# GOLONIZING APPEARANCE





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### DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE

This publication has been published by CAMP / Center for Art on Migration Politics on the occasion of the group exhibition

# **Decolonizing Appearance**

guest curated by Nicholas Mirzoeff, on view at CAMP from Sept. 21 - Dec. 15, 2018.

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### **EDITORS**

Tone Olaf Nielsen and Yannick Harrison

# TEXTS

Gurminder K. Bhambra, Frederikke Hansen & Tone Olaf Nielsen, Marronage, Nicholas Mirzoeff, and the exhibition contributors

# **TRANSLATION**

Lesley-Ann Brown (Danish to English) Rolf Mertz (English to Danish) Tone Olaf Nielsen (English to Danish)

### **GRAPHIC DESIGN**

Thomas Elsted

# VISIT

CAMP / Center for Art on Migration Politics c/o Trampoline House Thoravej 7 DK-2400 Copenhagen NV

### CONTACT

(+45) 72 14 07 66 info@campcph.org www.campcph.org

facebook.com/campcph twitter.com/campcph instagram.com/campcph

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# COVER

Design by Thomas Elsted using still from Jeannette Ehlers' video work The Gaze (2018). Courtesy of the artist.



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Dread Scott, I Am Not a Man, performance still 68 (2009). Pigment print, 89 x 122 cm. Courtesy of the artist.

# **FOREWORD**

Frederikke Hansen & Tone Olaf Nielsen CAMP directors

DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE is a large group exhibition curated by visual culture theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff from New York University. The exhibit examines what appearance is, how appearance is used to classify, separate, and rule human beings on a hierarchical scale, and how we can challenge this regime. It asks: how do the colonized and the colonizer appear to each other? How can the colonized have the right to look, the right to be seen — in short, the right to appear? What would happen when appearance is decolonized?

As Nicholas Mirzoeff argues in his curatorial introduction, to appear is to become visible or noticeable; to claim the right to exist, to possess one's body, and to matter in the space of politics. But not everyone is able to claim or exercise these rights. Settler colonialism developed racial and gendered categories to limit the possibility of appearance for the colonized. Such colonial classification is still at work today. This is made clear to us when wearing the Niqab or moving across borders are considered criminal acts; when being Black makes you a living target or when living in 'ghetto' areas in present-day Denmark is used to limit your legal rights.

DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE brings together some of contemporary art's most engaged individuals and collectives from across the globe to address the issue of appearing in a colonial world. The exhibit interacts established and celebrated artists and collectives with their counterparts from Denmark, from migrant and people of color communities.

Through photography, video, installation, and text, we are invited to think and act on how to produce worlds where no one is illegal, where Black lives matter,

where no one has to use #metoo. In their work and practice, decolonization is not a metaphor. It is not just something to see, it is something to do, from painting murals and making banners, to decolonizing assemblies and workshops.

DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE is the first exhibition in CAMP's new 2-year focus! exhibition program STATE OF INTEGRATION: ARTISTIC ANALYSES OF THE CHALLENGES OF COEXISTENCE, in which five internationally acclaimed curators and artists — Nicholas Mirzoeff, Tania Bruguera, Temi Odumosu, and Galit Eilat and Sandi Hilal — have been invited to guest curate a group exhibition on coexistence and the politics of belonging.

In the wake of the large influx of refugees and immigrants that arrived in Denmark and the rest of the West in 2015, immigration and integration are once again at the top of the agenda and have created divisions between politicians and populations over how immigration is to be handled. Questions about who should be admitted and what benefits should be afforded to new members of the Western societies are some of the most controversial questions today. The international community is still far from having found sustainable solutions. There is therefore an increasing need for exhibitions and forums that can debate immigration issues in new and more fruitful ways.

In four different exhibitions presented in CAMP from 2018–2020, some of the most visionary artists of today will examine why immigration poses such a major challenge to many Western countries, and how refugees, immigrants, and diaspora

populations experience demands of integration or assimilation into the majority culture. More than 30 internationally acclaimed artists, curators, and cultural producers will contribute to the exhibition series, helping us to understand processes behind key concepts such as #integration, #assimilation, #belonging, #parallel societies, #conviviality, and #co-citizenship.

