the reasons why political conflicts are intensifying and multiplying in the increasingly diverse societies of Europe. Supporters and opponents of a plural democratic society do not make up two clearly demarcated and opposing sides; rather, there are an increasing number of conflicting positions: 'complex patterns of overlapping, complementary and tension-filled conflicts take place between politically opposing groups and alliances who are not only diverse but also fluid, temporary, dynamic and less clearly defined'.[54]

These sociocultural frictions and political struggles require a *conflict-sensitive approach*, which is exactly what a postmigrant perspective offers. To enhance its usefulness,

I draw on conflict theory, particularly on Chantal Mouffe's theory of radical democracy and her paired concepts of antagonism and agonism, as well as Oliver Marchart's theory of conflictual aesthetics. The fact that both theorize the formation of public spaces and publics in democratic societies adds to their relevance to this study. Thus, by turning to Mouffe and Marchart, I seek to strengthen the conflict-sensitivity already inherent in postmigrant analytical perspectives as well as introducing some concepts apt for analysing cultural and political conflict and friction and considering how they play out in public space and how artists engage with them.[55]

For Mouffe, cultural identity is relational in the sense that subjects and communities define and position themselves in relation to the 'other'. This relationality harbours the potential for antagonistic confrontation where political opponents are perceived as enemies to be destroyed.[56] Mouffe argues that in a pluralist democracy, a fully functional public space has to be able to accept such antagonisms, since it is created through the constant negotiation and renegotiation of different, often antagonistic, positions. However, the antagonistic relations have to be kept in check. To provide a framework for analysing democratic confrontation between different political projects, Mouffe seeks to clarify the concept of antagonism by introducing a distinction between *antagonism*, which in the original sense of the word refers to the conflict between two irreconcilable enemies who share no symbolic space, and *agonism* as referring to the relationship between adversaries, that is, responsive opponents who share a symbolic space and accept the democratic rules as the regulatory foundation for the political struggle. It follows that in Mouffe's understanding, a public space is not a space of consensus but a field of negotiation where different hegemonic projects wrestle with each other, without the possibility of reaching a definitive, rational and fully inclusive consensus. In an agonistic perspective, the divergent subject positions that coexist in such a conflict-ridden space are not perceived as enemies but as adversaries who acknowledge one another's existence, but mutually dispute one another's views and struggle against each other because they interpret this symbolic space differently and contend for hegemony. For Mouffe, the threat of antagonistic social conflict can be averted if antagonism is transformed into agonism: 'the agonistic confrontation, far from representing a danger to democracy, is in reality the very condition of its existence'.[57] Importantly, Mouffe also acknowledges the 'decisive role played by affects in the construction of political identities' on both an individual and a collective level.[58] She emphasizes specifically the centrality of the cultural and artistic fields in the creation of 'discursive/affective practices that will bring about new forms of identification' because they possess 'resources that induce emotional responses' which enable them to move human beings profoundly: 'This is indeed where lies art's great power, in its capacity to make us see things in a different way, to make us perceive new possibilities.'[59]

In her essays on the relations between politics, public spaces and contemporary artistic practices, Mouffe attributes to art in public spaces the ability to incite dissent and to make visible what the dominant discourses tend to obscure and obliterate as well as the ability to construct new points of collective identification.[60] This potential to bring out underlying dissensus and to generate counter-discourses that bring what has been obscured or even silenced in the dominant discourses to the centre of public attention is crucial in regard to 'migration'. Like many other scholars in the field of migration studies, Naika Foroutan has pointed to the fact that 'migration' has become one of these dominant discourses that serve as magnets for political, media and popular attention and anxieties. Crucial in the context of this study, Foroutan perceives the debates on migration to

be 'an exemplary battlefield for plurality'. This means that the debates on migration not only concern migration and migrants but also operate as a crystallizer for many of the conflicts that are at the very heart of plural democratic societies, such as the struggles for equality, freedom, security and democratic rights. In postmigrant societies, these struggles are fought, in an emblematic way, in relation to migration,[61] and this is one of the reasons why the political salience of migration has increased despite the relative stability of migration rates since the 1970s.[62]

Mouffe has also considered the nature of critique in a discussion of how critical artistic practices can make interventions in public spaces and contribute to 'the constitution of a variety of agonistic spaces where a radical and plural conception of democracy could be fostered'.[63] She lashes out against the negative gesture of critique, stating that what she describes as 'dismissals of the importance of proposing new modes of coexistence, of contributing to the construction of new forms of collective identities' are, in her view, 'completely anti-political… there is too much emphasis on "dis-identification" at the expense of "re-identification"'.[64]

Although, in my view, Mouffe's dismissal of the negative gesture of critique as anti-political exaggerates the role of dissociation in critique, I am intrigued by her suggestion that identification processes are integral to critique itself and that divergent identifications may thus shape the character of the critique differently. Therefore, I would like to suggest that Marta Górnicka's chorus performance *Grundgesetz* ('Basic Law', see the Introduction) is emblematic of many artistic engagements with postmigrant society, in the sense that it sought to shift the balance from dis-identification to re-identification by engaging the hegemonic struggles involved in collective identification. Premiering in 2018 on the Day of German Unity and in front of Berlin's Brandenburg Gate, *Grundgesetz* partook of the postmigrant struggle for the power to redefine the 'we' of the nation as a plural 'we' and the 'imagined community' of the nation as a *plural, agonistic* community or, as Górnicka wrote in her portfolio of *Grundgesetz*:

> On 3 October 1990, the union of the two German states was officially declared, and that day has been celebrated as the Day of the Germans ever since. Now is the time, however, to accept that the constitution is not a project from an ethnically homogeneous group, but rather a very diverse community of individuals.[65]

Changing Roles for Art in Public Spaces

Like *Grundgesetz*, many of the art projects discussed in the following chapters intervene critically in the dominant public discourses as well as develop new forms of identification and democratic participation. Thus, they could be said to belong to the broader field of participatory art, which has been discussed extensively in the multidisciplinary and ever-expanding body of literature on art in public spaces.

As the theatre and performance studies scholar Sruti Bala has noted, the theorization of participation in the arts necessitates the translation of a concept with roots in the spheres of economics and politics to 'imaginative terrains'. The present book adopts Bala's broad translation of the term to fit the arts to indicate primarily 'a realignment of the relationship between the makers and the recipients of the arts, whereby the "recipients", however defined, stake a claim to or assume a share in the enterprise of the arts'.[66] In the spheres of art institutional and cultural politics, the ideal of participation is further undergirded by the widespread assumption that this realignment between makers

and recipients – or as art historian Claire Bishop would have it, this 'gesture of reducing authorship to the role of facilitation' by which 'art enters a realm of useful ameliorative and ultimately modest gestures' – is desirable for the arts and the social and institutional contexts in which they operate.[67]

The spread of participatory practices is part of a more encompassing transformation of art in public spaces. The term *public art* first emerged in the USA in the late 1960s in conjunction with the introduction of national and municipal art patronage for the creation of sculptures and murals for parks, squares and other nominally public places. Oftentimes, these permanently installed object-based works were and still are 'integrated with urban planning or "revitalization" schemes' and are thus connected to urban history and a tradition of commemorative sculpture and mural painting that extends back to antiquity.[68] However, since the 1960s, public art has assumed a range of new roles. The proverbial 'public sculpture' embellishing the city square has long since developed into a domain that comprises both physical and media spaces, thereby transforming the art object in public space into a wide-ranging 'expanded field'.[69] As early as 2002, the art historian Miwon Kwon made the perceptive observation that three 'paradigms' may synthesize the evolutionary arch of public art since the 1960s: the *art-in-public-places* exemplified by non-figurative modernist sculptures; the *art-as-public-spaces* approach typified by design-oriented sculpture serving as street furniture, architectural constructions or landscaped environments; and *art-in-the-public-interest*, a term coined by critic Arlene Raven to describe projects that foreground social issues, political activism and sometimes also community collaboration. The latter was also theorized by the artist Suzanne Lacy under the perhaps more well-known heading of 'new genre public art'.[70]

The twenty-first century has seen the emergence of numerous aesthetic transformations and different socially and politically oriented ramifications of the third category, 'art in the public interest'. The richness of the field makes it virtually impossible to give a survey of art in public spaces, although the *Skulptur Projekte in Münster* has endeavoured to do so at intervals of a decade. Covering the decisive time span from 1977 to 2017, this series of mega-exhibitions of art in public spaces testifies to a general move from 'public sculpture' to 'art as social practice' in the Western hemisphere.[71] The same observation applies to the scholarly research and critical theories on public art, socially engaged community art and politically engaged art activism. In the following, I trace the recent discussions against the background of existing knowledge, using the very problem of delineating the empirical field and the discourse of 'art in public spaces' as a spur to examine some of the conceptual nodal points around which the discussions have revolved in recent decades.[72]

I would like to suggest that the problem of defining art in public spaces is, in fact, twofold, in the sense that it exists on two distinct levels – that of *discourse* and that of *practice* – with each presenting its own problems of delineation. On the discursive level, the problem concerns the entanglement of the discourses on and concepts of public art, public space, the public sphere and publics. A distinction must be made between these terms, despite the fact that they tend to bleed into each other and cannot be neatly disentangled. I draw on the communications scholar Slavko Splichal's distinction between *a public sphere* and *a public*, according to which a public is 'a social category, whose members (discursively) act, form, and express opinions' and a public sphere is 'its infrastructure' comprising various 'channels of opinion-circulation'.[73] As Splichal explains, a public sphere cannot act or communicate, but a/the public can: 'The public sphere is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a/the public to emerge, an infrastructure that enables the formation of the public as the subject, the bearer of public opinion.'[74]

Furthermore, my understanding of a/the public is based on the queer and literary theorist Michael Warner's understanding of a public as 'a special kind of virtual social object enabling a special mode of address' and his argument that a public 'exists *by virtue of being addressed*'.[75] I also adopt Warner's definition of a *counterpublic* as a public whose discussions are 'being structured by alternative dispositions, making different assumptions about what can be said or what goes without saying… Participation in such a public is one of the ways by which its members' identities are formed and transformed.'[76] As regards the public(s) addressed by art in public spaces, it is important to stress that the extent of a public and also of a counterpublic is not delineated by 'a precise demographic' like a subculture. It is 'in principle indefinite' since it is generated by the way in which the public address is mediated.[77] In my case studies, the public address is mediated by the way the artwork presents itself to different kinds of people/audiences who may respond (or not) in different and sometimes incompatible ways. As publics are not coterminous with *public spaces*, I suggest that they are best understood to be the malleable formations of participants that exist, and coexist within these civic domains of human encounter.

The second problem of delineation exists on the level of practice. The invention of new roles for art and curating in public spaces in recent decades has not only significantly expanded the range of artistic approaches to public space but has also had other intended as well as unintended effects. Some of the most conspicuous effects are the blurring of the boundaries between artistic, curatorial and social practices and the merging of the domain of art with that of politics. The breakdown of these boundaries is closely linked to the introduction of a broad range of participatory practices, and on the level of theory, to the critical debate on their potential for social amelioration and political agitation or lack thereof. In the following, I will discuss some of the new 'social' and 'political' roles for art and curating in public spaces based on some significant contributions to the scholarly literature.[78]

The dissolution of the distinction between artistic, curatorial and social practices has followed from a progressive shift in artistic approaches to public art – from mainly producing spatially delimited 'public sculptures' to generating 'social spaces'. This approach often involves orchestrating distributed, participatory 'social processes', which draw on educational formats as well as the ways in which feminist artists of the 1960s and 1970s opened the exhibition format to new working methods drawn from everyday culture and an experimental practice that emphasized 'the formation of new publics and a collectively developed, embodied knowledge'.[79] With the spread of transdisciplinary, theme-related 'project exhibitions' in the mid-1980s, the feminist methods were complemented by anti-racist approaches and openings for minoritized groups 'that had previously had no access to that space'.[80]

Despite the dramatic diversification of the field since the mid-1980s, the core idea of public art that people should be able to access art in their everyday lives has remained intact. So has the widespread belief among art professionals in the Enlightenment promise that the experience of art can prepare the viewer to become 'a more effective participant in public, political discourse', as Kester observes in *The One and the Many: Contemporary Collaborative Art in a Global Context*.[81] In this seminal study of the integration and at times collision between community collaboration, artistic production and political activism in contemporary collaborative art, Kester discusses how and to what extent sociopolitical public art succeeds in establishing a collaborative relationship with the participants. As he rightly points out, the abstract public art that dominated the 1960s and 1970s was often met with hostility. By the late 1980s, the controversies would generate

a broad rethinking of the methods, functions and objectives of public art, including art's relationship to the social and its political potential. This reconsideration contributed to paving the way not only for the incorporation of public art genres into speculative real estate development and gentrification processes but also for the emergence of new forms of community art and socially engaged art and their subsequent institutionalization.[82] Last but importantly, the artistic orientation towards the social also reorganized the relationship between the art object, the artist and the audience. Bishop has described the transformation of their roles accurately, noting that:

> the artist is conceived less as an individual producer of discrete objects than as a collaborator and producer of *situations*; the work of art as a finite, portable, commodifiable product is reconceived as an ongoing or long-term *project* with an unclear beginning and end; while the audience, previously conceived as a "viewer" or "beholder" is now repositioned as co-producer or *participant*.[83]

One aspect of the institutionalization of socially engaged art is the new centrality of curators or rather of 'the curatorial function'. Oliver Marchart has introduced this term to shift the focus from the individual curator to the public, participatory and political dimensions of art. According to Marchart, an exhibition must be a place for debate, and hence 'the curatorial function lies in the organization of the public sphere'.[84] For such a public sphere to be truly political, the exhibition must mark or establish 'a position' to initiate the breakdown of consensus that is needed to enable conflicting or 'antagonistic' viewpoints to surface.[85]

Marchart's concept of the curatorial function can be linked to an increasing emphasis on the discursive in the art world. In their editors' introduction to the anthology *Curating and the Educational Turn*, Paul O'Neill and Mick Wilson suggest that the shift of emphasis towards the discursive since the mid-1990s has engendered a new 'turn' in which curatorial and artistic practices are increasingly amalgamated with informal forms of education. They observe a growing tendency to make discursive interventions such as discussions, talks and symposia 'the main event' and to frame this in terms of research, knowledge production and learning. What can be seen here is not a mere 'reinstatement of the curator as expert' but 'a kind of "curatorialisation" of education whereby the educative process often becomes the object of curatorial production'.[86] Crucially, in the context of this study (particularly the case study of the Maxim Gorki Theatre's Berliner Herbstsalons in Chapter 4), such informal educational formats, discursive interventions and forms of self-organization are 'public', in the sense that they are *generative* of (counter)publics and public spaces. Furthermore, as they are deployed as much by curators as by artists and other cultural professionals, it makes no sense to maintain a strict categorical division between artistic and curatorial practitioners within this domain of cultural production based on collaborative infrastructures and the organization of socially and discursively oriented forms of co-production.[87] The concepts of the curatorial function and the curatorialization of education are accurate theoretical markers of this interdisciplinary discursive and educational trend.

Although the concept of participatory art has caught on in the global art world, it remains contested. Claire Bishop has famously argued that participatory art is put in the service of neoliberal social inclusion policies that are 'less about repairing the social bond than a mission to enable all members of society to be self-administering fully functioning consumers'.[88] In contrast, Grant Kester is adamant that socially engaged art can

contribute to individual, cultural, social and political change, even if it does not have the power to initiate a full-scale revolution of society or the downfall of the all-pervasive capitalist system.[89] Kester conceives art's potential for change as 'a mode of capillary action' that runs in roundabout and improvisational ways, from individual consciousness to collective action and resistance. It is thus a process that is compromised because it emerges out of pre-existing material, discursive and (counter)institutional practices. It is imperfect and messy as it 'involves the emergence of new solidarities, and their subsequent dissolution, moments of improvisational consensus, and moments of dissensus'.[90] However, Kester also suggests that capillary actions represent 'the very generative processes of resistance specific to our time, out of which new configurations of the political will, and must, evolve'.[91]

As the opposing positions of Bishop and Kester indicate, along with the spread of the paradigm of participation, the concept of participation is key to contemporary debates on the efficacy of socially and politically engaged art, which leads me to the politicization of art in public spaces that has accompanied the participatory turn to the social.

Art Engaging Politics: Conflictual Aesthetics

The entanglement of art and politics, that is, of art practices and political engagement, is seen most conspicuously in art activism or 'artivism' as perhaps the most radical expression of a more pervasive tendency in contemporary art to address viewers primarily as a collective, social community with agency (rather than as contemplative individuals), and to consider art to be a potential trigger for politicized action.[92] As the cultural studies scholar Camilla Møhring Reestorff has pointed out, art practices can be artivism without the artist self-identifying as such. Essentially, the term refers to the use of artistic means of expression to intervene in political dialogue and engage mobile recipients who navigate and criss-cross between three publics: institutional, non-institutional and mediatized art publics.[93] More often than not, artivism is designed to produce friction and instigate debate in some kind of public arena (including online platforms and other media) where it often gains a certain political efficacy, because such spaces are always already fraught with different, often conflicting, political and social interests in the area of concern precisely because they are 'public'.

Turning from the level of practice back to that of discourse, a pertinent place to start is Claire Bishop's agenda-setting study from 2004 of the different political inflections of socially engaged art. Bishop contrasts the consensus-oriented relational aesthetics epitomized by Rirkrit Tiravanija and Liam Gillick with the agonistic interventionist approaches of Santiago Sierra and Thomas Hirschhorn.[94] Bishop not only brought Chantal Mouffe's twin concepts of antagonism and agonism to the centre of the theorization of art and politics, but she also moved the question of migration to the forefront – as in her analyses of Sierra's projects with subaltern irregular immigrants, such as his collaboration with African street vendors in the project *Persons Paid to Have Their Hair Dyed Blond* for the Venice Biennial and the canal city's urban spaces in 2001, and of Hirschhorn's *Bataille Monument* for Documenta XI in Kassel, Germany, in 2002. The latter consisted of a cluster of makeshift pavilions and sculptures built in collaboration with and installed in the midst of an ethnically mixed suburban community whose economic status did not match that of the art audience. Although the migratory thematic is usually bypassed by commentators, Bishop's analyses opened the discussion of the place of migrants and issues of migration in the usually nationally circumscribed frameworks of public art.

Western theorizations of the relations between art, aesthetics and politics in the twenty-first century have been much influenced by the philosopher Jacques Rancière, whose theories are widely read as a new approach to political aesthetics.[95] His ideas are often compared to or even amalgamated with those of Chantal Mouffe because both denounce the Habermasian belief in the possibility of reaching consensus and emphasize that conflict and disagreement – or in Mouffe's terms, antagonism and agonism – are preconditions for the ongoing struggles at the core of an open, radical form of democracy and cultural citizenship. Furthermore, they both work from the a priori assumption of art's overall politicality; as artistic and other aesthetic practices play a part in the constitution of the symbolic structures of society, they cannot be separated from the political. This is especially true of art in public spaces. The theory of hegemony and radical democracy that Mouffe developed together with Ernesto Laclau[96] and Mouffe's own essays on art in public spaces and the connection between artivism and political theory have introduced a productive theoretical vocabulary to analyse art's methods of disruption and stirring up dissension.[97] In her essays, Mouffe tends to distinguish between three dimensions, of which the first has to do with art's profound *politicality*, its inseparability from the political. The second concerns the *criticality* of art; and the third actual *artivism*, that is, the practices of artists who abandon conventional artistic media and art institutions to adopt strategies of political activism and politicized modes of expression. As Oliver Marchart concludes, 'for Mouffe all art is political, but only some art is critical, and only some critical art is activist art'.[98]

Marchart has criticized Rancière's theory for being 'antipolitical' because it provides the art field with a 'cover up' consisting of 'ideological arguments against any explicit politicization'.[99] Marchart claims that although it is widely recognized today that art is political, the ideology of the art field is still structured around the old Adornian understanding that the political nature of art is paradoxical and subtle: 'it is political, we are told, precisely in being *not political*… The less art is explicitly political, we are led to conclude from this, the more political it actually is.'[100] According to Marchart, Rancière's theory has been put in the service of this depoliticizing ideology. Hence, Rancière's proposition that art's potential for 'redistribution of the sensible' enables art to reframe material and symbolic spaces has been widely adopted by art world professionals as philosophical legitimation that whatever is produced by 'antipolitical artists and curators' is truly *political*.[101] For Marchart, the problem is twofold: not only does this ideology dilute the very idea of political art but it also serves to exclude explicitly political art from the art field. Marchart's trenchant critique of Rancière's followers is certainly directly pertinent to the art market as well as many traditional art museums, but I find the way in which his broad generalization tends to strip art that is not explicitly political of political agency and efficacy questionable. Nevertheless, the way Marchart uses Mouffe's twin concepts of antagonism and agonism to develop his own theory of conflictual aesthetics and 'push the argument even further' than Mouffe sheds interesting light on the artistic and curatorial strategies that govern some of the projects discussed in this book. In contradistinction to Mouffe, Marchart insists on the need to shift the emphasis from negotiation to conflict as necessary components of democratic processes, thereby 're-antagonizing antagonisms'.[102] Accordingly, he shifts the attention from art's potential for negotiation and amelioration to art's potential for political disruption.

Marchart aptly describes art's methods of political disruption as *strategies of agitation*. Together with acts of 'propagating' and 'organizing', 'agitating' constitutes what Marchart terms *conflictual aesthetics*. This concept refers to how artists use aesthetic and

activist means to respond to or contribute to social justice movements. It denotes aesthetics that is ontologically grounded in antagonism and which is 'conflictual in a double sense… both a conflicting aesthetics and an aesthetics of conflict'.[103] Marchart contends that agitation is a necessary means to disrupt common opinion through 'strategies of surprise, shock, dissuation, and estrangement' with the intention of bringing to the fore analysis and critique of social reality. Agitational strategies thus aim to unsettle certainties and 'wake up people from their dogmatic slumber… Agitation is about *disconnecting* them from doxa'.[104] Propagation refers to processes of dissemination that operate in tandem with agitation. It is about expanding a particular position to enhance its impact and broaden its reach. In Marchart's terminology, organizing refers to the continual process of 'instituting' that enables networks of people, practices and debates to persist over time by enabling them to be 'institutionalized' (but not necessarily housed in a 'built' institution).[105] Such practices of instituting are intrinsic to what this present book refers to as *generative infrastructures* and *infrastructural processes*.

By using the strategies of agitation, propagation and organization, that is, complex practices of disrupting, expanding and instituting, artists can help create 'new social and political antagonisms in the global struggle for justice'.[106] Although Marchart mainly associates conflictual aesthetics with political movements such as the Occupy Movement (2011–2012) and with art activism (which often has close links to extra-institutional forms of political activism), he does acknowledge that institutions are 'potentially powerful *counterhegemonic* machines' that may afford some leeway for 'the construction of counterhegemony'.[107] Marchart's theory of conflictual aesthetics thus offers a productive general frame for my case studies, especially the Maxim Gorki Theatre's 4th Berliner Herbstsalon with its strategies of agitation and propagation, its radical reorganization of the boundaries between various institutional domains and its striking use of forms of agitation (see Chapter 4), along with La Vaughn Belle and Jeannette Ehlers's unapologetic rememorialization of the workers rebellion against Danish colonial rule (see Chapter 5).

Marchart's and Kester's advocacy of critical and activist practices is convincing, but in the larger scope of things, it is the ameliorative strategies that dominate participatory art. One reason for this is that in the discourses on socially engaged art, participation is widely acknowledged as a means to transform passive art audiences into active users and co-producers. Therefore, participation is evaluated positively as an instrument for facilitating intersubjective encounters, strengthening social ties and contributing actively to community building. Furthermore, the spread of ameliorative strategies has been expedited by museum discourses promoting participation as an effective means to stimulate a sense of access, ownership and agency among the visitor-participants, so as to contribute to the development of more open, egalitarian and democratic art forms and institutions. However, as more critically inclined theorists have pointed out, participatory strategies and design techniques tend to be calculating, predictable and prescriptive.[108]

To conclude, it is evident that the artistic strategies of participation and the socially and politically engaged art forms that have gained ground among artists operating in the public spaces of plural democratic societies have opened up new avenues for artists and curators. Chapter 3 goes on to explore how the postmigrant approach can be combined with a transcultural approach in order to counter the constrictions that the former's exploration of migration from within the framework of the nation-state imposes on the study of contemporary art. Scholars should also stay attentive to how art and artists are transnationally interconnected with the 'global art world'.[109] To this end, Chapter 3

introduces the concept of the postmigrant imaginary. Chapters 4–6 develop the book's postmigrant framework for cultural analysis further by introducing the concepts of postmigrant public space, postmigrant rememorialization and postmigrant epistemic communities and transversal politics. I will use these concepts as tools to analyse how artists and curators who grapple with the problem-space of postmigration can engage publics, often in participatory ways that may potentially generate solidarity and coalitions that cut across differences.

Notes

1 Stefan Jonsson, 'A Society Which Is Not': Political Emergence and Migrant Agency', *Current Sociology Monograph* 68, no. 2 (2020): 208–10.
2 Jonsson, 'A Society Which Is Not', 208 (emphasis in the original).
3 See Monica Juneja, '"A Very Civil Idea …": Art History, Transculturation, and World-Making – With and Beyond the Nation', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 81, no. 4 (2018): 461–85.
4 Ulf Hedetoft, 'A Near-Existential Dilemma: The European National Template, the Accomodation of Diversity and the Nationalist Backlash', *National Identities* 21, no. 4 (2019): 366, https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2018.1514594.
5 See Katrin Hüxel et al., 'Postmigrantisch gelesen. Transnationalität, Gender, Care', in *Postmigrantisch gelesen. Transnationalität, Gender, Care*, ed. Katrin Hüxel, Juliane Karakayalı, Ewa Palenga-Möllenbeck, Marianne Schmidbaur, Kyoko Shinzaki, Tina Spies, Linda Supik and Elisabeth Tuider (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020), 20.
6 In addition to Juneja's and Mercer's writings, the important contributions to transcultural studies and the methodological renewal of transcultural studies in modern and contemporary art include but are not limited to: Cathrine Bublatzky, *Along the Indian Highway: An Ethnography of an International Travelling Exhibition* (London: Routledge India, 2019); Burcu Dogramaci et al., eds., *Arrival Cities: Migrating Artists and New Metropolitan Topographies in the 20th Century* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020); Burcu Dogramaci and Birgit Mersmann, eds., *Handbook of Art and Global Migration: Theories, Practices and Challenges* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, eds., *Circulations in the Global History of Art* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Steven M. Leuthold, *Cross-Cultural Issues in Art: Frames for Understanding* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Marsha Meskimmon, *Contemporary Art and the Cosmopolitan Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2011); Alpesh Kantilal Patel, *Productive Failure: Writing Queer Transnational South Asian Art Histories* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017); Siobhán Shilton, *Transcultural Encounters: Gender and Genre in Franco-Maghrebi Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Leon Wainwright, *Timed Out: Art and the Transnational Caribbean* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
7 Birgit Mersmann, Über die Grenzen des Bildes: Kulturelle Differenz und transkulturelle Dynamik im globalen Feld der Kunst (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021). See also Christian Kravagna's seminal book *Transmodern: An Art History of Contact, 1920–60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022), an updated English language edition of his book *Transmoderne. Eine Kunstgeschichte des Kontakts* from 2017, one of the most important contributions to the field of transcultural studies in modern art that have come out of German language art history.
8 In addition to Marsha Meskimmon's groundbreaking work, particularly in Marsha Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms, Transversal Politics and Art: Entanglements and Intersections*, vol. 1, Transnational Feminisms and the Arts (London: Routledge), a significant number of scholars have combined critical feminist and transcultural perspectives in productive and methodologically innovate ways. They include Angela Dimitrakaki, *Gender, ArtWork and the Global Imperative: A Materialist Feminist Critique* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Marsha Meskimmon and Dorothy Rowe, 'Editorial Introduction: Ec/Centric Affinities: Locations, Aesthetics, Experiences', in *Women, the Arts and Globalization: Eccentric Experience*, ed. Marsha Meskimmon and Dorothy Rowe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Maria Photiou and Marsha Meskimmon, eds., *Art, Borders and Belonging: On Home and Migration* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2021); and Shilton, *Transcultural Encounters*.

9 See Hüxel et al., 'Postmigrantisch gelesen. Transnationalität, Gender, Care', 16.
10 Hüxel et al., 'Postmigrantisch gelesen. Transnationalität, Gender, Care', 21.
11 See Ann Phoenix, 'Interrogating Intersectionality: Productive Ways of Theorising Multiple Positioning', in 'Intersectionality', special issue, *Kvinder, køn & forskning* no. 2–3 (2006): 21–22.
12 See Jennifer C. Nash, 'Re-Thinking Intersectionality', *Feminist Review* no. 89 (2008): 2–3.
13 See Ann Phoenix, '"Diaspora Space" at Home: Living Intersectional Postmigrancy in the Transition to Motherhood in the UK', in *Postmigrantisch gelesen. Transnationalität, Gender, Care*, ed. Katrin Hüxel et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020), 69–85.
14 See Rudolf Leiprecht, 'Rassismus und Sexismus. Aktuelle Phänomene und Debatten aus einer diversitätsbewussten und intersektionalen Perspektive', in *Postmigrantisch gelesen. Transnationalität, Gender, Care*, ed. Katrin Hüxel et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020), 88–89.
15 Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms*, 1 and 7–8.
16 Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms*, 1 and 8.
17 For a discussion of how postmigrant perspectives are deployed in these fields, see Anne Ring Petersen, '"Say It Loud!" A Postmigrant Perspective on Postcolonial Critique in Contemporary Art', in *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition*, ed. Moritz Schramm, Sten Pultz Moslund and Anne Ring Petersen (New York: Routledge, 2019), 78–79.
18 See Burcu Dogramaci, 'Towards a *Migratory Turn*: Art History and the Meaning of Flight, Migration and Exile', in *Handbook of Art and Global Migration: Theories, Practices and Challenges*, ed. Burcu Dogramaci and Birgit Mersmann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 18.
19 Dogramaci, 'Towards a *Migratory Turn*', 32. A few years earlier, I surveyed the art historical literature on art and migration, published between the mid-2000s and the early 2010s, and observed: 'Taken together, they might not represent a proper "turn", but the fact that this nexus has now become the topic of book-length art historical studies certainly testifies to the beginning of a new phase in the formation of a critical discourse on art and migration and its discourse-transforming impact on the wider debates on art.' Petersen, *Migration into Art: Transcultural Identities and Art-Making in a Globalised World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 27. See also pp. 47–63 for a discussion of two influential positionalities in this field, which I designated the postcolonial position and the migratory aesthetics position. As I argue below, there is much to suggest that a 'migratory turn' took place a few years later, in the early 2020s.
20 See Dogramaci, 'Towards a *Migratory Turn*', 18–19.
21 See Rolando Vázquez, *Vistas of Modernity: Decolonial Aesthesis and the End of the Contemporary* (Amsterdam: Mondriaan Fond, 2020).
22 Iskin, quoted in Dogramaci, 'Towards a *Migratory Turn*', 18. Ruth E. Iskin, 'Introduction: Re-Envisioning the Canon. Are Pluriversal Canons Possible?', in *Re-Envisioning the Contemporary Art Canon. Perspectives in a Global World*, ed. Ruth E. Iskin (New York: Routledge, 2017), 23.
23 Sten Pulz Moslund extends his expertise as a postcolonial literary scholar to an analysis of portraits by Lynette Yiadom-Boakye; the sociologist Erol Yildiz writes on postmigrant practices of living; fashion studies scholar Elke Gaukele links postmigration to fashion and fashion theory; and my own chapter considers the potential of migration and postmigration as frameworks for art theory. Dogramaci and Mersmann, *Handbook of Art and Global Migration*.
24 Publicationwise, the cornerstones of the research project 'Togetherness in Difference: Reimagining identities, communities and histories through art' are this book and our guest edited special issue: Anne Ring Petersen and Sabine Dahl Nielsen, eds, 'Art in Public Spaces: New Roles for Art and Curating in Times of Transnational Mobility', *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 13, no. 1 (2021), https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/zjac20/collections/Art-in-Public-Spaces.
25 Peter Chametzky, *Turks, Jews and Other Germans in Contemporary Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2021), 30.
26 Burcu Dogramaci, 'Kültür für Deutschland.Positionen zeitgenössischer deutschtürkischer Kunst' in 'Migration', special issue, *Kritische Berichte – Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaft* 39, no. 4 (2011): 5.
27 Dogramaci, 'Kültür für Deutschland', 6.
28 Burcu Dogramaci, 'Interview mit Kobena Mercer' in 'Migration', special issue, *Kritische Berichte – Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaft* 39, no. 4 (2011): 23.

29 Burcu Dogramaci, 'Fremde überall – Migration und künstlerische Produktion. Zur Einleitung', in *Migration und künstlerische Produktion. Aktuelle Perspektiven*, ed. Burcu Dogramaci (Bielefeld: transcript, 2013).
30 See Dogramaci, 'Fremde überall', 16–17.
31 Burcu Dogramaci, 'Kulturgeschichte einer vielfältigen Gesellschaft', in *Kunst in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Beiträge der Künste für das Zusammenleben in Vielfalt*, ed. Kai Unzicker (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, in collaboration with Deutsche UNESCO-Kommision, 2018).
32 See Friederike Kamm et al., 'Einleitung: Ergebnisse und Empfehlungen', in *Kunst in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Beiträge der Künste für das Zusammenleben in Vielfalt*, ed. Kai Unzicker (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, in collaboration with Deutsche UNESCO-Kommision, 2018), 8–16.
33 See Barbara Haack, 'Die Fallbeispiele', in *Kunst in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Beiträge der Künste für das Zusammenleben in Vielfalt*, ed. Kai Unzicker (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, in collaboration with Deutsche UNESCO-Kommision, 2018), 37–91.
34 See Dogramaci, 'Kulturgeschichte', 24–25. On page 25, she even talks about 'stylistic characteristics of a postmigrant artistic or literary work'.
35 See Dogramaci, 'Kulturgeschichte', 19.
36 See Sabrina Vitting-Seerup, 'Flygtninge på scenen – dilemmaer og potentialer', *Peripeti* 15, no. 29/30 (2018): 127–37.
37 See Florian Ohnmacht and Erol Yıldız, 'The Postmigrant Generation between Racial Discrimination and New Orientation: From Hegemony to Convivial Everyday Practice', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 44, no. 16 (2021): 149–69. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2021.1936113.
38 Chametzky, *Turks, Jews and Other Germans*, 16.
39 Chametzky, *Turks, Jews and Other Germans*, 8 (emphasis in original).
40 Chametzky, *Turks, Jews and Other Germans*, 8.
41 See Marsha Meskimmon, 'From the Cosmos to the Polis: On Denizens, Art and Postmigration Worldmaking', in '(Post)Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017): 25–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2017.1343082.
42 Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms*, vol. 1; Marsha Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms and Art's Transhemispheric Histories: Ecologies and Genealogies* vol. 2, Transnational Feminisms and the Arts (London: Routledge, 2023), 2.
43 Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms*, vol. 1, 9. The implicit reference to the black feminist author and activist Audre Lorde's famous essay 'The Master's Tools will Never Dismantle the Master's House' signals the crucial influence of Lorde's writings on Meskimmon's thinking. It is most clearly reflected in Chapter 2 of vol. 2, 'Poetic Stories: Genealogies of Work and Survival with Audre Lorde'.
44 Photiou and Meskimmon, *Art, Borders and Belonging*.
45 Bénédicte Miyamoto and Marie Ruiz, eds., *Art and Migration: Revisioning the Borders of Community* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021).
46 In Gaonkar et al., eds., *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), Kathrine Dirckinck-Holmfeld, Amr Hatem and Abbas Mroueh explore how the entanglements of Danish and Arabic culture and a postmigratory experience of the confluence of times and spaces are articulated in their video installation *Zamakan (Time-Space)*; Álvaro Luna-Dubois examines how immigrant housing in France is commemorated in Laurent Maffre's graphic novel *Demain, Demain*; and I explore art's role in postmigrant public spaces of Copenhagen. In Alkin and Geuer, *Postkolonialismus und Postmigration*, Joland Wessel discusses Hito Steyerl's work in relation to postcolonialism and Dogramaci analyses Cana Bilir Meier's work in a postmigrant perspective.
47 See Sabine Dahl Nielsen, 'Njangi House: Savvy Contemporary and the Postmigrant Condition', *Parse* 13, no. 3 (2021): 1–12; Sabine Dahl Nielsen and Anne Ring Petersen, 'Enwezor's Model and Copenhagen's Center for Art on Migration Politics' in 'Okwui Enwezor: The Art of Curating', special issue, *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art* no. 48 (May 2021), https://doi.org/10.1215/10757163-8971314.
48 Stefanie Zobel, 'No Place – Like Home Sichtbarmachung von Migration in Kunstausstellungen aus Europa', *Kritische Berichte – Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaft* 43, no. 2

(2015): 17. In addition to Zobel's analysis of the Cologne exhibition project *Project Migration* (2005–2006), Haack's and Chametzky's discussions of the 2011 exhibition *Heimatkunde* at the Jewish Museum in Berlin could also be counted among the early contributions to the analysis of postmigrant exhibition making. See Haack, 'Die Fallbeispiele', 70–77; Chametzky, *Turks, Jews and Other Germans*, 23 and 38–44.

49 See Natalie Bayer and Mark Terkessidis, 'Beyond Repair: An Anti-Racist Praxeology of Curating', in *Curating as Anti-Racist Practice*, ed. Natalie Bayer, Belinda Kazeem-Kamiński and Nora Sternfeld (Helsinki: Aalto ARTS books, 2018), 47–63; Nina Möntmann, 'Small-Scale Art Organizations as Participatory Platforms for Decolonizing Practices and Sensibilities' in: 'Art in Public Spaces: New Roles for Art and Curating in Times of Transnational Mobility', *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 13 (2021), https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2021.1972526.

50 A promising attempt to do so is Cathrine Bublatzky et al., eds., *Entangled Histories of Art and Migration: Theories, Sites and Research Methods* (Bristol: Intellect, forthcoming). Also deserving of mention is Marion Arnold and Marsha Meskimmon, eds., *Home/Land: Women, Citizenship, Photographies* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016). Contributors to the latter explore how women have used photographic practices to find places for themselves to belong as citizens, denizens, exiles or guests within or beyond the nation-state as currently conceived.

51 See Petersen, '"Say It Loud!" A Postmigrant Perspective', 80.

52 I understand 'global art' broadly as contemporary art from the 1990s onwards, considered as one global phenomenon, that is, as a designation for current artistic practices and discourses on art, for the field in which they unfold and for the historical conditions under which this field operates. In contrast to the term 'international art', which has historically been used primarily about Western art, the term 'global art' signals an awareness that contemporary art is created on all continents.

53 Jonsson, 'A Society Which Is Not', 208.

54 Juliane Karakayalı and Paul Mecheril, 'Contested Crises: Migration Regimes as an Analytical Perspective on Today's Societies', in *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Anna Meera Gaonkar, Astrid Sophie Øst Hansen, Hans Christian Post and Moritz Schramm (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 77.

55 See Chantal Mouffe, 'Art and Democracy: Art as an Agonistic Intervention in Public Space', *Open! Platform for Art, Culture and The Public Domain* no. 14 (2007): 1–7; Mouffe, *Agonistics*; Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*.

56 See Anna Cento Bull and Hans Lauge Hansen, 'On agonistic memory', *Memory Studies* 9, no. 4 (2016): 393, https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698015615935.

57 Chantal Mouffe, *For a Left Populism* (London: Verso, 2019), 93.

58 Mouffe, *For a Left Populism*, 72, see also 73–78.

59 Mouffe, *For a Left Populism*, 77.

60 See Mouffe, 'Art and Democracy'.

61 See Naika Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft. Ein Versprechen der pluralen Demokratie* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2019), 31.

62 As Haas, Castles and Miller have observed: 'While global migration rates have remained relatively stable over the past half a century, the political salience of migration has increased. For origin societies, the departure of people raises concern about a *brain drain*, but it also creates the hope that the money and knowledge migrants obtain abroad can foster development back home. For destination societies, the arrival of migrant groups can fundamentally change the social, cultural and political fabric of societies, particularly in the longer run.' Hein de Haas, Stephen Castles, and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration*: *International Population Movements in the Modern World*. Sixth Edition (New York: The Guilford Press, 2020), 1.

63 Chantal Mouffe, 'Which Public Space for Critical Artistic Practices?' in *Cork Caucus: On Art, Possibility & Democracy*, ed. Trevor Joyce (Berlin: Revolver, 2005), 162.

64 Mouffe, 'Which Public Space', 162.

65 Martha Górnicka, 'Grundgesetz Portfolio', English, c. 2018, unpublished.

66 Sruti Bala, *The Gestures of Participatory Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 5.

67 Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (London: Verso, 2012), 21 and 23. My consideration of art in public spaces and its relations to participatory art practices draws on an article written in joint authorship with Sabine Dahl Nielsen. I would like to acknowledge Sabine Dahl Nielsen's contribution to this account. I was responsible for writing the first version of the included part of our article to which Sabine Dahl Nielsen subsequently contributed valuable feedback and further insights.
68 See Grant H. Kester, *The One and the Many: Contemporary Collaborative Art in a Global Context* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 186–87.
69 See Rosalind Krauss, 'Sculpture in the Expanded Field', in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), 276–90.
70 See Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002); and Suzanne Lacy, *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art* (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1995).
71 The ambition to do a mapping of art in public spaces as a field is perhaps most evident in two catalogue entries which attempt a survey: Walter Grasskamp, 'Art and the City', in *Sculpture. Projects in Münster 1997*, ed. Klaus Bußmann, Kasper König, and Florian Matzner (Ostfildern-Ruit: Gerd Hatje, 1997), 7–41; and Brigitte Franzen, Kasper König, and Carina Plath, 'Preface: Using the Example of Münster', in *Sculpture Projects Muenster 07*, ed. Brigitte Franzen, Kasper König, and Carina Plath (Cologne: Buchhandlung Walter König, 2007), 11–17. The 2007 catalogue also includes an annotated bibliography, listing publications on art in public space from 1970 to 2007.
72 For a sound overview of the theoretical and empirical accounts on public art to complement the included references, I refer to the following studies conducted within the field of art history or alternatively in the interzone between the humanities and the social sciences: Grant H. Kester, *Conversation Pieces: Community + Communication in Modern Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Malcolm Miles, *Art, Space and the City: Public Art and Urban Futures* (London: Routledge, 1997); W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *Art and the Public Sphere* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Martin Zebracki, *Public Artopia: Art in Public Space in Question* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).
73 Slavko Splichal, 'Eclipse of "the Public": From the Public to (Transnational) Public Sphere. Conceptual Shifts in the Twentieth Century', in *The Digital Public Sphere: Challenges for Media Policy*, ed. Jostein Gripsrud and Hallvard Moe (Gothenburg: Nordicom, 2010), 28.
74 Splichal, 'Eclipse of "the Public"', 28.
75 Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2005), 55 and 67 (emphasis in original).
76 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 56–57.
77 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 56.
78 In addition to the studies discussed below, influential theorizations and critical discussions include Nina Möntmann, *Kunst als sozialer Raum: Andrea Fraser, Martha Rosler, Rirkrit Tiravanija, Renée Green* (Cologne: Walter König, 2017); Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms*, vol. 1; Simon Sheikh, 'In the Place of the Public sphere?', *Transversal Texts* no. 06 (June 2004), https://transversal.at/pdf/journal-text/730/; Simon Sheikh, 'The Trouble with Institutions, or, Art and its Publics', in *Art and its Institutions*, ed. Nina Möntmann (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2006).
79 Marion von Osten, 'Producing Publics – Making Worlds! On the Relationship between the Art Public and the Counterpublic' in '*Curating Critique*', special issue, *On Curating* no. 9 (2011): 63.
80 von Osten, 'Producing Publics', 63–64.
81 Kester, *The One and the Many*, 187 and 190. See also Cameron Cartiere, 'Book Reviews: Kester, Grant H. *The One and the Many*', *Public Art Dialogue* 3, no. 1 (2013): 132, https://doi.org/10.1080/21502552.2013.766875.
82 See Kester, *The One and the Many*, 191–97.
83 Bishop, *Artificial Hells*, 2 (emphasis in the orginal).
84 Oliver Marchart, 'The Curatorial Function: Organizing the Ex/Position', in *Curating Critique*, ed. Marianne Eigenheer, Baraby Drabble, and Dorothee Richter (Frankfurt am Main: Revolver, 2007), 43.
85 Marchart, 'The Curatorial Function', 45.

86 Paul O'Neill and Mick Wilson, 'Introduction', in *Curating and the Educational Turn*, ed. Paul O'Neill and Mick Wilson (London: Open Editions/de Appel, 2010), 12–13.
87 See O'Neill and Wilson, 'Introduction', 19. For an astute and nuanced discussion of what socially engaged art may or may not accomplish with respect to social change, see Grant H. Kester, 'The Limitations of the Exculpatory Critique: A Response to Mikkel Bolt Rasmussen', *The Nordic Journal of Aesthetics* no. 53 (2017), https://doi.org/10.7146/nja.v25i53.26407.
88 Bishop, *Artificial Hells*, 14. For an introduction to the debates on the participatory turn in cultural policy studies, see Anne Scott Sørensen, Hjørdis Brandrup Korbek, and Mette Thobo-Carlsen, 'Participation', *The Nordic Journal of Cultural Policy. Themed issue on Participation* 19, no. 1 (2016): 4–18.
89 See Kester, 'The Limitations of the Exculpatory Critique', 83–85.
90 Kester, 'The Limitations of the Exculpatory Critique', 83–84.
91 Kester, 'The Limitations of the Exculpatory Critique', 95.
92 For an insightful overview and discussion of the developments based on Norwegian and Danish examples from the 2010s, see Mathias Danbolt, 'Into the Friction', *Kunstkritikk: Nordic Art Review* (May 15, 2020), https://kunstkritikk.com/into-the-friction/.
93 See Camilla Møhring Reestorff, *Culture War: Affective Cultural Politics, Tepid Nationalism and Art Activism* (Bristol: Intellect, 2017), 16.
94 Claire Bishop, 'Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics', *October* 110, Autumn (2004): 68.
95 See Jacques Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics* (London: Continuum, 2010); Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator* (London: Verso, 2009); Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible* (London: Continuum, 2004).
96 See Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso, 2001 [1985]).
97 See Mouffe, 'Art and Democracy'; Chantal Mouffe, 'Artistic Activism and Agonistic Spaces', *Art & Research: A Journal of Ideas, Contexts and Methods* 1, no. 2 (2007): 1–7; Mouffe, 'Which Public Space'.
98 Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*, 24.
99 Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*, 14. Although I find Marchart's distinction between three modes of political engagement in art (which he derives from Mouffe) analytically helpful, I do not subscribe to Marchart's evaluative hierarchization of these modes. It should also be mentioned that Marchart's critique of the ideology of the art field sometimes evades the fact that in the twenty-first century, overtly politicized art has increasingly been embraced and promoted by small-scale art institutions and biennials, which constitute some of the most vital sources of the renewal of art from within the art field itself. At other times, he acknowledges the critical and political potential of institutions to operate as 'counter-hegemonic machines' (ibid., 26).
100 Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*, 13–14.
101 Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*, 13–14.
102 Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*, 25 and 27.
103 Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*, 23, see also 26 and 30.
104 Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*, 34–35.
105 Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*, 36–37.
106 Danbolt, 'Into the Friction', n.p.
107 Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*, 25–26.
108 See Bishop, *Artificial Hells*; Nora Sternfeld, 'Playing by the Rules of the Game: Participation in the Post-representative Museum', *CuMMA Papers #1* (2013). See also Anne Ring Petersen and Sabine Dahl Nielsen, 'The Reconfiguration of Publics and Spaces through Art: Strategies of Agitation and Amelioration' in 'Art in Public Spaces: New Roles for Art and Curating in Times of Transnational Mobility', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 13 (2021): 6–8, https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2021.1898766.
109 See Charlotte Bydler, *The Global Art World, Inc.: On the Globalisation of Contemporary Art* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2004).