When contemporary art opens up new perspectives of greater complexity and breadth, do we have the courage to embrace them and convert them into alternative models for coexistence and citizenship?

A very warm thanks to Nicholas Mirzoeff and to all the artists, thinkers, and collectives who have generously submitted works and ideas to this first exhibition in the series and its accompanying events: John Akomfrah, Khalid Albaih, Gurminder K. Bhambra, Abdul Dube, Sonya Dyer, Jeannette Ehlers, Forensic Architecture, Ghetto Fitness, Jane Jin Kaisen, Pedro Lasch, Marronage, MTL Collective, Carl Pope, and Dread Scott.

The exhibition is generously supported by Det Obelske Familiefond / Statens Kunstfond / Foreningen Roskilde Festival / European Cultural Foundation / Københavns Billedkunstudvalg.



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# DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE

"Refugees study change not only because they've been put through changes but also because changes are what they want and what they play and what they are."

- Fred Moten 1

"The social revolution of the [21st] century cannot take its poetry from the past but only from the future."

— Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte <sup>2</sup>

"Resistance is not just the stone. It is the poems we write. Art."

 Ahed Tamimi, arrested by occupation forces in Palestine aged 16 and sentenced to eight months jail <sup>3</sup>

# A CURATORIAL INTRODUCTION

Nicholas Mirzoeff

What is it to appear? It is first to claim the right to exist and to possess one's body, whether in terms of enslavement, reproductive rights, or gender and sexual identity. To appear is to matter, in the sense of Black Lives Matter, to be grievable, to be a person that counts for something. And it is to be able to claim the right to look within that space. In appearing, I see you, and you see me, and a space is formed by that exchange, which, by consent, can be mediated into shareable and distributable forms. People inevitably appear to each other unequally because history does not disappear.

The refugee appears. You might say she is foundational – the Garden of Eden, Moses out of Egypt, the forced migration of enslavement, Palestine's Nakba, take your pick. The fugitive from enslavement was known as a refugee in the 19th century. The refugee specializes in change and her appearance forces change. Her appearance today is in the moment of racial capitalism's crisis. Capitalism is consuming its own conditions of possibility, unable and unwilling to modify its cycle of extraction, accumulation, and abstraction, even when it appears that the planet itself will burn.

From the midst of this fire, DECOLONIZING

APPEARANCE asks: how can the refugee and the forced migrant appear as themselves in this (last) crisis of capitalism? What would have to happen for their appearance to be decolonized? To whom can the refugee appear? By what means? What has to happen for decolonizing to take place where you live? Who are 'you,' who are 'they' that seek to prevent that appearance, and most problematically of all, who are 'we'? How can this 'we' appear to each other in the here and now, bringing with it so many versions of there and then?

For I cannot appear by myself, or to myself, unlike the sensory acts of seeing and hearing. Appearing is a social event. It is a common encounter between myself and those to whom I appear. But all those present do not necessarily agree as to the meaning of that appearance. Millions of selfies test the sense of appearance for individuals every single day. How does a people appear? How do people appear as (a) people and not as categories of state classification?

Because it is a social event, appearance is regulated by the state. Appearance has been at the heart of the long regime of settler colonialism, whether in the colony or the metropole (where the colonizers come from). This form of appearance mingles law and the possibility of politics with definitions of embodied appearance. In legal process, a person appears before the court, whether as the accused, an advocate, or a witness. You can appear in court even if you have no rights, as in the case of enslaved human beings, or very limited rights, as in the case of undocumented migrants.

Taken together, this is what German philosopher Hannah Arendt once called the "space of appearance," meaning the place where politics takes place. Arendt's example of a space of appearance was the practice of democracy in ancient Greek city states, like Athens. But Athens excluded from its assembly all women, people under the age of 20, enslaved human beings, and non-Athenian residents. Without all women, and the four out of every five people that were enslaved, democracy was exercised by at most 3–5% of the resident population. Political appearance has not been open to all in any 'democracy,' and certainly not those of the present time. Decolonized appearance would reckon with those legacies and open a new space altogether.