3 Transcultural Entanglements and the Postmigrant Imaginary

Snapshot One: Berlin

In October 2019, the Maxim Gorki Theatre in Berlin – the hub of German postmigrant theatre – held their 4. Berliner Herbstsalon ('4th Berlin Autumn Salon') under the thought-provoking title *DE-HEIMATIZE IT!*[1] This was inscribed in monumental letters on the temporary Gorki Container venue that flanked the Theatre's main building at the time. The Herbstsalon is an integrated platform for theatre, performance, visual art and discursive interventions (talks, discussions and seminars). At the opening of the 2019 edition, the sociologist Bilgin Ayata unpacked the idea of *de-heimatization*. Under the headline 'De-heimatize Belonging', Ayata contested the increasingly common invocation of the term *Heimat* (homeland/homeplace) in German politics and public debate, arguing that the word was infested with nationalist connotations and has been made irredeemable through its close association with Germany's fascist and colonialist history of violence. Shermin Langhoff, the artistic director of the Gorki Theatre, answered Ayata's call for a reconceptualization of belonging. In her Editorial for the salon, she set the agenda for the event by linking the need for de-heimatization to one of the great fault lines of German and, it could be added, other European societies: the deep rift that divides 'natives' from 'newcomers':

> 'Heimat' is currently being projected in capital letters on every wall of the republic. But it's not being used in a sense of empathy and solidarity with the people who have had to flee their Heimat. On the contrary, Heimat is being used by right-wing and extreme right forces to exclude the dispossessed and disenfranchised.[2]

The appropriation of the campaigning style of political movements in the title *DE-HEIMATIZE IT!* resonated with that of the preceding salon in 2017: *DESINTEGRIERT EUCH!* ('Disintegrate Yourselves!'). This agitating battle cry of the third salon echoed the title of German writer Max Czollek's eponymous collection of essays, *Des-integriert Euch!* ('Disintegrate Yourselves!').[3] Emerging from the Jewish scene, Czollek's controversial book and provocative dictum intervened in contemporaneous debates on integration and national belonging, including the question of Jewish diversity. Under polemical headlines such as 'Integrationstheater! Leitkultur und Heimatministerien' ('Theatre of Integration! Lead Culture and *Heimat* Ministries'), Czollek launched an attack on what he dubbed the 'theatre of integration'. The theatre of integration, for Czollek, refers to a nationalistic narrative of post Second World War Germany that upholds the impression of an advanced society populated by a humane citizenry that has successfully curbed the

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virulent antisemitism which led to the Shoah/Holocaust, while conservative and extremist right-wing forces simultaneously celebrated the vision of *Heimat* as synonymous with a unified German culture purified of foreign elements. Czollek called out to individuals for whom social oppression has ascribed a minoritized position to defy the demand for integration and adaptation, and in doing so, gestured towards an alternative vision of community, citizenship and solidarity.[4] Drawing on the German discourse on postmigration, Czollek's book thus condensed his vision into the concept of *radical diversity* (*radikale Vielfalt*), to which I return below.

Snapshot Two: London

In November 2019, gigantic class photos of third year pupils from London's primary schools were displayed on 600 billboards positioned at roadsides, railways and underground stations across the city's thirty-three boroughs. The scale was such that it was estimated that almost one in every ten people in the city would see at least one of the group portraits.[5] British artist and filmmaker Steve McQueen had selected these photos from his photographic project *Year 3*, which consists of group photos of London schoolchildren in their third year, pupils aged seven and eight years old. This is commonly understood by child psychologists to be a crucial age in a child's development, when children become conscious of the larger world beyond their family and thus develop an increased sense of identity. As Tate Britain's press release explained:

> it is a critical time for them to develop confidence in all areas of life, to understand more about their place in a changing world and to think about the future… *Year 3* reflects this moment of excitement, anticipation and hope.[6]

The citywide outdoor exhibition was organized by Artangel, the leading organization in the UK for art in public spaces, and was scheduled to coincide with Tate Britain's opening of the exhibition of McQueen's project.[7] Both the outdoor and the museum exhibitions of Steve McQueen's *Year 3* formed perhaps the most ambitious visual portrait of citizenship undertaken in a large city. In total, the project involved 70% of London's schools, more than 3,000, in making 'a monumental collective portrait of more than 76,000 young Londoners alongside their classmates and teachers'.[8] *Year 3* aspired to be a portrait of the next postmigrant generation and evoked the complexities of what it means to be British in today's multicultural Britain. The exhibitions presented a hopeful, embodied vision of the possibilities of living together in difference[9] and a counter to the white nationalist, far-right conspiracy theory 'The Great Replacement', in which white Europeans are supposedly replaced through a government-sanctioned mass immigration of Arabs and Africans. The exhibitions could be seen therefore as a critical intervention into this politically mobilizing theory and method of fearmongering that has become popular among anti-immigration, ultra-right movements in the UK, Germany, France and other European countries.

Re-Imagining Cultural Citizenship and Belonging

Both the Berliner Herbstsalon's de-heimatizing challenge to the bond between *Heimat* and citizenship and Steve McQueen's portrait of citizenry-to-come are projects that engage with the public in a conversation about issues of identity, citizenship, community

and belonging. Moreover, they demanded a number of years of persistent dedication to their artistic and curatorial concepts by the many actors involved in their creation. The Gorki Theatre and Steve McQueen each used the monumentality and publicness of artistic projects to draw attention to the demographic diversity of European populations and the deep and long-lasting transcultural entanglements that European communities share with places and people around the world. Accordingly, both projects point to an urgent need to rethink the traditional nationalist and monocultural notions of homeland, belonging and cultural citizenship upon which European nation-states are founded. This need for change is perhaps most powerfully signalled by the politically mobilizing titles of the Berliner Herbstsalons and the grand scale of McQueen's participatory project. These examples make evident the perspicacity and provocativeness with which art can intervene in public debate, and demonstrate how effectively art can agitate and unsettle naturalized perceptions at times when, as Paul Gilroy phrased it, the 'tendency towards sameness… combines readily with culturalist nationalism and xenophobia to create a toxic mixture'.[10]

The questions that these two projects invite us to ask are therefore: How can art and culture contribute to the collective reimagining of cultural citizenship and what it means to belong in a homeplace or homeland? How do artists and cultural producers make critical interventions in public and societal debates, and how might these interventions provide counterhegemonic alternatives to nationalistic homeland orientation and culturalist boundary maintenance? Furthermore, how can scholars use the concepts of the transcultural, the diasporic and the postmigratory to deepen our understanding of the role that these cultural and artistic expressions take in contemporary political struggles and the ways in which they strive for a new sense of belonging against hegemonic, monocultural notions of community and cultural citizenship?

Joining Forces: Notes on Methodology

To answer these questions, I employ transcultural, diasporic and postmigrant perspectives to explore contemporary imaginaries of community, collectivity and belonging as expressed through art in public space. I understand public spaces to be conflictual arenas, and borrowing a term from Oliver Marchart, I perceive socially and politically engaged art in public space as a form of 'conflictual aesthetics'.[11] This chapter foregrounds the methodological question of how the transcultural and postmigrant approaches can be refined by critical considerations of the possibilities and limits of these concepts for art history. More specifically, this chapter considers how transcultural and diasporic perspectives can be used to broaden the postmigrant approach, and how coupling the postmigrant, the diasporic and the transcultural may overcome some of the limitations of each perspective. However, this endeavour entails navigating between Scylla and Charybdis: on the one hand, the postmigrant approach brings the risk of methodological nationalism due to the postmigrant focus on conflicts, conditions and phenomena internal to the nation-state; and on the other, the group-oriented approach to identity formation in anthropological and sociological diaspora studies is potentially homogenizing, yet has often provided the authorizing concept of transculturality used in art history and curating.[12] This conceptualization of transculturality (drawn from diaspora studies) is, I suggest, counterproductive to studies of the highly individualized practices of contemporary artists, because it is premised upon the idea that individual expression takes place within a general idiom: that of the ethnic or national group. The group-oriented concept of

transculturality thus tends to sideline or even efface the idiosyncrasies and radical transgressions which often characterize contemporary artistic use of inherited cultural idioms.

To meet this methodological challenge, I adopt a two-pronged approach. On a theoretical and methodological level, I explore how the diasporic imaginary can be brought into productive interplay with postmigration as another key concept in discussions on art and global migration. Postmigration holds that migration is an ongoing process that has irreversibly shaped Europe since the mid-twentieth century. As a result of this process, European societies are now struggling to learn how to accommodate the cultural diversity inherent in what recent scholarship has variously termed 'migration societies',[13] 'postmigrant societies',[14] 'societies of immigration'[15] and the 'postmigrant condition'.[16] Like the idea of the diasporic imaginary, postmigration has emerged at the intersection of global migration and transnationalization on the one hand and processes of renationalization on the other, including both deterritorialized diasporic nationalisms and territorial anti-immigration nationalisms. However, the diasporic imaginary centres on a conception of the diasporic community as a historically stable racial or national group, thereby running the risk of reinforcing processes of othering. Conversely, the discourse on postmigration focuses on the entanglements between societal groups, and thus seeks to transcend the categorization of diasporas as separable minorities. This shift of perspective enables a rethinking of the question of collective identity: how can collective identities be recast from the viewpoint of multiple belonging and transcultural exchange?

I link this overarching theoretical and methodological discussion to a historically grounded and empirical study of contemporary art and culture in migration and postmigration contexts. In order to provide an alternative to national frameworks for cultural analysis, I ask, first, what in our understanding would change if the diasporic and the postmigratory were imagined as the very conditions that enable the narration of collective identities; and second, how can artists move the invariably friction-filled negotiations of such narratives 'to the centre' by using public spaces as sites for engaging a broad range of citizens in such negotiations of collectivity?

Chapters 5 and 6 provide more thorough answers to these questions by close readings of art projects that have been realized in Denmark, a country pervaded by renationalization processes and postmigratory struggles. This chapter initiates this analytical work by briefly considering three examples from the UK, Germany and Denmark: the 'snapshots' of Steve McQueen's *Year 3*; the Maxim Gorki Theatre's 4th Berliner Herbstsalon presented above; and photographer and curator Maja Nydal Eriksen's documentary art project *100% FREMMED?* ('100% FOREIGN?', 2017–2019), discussed below. The unifying proposition of these analyses is that it is precisely because public art can use popular modes of address to reach different types of people and broader publics (and not just art audiences) that it has the potential to offer new points of identification to communities beyond monocultural nationalism. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to lay the groundwork for the case studies in the subsequent chapters by interlinking transcultural, postmigrant and diasporic perspectives and by elaborating the concept of a *postmigrant imaginary* to describe the postmigrant and transcultural sense of belonging and heterogeneous collective identity that such art projects articulate and proffer as new points of identifications.

In what follows, I first define the concepts *transculturality* and the *diasporic imaginary*, and then relate them to the concept of *postmigration* as explicated in Chapter 1. I also briefly consider whether this framework can be developed into an antidote to methodological nationalism and the dominant narratives about minorities and majorities in

European societies. I then turn to *100% FREMMED?* to explore how an art project can tackle this challenge, before I resume the theoretical discussion in order to consider the potential of the postmigrant imaginary for art history.[17]

Transculturality, Postmigration and the Diasporic Imaginary

Transculturality and postmigration are compelling concepts through which to explore contemporary art; they both carry considerable descriptive, theoretical and interpretive weight. Since the 2000s, the idea that art needs to be studied transculturally and transnationally has won increasing support among art historians, and this can be seen in the burgeoning research on 'multiple modernisms'.[18] Within and beyond art history, the *circulation* of art, artists and art history itself has attracted increasing scholarly attention.[19] So has the idea of *diasporic art* and the ways in which artists have reimagined lives as migratory[20] and cultures as interconnected.[21] Along with this development comes a growing awareness that a truly transcultural or *global* art history requires a set of revised methods and theories that move beyond the Eurocentric colonialist framework upon which the discipline was founded. What is at stake is more than the mere extension of scholarship to other regions; rather, a substantial change in art history's frameworks requires the elaboration of explanatory paradigms that enable a consideration of multisited practices, palimpsestic temporalities and the artistic use of manipulative strategies such as translation, mimicry and substitution.[22]

The Art historians Monica Juneja and Michael Falser have engaged critically with the philosopher Wolfgang Welsch's concept of transculturality – defined as a profoundly syncretic and cosmopolitan product of the complex exchange between modern cultures – in order to develop a transcultural approach to the analysis of art and cultural heritage as focused on the connections and movements between regions and cultures.[23] Of relevance to the present study is their use of transculturality as an analytical lens that defines the object of study by the logic of entanglement – an approach that alternates between as well as connects local, national, regional and global contexts and scales.[24]

In a more recent study, Juneja has considered how art history may tap into the postcolonial foundations of transculturality.[25] After scrutinizing the aspirations of some early pioneers of European world art history – a germinating transcultural approach to art history that sprang from the colonialist and Eurocentric perception of the world which dominated the nineteenth century – she turns to early postcolonial studies, from which she creates a conceptual framework that combines a recognition of the inequalities and power structures involved in transcultural entanglement with a keen attention to the 'coevalness' between Western and non-Western artists. This is an approach in tune with the 'intense proximity' that characterizes today's globalized, border-transgressing art world and the multicultural societies within which most of the major art scenes are nested. Juneja traces the concept of transculturality to its origins, in the anthropologist Fernando Ortiz's 1940 study *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*.[26] She then envisions a 'transcultural art history' that may help art historians to 'uncover synchronicity and coevalness' and to restore coevalness as the default entry point to cultural connections between Europe and other continents.[27] This approach may add nuance to our understanding of the many modalities of transcultural interaction and the asymmetries of power that condition these interactions.[28] Although it builds on the groundwork of postcolonial analysis, transcultural studies is, Juneja submits, 'a more fine-tuned method' that 'seeks to avoid an overemphasis on polarities and oppositional structures by paying greater attention to

the multiple relationalities that unfold beyond the colonizer–colony divide'.[29] Similarly, postmigrant perspectives build on postcolonial analyses, but also move beyond them as they seek to overcome the binary mode of thought that dominates postcolonial studies as well as migration and diaspora studies, which often revolve around a juxtaposition between a majority society and a migrant or diaspora community.[30] However, such a binary mode of thought is profoundly difficult to overcome, and as I propose, it is not possible to dispose of it completely.

Drawing on a decade of interdisciplinary transcultural research at Heidelberg University, Laila Abu-Er-Rub and her four co-editors (Christiane Brosius, Sebastian Meurer, Diamantis Panagiotopoulos and Susan Richter) have addressed the irresolvable paradox inherent in transculturality in their magisterial introduction to the comprehensive survey of transcultural studies, *Engaging Transculturality: Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies*:

> Transculturality is built on the understanding that cultures in the widest sense have never evolved as distinct entities or even primarily by interaction of separate units… The syllable trans- (as opposed to, for instance, inter-) points in that transgressive and translatory direction: borders create border-crossing, in dividing they simultaneously connect. Ostensibly, there is a paradox at the heart of transculturality: in order to point to the transcultural, one first has to assume separate cultures, while simultaneously negating their existence. Pointing to a "third" or a transitory and liminal space "in between", whose constitution and location can only be defined in relation and opposition to the self-contained units it professes to replace, cannot resolve this dilemma. Moreover, how can one deny what has been a real and defining element for human perception and human action – the nation, the ethnic group, the tribe?[31]

Arguably, the same dilemma is at the core of the paired terms *diaspora* and *postmigration*. Contrary to Abu-Er-Rub et al., who suggest that the paradox can be 'dissolved by means of a conscious shift towards a processual, multi-sited perspective',[32] I think it should be acknowledged that the paradox can never be completely eradicated – first, because the idea of self-contained communities produces real social effects, including community structures (as the editors themselves point out); and second, because comparison (in this case between bounded and boundary-transgressing cultures) is essential to analytical thought process and cognition.[33] What scholars can do, therefore, is to mobilize transcultural and postmigrant perspectives to overturn the *hegemony* of the idea of bounded cultures and challenge its position as the authoritative master signifier.

Abu-Er-Rub et al. also stress the importance of placemaking and spatial imaginaries for transcultural perspectives, especially where diasporas and diasporic art are concerned.[34] As the anthropologist Brian Keith Axel has pointed out in his article 'The Diasporic Imaginary', the study of diaspora has traditionally been based on an analytical model of place centred on the diasporic people's 'place of origin',[35] or to be more precise, a correlation between the place of origin and a sense of displacement. Thus in his article 'The Diasporic Imaginary: Theorizing the Indian Diaspora', the literary scholar Vijay Mishra uses the term 'diaspora' to refer to 'any ethnic enclave in a nation-state that defines itself, consciously, unconsciously or because of the political self-interest of a racialized nation-state, as a group that lives in displacement'.[36] Arguably, living in displacement entails durational and evolving negotiations of spatial proximity and distance to the place of origin as well as in the country of residence.

The secure position of the notion of bounded cultures as a master signifier, even within diaspora studies, is evidenced by the anthropologists Pnina Werbner and Mattia Fumanti in their study 'The Aesthetics of Diaspora: Ownership and Appropriation'. The authors reject what they perceive as 'a singular focus on the outward-oriented aesthetics of diaspora' produced by 'postcolonial elites'.[37] Instead, they focus on how 'cultural transnational aesthetics' unfold as 'an experiential embodied process' in 'encapsulated diasporas'.[38] Werbner and Fumanti introduce a useful distinction between inward-looking and outward-looking aesthetic processes to broaden the perception of what diasporic aesthetics can encompass.[39] They identify a set of vernacular 'encapsulated aesthetics' that serves as 'the medium for creating a sense of worth and distinction within host nations for otherwise marginalised groups', and which forms a contrast to the hybridized, globalized aesthetics promoted by the main writers of postcolonial analyses, such as Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy and Homi K. Bhabha.[40] Werbner and Fumanti's own understanding of diaspora aesthetics – diaspora aesthetics as inward-looking and encapsulated – is firmly rooted in a group-based understanding of diaspora that emphasizes the 'felt autonomy' of diasporic cultural producers who they assume to identify almost exclusively with the diasporic community,[41] rather than the national community of the country where they or their ancestors have settled. For Werbner and Fumanti, aesthetic cultural performance is oriented by the place of origin and thus becomes a means of '*appropriation* and *ownership* in the alien place of non-ownership, that is in the diaspora, the site of exile'.[42] Incidentally, it is exactly the idea that isolated diasporic communities maintain their ethnic heritage by imitating cultural forms from distant homelands that critical postmigrant discourses critique, no matter whether this idea is voiced by members of a diaspora or by persons associated with the European white majority societies with which the discourses on postmigration are primarily concerned.

It should be noted that by introducing the concept of the *diasporic imaginary*, Axel and Mishra distance themselves from a simple place-based understanding of diaspora as oriented towards the 'place of origin'. Nonetheless, their understanding of diaspora and the diasporic imaginary is still anchored in a group-oriented concept of identity founded on the notion that diasporic subjects and their sense of belonging are determined by ethnic ancestry and attachment to a discrete minority ethnic or national group. It is this ethnic and ancestral connection that shapes their sense of 'the real'. That is to say, Axel does not use the term diasporic imaginary to describe 'the diaspora, its "people," or "community" as illusory', but to articulate that diaspora groups maintain 'a precise and powerful kind of identification that is very real'.[43] Importantly, Axel also suggests that the diasporic imaginary may open up and transform the role that homeland and ancestry plays in group identification, because these points of identification are drawn into a relation with other kinds of images and processes.[44] Mishra adds that 'diasporas construct homelands in ways that are very different from people of the homelands themselves'.[45]

Axel's and Mishra's observations are relevant to an art history theoretically framed by transculturality and postmigration. Although their definitions of the diasporic imaginary are group-based, Axel and Mishra acknowledge the permeability of the diasporic imaginary. In other words, their concept moves towards transcultural and postmigrant understandings of cultural processes and imaginaries. A similar move is found in the cultural studies scholar Roger Bromley's reflections on the connection between conceptions of diaspora and postmigration. Bromley speaks of the 'new aesthetics, new narratives and new belonging' of descendants of immigrants and examines the ways in which these new forms 'are articulated with specific representational practices which might be termed

"postmigrant", linked in some ways with the concept of diaspora but also detached from it in so far as the practices emphasize a present and a future trajectory rather than anchorage in an "originary" culture'.[46]

The Problem-Space of Postmigration

Although the term *postmigrant* is related to notions of the postcolonial and the multicultural, it reacts specifically to European concerns with migration, integration history, national identity and the conflictual process of coming to terms with the irreversible changes to European demography and cultures wrought by former and ongoing migration. In contrast to diaspora studies, the discourse on postmigration strives to transcend the categorization of diasporas as separate minorities by focusing on the social, cultural and political entanglements and commonalities between societal groups. Several scholars have thus deployed postmigration to reconceptualize migration and sociocultural diversity as a state of normalcy that defines, involves and has relevance for all members of society.

To highlight the differences between the academic discourses on diaspora and postmigration, it could be argued that the discourse on *diaspora* gravitates towards an analytical model based on homeland, ancestral ties and group identity, whereas the discourse on *postmigration* gravitates more towards an analytical model based on multiplicity, coalitions and intersectional identities. Thus, the postmigrant perspective provides a heuristic tool for analysis of the ways in which art can challenge monocultural understandings of identity, negotiate locality and disrupt notions of bounded cultures, both national and diasporic.

Conversely, the *transcultural perspective* has the potential to bracket the focus that the discourses on postmigration and diaspora tend to place on nation-state or homeland. Postmigrant and diaspora perspectives tend to reinforce this focus by a concern with the struggles over 'diversity' internal to the nation-state (postmigration) or with a minoritized 'ethnic enclave in a nation-state… that lives in displacement' (diaspora).[47] Thus, the conceptual framework provided by transculturality enables us to look beyond the nation-state, to explain how art travels and to examine translocal connections, networks and forms of collaboration, solidarity and alliance. This framework also enables us to analyse hybridized forms of cultural expression without necessarily linking them to national origins and frames, yet still allows for the possibility of doing so. In short, to the problem-space of postmigration, the transcultural perspective contributes methods with which to examine the impact of art's mode of circulation on the production of art in local postmigrant contexts and to address issues of form and content hailing or consciously borrowing from other cultures. Inversely, the conflict sensitivity typical of the postmigrant approach may bolster transculturality against the criticism that it does not sufficiently address the antagonisms, conflicts and polarizing tensions involved in transculturation, in contradistinction to, for example, postcolonial theory.[48]

With this shift of emphasis away from the national and the ethnic towards postmigrant and transcultural explanatory frames, the overall question of collective identity is effectively reformulated: how can the identities of local and national communities be renarrated from the viewpoint of a group whose members have an internally differentiated or even conflicting sense of belonging?

Again, I wish to distance myself from the group-oriented perspective of sociological diaspora studies, which is often counterproductive to the study of highly individualized and subjective artistic practices. However, the diasporic imaginary is helpful as what Mieke Bal calls a *travelling concept*. A travelling concept is capable of linking methodologically

distinct scientific fields.[49] As a bridging concept, the diasporic imaginary facilitates understanding across the social sciences and the humanities by introducing conceptual links between otherwise separate discourses on related thematics. Finally, scholars can employ the diasporic imaginary as a counter-concept with which to criticize nationalist narratives, ranging from the methodological nationalism that prevails in many academic disciplines (including art history) to the far-right white nationalist narratives that have been rekindled across Europe and the USA.[50] The feminist scholar and theorist of racism Sara Ahmed explains how anti-immigration nationalist narratives construct 'the white subject' as a threatened subject and people of migrant heritage as threats and objects of hate:

> Such narratives work by generating a subject that is endangered by imagined others whose proximity threatens not only to take something away from the subject (jobs, security, wealth), but to take the place of the subject. The presence of this other is imagined as a threat to the object of love [i.e. the homeland or the nation]. This narrative involves a rewriting of history, in which the labour of others (migrants, slaves) is concealed in a fantasy that it is the white subject who "built this land".[51]

Although arguably there are significant differences between methodological nationalism in academia, everyday conservative monoculturalism, diaspora nationalism and far-right nationalism, it is important to understand that they all involve a politics of closure that constructs and codes the national culture as coherent through taxonomies of racial, ethnic and cultural difference, which draw the internal and external frontiers of culture and identity. Maja Nydal Eriksen's *100% FREMMED?* project, discussed below, demonstrates how art can work against such politics of closure.

The cultural anthropologist Regina Römhild has made some progress with regards to how the politics of closure can be avoided in academic discourse and how migration and diaspora studies can provide different methods by which to study the cultural dynamics of a given society. Römhild aims to find ways to avoid both the ongoing 'migrantization' of long-established minority ethnic communities and the tenacious fiction of a settled homogeneous community at the core of society. The problem with much migration research – and, it could be added, diaspora studies – is that it is often understood as research about migrants or their descendants. Römhild argues that this approach contributes to the 'migrantization' because it produces a 'migrantology' that fixes migratory life-worlds on the periphery of majority society and at the same time contributes to the construction of its supposed non-migrant counterpart: the imagined community of sedentary white nationals (see Chapter 1).[52]

Römhild calls for a methodological change to counteract this polarizing effect.[53] In a felicitous turn of phrase, she states that what is needed is 'a shift that would "demigrantise" migration research while "migrantising" research into culture and society'.[54] Furthermore, Römhild suggests that the objective of these new approaches should be 'to illuminate the institutions, milieus, and contexts of the (majority) society from the perspective of migration'.[55] I concur that such a change is needed and would add that the concepts of diasporic and postmigrant imaginaries can help us operationalize the postmigrant perspective for the study of art and other image-oriented forms of expression.

As mentioned above, group-oriented notions of diaspora and transculturality are counterproductive to studies of contemporary artistic practices. This problem has been addressed in studies that criticize the so-called 'burden of representation'.[56] In 1990, the art historian Kobena Mercer used this term to refer to the burden of expectations that

racialized artists were, and in some cases still are, forced to carry, by which they are cast as authentic spokespersons for a culture or ethnic group in its entirety.[57] As Juneja has observed, such expectations produce 'a politics of cultural identity' wherein 'the terms of inclusion of the "other"' are founded on notions of "authenticity" and a group-based understanding of "ethnic origins"'.[58]

Such critiques of the burden of representation lead us to a question about the potential of contemporary art for changing stereotyped, group-oriented perceptions: how can artists draw attention to and 'propagate' (Marchart) new narratives of belonging by making them focal points of public spaces?

Snapshot Three: Copenhagen

As the anthropologist Girish Daswani has remarked, refugees are 'the classic case for defining diaspora'; regardless of their ethnic, national and other backgrounds, refugees share 'a theme of displacement and exile from a homeland'.[59] A focus on the constructed and open-ended nature of identity is helpful as an entry point to understanding refugee identity formation, and therefore central to my discussion on Maja Nydal Eriksen's documentary art project *100% FREMMED?* (2017–2019).[60] Just as Steve McQueen's *Year 3* can be perceived as a portrait of a generation of young British children that reflects the diversity of the British population, the *100% FREMMED?* project – made up of 250 life stories of individuals who have been granted asylum in Denmark since 1956 – can be said to form a collective portrait. It is a multivocal narrative that inserts citizens of refugee backgrounds into the narrative of the nation, thereby expanding the idea of what national identity and belonging can be, and what it means to be a citizen.

The *100% FREMMED?* is Denmark's first major documentary collection of individual accounts of former refugees and therefore a significant project, which continued to develop over a long duration of time. Here, my interest centres on the first phase of the project, in which Nydal Eriksen and her team collaborated with one hundred citizens of refugee backgrounds living in the Copenhagen area. The idea for *100% FREMMED?* sprang from the refugee debate that dominated the Danish media in 2015, at a time when one and a half million refugees and migrants entered the EU. The debates initially centred on the newly arrived and how they might be accommodated (or not). However, as time passed, attention was redirected to those already living in the country, to questions about life after flight and the long-term process of integration. With this change of focus, another question surfaced: how to define the categories Danishness and foreignness? As explained in the foreword of the book from the Copenhagen exhibition:

> With this exhibition, a hundred citizens, all former refugees, respond to this question with one hundred personal and very different stories about being a citizen in Denmark today – foreign or not. Stories of belonging, longing and dreams, memories of people and places, views on society, gender, culture and religion.[61]

In theoretical terms, this collaborative project sought to move beyond the question of *who* is a citizen and *who* is a foreigner – who belongs and who does not – towards

questions about what *processes* create a citizen and resist from becoming one at any given moment in history.

All participants were represented by a short first-person narrative and a photographic portrait staged in Copenhagen's Tivoli Garden – an amusement park and national heritage icon located symbolically opposite the capital's city hall. Tivoli's colourful, exoticizing environment served as a scenographic background through which to experiment with the interplay between 'Danish' and foreign.

When one reads through the one hundred chronologically ordered stories,[62] it is evident that alienation and a sense of not belonging is felt most acutely among those who have been granted asylum in recent years. For example, Manal Bashir Tahhan arrived from Syria in 2014 and self-identifies as '100% refugee' because, although she has been granted asylum, her future and that of her children is still uncertain (see Figure 3.1). Narratives like that of Tahhan appear to fit Werbner and Fumanti's description of an inward-looking aesthetics and experience of diaspora emerging from a sense of living 'in exile'.[63] However, this contrasts with the large majority of the stories, such as that of Gazi Monir Ahmed who arrived from Bangladesh in 1992 (see Figure 3.2). Ahmed, leader of the opposition Bangladesh National Party in Denmark, has maintained a strong political engagement in the struggle against the regime in Bangladesh, but he also declares

Figure 3.1 Maja Nydal Eriksen, portrait of Manal Bashir Tahhan from *100% FREMMED?* ('100% FOREIGN?'), 2017. Photograph. 100 × 100 cm. © Maja Nydal Eriksen.

Figure 3.2 Maja Nydal Eriksen, portrait of Gazi Monir Ahmed from *100% FREMMED?* ('100% FOREIGN?'), 2017. Photograph. 100 × 100 cm. © Maja Nydal Eriksen.

himself to be '100% Danish … My life started when I came to Copenhagen Nordvest'. Compare this to Tri Huu Nguyen, for instance, who arrived from Vietnam in 1981 yet describes how the feeling of being part of society can become ambivalent as a result of the regrounding crisis commonly felt by refugees:

> I think that most refugees experience a 10-year crisis once they have completed their education, started a family, and got a job. When you have become part of the society, yet you still feel foreign… I am neither Danish nor Vietnamese. I am just part of society.

Zooming out to the overall character of the stories, most concern an ambivalence of belonging, place-making, family, memory and opinion. But they also reflect the ways in

which the tightening of the laws on asylum in recent decades and the polarizing nationalist discourse of 'us' against 'them' (i.e. asylum seekers, refugees and migrants) have contributed to limited possibilities for migrants to form and contribute to communities, both local and national.

In a study of diasporic aesthetics, the literary scholar Ato Quayson suggests that the character of 'the diasporic imaginary' in literature is determined by the configuration of three core elements: place, nostalgia and genealogical accounting.[64] As Quayson argues and *100% FREMMED?* confirms, 'place' in the receiving country exists in a dialectical relation to an 'elsewhere', and diasporic nostalgia springs from an experience of rupture between the past and the present that is 'intimately tied to a sense of displacement'.[65] It is, so to speak, the affective and temporal dimension of the spatial interrelationship between this place and that place. Lastly, genealogical accounting – meaning 'stories of the "how-we-got-here" variety' – provides 'a distinguishing past to the person or community' by accounting for the question of ancestry and thereby linking the individual to a community of co-ethnics.[66] The chronological order of the one hundred stories in the *100% FREMMED?* book emphatically confirms Quayson's observation that the forms of genealogical accounting change over time, and individual perspectives may dramatically change the sense of what has been left behind.[67]

Significantly, the *100% FREMMED?* book also confirms an observation common in migration studies: it is much easier to develop a sense of belonging and identify with a city or a local neighbourhood than it is to identify with the imagined community of a nation. Read in the context of its time and place – Denmark reflecting on the 2015 refugee situation in Denmark and Europe and seeking to come to terms with a postmigrant future already in the making – the project blows open the idea of bounded diaspora groups, as it reflects the myriad lifestyles and experiences of belonging and alienation that former refugees have developed through transcultural processes spanning several years or decades.

100% FREMMED? thus comes across as a *plaidoyer* for what Max Czollek has termed *radical diversity*. Czollek suggests that radical diversity can be furthered by the politics of disintegration (*Desintegration*), meaning the deconstruction of ethnic group identifications: 'The concept of disintegration does not ask how individual groups can be integrated into *society* in a good or not so good manner, but how society itself can be recognized as *the place of radical diversity*.'[68] Czollek's concept of *radical diversity* thus departs from the traditional group-based understandings of *social diversity*, particularly the notions of *multiculturalism* and *diaspora* (with its associated forms of diaspora nationalism and ethno-centric identity formation). Czollek's political and aesthetic project of disintegration can perhaps best be understood as an extremely polemic articulation of postmigrant thought, as he perceives his concept of disintegration to be 'a Jewish contribution to the postmigrant project, the aim of which is to take radical diversity seriously as the foundation of the German society and to assert it aesthetically'.[69] Czollek defines radical diversity as a friction-filled, hypercomplex form of coexistence. Radical diversity is not structured by affiliations to distinct ethnic groups, but by individual self-identifications, inter- and intra-group differences and new alliances that cut across ethnic boundaries to produce intersectional forms of interaction and ways of living together in difference that transgress binary distinctions between natives and migrants, whites and people of colour and the so-called majority and (gender, ethnic, migrantized) minorities. From this follows that radical diversity also dismantles notions of a static dichotomy between discriminating and discriminated subjects because it is founded on a dynamic

understanding of identity that is attentive to the ways in which identification and self-identification are continually reconstructed by and within changing social contexts, and the understanding that these processes entail that people constantly move between discriminating and non-discriminating subject positions. As this account makes clear, the social imaginary that underpins Czollek's idea of radical diversity is permeated by postmigrant thinking. This point leads to my next question: is it possible to speak of a postmigrant imaginary?

Towards a Postmigrant Imaginary

A theoretical conception of the *postmigrant imaginary* has not yet been developed, although it is much needed in studies of art, aesthetics and culture. However, related ideas have sporadically arisen in debates about postmigrant culture. A congenial example is found in the anthology *Postmigrantische Visionen: Erfahrungen – Ideen – Reflexionen* ('Postmigrant Visions: Experiences – Ideas – Reflections'). In their introduction, the anthology's editors Marc Hill and Erol Yildiz, posit that 'the idea of the postmigratory is visionary' for its insistence on social change. The link between their work and the idea of a postmigrant imaginary is confirmed by their declaration of the postmigratory as a *Geisteshaltung* (mentality) associated with a particular praxis of *Wissensproduktion* (knowledge production) that makes an epistemological turn by removing the distinction between migrants and non-migrants, migration and settledness.[70] Similarly, in her authoritative conceptualization of postmigrant society, Naika Foroutan ascribes a normative or visionary dimension to the concept of *postmigration* and associates postmigrant society with 'the promise of a utopia that goes beyond the migratory to negotiate equality without regard to ancestry'.[71] Furthermore, in a study of Black British literature, Sten Pultz Moslund adopts a postmigrant perspective to explore how 'indigenous British voices' replace the theme of 'immigrants' and their 'descendants' as being caught between competing cultures with 'the imagination of new and heterogeneous ways of being British' – a reimagining of Britishness that is, it could be added, in tune with Steve McQueen's generational portrait *Year 3*.[72]

My speculation on what a postmigrant imaginary could be is indebted to art historian Marsha Meskimmon's notion of art as a means of world-making and to Kobena Mercer's concept of the dialogic imaginary. The concept I propose differs from Axel's and Mishra's conceptualizations of the diasporic imaginary, because my focus is not on the formation of diaspora group identity but on how art in public spaces can articulate a postmigrant imaginary. Basically, I suggest that artworks can inform the development of theory: an examination of art projects such as *Year 3* and *100% FREMMED?*, for example, may lead to a more accurate understanding of the postmigrant imaginary and of how this concept resonates with the diasporic imaginary.

It should be stressed that I do not propose a concept of postmigrant *imagination*, but an *imaginary*. Imagination is usually understood to be a fundamental capacity to form internal images or ideas of objects and situations, and I do not think postmigrant characteristics can be identified at this basic level. Finding support in the way anthropologist Arjun Appadurai based his idea of 'diasporic public spheres' on an understanding of 'imagination' as a dynamic creative ability to create mental images, I submit that the process of imagination is not postmigrant in itself.[73] Imagination can, however, work towards postmigrant ends and engender a postmigrant 'imaginary'. Imaginary here refers to something that is imagined but is not pure fantasy. Rather, an imaginary has a

projective quality, and it is formative of the social world. It can fuel action and materialize signifiers such as images and other forms of representation.[74] Like Mishra and Axel, I stress that imaginaries shape people's sense of the real, and in agreement with Mercer's concept of the dialogic imagination, I understand the postmigrant imaginary to be the product of 'a dialogics of give-and-take' and processes of creative exchange.[75] Finally, the descriptor *postmigrant* indicates that a postmigrant imaginary articulates aspects of postmigrant existence and engages a postmigrant problem-space, along with its 'ensemble of questions and answers' and its anticipation of future goals to achieve.[76]

Mercer's theory of a 'dialogic' imagination can add further nuances to the conception of the postmigrant imaginary. Although he seldom uses the terms *imagination* or *imaginary* and does not theorize a *postmigrant* or a *diasporic* imagination, if one traces the discursive chains of equivalence in his methodological reflections, it becomes clear that his dialogic imagination is inextricably linked to notions of diaspora and transnationalism.[77] Mercer developed the idea of a dialogic tendency in black diasporic art and film in a chapter entitled 'Diasporic Culture and the Dialogic Imagination' in his first book *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies*.[78] In 2016, he broadened his dialogic approach in the introduction to his collection of essays *Travel & See: Black Diaspora Art Practices since the 1980s*.[79] By then, his approach had evolved into an 'interpretive model' that he claimed can encompass every period in colonial and postcolonial modernity.[80] Based on these two texts, I understand Mercer's 'dialogics of diaspora' and dialogic imagination to refer to the processual aspects of diasporic imaginaries. In other words, the 'dialogic imagination' offers another way to speak about diasporic imaginaries as creative, cross-cultural processes of mutual exchange, instead of understanding diasporic imaginaries as determined by ties to homeland, ancestry and a delimited diaspora community, as do Axel and Mishra.

Mercer developed a 'critical dialogism', informed by the philosopher and literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of discursive struggle and his idea of a 'dialogic principle' in which 'the possibility of social change is prefigured in the collective consciousness by the multiplication of critical dialogues'.[81] In Mercer's understanding, the dialogic imagination positions itself at a distance from the fictions of homogeneity within both national and diasporic communities, while still maintaining active relations to the imagined communities of both and remaining critically attentive to the asymmetrical identity positions of those involved in the interaction between the two types of community. Taking the 1980s British film as his example, Mercer demonstrates how black filmmakers developed a dialogic approach, 'responsive to the diverse and complex qualities of our black Britishness and British blackness – our differentiated specificity as a diasporic people'.[82] Shifting focus to a more general level, he concludes:

> Critical dialogism has the potential to overturn the binaristic relations of hegemonic boundary maintenance by multiplying critical dialogues *within* particular communities and *between* the various constituencies that make up the "imagined community" of the nation… Moreover, critical dialogism questions the monologic exclusivity on which the dominant version of national identity and collective belonging are based.[83]

The crux of Mercer's dialogic approach is that the 'cross-cultural encounter' is considered to be a process of mutual involvement and critical dialogue structured by power relations rather than a colonizing assimilation of one culture into another: a 'back-and-forth

process set into motion by dynamics of travel and migration, whereby signifying material comes to be shared among asymmetrically positioned identities'.[84]

Concluding Remarks: The Place Is *Here*

Mercer's concept can aid an understanding of the *postmigrant imaginary* as different from the *diasporic imaginary*, in that the postmigrant imaginary is without an authentic 'place of origin' to which it refers. The postmigrant imaginary, as I define it, is the product of people living together in difference within a country in which a significant number of migrants have settled over several generations; the postmigrant imaginary did not exist prior to the transformative contact and reciprocal processes unfolding in the receiving country. Measured against the characteristics that Quayson ascribes to the diasporic imaginary, the place that matters most in the postmigrant imaginary is 'here', not 'there'. Moreover, the genealogical accounting involved within a postmigrant imaginary concerns the historical struggles and genealogies that have produced the postmigrant society, not the different places from which its inhabitants hail. Thus, in contrast to the diasporic imaginary, co-ethnic identification is not constitutive of the postmigrant imaginary because it is not structured by affiliations to discrete ethnic communities but by new transversal alliances. Furthermore, the postmigrant imaginary does not set itself against the national; on the contrary, it actively seeks to renegotiate, redefine and pluralize national affiliations. It does, however, set itself against the nationalist monologic version of collective belonging. As opposed to the imaginaries of many transnational communities (e.g. LGBTQ+ communities worldwide centred on gender identity and social justice or Buddhist communities outside of Asia revolved around a religious imaginary),[85] a postmigrant imaginary is contingent upon a negotiation with the particularities of its nation-state framework and committed to rethinking and expanding the dominant notions of national identity and national belonging. Although the transcultural scope of the postmigrant imaginary transcends the bounds of the nation-state (as local communities interact with other communities further afield), any form of postmigrant imaginary must be considered within the specific constraints and possibilities of the nation-state. Put differently, the postmigrant imaginary is always anchored in physical places and social dynamics 'here', and always refracted through the local and national discourses and politics of place with which it actively and critically engages – as my examples above have demonstrated.

With this concept established, it can finally be asked: what stake does art have in the postmigrant imaginary? As Meskimmon has argued, art has a potential for world-making, that is, for imagining anew the world as we know it. Furthermore, Meskimmon suggests that art's 'materialising force' can be used to express imaginaries and to engender the inclusive yet critical public spaces necessary for transversal dialogues to take place.[86] Artists who are responsive to postmigrant conditions play a crucial role in the creation of imaginaries that, in turn, give form to a sense of multiple belonging and a notion of collective identity as being a composite. When such artists create works for public spaces, they have the potential to make these spaces more inclusive. Their works can add qualities to the site, create new meaning, make visible under-represented groups in society, develop new visual and spatial organizations and perhaps also introduce different social functions as the people who use these spaces may develop other ways of using them. The work may also stir up debates about suppressed and sensitive issues such as colonial

history and exploitation, racism, inequality and who has the right to claim, use, define or dominate public space.

Notes

1 Shermin Langhoff, 'Editorial' 4. Berliner Herbstsalon 'De-Heimatize It!' Maxim Gorki Theatre, 2019, https://www.berliner-herbstsalon.de/en/vierter-berliner-herbstsalon, accessed January 6, 2023.
2 Langhoff, 'Editorial', https://www.berliner-herbstsalon.de/en/vierter-berliner-herbstsalon/editorial, accessed January 6, 2023. The translator explains in a note on the website, 'the German word *Heimat* is roughly translated as "homeland" or "home place" in English, but many have argued that it cannot be translated. It is also worth noting that the German Federal Ministry for the Interior, Building and Community has translated Heimat as "community" in its English-language title.'
3 Max Czollek, *Desintegriert Euch*! (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2018).
4 Czollek, *Desintegriert Euch!*, 75.
5 Tate Britain, 'Press Release – 11 November 2019', November 11, 2019, https://www.tate.org.uk/press/press-releases/steve-mcqueen-year-3.
6 Education specialists from the organization A New Direction played a key role in facilitating the creation of Steve McQueen's project. As explained in Tate Britain's press release, they led a major outreach campaign to recruit and engage primary schools and organized educational workshops centred on the project's key themes of identity and belonging. Tate Britain, 'Press Release – 11 November 2019'.
7 The billboard-based exhibition was made possible by a partnership between the artist, Tate Britain, Artangel and the organization A New Direction, in which the museum and the organizations acted as facilitators of a project conceptualized by the artist. Tate Britain, 'Press Release – 11 November 2019'. For images of *Year 3*, see Steve McQueen, *Steve McQueen: Year Three* (London: Tate, 2022); Tate Britain, 'Steve McQueen Year 3', https://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/steve-mcqueen-year-3 and Artangel, 'Steve McQueen Year 3', https://www.artangel.org.uk/year-3-project/. Both accessed October 21, 2022.
8 Javier Pes, 'Steve McQueen's Photos of Thousands of London Third-Graders Have Triggered a Flood of Field Trips to Tate Britain', *Artnet.com*, November 12, 2019, https://news.artnet.com/about/javier-pes-728.
9 See Ien Ang, *On Not Speaking Chinese*: *Living between Asia and the West* (London: Routledge, 2001), 11, 14 and 17.
10 Paul Gilroy, 'Agonistic Belonging: The Banality of Good, the "Alt Right" and the Need for Sympathy', *Open Cultural Studies* no. 3 (2019): 2.
11 Oliver Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*: *Artistic Activism and the Public Sphere* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2019), 23, see also 26 and 30.
12 See, for example, Cathrine Bublatzky's thorough analysis of the critical debates on the ways in which the works of contemporary Indian artists, including works by Indian diasporic artists, have been perceived and marketed as representations of Indianness and Indian culture in its entirety. Bublatzky, *Along the Indian Highway*.
13 Tatiana Matejskova and Marco Antonsich, eds., *Governing through Diversity: Migration Societies in Post-Multiculturalist Times* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
14 Naika Foroutan, *Die Einheit der Verschiedenen: Integration in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft*. Kurzdossier no. 28 (Osnabrück: Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS) der Universität Osnabrück, 2015); Naika Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft. Ein Versprechen der pluralen Demokratie* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2019).
15 Dogramaci, 'Bedingungen des Gelingens: Die Ergebnisse der Fallbeispiele', in *Kunst in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Beiträge der Künste für das Zusammenleben in Vielfalt*, ed. Kai Unzicker (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, in collaboration with Deutsche UNESCO-Kommision, 2018), 92–97.
16 Moritz Schramm, Sten Pultz Moslund and Anne Ring Petersen, *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

17 I am using the singular formulation only for rhetorical consistency in my theoretical consideration of the concept. Strictly speaking, a *postmigrant imaginary* may assume multiple different if not contradictory forms, and the postmigrant imaginary may also be differentiated in relation to (intersectional) class, gender, sexuality, religion and ethnicity-based positionalities.
18 See Kobena Mercer, ed., *Cosmopolitan Modernisms*, Annotating Art's Histories (Cambridge, MA and London: inIVA and The MIT Press, 2005); Terry Smith, 'Rethinking Modernism and Modernity Now', *Filozofski vestnik* XXXV, no. 2 (2014): 271–319; Kristian Handberg, 'Multiple Modernisms: Curating the Postwar Era for the Present', in *Curatorial Challenges: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Contemporary Curating*, ed. Malene Vest Hansen, Anne Folke Henningsen, and Anne Gregersen (London: Routledge, 2019), 177–89.
19 See Kaufmann, Dossin, and Joyeux-Prunel, *Circulations in the Global History of Art*.
20 See Kobena Mercer, ed., *Exiles, Diasporas & Strangers*, Annotating Art's Histories (Cambridge, MA and London: inIVA and The MIT Press, 2008); Kobena Mercer, 'Erase and Rewind: When Does Art History in the Black Diaspora Actually Begin?', in *The Migrant's Time: Rethinking Art History and Diaspora*, ed. Saloni Mathur (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2011), 17–23.
21 See Marsha Meskimmon, Contemporary Art; and T. J. Demos, *The Migrant Image: The Art and Politics of Documentary during Global Crisis* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).
22 Monica Juneja, 'Circulation and Beyond – The Trajectories of Vision in Early Modern Eurasia', in *Circulation in the Global History of Art*, ed. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Monica Juneja, '"A Very Civil Idea …": Art History, Transculturation, and World-Making – With and Beyond the Nation', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 81, no. 4 (2018): 461–85.
23 See Monica Juneja and Michael Falser, 'Kulturerbe – Denkmalpflege: transkulturell. Eine Einleitung', in *Kulturerbe und Denkmalpflege transkulturell. Grenzgänge zwischen Theorie und Praxis*, ed. Monica Juneja and Michael Falser (Bielefeld: transcript, 2013), 17–34; Wolfgang Welsch, 'Transculturality – the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today', in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage, 1999), 194–213; Wolfgang Welsch, 'Rethinking Identity in the Age of Globalization – a Transcultural Perspective', *Aesthetics & Art Science, Taiwan Association of Aesthetics and Art Science*, no. 1 (2002): 85–94.
24 See also Christian Kravagna's seminal study of modern art as a history of contact, entanglement and hybridization, in which he adopts a combined decolonizing postcolonial, anti-racist and transcultural approach. Kravagna, *Transmodern*.
25 Juneja, 'A Very Civil Idea …'.
26 Juneja, 'A Very Civil Idea …', 466–69.
27 Juneja, 'A Very Civil Idea …', 304–6.
28 Juneja, 'A Very Civil Idea …', 469–71.
29 Juneja, 'A Very Civil Idea …', 471.
30 See Regina Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic: For Postmigrant Cultural and Social Research', in '(Post)Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017): 69–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2017.1379850.
31 Laila Abu-Er-Rub et al., 'Introduction: Engaging Transculturality', in *Engaging Transculturality: Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies*, ed. Laila Abu-Er-Rub, Christiane Brosius, Sebastian Meurer, Diamantis Panagiotopoulos and Susan Richter (London: Routledge, 2019), xxvi.
32 Abu-Er-Rub et al., 'Introduction' xxvi.
33 See Susan Stanford Friedman, 'Why Not Compare'?, in *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses*, ed. Rita Felski and Susan Stanford Friedman (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 36.
34 Abu-Er-Rub et al., 'Introduction', xxxiii.
35 Brian Keith Axel, 'The Diasporic Imaginary', *Public Culture* 14, no. 2 (2002): 411.
36 Vitaj Mishra, 'The Diasporic Imaginary: Theorizing the Indian Diaspora', *Textual Practice* 10, no. 3 (1996): 423.
37 Pnina Werbner and Mattia Fumanti, 'The Aesthetics of Diaspora: Ownership and Appropriation', *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* 78, no. 2 (2013): 171, https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2012.669776.

38 Werbner and Fumanti, 'The Aesthetics of Diaspora', 149–50 and 163.
39 In Werbner and Fumanti's understanding, outward-looking aesthetic processes concern the transnational relations that members of diasporic groups maintain with their home country and which subvert the 'pure narratives of nation' in ways that are visible to outsiders. Conversely, inward-looking aesthetic processes are intra-group processes 'invisible to outsiders'. Werbner and Fumanti, 'The Aesthetics of Diaspora', 156.
40 Werbner and Fumanti, 'The Aesthetics of Diaspora', 155– 56.
41 Werbner and Fumanti, 'The Aesthetics of Diaspora', 149.
42 Werbner and Fumanti, 'The Aesthetics of Diaspora', 151 (emphasis in the original).
43 Axel, 'The Diasporic Imaginary', 423.
44 Axel, 'The Diasporic Imaginary', 426.
45 Mishra, 'The Diasporic Imaginary', 424; see also 436.
46 Roger Bromley, 'A Bricolage of Identifications: Storying Postmigrant Belonging', in '(Post) Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017): 37, https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2017.1347474.
47 Mishra, 'The Diasporic Imaginary', 423.
48 See Abu-Er-Rub et al., 'Introduction', xli.
49 See Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 3–21.
50 See Roger Bromley, 'The Politics of Displacement: The Far Right Narrative of Europe and Its 'Others', *From the European South*, no. 3 (2018): 13–26.
51 Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotions* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014; repr., 2nd edition), 43.
52 See Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic', 70.
53 Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic', 72.
54 Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic', 70.
55 Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic', 70.
56 See Kobena Mercer, 'Black Art and the Burden of Representation', *Third Text* 4, no. 10 (1990): 61–78.
57 Mercer, 'Black Art', 62–63 and 65.
58 Monica Juneja, 'Global Art History and the "Burden of Representation"', in *Global Studies: Mapping Contemporary Art and Culture*, ed. Hans Belting, Jacob Birken, and Andrea Buddensieg (Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz, 2011), 274– 75. See also Mercer, 'Black Art'; Rasheed Araeen, 'Our Bauhaus Others' Mudhouse', *Third Text* 3, no. 6 (1989): 3–16; Cathrine Bublatzky, 'The Problem with a Geoaesthetic Approach to the Indian Highway Exhibition', in *Engaging Transculturality: Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies*, ed. Laila Abu-Er-Rub et al. (London: Routledge, 2019), 317–29.
59 Girish Daswani, 'The Anthropology of Transnationalism and Diaspora', in *A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism*, ed. Ato Quayson and Girish Daswani (Chichester: Blackwell, 2013), 40.
60 *100% FREMMED?* was co-conceptualized by Maja Nydal Eriksen and Trevor Davies. It was produced in collaboration with Metropolis – Copenhagen International Theatre. Eriksen created all the photographic portraits and curated the exhibitions, and Mette Katrine Balle Jensen, Sisse Nat-George, and Malene Fenger-Grøndal along with locally based writers and journalists wrote the individual life stories and conducted the interviews on which these narratives are based. I would like to extend a warm thanks to Maja Nydal Eriksen for generously sharing her knowledge and experience of this project in a long interview on November 26, 2019, that has informed the case study presented here. Any inaccuracies or errors are the sole responsibility of the author. See the website of the project, *100% FREMMED?*, https://www.100pctfremmed.dk/, accessed September 21, 2023. See also Anne Ring Petersen, '"In the First Place, We Don't Like to Be Called 'Refugees'": Dilemmas of Representation and Transversal Politics in the Participatory Art Project *100% FOREIGN?*', *Humanities* 10, no. 4 (2021): 126, https://doi.org/10.3390/h10040126, https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/10/4/126.
61 Mette Katrine Balle Jensen, Sisse Nat-George, and Maja Nydal Eriksen, *100 procent fremmed? 100 personlige fortællinger i tekst og billede af 100 tidligere flygtninge* (Copenhagen: Metropolis/Københavns Internationale Teater, 2018), unpaginated.

62 In the following, all quotes from participants are taken from the English translations in Jensen, Nat-George and Eriksen, *100 procent fremmed? 100 personlige fortællinger*.
63 See Werbner and Fumanti, 'The Aesthetics of Diaspora', 150.
64 See Ato Quayson, 'Postcolonialism and the Diasporic Imaginary', in *A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism*, ed. Ato Quayson and Girish Daswani (Chichester: Blackwell, 2013), 148. See also Michael K. Wilson, 'Because the Spirits: Visualizing Connective Consciousness through Diasporic Aesthetic Imaginaries', in *New Frontiers in the Study of the Global African Diaspora: Between Uncharted Themes and Alternative Representations*, ed. Rita Kiki Edozie, Glenn A. Chambers, and Tama Hamilton-Wray (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2018), 335.
65 Quayson, 'Diasporic Imaginary', 149.
66 Quayson, 'Diasporic Imaginary', 151.
67 Quayson, 'Diasporic Imaginary', 156.
68 Czollek, *Desintegriert Euch!*, 73–74 (emphasis in original). 'Das Konzept der Desintegration fragt nicht, wie einzelne Gruppen mehr oder weniger gut in *die Gesellschaft* integriert werden können, sondern wie die Gesellschaft selbst als *Ort der radikalen Vielfalt* anerkannt werden kann.'
69 Czollek, *Desintegriert Euch!*, 133.
70 See Marc Hill and Erol Yildiz, 'Einleitung', in *Postmigrantische Visionen: Erfahrungen – Ideen – Refleksionen*, ed. Marc Hill and Erol Yildiz (Bielefeld: transcript, 2018), 7.
71 Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft*, 50. 'Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft … beinhaltet … das Versprechen einer über das Migrantische hinausweisenden Utopie der Gleichheit, die außerhalb der Herkunft verhandelt wird.'
72 Moslund, 'Towards a Postmigrant Reading', 94.
73 See Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 3–10 and 21–2.
74 Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), s.v. 'Imagination', s.v. 'Imaginary'.
75 Kobena Mercer, *Travel & See: Black Diaspora Art Practices Since the 1980s* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2016), 29.
76 David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 3–4.
77 See Mercer, *Travel & See*; Mercer, 'Art History'; Kobena Mercer, 'Diaspora Culture and the Dialogic Imagination: The Aesthetics of Black Independent Film in Britain', in *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*, ed. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 247–60.
78 Kobena Mercer, *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1994), 53–66.
79 Mercer, *Travel & See*, 9.
80 Mercer, *Travel & See*, 29.
81 Mercer, 'Diaspora Culture and the Dialogic Imagination', 254, see also 255–57.
82 Mercer, 'Diaspora Culture and the Dialogic Imagination', 254.
83 Mercer, 'Diaspora Culture and the Dialogic Imagination', 257.
84 Mercer, *Travel & See*, 15 and 29.
85 See Ato Quayson and Girish Daswani, 'Introduction – Diaspora and Transnationalism: Scapes, Scales and Scopes', in *A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism*, ed. Ato Quayson and Girish Daswani (Chichester: Blackwell, 2013), 4.
86 Meskimmon, 'From the Cosmos to the Polis', 34.

4 The Emergence of a Postmigrant Epistemic Community

Homeland as an Infrastructure of the Imagined Community of the Nation

The notion of homeland is central to the national imaginary. However, the common definition of homeland as the place of ethno-cultural kin disregards the political, social and affective work that 'homeland' can do. The prevailing focus on what homeland *is* or *means* sidelines how 'homeland' works, that is, the ways in which 'homeland' produces identifications and instils a sense of community and belonging in people. What usually passes under the radar in the debates on the notion of homeland is that it is part of the discursive toolkit of nationalism, drawing the boundaries of national community and cultivating a sense of belonging among the resident population. Thus, it fulfils a political, social and affective gatekeeping function, dividing those who can claim a homeland as their own from those regarded as aliens who do not belong, even when they hold formal citizenship.

In this chapter, I adopt the idea of *infrastructure* as a lens that permits the exploration of homeland as an infrastructure that supports generative processes, especially collective identity formation and the formation of a citizen's sense of belonging, or not-belonging, to the imagined community of the nation. Benedict Anderson's influential concept of the imagined community has become part of the vocabulary through which nationalism is understood and analysed. Although I use his term, the infrastructures I have in mind are not those considered by Anderson – the newspaper markets emerging with print capitalism and the new linguistic infrastructure of standardized languages, that is, the financial, material and communicative infrastructures through which the ideas of the nation, the constitution, the people and the homeland were disseminated and shared among citizens, thereby engendering an imagined national community.[1] My use of the term *infrastructure* is deliberately evocative, because I am primarily concerned with discourses and imaginaries – that is to say, 'homeland' as part of the conceptual infrastructure of nationalism as a power structure. The wager of this chapter is that an infrastructural perspective can help lead to a better grasp of what tasks makers of critical artistic and social form set for themselves when they interrogate traditional notions of homeland in a postmigrant setting. I submit that they are not just pronouncing judgements on resurging nationalism and the instrumentalization of homeland in far-right movements, they are also offering, what Lauren Berlant has described as, 'terms of transition that alter the harder and softer, tighter and looser infrastructures of sociality itself'.[2]

The nation-state often seeks to advance the population's belief in its version of nationalism through a multitude of techniques and motivational and institutional underpinnings, or what the sociologist Michael Mann has theorized as state infrastructural

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power.[3] The state not only provides public services such as water, electricity and traffic infrastructure but also orders and intervenes in social life. According to the scholar of nationalism, Matthias vom Hau: 'state infrastructural power is based on a set of institutions that enable states to radiate out from the centre and penetrate society, most prominently administration, education, and the means of transportation and communication'.[4] However, supporting beliefs are also needed to provide the necessary legitimacy for the collectivity to acknowledge the state as its political embodiment and foster attachments, cognitive outlook and loyalties.[5] I submit that the conceptual infrastructure 'homeland' belongs to this set of supporting beliefs.

As vom Hau makes clear, nationalism is not just an ideology but also a cultural script that provides an implicit set of references and a lens through which ordinary people frame their social reality and construct solidarity in everyday routines and habits, for example, when the national framing of news or the arts is considered as self-evident.[6] Vom Hau explains that 'state ideologies aim to become gradually translated into hegemonic cultural scripts', that is, broadly diffused frames of reference which 'help propel the pervasiveness of states in the life-world of their resident populations'.[7] He also underscores that cultural scripts enjoy relative autonomy from state control. This means that they can be rejected, resisted and transformed by social actors. In fact, state infrastructural power may be limited if the supporting beliefs fail to find support among social actors and institutions.[8]

That 'homeland' functions as an infrastructure of the national imaginary and is linked to state infrastructural power became glaringly evident in March 2018 when the fourth Angela Merkel Cabinet renamed the German Bundesministerium des Innern ('Federal Ministry of Interior Affairs') Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat, to be headed by the newly appointed Horst Seehofer of the Christian Democratic and Conservative (CSU) party. Somewhat surprisingly, on the Ministry's homepage, the new name was translated as 'German Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community',[9] thereby substituting 'community' for 'homeland' – the word commonly used in English translations.

A note on the translation of *Heimat* is needed here. *Heimat* is a key German term, fraught with emotions and metaphysical connotations; a contested term and much more so than 'homeland'. The renaming of the interior ministry was highly controversial, as the term *Heimat* may be interpreted as old-fashioned, folksy or even nationalistic, tainted as it is by Germany's Nazi past of authoritarian, warmongering nationalism. The word's undesired connotations and a concern that it might awaken the spectre of Nazism may explain why *Heimat* was translated into 'community'. Thus, the Federal Ministry's official translation foregrounded the community-building function of *Heimat*, but the translation also obscured how the new name reconstituted the policy area of the ministry. As several political commentators observed at the time, the new naming not only suggested that infrastructure and *Heimat* are areas of priority but that infrastructure and *Heimat* are, in effect, correlated. Thus, the renaming presented itself as more than 'a piece of symbolic politics',[10] because it implied that *Heimat* was operationalized as a part of state infrastructural power, that is, as realpolitik.

Home Is Where the *Heimat* Is

Let us explore the multi-layered meaning of *Heimat* further. While the word is primarily used today in connection with nationalism, it was formerly associated with the resistance

to the nation-state in connection with the structural reforms of the *Heimatrechts* ('Rights of Heimat') in 1871 and 1894, which replaced the local political and economic frame of reference with a national one. As the rural labour force migrated to the new factories in the cities and the state was increasingly centralized, the concept of *Heimat* was decoupled from its legal and political meaning and became a 'memory space of the pre-industrial past' and associated with 'a feeling of ontological safety'.[11] It did, however, preserve some of its local connotations. As *Heimat* was formerly a common term for a regional homeland, it also suggests rootedness in a particular place and its traditions and customs. *Heimat* is 'one's place of comfort and belonging in the world', and the word carries associations of native land, homeland or home.[12] As the art historian Peter Chametzky observes, the iconography and tropes of *Heimat* – woods, fields and mountains – were disseminated throughout Germany after 1880 and became associated with different localities that were each designated as that 'irreplaceable place of origin and desired return'. The 'Heimat idea' derives, therefore, less from the characteristics of individual places than from 'Germany's general drive to create a national identity that could be invoked throughout the new and fractured nation'. As Chametzky notes, anyone who did not measure up to the *Heimat* imagery would either complicate it or be excluded. Historically, it was Jews; today, people with a so-called 'migration background' who often refer to more homelands than one.[13] In right-leaning anti-immigration discourses, for example, *Heimat* is often construed as a heritage that should be preserved and protected from the disruptive forces of migration and globalization embodied by citizens of migrant backgrounds.

However, as the cultural anthropologist Regina Römhild has observed, the debates on *Heimat* in the 2010s have tended to overlook that the 'revanchist-nationalist' understanding of *Heimat* coexists with emancipatory attempts to open up the notions of homeland and belonging. As a result, the traditional understanding of *Heimat* is challenged by the new attempts to develop a progressive counter-model, that is, a plural democratic understanding of *Heimat* as *Beheimatung*.[14] For instance, when the fourth Angela Merkel Cabinet renamed the Interior Ministry in 2018, Wolfgang Thierse, the former president of the Bundestag (1998–2005) and member of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), outlined a social democratic, diversity-friendly *Heimat* politics (*sozialdemokratische Beheimatungspolitik*) under the headline '*Heimat* is more than functioning infrastructure'. Interestingly, in the context of this chapter, Thierse's political vision included a 'leftist' redefinition of *Heimat as Beheimatung*:

> Such an idea of homeland *[Heimat]* as (in the broadest sense of the word) a political task of engendering belonging [*Beheimatung*] takes away anything rigid, conservative and reactionary from the concept of homeland. Homeland as a process of engendering (multiple) belonging [*Beheimatung(en)*] is then neither socially nor ethnically nor religiously exclusive.[15]

Thierse's political understanding chimes with Römhild's anthropological understanding of *Beheimatung* as the existential process of developing a spatial familiarity with the area in which one settles, and of becoming socio-culturally included in the community. As such, *Beheimatung* is closely related to placemaking as a fundamental kind of social composition. This creative process of becoming local engenders a feeling of being at home in a place that is not based on national but more on spatial, sociocultural and affective bonds. Römhild thus opens up the static concept of *Heimat* to 'transnationalization'

by exploring it as a dynamic process undertaken under conditions of mobility, migration and diversity in the context of Germany as a country of immigration.[16] Drawing on an anthropological research project aptly titled 'Global Heimat', Römhild considers how individuals can make themselves at home in transnational everyday spaces and how families with migrant backgrounds and/or family members who have settled in different countries distribute their professional work, care work and affective attachments to kin and places across multiple locations. As Römhild rightly observes, such multi-sited forms of homemaking are at odds with the national(ist) expectations of immigrants to forge an undivided love of their 'new' national homeland. In fact, Römhild's unmooring of *Heimat* from nationalism brings it into proximity with the psychological understanding of *Beheimatung* proposed by Beate Mitzscherlich, who argues that under conditions of modernization, mobility and migration engendering a sense of belonging becomes a permanent process of connecting oneself to places, people and cultural and spiritual frames of reference. It becomes a life-long effort and process of world-making.[17]

The Berliner Herbstsalon as an Institutional Infrastructure

In what follows, I will focus on the Maxim Gorki Theatre's 4. Berliner Herbstsalon ('4th Berlin Autumn Salon') in 2019 in order to dig deeper into the question of how makers of critical artistic and social form can offer imaginaries of transition that may alter the infrastructures of sociality.[18] I have chosen this event because it explicitly interrogated the preservationist perception of *Heimat*, as suggested by its headline 'DE-HEIMATIZE IT!' The event offered a platform for discussing the role played by *Heimat* as an infrastructure of the German social imaginary, manifesting itself in both society and politics (see Figure 4.1). My case study pursues three different but interconnected avenues. First, it explores how the Gorki Theatre sought to challenge the discourse on *Heimat* by articulating a counter-discourse on 'de-heimatization' and multiple belonging; second, it considers the ways in which the organizers and participants communicated their social critique by

Figure 4.1 The Maxim Gorki Theatre's banner announcing the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon's title and battle cry'DE-HEIMATIZE IT!', 2019. Photograph: Anne Ring Petersen.

intervening in public space so as to reach a broader audience; and third, it examines how they sought to forge a broad coalition across the arts by using the Herbstsalon as an institutional infrastructure that facilitated the convergence of art, activism and academia.

Before embarking on this study, some remarks on my method and key concepts – *epistemic community*, *transversal politics* and *infrastructure* – are in order. This chapter develops this book's general theoretical framework further by adding a feminist perspective to the postmigrant and transcultural frame for understanding elaborated in Chapter 3. The intention is to enhance the framework's ability to explore and account for the coalitional and feminist aspects of postmigrant cultural practices and politics. The 4th Berliner Herbstsalon is an obvious case to study because it had a strong feminist component as well as a distinctly postmigrant and transcultural profile. The event thus provides a fertile ground for exploring the connections between feminist and postmigrant practices and theories, thereby supporting this chapter's theoretical and methodological intent.

I adopt the feminist concepts of *transversal politics* and *epistemic community* to substantiate the proposition that this event was an attempt to create what I propose to call a *postmigrant epistemic community* as a counter-model to the dominant model of community based on *Heimat*. In short, I will read the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon as an innovative institutional infrastructure geared towards coalition-building and a co-ordinated multivocal critique of the nationalist infrastructure of *Heimat*.

Importantly, as the numbering indicates, this Herbstsalon was not a stand-alone event. Its structures and infrastructures were already laid out and developed gradually over the course of the preceding three events. Bearing this history in mind, I generalize my proposition and submit that the Gorki Theatre's series of biennial events represents a trailblazing attempt to generate a postmigrant epistemic community by practising transversal politics. Empirically, this chapter centres on the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon, reading this event as a radical artistic, curatorial, activist *and* feminist articulation of a counter-model to *Heimat* based on two basic tenets of the discourse on postmigration: equality and multiple 'intersectional' belonging.

The feminist concepts of transversal politics and epistemic communities were first developed by feminist theorists in the social sciences such as Nira Yuval-Davis and Alison Assiter. I draw on their work, but I am also especially indebted to the art historian Marsha Meskimmon. Meskimmon has developed these concepts for art history in order to advance the view that artistic and curatorial practices do not merely draw on but actively contribute to feminist political struggles for social justice and the articulation of feminist emancipatory values. My proposition that the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon operated as an infrastructure geared towards the production of a postmigrant epistemic community takes inspiration from Meskimmon's analysis of how the production of a special issue on racism by the journal *Heresies: A Feminist Publication of Art and Politics* opened 'a space in which a feminist epistemic community could form'.[19]

In what follows, the term *infrastructure* is used in a dual sense. Firstly, it refers to the generative aspects of the Gorki Theatre's experiments with a curatorial form of organizing. This work has two sides or levels: the 'institutional' and the 'functional'. That is, the Herbstsalon format can be analysed in terms of what it looks like, institutionally and structurally, or in terms of what it does, that is, its functions, uses and infrastructural processes. As the functional level depends on the institutional level, the latter will be included in the analysis where relevant. Secondly, 'infrastructure' is used as a metaphor for thinking about the affective, social and political work that *Heimat*/homeland can do as an integral part of state infrastructural power. *Heimat*/homeland

has a gatekeeping function and operates as a regulatory mechanism that serves various groups of the population differently. Traditionally, its infrastructural processes have drawn up the social and cultural boundaries of the imagined community of the nation or region by excluding migrantized and racialized citizens. *Heimat*'s infrastructural processes embed these boundaries in life-worlds and calibrate popular perceptions of who can claim membership as well as structuring political attention and distributing cultural and institutional visibility unevenly among citizens. Bowker et al. have proffered the term 'thinking infrastructures' to describe a broad range of phenomena that 'structure attention, shape decision-making and guide cognition' and which operate through the 'distributed agency' of many actors, not the agency of a single, autonomous individual. My case study takes its lead from Bowker et al.'s observation that it is precisely because they engage many actors that thinking infrastructures can be 'upended, inverted and recaptured… the parasite is always part of the channel'.[20] This insight also applies to *Heimat*/homeland.

My proposition that *Heimat*/homeland is part of state infrastructural power and the social infrastructure of nation-states will serve as the infrastructural entry point to the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon. To substantiate my proposition, I return briefly to the debate on the renaming of the German Interior Ministry in 2018 and the concurrent academic debate on *Heimat*. I also revisit the proliferation of the concepts of *radicality* and *radicalization* in art and culture, mentioned in the Introduction, to argue that the struggle over *Heimat*/homeland is central to this sharpening of positions, precisely because *Heimat*/homeland is not just a concept but operates as an infrastructure at the core of the social imaginary of the national community. This consideration of the connections between *Heimat*/homeland, infrastructural power and radicalization leads on to my case study and the elaboration of the concept of a *postmigrant epistemic community*. The case study begins by situating the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon in relation to the preceding editions so as to trace how its institutional infrastructure came about, and to uncover both the continuity of postmigrant political engagement that sustains this series of events and the distinctly feminist positionality that characterized the fourth event. The analysis of the fourth edition explores then how the different components of the Herbstsalon format worked together in an infrastructural and generative way to create a space in which a postmigrant epistemic community could emerge.

Heimat as State Infrastructural Power and the German Debate on Multiple Belonging

Political instrumentalization of the word *Heimat,* and homeland, is arguably nothing new. In the years leading up to the German federal election in September 2017, *Heimat* was redeployed by several political parties while also attracting increasing academic attention. The far-right party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) used the word effectively in their campaigns that in 2017 propelled them into the Bundestag as the third largest party, just four years into their existence,[21] and other political parties sought to wrest the power of definition from the clutches of the nationalistic and populist AfD. Even the left-wing Greens used the term, although this did not sit well with the party's youth movement who demanded 'Solidarity, not Heimat!'[22] The German Jewish writer Max Czollek succinctly summed up the scramble for 'homeland' and voters thus: 'As a politician of the 21st century, one no longer speaks of the German people, but of *Heimat* – from the Christian Democratic Union to the Social Democratic Party to the Greens.'[23]

Significantly, the renaming of the German Interior Ministry was not only an instance of political instrumentalization of the word as 'a piece of symbolic politics'.[24] It also suggested that there is a connection between the idea of *Heimat* and the German welfare state's politics of infrastructures as well as with its migration politics and domestic security forces, which were already the Interior Ministry's areas of responsibility. The sociologists Amina Nolte and Carola Westermeier have argued that by shifting the focus to practical and material concerns and by linking the abstract and contested concept of *Heimat* to the seemingly unproblematic concept of infrastructure, the fourth Angela Merkel Cabinet furnished the *Heimat* concept with 'a consensual material foundation'.[25] They interpret the Federal Ministry's aim thus:

> Home as cohesion, togetherness, belonging – people in Germany should experience this more clearly, and above all by means of tangible structural measures. Investments in new infrastructure, the expansion of existing infrastructure and a better connection of rural areas to infrastructural supply networks should make people *feel* the state again.[26]

Put differently, the Ministry was less concerned with the identity-building and affective aspects of *Heimat* than with infrastructure, culture and social services.[27] Nolte and Westermeier submit that the Ministry deployed the concept of social services (*Daseinsvorsorge*) to transform infrastructure into 'a means of and path to providing care for the homeland', and that this move made it evident that the state politics of infrastructure are also 'techno- and biopolitics' as infrastructural procedures serve 'the dual purpose of care and control'.[28]

To recap: as an infrastructural process, *Heimat,* or homeland, operates in proximity to citizenship. Obviously, it does not distribute legal rights, but it does regulate the affective and cultural ties to a national community that are at the core of substantive citizenship. How homeland is defined in a given country determines, therefore, who is given the permission to feel that they belong, and who is not; who belongs to the 'we' of the nation, and who is ostracized as an unwanted 'other'.

Interestingly, the recent political use of *Heimat* in Germany has coincided with an upsurge in critical contestation of the concept among scholars and artists searching for alternatives to both the governmental instrumentalization of *Heimat* as a part of state infrastructural power and to the AfD's narrativization of *Heimat* as threatened by immigration to legitimize their nationalist aim, expressed explicitly by the AfD's top candidate at the 2017 election, Alexander Gauland, when he said: 'We will take our people and our country back.'[29] This nationalist *Heimat* is the avowed 'nightmare' of the (post) migrant population, to quote the title of a 2019 collection of essays by writers, journalists and cultural critics of colour and/or with minority ethnic backgrounds, initiated in reaction to Horst Seehofer's renaming of the Interior Ministry: *Eure Heimat ist unser Albtraum* ('Your Homeland is our Nightmare'). The authors in this collection combine social criticism with critical race theory, as they set out to problematize the recent political reappropriation of *Heimat*, which tends to erase its necropolitical role in the Nazi racial imagination and in the killings of immigrants carried out by the Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund ([NSU] National Socialist Underground) during the 2000s in the name of *Heimat*. At the same time, they attempt to update essentialist and exclusionary notions of belonging, as each essay focuses on an existential dimension of importance to marginalized people, such as work, language, togetherness, the discourse on integration

and a sense of visibility and vulnerability shared across differences of sexuality, ethnicity and religion.[30]

In their introduction to the anthology *Heimat global* ('Global homeland'), Edoardo Costadura, Klaus Ries and Christiane Wiesenfeldt provide a historical analysis and a broad overview of the German '*Heimat* renaissance' in the 2010s.[31] The editors emphasize that cultural and media producers have played an important role, especially since the influx of refugees in 2015, because they have engaged the theme of homeland in critical and/or progressive ways. As a result, music, literature, film, art and also digital media have significantly impacted the public's understanding of homeland because – in contrast to political debates – they 'reach a significantly larger group of recipients comprising music listeners, readers, moviegoers, internet users or art lovers'.[32] To this, I would like to add two points: first that the potential of the arts to represent and reflect on the process of engendering belonging (*Beheimatung*) in aesthetically and affectively moving ways enable them to make a stronger use of the appeal to people's senses and emotions; and second that the Gorki Theatre's Herbstsalons should be counted among these critical cultural practices. Thus, the Herbstsalons are aligned with the goal that the contributors to *Heimat global* set for themselves: to help develop 'a new global concept of *Heimat*' based on the proposition that *Heimat*, rather than a relation to a place of origin or settlement, is a way of belonging and relating to the world.[33]

The Maxim Gorki Theatre's Berliner Herbstsalons

Since the 1990s, a host of new infrastructural settings have emerged in the art world, comprising large-scale enterprises such as museums and biennials as well as small institutional spaces and more short-lived initiatives run by the artists or independent curators who founded them. As the art researchers Signe Meisner Christensen and Rachel Mader observe in an essay on new infrastructures in the art field, this quantitative increase in institutions and experimentation with institutional forms has led to the introduction of several 'modes and models of reinterpreting different levels of institutional conditioning' and thus to the proliferation of different ways of using the material and immaterial resources that institutions and event-making draw on: space, time, funds, communication, display, public imaginaries and more.[34]

The biennial is an event format used widely for mega exhibitions of contemporary art, whereas the festival is the preferred large-scale format in the worlds of theatre and film. For this reason, it is all the more remarkable that in 2013, Shermin Langhoff, the then newly appointed Artistic Director of the Maxim Gorki Theatre, and her new ensemble took the pioneering decision to open with a biennial – or Herbstsalon, as Langhoff named it – which provided a platform first and foremost to visual and performance artists.[35] The Berliner Herbstsalon has become a groundbreaking forum for the interweaving of curatorial, artistic, performative, literary, activist and academic practices, developing into a politicized space where new alliances can be forged between a diverse crowd of people who represent different political positionalities and various types of professional expertise and life experience. It can, therefore, be linked to a broader change in the cultural institutional field. This change is reflected in the growing inclination of curatorial and museum studies to frame art institutions and smaller semi-institutionalized art spaces as 'scenes for public assemblies, social gatherings and participatory commitments', which often import 'activist' strategies and co-creative practices into these institutional settings. As a result, the notion of infrastructure has gained traction as a tool to shift the attention

to the processual and relational aspects of institutions and to tease out 'what's at stake in radical forms of organization, practices of communing, or in curatorial experiments in the art system'.[36]

Infrastructure can be conceived of as a set of processes that connect people and things. The processes through which infrastructure enables and generates connections evidently also shape these connections. Thus, infrastructure operates as what the cultural theorist Irit Rogoff has called hidden 'protocols'. In Rogoff's view, the concept of infrastructural processes provides a means of shifting the analytical focus from categories to processes, more specifically to *entangled* processes that cannot be named and analysed as separate events or entities. The concept of infrastructure denotes such a set of processes and relations in which the conceptual, the material and the procedural 'rub against one another' and are 'not able to maintain either their discursive or their instrumental purity'.[37]

Keeping Rogoff's definition in mind, I move on to the Gorki Theatre's series of Herbstsalons in order to trace how the Theatre has used the biennial format to construct an infrastructure that can help build an epistemic community revolving around postmigrant transversal politics and how this infrastructure has evolved since the 1st Berliner Herbstsalon in 2013. In 2018, the Gorki Theatre took the unusual step of documenting the first three instantiations of the Herbstsalon format in the 300-page volume *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*. Like the many video recordings of talks, panels and other discursive events that can be accessed online,[38] this bilingual book in German and English has itself become part of the platform's transnational communicative infrastructure, expanding the reach of the biennials' knowledge production beyond the time frame and location of the temporary events. This prioritization of documentation bespeaks of both the centrality of the salons to the Gorki Theatre's work and the continuity of this exhibitionary endeavour, as the book records the Herbstsalon's conceptual origin, mission and evolution. The documentation of the three events is prefaced with Shermin Langhoff's prologue 'Taking History Personally', in which she explains how the Gorki ensemble have sought to inscribe their diverse stories into the narratives of present-day Germany by taking as their starting point the theatre's geographical, cultural and historical anchoring in Berlin and foregrounding its location in the 'historically contaminated area' near the present-day *Museumsinsel* ('Museum Island') and the rebuilt Berlin City Palace (alias Humboldt Forum), the Humboldt University and other historical buildings along the city centre's main boulevard Unter den Linden, leading right up to the Brandenburg Gate.

The decision to 'open with a Herbstsalon that first and foremost gives space and platform to visual artists and performance artists' was motivated by this artistic vision and desire to subject 'history' to a multi-perspectival contestation by differently situated epistemic agents.[39] Langhoff explains:

> From *the sum of personal narratives*, from subjectives, an image arises that does not claim completed knowledge but rather tells of *a multiperspectively decipherable world*… History (and this also always includes the present) can only then become *an area of tension* when it consists of as many and as diverse perspectives as possible.[40]

The theme of the 1st Berliner Herbstsalon revolved around the concepts of nation, nation-state and nation-building, but it also put a certain emphasis on the arrival and localization of migrants[41] – that is to say, acts of regrounding in another sociocultural environment and the challenge of balancing identification with one's heritage culture with developing an identification with the new locality. It also explored the relations

between collectivity and individuality, that is, the formation of identities more broadly understood.[42] The event was expansive, occupying not only the theatre building itself but also the neighbouring building Palais am Festungsgraben, which became the main exhibition venue, and the urban spaces adjacent to these buildings. The national and postmigrant thematics were monumentally flagged up in public space with an installation by the Berlin-based artist Nevin Aladağ: *Läufer* ('Runner', 2001–2013). Aladağ is a German artist with a Turkish social background, and in this installation, she rolled out and suspended a disproportionately elongated 'oriental' carpet from a window on the second floor of the neoclassical Palais am Festungsgraben onto the street, both beckoning the audience with a grand welcoming gesture and producing a dissonance that alluded to the cultural diversification of Germany and the challenge of living together in difference.[43] Characteristic of Adalağ's work, *Läufer* engaged questions of cultural identity and the perception of self and other. As a site-specific work, it was shaped by its surroundings and, in turn, it actively transformed people's perception of the site. Both physically and metaphorically, the runner connected normally separate interior and exterior spaces and offered the gaze of imaginative visitors and passers-by a fast-track lane to the interior of the historic rooms of the palace. It was also an invitation to ponder open questions such as: Where does the runner lead? Does it indicate a way or only its potentiality?[44]

Inside the Palais am Festungsgraben, the documentary theatremaker Hans-Werner Kroesinger presented the performance project *Familienalbum: Wo warst du die letzten hundert Jahre?* – a 'Family Album' that brought cultural and personal memories of migrancy to life by posing the question 'Where have you been for the last hundred years?' to members of the Gorki ensemble. Each performer invited the audience to engage in intimate conversations as they talked about their own itineraries and migratory family histories, gradually directing their monologue towards the 'traces that each individual inherits from previous generations', thereby offering some personalized insight into how 'our existence, bruises and responsibilities hark back well beyond the starting point of our life-time'.[45] Perfectly aligned with Langhoff's principle that the ensemble should inscribe themselves and their own stories into the historical and present-day context of Germany, Kroesinger's album offered a timely reminder that 'Berlin, at all times, has been vitalized by new Berliners. Migration is continuity.'[46]

Aladağ and Kroesinger were not the only contributors to grapple with the histories and conditions of migration and postmigration. The first salon also hosted the first international conference of the Turkish-born artist Ahmet Öğüt's alternative educational platform *The Silent University*, which he founded to empower individuals who are unable to practise in their field of professional expertise due to their status as a refugee or migrant. It also included an installation by Delaine and Damian Le Bas, who in 2007 were part of the first Roma Pavilion at the Biennale di Venezia. Entitled *Safe European Home?* (2013), this house-shaped installation pointed to the precarious situation and widespread marginalization of Sinti and Roma people in Europe, and to the tension between the voluntary and forced migration shaping their conditions of living.[47]

The 1st Berliner Herbstsalon took its name from a historical precedent. Held in 2013, the centenary of the Berlin art dealer Herwarth Walden's famous 1913 exhibition of avant-garde art, Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon ('First German Autumn Salon'), also held in Berlin, the Gorki Theatre event forged a link to the radical art of the past and attempted to 'set up a *genius loci* in its dialectic and with all its implications of history'.[48] Crucially, by substituting the local marker 'Berlin' for the national marker

'German', the curatorial team foregrounded 'another sort of local identification, a fellowship between townspeople of the city of Berlin, in order to avoid any implication of identitarian essentialism', as explained by Erden Kosova, who co-curated the event with Shermin Langhoff, Çağla İlk and Antje Weitzel.[49] It is in agreement with this emphasis on the local that the large majority of the selected artists in the three earliest editions have been artists residing in Berlin or with an affiliation or direct connection to the city.[50] It is also indicative of the ambition 'to set up a *genius loci* in its dialectics' that the thirty contributors to the first edition were all invited 'to explore the past and present of its location' and the ideas of 'national identity' and 'the nation' with which these historical sites are associated, as well as the mechanisms of exclusion and repressive ideologies involved in nation-building.[51] These principles of local anchoring and of making 'conscious recourse to history' pointed ahead to the following Herbstsalons, as did the combination of a theatre programme with an exhibition of contemporary performance and visual art in a curatorial format that expanded from institutional space into public urban space and, in Langhoff's wording, visibilized that 'radical diversity is a social reality'.[52]

There is much to suggest that art and theatre can offer more 'radical' articulations of the idea of postmigration and radical diversity than academia. In fact, Naika Foroutan comments on this difference between the artistic and academic domains in her seminal book *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft. Ein Versprechen der pluralen Demokratie* ('Post-migrant Society: A Promise of Plural Democracy'). Here, Foroutan elaborates a political theory of postmigrant society as a plural democracy, with due recognition of the fact that postmigrant thinking first emerged from artistic circles and that art and culture offer certain advantages. She suggests that contrary to the social scientist who must operationalize and clarify concepts, art and culture can let evocative subversive concepts hover in the realm of ambiguity to generate 'irritations' (*Irritationen*) and spur discussion.[53] The clearest, most consistent and well-known form of postmigrant radicality in the arts is postmigrant theatre, which has attracted significant scholarly attention,[54] whereas 'collateral' activities, most notably the Gorki Theatre's ambitious string of Herbstsalons, has largely passed under the academic radar. However, as my case study suggests, the Gorki Theatre's biennials were even more radical than their theatrical productions with regard to the interdisciplinary range of artistic media involved and the opportunities they offered for boundary-crossing, knowledge-sharing and solidarity-building, including the biennial format's ability to make political interventions in public space and engage a broader range of audiences. Moreover, as a periodically recurring event, the biennial format also harbours the potential for change. The 'cyclical temporality' that characterizes the biennial's *modus operandi* and distinguishes it from other exhibition formats enables it to experiment with and through its own form[55] – and, it could be added, to radicalize its own format. As Panos Kompatsiaris explains in his study of art biennials in Europe, the booming of biennials across the world on the back of neoliberal capitalism engendered a crisis of legitimation in the 2010s for the institution 'biennial' as 'a self-proclaimed socially engaged agent':

> The intention of biennials and similar institutions to enact critical theory and left-wing politics, then, conflicts with the simultaneous propagation of those very forces they wished to resist, involving the pursuit of corporate sponsorship, the reproduction of unpaid and voluntary work models, the embracing of the role of citymarketers and their appropriation by governmental creative industries agendas.[56]

The questioning of the truthfulness of the biennials' politically charged discourses which caused this legitimation crisis has led some curators – such as Nicolas Bourriaud, Xenia Kalpaktsoglou and Poka-Yio the of 3rd Athens Biennale (2011) and Artur Żmijewski and Joanna Warsza of the 7th Berlin Biennale (2012) – to employ 'excessive political statements claiming to transform their premises into spaces of action, namely spaces that do not only present artworks destined for reflection and introspection, but also sites of grounded resistance and protest'.[57] The primary means of this transformation was the blurring of the distinction between art and activism by inviting activists on board. This strategy of institutional legitimation is also manifest in the Gorki Theatre's Herbstsalons.

The 2nd Berliner Herbstsalon and the 2015 Refugee Situation

The potential for radicalization of the Gorki Theatre's politically charged postmigrant discourses became more pronounced with the 2nd Berliner Herbstsalon. Continuing the practice of location-specific anchoring in Berlin, this event focused on the topic of flight. As the official announcement explained:

> Berlin is a city of immigrants that has grown through and with the people who have fled here. And yet the new arrivals are always, from the first day of their Berlin biography, part of this city's population and will change this country in the years to come.[58]

The final preparations for the 2nd Berliner Herbstsalon over the summer of 2015 coincided with thousands of Syrians fleeing to Europe and the speedy political development from the opening up of European borders and Angela Merkel's famous statement *Wir schaffen das!* ('We can do it!') in August 2015, to the critical *Das Boot is Voll* ('The Boat is Full') which surfaced just weeks later, heralding countermeasures to reinforce and close EU borders.[59] The fact that Germany had been the primary European destination for asylum seekers since 2012, and had received a record number of 442,000 applications for asylum in 2015 alone,[60] impelled the organizers of the 2nd Herbstsalon to engage with the theme of refugee solidarity and agency, refugee demands and stories, along with the wider question of 'how we want to coexist in the future and how this "we" could be organized without the rustic fences of a national diffuse concept of identity'.[61]

The second edition occupied the same venues as the previous one, but this time the central focal point was the theatre's main stage, the site of the premiering piece *In unserm Namen* ('In Our Name'), directed by Sebastian Nübling. Organized around it and in relation to it was a curated selection of works by differently positioned artists. The audience could experience the works before and after the show but they could also be viewed separately without the theatre performance. As Çağla İlk explained, the curatorial design enabled theatre and fine arts to contextualize one another, leaving it up to the audience to choose their own entry point to the 2nd Berliner Herbstsalon.[62]

In unserm Namen was a choral and theatrical installation that set up an encounter between the political discourses on asylum in contemporary Germany and two plays concerned with refugees, that is, those entrusted to protection: the Austrian author Elfride Jelinek's *Charges (The Supplicants)* (2013) and its antique source, Aeschylus's *The Suppliants*. To create a 'democratizing' situation at eye level, the emptied auditorium served as the stage on which both actors and audience moved. The play raised the question about the crisis of representation, or in İlk's formulation, 'Who speaks and what happens in our name? Who represents whom, when, "in our name", refugees are arrested, deported and criminalized and the Fortress Europe is being expanded?'[63]

Like its predecessor, the 2nd Berliner Herbstsalon brought together contributors with aligned goals across the boundaries that separate various artistic, academic and activist practices. The Chilean-born, New York-based artist Alfredo Jaar produced two neon works for the 2nd Berliner Herbstsalon that related directly to its focus on the refugee situation in Germany and Europe. *(Kindness) of (Strangers)* (2015) confronted visitors with a large complex pattern of luminous white arrows, which an adjacent chart identified as a representation of the main routes travelled by refugees and migrants in Europe, seeking the kindness of strangers on which their future would depend. Conversely, *Eine Aesthetik zum Widerstand (Neufassung)* (1992–2015) ('An Aesthetics of Resistance (Revised Version)') 'welcomed' visitors in the stairwell of the Palais am Festungsgraben by displaying in flaming red capitals the names of fifteen German cities where attacks on the homes of asylum seekers or assaults on foreigners had recently taken place.[64] The biennial also sought to push the boundaries of the work that art can do in public space further by hosting an open call for proposals for a 'Refugee Monument', initiated by Anonymous Stateless Immigrants (ASI), a collective of artists and activists founded in the Netherlands in 2011. In their call for proposals, ASI called for a monument to asylum seekers and refugees:

> We are witnessing at the moment an increasing number of people seeking asylum and refuge. How can we remember this period in the future? Could it be commemorated with a conventional monument or do we need a counter-monument? How can the monument change as our memory changes? What kind of monument can stay in touch with current and future issues of asylum seekers and refugees?[65]

The proposals were made public in an installation where visitors could browse through the manifold ideas and display the sheets with their favourite projects on overhead projectors in the exhibition space. By letting visitors choose which proposals were displayed, ASI gestured towards a circumvention of the standard procedure of commissioning artists or architects to create monuments and memorials and explored the possibility of artists and citizens themselves deciding on a monument. In a similar activist spirit of commemorating the unwanted victims of border control, the activist collective Zentrum für Politische Schönheit ('Centre for Political Beauty') displayed in the square in front of the Gorki Theatre video documentations of two of their political interventions in public space. In *Erster Europäischer Mauerfall* ('First Fall of the European Wall', 2014), they transported a memorial for victims who died attempting to escape from East Berlin in the former German Democratic Republic to the outer borders of the EU to spotlight Europe's redrawn borders and their victims, while in *Die Toten kommen* ('The Dead Are Coming', 2015), victims of the barricaded European borders were honoured with a burial at the heart of the continent, in Berlin.[66]

Like Zentrum für Politische Schönheit and Alfredo Jaar, the postcolonial artist and writer Grada Kilomba belongs to the network of external makers of critical artistic and social form who have had a long-standing connection to the Gorki milieu and have contributed to several Herbstsalons. As part of her lecture series *KOSMOS Labor*, Kilomba curated two talks for the 2nd Berliner Herbstsalon by artists whose lives had been shaped by fleeing.[67] A more humorous participatory approach to the challenges of cross-cultural communication was taken by Talking Straight, an independent theatre company and affiliate of the Gorki Theatre's experimental stage, Studio Я. They contributed *Garden of Delights*, a coaching and guided tour of Berlin that offered inhabitants of the immigration country, Germany, coaching in a 'foreign language' of the actors' own creation,

resulting in parts of the conversation getting lost in translation.[68] Like Talking Straight's mock language coaching, the project *We Will Rise* cultivated the participation of non-artistic agents; and like Kilomba's talks, it foregrounded the voice of people with experiences of flight. A group of people from Berlin's refugee movement had initiated this ever-growing archive and touring exhibition. It offered a space of reflection for members of Berlin's activist movement as well as a space of exchange for people in solidarity with the movement and interested in its history of protest camps and marches,[69] which reflected the infrastructural and generative processes through which 'solidarity movements can become political action'.[70]

The 3rd Berliner Herbstsalon: *DE-INTEGRATE YOURSELVES!*

As a novel feature, the 3rd Berlin Autumn Salon in 2017 was given an actual title, a title that called for political action: *DESINTEGRIERT EUCH!*, translated by the Gorki as *DE-INTEGRATE YOURSELVES!*. The title signalled that the event served as a platform for critical engagements with constructions of identity and unity, and for discussing and disseminating an alternative vision of coexistence and diversity. The salon was based on Max Czollek's and Gorki-based playwright Sasha Marianna Salzmann's concept of *Desintegration* – 'disintegration' or 'de-integration', understood as the emancipatory act of freeing oneself from the assimilationist pressure to conform to an ascribed national or minority ethnic group identity and from the very idea of cohesive group identities. The Theatre thus propagated a postmigrant agenda and gave institutional weight to the two writers' radical proposition that the de-integration of identities based on bounded ethnic, religious and national groups is a condition of possibility for the realization of radical diversity, a concept and vision which Czollek has unpacked further in his book *Desintegriert Euch!*, published the following year (see Chapter 3).

As the co-curator Aljoscha Begrich remarks in her account of the 3rd Berliner Herbstsalon, perhaps the most important message in the context of pervasive nationalism and the salon's advocacy of radical diversity was communicated by Alfredo Jaar's lightbox and posters with the sentence *Andere Menschen Denken* – the translated title of John Cage's speech 'Other People Think' at a 1927 oratorical contest. In his speech, Cage had talked about the conflictual relationship between the USA and Latin America and suggested that Americans had an obligation to consider Latin American thought and respect it. As Begrich observes, '[a]lmost 100 years after Cage's vision, we are again experiencing debates about selves and others whose otherness is always only described as deficient'.[71] That Jaar's installation was still on display in the foyer during the 4th and 5th Berliner Herbstsalon testifies to the Gorki Theatre's adamant decoupling from identitarian narratives. It also indicates how crucial the principles of mutual recognition, transcultural dialogue and equality are to the Theatre's resistance to nationalist notions of ethno-cultural purity.

The 3rd Berliner Herbstsalon increased the level of ambition significantly. Two additional members, Tunçay Kulağlu and Elena Sinanina, joined the organizing team and no less than fifteen new artworks and productions were commissioned by the Theatre.[72] In effect, with its almost one hundred invited artists, the exhibition expanded so much that it was necessary to include the nearby Kronprinzenpalais on Unter den Linden as an exhibition venue. Furthermore, while the second salon's discursive programme of panel discussions, lectures and readings had featured nine events, its successor comprised sixteen, alongside which the Russian collective Chto Delat also organized a parallel

discursive programme to take place concurrently in their installation in Kronprinzenpalais, *БИБЛИОТЕКА АКТИВИСТКИ/Klub der Aktivistin* ('Activist Club'), which was modelled on constructivist Alexandr Rodchenko's 1925 design for a workers' club. Chto Delat's programme included workshops on 'NSU and Antisemitism' and 'Radical diversity', an experimental 'lab' for youth on 'De-integration' as well as film screenings, lectures and lecture performances.[73] This increased emphasis on critical discourse was amplified by a curatorial emphasis on 'activism', spotlighted as a special feature in the printed Herbstsalon programme. Among the mentioned examples of art engaging activism was Chto Delat's installation, which provided a communal platform for the struggles of different groups. The programme's introduction ended with an appeal to visitors to participate, suggesting that the curators' overarching ambition was to get audiences involved in what I have described as a knowledge-sharing community – a postmigrant epistemic community: 'Together with the artists, we would like to invite you, the viewers, to show solidarity, to reflect and to activate. Let's form the GALLERY OF THE DE-INTEGRATED!'[74]

Like its predecessors, the 3rd Berliner Herbstsalon included powerful interventions in public space that transgressed the boundaries between art and activism and between the postmigrant epistemic community and the general public. Two of the projects could even be seen as follow-ups to the 2nd Berliner Herbstsalon's call for a refugee monument in Berlin. Damascus-born Manaf Halbouni's *Monument* was installed on the Platz des 18. März, in front of the Brandenburg Gate – its ominous tryptic of three buses turned up on their ends acting as a visual echo of the huge columns of the Brandenburg Gate. Resonating with the square's commemoration of, among other things, the barricade battles fought in Berlin during the bourgeois-democratic March Revolution in 1848, Halbouni's *Monument* commemorated more recent battles as it referenced a photo taken in Aleppo in 2015, depicting a street shielded by three wrecked buses – one of the many road blocks constructed by civilians to protect themselves from snipers during the Syrian civil war.[75]

If Halbouni's *Monument* conjured an image of civilian resilience, Banu Cennetoğlu's *The List* (2017) evoked civilian vulnerability. This work on paper was based on a list with information on the deaths of more than 33,293 refugees and migrants who have lost their lives on or within the borders of Europe since 1993 'because of the restrictive politics of Fortress Europe'.[76] For the 3rd Berliner Herbstsalon, Cennetoğlu had the list compiled by UNITED for Intercultural Action and translated into German to be displayed in forty-eight areas of Berlin on poster pillars, notice boards and so on as well as printed as a supplement to the newspaper *Der Tagesspiegel* on November 9, 2017, also available for free in the exhibition.