Embodied appearance has hitherto been subject to separation, whether by slave law, by legal segregation, or by today's exclusion by gentrification. At the entrance to the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, South Africa, a sign carries an excerpt from the Population Registration Act (1950): "A white person is one who in appearance is, or who is generally accepted, as a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance is obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person. A native is a person who is in fact or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa. A coloured person is a person who is not a white person nor a native." On this question of appearance depended where you might live, study, travel work, and play; whom you might love; and so on. Yet it is elusive: you may be 'obviously' white and yet be 'accepted' as so-called colored, ruling you out of the highest privilege. People went to court to change their legal appearance, so that people moved from Chinese to white, or colored to white - but there were never any changes between black and white. Even in terms of the body, appearance is not a 'fact' but a process of social and legal judgement.

ane Jin Kaisen, The Andersons (2015). olor photograph, framed, 93.3 x 142 cm ourtesy of the artist.



The museum sign is no doubt intended to shock the viewer with the unfairness of the past that has now been overcome. But has it? The African-American writer Garnette Cadogan has described how he had to modify his behavior when he came to New York City in 2015: "No running especially at night; no sudden movements; no hoodies; no objects - especially shiny ones - in hand; no waiting for friends on street corners, lest I be mistaken for a drug dealer; no standing near a corner on the cell phone (same reason)."<sup>5</sup> He could not do these things for fear of being stopped, arrested, or even shot by New York police. But as a person who appears to be 'white,' I can run to the subway with my phone in my hand without concern. As if to prove the point, in March 2018, police in Sacramento, CA, shot to death Stephon Clark, quilty only of being African-American with an iPhone in his hand.

Settler colonialism created regimes in which people are classified by means of such categories of appearance. Different orders of people are then separated – apartheid means 'separate' in Afrikaans. And that ordering is taken to be aesthetic in the sense of right and proper, as evoked by everything from flags and uniforms to memorials and museums. The Caribbean activist and thinker Frantz Fanon defined it as "the aesthetic of respect for the established order." That 'order' is above all racial hierarchy, based on appearance and supplemented by law, which becomes what philosopher Jacques Rancière calls the "general order that arranges reality."

DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE wants to challenge that aesthetic and its respect for separating human beings into supposedly distinct orders. It offers its respect instead to the refugee, the forced migrant, and the indigenous victims of settler colonialism as those who study change. It explores how appearance in all senses – legal, political and personal – still determines the possibilities of life within the colonial framework of classifying/separating/aestheticizing. And it works on what it would mean to decolonize that appearance.

In this context, 'decolonizing' does not mean the formal transfer of state power from colonial officials to indigenous representatives. That was a moment of importance in the struggle against coloniality but not its end. As Peruvian thinker Aníbal Quijano has shown, 'coloniality' is the modern matrix of power, formed in 1492 and still in effect. People are classified internally and externally.8 Citizens and migrants are designated as different. From the Rio Grande to the Danube and the Thames, the demand for 'your papers' can once again be heard. Such colonial classification then separates humans into 'ghetto' areas in present-day Denmark, just as it builds a Separation Wall across Palestine, and detention centers for children in Texas. In the eyes of colonial authority, this separation is not just right, it is held to be aesthetic. Trump claims his (imaginary) wall between Mexico and the US will be "beautiful." He uses the same term to describe Confederate statues commemorating white supremacy. He means it.

Decoloniality would be the end of coloniality. It means no one is illegal and no one is property. The question of appearance is not a side issue. It is central to sustaining the hierarchy of race and the ordering at the heart of coloniality. This network will not be undone by one central action, whether winning an election or even a revolutionary uprising. It will be taken apart at the thousands of links and nodes that constitute that network. This work is called 'prefiguring.' Creating spaces where appearance can be imagined outside coloniality prefigures decolonized appearance.

If appearance is decolonized, it prefigures in the present a poetry from the future that others might aspire towards. In the moment of decolonizing appearance, there are multiple temporalities at work. Sometimes, as in the Paris Commune, the awareness of the future is very much present. At others, as at Tahrir Square, present necessity crowds out considerations of how people might look back at what is being done. In decolonized appearance, people act as if they were free, as if what happens there happens everywhere, now and in the future. People do not represent, and are not represented. They appear.