But there was more. For the opening event, Lara Schnitger organized a parade entitled *Sufragette City*, with participants walking along Unter den Linden carrying brightly coloured quilts and textile figures similar to those of Schnitger's sculptural installation inside the Kronprinzenpalais, thereby voicing a feminist protest against sexism in public space.[77] Like Schnitger's homage to the suffragettes' historical fight for women's rights, the radically political *Sonderaktion* ('special action') by Zentrum für Politische Schönheit prefigured the thematics of the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon. Their point of departure was a 2017 speech held by Björn Höcke, the parliamentary party leader of AfD in the *Landtag* of Thuringia and from the party's radical far-right faction. Speaking to the AfD youth wing, Höcke had demanded that Germany should abandon its present memory politics regarding Nazi war crimes, calling the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin '*eine Denkmal der Schande*' ('a memorial of shame'). As this provocation was largely silenced by the media,

the activist collective took action and sourced crowdfunding for the production of replicas of the concrete steles of Peter Eisenman's *Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas* ('Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe', 2003–2005), and rented the neighbouring property of Höcke's private home, installing on the premises the steles, now renamed *Deine Stele* ('Your Stele'), as a memorial of shame dedicated to the far-right politician and put up in his rural *Heimat*.[78]

The 4th Berliner Herbstsalon: *DE-HEIMATIZE IT!*

Gorki's 4th Berliner Herbstsalon 'DE-HEIMATIZE IT!' gave a different slant on radical diversity and nationalism on the rise. As I have proposed above, the 2019 edition can be read as a radical artistic and curatorial articulation of equality and multiple belonging as two basic tenets of the discourse on postmigration. To radicalize the idea of equality, a feminist, intersectional perspective was mobilized. To radicalize the idea of multiple belonging, a veritable attack was launched on the venerable German concept of *Heimat*.

The concept of *Heimat* was critically interrogated, as organizers and contributors called for a veritable de-heimatization of 'it' – the pronoun 'it' serving as a placeholder for national identity and belonging, national politics and history, and more generally, anything that the audience may wish to project onto 'it'. I submit therefore that the fourth biennial was *radical* in the very sense of the word. In addition to the word's reference to a far-reaching change that affects what is essential and goes to the root of the matter; the term can also refer to matters vital to 'the natural processes of life', and it is commonly used about politics that advocate 'thorough or far-reaching political or social reform' as well as politics that support 'an extreme section of a party'.[79] All of these meanings are triggered in different ways by the various radical responses to the transformation of Europe in the early twenty-first century. The 4th Berliner Herbstsalon was radical, in the sense that it aimed to go to the root of the postmigrant problem of national identification and matters vital to human settlement: the identification with one or more localities as 'home' and the forging of a sense of belonging that for many people is becoming increasingly multi-local. The concept of de-heimatizing was deftly mobilized as a nation-specific variant of the transnational calls for subversive acts of decolonizing to pave the way for fundamental changes to society. At the same time, Gorki's curatorial team deployed art and culture in ways that activated their radical potential, as described by Foroutan: the evocative concept of de-heimatization was deliberately allowed to hover in the realm of ambiguity and polysemy in order to generate the irritations needed to spur rich discussion and inspire fresh perspectives.[80]

The terms *de-integrate* (*desintegriert*) and *de-heimatize* mark a significant change in the discourse that the Gorki Theatre sought to promote: from 'post', as in 'postmigrant', to dis-/de- conceptions. Although post-concepts are often used to challenge hegemonic concepts and ways of thinking (e.g. about migrants and migration), they are mainly descriptive analytic or theoretical terms, whereas dis-/de-conceptions are activating. The latter group calls for action and can be used to make an active processual noun out of a normal noun, as in 'de-integration' and 'de-heimatization'. Accordingly, like related terms such as 'decolonize' and 'disothering' – the latter theorized by Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung, the founder of the Berlin gallery Savvy Contemporary – they have an activist ring to them and suggest disobedience, resistance and a commitment to bringing about a radical change of practice.[81]

As previously noted, the term *postmigrant theatre* was originally launched as a battle cry in the struggle for institutional platforms: first by the theatre Ballhaus Naunynstraße, then by the Maxim Gorki Theater. Now that these platforms had been successfully secured, the theatres had to find ways to work in politically legitimate ways as newly established platforms without becoming 'establishment'. As Lizzie Stewart has noted, after the Ballhaus Naunynstraße and the Gorki Theatre had successfully used the brand value of the label 'postmigrant theatre' to increase visibility and recognition, they secured for 'postmigrant theatre' an 'established but still embattled place at the edges of the establishment'.[82] Increasingly, the challenge became that of maintaining a critical role and finding new ways of dealing with the tension between label and lens, which the terminology of postmigration induces.[83] It could be argued then that the Gorki Theatre experienced a crisis of legitimation not unlike that of the institution of the biennial in the 2010s, when its intention to enact social critique and left-wing politics clashed with the dependence on the market mechanisms and forces it sought to resist. In this context, activist agendas and the biennial format's provision of an institutional infrastructure for transforming 'theatre' into an interdisciplinary platform proved themselves to be efficient instruments for the Gorki Theatre, with respect to thinking the label and lens of postmigration further and moving postmigration in new directions. This may seem paradoxical, but it should be remembered here that the biennial format was new to the world of theatre – in contrast to the art world where the biennialization since the 1980s (peaking between 1998 and 2010) has led to a kind of global mainstreaming of art events.[84]

In keeping with the tradition from the previous salons, the fourth event combined a theatre and performance festival with an exhibition of contemporary art and a discursive programme. The fourth edition stepped up ambitions, putting further emphasis on critical discourse and developing the biennial's infrastructure by adding two new formats that facilitated reciprocity and discussion. Firstly, there was an international conference, which provided Gorki's curatorial team with an opportunity to liaise with some of the most influential academic advocates of postmigrant thought and ideals, including, amongst others, Naika Foroutan and her colleagues Manuela Bojadžijev and Damian Ghamlouche from the Berlin Institute for Integration and Migration Research (BIM) at the Humboldt University, who co-hosted the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon's academic conference. The conference theme 'De-heimatize belonging' was linked directly to postmigration when Foroutan welcomed the audience with a general introduction to the idea of postmigrant society and how *Heimat* is used in the dominant political discourses in Germany as a racist and exclusionary term targeted in particular at 'people with a migration background', Muslims and Black, Indigenous and People of Colour (BIPOC). She also identified the theme of multiple variations of belonging as crucial to pluralized postmigrant societies and their populations writ large.[85]

Secondly, a workshop for young politically engaged curators from across the world was introduced as a new format, which also served as the biennial's forum for public discursive events. Its name, Young Curators Academy, suggested institutional ambitions of building an infrastructure for transnational exchange among activist curators. This impression was confirmed by the second Young Curators Academy organized in conjunction with the 5th Berliner Herbstsalon in 2021–2022. Here, the artistic director Keng Seng Ong from Singapore and curatorial assistant Anne Diestelkamp organized a two-part event comprising a digital programme in August and September 2021, and a three-week 'festival' of lectures, workshops and performances entitled 'The Curator's Suitcase'

taking place on site at the Gorki Theatre in April 2022. The fact that the announcement of this festival put forward an actual definition of Gorki's concept of curating confirms the impression that the Gorki was seeking to institutionalize the 'Academy' as a durable, recurrent infrastructure:

> Those who have followed the Young Curators Academy during the Berliner Herbstsalon are familiar with our expansive definition of the curator. This curator is the intersectional activator of his/her/their communities, at once writer, artist, scientist, historian, and producer, working at the crossing of art and activism. The seven curators featured in this program all fall into this expansive definition.[86]

In the Editorial of the guidebook to the ample discursive programme of the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon, the co-curator Rebecca Ajnwojner stated that the two new formats aimed to serve as 'platforms for theoretical development and for exchange of resistant activist and artistic practices, which counteract exclusions on the basis of race, class and gender'.[87] The objective of the curatorial platform was to bring together artists, activists, theoreticians and theatremakers from across the world to encourage the creation of 'a language that is not nationalist and racist, not male dominated and sexist, and not beholden to the arithmetic of the market and economic utilisation'.[88] Cultural institutions have an educational mission (in German *Bildungsauftrag*), and the Young Curators Academy initiative suggests that the Gorki Theatre took this mission seriously, not only in its external dimension – to educate audiences – but also in its internal dimension: to aid the ensemble's own critical education and becoming its own globally interconnected academy. As a networking, enabling and empowering platform, the Academy offered the participating curators the opportunity to exchange among themselves and with leading figures of 'radical diversity', such as Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung, Marta Górnicka and Grada Kilomba, as well as to develop and present their work.[89] In doing so, the Academy facilitated and publicly promoted the work of curatorial talents not yet recognized on Western art scenes. At the same time, it strengthened the theatre's own educational infrastructure, especially in regard to interdisciplinary interchange and transnational coalition-building.

As Lauren Berlant has noted, what distinguishes infrastructures from institutions is often a matter of perspective.[90] However, while institutions provide predictable structures for and 'norm' reciprocity, infrastructures are constituted by movement, habits and use and can be thought of as a 'convergence scene' or a 'scene of assemblage and use', including the altered use of language mentioned above.[91] The Maxim Gorki Theatre's 4th Berliner Herbstsalon engendered such a 'convergence scene' that transgressed the boundaries between various institutions, practices, positionalities and geopolitical contexts. It also explored alternative notions of belonging and underscored the importance of transversal dialogue and transcultural collaboration. Importantly, it also called for radical forms of coalition-building in the name of solidarity.

The Call for 'De-Heimatization'

The conceptual point of departure for the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon was the political sociologist Bilgin Ayata's idea of *de-heimatization*. This was marked at the opening event by Ayata's 'Prologue: De-heimatize Belonging!', an astute discursive intervention against the reactionary use of the term *Heimat*, in which Ayata outlined the historical use of the term *Heimat* to justify Germany's history of colonial and racist violence, as well as its

connection to current border and asylum policies aimed at excluding the dispossessed and the forcibly displaced.[92] In the face of the widespread attempts to mobilize the term politically as a national bulwark against perceived threats from a rapidly changing world and climate, Ayata submitted that the term had become irredeemable.

Interestingly, Ayata's conceptualization of de-heimatization was derived from her own experience of how the *Heimat* debate in Germany had responded seismically to a broader shift in the political and social climate. In the decade following the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990, a process of 'inner reunification' of the two countries began. At that time, the debates on *Heimat* often served as a launch pad for discussions of whether one can have two homelands and still uphold strong affective ties to two countries, and why people of migrant descent are so often excluded from the emotional community of the receiving country. Using her own story as a descendant of immigrants to Germany, Ayata confessed that in the 1990s, she believed passionately in the possibility of expanding the notion of *Heimat* to include citizens with a sense of dual or multiple belonging, but the resurging nationalism of recent years – even among moderate conservatives – had made her realize that the term is beyond redemption. She insisted therefore that it is necessary to de-heimatize belonging, that is, to clear the ground in order to create a space for alternative conceptualizations of affective belonging. It is time for thinking affiliation otherwise.[93]

Ayata's radical critique of nationalist heimatization offers a conceptual framework for understanding how the artists and intellectuals who contributed to the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon were engaged with issues such as nation, identity, belonging and violence against women, often attacking these issues from a feminist intersectional standpoint. The speakers at the 'De-heimatize Belonging Conference' added to Ayata's critique by taking a two-pronged intellectual approach to this issue. They criticized nationalist, misogynist heimatization at the same time as they explored alternative ways of understanding and conceptualizing the communal sense of belonging that anchor people in the country where they live as citizens or denizens. To mobilize feminist intersectional perspectives on these matters, the organizers had invited a significant number of feminist scholars to speak at the conference, including, among others, Julia Roth, Fatima El-Tayeb, Gabriele Dietze and Agnieszka Graff.[94] Similarly, the exhibition spotlighted artworks emerging from a feminist engagement by artists such as Tanja Ostojić, Šejla Kamerić and Candice Breitz.

Let us look more closely at the contributions by one of the participating artists. The Gorki-based singer and director Marta Górnicka played a key role in linking critical feminism to postmigrant de-heimatization. The video documentation of Górnicka and the Gorki Theatre's 2018 chorus theatre performance *Grundgesetz* ('Basic Law') at the Brandenburg Gate – which I used in the Introduction to exemplify what an artistic vision of a pluralized postmigrant society might look like – played a key role in introducing visitors to the theme of the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon. In addition, the art exhibition also included video documentation of some of Górnicka's performances with the Chorus of Women, which she founded at the Warsaw Theatre Institute in 2010 to create an experimental form of chorus theatre and 'to reclaim/create a female voice on a collision course with cultural standards of femininity'.[95] Around 2017, she brought her *modus operandi* to the Gorki Theatre to create productions with a more heterogenous mix of performers. Górnicka's work also held a central position in the Herbstsalon's theatre festival. Her chorus performance *Jedem das Seine* – a manifesto against fascism, revolving around the exploitation of women through sexual slavery in the death camps of

Nazi Germany – premiered on the first day, thus serving as a thematic portal to the theatre festival. Judging from the introduction in the programme, *Jedem das Seine* combined a feminist and a postmigrant take on the neglected gender aspects of fascist violence.[96] Górnicka herself has called it 'a feminist manifesto'.[97]

It is worth exploring *Grundgesetz* a little further, because its documentation on video was a key component of the Herbstsalon's conceptual frame. In the performance, repetition of particular words and phrases were used to emphasize certain democratic principles and keywords of the constitution: peace, freedom, gender equality, religious liberty and unity (*Einheit*) of the German people. The libretto also stressed the federal structure of the German republic and the right of all citizens to resist and fight attacks on Germany's democratic Constitution. These key principles were sometimes spoken by the chorus, sometimes by an individual and sometimes by several individuals. With time and repetition, the number of 'individual voices' would occasionally increase so that a cacophony was created. In other words, the notion of the German people was periodically deconstructed, or better, reconstructed as a range of individual voices, thereby suggesting that the nation-state does not have a homogeneous and consensual 'we'.[98]

The video documentation of *Grundgesetz* was installed in the Gorki Theatre's entrance hall as a symbolic portal that all visitors would have to pass through, as if it were the gate to a plural democracy or what Chantal Mouffe has theorized as a 'radical democracy' that acknowledges not only the equality of all citizens before the law but also their equal worth as humans in regard to norms as the yardstick of 'normality'. It makes it even more relevant in the context of the Gorki Theatre to invoke the idea of a radical and plural democracy that Mouffe herself has proposed – that a feminist politics must be founded in an anti-essentialist and intersectional approach to radical democracy and citizenship such as her own and that a 'deconstruction of essential identities' is paramount to feminist radical democratic politics.[99] I want to be clear here: my interpretation of the strategic installation of *Grundgesetz* concerns the *curatorial intent* and not whether the individual visitors perceived the video installation as a symbolic portal or not. Obviously, many theatregoers passed through the door without pausing to watch the video.

In *Grundgesetz*, the diverse cast of the chorus represented the possible diversity, equality and coexistence of people as a counter-model to monocultural nationalism. Standing together, the chorus performed a radical *de-heimatization* of the monocultural notion of the people. Interestingly, Górnicka has described the distinctly feminist intersectional spirit of the Gorki Theatre as a broad interpretation of feminism as a practice of resistance and care that works for everyone who is marginalized socially, economically or culturally and whose 'failure' is produced by the system. Accordingly, Górnicka's creation of a polyphonic and politically engaged chorus can be seen as her way of practising this kind of resistance and solidarity.[100]

In what respects was *Grundgesetz* radical? How did Górnicka and the Gorki Theatre work towards a far-reaching change that goes to the root of something, touching upon or affecting what is essential and fundamental? Turning the German Basic Law into a libretto was aesthetically radical, just as the Gorki's attempt to spread the wings of theatre and make a string of biennials with a focused postmigrant agenda was curatorially radical. Assembling a diverse chorus of citizens to sing and speak the German Basic Law in front of thousands of citizens assembled at the Brandenburg Gate was also a politically radical act. To invoke Mouffe's terminology, it presented a vision of *radical democracy* that deconstructed essentialist notions of national identity. *Grundgesetz de-heimatized* national belonging while also avoiding the spectacle of a harmonious multicultural

utopia by foregrounding the demanding exercise of living together in difference. In doing so, *Grundgesetz* also became a radical form of world-making. Or as Górnicka has phrased it, her chorus is an encounter between diverse bodies and voices and thus also 'a search for the (im)possible community'[101] – a search, it could be added, which is expressive of the feminist and postmigrant sense of community and belonging that thrives at the Gorki Theatre and its Herbstsalons.

The Visual Opening Act of the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon

The curatorial scenography of what I would like to describe as the biennial's visual 'opening act' is of particular significance to this chapter's exploration of artistic radicality and how art and its institutional infrastructures can be used to generate epistemic communities.[102] When considering this part of the art exhibition, it is important to remember the fundamental relationality of the artwork. The works reached out to the audience and sought to hail passersby to initiate a relation. The opening act staged visual artworks in public outdoor and indoor spaces in such a manner that visitors arriving at the theatre were encouraged to engage emotionally and intellectually with the artworks they encountered on their way. Responsive visitors were thus virtually inserted as the acting bodies on a public stage.

I would like to propose that the visitor's itinerary across the square in front of the Gorki Theatre, towards the entrance and through the entrance hall that leads to the theatre foyer, was effectively staged to communicate a feminist critique of violence and misogyny, and to introduce the postmigrant theme of de-heimatization. However, this visual overture left it to the visitors to discern how the feminist and the postmigrant strands were interconnected.

Passing the Humboldt University on Unter den Linden and walking on past the Neue Wache, from where call-up orders for the First World War were sent in 1914,[103] visitors to the Gorki Theatre were subtly guided on a tour through the espalier of Prussian chestnut trees where they would encounter Gorki's bright orange banner with the mobilising call to 'DE-HEIMATIZE IT!' (see Figure 4.1). From here, the itinerary led to Am Festungsgraben, with the entrance to the Gorki Theatre as the vanishing point at the end of the rectangular square, flanked on the left by the smaller venue Gorki Container and on the right by the Palais am Festungsgraben – the main venue of the exhibition (see Figure 4.2). Crossing the square, visitors would first encounter Atom Egoyan's video installation *Auroras* (2007; see Figure 4.3), presenting re-enacted female eyewitness accounts of the murderous violation of women by nationalist Turkish soldiers during the Armenian Genocide in 1915.

Almost simultaneously, the façade of Palais am Festungsgraben with Šejla Kamerić's banner *Bosnian Girl* (2003; see Figure 4.4) would enter the visitor's field of vision on the right and pick up on the theme of violent abuse introduced by Egoyan's *Auroras*. Here, the artist had depicted herself in the style of fashion magazines but with more recent misogynist and racist hate speech superimposed on her body: 'No teeth…? A mustache…? Smell like shit…? Bosnian girl!' These words, scribbled by a Dutch soldier on a barrack wall near Srebrenica in 1994/1995, stirred up the ghosts of the Yugoslav Wars, specifically the Srebrenica genocide that the presence of the UN Protection Force failed to prevent.[104] Below Kamerić's banner, the visitor's eye might dwell on the handwritten protest signs that crowned the makeshift spatial extension of Nina Ender and Stefan Kolosko's installation and performance *Lebensdorn Heilanstalten Haus 2* inside the exhibition

Figure 4.2 The square in front of the Maxim Gorki Theatre used for public art and to communicate the idea of 'de-heimatization' during the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon, 2019. Photograph: Anne Ring Petersen.

Figure 4.3 Atom Egoyan, *Auroras*, 2007. Video installation in public space, 4th Berliner Herbstsalon, 2019. To reach the Gorki Container and the Gorki Theatre, visitors had to walk along Egoyan's four-screen video installation in which seven 'Auroras' recited texts from the book *Ravished Armenia* by Aurora Mardiganian, a survivor of the Armenian Genocide in 1915. Photograph: Anne Ring Petersen.

venue, one sign seemingly commenting on the historical root and cause of the abusive remark in Kamerić's *Bosnian Girl*: it's 'Patriarchatsmüll' ('patriarchal rubbish'). Before reaching the theatre entrance, visitors would pass between a repetition of the salon's agitational call for de-heimatization, painted in huge capital letters on the wall of the Gorki

Figure 4.4 Šejla Kamerić's photographic banner *Bosnian Girl*, 2003. Public project based on black and white photograph, materials and dimensions variable. Installed above the entrance to Palais am Festungsgraben, the main venue of the art exhibition of the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon, 2019. © Galerie Tanja Wagner, Berlin. Photograph: Lutz Knospe.

Figure 4.5 Regina José Galindo, No violarás ('Thou shall not rape'), 2013. Cubic light box installation in public space, 4th Berliner Herbstsalon 2019. Photograph: Lutz Knospe.

Figure 4.6 Marta Górnicka, *Grundgesetz* ('Basic Law'). Production of the Maxim Gorki Theatre. Dual screen video installation documenting the chorus performance in front of the Brandenburger Tor on October 3, 2018. Displayed in the entrance hall of the Maxim Gorki Theatre during the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon, 2019. Photograph: Anne Ring Petersen.

Container, and Regina José Galindo's cubic light box installation *No Violarás* (*Du sollst nicht vergewaltigen*) ('You shall not rape', 2013; see Figure 4.5), which also sent a protest message in the imperative. Like the title *DE-HEIMATIZE IT!*, the light box inscription 'DU SOLLST NICHT VERGEWALTIGEN' served as a kind of ethical commentary on Egoyan's *Auroras* and Kamerić's *Bosnian Girl* and as an invitation to learn from history instead of silencing it.

Finally, inside the entrance hall, visitors could encounter the dual screen video documentation of Marta Górnicka and the Gorki's chorus theatre production *Grundgesetz*, with its explorations of the resilience and limits of the legal text in the context of the political tensions in postmigrant German society (see Figure 4.6). Significantly, *Grundgesetz* was installed with one screen on either side of the central door to the theatre foyer (and the mainstage), thereby providing a kind of 'conclusion' to the visual opening act *and* forming a symbolic portal to the next 'act' by gesturing towards a radically plural democracy as a viable alternative to the traditional monocultural notion of *Heimat*.

The visual opening act deployed art to insert visitors as mobile bodies on Gorki's public stage and to mediate the organizers' public address. Visitors were addressed or interpellated as political subjects by the mobilizing instruction to 'de-heimatize it' and by the messages of the artworks. Thus, the visual opening act created not only an art audience but also *a public* for a political mode of address. Not only did The Gorki stage the visitor's itinerary to effectively communicate a feminist critique of violence, rape and misogyny – resonating with the activist politics of the #MeToo movement – but also to

introduce the agenda of de-heimatization, thereby foregrounding the profoundly *postmigrant* character of the Gorki Theatre and the Herbstsalon as public spaces. In doing this, the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon set a new and more radical standard for how artists and institutions can use strategies of agitation as well as mobilizing conflictual aesthetics[105] in order to make political interventions in public spaces to contest hegemonic structures and nationalist sentiments, thereby impacting on public discourse and public opinion.

The visual opening act conveys a great deal about how the Herbstsalon format and visual art expanded the Theatre's public reach. In contrast to time-bound theatre, the durable nature of visual artworks offered the Gorki the possibility to take to the streets and maintain a presence there while simultaneously making the Theatre's work and ideas accessible beyond the ticket pay wall, as entrance was free to everything except the stage performances.[106]

In the Introduction, I defined postmigrant public spaces as plural and sometimes conflictual arenas of human encounter shaped by immigration, nationalism and social inequality. What more can we learn about postmigrant public spaces from the example of the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon? What are its postmigrant characteristics? To begin with, it should be emphasized that the bringing together of people from different institutions, art forms, disciplines and (activist) organizations enabled the salon to span multiple platforms as well as mediate the frictions that inevitably exist between differently positioned individuals and milieus. The event interconnected people with different political positionalities, various types of professional expertise and different life experience and heritage in a coalitional way that provided a fertile ground for the forging of postmigrant solidarities and alliances without blocking out any significant differences among the participants, especially of race, class, gender and migration status.

Adhering to Foroutan's definition, postmigrant alliances are based on strategic bridge-building between migrant and non-migrant actors who pursue a common goal. By bringing together *different* people based on a type of experience that is shared but not necessarily identical – such as migration, racism or discrimination – or based on a *common political stance*, postmigrant alliances enable new interest-based relationships to develop beyond homogenous peer groups. Furthermore, the durational character of the Gorki Theatre's commitment to organizing thematic postmigrant biennials since 2013 is also significant, as it has enabled the institution to build the infrastructure needed for creating a network of like-minded, politically engaged collaborators and artists.

It is important to stress that historically, the production of public spaces and publics has always been at the core of the role that art and cultural institutions have fulfilled in modern society.[107] A crucial component of the Gorki Theatre's success in curating public spaces is precisely the choice of an art institutional format and infrastructure – the biennial – and the ways the Theatre has found to narrow down the typically vague conceptual frame of the art institutional model to a concisely delimited thematic frame defined by the contemporary postmigrant political struggles in Europe. Or to use Oliver Marchart's term, the Theatre has turned their biennials into 'potentially powerful *counterhegemonic* machines' by openly acknowledging their partisan nature.[108]

As a locally embedded and transculturally connected set of platforms for the arts and for public debates, the Herbstsalon format possesses a clear potential for generating relatively open forums which afford the publics that emerge within them a space to discuss issues related to the themes and agendas of the salons. In the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon, it was feminist and postmigrant de-heimatization, understood as a decolonizing struggle for recognition, equality and the acknowledgement of multiple belonging. The

curators employed insistent forms of address to ask visitors to reflect critically upon the national(ist) discourses on and essentialist constructions of *Heimat*. They also sought to inspire visitors to think *otherwise* and creatively reimagine homeplace and belonging by drawing together, from their own subjective perspective, the Herbstsalon's different but nonetheless interconnected strands of postmigrant and feminist thinking. Furthermore, the Gorki Theatre's collaboration with activist groups in connection with the biennial's conference was in line with the involvement of activists in the 3rd Herbstsalon. This practice of forming coalitions and collaborating with activists might explain what inspired the curators' consistent use of agitational modes of address that might appeal to an accountable and politically positioned public.[109] Last, but importantly, the multi-sited spatial structure of the Herbstsalon – so typical of art biennials, where some events and exhibits are deliberately transferred to smaller venues frequented by other types of users – underscored that the biennial was geared to addressing a plurality of publics and to facilitating the convergence of groups of people who are usually understood to be different and mutually distanced or separate from one another.[110] The publics attracted to the salon by the outspoken anti-nationalism of its agitational title could perhaps be described as counterpublics, in the sense that they were likely to be structured by other than nationalist dispositions and to make different and potentially transformative assumptions about what belonging, homeplace, equality, nation, identity *and* learning from historical violence could mean and involve in contemporary postmigrant Germany. The example of 4th Berliner Herbstsalon thus encapsulates how a more politically committed use of art in public spaces can significantly strengthen art's activist and coalitional potential and its ability to imagine a different society, all of which testifies to the significance of art in public spaces and political arenas.

Theoretical Interlude: The Concept of Epistemic Communities

Although the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon was organized from within the institutional framework of a theatre, it resembled any other biennial in the art world, in the sense that its institutional infrastructure offered different possibilities and degrees of engagement and active participation to different people. The spectators who only visited the main exhibition venue or went to the Gorki Theatre to watch a single theatre performance can perhaps best be described as above, that is, as constituting counterpublics, whereas the type of individuals who became involved in the event as organizers, collaborators and content producers and the visitors who partook in several types of events (and who may even have belonged to the Theatre's regular audience) are likely to have had a deeper commitment to the matter of concern: de-heimatization. The participatory engagement of this no doubt heterogeneous segment turned it into something more than a (counter) public and less than a localized community or an established group formation. It could be described then as an *epistemic community*.

It was Alison Assiter who introduced the concept of 'epistemological communities' in her book *Enlightened Women: Modernist feminism in a postmodern age*, using this term interchangeably with 'epistemic communities'.[111] In the writings of Marsha Meskimmon and Nira Yuval-Davis, Assiter's concept becomes one of the building blocks of a feminist intersectional and transnational theory of transversal politics, understood as a theory of democratic solidarity-building and conflict-resolution based on practices of negotiation across the boundaries drawn by difference. The concept and practice of transversal politics are based on the idea that everyone speaks from somewhere to somewhere else, and

that compatible values and affective solidarities can nevertheless cut across differences in positionings and identity. Meskimmon links this understanding closely to the proposition that transversal politics can be a mode of coalition-building which engenders epistemic communities beyond essentialized identities and traditional party or identity politics.[112] In Meskimmon's words:

> … transversal politics signal a critical link between political and ethical agency, epistemic community, collective belonging and non-domination. They are a politics that recognize the heterogeneity of subjects without sacrificing their potential to form multiple, larger coalitions that can act materially to change the social imaginary.[113]

One of Meskimmon's important points is that transversal politics produces alliances, solidarities and epistemic communities which revolve around a common cause, but whose participants or members may position themselves differently – politically, socially, culturally and artistically. The synergies and frictions between different artistic positionalities are arguably at the forefront of the Gorki Theatre's alliance-building endeavours, and this distinguishes them from those of activist movements.

Meskimmon's intersectional understanding of coalition-formation draws on Assiter's concept of epistemic communities, which is developed from the proposition that 'the appropriate epistemological subjects are collectivities', not individuals, as traditional epistemologists presume.[114] Assiter argues that 'reality is shaped and altered by a community of people' because knowledge construction and validation are not individual activities but always 'co-operative, constructive endeavours'.[115] She couples this idea of collective knowledge production with a feminist intersectional perspective by insisting that subjectivity is integral to the collective processes. As each individual is historically and socio-culturally located, all knowledges are arguably situated and 'some features of the subject of knowledge matter'.[116] Within an epistemic community, knowledge is therefore not based on consensus but rather gained 'from the perspective of broadly like-minded people'.[117] For Assiter, the distinguishing feature of *feminist* epistemic communities is that they are committed to a set of emancipatory values. Hence, they are 'emancipatory' communities.[118] To explain how and to what extent such collectives cohere, she draws a parallel with Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities as incorporating people who may share no physical, relational or cultural ties. She also stresses the inevitable existence of internal disagreements when she summarizes her definition as follows:

> An epistemic community, I suggest, then, will be a group of individuals who share certain fundamental interests, values and beliefs in common, for example, that sexism is wrong, that racism is wrong, and who work on consequences of these presuppositions. These individuals are particularly interested in the truth of their views, and in providing evidence for their truth. Members of one epistemic community may additionally be members of diverse other social, cultural and political groupings. They may have arrived at their membership of a particular epistemic community by creative interaction, including 'productive' conversations. Epistemic communities, just like real social groupings of people, will contain members who are unequal in respect of power and status, but these inequalities will stem from something other than the characteristic by virtue of which the grouping constitutes an epistemic community. Epistemic communities, then, will be 'imagined' communities in something like Anderson's sense.[119]

Meskimmon takes Assiter's definition of epistemic communities as knowledge-sharing, imagined communities further by proposing that epistemic communities 'do not pre-exist knowledge practices' but *emerge through them*, that is, through mutual listening and responsive dialogues that are always situated and embodied.[120] Meskimmon's observation is pivotal and points to an initial answer as to what roles artistic and curatorial practices play in the formation of epistemic communities. As the philosopher and art theorist Gerhard Raunig has explained, transversal lines tend to cross 'transsectorally' through different fields; they interconnect social struggles, artistic interventions, theory production and more.[121] I submit therefore that precisely because of their transsectoral interconnections with other fields, contemporary art and its interdisciplinary curatorial platforms are able to generate not only discourses and visible representations but also politically mobilizing infrastructures: spaces, occasions, assemblies, dialogues and movements, through which such knowledge-sharing communities can emerge and gather around a common cause and a shared set of emancipatory values. In Meskimmon's understanding, the building of epistemic communities around a common cause is key to transnational feminisms and becomes almost coterminous with 'coalition-building'.[122] Otherwise stated, epistemic communities are both engendered by and are themselves engendering transversal politics, and both transversal politics and epistemic communities are indispensable components of feminist coalition-building.

At this juncture, a note on method is in order. Transferring Assiter's philosophical concept of epistemic communities to cultural analysis opens up some difficult questions. First of all, how do we develop a more accurate definition of epistemic communities for cultural analysis (including art history and curatorial studies) than Assiter's general definition of an epistemic community as a knowledge-sharing and knowledge-producing community that fulfils the criterion that its members/participants are committed to a set of emancipatory values? Second, how do we delineate an epistemic community originating in art and culture and account for its relations to epistemic communities rooted in other domains, such as politics? How should its historical existence in time and space be delineated? How are its generative actors, sites and forms of knowledge production identified? How would an epistemic community's tacit terms of membership be determined? The task of uncovering such unwritten criteria would also challenge us to consider critically issues of exclusion from the spaces and practices through which the epistemic community is generated and the fact that its members will have differential access to the knowledge that is shared. Put differently, it would be necessary to consider the infrastructural processes through which the epistemic community is generated. This would be a task for a critical sociology of art and/or an anthropology of art's infrastructures, and thus beyond the scope of this study, which now returns to the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon.

Concluding Remarks: A Postmigrant Epistemic Community

Affect, imagination and aesthetics are central to transformative politics and coalition-building because political struggle always involves representation (and thus imagination and aesthetics), and allyship thrives on affective solidarities and speaking *for* or *with*. This is precisely why art and curated events such as the Herbstsalons can play a crucial role in transformative politics: by acting materially and by shaping representations – understood both as 'imaging', that is, the production of 'images', and as a speaking *for* or increasingly, speaking *with* – art has a potential to shape and continually reshape social

imaginaries. As Meskimmon's definition of feminist transversal politics makes evident, there are crucial links between political, ethical and artistic forms of agency. In my view, the primary achievement of the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon was that it succeeded in forging the links between these different forms of agency and practices by providing the infrastructure necessary to do so.

The 4th Berliner Herbstsalon also confirmed that there is both a theoretical and a practical side to transversal politics, as the event included discursive contributions from scholars and activists along with works of art curated to enter into a visual dialogue with one another, thereby generating a visually articulated and tangible form of transversal politics and creating the conditions for visitors to join this dialogue, potentially in solidarity. The visitors would already encounter the clearest example when entering the square in front of the Gorki Theatre. Here, Atom Egoyan's video installation *Auroras*, Šejla Kamerić's banner *Bosnian Girl* and Regina José Galindo's cubic light box installation *No Violarás* initiated a feminist intersectional conversation on violence against women – in Egoyan's case, violence linked to Turkish militant nationalism; in Kamerić's, the sexual violence against Bosnian women that erupted during the Yugoslav Wars; and in Galindo's, a statement about rape, pure and simple, which the artist has put up in public spaces in different cities since it was first installed in Quito, Ecuador, in 2017, to spotlight the fact that, unlike other crimes such as murder and theft, sexual violence has not yet entered the moral codex of collective condemnation. Although speaking from and about different geopolitical contexts, all the works responded to and resonated with one another, linking knowledge to imaging and imagination.

As Meskimmon notes, transnational feminisms have 'been swift to explore the politics of knowledge practices and to link these to the power of the imagination; knowing differently is key to imagining otherwise, and imagining otherwise can compel change'.[123] Thus, the dialogue between the invocations of these works in public space provides the second answer as to the roles of art and curating in the formation of epistemic communities: the aesthetic properties of artworks and exhibitions endow them with the potential to generate solidarities that are affectively compelling and intellectually intriguing precisely because they are shaped by aesthetic resonances and the openness of ambiguity rather than by univocal political didacticism.[124] Each visitor could take something different from the wordless and affectively moving interchange between the works, depending on their subjective positionality, but everyone engaging with the works and their mutual conversation would become, at least temporarily, a part of the epistemic community the curated constellation of artistic statements sought to summon.

It could be argued then that the purpose of the opening act was to bring public attention to the Gorki Theatre's attempt to generate an epistemic community. To this end, the artworks were used as knowledge-sharing agents, signalling the Herbstsalon's role as a forum for plurivocal dialogues. The opening act presented a model of visual and textual sharing of knowledge about violence against women, in particular nationalistically motivated violence. Thus, it spotlighted gendered experiences and a feminist critique shared across national borders.

In this chapter, I have used the concept of an epistemic community to explain how the infrastructural processes of the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon operated, and what they engendered. I have argued that the biennial brought a transnational feminist epistemic community into conversation with the postmigrant epistemic community that the Gorki Theatre has provided with an institutional home since 2013, and that it did so in order

to interrogate resurging nationalism and traditionalist notions of homeland and to put other notions of belonging in circulation. In different yet converging ways, the curators and contributors sought to articulate a counter-discourse on de-heimatization to challenge the hegemonic discourse on and infrastructural processes of *Heimat*/homeland. Thus, by bringing a heterogeneous mix of contributors and audiences together around a common cause, the Herbstsalon created a seedbed for transversal politics and forged a postmigrant epistemic community, underpinned by solidarity from 'a productive concatenation of what never fits together smoothly, what is constantly in friction and impelled by this friction or caused to evaporate again'.[125]

This epistemic community came together around a postmigrant transversal politics that foregrounded the significance of dialogue and intersubjective exchange, acknowledged epistemic location and crucially centred on a common 'postmigrant' cause. In the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon, it was the critical and constructive struggle *against* exclusionary monocultural nationalism and *for* equality and multiple, intersectional belonging – two basic tenets of postmigrant thought. Based on this model example, I contend that what makes a transversal politics postmigrant, that is, the defining feature of a postmigrant transversal politics, is that it centres on a common cause connected to the problem-space of postmigration. For the Herbstsalons, the Gorki Theatre invited a heterogeneous mix of professionals and audiences to partake in dialogues across difference. These events acknowledged the epistemic location of each participant, while also moving beyond the idea of fixed identities to forge an epistemic community capable of engendering coalitional solidarity. In other words, they foregrounded position and questioned the idea of an essential origin as the source of authenticity. In this respect, the Berliner Herbstsalons have provided the necessary infrastructure for creating a postmigrant transversal politics and for making it visible and accessible to the public. In doing so, they have marked out an important territory for an experimental dialogic praxis that connects the politics of postmigration with the arts and which has political, ethical and aesthetic effects.

The Herbstsalons testify to the importance of creatively transformed institutional infrastructures in resisting the divisive logic of discrimination and migrantization. They also testify to the collective resolve it takes to build them. What the Herbstsalon initiative has produced is an adequate institutional infrastructure for a postmigrant epistemic community to come into existence. As makers of critical artistic and social form, the curators and contributors of the fourth event not only passed judgement on nationalisms but also offered imaginaries of transition that may 'alter the harder and softer, tighter and looser infrastructures of sociality itself'.[126]

The intertwining of feminist and postmigrant ways of thinking was obviously not the creation of the Gorki Theatre. Yet, this state-funded theatre provided the necessary 'convergence scene',[127] from which to communicate a postmigrant feminist critique as well as serving as an artistic and intellectual hothouse conducive to the development of this line of critical thinking. Academic writings on postmigration sometimes reference feminist and queer thinkers such as Kimberlé Crenshaw, Fatima El-Tayeb, Judith Butler and Jasbir Puar. However, in 2019, feminism had rarely been mobilized before in such a determined manner in support of postmigrant agendas. In addition to opening a space in which a postmigrant epistemic community could form, the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon succeeded in grafting critical feminist projects onto the postmigrant political project of de-heimatization, thereby enhancing the radicality of the discourse on postmigration.

Notes

1 See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
2 Lauren Berlant, 'The Commons: Infrastructures for Troubling Times', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 34, no. 3 (2016): 394.
3 See Michael Mann, 'The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results', *European Journal of Sociology* 25, no. 2 (1984): 189, 201–2, 204 and 207–8.
4 Matthias vom Hau, 'State Infrastructural Power and Nationalism: Comparative Lessons from Mexico and Argentina', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 43, no. 3–4 (2008): 335, https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-008-9024-x
5 vom Hau, 'State Infrastructural Power and Nationalism', 335 and 351.
6 See vom Hau, 'State Infrastructural Power and Nationalism', 338. Vom Hau's understanding of cultural scripts draws on José Itzigsohn and Matthias vom Hau, 'Unfinished Imagined Communities: States, Social Movements, and Nationalism in Latin America', *Theory and Society* 35, no. 2 (2006): 196–98, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4501750
7 vom Hau, 'State Infrastructural Power and Nationalism', 338.
8 See vom Hau, 'State Infrastructural Power and Nationalism', 340.
9 The German Federal Ministry, https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/kurzmeldungen/DE/2019/01/jahresrueckblick-2018-bmi.html, accessed August 20, 2019; now disabled. The peculiarity of the translation was also mentioned in the translator's note of Shermin Langhoff's 'Editorial' on the website of the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon. See 'Editorial. 4. Berliner Herbstsalon "De-Heimatize It!"', Maxim Gorki Theatre, 2019, https://www.berliner-herbstsalon.de/en/vierter-berliner-herbstsalon/editorial, accessed January 6, 2023. The German interior ministry was named *Bundesministerium des Innern* until March 14, 2018, when it was renamed *Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat*. On December 8, 2021, coinciding with a change of government in Germany, the name was changed to *Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat*, and Nancy Faeser of the social democratic party SPD succeeded Horst Seehofer as Federal Interior Minister in Chancellor Olaf Scholtz's coalition government. The Federal Ministry's website has translated the new name as 'Federal Ministry of Interior and Community', thus maintaining the symbolic link between *Heimat* and domestic politics while at the same time veiling the infrastructural dimension that the renaming in 2018 made explicit. https://www.bmi.bund.de/DE/startseite/startseite-node.html and https://www.bmi.bund.de/EN/home/home_node.html, accessed October 21, 2022. See also Wikipedia. Die frei Enzyklopädie, 'Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat', https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bundesministerium_des_Innern_und_f%C3%BCr_Heimat#cite_note-11 (last update September 6, 2022), accessed October 21, 2022.
10 Thomas Escritt, 'Home Is Where the Heimat Is: Germans Bemused by New Ministry', *Reuters*, February 8, 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-politics-heimat/home-is-where-the-heimat-is-germans-bemused-by-new-ministry-idUSKBN1FS2UD
11 Bilgin Ayata, '"Deheimatize It!"', in *Jahrbuch für Kulturpolitik 2019/20: Thema: Kultur. Macht. Heimaten. Heimat als kulturpolitische Herausforderung*, ed. Norbert Sieverts et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020), 40. See also Edoardo Costadura, Klaus Ries, and Christiane Wiesenfeldt, 'Heimat global: Einleitung', in *Heimat global. Modelle, Praxen und Medien der Heimatkonstruktion*, ed. Edoardo Costadura, Klaus Ries, and Christiane Wiesenfeldt (Bielefeld: transcript, 2019): 11–14.
12 Chametzky, *Turks, Jews and Other Germans in Contemporary Art* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2021), 59.
13 Chametzky, *Turks, Jews and Other Germans in Contemporary Art*, 60.
14 There is no direct equivalent term to *Beheimatung* in English. It is primarily used in the critical debates on migration and integration by scholars who promote a dynamic rather than a static understanding of *Heimat* to refer to the processes of engendering a sense of belonging to a (new) place and a (new) community – *Heimat* as a practice, something that people do to forge attachments and settle in their surroundings and social spaces. *Beheimatung* is typically used either about people who live mobile lives and their processes of settlement and recreation of local attachments (for instance, by Römhild) or in a general psychological or ontological sense about the basic human need for attachments to a familiar and safe environment and for

recognition as a member of society or a local community (for instance, by Beate Mitzscherlich and Beate Binder). I translated *Beheimatung* as 'engendering a sense of belonging' and 'engendering belonging' to stress the dynamic aspect of the (re)creation of affiliations, membership and a sense of belonging. See Regina Römhild, 'Heimat als subalterner Kampfbegriff: Eine Wiederentdeckung', in *Jahrbuch für Kulturpolitik 2019/20: Thema: Kultur. Macht. Heimaten. Heimat als kulturpolitische Herausforderung*, ed. Norbert Sievers et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020), 81–82; Beate Mitzscherlich, 'Heimat als subjektive Konstruktion. Beheimatung als aktiver Prozess', in *Heimat global. Modelle, Praxen und Medien der Heimatkonstruktion*, ed. Edoardo Costadura, Klaus Ries, and Christiane Wiesenfeldt (Bielefeld: transcript, 2019), 183–96; Beate Binder, 'Politiken der Heimat, Praktiken der Beheimatung, oder: warum das Nachdenken über Heimat zwar ermattet, aber dennoch notwendig ist', in *Heimat Revisited: Kulturwissenschftliche Perspektiven auf einen umstrittenen Begriff*, ed. Dana Bönisch, Jil Runia, and Hanna Zehschnetzler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 97–103.

15 'Eine solche Vorstellung von Heimat als (im weitesten Sinne des Wortes) politische Aufgabe der Beheimatung nimmt dem Heimatbegriff alles Starre, Konservative, Reaktionäre. Heimat als Prozess von Beheimatung(en) ist dann weder sozial noch ethnisch noch religiös exklusiv.' Wolfgang Thierse, 'Heimat ist mehr als funktionierende Infrastruktur', *Neue Gesellschaft Frankfurter Hefte*, September 1, 2018, https://www.frankfurter-hefte.de/artikel/heimat-ist-mehr-als-funktionierende-infrastruktur-2547/

16 See Römhild, 'Heimat als subalterner Kampfbegriff', 83–84; see also Regina Römhild, 'Global *Heimat*. (Post)Migrant Productions of Transnational Space', *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 27, no. 1 (2018): 27–39.

17 See Mitzscherlich, 'Heimat als subjektive Konstruktion', 187–88.

18 Translations adhere to the Gorki Theatre's own translation of the events – 1st, 2nd, 3rd Berliner Herbstsalon – and their subtitles. See Shermin Langhoff et al., eds., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3: Documentation* (Berlin: Maxim Gorki Theater, 2018).

19 See Marsha Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms, Transversal Politics and Art: Entanglements and Intersections*. Transnational Feminisms and the Arts. Vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 2020), 100–06.

20 See Geoffrey C. Bowker et al., 'Introduction to Thinking Infrastructures', in 'Thinking Infrastructures', special issue, *Research in the Sociology of Organizations* 62, no. 1–13 (2019): 2, https://doi.org/10.1108/S0733-558X20190000062001

21 See Kate Connolly, 'German Election: Merkel Wins Fourth Term but Far-Right AfD Surges to Third', *The Guardian*, September 24, 2017, n.p., https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/24/angela-merkel-fourth-term-far-right-afd-third-german-election

22 Quoted from Ken Knight, 'A Deeper Look at Germany's New Interior and Heimat Ministry', *Deutsche Welle*, February 12, 2018, n.p., https://www.dw.com/en/a-deeper-look-at-germanys-new-interior-and-heimat-ministry/a-42554122

23 Max Czollek, 'Ich kenne keine Parteien mehr, ich kenne nur noch Heimat', in *Gegenwartsbewältigung* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2020), 31.

24 Thomas Escritt, 'Home Is Where the Heimat Is: Germans Bemused by New Ministry', *Reuters*, February 8, 2018, n.p., https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-politics-heimat/home-is-where-the-heimat-is-germans-bemused-by-new-ministry-idUSKBN1FS2UD

25 See Amina Nolte and Carola Westermeier, 'Den Staat wieder spüren – Heimat und Infrastruktur', *Theorieblog.de*, October 23, 2018, n.p., https://www.theorieblog.de/index.php/2018/10/den-staat-wieder-spueren-heimat-und-infrastruktur/

26 Nolte and Westermeier, 'Den Staat wieder spüren, n.p. For a study of the *Heimat* strategies and the integration politics that crystallized in the renaming of the Interior Ministry, see Beate Binder's thorough analysis of the renamed Ministry's homepage; Binder, 'Politiken der Heimat, Praktiken der Beheimatung, Oder: Warum das Nachdenken über Heimat zwar ermattet, aber dennoch notwendig ist', in *Heimat revisited: Kulturwissenschftliche Perspektiven auf einen umstrittenen Begriff*, ed. Dana Bönisch, Jil Runia and Hanna Zehschnetzler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 88–97.

27 My analysis centres on the nexus of *Heimat* and infrastructure. However, it is important to stress that the building of a national identity founded on traditional Christian values was also a concern for the conservative minister Horst Seehofer. This is evident from the much-debated article that Seehofer published in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on April 30, 2018, serving

as ideological underpinning of the expansion of the remit of the Interior Ministry to include the area *Heimat*. For a critical analysis, see Edoardo Costadura, Klaus Ries, and Christiane Wiesenfeldt, 'Heimat global: Einleitung', in *Heimat global. Modelle, Praxen und Medien der Heimatkonstruktion*, ed. Edoardo Costadura, Klaus Ries and Christiane Wiesenfeldt (Bielefeld: transcript, 2019), 12 and 24–25.

28 Nolte and Westermeier, 'Den Staat wieder spüren', n.p.

29 Alexander Gauland, quoted in Connolly, 'German election', n.p.

30 See Fatma Aydemir and Hengameh Yaghoobfirah, 'Vorwort', in *Eure Heimat ist unser Albtraum*, ed. Fatma Aydemir and Hengameh Yaghoobfirah (Berlin: Ullstein, 2019), 9–10. Among the contributors were Olga Grjasnowa, Deniz Utlu, Sasha Marianna Salzmann and Max Czollek – all writers who have worked with the Gorki Theatre.

31 Costadura, Ries and Wiesenfeldt, 'Heimat global', 13. This is one among several anthologies on *Heimat* published in temporal proximity to the renaming of the Interior Ministry, and in the case of *Eure Heimat ist unser Albtraum*, in direct response to it. See also Norbert Sievers et al., eds., *Jahrbuch für Kulturpolitik 2019/20: Thema: Kultur. Macht. Heimaten. Heimat als kulturpolitische Herausforderung*, vol. 17 (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020); Dana Bönisch, Jil Runia, and Hanna Zehschnetzler, eds., *Heimat Revisited: Kulturwissenschftliche Perspektiven auf einen umstrittenen Begriff* (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2020).

32 Costadura, Ries, and Wiesenfeldt, 'Heimat global', 27–28. One example is the artist Mischa Kuball's documentation in interviews and photographs of the lives and homes of one hundred immigrants settled in the Ruhr district, resulting in exhibitions as well as a hefty book; see Mischa Kuball and Harald Welzer, *New Pott. Neue Heimat im Revier*, Christoph Keller Editions (Zürich: JPR | Ringier, 2011). See also Chametzky, *Turks, Jews and Other Germans in Contemporary Art*, 253–57.

33 Costadura, Ries and Wiesenfeldt, 'Heimat global', 33.

34 Signe Meisner Christensen and Rachel Mader, 'Introduction: New Infrastructures – Performative Infrastructures in the Art Field', *Passepartout* 22, no. 40 (2020): 7.

35 See Shermin Langhoff, 'Taking History Personally: Knowing that Neither Memories are Already Memory, Nor Stories Already History', *European Journal of Theatre and Performance* no. 2 (2020): 471.

36 Christensen and Mader, 'Introduction: New Infrastructures, 6.

37 Irit Rogoff, 'Infrastructure', Lecture Given in Connection with the Project 'Former West' at Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin March 20, 2013, 15:30–16:15 min., https://formerwest.org/DocumentsConstellationsProspects/Contributions/Infrastructure

38 Examples of video-documented talks and discursive events include the artist talk 'Desintegration' with Shermin Langhoff, Max Czollek and Michel Friedman presented on November 13, 2017, as part of the 3rd Berliner Herbstsalon titled *'DESINTEGRIERT EUCH!'*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vDk7QXNpWSE; and Singaporean Ong Keng Sen's public talk about alternative practices of activating communities through curatorial work, given at the 4th Berliner Herbstsalon's Young Curators' Academy, October 31, 2019, https://www.berliner-herbstsalon.de/en/vierter-berliner-herbstsalon/akademie/when/young-curators-academy-sundowner-3

39 Shermin Langhoff, 'Taking History Personally', in *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3: Documentation*, ed. Shermin Langhoff et al. (Berlin: Maxim Gorki Theater, 2018), 7.

40 Langhoff, 'Taking History Personally', 7 (emphasis added).

41 See Langhoff, 'Taking History Personally', 7–8. In the German original, Langhoff uses the terms *Ankunft* and *Verortung*.

42 See Erden Kosova, 'Situating the Institution', in *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3: Documentation*, ed. Shermin Langhoff et al. (Berlin: Maxim Gorki Theater, 2018), 16 and 20. See also Andreas Schäfer's informative report from the opening and the exhibition, Andeas Schäfer, 'Anders lieben, anders glauben', *Der Tagesspiegel*, November 10, 2013, https://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/saisoneroeffnung-am-maxim-gorki-theater-anders-lieben-anders-glauben/9053054.html

43 See Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 23.

44 See Anne Schloen, '5 Fragen an Nevin Aladağ', *Marta Blog*, March 8, 2016, https://marta-blog.de/5-fragen-an-nevin-aladag/

45 Kosova, 'Situating the Institution', 20.

46 Patrick Wildermann, 'The New Berlin Enlightenment', in *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3: Documentation*, ed. Shermin Langhoff et al. (Berlin: Maxim Gorki Theater, 2018), 273.
47 See Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 45 and 302.
48 Langhoff, 'Taking History Personally', 8 (emphasis added). *Herbstsalon* is also a term favoured by many German *Kunstvereine* (art associations and institutions) and used to label recurring exhibition formats.
49 Kosova, 'Situating the Institution', 17.
50 See Kosova, 'Situating the Institution', 17.
51 See '1. Berliner Herbstsalon', Maxim Gorki Theater's announcement prior to the opening on November 8, 2013, https://www.berliner-herbstsalon.de/en/erster-berliner-herbstsalon
52 Langhoff, 'Taking History Personally', 7 and 9. Coinciding with the inaugural autumn salon, the first season under the new artistic directorship of Shermin Langhoff and Jens Hillje opened with Nurkan Erpulat's variation on Anton Chekhov's play *The Cherry Orchard*, which zoned in on the relationship between postmigrant and majoritarian groups of contemporary German society and the premiere of Yael Ronen's production of Olga Grjasnowa's bestselling novel *Der Russe ist einer, der Birken liebt* ('*All Russians Love Birch Trees*'). Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 66.
53 See Naika Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft*, 51; see also 46–50.
54 Important studies include: Sharifi, *Theater für Alle?*; Sharifi, 'Moments of Significance'; Stewart, 'Postmigrant theatre'; Lizzie Stewart, '"The Cultural Capital of Postmigrants is Enormous" Postmigration in Theatre as Label and Lens', in *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Anna Meera Gaonkar et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021); Stewart, *Performing New German Realities*. For further references, see Stewart's thorough literature review.
55 See Camma Juel Jepsen, 'Biennalernes tid. Verdensbilledliggøresler i europæisk samtidskunstbiennaler' (PhD diss., Aarhus University, 2022), 25.
56 Panos Kompatsiaris, *The Politics of Contemporary Art Biennials: Spectacles of Critique, Theory and Art* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 8.
57 Kompatsiaris, *The Politics of Contemporary Art Biennials*, 8.
58 '2. Berliner Herbstsalon', Maxim Gorki Theater's announcement prior to the opening on November 13, 2015, https://www.berliner-herbstsalon.de/en/zweiter-berliner-herbstsalon
59 See Robert Birnbaum, '"Das Boot ist Voll" – Kritik in der Fraktion an Flüchtlingspolitik der Kanzlerin', *Der Tagesspiegel*, September 23, 2015, https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/gegenwind-fuer-merkel-das-boot-ist-voll-kritik-in-der-fraktion-an-fluechtlingspolitik-der-kanzlerin/12359920.html
60 See *Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015*, Pew Research Center (Washington, DC, August 2, 2016), https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/
61 Langhoff, 'Taking History Personally', 9. See also Çağla İlk, 'Crossing Borders', in *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3: Documentation*, ed. Shermin Langhoff et al. (Berlin: Maxim Gorki Theater, 2018), 72–77.
62 See İlk, 'Crossing Borders', 73–74.
63 İlk, 'Crossing Borders', 74. See also Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 119–22.
64 This neon work was a revised edition of the temporary memorial Jaar installed in 1992 on the staircase of the Pergamon Altar on the nearby Museum Island of Berlin. In the 2015 version, Jaar replaced the original city names with sites of recent attacks. Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 94–97.
65 Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 83. For an installation shot, see https://www.berliner-herbstsalon.de/en/zweiter-berliner-herbstsalon/kuenstlerinnen/anonymous-stateless-immigrants, accessed January 6, 2023.
66 See Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 135–37. See also the group's website, https://politicalbeauty.com/dead.html, accessed January 6, 2023; and Sarah Kahn, 'Acting up', *Frieze*, 2015, https://www.frieze.com/article/szenen-im-zentrum
67 See Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 101.
68 See Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 125.
69 Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 128–29. *We Will Rise* was organized in collaboration with various partners, including, among others, Die Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung,

whose website features a video introduction to the aim, spirit and contents of this travelling exhibition; see https://www.rosalux.de/dokumentation/id/14271/we-will-rise, accessed January 6, 2023.

70 '2. Berliner Herbstsalon', announcement by Maxim Gorki Theatre prior to the opening on November 13, 2015, https://www.berliner-herbstsalon.de/en/zweiter-berliner-herbstsalon

71 Aljoscha Begrich, 'To De-Integrated Art: The History of German Art as the Art of German History', in *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3: Documentation*, ed. Shermin Langhoff et al. (Berlin: Maxim Gorki Theater, 2018), 152. As a Chilean artist living in the USA eighty-five years later, Alfredo Jaar found that John Cage's speech continues to have relevance for contemporary politics and culture and thus published a reprint on the occasion of the 2012 John Cage Centennial; see https://www.sfkb.at/books/john-cage-other-people-think/, accessed January 6, 2023. Regarding the essay's relevance to contemporary identity politics, see also Laurens Ham, 'Listen to what other people think', *Poetry International Archives*, 30 June, 2016, https://www.poetryinternational.org/pi/article/28030/Listen-to-what-other-people-think/nl/tile

72 See Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 296. Starting with the third edition, critics and journalists increasingly use the term 'biennial' to describe the Herbstsalon format.

73 See Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 142–44, 174–75 and 262–64. See also https://archive.berliner-herbstsalon.de/dritter-berliner-herbstsalon/kuenstlerinnen/chto-delat, accessed January 6, 2023.

74 *3. Berliner Herbstsalon – Programmheft* (Maxim Gorki Theater, 2017), 3, https://issuu.com/maximgorkitheater/docs/gorki_hs_plakatbeilage-programm_171

75 See Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 187–89.

76 Quoted from the headline of the printed poster illustrated in Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 165–68.

77 See Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 224–25.

78 See Langhoff et al., *Berliner Herbstsalon 1–2–3*, 255; see also 257 as well as the documentation on the collective's website https://politicalbeauty.de/holocaust-mahnmal-bornhagen.html, accessed January 6, 2023. The fact that Zentrum für Politische Schönheit's satirizing video to raise funds for the project was flagged up on the 3rd Berliner Herbstsalon's website indicates how central their activist contribution was to the event. See https://www.berliner-herbstsalon.de/en/dritter-berliner-herbstsalon, accessed January 6, 2023.

79 Oxford English Dictionary, 'Radical', adj., see definitions one and seven, https://www.oed.com/, accessed November 17, 2020.

80 See Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft*, 51.

81 The significance of the change from post- to de-/dis-conceptions on the Berlin scene of art and theatre was suggested to me by Dr. Frauke Katharina Wiegand, who served as my invaluable research assistant on the case study of the Gorki Theatre. 'Dis-othering' refers to the necessary deconstruction of 'othering' practices in European cultures and cultural institutions. It begins with the 'recognition of the mechanism or technology of othering' and works towards a 'circumventing of the embodiments of both noun and verb, the othered and othering'. See Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung, 'Dis-Othering as Method: Leh zo, a me ke nde za', in *Geographies of Imagination (exhibition concept)*, ed. Antonia Alampi and Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung (Berlin: Savvy Contemporary, 2018), 5. Five years earlier, Ndikung had co-authored a piece on 'the post-other' with Regina Römhild, so the change of terminology is particularly clear in his writings. See Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung and Regina Römhild, 'The Post-Other as Avant-Garde', in *We Roma: A Critical Reader in Contemporary Art*, ed. Maria Hlavajova and Daniel Baker, BAK Critical Reader Series Utrecht (Utrecht: BAK, basis voor actuele kunst 2013), 206–25.

82 Lizzie Stewart, *Performing New German Realities: Turkish-German Scripts of Postmigration* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 279, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-69848-5

83 See Stewart, '"The cultural capital of postmigrants Is Enormous": Postmigration in Theatre as Label and Lens', in *Postmigration: Art, Culture and Politics in Contemporary Europe*, edited by Anna Meera Gaonkar, Astrid Sophie Øst Hansen, Hans Christian Post and Moritz Schramm (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 91 and 103.

84 See Hans Belting, Andrea Buddensieg, and Peter Weibel, eds., *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds* (Karlsruhe: ZKM Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe, 2013), 100–07 and 148; Charlotte Bydler, *The Global Art World, Inc.*, 150–01.

85 Naika Foroutan, introductory remarks to the 'De-Heimatize Belonging Conference' Humboldt Universität Senatssaal, October 26, 2019. Video documentation at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7zIMmFj6gpo, 37–52 min.

86 'The Curator's Suitcase: Young Curators Academy', announcement prior to the festival April 6–24, 2022, https://www.gorki.de/en/the-curators-suitcase

87 Rebecca Ajnwojner 'Editorial De-Heimatize It! – Akademie', in Rebecca Ajnwoiner et al., *4. Berliner Herbstsalon. Akademie (guidebook)* (Berlin: Maxim Gorki Theatre, 2019), 3. The curatorial responsibility for the different formats was distributed on this occasion. Shermin Langhoff, Aljoscha Begrich and Çağka İlk were in charge of the exhibition, Rebecca Ajnwojner in charge of the conference and Erden Kosova, Ong Ken Seng and Irina Szodruch were responsible for the Young Curators Academy. My description of the infrastructure of the discursive events is based on the guidebook.

88 Langhoff, 'Taking History Personally', 486.

89 For an overview of the activities related to Young Curators Academy, see 'Academy', https://www.berliner-herbstsalon.de/en/vierter-berliner-herbstsalon/akademie, accessed January 6, 2023. In 'Marathon', three long public sessions on the evenings of October 26–28, 2019, the participants presented a part of their past work and their future plans and visions, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GCHKieUhImg&list=PLezYfyZkDWd3y6GmEdlL3Ypf3GiuHVdc9&index=8

90 See Lauren Berlant, 'The Commons', 403.

91 Berlant, 'The Commons', 403.

92 See Bilgin Ayata, 'Prologue: De-Heimatize Belonging' (paper presented at the De-Heimatize Belonging Conference, Berlin October 25, 2019), 25:08–28:30 min.

93 See Ayata, 'Prologue: De-heimatize Belonging', 25:08–28:30 min. Interestingly, in regard to the Gorki Theatre's network of allies, Ayata mentions that she made her first critical intervention against the nationalist misuse of *Heimat* at a conference at the likewise activistically engaged Berlin gallery Savvy Contemporary in 2018. Ayata, 'Prologue: De-heimatize Belonging', 25:08 min. With a view to the similarities in political engagement and the occasional collaborations between the Gorki Theatre and Savvy Contemporary, it is of note that Ayata acted as one of the bridging figures between these milieus and their discursive programmes, as she first presented her concept of de-heimatization at a Savvy seminar 'Caressing the Phantom Limb: Heimat – Progresssion, Regression, Stagnation?' on June 1, 2018. Video documentation: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Yvm9LVYeVM

94 A recurrent issue in several talks was the ways in which gender and sexuality have been mobilized in right-wing populism, so-called femo-nationalism and what Dietze and Roth have described as 'a right-wing populist complex'; Dietze and Roth, 'Right-Wing Populism and Gender'. For the conference programme, see the website of the Gorki Theatre: https://www.berliner-herbstsalon.de/en/vierter-berliner-herbstsalon/konferenz

95 Anonymous, '[ˈhuːr kobjə+]', in *[ˈhuːr kobjə+]: The chorus of Women – A Project by Marta Górnicka*, ed. Agata Adamiecka and Kaja Stępkowska (Warsaw: Instytut Teatralny im. Zbigniewa Raszewskieg, 2011), 4.

96 See *4. Berliner Herbstsalon: Theater und Performance* (Berlin: Maxim Gorki Theater 2019), 4. 'Jedem das Seine' ('Each to their own') is a traditional German saying that was used by the Nazis as a motto over the entrance gate to the Buchenwald concentration camp.

97 Görnicka, quoted from Katrin Pauly, 'Marta Górnicka: Chortheater hat revolutionäre Kraft', *Berliner Morgenpost*, October 25, 2019, https://www.morgenpost.de/kultur/article227469627/Marta-Gornicka-Chortheater-hat-revolutionaere-Kraft.html

98 Stanislaw Godlewski makes similar observations in regard to *Constitution for the Chorus of Poles*. Godlewski, 'We? The People? On Marta Górnicka's *Constitution for the Chorus of Poles*', 5–6.

99 See Mouffe's 1992 essay 'Feminism, Citizenship and Radical Democratic Politics', in Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony, Radical Democracy and the Political*, ed. James Martin (London: Routledge, 2013), 134. As for the pertinence of Mouffe's thinking, it should also be mentioned that Foroutan (2019) draws on Mouffe's idea of plural democracy as a radical democracy

when elaborating her own theory of postmigrant society as a promise of a plural democracy to come. Foroutan, *Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft*, 35–36.

100 See Martha Górnicka, 'Enquete: Working at the Gorki. Marta Górnicka', interview by Solveig Gade and Armando Tondi, *European Journal of Theatre and Performance* no. 2 (2020): 551.

101 Górnicka, 'Enquete: Working at the Gorki', 550.

102 An earlier version of this analysis was published in Petersen and Nielsen, 'The reconfiguration of publics and spaces'. I acknowledge my co-author Sabine Dahl Nielsen's contribution as I wrote the first version of the opening act analysis and she contributed further insights.

103 See Langhoff, 'Taking History Personally', 468.

104 See Aljoscha Begrich et al., *4. Berliner Herbstsalon. Kunst (guidebook)*, (Berlin: Maxim Gorki Theatre, 2019), 7.

105 See Oliver Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*: *Artistic Activism and the Public Sphere* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2019), 23, 26 and 30.

106 There was free entrance to everything except stage performances at the 1st–4th Berliner Herbstsalons. At the temporally distributed events of the 5th Berliner Herbstsalon, there was free entrance to the exhibitions at Gorki Kiosk in 2021–2022 and the festival 'The Curator's Suitcase' in April 2022. Langhoff comments briefly on the principle of free entrance in Stefan Hochgesand, '2. Berliner Herbstsalon', *tipBerlin*, November 13, 2015, https://www.tip-berlin.de/kultur/ausstellungen/2-berliner-herbstsalon/

107 See Marion von Osten, 'Producing Publics – Making Worlds! On the Relationship between the Art Public and the Counterpublic', in 'Curating Critique', special issue, *On Curating* no. 9 (2011): 60–62.

108 Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics*, 26.

109 For example, the fourth panel of the conference 'De-heimatize Belonging' was entitled 'What Does It Mean in Action?' It took place on the stage of the Maxim Gorki Theatre, where activist approaches were explored by Olubukola Gbadegesin, Ethel Brooks, Donna Miranda and Esra Karakaya in direct dialogue with those attending the panel session.

110 The first day of the conference 'De-heimatize Belonging' was held in the *Senatssaal* of the Humboldt Universität, the second day at the Gorki Theatre. The conference was followed by a string of closed sessions and discussions with speakers such as Shermin Langhoff, Grada Kilomba, Marta Górnicka, the artist and activist group Zentrum für Politische Schönheit (Centre for Political Beauty) and curators from Savvy Contemporary, all held at the theatre. The exhibition comprised works installed in several venues in addition to the works installed in public space: Palais am Festungsgraben, Zeughauskino im Deutschen Historischen Museum, East Side Gallery, Haus der Statistik and Scotty.

111 See Chapter 5, 'Feminist Epistemological Communities', in Alison Assiter, *Enlightened Women: Modernist Feminism in a Postmodern Age* (London: Routledge, 1996); see also Alison Assiter, 'Feminist epistemology and value', *Feminist Theory* 1, no. 3 (2000): 329–45. It is Yuval-Davis who credits Assiter with introducing the concept. Nira Yuval-Davis, 'What Is "Transversal Politics"?', *soundings*, no. 12 (1999): 96.

112 See Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms*, vol. 1, 1 and 4.

113 Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms*, vol. 1, 7. See also 1, 31, 40 and 105.

114 Assiter, *Enlightened Women*, 80.

115 Assiter, *Enlightened Women*, 81.

116 Assiter, *Enlightened Women*, 81.

117 Assiter, *Enlightened Women*, 81.

118 Assiter, 'Feminist Epistemology', 329.

119 Assiter, *Enlightened Women*, 84.

120 Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms*, vol. 1, 19. Meskimmon draws on Donna Haraway's seminal 1988 article 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective', which also serves as a model for her own innovative mode of dialogic writing and the manner in which she structures the chapters of her book as conversations with and among the scholars/scholarly texts and the artworks she engages with (regarding method, see Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms*, 1, 18–19). Meskimmon explains how Haraway's plurivocal article with voices from many different disciplines and fields is structured as 'a conversation on collaborative thinking' (ibid., 21) and suggests that Haraway's article (and the chapters of her own book) 'produces a form of epistemic community'.

It is tempting to generalize Meskimmon's point that the knowledge-sharing performed in an academic text can produce the author's (and the reader's) epistemic community, because all academic writing is to some extent a dialogue or an 'intertextual' interchange with other texts. However, to avoid diluting the concept of epistemic community to a general theory of the textual production of meaning, it is paramount to maintain a distinction between, on the one hand, the fundamentally dialogical nature of all academic writing and the dialogic relationship of a reader to a text and, on the other, the dialogue within an epistemic community with a shared sense of commitment to a set of emancipatory values.

121 Gerald Raunig, 'Transversal Multitudes', *Transversal* (2002): 2, https://transversal.at/pdf/journal-text/957/

122 Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms*, vol. 1, 40.

123 Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms*, vol. 1, 18–19.

124 Both Meskimmon and Mouffe argue that art has a special role to play in coalition-building thanks to its affective dimensions. While Meskimmon would see art's polysemy and openness to different interpretations as an asset, as do I, Mouffe however shares with Oliver Marchart a scepticism about contemporary art's openness and ambiguity because these properties may hamper art's political efficacy.

125 Raunig, 'Transversal Multitudes', 2.

126 Berlant, 'The Commons', 394.

127 Berlant, 'The Commons', 403.

5 Public Monuments and Postmigrant Re-Memorialization

Contesting Art in Public Spaces

Across the world, the 2010s and early 2020s have seen a surge of activist protests and startling artistic and cultural projects that engage memory politics in ways that call out the after-effects of past violence and injustice in the present. In this chapter, I argue that some of these projects should be seen as engagements with the problem-space of postmigration, and I seek to demonstrate how they position art in public spaces at the very centre of postmigrant contestations. Such projects often use public spaces and forums of debate strategically as sites for making the claims of marginalized voices heard and visibilizing hitherto neglected or silenced aspects of history, thereby contesting the established truths about history and who has the 'right to' and thus holds the privilege of representation in public space. In fact, the rich meanings of the verb *to contest* capture well the nature of these struggles over the past and the present. In addition to its most common meaning – to argue against or debate and to dispute and call into question – *to contest* can also mean to struggle and fight for or against, including 'to dispute with arms'. In the seventeenth century, it could also signify 'to bear witness' and to 'make a solemn appeal or protest'.[1]

Both Chapters 5 and 6 focus on how art in the public realm of a society transformed by (im)migration can 'contest' – how art can shape and is, in turn, shaped by the disagreements and negotiations resulting from the need to accommodate increasing cultural diversity and new claims for participation, visibility and the recognition of difference. The aim is to explore how artists have made interventions in what I designate as postmigrant public spaces, and how new and old monuments can reflect contemporary society. The two chapters propose and unpack theoretical concepts I consider to be heuristically useful to cultural analysis as well as to the broader debates on postmigrant culture. This chapter elaborates the idea of *postmigrant re-memorialization* as a specific form of memorialization that is linked to but not identical with postcolonial forms of counter-memorialization concerned with the revision of colonial histories. Chapter 6 unpacks the concept of *postmigrant public space*. In each chapter, I examine an art project in Copenhagen and harness my analyses of the visual thinking generated by art to develop the two theoretical concepts further. The central case study in this chapter is La Vaughn Belle and Jeannette Ehlers's collaboration on the memorial *I Am Queen Mary*. This was installed in the Port of Copenhagen, in front of the West Indian Warehouse – an example of architectural heritage from colonial times located in the Frederiksstaden district, whose grand buildings and city plan were financed by the riches made from the seventeenth-century colonial trade.[2] In Chapter 6, I explore an urban park with a public square: the award-winning

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urban recreational area *Superkilen* ('Super Wedge'), which opened in the multicultural district of Nørrebro in 2012.

I Am Queen Mary is the first monument in the country to critically commemorate Danish colonialism and complicity in the transatlantic slave trade. It drew extraordinary national and international media attention when it was inaugurated in 2018 (see Figure 5.1). The fact that *I Am Queen Mary* was marked on Google Maps[3] – when the nearby late-modernist sculpture by Søren Georg Jensen (1976–1979) is not, but Jacques-François-Joseph Saly's famous equestrian statue of King Frederik V (1753–1774) on Amalienborg Palace Square, at the heart of Frederiksstaden, is – is indicative that *I Am Queen Mary*, in a remarkably short time span, became a public attraction and gained a reputation as a seminal contribution to postcolonial counter-memorialization. Belle and Ehlers's memorial thus provides me with an opportunity to explore the important intersection of postmigrant and postcolonial perspectives in art. In this Copenhagen context, the postcolonial perspective is understood to be a critical lens through which Europe is seen as a product of its own colonial legacy. I introduce the concept of re-memorialization along with some thoughts on what distinguishes *postmigrant* re-memorialization before I turn to a series of recent monuments and some of the struggles over monuments and other markers in urban space. I will also look at examples from both American and European contexts to describe more accurately the differences between re-commemoration on

Figure 5.1 La Vaughn Belle and Jeannette Ehlers, *I Am Queen Mary*. Polystyrene, coral stones and concrete, height 7 metres, depth 3.89 metres. Inauguration on March 31, 2018, on the Copenhagen Harbour front, outside the West Indian Warehouse. Photograph: Thorsten Altmann-Krueger. © Courtesy of the artists.

either side of the Atlantic, including the campaigns for the renaming of streets in Berlin and Olu Oguibe's *Das Flüchtlinge und Fremdlinge Monument* ('Monument to Strangers and Refugees', 2017) in Kassel, Germany; the removal of Confederate monuments in the USA; some of the attacks on monuments in connection with the surge of European anti-racism protests in 2020; and Belle and Ehlers's *I Am Queen Mary* in Copenhagen. In the broad scope of things, the two art projects, *I Am Queen Mary* and *Superkilen*, are foregrounded in order to shed some light on what the reconfigurative power of art can accomplish in postmigrant public spaces. These works may provide us with some much-needed answers to the question of the contested yet crucial role of public art in plural democratic societies: how can works of art form a possible loophole of escape from dominant discourses by openly challenging or subtly circumventing traditional understandings of national heritage and identity that are no longer in keeping with the times, thereby helping us to imagine national and urban communities and histories otherwise?

Urban Fallism and the Re-Memorialization of Europe

The 2010s and early 2020s saw old monuments fall and new monuments being created, contested and sometimes embraced by local communities. News of such battles reached far beyond art circles and reverberated in public debates across the world. As W.J.T. Mitchell has pointed out, it is not uncommon that such struggles involve some kind of violence and destruction or their symbolic counterpart, iconoclasm – the rejection or destruction of the symbolic objects themselves, including public icons and other forms of visual art and representation in public space.[4] Oftentimes, such destructive struggles do not target monuments in their capacity as art but primarily because of their historical significance, that is, for their ability to monumentalize the version of history that has reigned supreme and to express the desire of governments and dominant groups in society to assert political power and establish a particular social order.

The questions of memorialization and identity formation and their place in societies of contested transition have resurfaced over and over again in connection with the public protests of recent years, and they are central to postmigrant societies. The urban sociologist Sybille Frank and urban studies scholar Mirjana Ristic have suggested that the concept of *urban fallism* may serve as an umbrella term for the many different instances of monuments being creatively transformed, vandalized, toppled or removed across the world since around 2015. They submit that such actions are part of a 'struggle for empowerment of the minorities, marginalized and/or oppressed communities to have their previously silenced voices heard' as they operate as a 'a tool for political resistance against marginalization, discrimination and exclusion, a catalyst for democracy and social justice, and a means of dealing with contested heritage'.[5] Interestingly, they also argue that in many cases, fallism is caused by a city-based longing and activist campaigning for change and social justice that is fuelled by *transnationally interconnected protest movements* rather than from inward-looking, nation-based initiatives and movements. As Frank and Ristic's understanding of urban fallism resonates well with the concept of postmigrant imaginaries introduced in Chapter 3, it has served as a springboard for my concept of postmigrant re-memorialization. It has also strengthened my conviction that a study of re-memorialization can deepen our understanding of, first, how both destructive and creative modifications of commemorative art in public spaces can operate as a form of critical reinterpretation of the past that has sedimented in the cityscape and stabilized societal structures and collective identities often exclusive of 'others'; and second, how

re-memorialization can further an affirmative inclusion and coexistence of multiple narratives of the past.[6]

To memorialize means 'to preserve the memory of; to be or supply a memorial of; to commemorate'.[7] As opposed to the broader meaning of the verb *to commemorate* – 'to remind people of an important person or event from the past with a special action or object; to exist to remind people of a person or an event from the past'[8] – *to memorialize* is often associated specifically with the creation of monuments and memorials. When discussing the ongoing contestations of the past in postmigrant public spaces, I use the term *re-commemoration* to denote the re-institution, re-incorporation and restoration of names, persons and events that have been erased from history and from commemorative practices by intentional or unintentional acts of forgetting.[9] The term *re-memorialization* is used to designate a sub-category of re-commemoration that assumes the material form of a monument, memorial or other kind of commemorative public art. In both cases, the prefix 're-' indicates that this commemoration is semantically different from the one that has reigned supreme. Re-memorialization denotes practices of memorialization that remember and commemorate the past differently, often contesting a dominant historical narrative and foregrounding aspects of the past to which no or only a few and marginal markers and monuments have been dedicated. Like urban fallism, re-memorialization is about unpacking, deconstructing and subverting a troublesome heritage, to open it up to new meanings and the stories and perspectives of those who have been on the receiving end of history.[10] Moreover, in re-memorialization, the past is not perceived as a closed chapter but as an influential factor in shaping contemporary perceptions and social conjunctures. Oftentimes, the past and historical forms of commemoration are framed critically as an archive of ideologies that nationalist or white suprematist politics can tap into. As demonstrated below, Belle and Ehlers's *I Am Queen Mary* is a case in point as are Olu Oguibe's *Flüchlinge und Fremdlinge Monument* and Mark Quinn and Jen Reid's *A Surge of Power (Jen Reid)* (2020). Contestative practices of re-memorialization have the potential to destabilize established historical narratives and exclusive identities at the same time as they move towards a more inclusive understanding based on interactions with difference. In doing so, they seek 'to set the stage for the creation of a heterogeneous memorial landscape that acknowledges the legacies of diverse communities'.[11]

Some important examples of re-memorialization are found in the Southern USA, and may help in finding a better grasp of this phenomenon and its transformative potential. As the historian Mary Niall Mitchell has noted, monument removal and reimagining are inherently about the future rather than the past. Mitchell's observation has a general validity, although it is deduced from a local event: the removal in 2017 of the long-contested statues of the President of the Confederacy Jefferson Davis and of the Confederate Generals Robert E. Lee and P.G.T. Beauregard in New Orleans – all symbols of white supremacy and the 'Lost Cause' ideology reaching back to the late nineteenth century. This ideology framed the American Civil War (1861–1865) as a conflict between whites in the North and the South over state rights rather than over the abolition/perpetuation of the institution of slavery. It was this narrative that the removals contested:

> The desire to remove white supremacist monuments was, and is, about dislodging the city's tangible and symbolic support for defenders of slavery, racism, segregation, and its continued legacies while making the public space of the city itself more inclusive. This argument is in line with the urban studies theory of the 'right to the city' which

includes what scholar David Harvey describes as 'a right to make the city different', to remake it into a more inclusive and democratic space.[12]

The political scientist Brent Steele has used the term 're-memorialization' in his analytical juxtaposition of the monuments glorifying the Confederacy and the Lost Cause, of which the majority date from the 1880s to the 1920s, and the more recent commemoration of the history of lynchings that spiked in the same period of time. Steele argues convincingly that both the erection of the Confederate monuments that 'pepper' the public spaces of the American South and the concurrent lynching of thousands of African Americans should be considered effects of the Lost Cause.[13] Turning to the present-day re-commemoration of the American Civil War, slavery and racism, Steele lists the three tactics preferred by those seeking action: (1) destruction; (2) removal; and (3) 'countermemory' or 'filling out'.[14] Although some activists aim at 'ridding the cityscape of white suprematist monuments',[15] destruction and removal sometimes remain a 'no-go'.[16] Steele contends that in such cases, re-memorialization 'may entail some productive avenues for challenging the Lost Cause'[17] or any ideological historical narrative for that matter.

Although Steele does not define a concept of re-memorialization, it is clear from his argument that he understands such practices to not only 'redescribe' and 'rediscover' histories that have been silenced, sidelined or forgotten, but also that they *repoliticize* historical memory by 'making present what has long been absent as a way to grapple with the politics of that past and its effects in the present'.[18] Similarly, the concept of *postmigrant* re-memorialization proposed in this chapter refers to critical and revisionist commemorative practices in the domain of art and material culture that engage with the problem-space or 'politics' of postmigration, often in ways that highlight its entanglement with that of postcolonialism.

An excellent example of such practices, emerging from the borderland between activism, academia, art and political decision-making, is the struggle for the renaming of some streets in Berlin, particularly the renaming of the Mohrenstraße – Moor Street – in order to be rid of the racist connotations of the antiquated word. On August 20, 2020, the Berlin-Mitte District Assembly decided to rename Mohrenstraße as Anton-Wilhelm-Amo-Straße. Amo was abducted as a child from present-day Ghana; in 1707, he was donated by the Dutch East India Company to the court of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel where he had to work as an enslaved servant. As a special favour, Amo was allowed to study at the University of Halle, where he later received his doctorate on the legal status of black people in Europe. He eventually became a scholar, working for the abolition of slavery, and is thus an important figure in the early imagining of another Europe.[19] On the day after the decision about the new street name, the Neighborhood Initiative Anton-Wilhelm-Amo-Straße celebrated this signal of change by organizing a 'Decolonial Walk' together with the civil society groups and activists who had been campaigning on this issue for decades, including the drive to rename street names that had a colonial-racist history in the so-called Afrikanisches Viertel ('the African Quarter', a neighbourhood of Wedding which is also part of the Berlin-Mitte District).[20] The critical debate had already begun in the 1980s.[21] Eventually, in April 2018, the Berlin-Mitte District Assembly decided to rename Petersallee, Nachtigalplatz and Lüderitzstraße – all places named after colonial perpetrators. The new street name of Lüderitzstraße will be Cornelius-Fredericks-Straße, while Petersallee will be divided into two, Anna-Mungunda-Allee and Maji-Maji-Allee; the square Nachtigalplatz will become Manga-Bell-Platz.[22]

The Neighbourhood Initiative Anton-Wilhelm-Amo-Straße has had a stronghold at the Humboldt University's Department of European Ethnology located at the end of the street. An important voice in the debates on street renaming as well as those on coloniality and postmigration is the professor in the Department and the co-founder of the Neighbourhood Initiative, Regina Römhild, who has always bemoaned the address in her signature.[23] It was Römhild who signed an open letter with the headline 'Kein Rassismus vor unserer Haustür!' – 'No Racism on Our Doorstep!' – on behalf of researchers at the institute and the Neighbourhood Initiative. The letter was printed on her official headed paper but the street name had been tweaked with an *umlaut* over the 'o' of the street name, thus turning it into Möhren Straße – Carrots Street – as a humourous subversive prefiguration of the future renaming of the street.[24] Interestingly, the open letter begins with the demand that the 'M*straße' should be renamed and thereby rethought as 'a Place of Postcolonial Coexistence' – a phrase that evokes the notion of living together in difference and a foregrounding of *contemporary* German society. The letter also mentions that the transnational surge of the Black Lives Matter demonstrations in the summer of 2020 had given a new impetus to their demand. Not only is the inspiration from this US-initiated movement acknowledged, so also is the shared problem of racism:

> The street's name testifies to the fact that in our present, violent German and European colonial histories which we have been critically examining for a long time, continue to be felt, perpetuated as racism.[25]

In an online update after the decision to rename the street had been announced, the Neighbourhood Initiative reiterated the point that the renaming was about the fight against persistent racism:

> During the "Decolonial Walk" along the future Anton-Wilhelm-Amo-Strasse on August 21st, 2020, we showed a large audience – together with renowned representatives from the arts, science and politics – *how we can rethink both historical and contemporary racism and its interdependencies*, *in the spirit of Amo himself and in service of a collective future*.[26]

Of note here, in addition to the long track record of anti-racist and postcolonial struggles in Germany, is that the update confirms the open letter's emphasis on the afterlife of the colonial past in the present. Despite the obvious social, political, historical and cultural differences, this underscores that there are important affinities between the German struggle to have colonialist street names replaced and the American protests demanding the removal of Confederate monuments that celebrate slavery, racism and violence against people of African descent.

As regards the differences, it is noteworthy that the German emphasis is not so much on the critique of a violent history and the removal of historical markers,[27] but rather on *change* and the creation of *new* markers that *visibilize* the historical presence of people of colour in Europe and *honour* black historical figures 'worthy of praise' because they figure only sporadically in the commemorative practices and historical archives of Europe.[28] Thus, the renaming of streets signals a change of perspective on cultural heritage and contributes to redefining German society as an ethnically heterogeneous 'place of postcolonial coexistence'.[29]

Those who struggle to 'decolonize' urban streets by changing their names seek to not only clear space but also to make space for the imagining of 'other Europes'.[30] Crucially, this acknowledgement of contemporary diversity cannot be separated from the acknowledgement of how Germany has been shaped by its histories of immigration. As Tahir Della, spokesperson for the association Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland ('The Black People in Germany Initiative'), observes:

> Those who speak of the colonialism of the past must also speak of today's movements of migration and flight; of structural racism, of racial profiling, of police violence, and of where racist classification originated in the first place.[31]

I contend that these features of the struggle over street names in Berlin are postmigrant. In contradistinction to the American debates on Confederate monuments and racism, which are often framed as an antagonistic struggle between white Americans subscribing to 'white supremacy' and African Americans who have been suppressed for centuries,[32] the German debate does not usually single out the struggle of the Afro-German community specifically, but tends to address the broader problems of racism, which also affect other migrantized/ethnicized citizens. This is also evident from Römhild's open letter, which states that the aim is to establish 'a broad alliance' that fights for 'a change towards an inclusive, post-colonial urban self-image' and 'the liberal cosmopolitanism for which Berlin in particular stands'.[33]

Such formulations reflect an understanding of the transformations towards a postmigrant society and plural democracy as a process that affects and should engage *all* citizens. The Berlin examples of *postmigrant* re-memorialization suggest therefore that European postmigrant re-memorialization shifts the emphasis to the heterogeneous demographic and cultural composition of Europe, but without neglecting colonial histories of violence and racial stigmatization. One of the reasons for this difference may be the smaller number of citizens of African descent living in European nation-states as compared to the USA, as the sociologist Stephen Small has suggested in his study, *20 Questions and Answers on Black Europe*. In the USA, black and black-led organizations thrive on a relatively large and concentrated black presence and a long tradition of African American community and political organizing. By contrast, organizations in Europe, even in countries such as the UK and France, with their relatively large and well-established black populations, date mostly from after the Second World War and 'face a far greater need to develop alliances with non-Blacks'.[34] These distinctions thus underscore the importance of exploring forms of memorialization in their specific contexts, particularly when they are transnationally entangled.

When Monuments Fall

In the first part of this chapter, I argue that destructive and creative acts of commemoration are interconnected. To underpin this claim, I proceed by considering some acts of vandalism and dismantling of monuments before I turn to some inventive forms of re-memorialization, because the question of what new monuments and markers should represent cannot be properly answered without a consideration of why others might have to be removed.[35]

Grassroot activists and black organizations, along with artists, curators, academics and debaters engaging with the problem-spaces of postcolonialism and postmigration,

have been instrumental in preparing the ground for change, both in the USA and Europe. They have helped pave the way for the removal of contested monuments and fuelled the desire for new commemorative practices, including the new European forms of postmigrant re-memorialization as examined in Chapters 5 and 6. Using New Orleans as an example, Mary Niall Michell has demonstrated that the city's formal decision to remove Confederate monuments did not just happen without any precedence. It was the decades of activist protests and educational work that made it possible to imagine a cityscape rid of the most contested Confederate monuments:

> The fallism that occurred on the streets of New Orleans in 2017, albeit made legal via formal channels, was made possible because of the thinkers and the community activists who long preceded Landrieu [the mayor of New Orleans] in their call for removing the city's prominent white supremacist symbols.[36]

The contestation of monuments revealed its violent and iconoclastic nature most forcefully in May 2020, after the killing of the African American civilian George Floyd by the Minneapolis police. This ignited numerous Black Lives Matter-led protests across the world, calling for an end to systemic racism and an interrogation of the colonial legacies of contemporary societies. During the course of these demonstrations, angry protesters tore down controversial public symbols of colonialism, the slave trade and racism. In the eyes of the critics, these symbols are thought to sanction and even glorify racist violence, social discrimination, intolerance and prejudice against people of African descent that have persisted in the aftermath of the colonial era and colonial slavery.[37]

Most of the monuments that were attacked were in the United States and ranged from monuments to the Confederate States of America to statues of Christopher Columbus, a symbol of the genocide of Native American people. Notably, similar and concurrent acts of destruction also took place in countries such as South Africa (in Cape Town, a bust of the mining magnate and politician Cecil John Rhodes was decapitated)[38]; Belgium (statues of King Leopold II, who brutally colonized Congo, were vandalized in Brussels and Ghent)[39]; Greenland and Denmark (in Nuuk and Copenhagen, statues of the colonial missionary Hans Egede were 'recoded' using blood-red paint and decolonizing slogans)[40]; the UK (in London, demonstrators sprayed graffiti on the iconic statue of former Prime Minister Winston Churchill in Parliament Square, stating that Churchill 'was a racist', and 'signing' the defacement by attaching a cardboard sign with the words 'Black Lives Matter' to the sculpture)[41]; France (in Paris, three anti-racism activists were arrested for draping black cloth over a statue of General Joseph Gallieni, who led brutal campaigns to quash rebellion in the French colonies)[42]; and Germany (memorials to the Chancellor of the German Empire, Otto von Bismarck, in Hamburg and Berlin were defaced with red paint and slogans).[43]

Of special significance is the statue of the slave trader Edward Colston in the British city of Bristol. This statue was toppled by protesters on June 7, 2020, and dumped in the city's harbour. After the event, Black Lives Matter activist Jen Reid climbed onto the empty plinth and stood there with her clenched fist raised defiantly above her head as a 'living sculpture'. The British artist Marc Quinn saw the photo her husband had snapped and posted on his Instagram account. He asked Jen Reid to collaborate on a resin-and-steel sculpture based on the photo and a 3D (three dimensional) scan of her body. A little more than a month later, on July 15, a team directed by Quinn mounted the sculpture of Reid on the empty plinth in the early morning hours. Although this artistic and political

intervention stayed in place for only twenty-four hours before it was removed by the authorities, the sculpture *A Surge of Power (Jen Reid)* gave the public an opportunity to re-imagine (British) history by offering a proposal for what might replace Bristol's old symbol of enslavement, racism and exploitation (see Figure 5.2).[44]

The acts of iconoclastic re-commemoration listed here derive from historical precedents. The most important one is probably the 'Rhodes Must Fall' campaign in 2015, when thousands of student protestors at the University of Cape Town demanded that a sculpture of Cecil John Rhodes (by Marion Walgate, 1934) be removed from the campus. The removal of this imposing symbol of colonialism and apartheid was closely linked to more extensive demands for structural change to end the racism still prevailing at the university.[45] The protests involved occupation, appropriation and transformation of the Rhodes statue by temporary creative practices, such as banners, graffiti, performances and on-site discussions. On March 9, 2015, the statue was removed, following a vote by the University of Cape Town senate in favour of its dismantling. For this occasion, the artist Sethembile Msezane created *Chapungu – The Day Rhodes Fell*, perhaps the most complex of her performative sculptures in which she stands, often for hours, on a plinth in public space. As a crane pulled down the statue, Msezane lifted her arms, embellished with wings resembling the Chapungu bird, a reference to one of eight soapstone birds

Figure 5.2 Mark Quinn and Jen Reid, *A Surge of Power (Jen Reid)*, installed temporarily on the empty plinth of the toppled statue of slave trader Edward Colston in Bristol, England, on July 15, 2020. Black resin and steel, 229 (including steel base plates) × 70 × 70 centimetres. Photograph: James Veysey/Shutterstock/Ritzau Scanpix.

removed from what was then known as Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and still owned by the Rhodes Estate. Msezane thus performed a protest against (institutionalized) racism as well as colonial plunder at the same time as she visibilized black women whose stories and work are conspicuous in their absence from public space.[46]

The fall of the Rhodes statue gained the attention of a wide national and transnational audience through the dissemination of images via social media. According to Frank and Ristic, this included a Facebook page and the Twitter hashtags '#RhodesMustFall' and '#Fallism', of which the latter gave a generic name to the transnationally interconnected protest movements calling for the removal of contested monuments that glorify histories of suppression, violence and injustice, especially the histories of colonialism and chattel slavery.[47] These statues and monuments often symbolize inequalities that have persisted despite some improvements, for example, the improvement of democratic rights for black South Africans since the end of Apartheid in 1994. Therefore, such monuments cannot simply stay, at least not without being critically reframed, either by creative interventions or new explanatory contextualization – or the addition of what I describe here as forms of re-memorialization that narrate history from the perspective of other agents of history.

The history of battles over monuments in public space is too long to be recounted here.[48] However, I would like to mention one more example of a contested, and contesting, monument as an entry point to my examination of the reconfigurative and re-commemorative power of contemporary art in public space. In other words, instead of examining anti-racist and postcolonial struggles over the monuments of the past, I apply a postmigrant perspective to provide some answers to the crucial questions of what kinds of art might replace the dismounted monuments, and what kind of blueprints for the future they may afford.