Abdul Dube, The only title! want is... human (2011/2018) Silkscreen poster, A2. Courtesy of the artist.

That is the work of this project. If this poetry is to be written, it will be done at the intersection of the work on the walls, the actions, discussions and events prompted by that work, and specific organizing done in and around the space. It is not utopian but grounded. The advocates of order and ordering have always known this was possible. The philosopher Kant, for example, worried about the "lawless freedom" of the imagination. He saw his task as "clipping [its] wings." Here, while being aware of the all-too-real chances of failure, the direction is set instead by the writer Samuel Beckett: "The thing to avoid is the spirit of system." Let's use the lawless freedom of the imagination to become ungovernable.

In the exhibition space, the work is arranged to enhance the possibility of conversation and intervention. At the point of entry, Dread Scott challenges the liberal narrative of the triumph of the Civil Rights Movement. Where marchers in Memphis carried signs saying "I Am A Man," Scott counters: "I Am Not A Man." The hierarchy of racialized appearance still applies, and those designated non-white are not fully human on the colonial scale. In the main room, Ghanaian-British artist John Akomfrah's *The Utopian Palimpsest* take the Caribbean as the site of uneven temporalities, crossings and exchanges forced by the violences

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of Atlantic slavery but creating the possibility of new ways of being. Across from these photographs, Jeannette Ehlers' new video project creates a turbulent convergence in and across the Caribbean. For the Caribbean is in Copenhagen and New York just as much as it is in Haiti and Havana. The 'ordering' created by slave law in the 17th century Caribbean underpins segregation around the Atlantic world today. Its economy of cotton, coffee, and sugar structures daily life for millions.

The other axis of the main room is the intersection between Black and blackness in the Americas and migrant artists of color in Denmark. One wall is filled with African American artist Carl Pope's vibrant letterpress posters that play with ideas around Black pride, queer identity, and the color line in the United States. For Pope, to be Black is to revolt in the colonial frame of white supremacy. Facing these are works by a range of Danish-based artists and activists. Khalid Albaih networks Africa; Abdul Dube guestions who can claim to be human; Jane Jin Kaisen visualizes intersectional lives; and the Maronnage collective share their work of decolonial organizing. In the adjacent viewing space, Forensic Architecture show how it is possible to make collective use of social media at the "threshold of detectability" to challenge the occupation in Palestine.

In addition to these artworks, the MTL Collective will work with Trampoline House members to create poetry in motion and lead a *Decolonizing* Assembly on September 23, 2018. Social justice artist Pedro Lasch will install a mural and use it as the core of his decolonial workshops. And at the final event on December 2, 2018, Sonya Dyer will offer a performance using the idea of the virus and viral in relation to migration to Europe, the legacies of African American cancer patient Henrietta Lacks and the "dark fecundity" of her HeLa cell line.

In DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE, solidarity is a verb and a question: what does solidarity look like?
Direct action is a work of art. Militant research is the creation of a new perception — decolonized appearance. In short, where each and every person is fully human, without preconditions and without hierarchy, with respect and with love.

### NOTES

- 1. Fred Moten, "Notes on Passage," in *Stolen Life*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2018, p. 191.
- 2. Karl Marx, quoted from www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch01.htm.
- 3. Ahed Tamimi, quoted on release from occupation jail on July 28, 2018. Source: www.nytimes. com/2018/07/29/world/middleeast/ahed-tamimi-israel-west-bank.
- 4. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, (1958) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, p. 199.
- 5. Garnette Cadogan, "Black and Blue," in Jesmyn Ward (ed.), The Fire This Time: A New Generation Speaks About Race, New York: Scribner, 2016, p. 139.
- 6. Frantz Fanon, Les damnés de la terre, Paris: La découverte, 2002, pp. 41-42. Author's translation.
- 7. Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, transl. Julie Rose, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, p. 28.
- 8. Anibal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," in *Nepantla: Views from South*, 1.3, 2000, pp. 533–580.
- 9. Quotations from Kant and Beckett come from Moten, *Stolen Life*, p. 1 and p. 7.