Seen from a postmigrant perspective, a particularly interesting case is the Nigerian-born American artist Olu Oguibe's *Das Fremdlinge und Flüchtlinge Monument* (see Figure 5.3). On this concrete obelisk, a verse from the Book of Matthew (25:35) reads 'I was a stranger and you took me in' in German, English, Arabic and Turkish – the four most commonly spoken languages in the city of Kassel, where the monument was installed in the city's central square, Königsplatz. The work was commissioned for the Documenta 14 exhibition held in Kassel and Athens in 2017. When the monument was inaugurated in June 2017, Oguibe was awarded the prestigious Arnold Bode Prize for what was perceived by many to be both a call to action and a homage to German hospitality towards refugees. In interviews given that year, Oguibe explained that he and his assisting team used the obelisk – a 'timeless' form originating in and spreading from Africa – to project the 'universal, timeless principles' of hospitality and charity, together with the principle of gratitude towards hosts as charitable agents who are also deserving of respect. Intending the monument to be a homage to both refugees and the host community, Oguibe thus emphasized that welcoming strangers and refugees involves the development of a *reciprocal* relationship between guest and host based on an interplay between hospitality towards and gratitude from strangers.[49]

Considering the polarized and hostile debate concerning refugees and asylum seekers in the wake of the European refugee situation in 2015 and the fact that the exaggerated media attention has aggravated popular anxieties about immigration, it is significant that Oguibe combines classical humanism's compassion and ethical responsibility for one's neighbours with an American postcolonial perspective on anxiety about strangers to explain why pro-refugee as well as anti-refugee sentiment or both hospitality and suspicion are intrinsic to the encounter with strangers. In Oguibe's view, 'host anxiety'

Figure 5.3 Olu Oguibe, *Das Fremdlinge und Flüchtlinge Monument* ('Monument for Strangers and Refugees'), 2017. Concrete. 3 × 3 × 16.3 metres. Shown here in its permanent location in Treppenstraße, Kassel. Photograph: Anne Ring Petersen.

about newcomers is a natural and legitimate reaction. It is an awareness of the fact that 'charity is an act of faith' and that even though newcomers bring new skills and culture that enrich the community, 'you take a risk when you take people in'.[50] Consequently, host anxiety cannot simply be reduced to xenophobia. Notably, Oguibe explains this point without making any concessions to anti-immigration sentiment, as he refers to the pertinent historical example of immigration to the Americas: European colonizers and settlers were strangers who brought a lot of pain, and not only good things. And they did not bring peace. Oguibe's own pro-refugee position becomes clear, however, when he repeatedly declares that the principles of hospitality and gratitude are a 'natural law' that he himself learnt about in early childhood in the late 1960s when his family was forcibly displaced as a consequence of the Nigerian-Biafran War.[51]

Oguibe reappropriated the monumental form of the obelisk with its embedded history of colonialism and plunder, thereby summoning 'the ghosts of the sedimented conflicts'.[52] Yet, this is not a monument to colonial histories of violence. Colonial ghosts are rather the foil against which the monument measures 'the present plights of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers'.[53] The declarative mode of the inscription '*I* was a stranger...' and the fact that the words are spoken in the first person invites the viewer to engage in a performative identification that relates to the voice and body of the refugee. As McLaughlin puts it, 'the monument *speaks as* the refugee in the present'.[54]

As the Kassel city council and the artist failed to reach an agreement on the relocation of the work to another square, the monument was dismantled on October 3, 2018. The timing of the removal, coinciding with Germany's national holiday to commemorate reunification, was an insensitive gesture and was seen by some critics as the city bowing to anti-immigration pressure from right-wing politicians. Earlier, Thomas Materner, member of the city council for Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), had described the obelisk as 'ideologically polarizing, disfigured art', an uncanny evocation of the Nazi term 'degenerate art'.[55] The dismantling of the sculpture was openly celebrated by the Kassel City branch of AfD.[56] On October 3, AfD Kassel announced on Facebook:

> The champagne corks are popping! The dismantling of the obelisk is a complete success for AfD Kassel and its symbolic significance cannot be overestimated! The symbol of the welcoming culture, in other words the signal of uninhibited entry of illegal, outlandish [*kulturfremder*] migrants into Germany, had to be removed from the centre of the city and represents the coming turn in migration politics.[57]

Fortunately, however, shortly after the removal of the obelisk, the city and the artist reached an agreement to relocate the sculpture to the pedestrian shopping street, Treppenstraße, also in the city centre.[58] As a result, the sculpture returned to Kassel, to its new permanent location, on April 18, 2019.[59]

As these examples demonstrate, works of art in public spaces and the controversies they generate are expressions of the cultural and historical circumstances from which the works emerge. For this reason, they often provide communities and nations with important collective points of orientation and identification or with points of counter-identification. In short, people struggle over art in public space because it matters. Art in public space can stir up a plurality of emotions and memories, both of which are crucial to processes of collective identification.

Within the framework of memory studies, Anna Cento Bull and Hans Lauge Hansen have used Chantal Mouffe's concepts of agonism and antagonism, along with her critique of cosmopolitanism, to arrive at a better theoretical grip of the polarized nature of contemporary struggles.[60] Bull and Hansen suggest that there are three basic *modes* or ways of remembering, all of which are moulded by transnational forms of mediation. The antagonistic mode of remembering sustains heroic, celebratory and nostalgic narratives of the bounded nation or region and its heritage, as seen in the populist neo-nationalist movements that have resurged in Europe in the twenty-first century. It clashes with the 'ethical/cosmopolitan mode of remembering' that emphasizes the human suffering of past atrocities and human rights violations. In contradistinction to the former, the cosmopolitan mode seeks to create a global ethical community and its narrative styles are 'characterized by reflexivity, regret and mourning'.[61] Despite the divergence between the two modes of remembering, reflected in the polarized debates on monument toppling, they both draw a sharp line between 'good' and 'evil', and they simplify cultural memory by only being attentive to one side, thereby hampering a critical understanding of the complexity of history.[62] As Bull and Hansen observe, the twenty-first century is marked by a weakening of established national forms of identification and the emergence of transnational and translocal forms of belonging that destabilize fixed boundaries[63] – in other words, it is marked by what Chapter 3 theorized as *postmigrant imaginaries* and forms of belonging. Importantly, with regard to European re-memorialization, this does not mean that a cosmopolitan memory culture has superseded particularistic national

memory cultures. As Bull and Hansen note, it means, rather, that a 'cosmopolitan mode' emphasizing human suffering, injustices and 'perpetratorship' has impacted national narratives and introduced more ambivalent perceptions of Europeanness and sceptical ways of re-commemorating the nation, along with an affirmative recognition of the other. As majoritarian national memory is no longer the uncontested prerogative, nation-states 'have to contend with other scales of identification, the supranational and the subnational' – scales that have been influenced by transnational discourses and diasporic memories and what Bull and Hansen term the cosmopolitan mode of remembering.[64]

Applying Mouffe's concept of agonism and an emphasis on the role of emotions in politics, Bull and Hansen suggest that a possible way to overcome the threat of a socially disruptive schism within memory culture is an *agonistic* mode of remembering capable of embracing the complexity of the specific historical circumstances and incorporating the frictions between the diverging perspectives on and affective relations to cultural memory. Although a singular work of art may not be able to represent the complexity in its totality, it could be argued that new works that re-commemorate history from minoritized perspectives, such as Belle and Ehlers's *I Am Queen Mary*, can help transform and pluralize a country's memorial landscape. In doing so, they can further an agonistic memory culture that can accommodate the frictional coexistence of plural interests and acknowledge the human capacity for evil and how 'good' and 'evil' are interwoven in specific political and sociocultural struggles:

> If we are to avoid the risk that the demythologizing of those who used to be heroes turns into their demonization, leaving open the possibility that they are re-appropriated as heroes by antagonistic and anti-democratic political movements, we need to promote a kind of collective memory that re-instates the social and political agency of those who became victims, on the one hand, and re-humanizes the heroes-now-turned-perpetrators, on the other.[65]

I Am Queen Mary: Contesting the Myth of the Benevolent Colonizer

In his rigorously postcolonial study of Danish history, Lars Jensen has stressed that the examination of individual colonial empires requires a balancing act between, on the one hand, the general paradigm and fundamental dynamics that characterized 'the family of European imperialism' driven by capitalist economic expansion and, on the other, the specificities of the individual empire and its contact zones.[66] From the 1660s until the beginning of the 1800s, the Kingdom of Denmark–Norway was engaged in the triangular trade that involved the exportation of firearms and other manufactured goods to Africa in exchange for enslaved Africans, who were then transported to the Caribbean to labour on the sugar plantations. The final stage of the triangle was the exportation of sugar, rum and other goods to Denmark–Norway. However, the narrative of the Kingdom of Denmark–Norway as a 'benevolent' colonizer with an 'enlightened' role in the abolition of the slave trade and slavery has reigned supreme until recent years. In 2013, the historical archaeologists Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin summarized the general understanding in Scandinavia thus: 'Perhaps the most widespread view among academics, the general public and politicians is, however, an opinion that Scandinavian colonialism was benign... based on collaboration rather than extortion and subjugation.'[67]

Distancing herself from this understanding, the Copenhagen-based artist Jeannette Ehlers conceived *I Am Queen Mary* (see Figures 5.1 and 5.4) as a monument to

Figure 5.4 *La Vaughn Belle and Jeannette Ehlers*, *I Am Queen Mary*, 2018. Polystyrene, coral stones and concrete, height 7 metres, depth 3.89 metres. Harbour Front outside the West Indian Warehouse, Copenhagen Harbour. Photograph: Nick Furbo. © Courtesy of the artists.

commemorate Caribbean anticolonial resistance in the former Danish West Indies, now the US Virgin Islands. It later developed into a unique collaboration between Ehlers and the Virgin Islands artist La Vaughn Belle, who is based in Frederiksted, St. Croix.[68] Ehlers and Belle are both of Caribbean heritage, or Caribbean and Danish in Ehlers's case, and have international careers. Ehlers combines media such as video, photography, performance, installation and sculpture with activist strategies and a profound engagement with anti-racist and postcolonial critiques as well as with decolonial struggles for epistemic emancipation and the empowerment of people of colour. The consistency of this commitment first became evident in 2009 when she had her first major solo exhibition *Atlantis* at Kunsthal Aarhus. Ehlers has also been a strong voice in local debates; she contributed, for example, to the first issue of the postcolonial journal *Marronage* (2017), a work based on an excerpt from Hans Christian Andersen's drama *The Mulatto* (1840) that addressed slavery.[69] Much of Ehlers's work pivots around Danish colonialism and trade in enslaved Africans, including Denmark's legacy of racism, but she also draws on African American and Caribbean cultural references, from the Black Panther Party, to Martin Luther King Jr., to James Brown and Alfred 'Pee Wee' Ellis's funk song *Say it Loud – I'm Black and I'm Proud* (1968), through to the Black Lives Matter Movement and Caribbean Vodou.

Like Ehlers, La Vaughn Belle's artistic practice spans a variety of media, including painting, installation, photography, writing, video, working with porcelain and public intervention projects. Most of her work is research-based and borrows elements of history, archaeology and architecture. Belle interrogates colonial hierarchies and invisibility by exploring the material culture and narratives of coloniality and the (post/neo)colonial entanglements of the Virgin Islands with other sites of coloniality, particularly Denmark and the USA. As regards the USA, Belle has researched the mostly neglected participation of Virgin Islander artists in the celebrated Harlem Renaissance[70] – a cultural mirror of the unequal political status of Virgin Islanders who hold no electoral votes and have no voting representation in Congress because they are citizens of an overseas territory.[71] As Belle has explained:

> Because I live in the Virgin Islands, a place that has changed colonial hands seven times, the longest being Denmark and the last being the United States, I am particularly interested in the colonial and neocolonial narrative and how it shapes identity, memory and reality.[72]

Belle and Ehlers's memorial *I Am Queen Mary* pays tribute to Mary Leticia Thomas, one of the leaders of the Fireburn labour rebellion against Danish rule in the (then) Danish West Indies. The colony, consisting of the islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John, became the US Virgin Islands in 1917 when Denmark divested the islands by selling them off to the USA without involving the Virgin Islanders in this crucial political decision. The memorial was created as a contribution to the 2017 centennial commemoration of the transfer of the islands to the USA, which was extensively commemorated and debated on the islands themselves as well as in Denmark.

In the Caribbean, 'queen' was an honorary title for the women who headed the social life on the plantations, such as Mary Leticia Thomas. Thomas was one of four queens who led the 1878 rebellion of plantation workers in St. Croix, where the harsh conditions had not improved significantly since the abolition of slavery in 1848. The three other women were Axeline Elisabeth Salomon (Queen Agnes), Mathilde McBean (Queen

Mathilde) and Susanna 'Bottom Belly' Abrahamsen.[73] The uprising was brutally quelled by the local Danish authorities, and the four women instigators were sent to a women's prison in Copenhagen until 1887 when they were returned to serve the rest of their life sentences in St. Croix.[74] Today, they are considered to be key figures in the history of the Virgin Islands.[75]

Jeannette Ehlers originally initiated the Queen Mary project around 2015 in connection with the migration studies scholar Helle Stenum's plans for the exhibition Warehouse to Warehouse, which was to be shown at and to interconnect two colonial storage houses in Denmark and St. Croix. The project included two commissioned monuments by Belle and Ehlers, but it failed to attract the necessary funds. It did, however, give birth to the ideas that would feed into the two artists' collaboration when they decided in 2017 to develop Ehlers's proposal into a collaborative sculpture for the commemoration of the centenary. The monument was unveiled the following year on Transfer Day (March 31) as the first monument in Denmark to commemorate those who were subjected to Danish colonialism and trade in enslaved people.

Such an intervention in public space would probably not have been possible without the changes in the discourse on Danish colonialism of the preceding years. It is only in recent decades that Denmark's past as a colonial empire and being party to the transatlantic slave trade has been critically reconsidered as an entangled history, connecting Denmark with distant parts of the world and with a lasting if differentiated impact on all the societies and peoples involved. Moreover, the critique of Danish colonialism and slave trading took about a decade to gain the necessary traction to travel from academic, activist and artistic circles to the broader public debates and the exhibition spaces of major cultural institutions as well as urban space.

Jeannette Ehlers's practice is emblematic of this development. The earlier phase coincides roughly with a central work in her early production, the 2009 video trilogy *Three Steps of Story, Speed Up That Day* and *Black Magic at the White House*.[76] This can be seen as a re-commemoration of Denmark's colonial relationships with the Danish West Indies and was shown at the time in art galleries that were mainly visited by an art audience interested in contemporary art. Conversely, *I Am Queen Mary* was installed in a public space frequented by thousands of visitors annually. Its unveiling in 2018 was marked by an anti-racism demonstration, organized by the Danish branch of Black Lives Matter, and it was covered extensively by both national and international media. In an interview, Bwalya Sørensen, the leader of Black Lives Matter Denmark, stressed the statue's dual function as a historical memorial and a symbol of contemporary empowerment:

> We march in honour of the four rebel women, because all black or brown girls and women here in Denmark must know that they can make a difference. They must know that there is a path to greatness, no matter how humble the circumstances you come from... The first leaders of the labour movement in the Danish West Indies were four black women. It is time for their heritage to be venerated and their courage to be honoured.[77]

As can be seen from this, the observation above that activist organizations, along with artists, curators and academics, have been instrumental in launching the critical postcolonial and anti-racist debates and preparing the ground for change in Europe and the USA also holds true for Denmark.

A brief account of the preparatory critiques will suffice here. Among the first scholars to call for a 'decolonial turn' and a critical interrogation of the regional peculiarities of

Scandinavian colonialism was Lars Jensen in his 2009 article 'Scandinavia – A Peripheral Centre'.[78] In 2012 followed the anthology *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region*, co-edited by Jensen and Kristín Loftsdóttir, which traced the effects of colonial history in contemporary countries and how it was reactivated as an archive of racist images projected onto migrantized others.[79] In addition to Jensen's above-mentioned book on *Postcolonial Denmark*, the major contributions to critical studies in Danish (post) colonialism include the historian Rikke Andreassen's research into Danish exhibitions of 'exotic' people, the so-called 'human exhibitions' from around 1900, which she published from the early 2000s onwards.[80] A mention should also be made of the historian of ideas Astrid Nonbo Andersen's research into truth and reconciliation processes and demands for reparations in her book *Ingen Undskyldning. Erindringer om Dansk Vestindien og kravet om erstatninger for slaveriet* ('No excuse. Memories of the Danish West Indies and the Demand for Reparations for Slavery', 2017)[81] and the articles that the art historian Mathias Danbolt has published since the 2010s on the art of Nordic colonialism and racism in Danish visual culture.[82] Finally, the monumental five-volume work on colonial history *Danmark og kolonierne* ('*Denmark and the Colonies*') from 2017 reveals that an interest in postcolonialism has spread to the wider field of history writing.[83]

Regarding curatorial practices, critical reconsiderations were pioneered by Frederikke Hansen and Tone Olaf Nielsen. Working together as the collective Kuratorisk Aktion ('Curatorial Action') and committing themselves to curating radical critiques and critical interventions through decolonial, transnational, feminist and collaborative work, the two curators organized a series of events in 2006 entitled 'Rethinking Nordic Colonialism' for the Nordic Institute for Contemporary Art in Helsinki, Finland.[84] 'Rethinking Nordic Colonialism' combined exhibitions, workshops, conferences, hearings and happenings at different locations across the Nordic region. The aim was to shed light on a suppressed past and thus lay some foundations for a comprehensive and connective history of Nordic colonialism, encompassing the formerly colonized territories of Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, Finnish Sápmi and Finland as well as their colonizers Denmark, Norway and Sweden.[85]

La Vaughn Belle and Jacob Fabricius's co-curated group exhibition *Overdragelse* ('Transfer'), held in 2008 at Overgaden Institute of Contemporary Art in Copenhagen should also be mentioned, because it was the first art exhibition that brought together Danish and US Virgin Islander artists and critically examined the entangled histories of Denmark and the Danish West Indies. Another important curatorial initiative that has stimulated the debate on Danish colonialism in the south is BE.BOP (Black Europe Body Politics). This decolonial and postcolonial curatorial initiative has staged annual transdisciplinary events. Set up by the curator, author and filmmaker Alanna Lockward (1961–2019) and her agency Art Labour Archives, events were centred in Berlin but had widespread international ramifications. Thanks to Ehlers's participation, BE.BOP produced important offshoots in Copenhagen in 2013, 2014 and 2016, bringing the germinating postcolonial debates and anti-racist struggles in Denmark into play with international activities.[86]

Among the many exhibitions on Danish colonialism shown during the centenary, two stand out because they amplified this line of critical curating by bringing it into major national cultural institutions. *Blind Spots: Images of the Danish West Indies Colony* (2017–2018) was co-curated by Mathias Danbolt with Mette Kia Krabbe Meyer and Sarah Giersing at the Royal Danish Library and included both visual culture and works of art by, among others, Belle and Ehlers. *What Lies Unspoken* at the National Gallery

of Denmark (SMK) (2017) was based on a soundscape created by art historian Temi Odumosu from Living Archives. This soundscape was a multi-voiced collage of present-day conversations about the exhibited works that were recorded at workshops featuring researchers, academics, curators and activists.

To summarize, in the years leading up to the centenary, critiques of the Danish slave trade and colonialism and debates about the afterlife of this dark past in light of today's racism and social inequality had been building up among artists, curators, scholars and activists, preparing the ground for a shift in Danish memory cultures of colonialism. The centenary intensified these debates and led to an increase in postcolonial critique in public discussions, newspapers, broadcast media and exhibitions, turning 2017 into a long-postponed moment of collective national self-scrutiny.[87] Although it is no longer the object of the same heightened media attention as during the centenary, *decolonizing* artistic and activist activities seem to continue creating frictional arenas for critique and debate across the Scandinavian countries and Greenland. As Mathias Danbolt concludes in his survey of the decolonizing artistic practices of the (late) 2010s: 'Although the 2010s have paved the way for a redistribution of discomfort in the art field, it seems that the struggle for redistribution of power and positions is just getting started.'[88]

Re-Memorializing the Resistance against Colonialism

In what follows, I dig deeper into the subject of postmigrant re-memorialization by examining how La Vaughn Belle and Jeannette Ehlers use the story of a black woman to rewrite the hegemonic version of Danish national history from a postmigrant and transnational perspective informed by a sense of decolonial solidarity.

In the sculpture, Belle and Ehlers literally and metaphorically embody a heroine of the Caribbean anti-colonial rebellions while also evoking a more recent lineage of black rebellion. The visual model for the sculpture was a staged self-portrait of Ehlers posing in a large, peacock-style wicker chair with the whip the artist used for her performance *Whip It Good* (2013–). This photo was taken in 2014 in connection with the recording of this performance for a video work.[89] Ehlers's self-portrait alludes to a famous photo of the African American activist and co-founder of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton, posing like a warrior in a similar chair with a spear in one hand and a rifle in the other, thus signalling the Panthers' focus on militancy and armed self-defence.

In *Whip It Good*, Ehlers re-enacts one of the slavery era's most savage forms of punishment, flogging, by giving a white canvas a vigorous beating with a whip smeared with black charcoal that leaves black marks on the canvas as traces of the violent act. The photo depicts Ehlers enthroned in the peacock chair, wearing the costume for the performance and holding the whip in her raised hands, ready to act. By allusion, Ehlers thus identifies herself as an heir to the black revolutionary and civil rights movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It should be noted, however, that the monument complexifies the conflation of gendered, racialized and national identifications of the photographic image. For one thing, Queen Mary's insignia, torch and cane bill have been substituted for the suppressor's whip, thereby subtly associating the figure of the Caribbean female rebel with the image and spirit of Huey P. Newton as a more recent protagonist of black rebellion. And the figure itself has been transformed into an amalgamation of the physical appearance of the two artists; by dint of their different nationalities, they are able to symbolically renegotiate the exploitative colonial relationship between the two unequally positioned countries. The two artists redefine this relationship in contemporary terms

as a transnational collaboration that evokes the far-reaching transatlantic and diasporic connections between people of African descent struggling against similar forms of misrecognition and racism.

This symbolic hybrid body was generated by morphing 3D images of the artists to create a model that was subsequently used to produce the 3D sculpture, in a process reminiscent of the one Marc Quinn used for his counter-monument *A Surge of Power (Jen Reid)* (2020), a work that is congenial with the homage to the power of black female protest in *I Am Queen Mary*. Cut out of large blocks of polystyrene and coated in layers of sealant and black paint to reinforce the surface, the figure of Mary is made to look like a classical bronze sculpture.[90] Furthermore, the artists also transformed and recoded the traditional European plinth by drawing on a colonial architectural heritage local to the Virgin Islands – coral stones, sourced from Belle's historic property – which were incorporated into the plinth as a tribute to the enslaved people sent out at low tide to cut them from the ocean. By incorporating the material product of slave labour and by approximating the foundations of the sculpture to those of most colonial-era buildings in the US Virgin Islands, Belle and Ehlers added to the monument a critical reminder that Danish colonial wealth was based on slave labour. This idea derived from Belle's practice, specifically her installation *Trading Post* (2015), in which she inverts the colonizer's narrative by reclaiming coral stones from abandoned structures and encasing them in a transparent plexiglass box to showcase the forgotten labour of the enslaved and labouring population, thereby also evoking St. Croix's history of slavery and colonialism. That *I Am Queen Mary* is intended to evoke these complex transnational entanglements is conveyed by the title plate on the plinth, with its inclusion of the work's subtitle: *A Hybrid of Bodies, Nations and Narratives*.

I Am Queen Mary is also hybrid, in the sense that it re-memorializes two interrelated forms of violence. While the figure of the rebel heroine embodies what Danbolt has termed 'subjective violence', the plinth points to the less visible 'objective' or 'systemic' violence that constitutes the 'normal condition' the subjective violence is measured against.[91] Belle and Ehlers's re-memorialization of the Fireburn rebellion thus re-narrates Danish colonial history from the perspective of the exploited African Caribbean working class as a rebellion against the systemic violence of colonial rule, which took place in a historical context and which denied the workers access to deliberative democratic institutions. In doing so, *I Am Queen Mary* invites 'a rather important and difficult fundamental discussion of how we interpret and understand violence when encountering colonial histories and dynamics'.[92]

In contrast to the urban park *Superkilen*, discussed in Chapter 6, *I Am Queen Mary* was not commissioned but resulted from Belle and Ehlers's extraordinary perseverance, not only to create the memorial but also to mobilize sufficient support and funds for the polystyrene sculpture, which from the outset the artists aimed to have replaced eventually by a permanent bronze sculpture. As a result of this perseverance, in March 2019 they were granted permission to extend their temporary project in front of the West Indian Warehouse for another year. The following month, the Culture and Leisure Administration of the City of Copenhagen decided to support the artists' wish to have the statue cast in bronze and for it to become a permanent part of Copenhagen's public space by granting them DKK 52,500 for a preliminary investigation, fundraising and public consultation. After a storm in December 2020 tore off the figure's head and the back of the chair, necessitating the dismantling of the sculpture, the Cultural Ministry granted permission to have a permanent bronze sculpture installed on the site in March 2021. Shortly after,

the resourceful artists began preparing a fundraising campaign aimed at everyone who wished to support the fabrication of the memorial in Copenhagen as well as a companion piece in St. Croix. By synchronizing their campaign with their participation in SMK's exhibition *After the Silence – Women of Art Speak Out* in August 2021, Belle and Ehlers also shifted the attention to the often-overlooked feminist aspects of *I Am Queen Mary*.[93]

Moving on from the memorial's function as a monumentalization of postcolonial critique, the questions I would like to address are: How might Belle and Ehlers's project help change the understanding of Danish heritage, history and identity? And how does it resonate with the ideas of a postmigrant society and postmigrant public space?

As a Copenhagen-based artist, Ehlers grew up in the nascent postmigrant condition of the Danish population, towards whom this public art project is primarily addressed. I propose *firstly* that *I Am Queen Mary* should be acknowledged as a contribution to the 'migrantization' of Danish national heritage and official culture, because it aids the recognition that histories of migration are an integral and formative part of the history of the nation. Central to the story that the monument tells and the way it tells this story are stories of migration, including the forced voyages of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic Ocean, the journeys of Danish colonizers and merchant ships between Denmark and the West Indies, and in particular those of Mary Leticia Thomas, La Vaughn Belle and Jeannette Ehlers between St. Croix and Copenhagen. *Secondly*, I submit that Belle and Ehlers have not used the black body to commemorate the victimhood of enslaved Africans; rather, they have used the black body as an emancipatory means to rewrite the dominant narrative of Danish history and create a symbolic space for empowered racialized subjects in Danish society and public consciousness.

I would like to suggest then that Queen Mary can be seen as a sister in the same spirit as the large-scale proud figure of a black woman in Lubaina Himid's *We Will Be* (1983), mentioned in the Introduction. Himid's monumental figure alludes to black women's role in the anti-colonial battle for the emancipation of colonized societies as well as the contemporary struggle against the continued effects of colonization playing out in the European countries where people from these societies settle and manifesting as racism, marginalization, misrecognition and a lack of representation in public space. Like Himid, Belle and Ehlers are concerned with the theme of black heroines of the struggle for equality, freedom and the right to 'be here'. In fact, Himid's description of her cut-out figure as representing 'a determined, solemn, simply dressed African woman' would fit Belle and Ehlers's sculpture of Queen Mary equally well.[94] Moreover, Belle and Ehlers share with Himid and other like-minded Black women artists the determination to do justice to this social and political struggle by 'dramatising the agency, artistry and authority rather than the victimisation and vulnerability of Black diasporic peoples'.[95]

In addition, the sculpture proposes another 'face of the nation'[96]: a black, decolonial counter-image to the nationalist, popular and romanticized female personification of Denmark, a counter-image to, for example, the perhaps most cherished incarnation of the allegorical figure, *Moder Danmark* ('Mother Denmark') painted by the Polish-born Elisabeth Jerichau Baumann in 1851. Today, this painting is still deployed by some to propagate a white nationalist image of the nation – for instance, when, in 2000, the nationalist, anti-immigration and conservative Danish People's Party used it as the front cover image of the party's magazine *Dansk Folkeblad*. Inverting the figure of *Mother Denmark*, the magazine created the illusion that her determined forward stride and visionary gaze were aimed not at some distant and undefined point on the horizon but at the title of the party organ, 'The Danish People's Magazine', with the anti-EU headline

'It Concerns Freedom: Vote Danish – Vote No' appearing in bold yellow type below the name.[97]

By placing a memorial in a historical part of Copenhagen that is virtually a heritage site from colonial times, Belle and Ehlers claimed the site and transformed it into a postmigrant public space. This raises the question of what agency *I Am Queen Mary* has as a singular art project in the remaking of a specific site in the city into 'a more inclusive and democratic space'?[98] My answer to this question will serve as a stepping stone to the elaboration of a theoretical concept of postmigrant public space in Chapter 6. As explained in the Introduction, I understand the public spaces of postmigrant societies to be open, plural and therefore also conflictual domains of human encounter shaped by former and ongoing migration and by the forms of nationalism and transnational entanglement that define our time. Accordingly, the term *postmigrant public spaces* is used here to refer to the material and discursive sites of dissent and democratic participation where these conflicts are negotiated. At the same time, the term is also a marker of the book's theoretical foundation in postmigrant thought, indicating that its analytical lens on public spaces is 'postmigrant'.

The idea to visualize Queen Mary seated in a peacock chair, with its allusions to a royal throne, derives from the above-mentioned photo taken in connection with the recording of Ehlers's video work *Whip It Good* in 2014. This work is important in several respects because it is also linked to the monument in its decolonizing intent, its thematic of violence and protest, and by an engagement with the same historical *site*. While the polystyrene figure of *I Am Queen Mary* resided outside the West Indian Warehouse, the video was filmed inside this colonial building that was formerly used for storing goods that came from the Antilles, and which since 1984 has housed the Royal Cast Collection, a part of the SMK. The video *Whip It Good* was thus a decolonial, site-specific intervention into the hierarchies of art history and the whiteness of art in European/Danish institutions. The Royal Cast Collection was founded in 1895 and included in the SMK in 1896.[99] At that time, the European nations were still colonial powers, and the pervasiveness of the colonial mindset ensured that European cultures were ranked as incomparably superior to any other. Art museums have been complicit in articulating this sense of Western superiority and linking it firmly to the superiority of whiteness. The decolonial gesture of delinking from the canon of Western art history and colonial mindsets was thus foregrounded when Ehlers callously flogged the white canvas in a space filled with white plaster casts of canonized Western sculptures.[100]

As mentioned earlier, the West Indian Warehouse is located in Frederiksstaden, not far from Amalienborg, the Danish Queen's winter residence whose four palaces frame the square with Saly's equestrian statue of King Frederik V. *I Am Queen Mary* was therefore placed in full public view of Danish citizens and the thousands of tourists who take a stroll along the harbour front when visiting the area. Barefoot and dressed in a simple worker's gown, Queen Mary presented herself as a female companion to the bronze copy of Michelangelo's famous statue of *David*, which had been placed in front of the warehouse to signal its present-day repurposing as a store and museum of (copies of) sculpture (see Figure 5.5). The poignant juxtaposition of *David* and Queen Mary thus exposed the canonized ideal of beauty in Western art history. Although surpassed by her in size, *David*'s body represents the norm by which Queen Mary's body is measured: the Caucasian features, male gender and idealized proportions turn *David* into the perfect body 'at home' – the privileged, unmarked white body that simply belongs 'in this place'.[101] When measured against *David*, Queen Mary becomes what the feminist scholar Sara Ahmed

Figure 5.5 La Vaughn Belle and Jeannette Ehlers, *I Am Queen Mary*, 2018. Installation view with the bronze copy of Michelangelo's *David* to the left. Installed on the Copenhagen Harbour front, outside the West Indian Warehouse. Drone photo: Amdi Brøner. © Courtesy of the artists.

has termed a 'body out of place' or a 'stranger', who may not only awaken the fear and insecurity of the people she encounters but whose 'transgressive' presence may also destabilize the racialized lines of demarcation between familiar and strange bodies.[102] I submit therefore that Belle and Ehlers's commemorative sculpture renegotiated and transformed the meaning of this heritage site and made it possible to experience it as a more plural and inclusive but also a more agonistic space – a postmigrant public space.[103]

The mere fact of the memorial's realization and instalment in a public space rich in colonial history signalled a nascent official and political acknowledgement of the need to rethink national identity, heritage and culture with a view to cultural diversity, although such initiatives are still contested by national conservative voices – the contestation itself being an indication of the conflictual nature of postmigrant public spaces and postmigrant societies. Together, Belle and Ehlers acted as a proxy for a black 'queen' whose name is linked to the historical injustices and violence of Danish colonial rule, a female worker who became a symbol of the enduring struggle of the oppressed for empowerment and social equality.

As a work of public art, as a rewriting of history and as a new point of identification, *I Am Queen Mary* may open up a space for people of colour and a possibility for new narratives of belonging to be added to Danish history and public spaces. The memorial also represents a public recognition of women as leading and transformative figures in history and society. In this capacity, it also contributes to visibilizing another story: the history of gender inequality and the emancipation and empowerment of women which intersects with the history of anti-colonial and anti-racist struggles. This feminist reading does not contradict the postcolonial and postmigrant analysis of the work but rather underscores the point that the histories of suppression and disenfranchisement are multiple and intersecting, and that the protagonists of these histories are still under-represented in public space. It also suggests that a feature of postmigrant public spaces is their ability to articulate

heterogeneity and to function as *agonistic spaces* which allow for a plurality of contesting narratives, voices and perspectives on history to coexist without suppressing the frictions between them[104] – allowing, for instance, *I Am Queen Mary* to coexist with the bronze copy of *David* and the old colonial warehouse on Copenhagen's popular harbour front.

By merging their bodies into one sculpture, Belle and Ehlers evoke an expanded notion of the national 'we' that is capable of encompassing a community of citizens with diverse ethnic backgrounds and transnational affiliations based on co-ethnic identification. Such co-ethnic identification is central to diasporic subjects with a sense of belonging to an imagined ethnic or national community that is not defined and confined by nation-state borders. Thus, the merging of the artists' bodies could be said to encapsulate a sense of self, which the literary scholar Ato Quayson has described as 'no longer tied exclusively to the immediate of present location but rather [extended] to encompass all the other places of co-ethnic identification'.[105] Quayson adds that such affective bonds may be forged through various instruments of commemoration, such as private heirlooms, stories and rituals – and public monuments.[106] *I Am Queen Mary* is one such instrument. The memorial reminds us that the nation-state and its population are criss-crossed by past and present transnational connections and demonstrates that these connections are at the very core of postmigrant re-memorialization.

This chapter has argued that postmigrant re-memorialization differs from the American practice of removing historical monuments associated with racism and colonialism from public spaces as a form of re-memorialization, although such monuments are sometimes toppled in Europe, too. Postmigrant re-memorialization is not only about *clearing* space and but also about *creating* space for imaginings of 'other Europes'. Thus, it prioritizes the creation of *new* markers that are reflective of the need to move beyond inherited nationalist notions of monoculturalism and monolithic forms of collective remembrance in order to see a change towards a plural approach to representation. As *I Am Queen Mary* demonstrates, such re-memorializing practices include the demand and support for new historical markers that honour black and minoritized figures that rarely figure in the commemorative practices and historical archives of Europe. So, to recapitulate, the concept of *postmigrant* re-memorialization here refers to critical and revisionist commemorative practices that assume the material form of public art or another kind of public marker, and which address the problem-space of postmigration in ways that often reflect the fact that it cannot be neatly disentangled from that of postcolonialism. Rather than serving the interest of one particular ethnic group, postmigrant forms of re-memorialization aim to establish a broad alliance. Both *I Am Queen Mary* and the action of renaming of streets in Berlin are examples of how postmigrant re-memorialization shifts the emphasis to the heterogeneous demographic and cultural composition of contemporary Europe, without neglecting colonial histories of violence and racial stigmatization. They are both examples of projects in urban space that interrogate colonial pasts, that is, Europe's old histories of migration. In doing so, they contribute to the 'migrantization' of national heritage and official culture. The purpose of both the monument and the street signs is to remain in public view, as a recognition and articulation of the fact that histories of migration and transcultural entanglements are formative of the city and of the nation-state.

Concluding Remarks: The Past in the Present

By way of a conclusion, I consider how people might interact with and respond to *I Am Queen Mary*. It could be argued that not only the memorial itself but also the preceding

process was based on a principle of transformative dialogism and collaboration. While the memorial was still in the making, Belle and Ehlers engaged a group of dedicated volunteers to work on the project. The artists worked closely with them to clean tons of coral stones that were to be integrated into the plinth of the monument as a homage to the enslaved Africans who had once cut them from the sea for the foundations of colonial buildings in St. Croix.[107] In addition, the artists gave a series of talks in which they co-presented the project and discussed Danish colonialism and their own decolonizing intention with different audiences in Copenhagen and in St. Croix.[108] The Virgin Islanders were more critical than the Danes, especially of the artists' decision to use their own bodies to represent one of 'their' heroines and to depict Mary Leticia Thomas as a calmly seated ruler instead of a fiery freedom fighter as well as of the location of the memorial in the (post)colonial capital of Copenhagen.[109] As some of these critical Crucian voices pointed out, this location resulted in an unequal distribution of media attention and of funds and access to the memorial. But by giving an outline of the criticism at talks in Copenhagen, Belle ensured that these Crucian viewpoints were incorporated into the Danish discourse on *I Am Queen Mary,* and that the presence and transnational contribution of 'other voices' (and other counterpublics) were implied. As this account suggests, the memorial's representation of Queen Mary and colonial history is multi-layered, and it spurred an agonistic mix of different interpretations, turning it into a site of dissension.

People, especially local citizens, may develop an affinity with certain public artworks. Such attachments can be forged on an individual level – for instance, through identification with Queen Mary as she is embodied by two contemporary women of colour, although it should be remembered that dis- or counter-identification with this figure of anticolonial resistance is, of course, also a possible response. Moreover, the feeling of menace that Queen Mary's throne-like pose may instil in viewers who feel dwarfed by the monumental size of the armed woman is exacerbated by the statue's ambiguous conflation of the allusion to violent rebellion with the visual language of authoritarian rule. This opens the question of what to make of the memorial's hybrid of the rebel and the ruler, domination and revolt.

The most poignant critique of the memorial's allusions to violence has been formulated by the art historian Jacob Wamberg. When the formal permission to install a bronze copy permanently in front of the West Indian Warehouse was granted in 2021, Wamberg questioned the potential import of the belligerent majesty of the enthroned leader as a statement about identity politics and multiculturalism in contemporary Denmark. Wamberg found the artists' identification with violent black leaders questionable, 'because can this identification mean anything else than a violent, rather than a peaceful, fight against racism is still necessary'?[110] The memorial's problem of representation was that, he argued, the unfortunate but necessary violence of a historical workers rebellion cannot be translated seamlessly into the 'potent heroism' of a contemporary statue:

> That a former oppressed black working woman now reigns as an implacable weapon-bearing mistress for whom one just has to bend one's neck is certainly not particularly positive, democratic and generally formative. Is it really this kind of gloating memorial that best lets us work through our traumatic colonial past and apparently also our present?... the giant amazon opposes the patriarchal colonial power by simply turning it upside down, by which the entire inflated power apparatus persists, just with the sign reversed, now becoming woke.[111]

Wamberg reads the monument as a simple and therefore counterproductive reversal of the uppermost variants of a power hierarchy in which 'man, white, affluent ruler' is replaced with their typical opposites from below: 'woman, black, worker'.[112] Conversely, I propose that the sculpture can also be read as a timely reminder that the authoritarian and colonial structures of the old regime may persist when insurgents become the new rulers. I also argue that the declarative mode of the statement that makes up the title *I Am Queen Mary* suggests that the artists intended the memorial to generate solidarity through boundary crossing identification rather than incite antagonistic confrontation and violence. The figure of Queen Mary is armed but poised, ready to 'defend her humanity' against the 'dire conditions' the plantation workers were living under.[113] This interpretation is supported by the title's crucial intertextual references to African diasporic culture and history. First, it evokes another workers' uprising: the Memphis Sanitation Workers' Strike in 1968, when 1,300 black workers went on strike and marched carrying signs with the famous slogan 'I Am A Man' to protest against discriminatory underpayment and dangerous working conditions.[114] Second, it refers to the closing scene of Spike Lee's film *Malcolm X* (1992), in which pupils in a South African classroom, one by one, rise from their seats to declare 'I Am Malcolm X', the assertive rhythmic repetition evoking a shared commitment to the transnational struggle for the equality and recognition of people of African descent. Both references are intended to be invitations to viewers to join the artists' re-enactment. Thus, the artists' idea was that by saying the title aloud, viewers would momentarily incorporate Queen Mary as part of their own being and might imagine that they become her or be allied with the anti-racism and social justice cause that she symbolizes. What they envisioned was that identification at the level of shared experience – that of the countless visitors to the memorial declaring to 'be' Mary – might engender a sense of imagined community from which might grow a new postmigrant and postcolonial sense of solidarity and collective identity flavoured with a utopian hope.

That the sculpture is likely to be cast in bronze is the outcome of a prolonged process during which many have embraced the monument, including the municipality of Copenhagen and the several hundred supporters of Belle and Ehlers's 2021 fundraising campaign.[115] In their campaign, the artists took this principle of identification through imaginary embodiment even further by foregrounding another African diasporic reference. In their deliberate approximation of the seated figure to the famous photograph of Huey P. Newton, they positioned their project within the framework of the Black Panthers' fight against the socio-economic inequalities of racial capitalism. This fight comprised not only separatist violence and gun-toting self-defence against police brutality but also social work in deprived black communities, such as education, ambulance service and, notably, the Free Breakfast for Children Program.[116] To aid their fundraising, Belle and Ehlers entered into a partnership with the president of the Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, Fredrika Newton, and her business associate Rachel Konte. In 1993, the two black women had started the merchandise line 'All Power to the People', thus transforming the rallying cry of the Panthers into a brand that exists, as their mission statement explains, 'to inspire and empower each generation by creating products that communicate the history and global impact of the Black Panther Party'.[117] This merchandise line is in itself a form of fundraising, as 20% of the proceeds from the business are used to support the foundation's work to preserve and promote the legacy of the Black Panther Party. The collaboration with Belle and Ehlers on t-shirts, sweatshirts and tote bags embellished with the image of *I Am Queen Mary* and offered as a 'perk' to those who supported their campaign on the Indiegogo site with DKK 300–1,200 appears to

have been a natural step to take for both parties, as *I Am Queen Mary* drew on the visual and ideological archive of the Black Panthers.[118]

As my analysis suggests, Belle and Ehlers's collaboration is also extraordinary, in the sense that throughout the whole process, the artists have taken great care to control the communication and thereby shape the reception of *I Am Queen Mary* as an anti-racist and decolonial project that 'speaks back' to power and capitalist/colonialist exploitation (by means of artist talks, interviews, numerous updates on social media, the elaborate project website, the documentary video, the fundraising campaign etc.). In light of this discursive framing of the project as a critical decolonizing intervention, what are we to make of the artist-led 'marketization' of the memorial and African Caribbean revolt?

It is helpful here to turn to the art historian Johanna Drucker's study of how the critical suppositions underlying artists' work changed in the 1990s and 2000s, marking 'a turn away from autonomy, opposition and radical negativity and towards attitudes of affirmation and complicity' and introducing artistic practices that no longer 'fit the old criticism'.[119] Drucker's book *Sweet Dreams; Contemporary Art and Complicity* is both an exploration of the ambiguities and complexity of art's new critical vocabularies and a rebuttal of mainstream critical writing that still clings to oppositional models and theories that have 'rigidified into predictable categories of thought, each identifiable by their characteristic vocabulary of the "abject," the "subversive," the "transgressive," the "resistant" or other negative keywords'.[120] With *I Am Queen Mary,* the 'complicity' with money, media, popular culture and fashion, along with the costly public art project's dependency on municipal and governmental authorities as well as public and private funding, arguably play a generative role. However, as Drucker argues, complicity 'implies a knowing compromise between motives of opportunism and circumstantial conditions'.[121] In other words, complicity reflects both a realistic adaptation to the institutional, economic and social situation as well as a capacity to imagine new ways of producing meaning and of engaging audiences through the exploration of opportunities beyond the boundaries of the fine arts sphere. What then has Belle and Ehlers's 'complicity' and expansion of the outreach of public art to people of colour accomplished?

By virtue of its declarative and monumental mode of address to anyone who is attracted to the site as well as by its pluralizing presence, the polystyrene incarnation of *I Am Queen Mary* produced a postmigrant public space. It generated a fluctuating, heterogeneous public – an indefinite audience rather than a social constituency, as the literary scholar Michael Warner would say[122] – a public in which Danes and Virgin Islanders could participate (albeit on unequal terms) as well as tourists and strangers who happened to pass by. Moreover, *I Am Queen Mary*'s identificatory mode of address points to a characteristic of postmigrant public spaces: although they are inherently agonistic, they also have the scope to stimulate solidarity and coalition-building.

When contemplating the transformative potential of *I Am Queen Mary*, it is vital to bear in mind the point made by the political scientist Michael Hanchard that 'not just memory but *memorialization* is part of a larger political project, underscoring the relationship between memory and representation'.[123] *I Am Queen Mary* decentralizes the patriotic narrative of state memory and infuses new transnational memories and significance into the Danish-Caribbean past by staging a transformative postcolonial encounter, in which Denmark and the Danish West Indies/US Virgin Islands meet and merge through a performative process of hybridization involving the bodily and symbolic morph of Belle and Ehlers.

The dialogic nature of the creative process and the memorial itself subverts the monologic, patriotic Danish narrative that glorifies the nation's leading role in the abolition of the trade in enslaved people and slavery, since the memorial redirects attention to the fact that the very *cause* of abolition was Denmark's complicity in the transatlantic slave trade and chattel slavery and the rebellion of African Caribbean subjects against the colonial exploitation that continued after abolition. The memorial thus makes claims in contemporary society, not only about the past but also about the relationship between past injustices and present inequalities. At the same time, the memorial engages with the absence of black and diasporic iconography and symbols in the nation-state imagery, such as public monuments. It seeks to redress the balance by re-narrating colonial history in a way that *makes visible* the colonized and people of colour as commemorable agents of historical change. As Hanchard observes, the absence of representation or black iconography in foundational symbols in the USA has resulted in:

> the absence of reflection, in two related but distinct meanings of the word. US African Americans would not see themselves reflected in the imagery of the nation; the white nation, in turn, would not reflect on the absence of black imagery until well into the late 20th century.[124]

This observation also applies to the representation of people of colour in Denmark, except that the issue of absence has only begun to come into the reckoning in the twenty-first century.[125] Belle and Ehlers's art project *I Am Queen Mary* has been decisive in igniting this evolving process of coming into appearance as part of the foundational imagery of the country.

Notes

1 *Oxford English Dictionary* (online), 'contest', https://www.oed.com/, accessed August 4, 2021.
2 Regarding the site-specific placement of the memorial, see Anne Ring Petersen, 'The Place of the Black Body in White History: Jeannette Ehlers's Decolonial Interrogation of "the Darker Side of Western Modernity"', *Perspective* (December 2018): n.p., http://perspective.smk.dk/en/place-black-body-white-history-jeannette-ehlerss-decolonial-interrogation-darker-side-western.
3 https://www.google.com/maps/place/I+Am+Queen+Mary/@55.6861911,12.5976175,15z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x0:0x3c84ab41185b461b!8m2!3d55.6861911!4d12.5976175, accessed April 24, 2021. The memorial is no longer marked on Google Maps.
4 See W. J. T. Mitchell, 'The Violence of Public Art: Do the Right Thing', *Critical Inquiry* 16, no. 4 (1990): 883–84 and 888–89.
5 Sybille Frank and Mirjana Ristic, 'Urban Fallism: Monuments, Iconoclasm and Activism', *City: Analysis of Urban Change, Theory, Action* 24, no. 3–4 (2020): 552 and 557, https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2020.1784578.
6 See Frank and Ristic, 'Urban Fallism', 557.
7 *Oxford English Dictionary* (online), 'memorialize', https://www.oed.com/, accessed August 3, 2021.
8 *Oxford Learner's Dictionary* (online), 'commemorate', https://www.oed.com/, accessed August 3, 2021.
9 For a consideration of the role of forgetting in cultural memory, see Aleida Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 97–107.
10 Cf. Frank and Ristic, 'Urban Fallism', 556.
11 Frank and Ristic, 'Urban Fallism', 556.

12 Mary Niall Mitchell, '"We Always Knew It Was Possible": The Long Fight Against Symbols of White Supremacy in New Orleans', *City: Analysis of Urban Change, Theory, Action* 24, no. 3–4 (2020): 583 (emphasis added), https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2020.1784580. For a comprehensive analysis of the Lost Cause ideology and its resilience in the twenty-first century, see Brent Steele, 'Juxtapositioned Memory: Lost Cause Statues and Sites of Lynching', *Modern Languages Open*, no. 1 (2020), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3828/mlo.v0i0.333.
13 Steele, 'Juxtapositioned Memory', 6. For a contextual in-depth case study of a memorial to a victim of lynching, the black teenager Emmett Till, see Mabel O. Wilson, 'Bulletproofing American History', in *Monument, Research Collaboration between Het Nieuwe Instituut and e-flux Architecture* (Rotterdam: Het Nieuwe Instituut, 2020), https://research-development.hetnieuweinstituut.nl/en/research-projects/bulletproofing-american-history.
14 Steele, 'Juxtapositioned Memory', 7.
15 Mitchell, 'We Always Knew It Was Possible', 587.
16 Steele, 'Juxtapositioned Memory', 8.
17 Steele, 'Juxtapositioned Memory', 8.
18 Steele, 'Juxtapositioned Memory', 10.
19 See 'Open Letter by the Neighbourhood Initiative Anton-Wilhelm-Amo-Strasse', 2020, accessed August 5, 2021, https://www.euroethno.hu-berlin.de/de/institut/ueber/ifee-call-for-m-street-renaming-eng-2706.pdf (unpaginated). 'Offener Brief der Nachbarschaftsinitiative Anton Wilhelm Amo-Straße', 2020, accessed August 5, 2021, https://www.euroethno.hu-berlin.de/de/institut/ueber/kein-rassismus-vor-unserer-haustur-umbenennung-der-mohrenstrasse.pdf.
20 Interestingly, the decision and the 'Decolonial Walk' coincided with a research and exhibition project about Anton Wilhelm Amo at the Berlin art space Savvy Contemporary entitled 'THE FACULTY OF SENSING – Thinking With, Through, and by Anton Wilhelm Amo'. It sought to contextualize the street renaming problematic and initiate a critical discussion by using Amo's life and work as the starting point for a different, revisionist historical narrative. I thank Dr. Sabine Dahl Nielsen for drawing my attention to this exhibition. See https://savvy-contemporary.com/en/projects/2021/the-faculty-of-sensing/, accessed January 6, 2023.
21 See 'Koloniale Straßennamen und ihre Umbenennung im Bezirk Mitte', updated 2020, accessed August 8, 2021, https://www.berlin.de/kunst-und-kultur-mitte/geschichte/erinnerungskultur/strassenbenennungen/artikel.1066742.php
22 See Julian Dörr, 'Benannt nach Kolonialverbrechern: Petersallee, Nachtigalplatz – wenn Straßennamen zum Problem werden', *Der Tagesspiegel* (August 23, 2020). For a critical discussion of the angry media reaction to the 2017 proposal to rename streets as an expression of '*white* emotional stress' caused by the anxiety over the disruption of '*white* normality' and the failure to understand structural racism, see Jule Bönkost, 'Straßenumbenennung, *weißer* Stress und die Notwendigkeit rassismuskritischer Bildung', June 2017, https://www.jule.boenkost.de/docs/2017-06-Strassenumbenennung.pdf. As of February 2023, three officially lodged appeals against the renaming have stalled the process and prevented the new street name from taking effect and signs from being put up. A thorough account of the street renaming is found on the Neighbourhood Initiative's website, https://nachbarschaftsinitiativeamostrasse.wordpress.com/home/, accessed January 6, 2023. The renaming of the Nachtingalplatz and Lüderitzstraße took effect in December 2022; see Bezirksamt Mitte 'Ummeldungen für die Anwohnenden nach erfolgten Straßenumbenennungen', Press release no. 329/2022 of December 8, 2022. https://www.berlin.de/ba-mitte/aktuelles/pressemitteilungen/2022/pressemitteilung.1273039.php
23 See Quynh Tran, 'Die Mohrenstraße wird umbenannt', *nd* (August 23, 2020).
24 As the decision has not yet been brought into effect, the subversive misspelling of the street name still figures on the Institute's official website. See https://www.euroethno.hu-berlin.de/de/kontakt, accessed February 28, 2023.
25 Römhild, 'Open Letter'.
26 Neighborhood Initiative Anton-Wilhelm-Amo-Strasse, 'Our Initiative Contributed to This: The Renaming Was Approved'!, undated update (after August 20, 2020), https://www.euroethno.hu-berlin.de/de/institut/ueber/offener_brief_update_okt2020.pdf (emphasis added). For a reportage on the Decolonial Walk, see Tran, 'Die Mohrenstraße wird umbenannt'.
27 The general policy of removing monuments and markers is evidenced by an article in *The New York Times* in 2021, about a 'watchdog group' at The Southern Poverty Law Center which has assessed that 160 Confederate symbols were removed from public spaces or renamed in 2020

following the police killing of George Floyd; see Neil Vigdor and Daniel Victor, 'Over 160 Confederate Symbols Were Removed in 2020, Group Says', *The New York Times*, February 23, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/23/us/confederate-monuments-george-floyd-protests.html. For a list of removals of Confederate monuments showing the increase in removals since 2015, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Removal_of_Confederate_monuments_and_memorials, accessed January 6, 2023. For the Southern Poverty Law Centre's list of removals in 2020, see https://www.splcenter.org/data-projects/2020-confederate-symbol-removals, accessed January 6, 2023.

28 'To be anti-racist is to change the street name and honour a black historical figure more worthy of praise instead.' Römhild, 'Open Letter'.

29 Römhild, 'Open Letter'.

30 For Römhild's thoughts on the imagining of 'other Europes' conceptualized within a frame of postmigrant and postcolonial thought and drawing on Arjun Appadurai's concept of social imagination, see Regina Römhild, 'Europa – Spiel ohne Grenzen'?, in *Andere Europas: Soziale Imagination an der Schnittstelle von Kunst, Politik und Ethnografie*, ed. Michael Bachmann and Asta Vonderau (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020), 17–36.

31 Tahir Della, in: Dörr, 'Benannt nach Kolonialverbrechern'.

32 See, for example, Mitchell, 'We Always Knew It Was Possible'.

33 Römhild, 'Open Letter'. The letter links the Neighbourhood Initiative to 'the long-standing efforts of associations such as the Afrika-Rat Berlin-Brandenburg, Berlin Postkolonial and the Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (ISD)' as well as the supportive representatives of the Bezirksverordnetenversammlung of Mitte. In addition, the German language version of the letter is signed by the associations Völkermord verjährt nicht! and Berlin Postkolonial, along with fifty-eight scholars from the Department of European Ethnology at the Humboldt University.

34 Stephen Small, *20 Questions and Answers on Black Europe* (The Hague: Amrit Publishers, 2018), 153. According to Small's survey (2018), the USA has an estimated black population of forty-five million, with several states in which black people are more than 25% of the population. The UK and France each have an estimated black population of approximately two million. Germany has approximately 800,000 and Denmark approximately 46,000 black citizens. Small, *20 Questions*, 36–41, 161.

35 See Amalie Skovmøller and Mathias Danbolt, 'Ripple Effects', *Kunstkritikk* (September 14, 2020), n.p., https://kunstkritikk.com/ripple-effects/.

36 Mitchell's assessment of the process is supported by that of other scholars, including Frank and Ristic, 'Urban fallism'; Steele, 'Juxtapositioned Memory'; Natasha A. Kelly, *Millis Erwachen. Schwarze Frauen, Kunst und Widerstand/Milli's Awakening: Black Women, Art and Resistance* (Hamburg: Orlanda, 2018), and, of course, the history of street renaming in Berlin.

37 See, for example, Benjamin Sutton, 'Over 120 Prominent Artists and Scholars Call on NYC to Take Down Racist Monuments', *Hyperallergic* (December 1, 2017). https://hyperallergic.com/414315/over-120-prominent-artists-and-scholars-call-on-nyc-to-take-down-racist-monuments/; Hakim Bishara, 'Toppled and Defaced Racist Monuments in 15 Cities, From Richmond to Bristol', *Hyperallergic* (June 10, 2020). https://hyperallergic.com/569756/confederate-monuments-removed/; Jillian McManemin, 'Let's Preserve Acts of History, Not Racist Monuments', *Hyperallergic* (September 21, 2020). https://hyperallergic.com/589365/toppled-monuments-archive-op-ed/; Tsione Wolde-Michaels, 'We Should Think Differently about the Preservation of Racist Monuments', *Hyperallergic* (May 5, 2021). https://hyperallergic.com/643843/we-should-think-differently-about-the-preservation-of-racist-monuments/; Paul B. Preciado, 'When Statues Fall', *Artforum* 59, no. 3 (2020). https://www.artforum.com/print/202009/paul-b-preciado-84375.

38 See Anita Patrick, 'Statue of British Colonialist Cecil Rhodes Decapitated in South Africa', *cnn.com* (July 15, 2020).

39 See Monika Pronczuk and Mihir Zaveri, 'Statue of Leopold II, Belgian King Who Brutalized Congo, Is Removed in Antwerp', *The New York Times* (June 9, 2020).

40 See Emil Bergløv and Ida Herskind, 'Der er udbrudt krig om Hans Egedes plads i historien, Nuuk og København', *Politiken* (July 2, 2020), 1.

41 See Charlie Duffield, 'Was Winston Churchill Racist? Why Some People Accused the Wartime PM of Racism after His London Statue Was Defaced', *inews* (June 25, 2020), https://

inews.co.uk/news/winston-churchill-racist-pm-racism-accusations-london-statue-protest-blm-explained-440668; Anonymous, 'Churchill Statue "May Have to Be Put in Museum", Says Granddaughter', *bbc.com* (June 13, 2020), https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-53033550.

42 See The Associated Press, 'Paris Protesters Cloak Colonial-Era Statue with Black Cloth', *ABC News* (June 20, 2020), https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/paris-protesters-cloak-colonial-era-statue-black-cloth-71327577.

43 See Martin Doerry, 'Muss Bismarck fallen'?, *Spiegel Plus* (June 19, 2020); Stefan Koldehoff, 'Debatte um Bismarck: "Alles andere als ein Demokrat"', *Deutschlandsfunk* (July 16, 2020); Anonymous, 'Decolonize Berlin; Bismarck-Nationaldenkmal mit Farbe beschmiert', *Welt Online* (July 17, 2020). For an outline of 'the 2020 iconoclasm' as a global 'wave' that was tackled in divergent ways by governments, politicians, museums and civil authorities, see Alex von Tunzelmann, *Fallen Idols* (London: Headline, 2021), 1–3.

44 Because Marc Quinn is a white artist, the sculpture and his collaboration with Reid has been criticized by artist Thomas J. Price for being an 'opportunistic stunt', while others have commended Quinn on his gesture of 'allyship'. For key arguments of this debate, see Lanre Bakare, 'Allyship or Stunt? Marc Quinn's BLM Statue Divides Art World', *The Guardian* (July 15, 2020). The Colston statue was put up 178 years after his death and portrayed Colston as a philanthropist, completely silencing his involvement in the trade in enslaved people; see Tunzelmann, *Fallen Idols*, 181–83.

45 See Brenda Schmahmann, 'The Fall of Rhodes: The Removal of a Sculpture from the University of Cape Town', *Public Art Dialogue* 6, no. 1 (2016): 90–115.

46 See Jay Pather, 'Suspended Memory: Ebbs and Flows in Attempts at Memorialising in Post-Apartheid South Africa', in *The Routledge Companion to Art in the Public Realm*, ed. Cameron Cartiere and Leon Tan (New York: Routledge, 2021), 151.

47 See Frank and Ristic, 'Urban Fallism', 553.

48 For an authoritative in-depth study, see Dario Gamboni, *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution* (London: Reaction Books, 1997). See also Tunzelmann, *Fallen Idols*.

49 Olu Oguibe, 'Documenta 14 Artist Olu Oguibe and the Obelisk', interview by *artort.tv* (September 1, 2017), 0:40–2:00 minutes.

50 Oguibe, interview. 9:30–10:00 minutes.

51 Oguibe, interview. 9:30–10:00 minutes. McLaughlin links the monument in Kassel to the work that Oguibe exhibited in the Athens iteration of Documenta 14. *Biafra Time Capsule* (2017) comprised books, documents, archival objects and mixed media. Technically speaking, it was not a monument, but it fulfilled the function of a memorial, as it commemorated the experience of child refugees in the Nigerian-Biafran Civil War of 1968–1970 and generated 'a semi-sacred space consisting of the artist's personal library materials of childhood memories'. See Laurel V. McLaughlin, 'As Strangers and Refugees: Olu Oguibe's Performing Monument', *Monument Lab* (2019): n.p., https://monumentlab.com/news/2019/3/26/as-strangers-and-refugees-olu-oguibes-performing-monument. The human disaster of Biafra in the late 1960s thus mirrors the ongoing human tragedy of refugees and migrants drowning in huge numbers as they try to cross the Mediterranean Sea to escape from the many troubled places in the Middle East and Africa.

52 Nora Sternfeld, 'Counter-Monument and Para-Monument: Politics and Remembrance in Public Space', in *Ort der Unruhe/Place of Unrest*, ed. Ernst Logar (Klagenfurt: Drava, 2019), 60.

53 Laurel V. McLaughlin, 'As Strangers and Refugees', unpaginated.

54 McLaughlin, 'As Strangers and Refugees', unpaginated.

55 See Dorian Batycka, 'Dispute Erupts Over Artist's "Monument for Strangers and Refugees" in Germany', *Hyperallergic* (31 May, 2018), https://hyperallergic.com/445282/olu-oguibe-monument-for-strangers-and-refugees-dispute-kassel-documenta/; McLaughlin, 'As Strangers and Refugees'; Nora Sternfeld, 'Counter-Monument and Para-Monument', 52.

56 See Catherine Hickley, 'Documenta Obelisk, Dismantled Last Week, to Remain in Kassel After All', *The Art Newspaper* (October 12, 2018), https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/documenta-obelisk-dismantled-last-week-to-remain-in-kassel-after-all.

57 'Die Sektkorken knallen! Der Abbau des Obelisk ist ein voller Erfolg der AfD Kassel und kann in seiner symbolishen Bedeutung kaum überschätzt werden! Das Symbol der Willkommenskultur, anders gesagt das Signal für eine ungezügelter Einreise illegaler kulturfremder Migranten

nach Deutschland, mußte aus der Mitte der Stadt weichen und steht für die kommende Wende in der Migrationspolitik.' (AfD Kassel-Stadt 2018).

58 See Henri Neuendorf, 'Bowing to Pressure From Right-Wing Politicians, the City of Kassel Will Move Olu Oguibe's Pro-Immigration Obelisk Outside of the Town Square', *Artnet News* (October 11, 2018), https://news.artnet.com/art-world/olu-oguibe-kassel-obelisk-1369624; Anonymous, 'Stadt und Künstler einigen sich: Obelisk kommt in die Treppenstraße', *lokalo24.de* (October, 11, 2018), https://www.lokalo24.de/lokales/kassel/nach-abbau-verbleib-obelisken-neuen-standort-kassel-gesichert-10318120.html?fbclid=IwAR0lNyLEVbHmrDFrKpu5bgJ-fcEzudJfHFc262ecxs_y7F3QCaNhxQzMVfw

59 Alex Greenberger, 'Following Controversy Over Pro-Refugee Message, Olu Oguibe's Documenta 14 Obelisk Returns to Kassel, Germany', *artnews.com* (April 19, 2019); Stefan Stolzenhain, 'A New Home', *The Passenger* no. 28 (April 2019): n.p., https://the-passenger.de/2019/04/28/a-new-home-obelisk-olu-oguibe-treppenstrasse-kassel/.

60 See Bull and Hansen, 'On Agonistic Memory', *Memory Studies* 9, no. 4 (2016): 393, https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698015615935.

61 Bull and Hansen, 'On Agonistic Memory', 390.

62 See Bull and Hansen, 'On Agonistic Memory', 395.

63 See Bull and Hansen, 'On Agonistic Memory', 391.

64 See Bull and Hansen, 'On Agonistic Memory', 392.

65 Bull and Hansen, 'On Agonistic Memory', 395.

66 Lars Jensen, *Postcolonial Denmark: Nation Narration in a Crisis Ridden Europe* (London: Routledge, 2018), 28.

67 Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin, eds., *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena* (London: Springer 2013), 4. Quoted in Jensen, *Postcolonial Denmark*, 26.

68 For more elaborate analyses and discussions of the work, see Mathias Danbolt and Michael K. Wilson, 'A Monumental Challenge to Danish History', *Kunstkritikk* no. 26 (April 2018): n.p., http://www.kunstkritikk.no/kommentar/a-monumental-challenge-to-danish-history/; Petersen, 'The Place'; Mathias Danbolt and Jacob Wamberg, 'Fireburn genantændt. Dialogkaffe om *I Am Queen Mary*', in *Identitetspolitik, litteratur og kunstens autonomi*, ed. Adam Paulsen and Leander Møller Gøttcke (Copenhagen: U Press, 2022), 270–303.

69 For an analysis of the three issues of *Marronage* published during the centenary, see Anne Ring Petersen, 'Spectres of Colonialism in Contemporary Art from Denmark', in 'Thinking through Denmark: Connected Art Histories', special issue, *Art History* 43, no. 2 (2020): 264–67, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8365.12496.

70 For Belle's research-based project 'Neither Subject Nor Citizen: Virgin Islanders in the Harlem Renaissance', see her project description for her residency at BCRW (2018), https://bcrw.barnard.edu/fellows/la-vaughn-belle/, accessed January 6, 2023; and her blog entry 'Neither Subject Nor Citizen', La Vaughn Belle ed., *lavaughnbelle.blogspot.com* (December 1, 2018), http://lavaughnbelle.blogspot.com/.

71 See Stacey Plaskett, 'The Ironic State of Freedom without Democracy', *The Hill* (July 11, 2017), https://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/politics/341403-the-ironic-state-of-freedom-without-democracy.

72 Artist Bio and Statement on La Vaughn Belle's website, http://www.lavaughnbelle.com/info, accessed January 6, 2023. This website is a rich archive of material on Belle's work and includes a long interview: Michael K. Wilson, 'Visualizing Vocabularies of the Counter Archive: A Conversation with La Vaughn Belle', *La Vaughn Belle's Website* (2017). https://static1.squarespace.com/static/568c55359cadb64c7958e983/t/5c3a4ae8352f53368cf771b9/1547324139236/Visualizing+Vocabularies+of+the+Counter+Archive_++A+Conversation+with+La+Vaughn+Belle+by+Michael+K.+Wilson.pdf.

73 See Albert Scherfig and Nicklas Weis Damkjær, 'Kvinderne i Danmarks største arbejderopstand', *Friktion, Magasin for køn, krop og kultur* (October 2016).

74 See Niklas Thode Jensen and Poul Erik Olsen, 'Frihed under tvang og nedgang 1848–78', in *Vestindien. St. Croix, St. Thomas og St. Jan*, ed. Poul Erik Olsen, Danmark og kolonierne (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 2017), 310–17. See also Gudrun Marie Schmidt, 'Skulptur skal give de slavegjorte stemme', *Politiken* (December 27, 2016).

75 See Scherfig and Weis Damkjær, 'Kvinderne'.

76 I have analyzed Ehlers's video trilogy and the emergence of postcolonial critique on the Danish art scene in Petersen, 'Spectres of Colonialism in Contemporary Art from Denmark'.
77 Bwalya Sørensen, in Laura Friis Wang, 'Oprørsdronning fra Vestindien får syv meter høj statue lavet af flamingo', *dr.dk* (March 31, 2018). https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/kultur/historie/oproersdronning-fra-vestindien-faar-syv-meter-hoej-statue-lavet-af-flamingo.
78 Lars Jensen, 'Scandinavia – A Peripheral Centre', *Kult 6 – Special Issue: Epistemologies of Transformation: The Latin American Decolonial Option and its Ramifications*, no. 6 (2009): 161 and 163–64.
79 Kristín Loftsdóttir and Lars Jensen, eds., *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region: Exceptionalism, Migrant Others and National Identities* (London: Routledge, 2012).
80 See Rikke Andreassen, 'The "exotic" as mass entertainment: Denmark 1878–1909', *Race & Class* 45, no. 2 (2003): 27–38; Rikke Andreassen, 'Representations of Sexuality and Race at Danish Exhibitions of "Exotic" People at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', *NORA – Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 20, no. 2 (2012): 126–47.
81 Astrid Nonbo Andersen, *Ingen Undskyldning. Erindringer om Dansk Vestindien og kravet om erstatninger for slaveriet* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2017).
82 Danbolt's research articles and contributions to public debate and art criticism in Denmark and Norway are numerous. Particularly relevant to the present context are Mathias Danbolt, 'Striking Reverberations: Beating Back the Unfinished History of the Colonial Aesthetic with Jeannette Ehlers's *Whip It Good*', in *Otherwise: Imagining Queer Feminist Art Histories*, ed. Amelia Jones and Erin Silver (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 277–94; Mathias Danbolt, 'Retro Racism: Colonial Ignorance and Racialized Affective Consumption in Danish Public Culture', *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 7, no. 2 (2017): 105–13; Mathias Danbolt, 'Kunst og kolonialitet', *Kunst og Kultur* 101, no. 3 (2018): 126–32; Mathias Danbolt, 'Exhibition Addresses: The Production of Publics in Exhibitions on Colonial History', in *Curatorial Challenges: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Contemporary Curating*, ed. Malene Vest Hansen, Anne Folke Henningsen, and Anne Gregersen (London: Routledge, 2019), 177–89. For a methodological discussion of the relations between art history and colonial history in a Danish context, see Mathias Danbolt et al., 'I kontaktzonen mellem kunsthistorie og kolonihistorie', *Periskop*, no. 27 (2022): 36–57.
83 Niels Brimnes et al., *Danmark og kolonierne*, 5 volumes (Copenhagen: Gad, 2017).
84 This outline of critical postcolonial activities emerging from the Danish art scene draws on a previous and more detailed study that analyses two more artistic and activist examples in greater depth: publications by the postcolonial feminist collective *Marronage* and the three-volume publication *BAT: Bridging Art + Text* initiated by the artist Michelle Eistrup. See Petersen, 'Spectres of Colonialism in Contemporary Art from Denmark'.
85 See the ample documentation on the project's website, http://www.rethinking-nordic-colonialism.org/, accessed January 6, 2023.
86 Ehlers's critically acclaimed performance *Whip It Good* was first commissioned by Art Labour Archives and the Ballhaus Naunynstraße for the 2013 event 'BE.BOP: Decolonizing the "Cold" War' at the Ballhaus Naunynstraße. See Petersen, '"Say It Loud!" A Postmigrant Perspective'.
87 See Petersen, 'The Place', 5–6. See also Danbolt and Wilson, 'A Monumental Challenge to Danish History'.
88 Danbolt, 'Into the Friction'.
89 See Jeannette Ehlers, *Whip It Good* (2014), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q6oeYO87vtU.
90 See the *I Am Queen Mary* website, https://www.iamqueenmary.com/new-page-2, accessed January 6, 2023. See also https://www.tv2lorry.dk/artikel/fra-flamingo-til-permanent-sort-kvinde-skal-blive, accessed January 6, 2023. At the time of writing, the artists were still fundraising.
91 Danbolt and Wamberg, 'Fireburn genantændt', 289. Danbolt draws his theoretical terms from Slavoj Žižek's book *Violence* (2009).
92 Danbolt and Wamberg, 'Fireburn genantændt', 290.
93 Already in April 2019, the Finance Committee of the Danish Parliament, Folketinget, had decided to support the fabrication of a bronze sculpture and the necessary reinforcement of the pedestal with DKK 1 million, provided that the permission for a permanent installation was obtained. Private foundations also expressed interest in supporting a permanent monument.

See Anonymous, 'Historisk beslutning: Monumentet *I Am Queen Mary* får permanent godkendelse', *idoart.dk* (March 4, 2021). The public fundraising campaign was announced on the project's official website www.iamqueenmary.com (accessed January 6, 2023) and via social media. The exhibition *After the Silence – Women of Art Speak Out* (2021) featured information on the preparations for a permanent bronze sculpture and a scaffolding furnished with three monitors for screening a new documentary *I Am Queen Mary: Work in Progress* with and by the artists and produced in collaboration with I Do Art Agency. For the documentary, see https://vimeo.com/600329081, accessed January 6, 2023. The two other monitors presented two video works by each artist as thematic contextualization of their collaborative project.

94 Lubaina Himid, 'Artist Statement I', 54.

95 Bernier et al., *Inside the Invisible*, 71.

96 See Marco Antonsich, 'The Face of the Nation: Troubling the Sameness-Strangeness Divide in the Age of Migration', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (2018): 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12236.

97 Dansk Folkeparti, *Dansk Folkeblad* 4, no. 3 (2000): front page, https://www.yumpu.com/da/document/read/20522421/arsmde-2000-dansk-folkeparti.

98 Mitchell, 'We Always Knew It Was Possible', 583.

99 Eva Friis, ed., *100 Mesterværker. Statens Museum for Kunst* (Copenhagen: Statens Museum for Kunst, 1996), 22.

100 For a discussion of the institutional critique and decolonial historical revisionism of *Whip It Good*, see Petersen, 'The Place'.

101 Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (London: Routledge, 2000), 46. For a more elaborate discussion of the memorial in relation to Ahmed's concept of the 'body out of place', see Petersen 'The Place', 16–7.

102 Ahmed, *Strange Encounters*, 39 and 55.

103 The argument elaborated here builds on an older version; see Petersen, 'The Place', 11 and 18–19.

104 See Mouffe, 'Artistic Activism'.

105 Quayson, 'Postcolonialism and the Diasporic Imaginary', 147.

106 Quayson, 'Diasporic Imaginary', 147.

107 See the *I Am Queen Mary* website, https://www.iamqueenmary.com/new-page-2, accessed January 6, 2023.

108 Among others, they gave a talk on October 1, 2017, at the Royal Cast Collection housed in the West Indian Warehouse, in front of which the monument was eventually installed. They gave another talk at the Workers Museum in Copenhagen on October 11, 2017, when a small-scale plaster cast model of the memorial was incorporated into the exhibition *Stop slaveri!* ('Stop Slavery!'). In July 2018, the two artists also gave a series of talks and open forum discussions in the US Virgin Islands. The talks from 2018 onwards that the artists consider to be the most important are listed on the *I Am Queen Mary* website; see https://www.iamqueenmary.com/events, accessed January 6, 2023. For a video recording of the talk on October 1, 2017, see https://www.iamqueenmary.com/new-page-1. The collaborative, commemorative and transformative nature of the process of cleaning the coral stones is captured in a short video of La Vaughn Belle and Michael K. Wilson scrubbing stones; see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GUr5wbuDZOI&t=3s, accessed January 6, 2023.

109 La Vaughn Belle summarizes some of the key ideas and points of critique in this interview with News 2 US Virgin Islands, March 20, 2018: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7GgIOQoeek

110 Jacob Wamberg, 'Rematerialiseringer', *Weekendavisen*, April 9, 2021, 11.

111 Wamberg, 'Rematerialiseringer', 11.

112 Danbolt and Wamberg, 'Fireburn genantændt', 274.

113 La Vaughn Belle quoted from the documentary *I Am Queen Mary: Work in Progress* (2021) (13:10–13:30 minutes).

114 '"I Am A Man": Dr. King and the Memphis Sanitation Workers' Strike', Tennessee State Museum, n.d., 2021, https://tnmuseum.org/junior-curators/posts/i-am-a-man-dr-king-and-the-memphis-sanitation-workers-strike. This strike is mentioned by Ehlers in the 2021 video *I Am Queen Mary: Work in Progress* (8:05–8:25 minutes). In talks given in 2017–2018, the

artists also often spoke about Spike Lee's film *Malcolm X*. Both references are mentioned and illustrated on the *I Am Queen Mary* website; see https://www.iamqueenmary.com/history, accessed January 6, 2023.

115 See Danbolt and Wamberg, 'Fireburn genantændt', 282.

116 See Garrett Albert Duncan, 'Black Panther Party', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Black-Panther-Party, accessed February 28, 2023.

117 The Mission Statement is quoted from the welcome page of the *All Power to the People* website, https://allpowertothepeopleproject.com/collections/original-huey-p-newton-collection, accessed January 6, 2023.

118 See the 'Support I AM QUEEN MARY' campaign, autumn 2021, https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/support-i-am-queen-mary#/, accessed January 6, 2023.

119 Johanna Drucker, *Sweet Dreams: Contemporary Art and Complicity* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), xi–xii.

120 Drucker, *Sweet Dreams*, xv.

121 Drucker, *Sweet Dreams*, xvi.

122 See Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 55.

123 Michael Hanchard, 'Black Memory versus State Memory: Notes toward a Method', *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 48 (emphasis in the original).

124 Hanchard, 'Black Memory', 58.

125 See Petersen, Schramm, and Wiegand, 'Comparing Histories: The United Kingdom, Germany and Denmark', 38–44.

6 Urban Renewal and Art in Postmigrant Public Spaces

Art in Public Space as a Transformative Tool

Like monuments and other forms of public art, urban public spaces are symbolically invested and cast in civic terms. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, the controversies surrounding works of art in public spaces are expressions of the cultural and historical circumstances and conflicts from which the works and the controversies emerge. However, works of art can also contribute to negotiating social antagonisms and conflicts as well as propose alternative 'models' or suggest new 'answers' that gesture towards the future. As the case study in this chapter exemplifies, the opportunities to do so often occur in connection with urban renewal plans that seek both the social rehabilitation and physical renovation of deprived areas. This chapter thus maintains and further develops Chapter 5's focus on how art in the public spaces of a society transformed by (im)migration can shape and is, in turn, shaped by the disagreements and negotiations resulting from the need to accommodate increasing cultural diversity and new claims for participation, visibility and the recognition of difference. It explores how artists have made interventions in public spaces to create a form of public art that grapples with and articulates the fact that they are *postmigrant* public spaces.

The purpose of this chapter is to thread the theoretical elaboration of a concept of postmigrant public space through an analysis of *Superkilen* ('Super Wedge'), to let the theoretical argument be informed by the probing depth that Anthony Schrag ascribes to artworks and to answer Grant Kester's suggestion that scholars should highlight rather than obscure the contradictions and frictions of socially engaged art.

Many of the art projects that have been initiated in public spaces in recent years have been temporary projects aimed at social betterment. Birgit Eriksson, Anne Mette Winneche Nielsen, Anne Scott Sørensen and Mia Falch Yates discuss this political and social instrumentalization of art in a major survey of art projects in deprived social housing areas that have a relatively high percentage of people living in economic precariousness caused by unemployment, and which comprise a 'postmigrant' mix of inhabitants of many different ethnic backgrounds.[1] The authors examine a broad range of art projects initiated in four Danish urban areas officially designated as 'ghettos' in the social housing legislation, more specifically in the so-called 'Ghetto Law' of 2018 (relabelled 'parallel societies' in its retitled update of 2021) based on official criteria, including the percentage of 'non-Western' immigrants and descendants. They submit that the inhabitants of these social housing areas should be perceived as 'exposed', not because they are passive and vulnerable but because they have been subjected to social and cultural policies that constitute a *triple exposure* to social inequality, discursive stigmatization and political,

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legal and physical intervention in their neighbourhood. In this context, various participatory artistic and cultural practices have been harnessed strategically to support the social policies that have been imposed from above. More controversially, these policies have also included the demolition of social housing blocks and the sale of properties for private housing projects to attract more economically resourceful residents. As a result, this has invariably involved a transformation of the physical environment along with gentrification processes, as is also evident in the centrally located area of Copenhagen around the *Superkilen* project, which is the focus of this chapter. Drawing on the artist and art historian Anthony Schrag's analysis of 'social betterment' through art, Eriksson et al. describe the recent strategic 'outreach' to exposed social housing areas through art as pursuing a betterment agenda based on the assumption that the residents can be 'elevated' through art and cultural projects that somehow ameliorate the situation caused by the triple exposure as well as building on a political vision of a mixed city that is balanced and friction-free. This association of art with betterment and refinement can be traced back to the Enlightenment. However, Schrag's point is that in post-welfare societies, the understanding of betterment has changed, as art outside institutions – such as community-related art, participatory art projects and other socially engaged forms of art – has been instrumentalized to serve social and health ends, ultimately becoming an extended form of social engineering to construct civic identities.[2]

According to Eriksson et al., art projects in exposed social housing areas can best be characterized by using Grant H. Kester's definition of three characteristics of socially engaged art that seeks to be politically and socially transformative. Kester describes them as distinct but often coexisting features, as many projects are 'simultaneously *pragmatic* (involving processes of concrete problem solving), *diagnostic* (revealing new cognitive and institutional blockages and openings) and *prefigurative* (disclosing new modes of contestation that might be scalable or replicable in the future as well as new insights into the process of social change more generally)'.[3] My case study shows that these features are also prominent in *Superkilen*.

An additional matter of concern is the transformed role of the artist. Schrag notes that when socially engaged art is associated with amelioration, there is often a tendency to collapse the careers of social worker and artist: 'To collapse the fields into one devalues both. It disavows the unique specialisms in each – art's ability to ask deep and probing questions and social work's ability to be wholly committed to social betterment.'[4]

Where do these considerations of participatory art practices, socially engaged art and the politically imposed betterment agenda leave *Superkilen* – a public space with a physical assemblage of objects that is closer to the categories of public art and urban design than socially engaged participatory art, although it incorporates elements of them all? To begin with, as a commissioned project, *Superkilen* can be said to pursue a betterment agenda, in the sense that its purpose was to expand the recreational facilities and improve the infrastructure of the Nørrebro district in Copenhagen and thereby make a difference in the everyday lives of many of the city's inhabitants. However, as Kester reminds us, the 'modalities' of art through which social and political change occur are often 'imperfect, messy, improvisational and inevitably compromised' (due to the constrictions arising, for instance, from the necessary collaboration with various kinds of authorities, institutions and private and public funding bodies as well as local people with conflicting interests).[5] It is precisely the messiness, that is, *Superkilen*'s ambiguities, compromises and flaws, which makes it productive to develop the idea of postmigrant public space through an examination of this project. I want to consider, therefore, how art can address the general

public as a heterogeneous and diverse public. Thus, I am not focusing on outreach programmes and temporary community art projects aimed at selected minoritized groups, but on an artwork addressed to the daily users of public urban spaces, who obviously include but are not limited to groups of minoritized local residents. I would like to suggest that one of the major challenges for art in the public spaces of Europe today is to find ways to articulate a recognition of the cultural diversity of European populations and to address the members of these heterogeneous populations as citizens who are all considered to 'belong'.

The importance of this problematic becomes clear when seen in a wider context. As explained in the Introduction, postmigrant thought offers a new approach to questions that are commonly framed as 'integration issues'. In Europe, the discourses on integration have been heavily politicized, arguably over-focusing on the *immigrants* and how immigrants adapt to a society with a 'dominant' host population of supposedly sedentary citizens devoid of migratory heritage and experience, and so already fully 'integrated'. The politicization has thus limited the extent to which integration can be understood as a two-way process of mutual adaptation, as many scholars in the fields of critical migration and postmigration studies have called for. As a result, the adaptation of host communities to diversification continues to receive little attention, including the adaptation of the existing urban fabric and public spaces, that is, the question of how to accommodate diversity in space and placemaking.[6]

I have chosen to focus on a singular project because socially engaged art projects are complex and demanding to examine, and as Kester notes, the ways in which they serve pragmatic, diagnostic and prefigurative ends can only be gauged through a detailed, situational analysis of the project's interaction with the local context.[7] Writing about such projects also presents theoretical obstacles, especially two assumptions about socially engaged art that continue to inform art criticism across the board. The first is that art practices which produce some concrete change in the world or are developed in alliance with specific social movements or communities are, in Kester's words, 'entirely pragmatic' and devoid of 'critical and conceptually creative capacity'. The second assumption is that 'any given art project is *either* radically disruptive *or* naively ameliorative'.[8] What critics often overlook is that socially engaged art projects often combine critical and ameliorative aims and features, and that the process of creating them entails criticism and conflicts as well as moments of provisional consensus and solidarity.

Superkilen: Designing-in Difference

In contradistinction to the mostly temporary small-scale projects that dominate the neighbourhood initiatives examined by Eriksson et al., *Superkilen* is durable and of a monumental scale. Between 1980 and 2000, intercultural tension grew with the increasing settlement of immigrants in the Nørrebro district, turning this area into one of Copenhagen's most ethnically diverse and socially challenged neighbourhoods, which in the early 2000s also became a seedbed of gentrification.[9] To counter the social problems these changes had caused, the Copenhagen City Council introduced an ambitious urban renewal programme in 2004, comprising three major projects: a sports and leisure park named Mimersparken; a community building with sports facilities called Nørrebrohallen; and an extensive recreational urban park entitled *Superkilen*.[10] Over the next decade, this physical redevelopment contributed to making Nørrebro's ethnic diversity and closeness to the city centre more attractive to investors and higher income families, thereby

furthering gentrification and turning Nørrebro into 'one of the city's hipster-hyped areas… in spite of the ongoing gang war in the area'.[11]

Superkilen was designed by the Danish artist group Superflex in collaboration with architects from the Copenhagen-based studio Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG) and Topotek 1, a Berlin-based group of landscape architects. Its long wedge shape is divided into three visually distinct areas: *Den grønne park* ('The Green Park'; see Figure 6.1), *Det sorte marked* ('The Black Market'; see Figure 6.2), and finally *Den røde plads* ('The Red Square'; see Figure 6.3), on which I will focus below. Together, the three areas constitute a 750-metre-long linear tract of land interconnected by a bidirectional bicycle path. *Superkilen* is an example of how an urban renewal project can mediate between social groups in a heterogeneous area, since the people living in the immediate vicinity of the park have affiliations with more than fifty different nationalities.

The involvement of local citizens is a staple of urban renewal projects in Denmark. In this project, it assumed the form of controlled participation, whereby the artists and architects remained in charge as the curators of the project and as those responsible for the final design.[12] Led by Superflex, the *Superkilen* project team decided to involve citizens as directly as possible in order to meet the challenge of intercultural mediation. Instead of using the standard equipment for parks and public spaces in Copenhagen, local people of

Figure 6.1 *Superkilen*, 2012. Urban park in Copenhagen. *Den grønne park* ('The Green Park'). Commissioned by the City of Copenhagen and Realdania. Developed by Superflex in close collaboration with Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG) and Topotek 1. Photograph: Iwan Baan.

Figure 6.2 *Superkilen*, 2012. Urban park in Copenhagen. *Det sorte marked* ('The Black Market'). Commissioned by the City of Copenhagen and Realdania. Developed by Superflex in close collaboration with Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG) and Topotek 1. Photograph: Iwan Baan.

different migrant and non-migrant backgrounds were asked to nominate specific city objects, such as benches, bins, trees, playgrounds, manhole covers and signage, from other countries. The project group sought to engage as many people as possible in proposing objects through posters in libraries, a call on the Internet and a catalogue of objects that could inspire local residents to think about specific objects instead of mere functions (such as playgrounds, benches and more light and green areas).

In an ethnographical and empirical study of *Superkilen*'s urban design and objects, the urbanist Jonathan Daly has linked it to a turn in urban policies from *designing-out* difference to *designing-in* difference. Daly analyses how some specific objects and areas of *Superkilen* enable and constrain intercultural encounter, often in conflicting and contradictory ways. Based on the idea that *Superkilen* was 'designed to improve social cohesion' in Nørrebro,[13] and that it is possible to 'programme' intercultural encounters through urban design, Daly assesses *Superkilen*'s functionality as an instrument of social engineering for regulating the behaviour of Nørrebro's residents. He focuses almost exclusively on functionality in everyday life, for example, on how some benches enable proximity and exchange between Muslim women and non-Muslims, and on how the objects serving as playground things for young children perform better than any other type of object, as they enable informal intercultural exchange between strangers, both children and parents.[14] Although he observes that some objects, such as the Iraqi swings in *Den røde plads* and the Moroccan fountain in the tarmac-coated area of *Det sorte marked*, were 'strongly valued for their ethnocultural meaning', Daly speaks most

favourably of the objects that are 'most effective' in 'attracting participation' and 'high levels of use' among actors identified as 'minority ethnic' as well as those identified as 'ethnic-Danes', an efficiency largely dependent on the objects' seating, sports and playing-related affordances.[15]

It is not surprising that Daly reaches the conclusion that many of the objects fail to facilitate intercultural encounter in a satisfactory manner, considering that he completely overlooks that visual artists have played a leading role in the project group's initiative to integrate objects from other countries, and that it was never a criterion that all objects should enable practical bodily use and initiate social interaction in and of themselves. Symptomatically, Daly's study does not even mention Superflex, or Topotek 1 for that matter, nor does it consider the intercultural participatory process through which the project group selected the objects. Only the architects BIG are credited as creators. Due to his disregard for 'art', Daly overlooks the 'unserviceable' function of the objects as signifiers with a potential to anchor collective and individual memories. Moreover, by considering the individual objects separately, he overlooks their significance as an ensemble of objects comprising a plurality of symbols that can stimulate individual affective identifications while also 'identifying' the neighbourhood as plural and inclusive. It is telling that Daly refers to the people living in the area as 'residents' or 'locals', and when they interact with the objects of *Superkilen* they are designated 'users' and not 'citizens' or 'viewers'. His choice of words thus plays down the role of visual sensory experience

Figure 6.3 *Superkilen*, 2012. Urban park in Copenhagen. *Den røde plads* ('The Red Square'). Commissioned by the City of Copenhagen and Realdania. Developed by Superflex in close collaboration with Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG) and Topotek 1. Photograph: Torben Eskerod.

and visual cognition as well as that of civic identification. Conversely, I argue that the term 'user' is perhaps not the best term for describing the exchange taking place between object-based art in public space and the residents and other people who regularly use a particular *locality* in which an artwork is installed. In *Superkilen*, the 'artwork' is not the individual functional objects with which a user can (often) interact, but rather the transnational assemblage of urban objects that have been installed in the area to lend a distinctly local and at the same time cosmopolitan character to the environment as a whole. If we wish to examine how users of a given locality relate to public art, it is my view that these everyday users should also be thought of as some kind of audience or public. Public art is usually made for the general public. The question is: how should the general public be defined, addressed and engaged as a target group for art in the publicly accessible spaces of contemporary European cities with their increasingly heterogeneous and transnationally interconnected populations?

Even though the *Superkilen* project team included proposals and wishes that were not 'fully congruent with its own', it was the team who set the framework and made the final selection of objects. *Superkilen* should be seen then as a 'curated project based on citizens' involvement but not truly collaborative in all its single parts'.[16] The selected objects were either purchased or reproduced in an adapted 1:1 version, depending on whether they met Danish safety requirements and were suitable for the Danish climate. In total, there are more than one hundred different objects from more than fifty different countries.[17] Interestingly, in five cases, Superflex adopted a far more personally engaging and experimental mode of 'extreme' participation by involving five groups of local residents, mostly elderly and younger people, who were chosen precisely because they represented segments of the local community who would not attend the public meetings on the urban renewal project. Together with one of the three artists from Superflex (Jakob Fenger, Rasmus Nielsen and Bjørnstjerne Christiansen), the groups travelled to Palestine, Spain, Thailand, Texas and Jamaica to acquire five specific objects to be installed throughout the area.[18]

Over time, local people living in the vicinity of *Superkilen* may develop affective attachments to some of the objects. These attachments could operate on several levels: they may be highly individualized, but when shared might also build a spirit of community and a sense of belonging to a real or imagined micro-community. Residents may identify with 'their' object because they have chosen it; the object might trigger memories of a family's country of origin, places visited on holiday or countries of temporary residence, that is, past or temporary homes. In sum, the objects can function as a form of everyday memory site, where locals may recall places that they feel attached to. People might also feel attracted to certain objects simply because they are visually fascinating landmarks in their neighbourhood, like the giant Japanese Octopus (see Figure 6.4) that is cherished by local children who use it as a climbing frame. Or an object may become a social meeting point, like the Moroccan fountain where young people tend to gather.[19]

As Michael Hanchard has inferred, individual experiences are part of a collective memory, and the boundaries between individual and collective memory are fluid: 'The actual constitution of memory, the cognitive distillation of objects and experiences in a recollection is in some crucial ways a *social* rather than an entirely individual exercise.'[20] Arguably, the social character of memory is more forcefully evident when mediated through *public* displays, rituals, institutions, monuments and spaces. Hence, *Superkilen* prompts the question of how art in postmigrant public spaces like Nørrebro can help the reimagining of urban communities and the generation of new collective memories.

Figure 6.4 *Superkilen*, 2012. Octopus from Tokyo, *Det sorte Marked* ('The Black Market'). Commissioned by the City of Copenhagen and Realdania. Developed by Superflex in close collaboration with Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG) and Topotek 1. Photograph: Iwan Baan.

Zooming in on the *Den røde plads* (see Figures 6.3 and 6.5), this area is designed for various types of physical and social activity, such as boxing, basketball, resting on swings or simply passing through the area on foot or bicycle. The selection of urban objects is variegated and contradictory, giving visual and spatial expression to the demographic heterogeneity of the neighbourhood. Overall, the aesthetics of the square could be described as deliberately pursuing a *lack* of aesthetic uniformity.[21] As Martin Rein-Cano of Topotek 1 has explained:

> The brief was: "Deal with the issue of migration in this neighbourhood. Can you somehow make the situation better?" So, the original subject was not our idea; migration was the point of departure. We just took it very seriously, almost literally… Particularly in the Nordic countries, there is an amazing desire for harmony, whereas I think we have to learn to live with certain conflicts that we are not going to solve. And maybe we should not look at all of them as being dangerous; some could even contribute to our wealth and enrich cultures… With *Superkilen* the problems and conflicts are getting visible: they turn into a subject. We have created a place that is, instead of being harmonious, conflictual. Look at the objects: We have objects from Israel next to objects from Muslim countries. There are a lot of conflicts, and they are part of the concept.[22]

In an insightful essay on *Superkilen*, the curator Barbara Steiner examines what she considers to be the key aspects of the project: first, the project group's exploration of different modes of participation and their limitations; and second, their attempt to make

Figure 6.5 *Superkilen*, 2012. Swings from Bagdad, *Den røde plads* ('The Red Square'). Developed by Superflex in close collaboration with Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG) and Topotek 1. Photograph: Anne Ring Petersen 2019.

visible that Nørrebro is a conflictual and culturally heterogeneous area with a history of battles over urban space, such as the struggle over the children's playground Byggeren (a pet name derivative of Building Site) in 1980 and the battle over Ungdomshuset ('The Youth House') at Jagtvej 69.[23] The young squatters and other regulars who had claimed the right to use the building as a venue for social and cultural activities were evicted in 2007 when the Faderhuset evangelical free church ('The House of The Father') bought the property and had the building demolished. This conflict with the church and the municipality engendered fierce protests from left-wing groups, in combination with riots in the streets. The protests were rekindled from time to time, most vigorously in 2011. Seemingly oblivious to the open wound of the local conflict, the American street artist Shephard Fairey decorated a gable end facing the vacant plot with a mural painting of a white dove entitled *Peace*. Fairey's mural started a veritable war of images, as *Peace* was vandalized with graffiti. Fairey eventually agreed to collaborate with former members of the 69 Youth House on redecorating the lower half of the mural with images of riot police and explosions, together with the combative slogan of the protesters: 'Nothing forgotten, nothing forgiven'.[24]

More protracted and violent conflicts have also plagued the area. Located at Axel Larsens Plads (Axel Larsen's Square), bordering on the *Den røde plads* and virtually marking its main entry point, is the slightly older sculpture *Nørrebros Hjerte* ('The Heart of Nørrebro') by the Danish sculptor Bjørn Nørgaard unveiled in 2010. It is a site-specific monument for the multicultural quarter, shaped like an obelisk and bearing the inscription 'We Want to Live Together', written in eleven languages. It is crowned by a red heart of compressed weapons, confiscated by the police in connection with a

safe conduct campaign in 2008–2009. Bjørn Nørgaard's sculpture gives voice to a polylingual 'we', expressing a general sentiment among the inhabitants of Nørrebro. Several times, over a number of years, the area has witnessed a bloody war among criminal biker gangs and gangs of immigrant youngsters. *Nørrebros hjerte* is a response to the violence that seeks social reconciliation in a way that makes Schrag's rejection of art as a conciliatory tool of social betterment seem premature and Herbert Marcuse's frequently cited critique of 'affirmative' art obsolete. Marcuse argued that art in the bourgeois period offers semblances of reconciliation, but displaces the hope for freedom to an aesthetic dimension where it does not interrupt the fundamental conditions of social, economic or political life. Applied to urban development, this translates into using art and design for an urban makeover that introduces a mere 'semblance of continuity' or 'order', which critical art is then expected to 'interrupt' to expose what lies beneath the surface.[25] However, in an area such as Nørrebro, the artist does not need to make a radically disruptive sculpture to bring the social conflicts and cultural ruptures of Nørrebro to the surface. When acting as 'the voice of the community' calling for reconciliation among its members, *Nørrebros hjerte* also points to the severe problems that make such reconciliation necessary in the first place. In a similar manner, *Superkilen* grapples with the problem of how to address the public as a heterogeneous and diverse public. In contrast to Nørgaard's sculpture, *Superkilen* seeks to meet this challenge, not by calling for peace and understanding as a means of engendering friendly cohabitation and social cohesion, but by factoring in cultural differences and offering multiple points of identification. What square and monument have in common is that they address people not as mere users, spectators or private individuals, but rather in their civic capacity as a public.

Taking this local history into consideration, the artistic and conceptual conundrum that Superflex had to address can be summed up as follows: how can an urban park with an embedded art project 'express' a society or an urban community that is heterogeneous, fragmented and regularly riven by conflicts yet destined to share a common space? Or to phrase it differently, how to express or make visible that the neighbourhood and the part of it that became *Superkilen* constitute what I would describe as a postmigrant public space, where different vested interests clash and where no final reconciliation is possible but where sociocultural differences are nevertheless negotiated and intertwined to create a convivial, hybrid urban culture of integration?

Postmigrant Public Spaces

European societies are currently struggling to come to terms with globalization- and migration-induced transformations of society. The conflictual nature of this process is widely recognized by academics engaged in postmigration studies. Drawing on their conceptual frameworks, I understand postmigrant public spaces to be contested contact zones that comprise material and symbolic dimensions as well as various forms of public discourse, dissent and protest, in both physical and media spaces.