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MTL+ action at the Brooklyn Museum, New York, April 29, 2018. Courtesy of MTL Collective.

# DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE: MIGRATION TO EUROPE IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION FROM EUROPE

Gurminder K. Bhambra, University of Sussex

What happens when appearance is decolonized?
What happens when the terms of the debate –
that have for so long been taken for granted – are
contextualized in broader histories? What happens
when what we had taken for granted can no longer
be taken for what it seems?

П

Migration in our contemporary context is usually understood in terms of 'them' seeking to come to 'us.' However, it is only really made visible as a phenomenon when 'they' come from places less well off than our own; when they come as a consequence of being turned into refugees; or when they come to make a better life for themselves and their families. The migration of, what are termed, 'high net worth individuals' elicits little comment within the broader debates and, indeed, many governments actively encourage them.

The reasons for the less well-off moving are many, but are, more often than not, a consequence of actions taken by those in Europe and the US that have made, and continue to make, their places of origin uninhabitable whether through war or through economic or environmental devastation. The arguments against allowing the disadvantaged 'them' entry have become increasingly vocal across Europe, even as these arguments have also been contested by the actions of people on the ground receiving and aiding refugees and migrants and arguing for Europe to live up to its oft-stated values (for a longer discussion, see Bhambra 2017).

Yet those who come to Europe come committed to live according to its laws and norms, including the norms of taxpaying frequently elided by the well-off. They move within and migrate across political boundaries and live according to the laws of the lands within which they settle and make a life for themselves. Let's contrast that, for a moment, with the historic practices of Europeans, for the most part, as they traveled across the Atlantic to make new lives for themselves and their families. Did the fifty million or so Europeans traveling to the New World in the 19th century live according to the rules and norms of the peoples whose lands they entered?



Migration is a movement of people across political boundaries and migrants are people who live in societies other than their own, but according to the rules and norms of the societies that they come to be a part of.

Within this understanding of migration, those who do not, en masse, live according to the rules and norms of the societies of the lands they come to are not migrants. If they eliminate the existing populations and dispossess them of their land and resources, they are not migrants. Rather, they are better understood as colonial settlers and colonial settlers are not migrants even if much of the thinking on migration depicts them as such.



John Akomfrah, The Utopian Palimpsest (2016).
6 x C-type prints mounted on dibond, 43.2 x 63.5 cm each frame. © Smoking Dogs Films; Courtesy of Lisson Gallery.
Photography Jack Hems.

While the first Europeans to live upon the lands of the New World frequently did so as a consequence of entering into treaties with native peoples, these were not honored over time. The treaties were, over the centuries, regularly broken and re-made to the benefit of colonial settlers leading to the almost complete dispossession and elimination of peoples across the continent.

This was done by European states – most notably Spain and Portugal, followed by Britain and France – and by European populations from across the continent. But this movement of populations and, more specifically, its consequences for those who previously inhabited the lands that came to be settled, has been curiously absent in much of our thinking on empires, migration, and contemporary politics.

Europe's past is an imperial past, not a national past, constituted as it is by a variety of forms of colonialism. Empires are – and can only be – built through the movement of populations from elsewhere. Colonial settlement has been one of the most fundamental ways in which Europeans have established their hegemony across the globe.



The problem is that the stories Europe tells itself about its past are embedded in a belief that it is a continent of nation-states rather than having been one of empires and imperial movements.

The European Union, for example, is presented as the coming together of nation states whose history is understood in national terms. While this is patently incorrect when we look at the broader imperial histories of Spain, Portugal, Britain, and France, this is also incorrect for other European states, including the Nordic and Eastern European states which often wish to disavow their involvement in a common European colonial project. Here, I am not only talking of the European Union as a colonial project in the way in which Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson (2014) have argued for so well, I am pointing to the earlier colonial initiatives of preceding centuries.

Denmark, for example, was the seventh largest colonizing nation and a significant participant in the Triangular Trade, that is, the European trade in human beings. Yet, Danish history is often presented as a national history with little or no reference to its colonial past (Muasya et al 2018).