The influence of Jürgen Habermas's theory of the 'public sphere' on theories of and debates concerning art in public space can hardly be overestimated.[26] As Chantal Mouffe observed, Habermas understood the political public space to be 'the place where a rational consensus takes place' among citizens with equal access to this democratic sphere, adding that Habermas has since accepted that such an ideal situation of equity and consensus is impossible, given the constrictions of social life.[27] However, in the discourse on

artistic practices and public space, Habermas's early formulation of the bourgeois model of rational-critical debate and his ideal of the public sphere as a universally accessible place where a unifying consensus can be reached have often been adopted as the very definition of public space.[28] As a result, there has been a widespread tendency to idealize art in public space as a means to generate if not the actual consensus of a unitary public, then forms that derive from that ideal – such as 'social cohesion', 'shared values' and the building of 'community' based on everyone's democratic 'access' to interaction with art in a public sphere environment. As Michael Warner argued in his authoritative book *Publics and Counterpublics*, Habermas's theory of the public sphere has been the subject of a certain amount of criticism, 'much of it marred by reductive summaries',[29] but the very extent of the debate reveals the ability of Habermas's theory to withstand it and lead to a rethinking of the public sphere. In his own revisionist reading, Warner uses Habermas's theory to reconceptualize 'the public'. He emphasizes that Habermas acknowledged the plurality of discourses, voices and social contexts, and that there is therefore 'no necessary conflict between the public sphere and the idea of multiple publics'.[30] In the context of art in public spaces, where people encounter art and each other coincidentally and often as strangers, it is significant that Warner departs from Habermas's concern with face-to-face argumentative dialogue in his later work on communicative rationality,[31] and explicitly states that co-presence is not required to generate a public: 'It exists *by virtue of being addressed*.'[32] Following and at the same time diverging from Habermas, Warner defines a public as follows:

> The ideal unity of the public sphere is best understood as an imaginary convergence point that is the backdrop of critical discourse in each of these contexts and publics – an implied but abstract point that is often referred to as "the public" or "public opinion"… A 'public' in this context is a special kind of virtual social object, enabling a special mode of address… In modern societies, a public is by definition an indefinite audience rather than a social constituency that could be numbered or named.[33]

In continuation of Warner, I would like to propose that in the discourses on art in public spaces, the Habermasian ideal still functions as such an imaginary convergence point and discursive nodal point that puts in place a normative idea of what artists and art projects should accomplish – especially where monuments and other permanently installed artworks are concerned. Importantly, it coexists with another imaginary convergence point and normative idea of 'radical art' which is capable of producing critical publics that are defined by their tension with the wider public and/or a dominant culture. Warner provides a helpful working definition of such counterpublics:

> Discussion within such a public is understood to contravene the rules obtaining in the world at large, being structured by alternative dispositions or protocols, making different assumptions about what can be said or what goes without saying… A counterpublic, against the background of the public sphere, enables a horizon of opinion and exchange; its exchanges remain distinct from authority and can have a critical relation to power; its extent is in principle indefinite, because it is not based on a precise demography but mediated by print, theatre, diffuse networks of talk, commerce, and the like… Participation in such a public is one of the ways by which its members' identities are formed and transformed.[34]

At this junction, some observations on what bearing Warner's understanding of publics and counterpublics has on the concept of postmigrant public space seem in order. As explained in the Introduction, I understand postmigrant public spaces to be plural and sometimes conflictual domains of human encounter impacted by former and ongoing (im) migration and by new and old forms of nationalism. In their capacity as public spaces, they can accommodate multiple (counter)publics. Yet, since these sites of contestation and competition are fraught with social fragmentation, and because they are regulated, like all public spaces, by mechanisms of exclusion that distribute 'access' unequally, postmigrant public spaces tend towards agonistic plurality rather than gesturing towards the imaginary Habermasian convergence point of ideal unity.

Furthermore, unlike the notion of the nation as a public sphere, the concept of postmigrant public space does not draw imaginary geopolitical borders around a 'national' public. Where membership is concerned, the boundaries of postmigrant public spaces are not coterminous with the physical borders of a place, site or territory. This feature links the concept to the idea of 'post-publics', as defined by the curator and art theorist Simon Sheikh (of which more below). Postmigrant public spaces are permeable and relatively open spaces, because the indefinite (counter)publics that emerge within them do so 'by virtue of being addressed', as Warner submits.[35] Put differently, the concept proposed here foregrounds the discursive and material anchor points that postmigrant public spaces have within a nation-state, while also taking due account of another defining feature: their complex and expansive connections with *transnational* publics, flows and spaces of productions beyond the local and the nation-state.

As publics and counterpublics are not coterminous with postmigrant public spaces, they are better understood as protean formations of participants that exist and coexist within them. Publics come into being by being addressed. They are, therefore, sensitive to and to some extent determined by the communicative context. In postmigrant public spaces, publics and counterpublics are formed in circumstances of considerable political and social tensions and struggles. 'The omnipresence of the discourse on migration' may lead us to believe that these conflicts are only about migration and integration, but in reality they go far deeper into the core conflicts of modern plural democracy and its struggles about recognition, equal access to participation and an equal share of the assets of society – to all of which immigrants and their descendants are now also laying claim.[36]

These postmigrant conditions are likely to shape (counter)publics and their content and form in ways that may be both explicit and implicit. As these publics emerge from a climate of fierce debate involving strong feelings, clashes between opposing interests and protracted controversies about the smallest things connected with the vexed issues of immigration, integration, identity politics and recognition,[37] the publics tend to contest each other's assumptions and protocols. Postmigrant public spaces are thus filled with frictions and negotiations, not only between any one counterpublic and a larger public (or 'the public'), as Warner suggests, but also internally among a plurality of sub- and counterpublics.[38] This tensional coexistence infuses postmigrant public spaces with a particular dynamic in which conflict mingles with conviviality.

The sociologists Les Back and Shamser Sinha observe that understanding urban diversity and the modes of coexistence it fosters requires attention to the micro-politics of everyday life, in which state/municipal policy 'filters down into the smallest scale and becomes entangled with new emergent modes of co-existence'.[39] Needless to say, today's urban environment has implications for the aesthetic experience and social interaction that are integral to living together in difference. Arguably, commissioned art in public

space, such as *Superkilen*, and publicly funded projects in art and culture, such as the projects in 'exposed' social housing areas discussed by Eriksson et al.,[40] exemplify such intersections between everyday co-existence and official policies (on art funding, social housing, urban renewal etc.). As materialized socioaesthetics, art in urban environments contributes to shaping 'the sensuous texture of multicultural life', including its conviviality.[41] Like multiculturalism, superdiversity and everyday cosmopolitanism, the concept of conviviality has been used to focus the debates on cultural difference arising from the long-term consequences of mass migration, postcolonialism, multiethnicity and transnationalism – debates which often centre around the ongoing concern with the question of how communities, cultures, societies and nations 'stick together'.[42]

As the sociologists Amanda Wise and Greg Noble note, it is in many ways the same old problematic, but it has been transformed by the 'diversification of diversity' and increasingly complex patterns of (im)mobility as well as 'the intensification of experiences of radical difference, often racial or religious in nature'.[43] To accommodate this transformation, Wise and Noble move beyond the simple notion of conviviality as friendly interaction and positive solidarity to define conviviality as *convivencia*, that is, as 'a sense of rubbing along' that involves 'not just "happy togetherness" but negotiation, friction and sometimes conflict'. With its ambivalent entanglement of everyday racism and everyday cosmopolitanism, *convivencia* is hard work because it is 'togetherness as lived negotiation, belonging as practice'.[44] Paul Gilroy's seminal study *After Empire: Melancholia or convivial culture?* is generally cited as the contribution that introduced the concept of conviviality into the discussion of multicultural cities around the mid-2000s.[45] Gilroy does not use the term *convivencia* but the strength of his concept of conviviality, which takes its inspiration from London (as an emblem of the role multiculture plays in urban life in postcolonial cities around the world), is that it likewise captures the frictions and ambiguity of conviviality. Gilroy understands conviviality as always proximate to its negation, that is to say, to racism, to anti-terrorist fears and security measures, and to the nationalist nostalgia for the time when European colonial empires were at their zenith or alternatively, when there was a national past of greater cultural and demographic homogeneity. Thus, what Gilroy's concept of conviviality offers is an alternative way of giving a name to postmigrant cohabitation and interaction that captures their inherent conflictuality.

The concept of postmigrant public space proposed here resonates with this understanding of conviviality as friction-filled togetherness. It also tallies with Sheikh's diagnosis of the public sphere in the twenty-first century as being fragmented and almost impossible to locate in specific places; in other words, worlds apart from Habermas's ideal of a unitary public sphere. Referencing Oscar Negt and Alexander Kluge's notion of a 'proletarian' public sphere defined in opposition to Habermas's notion of the normative 'bourgeois' one, Sheikh identifies a change in how public spaces are commonly understood:

> Today, we would not describe public spaces only in dialectics of class struggle, but rather as a multiplicity of struggles, among them struggles for recognition, partly in shape of access to the public space, as well as the struggle for the right to struggle itself, for dissent.[46]

Sheikh crystallizes his analysis of this transformation into the idea that in the twenty-first century, the idea of a unitary public sphere, in particular the notion of

'the-public-as-nation',[47] has been replaced by new kinds of public formations: post-publics. The concept of postmigrant public space can be understood as a parallel to Sheikh's concept in the sense that in both cases, the prefix 'post' signals that they are critical terms which do not represent a departure from but rather a critical examination of their basic modalities: the categories of the public and its adjacent counterpublics, and of the public sphere and public space. Thus, the concept of postmigrant public space offers a critical lens that can help us transform the concept of postmigration into an analytical mode through which we can, in Sheikh's words, 'understand our actuality in order to act in it, obviously, but also in order to reconfigure it, to imagine it anew'.[48]

My conceptualization of art's role in postmigrant public space as a plural sphere of multiple publics is also indebted to Warner's adamant insistence that the very idea of a public is a motivating and generative factor:

> It seems that in order to address a public, one must forget or ignore the fictional nature of the entity one addresses. The idea of a public is motivating, not simply instrumental. It is constitutive of a social imaginary.[49]

I do, however, deviate from Warner with respect to his general claim that a counterpublic always, at some level, maintains 'an awareness of its subordinate status' in relation to a dominant one[50] – whether it be 'the public', 'the majority' or 'the establishment'. This may hold true of the queer and feminist counterpublics that are his primary examples, but I would argue that one of the characteristics of postmigrant public spaces is that the interaction between the different (counter)publics within them is more contingent upon the recognition of differences and plurality than relations of subordination.

Last, but importantly, my conceptualization of postmigrant public spaces is theoretically underpinned by Chantal Mouffe's understanding of democratic politics and democratic public spaces as being inherently conflictual. Turning now to Mouffe's theory, I would like to suggest that both *I Am Queen Mary* and *Superkilen*, discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, could be characterized as 'agonistic' interventions in urban spaces, because they seek to instigate a change of perception and collective identification by renegotiating, rather than simply rejecting, historical perceptions of community and history that still hold sway over collective imagination.

Mouffe's point of departure is the German jurist Carl Schmitt's idea that a defining feature of politics is the identification of a friend and an enemy, and the ensuing conflict between them. Mouffe contends however that conflicts need not involve the identification of an enemy whom one wants to destroy, and that democratic politics are a conflict between adversaries who may disagree but who ultimately respect each other's right to exist. Mouffe calls this kind of respectful conflict 'agonistic pluralism', in contrast to both the antagonism of Schmitt's struggle against an enemy and the liberal ideas of the possibility of a universal consensus based on reason.[51]

Mouffe's occasional essays on art and politics have ensured that her distinction between antagonism and agonism has found its way into critical analyses of art in public space. Mouffe defines public space as a 'battleground' in which 'different hegemonic projects are confronted, without any possibility of final reconciliation'. Not only does she emphasize that there is 'no underlying principle of unity', she also proposes that the agonistic approach perceives public space to be 'always plural', as it acknowledges that there is a diversity of voices and spaces, presenting different forms of articulation. The agonistic confrontation may thus take place on 'a multiplicity of discursive surfaces'.[52]

It is perfectly in line with this understanding of public space that Mouffe defines 'critical art' as an art that stirs up dissension, that is, art is a troublemaker that 'makes visible what the dominant consensus tends to obscure and obliterate'.[53]

Contesting Art in Postmigrant Contexts

Returning to the two public art projects in Copenhagen, *I Am Queen Mary* and *Superkilen*, I ask: are they critical troublemakers? If so, what is postmigrant about the way they stir up dissension? I raise this question because it could be argued that any artistic intervention in any public space may potentially produce agonistic or even antagonistic conflicts because art in public space often provokes controversy. Richard Serra's minimalist *Tilted Arc*, installed in Federal Plaza in Manhattan from 1981 to 1989, is a case in point. Critics found the almost 37-metre-long and 3.5-metre-high plate of rust-covered COR-TEN steel ugly and oppressive; they perceived it as a violation of public space, because it formed a physical barrier that cut across the square, ruining the site and interfering with the social life of the plaza. Following an acrimonious public debate that was accompanied by vandalism, the sculpture became the object of public legal proceedings and was eventually removed in 1989 as the result of a Federal lawsuit.[54] I submit that both *I Am Queen Mary* and *Superkilen* are critical troublemakers, in the sense that they were created to provoke reactions by rupturing the ossified image of a homogeneous Denmark and claiming visibility in public space for under- and non-represented groups.

I Am Queen Mary engages critically with what Michael Hanchard terms *state memory* and understands to be the generalizing and centralizing, institutionally supported narrative of the nation's history. Hanchard distinguishes state memory from *black memory* as a collective form of memory that has been deployed for different, sometimes adversarial purposes. Adopting spatial metaphors, he conceptualizes state memory as vertically constituted and black memory as horizontally constituted, because the 'archaeological deposits' of the latter are 'strewn across several time zones and territories'.[55] Although the two forms are not 'co-terminous',[56] they are necessarily interwoven, as all citizens – also black and other racialized, diasporic people – live within the structures of nation-states. It follows that, even if diasporic memory is not defined and delimited by nation-state structures, it resides within, not outside, these structures, hence the new claims for visible representation.

As regards *Superkilen*, the area enjoys local popularity, especially its iconic red square. Nevertheless, it has provoked a critique similar to that launched against Serra's *Tilted Arc*. For instance, Kristine Samson and José Abasolo have described *Superkilen* as a colonization of the authentic Nørrebro neighbourhood. Romanticizing the past, they criticize the project for being 'a formal, designed colonization of otherwise informal playful activities'.[57] Similarly, Brett Bloom claims that the artists were 'instrumentalized' by municipal city planners, architects and the private foundation Realdania to pursue their purpose: to furnish those in power with a democratic, integration-friendly face and conjure up the illusion that citizens have real influence on urban renewal projects.[58] Bloom thus maintains that *Superkilen* hides the truth that 'the power of money has overruled the democratic process'.[59]

Conversely, Barbara Steiner acknowledges that the creation of large-scale projects, such as a 750-metre-long recreative space to be used or traversed daily by thousands of citizens, cannot be achieved without substantial funding (in this case from the Copenhagen City Council, Realdania and the Danish Art Council), and that funding providers

will demand qualified results.[60] Unlike Bloom, who would like to see all decisions handed over to local groups and activists, Steiner draws attention to the high risk of ending up with mediocre results and chaotic spaces if the artists and architects had staked the ambitious design of this large urban zone on local people and activists with no prior urban design and planning experience. In other words, for Steiner, the involvement of local citizens, with their often conflicting wishes and interests, must be subordinated to the overall design and functionality of the project.[61] She asserts that by drawing on 'the cultural practice of cut and paste',[62] Superflex succeeded in fulfilling some of the local people's wishes. It should also be noted that Superflex's contradictory, friction-filled constellations of urban objects suggest neither cohesion nor consensus – quite the contrary, in fact. They are emphatically anti-assimilationist and could even be seen as *questioning* the very possibility of public consensus and social cohesion. As Steiner concludes:

> *Superkilen* is the expression of a society that is becoming more and more heterogenous and fragmented… *Superkilen* allows various positions, values, and identifications without levelling or embracing them in an all-reconciling gesture. With *Superkilen* the project team has found a spatial and visual expression for an inherently heterogeneous, yet shared, space… It pictures a utopian flare rather than a reality already achieved. It triggers the imagination of a plural "we" that resigns from re-establishing a substantial and exclusive identity…[63]

To summarize the critical debate, *Superkilen* is an ambitious but also ambiguous project, infused with good intentions of expressing and building a new sense of community. It is, however, also blemished by some questionable effects. This recreational area appears as a heterogeneous yet shared postmigrant public space that evokes a sense of global entanglement and intimates that multiple belonging and a new understanding of urban community as a plural 'we' are possible. Yet the flipside of the project is that Superflex's 'cut and paste' aesthetic of appropriation – combining a deliberate lack of visual uniformity with a multiculturalist approach to diversity – does not evade the pitfall of ethnicization. It should be noted that local residents were not asked to nominate urban outdoor objects specifically from their family's country of origin, but simply to propose objects from other countries. Although the project team's strategy of participation was not ethnicity-dependent, *Superkilen* does not eliminate the risk of people reading this giant permanent exhibition of found objects as a monumental instance of multicultural labelling, in which the totality of signs stands for 'cultural diversity' and the individual signs might be misinterpreted as synecdoches for the inhabitants' 'countries of origin'.[64] If *Superkilen* is read this way, national/ethnic ancestry is too easily perceived to be the principal identity marker of Nørrebro's inhabitants, thereby potentially perpetuating stigmatizing processes of othering and exoticization.

I would like to bring in here Edward Said's notion of contrapuntal analysis in order to elaborate some general points on how this urban park project can generate different, even contradictory, effects.[65] Said's analysis superimposes, on the one hand, the claims of an internal reading of a work that is attentive to the artist's intentions and strategies of representation as well as 'the work's imaginative project', and on the other hand, the claims of various forms of external critique.[66] When interpreting a work contrapuntally, one moves back and forth between internal and external perspectives, striving to 'articulate the work's vision' and give full credit to the work's sophistication at the same time as examining how it guides the responses of the audience in a particular direction. The

external perspective also situates the work within 'a wider field of imaginative possibilities', in order to problematize the work's inconsistencies and ideological foundation.[67] This dual approach makes it possible to 'think through and interpret together' aspects of *Superkilen* that are 'discrepant, each with its own particular agenda… and all of them coexisting and interacting with others'.[68]

The aesthetics and symbolism of *Superkilen* highlight the intrinsic sociocultural differences and conflicts within the area, but they also gesture towards the real and imaginary potential of living together in difference. However, *Superkilen*'s urban objects are arguably ambivalent or polysemous (as visual objects always are). As I have argued, some observers might thus be liable to read the 'foreign' objects as symbolic identity markers of the inhabitants' migrant backgrounds and criticize *Superkilen* for 'migrantizing' or even exoticizing Nørrebro. Worse still, such criticism would fail to grasp the subversive nature of this transcultural assemblage of objects and the way it ruptures the time-honoured image of a homogeneous Danish citizenry and claims visibility in public space for under- and non-represented groups. This is the crux of the matter. To take the point about *Superkilen*'s inherently contradictory nature further: while the assemblage of objects may activate the migrantizing gaze of some white majority citizens, thus transforming Nørrebro's inhabitants (of all backgrounds and colours) into the objects of a (utopian or dystopian) fantasy of Danish multiculturalism, weaving urban objects from afar into the fabric of the Danish capital is *also* a public acknowledgement of the embedded and settled presence of immigrants and their descendants. With its monumental presence in public space (which is always symbolically invested), *Superkilen* is an officially sanctioned recognition of Denmark's migrantized inhabitants as political subjects and citizens deserving of representation.

Superkilen's urban space, both open and delimited, gestures towards the idea of the *polis* – the ancient Greek word signifying both city and state, or city-state. *Superkilen* can therefore be read not only as an emblem of Nørrebro's postmigrant urban community but also as a symbolic, anticipatory modelling of a postmigrant democratic state. As the descriptor *postmigrant* indicates, this model diverges from the utopian vision of a society in which all differences and conflicts have been eradicated. *Superkilen* is based on the principle of *designing-in* difference, and its visual polyphony – which critics accustomed to more minimalist Scandinavian design would surely perceive as cacophony – serves therefore as a visually striking reminder of the inherent heterogeneity and antagonistic foundations of plural democratic societies.[69]

Concluding Remarks: The Reconfigurative Power of Art

To conclude, I would like to return to the three features identified by Kester as characteristic of art that seeks to be socially and politically transformative in order to substantiate my proposition that these features also figure prominently in *Superkilen*, that is, it is pragmatic, diagnostic and prefigurative. First of all, *Superkilen* is *pragmatic*, as it provides practical solutions to the actual infrastructural need for safe routes for Copenhagen's soft road users, that is, cyclists and pedestrians, as well as for a large recreational area for local residents. It is also *diagnostic*, because it identifies blockages and openings in existing perceptions and policies by flagging up the sociocultural transition of the Nørrebro community. Last, yet foremost, it is anticipatory or *prefigurative*, as it offers general insights into the process of social change and proposes a new way of contesting the myth of the homogeneous community. By claiming visibility for the actual diversity

of the local community on such a monumental scale, it anticipates a future in which postmigrant diversity is politically and commonly acknowledged. In doing so, it proffers a model which, as Kester notes, 'might be scalable or replicable in the future'.[70]

Art in public space is always a potential and sometimes unwitting producer of trouble,[71] as evidenced by the key examples discussed in Chapters 5 and 6: the protests against Serra's *Tilted Arc* in New York and Oguibe's *Das Flüchtlinge und Fremdlinge Monument* in Kassel and the *#RhodesMustFall* campaign against the statue of Cecil John Rhodes in Cape Town as well as *I Am Queen Mary* and *Superkilen* in Copenhagen. This potential can, I contend, be mobilized for postmigrant ends. Seen from a combined agonistic and postmigrant perspective, critical art is art that engages with the conflicts that emerge under postmigrant conditions. To boil them down into a single issue is impossible, but my overall impression is that much of the critical art that engages with postmigration sets out to 'trouble the sameness-strangeness divide', to use the cultural geographer Marco Antonsich's wording.[72] In doing so, the focus is shifted away from the reproduction of the ways in which the nation is taken for granted in its racialised essence.[73] Instead, interruptions are created that could possibly pry open the apparent semantic stability of European national self-perceptions and rupture the monoculturalism and hegemonic whiteness which underpin their cultural forms.

Furthermore, I propose that it is possible to identify a common *postmigrant* pattern that structures and interconnects critical artistic interventions into public spaces, which, at face value, present themselves as radically different. Superflex's collaborative artistic practice seems to be at odds, arguably with that of La Vaughn Belle and Jeannette Ehlers. I will nevertheless argue that they are based on a similar strategy or artistic approach to postmigrant public spaces. By seeking to identify a common pattern, I offer an overall view on the reconfigurative power of art in postmigrant public spaces and the question of how art can open up a social and national imagination that is pervaded by anxieties about immigration and cultural diversity to other ways of thinking about collective identity.

To answer this question, I draw on a general point developed by Frauke Wiegand, Moritz Schramm and myself in *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition*.[74] I propose that overall, 'postmigrant' artistic interventions into public space could be said to perform a tripartite gesture, in that they seek to *clear, claim* and *create* space. As my colleagues and I have argued, postmigrant approaches to art and culture are often driven by a desire for societal improvement. As a potential vehicle of social change, they are driven, firstly, by an ambition to *clear* space, as they seek to be rid of polarizing and hierarchical distinctions such as migrants versus non-migrants and white people versus people of colour. Instead, postmigrant approaches emphasize interrelations between people. Secondly, they involve *claiming* space. Yet the very act of claiming implies taking or reclaiming something, such as historical narratives (i.e. claiming the right to tell other stories or to tell familiar stories differently) and narratives of who 'we' are (i.e. claiming the right to collective redefinition and self-identification). Claiming thus necessitates struggle. As a consequence, the concept of postmigration refers, in our understanding, to a conflictual process of societal transformation that entails the difficult renegotiation of, among other things, public space, collective identity and national history, including the acknowledgement that colonial barbarism and extractivism has been fundamental to the evolvement of modern European nation-states. It should be added that this is a process which entails that formerly marginalized counterpublics claim access to public space as they 'struggle for the right to struggle itself, for dissent'.[75]

Thirdly, we propose that postmigration is propelled by endeavours to *create* space. Some of these attempts generate actual spaces and material sites of negotiation, *and* they

may include ambitious art projects such as *I am Queen Mary* and *Superkilen* that critically renegotiate the terms of representation and gesture towards a more equitable society and polyvocal public culture. As this chapter demonstrates, it is in connection with the third ambition – the creation of new spaces – that the reconfigurative power of art manifests itself most compellingly. Moving dialectically between a critical engagement with the realities of contemporary society and the imaginative project of articulating a new sense of belonging – that is, what Chapter 3 termed a *postmigrant imaginary* – art in public space may open the national imaginary prefiguratively to diasporic and postmigrant ways of thinking about worldmaking, community-building, self-fashioning and collective identity and belonging. *Superkilen* is probably the better example: the project blends the spectacle of cultural difference and multiplicity into the ordinariness of local everyday life. *Superkilen* thus suggests that the Nørrebro community has found ways to live not only *with* but *through* difference. Paraphrasing Marsha Meskimmon, I submit that *I Am Queen Mary* and *Superkilen* have generated public spaces in which people both share experiences and do not do so, in effect, as in some respects they are not able to because their social backgrounds and diasporic affiliations differ significantly.[76] Thus, what these two participatory projects have accomplished is not to create unity, but to negotiate similarities, differences and frictions within a postmigrant frame for understanding our interdependence as fellow citizens.

Notes

1 See Birgit Eriksson, Anne Mette Winneche Nielsen, Anne Scott Sørensen and Mia Falch Yates, *Kunst i almene boligområder. Mellem udsathed, inddragelse og forandring* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2022), 41–44, 54–57, https://vbn.aau.dk/da/publications/kunst-i-almene-boligomr%C3%A5der-mellem-udsathed-inddragelse-og-forand. Some of the main findings of this study are discussed in this English language article: Birgit Eriksson and Anne Scott Sørensen, 'Public Art Projects in Exposed Social Housing Areas in Denmark – Dilemmas and Potentials', in 'Art in Public Spaces: New Roles for Art and Curating in Times of Transnational Mobility', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 13, no. 1 (2021), https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2021.1972527.
2 See Anthony Schrag, 'The Artist As Social Worker Vs. The Artist as Social Wanker or Five Acts of How', in *Research in Arts and Absurd: Informal Methods and Institutionalization of the Conflict*, ed. J. Quaresma et al. (Lisbon: Escola Superior de Teatro e Cinema, 2016), 110–13 and 117; Eriksson and Sørensen, 'Public Art Projects', 3–4.
3 Grant H. Kester, 'The Limitations of the Exculpatory Critique: A Response to Mikkel Bolt Rasmussen', *The Nordic Journal of Aesthetics*, no. 53 (2017): 86–87. https://doi.org/10.7146/nja.v25i53.26407.
4 Anthony Schrag, 'The Artist as Social Worker', 113.
5 Kester, 'The Limitations of the Exculpatory Critique', 86.
6 See Aleksandra Grzymala-Kazlowska and Jenny Phillimore, 'Introduction: Rethinking Integration New Perspectives on Adaptation and Settlement in the Era of Super-Diversity'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 2 (2018): 186–88, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341706.
7 Kester, 'The Limitations of the Exculpatory Critique', 86.
8 Grant H. Kester, 'On the Relationship between Theory and Practice in Socially Engaged Art', *A Blade of Grass*, July 29, 2015, https://abladeofgrass.org/fertile-ground/on-the-relationship-between-theory-and-practice-in-socially-engaged-art/.
9 See Garbi Schmidt, 'Going beyond Methodological Presentism: Examples from a Copenhagen Neighbourhood 1885–2010', *Immigrants & Minorities* 35, no. 1 (2017): 52, https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.2016.1246968; Brett Bloom, 'Superkilen: Park med ekstrem borgerinddragelse!' in 'Gentrificering' ('Gentrification'), special issue, *Kritik* no. 207 (2013): 54–55.
10 See Jonathan Daly, 'Superkilen: Exploring the Human-Nonhuman Relations of Intercultural Encounter', *Journal of Urban Design* 25, no. 1 (2020): 66.
11 Schmidt, 'Going beyond Methodological Presentism', 52.

12 See Line Marie Bruun Jespersen, 'Velkommen udenfor! Kunst som mødesteder i byens rum', *Periskop*, no. 17 (2017): 122.
13 Daly, 'Superkilen', 65.
14 Daly, 'Superkilen', 73–80.
15 Daly, 'Superkilen', 71–72.
16 Barbara Steiner, 'Beyond Being Nice', in *Superkilen: A Project by BIG, Topotek 1, Superflex*, ed. Barbara Steiner, interviews by Toke Gade Crone Kristiansen and Nicolaj Heltoft (Stockholm: Arvinius + Orfeus, 2013), 19.
17 See Topotek 1 and Superflex BIG, *Superkilen: Superkilen's 108 Objects and Their History* (superflex.net), 23, https://superflex.net/files/superkilen_objects_EN.pdf.
18 See Bjørnstjerne Christiansen et al., 'Imagine a Moroccan Fountain!', in *Superkilen: A Project by BIG, Topotek 1, Superflex*, ed. Barbara Steiner and Toke Gade Crone and Nicolaj Heltoft Interviews by Kristiansen (Stockholm: Arvinius + Orfeus, 2013), 56–57.
19 See Steiner, 'Beyond Being Nice', 16.
20 Michael Hanchard, 'Black Memory versus State Memory: Notes toward a Method', *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 48 (emphasis in the original).
21 See Line Marie Bruun Jespersen, 'Velkommen udenfor! Kunst som mødesteder i byens rum', *Periskop*, no. 17 (2017): 122.
22 Bjarke Ingels et al., 'A Kick in the Nuts of Good Taste (Conflict and Consensus)', in *Superkilen: A Project by BIG, Topotek 1, Superflex*, ed. Barbara Steiner, interviews by Toke Gade Crone Kristiansen and Nicolaj Heltoft (Stockholm: Arvinius + Orfeus, 2013), 70–71.
23 See Olav Hergel, 'Barrikader, brosten og brændende koraner', *Politiken*, April 20, 2019; Dorte Hygum Sørensen, '7 nedslag', *Politiken*, April 27, 2019. For a detailed account of Nørrebro's social faultlines and history of conflict, see Garbi Schmidt, *Nørrebros indvandringshistorie 1885–2010* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2015), 344–59 and 386–415.
24 See Xan Brooks, Dominic Rushe, and Lars Eriksen, 'Shepard Fairey Beaten Up after Spat Over Controversial Danish Mural', *The Guardian*, August 12, 2011, 148–50; Nielsen, *Konflikt og forhandling. Kunstens rolle i storbyens offentlige rum* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2022), 139–42.
25 Malcolm Miles, 'Aesthetics in a Time of Emergency', in *Art incorporated: The Role of Art in Urban Development*, ed. Sabine Nielsen and Christine Buhl Andersen (Køge: KØS – museum of art in public spaces, 2009), 33–34. Miles refers to Marcuse's influential 1937 essay 'The Affirmative Character of Culture', in *Negotiations* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), 88–133.
26 See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989 [1962]).
27 Mouffe, 'Art and Democracy: Art as an Agonistic Intervention in Public Space', *Open! Platform for Art, Culture and the Public Domain*, no. 14 (2007): 3–4, https://www.onlineopen.org/art-and-democracy.
28 See Andrea Baldini, 'The Public-Art Publics: An Analysis of Some Structural Differences among Public-Art Spheres', *Open Philosophy*, no. 2 (2019): 10, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1515/opphil-2019-0002; Håkan Nilsson, ed., *Placing Art in the Public Realm* (Stockholm: Södertörns högskola, 2012), passim; Brigitte Franzen, Kasper König, and Carina Plath, eds., *Sculpture Projects Muenster 07* (Cologne: Buchhandlung Walter König, 2007), 373–74 and 431–33.
29 Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2005), 50.
30 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 56.
31 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 56.
32 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 67 (original emphasis).
33 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 55–56.
34 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 56–57.
35 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 67 (emphasis in the original).
36 Naika Foroutan, Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft, 14.
37 For instance, the debate on the decision to remove the n-word from titles of artworks exhibited in the collection of SMK, the National Gallery of Denmark, and on whether or not pork should be served in nursery schools, to mention two recent Danish examples.
38 Warner distinguishes between *counterpublics* that hinge on a self-perception as minorities with a subordinate status and *sub-publics* that are organized as parallel discursive arenas centring on a particular content or thematic discussion. Sub-publics would thus include, for example,

subcultures and youth cultures. The oppositional character of counterpublics, however, is a function of form, argues Warner, as counterpublics are structured by alternative protocols and 'mark themselves off against a dominant cultural horizon'. Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 119.

39 Les Back and Shamser Sinha, 'Multicultural Conviviality in the Midst of Racism's Ruins', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 37, no. 5 (2016): 521, https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2016.1211625.

40 See Birgit Eriksson et al., *Kunst i almene boligområder.*

41 Back and Sinha, 'Multicultural Conviviality', 521. The concept of socioaesthetics has been developed to account for how the aesthetic opens to the social, and how the social and aesthetic domains can be understood as entangled and interrelated. See Anders Michelsen and Frederik Tygstrup, 'Introduction', in *Socioaesthetics: Ambience – imaginary*, ed. Anders Michelsen and Frederik Tygstrup (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 11 and 14.

42 Amanda Wise and Greg Noble, 'Convivialities: An Orientation', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 37, no. 5 (2016): 423, https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2016.1213786.

43 Wise and Noble, 'Convivialities', 424.

44 Wise and Noble, 'Convivialities', 425.

45 Paul Gilroy, *After Empire*: *Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004). See also Wise and Noble, 'Convivialities', 423; Back and Sinha, 'Multicultural Conviviality', 518.

46 Simon Sheikh, 'Publics and Post-Publics: The Production of the Social', *Open! Platform for Art, Culture & The Public Domain* no. 14 (2007): 5.

47 Sheikh, 'Publics and Post-Publics', 5–6.

48 Sheikh, 'Publics and Post-Publics', 7.

49 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 12.

50 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 56.

51 Mouffe, 'Art and Democracy', 2. For a critical in-depth analysis of Mouffe's theory of democracy and concept of agonism, see Nikos Papastergiadis, 'Does Philosophy Contribute to an Invasion Complex? Sloterdijk the Antagonist and the Agonism of Mouffe', *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017), https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2017.1343083.

52 Mouffe, 'Artistic Activism and Agonistic Spaces', *Art & Research: A Journal of Ideas, Contexts and Methods* 1, no. 2. (2007): 3.

53 Mouffe, 'Art and Democracy', 5.

54 See W. J. T. Mitchell, 'The Violence of Public Art: *Do the Right Thing*'. *Critical Inquiry* 16, no. 4 (1990): 883. See also Harriet F. Senie, *The Tilted Arc Controversy: Dangerous Precedent?* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Sherril Jordan, ed., *Public Art, Public Controversy: The Tilted Arc on Trial* (Americans for the Arts, 1988).

55 Hanchard, 'Black Memory', 46. Hanchard also submits that specific attributes distinguish black memory from other forms of memory, although these attributes are not exclusive to black memory: racism, slavery, reparations, anticolonial struggle with its associated forms of nationalism and importantly, migration (ibid., 47).

56 Hanchard, 'Black Memory', 42.

57 Kristine Samson and José Abasolo, 'The Trace of Superusers: From Santiago Centro to Superkilen in Copenhagen', *MAS Context*, no. 19 (2013): 90.

58 Bloom, 'Superkilen', 57.

59 Bloom, 'Superkilen', 48.

60 See Steiner, 'Beyond Being Nice', 22.

61 Steiner, 'Beyond Being Nice', 20–22. For a sociological study of how local identity is constructed among inhabitants of the Nørrebro district, see Garbi Schmidt, 'Kan sammenhæng skabes? Eksempler fra to københavnske brokvarterer', in *Social sammenhængskraft. Begreb og virkelighed*, ed. Tina Gudrun Jensen, Garbi Schmidt, and Kathrine Vitus (Copenhagen: Samfundslitteratur, 2019), 93–113.

62 Steiner, 'Beyond Being Nice', 17.

63 Steiner, 'Beyond Being Nice', 22–23.

64 The fact that participation was not made dependent on ethnicity is seen, for example, from the ad campaign for *Superkilen* (2009), which states (in Danish): 'So if you have seen, for example, a fantastic bench in Turkey, a lamppost in Sweden, a fountain in Portugal or a chess table in Egypt that you would like to have in your new park, then send your proposal to: forslag@

superkilen.dk'; Barbara Steiner, ed., *Superkilen: A Project by BIG, Topotek 1, Superflex* (Stockholm: Arvinius + Orfeus, 2013), 52. For instance, the double bench from Valladolid in Mexico was suggested by a young couple who saw it on their honeymoon. As regards Superflex's 'Extreme Participation' initiative, the idea to have a spot with soil from Palestine was proposed by two young women of Palestinian descent, Alaa Al-Assadi and Hiba Marwan, while the sculpture of a Spanish bull was proposed by two elderly women from the Mjølnerparken Nordic Walking group, Tove Lerche and Conni Justesen, who had visited Spain many times in their lives and had 'a feeling of being at home on that territory'. See Steiner, *Superkilen*, 147. Likewise, the Boxing Ring from Thailand was chosen by two Thai-boxing youths from Mjølnerparken, Ali Asif and Billal El-Sheikh – names that suggest Arabic rather than Thai descent. See Steiner, *Superkilen*, 145–60. However, the complexity of the participants' backgrounds and cross-cultural identifications is not communicated by *Superkilen* itself. Judging by the three times I have discussed *Superkilen* with audiences before writing this chapter, people may be prone to read the objects as authentic identity markers of the inhabitants' migrant backgrounds, unless they are provided with the counter-information. Johathan Daly also reads *Superkilen*'s objects as markers of ethnicity/nationality in his otherwise empirically thorough study of how people interact with the objects. He interprets the '108 objects' as 'representing 60 different nationalities of residents in Nørrebro'; Daly, 'Superkilen', 68.

65 The contrapuntal analysis elaborates on an earlier version by linking it to the debate on *Superkilen*; see Anne Ring Petersen, 'Transculturality, Postmigration and the Imagining of a New Sense of Belonging', *The Journal of Transcultural Studies* 11, no. 1 (2020), https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.jts.2020.1.24140.

66 See George M. Wilson, 'Edward Said on Contrapuntal Reading', *Philosophy and Literature* 18, no. 2 (1994): 265, https://doi.org/10.1353/phl.1994.0025.

67 Wilson, 'Edward Said on Contrapuntal Reading', 266.

68 Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 32.

69 Chantal Mouffe, 'Which Public Space', 154–56.

70 Kester, 'The Limitations of the Exculpatory Critique', 87.

71 See Mouffe, 'Art and Democracy'.

72 Marco Antonsich, 'The Face of the Nation: Troubling the Sameness-Strangeness Divide in the Age of Migration', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (2018): 1, https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12236.

73 Antonsich, 'The Face of the Nation', 10.

74 Anne Ring Petersen, Moritz Schramm, and Frauke Wiegand, 'Criticism and Perspectives', *Reframing Migration, Diversity and the Arts: The Postmigrant Condition*, ed. Moritz Schramm, Sten Pultz Moslund and Anne Ring Petersen (New York: Routledge, 2019), 50–64.

75 Sheikh, 'Publics and Post-Publics', 8.

76 See Marsha Meskimmon, *Transnational Feminisms, Transversal Politics and Art: Entanglements and Intersections*. Transnational Feminisms and the Arts. Vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 2020), 154.

Afterword
Imagining Togetherness in Difference Otherwise

This volume began by outlining what is at stake in Europe's so-called 'migration challenge' and by positioning itself in the intersecting fields of art history, (trans)cultural studies and (post)migration studies. It concludes by explaining the mode of praxis that informs my study as a whole. As the references to many and varied scholars and artists throughout the book indicate, it draws inspiration from and is in conversation with a diverse body of scholarly work, theoretical traditions and artistic practices. My mode of praxis has affinities especially with those of scholars with a postmigrant, transcultural and/or feminist approach. In particular, the concepts, theories and praxis of three outstanding scholars who have developed new methodological frameworks for the study of art and culture have helped me flesh out my own framework for analysing contemporary artistic and curatorial practices emerging from conditions of postmigrancy: Marsha Meskimmon, Monica Juneja and Regina Römhild.

Meskimmon uses the term *affirmative criticality* to describe a way of doing cultural analysis. The term also encapsulates an 'aspiration' that my work shares with hers and that of many other scholars in the humanities who engage or have engaged – in the present or in the past – with some of the burning issues of the contemporaneous world by tapping into 'the potential of critical thinking to engender and affirm a hopeful, indeed better and more humane, future'.[1] These scholars, or this epistemic community, find common ground, not in common methodological preferences or an affiliation to the same discipline but in the choice of a method of intellectual analysis and critical engagement that draws from their commitment to undo binaries between theory and practice, selves and others, and acknowledge that 'to move forward, critical thinking needs to take the risk of affirmation'.[2] As an analytical praxis, affirmative criticality is thus distinct from 'negative criticism'.[3] Affirmative criticality is no less rigorous and perceptive than the work of negative criticism, but it differs from it in balancing negative and affirmative dimensions in a way that discloses (present) or gestures towards (future) positive alternatives. In that lies its potential. This book has sought to harness this potential to identify ways out of the current struggles over 'migration', 'diversity' and 'integration' by exploring how artists and cultural producers envision coexistence in and through the many differences that criss-cross culturally diverse societies.

As Meskimmon observes in her book *Contemporary Art and the Cosmopolitan Imagination*, affirmative critique also entails risks: '*Affirmative criticality* does not seek solely to analyse and interpret things as they are or have been (present, past); to engage actively with the constitution of the future and proposing the future is, by necessity, speculative and contingent. Therein resides the risk, as well as the potential, at the heart of affirmative criticality.'[4]

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The most likely risk is that aspects of one's argument may be read as 'speculative', 'utopian' or 'naive', as in unfounded or decoupled from contemporaneous 'reality'. This is precisely where postmigrant thought demonstrates strengths: in stressing that migrant settlement is a social and historical fact; in critically analysing the obsession with 'migration' in postmigrant societies; and in acknowledging the existence of divisive right-wing and anti-immigration populism while *also* identifying avenues to positive alternatives and viable solutions. In other words, although postmigrant thought has a utopian and normative dimension, it is at the same time a 'grounded theory' underpinned by empirical studies of the fact of immigration, the historical settlement of immigrants and the conditions of thrown*together*ness and cultural hybridity that shape the social landscape shared by all citizens of a globalized society.

My praxis is also inspired by the likewise cosmopolitan spirit that permeates Monica Juneja's understanding of *transculturality*, which has helped me situate the exploration of contemporary art from the three nationally charged but different contexts of Denmark, Germany and the UK within the comparative frame of transnational and transcultural study and remain attentive to how they are interconnected and at the same time connected with localities beyond the geographical and cultural boundaries of Europe. The postcolonial and decolonial inflection of Juneja's understanding of transculturality ensures that her work remains rigorously critical. The fact that she practices an *affirmative criticality* is evident, for instance, from her insistence that we should read objects, producers and curators from different regions of the world 'coevally'.[5] In Juneja's case, the sites of coeval transcultural exploration are Western metropolitan art centres and Asian localities that have hitherto been perceived as 'peripheries'. I have sought to translate her ethical principle of coevalness to a smaller scale in order to study the power balance between the cultural centre and the cultural peripheries internal to European nation-states. More specifically, I have sought to create frames for reading that can accommodate cultural differences and disclose the frictions they engender without subjecting these differences and what Oliver Marchart calls 'the-other-in-the-same'[6] to a homogenizing synthesis, or ignoring the fact that cultures exist in a permanent and fluctuating and at the same time uneven relation with one another.

Last, but importantly, my constant travel between the 'centre' of national culture and identity and the 'peripheries' of migrantized subjects and cultures is indebted to Regina Römhild's proposal for how to undo the 'migrantology' that structures and fuels the polarization of contemporary nation-states. I have aimed to build bridges and dismantle walls by foregrounding the fact of cultural entanglements, dislodging the epistemic boundaries of the national imaginary and observing society through the lens of migration – that is, from the margins it has itself created.[7] Drawing inspiration from postmigrant thought, this volume has developed analytical perspectives for art and cultural analysis. At the same time, the hope is that inspiration will also flow in the opposite direction, and that this study of artistic and curatorial practices can contribute to postmigration studies, both theoretical concepts and a knowledge of what roles the visual arts and visual representations play in the transition of European societies into *plural* democratic societies. The work by proponents of postmigration studies cited in this book is both critical and affirmative. Sometimes, the affirmative dimension surfaces as a desire to create ethical forms of solidarity with others, or what Naika Foroutan has termed *postmigrant alliances*; at other times, it manifests as a focus on positive alternatives (cultures of conviviality, for instance) or as the proposition that a postmigrant reading of sociocultural

conditions points to 'an *epistemological turn*'[8] – for instance, when Erol Yildiz submits that postmigration is a positive and generative 'figure of thought' that introduces 'a new topography of the possible'.[9]

When walking alongside artistic and curatorial practices into politicized areas of public debate such as 'migration' and 'integration', as this volume does, there is also a risk involved in openly acknowledging the contingency of art (in its production and reception and in imagining society otherwise) and in admitting the invariably situated subject position of the analyst and the impossibility of an objective vantage point. The insights gleaned from studying art seldom provide simple answers or practical solutions for a world facing multiple intersecting crises or for a society ridden by conflicts and tensions. What art can do then is to provide profound and complex insights into these matters as well as offering models that might be replicable or scalable. Art can also give voice to those who are often drowned out in public debates and provide a space for the representation of histories that have been silenced. Because works of art are articulated *aesthetically*, they can be as intellectually intriguing as they are sensorially compelling and affectively moving. In this capacity, they can inspire change and enable us to conceive the world differently.

One of the finest assets of contemporary artistic and curatorial practices is their ability to accommodate change, to express what 'change' (both positive and negative) looks like and feels like for different people. They can also envision what change might lead to by creating blueprints of possible futures and imagining what Stefan Jonsson terms 'a society which is not'.[10] This makes art vital and relevant to a dynamic, living and flourishing society which also needs to be flexible and conscious of choices and alternatives. This is key to its persistence.

Just as *works of art* can provide us with imagery and metaphors that enable us to reimagine identities, communities and histories, to realize that a different society is possible, *the study of art* can propose frames for understanding these imaginaries. Such frames enable us to grapple with the complexity and ambiguity of the matter of concern and open new perspectives – in this case, on the problem-space of postmigration. Integral to my mode of praxis is a concept-driven approach that is attentive to the fact that aesthetics, ethics and politics have significant overlaps, an approach based on what Mieke Bal has termed travelling concepts and which can be shared across disciplines. A *concept-based methodology* is appropriate for an interdisciplinary study that cannot find sufficient support in any single discipline or methodology. Crucially, for a concept to be useful, it must be able to help us better understand the problem-space and the object under study.[11]

To conclude, the strength of the concepts proposed throughout this book – the postmigrant imaginary, postmigrant public space, postmigrant re-memorialization, postmigrant transversal politics and postmigrant epistemic communities – is that they are generative tools which enable cultural analysis first to dig deeper into how aesthetics mesh with ethics and politics under postmigrant conditions, and second, to define more accurately the potential of artistic and cultural practices in order to contribute to the agonistic attempts to define the past, present and future of plural democratic societies and to situate these societies within the larger determinations of migration and globalization that made their emergence possible. In using this set of concepts as frames for close readings, this study sheds new light on the power of artistic and curatorial practices to partake in the dismantling of the exclusionary nationalism and polarizing discourses that today prevent the convivial culture of postmigrant societies from truly flourishing.

Notes

1 Marsha Meskimmon, *Contemporary Art and the Cosmopolitan Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2011), 91.
2 Meskimmon, *Contemporary Art*, 91.
3 Meskimmon, *Contemporary Art*, 91.
4 Meskimmon, *Contemporary Art*, 91 (emphasis added).
5 Monica Juneja, '"A Very Civil Idea...": Art History, Transculturation, and World-Making – with and Beyond the Nation', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 81, no. 4 (2018): 471–76. See also Monica Juneja, *Can Art History Be Made Global? Meditations from the Periphery* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023), 191 and 247.
6 Oliver Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics: Artistic Activism and the Public Sphere* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2019), 116.
7 See Regina Römhild, 'Beyond the Bounds of the Ethnic: For Postmigrant Cultural and Social Research', in '(Post)Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Challenges to Imagination and Representation', special issue, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017): 69–70.
8 Florian Ohnmacht and Erol Yıldız, 'The Postmigrant Generation between Racial Discrimination and New Orientation: From Hegemony to Convivial Everyday Practice', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 44, no. 16 (2021): 150 (emphasis in the original).
9 Erol Yildiz, 'Vom Postkolonialen zum Postmigrantischen: Eine neue Topografie des Möglichen', in *Postkolonialismus und Postmigration*, ed. Ömer Alkin and Lena Geuer (Münster: Unrast, 2022), 81 and 93.
10 Stefan Jonsson, 'A Society Which Is Not: Political Emergence and Migrant Agency', *Current Sociology Monograph* 68, no. 2 (2020): 205. Jonsson's formulation encapsulates Theodor W. Adorno's insight that only the person who can imagine a different society can reveal the problems of the existing one. See also the Introduction to this book p. 10.
11 See Mieke Bal, 'Working with Concepts', *European Journal of English Studies* 13, no. 1 (2009): 14–15, https://doi.org/10.1080/13825570802708121.

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Index

Note: *Italic* page numbers refer to figures and page numbers followed by "n" denote endnotes.