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More generally, from the 1500s onwards, Europeans – namely, the Spanish, Portuguese, British, French, Dutch and those from the Nordic countries – fought each other and other others for access to and control over the resources of what was coming into being as the transatlantic world. When they weren't fighting each other, they banded together to dispossess and eliminate the earlier inhabitants of the Americas and to capture and transport Africans into a system of coercive labor in what they were pleased to call the 'New World.'

European colonial settlement, consequent to European movement around the world, was central to the displacement, dispossession, and elimination of populations in the Americas and the Caribbean, but also across Southern Africa including Zimbabwe and South West Africa (now Namibia) and to Australia, New Zealand, and Canada among many, many other places. Imperial rule in India, across the Middle East, and in Africa was also constituted through violence and plunder and these histories could be extended and further developed, but my focus here is the movement of populations.



Across the 19th century, fifty or so million Europeans left their countries of origin. Of these, 13.5 million alone were British people who moved to white settler colonies across the globe; "approximately 10 per cent of all European migrants journeyed overseas using a government subsidy" with another 20–25% going with family assistance (Fedorowich and Thompson 2013: 6, 12); and national migration associations were set up to facilitate the movement of poor and unemployed Europeans to the New World and beyond.

During this period, nearly 300,000 Danes, or about 10% of the entire population of Denmark, moved to the lands that were in the process of being made into the United States and Canada (Bech-Petersen 1998). Yet, as mentioned earlier, this history, alongside Denmark's more extensive colonial history is often missing from historical accounts of the nation (see Rodrigues 2011; Jensen 2018).

Those who went to other lands also remitted money back pointing to the ways in which the wealth accrued through colonial endeavors was directly linked to the development of the economy, and particularly local economies, 'back home.'

While some may think that the Danes and other Europeans who moved were migrants, in that they lived according to the laws of the new lands they moved to, they were, however, more often than not allocated lands at the edges of what had already been settled in order to extend political control over contested territories. As such, they participated, wittingly or not, in the settler colonial project.

Of course, settlers in the past might have imagined that they were doing nothing more significant than pursuing their own betterment through moving around the world. Nonetheless, it was frequently at a cost to those they encountered and also to the benefit of the places from which they came by reduction of surplus population, sending remittances, and so forth.



Pedro Lasch, Global Indianization / Indianización Global (2009).

Map, dimensions variable. Courtesy of the artist.

Confusing colonial settlement as migration or diaspora normalizes and legitimates violence in the past as the condition for continued violence against others in the present. That is, the violence of imperial rule and colonial settlement disappears from histories of the nation – happening, as it does, outside of the borders of the national state as understood in the present – at the same time as arguments about national sovereignty are used to securitize borders against others in the present.



The boundaries of the political community, and associated rights of citizenship, are usually imagined to be the same as the territorial boundaries of the state as understood in national terms. This idea of the political community as a *national* political order has been central to European self-understanding.

Elections, for example, mark a period of time when the terms of the political contracts that bind people together are up for negotiation. What is important to note is that while these contracts are about the negotiation of *present* conditions, they occur in the context of particular *historical* narratives of belonging.

These narratives are usually structured in terms of presumed originary members of the contract or political community and *their* rights in contrast to those of 'newcomers' or migrants. Migrants are, by definition, excluded from the history of the state understood in national terms and thus from the history of belonging to the political community. By being excluded from the *history* of political community, they are also excluded from rights within the polity.

Yet, as stated earlier, most European states were imperial states and so the political community of the state was much wider and more stratified than is usually acknowledged.

The history of the British state, for example, usually starts with the Act of Union in 1707, which brought together the kingdoms of England and Scotland. However, both England and Scotland had acquired colonies prior to Union, and continued their colonial conquests after the Union, becoming an empire that ruled over a quarter of the earth's territory.

As such, Britain has always been an imperial state, governing over culturally, religiously, and linguistically diverse populations, but this imperial history of belonging is rarely the context in which contemporary political debates occur. What difference would be made to the politics of our time if we were to recognize and account for the populations that have historically made up the states that we now only see as having a narrower, national history?



Following formal decolonization in the 20th century, European states have rewritten their histories as purely national and imagined their political communities as composed of 'kith and kin,' sharing some of their sovereignty with other nation-states that have similar values and commitments to democracy and the rule of law.

In this context, however, there is a refusal to share obligations to those who were colonized and previously dominated within their broader imperial political communities. The latter are now represented as 'different,' neither sharing values or the particularities that make up the different national cultures.

This is the politics of selective memory that is currently playing out in Europe, perhaps most starkly demonstrated by recent changes to the law in Denmark that explicitly turns some citizens into second-class citizens on the basis of religion, race, and income (Salem 2018).

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Refusing to take into account our broader connected histories has many implications, including failing to identify the extent of the populations that were previously recognized as citizens (or, at least, subjects) and could be argued to continue to have rights into the present.

As Lucy Mayblin (2017) has argued, the majority of refugees and migrants to Europe come from countries that had previously been colonized by Europe. As such, they are not treading new paths in their movement here, just making their way back along those very paths that had brought Europeans into their places of habitation.

Further, many believed they would be safe in Europe because of the propaganda of empire and European self-assertion as the homeland of rights and justice in the postwar / postcolonial period.

# VII

Today's migrants are frequently seeking to escape the disadvantages that earlier colonial movement had produced, and, at the same time, they seek a betterment that is increasingly denied to them.

European governments respond to populist opposition to immigration notwithstanding the way in which European prosperity has been built on the resources of colonialism and the fact that the demographic situation here requires new citizens.

Those who come pose no threat to European institutions – except, perhaps, the threat that their supposed threat poses for liberal democracies. France, for example, transformed the powers it had under 'state of emergency' legislation (before it expired in November 2017) into ordinary law, leading Amnesty International to state that "the legislation will 'trample' the very rights that Mr Macron was 'elected to uphold'" (Chassany 2017).

Democracy cannot be saved through a turn to authoritarianism or from a withdrawal from our collective human rights commitments. The migration and refugee crisis that is said to have prompted such developments is not a crisis *for Europe*, but rather a crisis *of Europe*.

# VIII

The crisis that faces us most starkly is that of refugees fleeing war, persecution, and the devastating destruction of their homes and homelands. While many people would argue that any invocation of 'crisis' should refer to those fleeing such devastation, or to those trapped in it, the majority of media commentators and politicians across Europe usually refer to the crisis facing Europe as we are called upon to aid these people in fulfilment of our commitments made under international laws and treaties.

Decolonizing the appearance of crisis would consist in us recognizing the crisis as one of our own making. Made through historical interventions that destabilized other places as well as our contemporary actions that do the same. It would also consist in us recognizing that at the peak of asylum applications to Europe – in 2015 – the numbers coming did not amount to any more than 0.25% of the population of Europe. And that in subsequent years, the numbers have dropped dramatically.

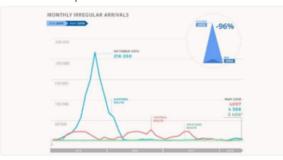
The cosmopolitan liberal order that is said to define the European project is, in its own terms, founded on a commitment to human rights. If there is a crisis in Europe, it is a moral crisis associated with Europe's failure, in the main, to act in a manner consistent with what are claimed as European values (at the very least, these would include a commitment to human rights and upholding the rule of law, including international law).

Decolonizing appearance would also require us to recognize that the main challenge 'they' pose to 'us' is in terms of our understanding of who belongs in a Europe that itself has never understood any restrictions to where it might go. Europe now claims rights that belong to its national citizens, but need not be shared with others. In a situation of the general advantages of Europe, such advantages no longer deserve to be called rights: rights that are not extended to others are privileges.

# Guy Verhofstadt



We are not living a #migration crisis. We are living a political crisis on the back of migrants. Look at the figures before believing those who spread fear!



3:04 AM - 3 Jul 2018





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# **MARRONAGE IS RESISTANCE**

The collective Marronage

### MARRONAGE IS RESISTANCE

Resistance can take many forms, but it always finds a way. On the 'Gold Coast of Africa,' enslaved West Africans cut off their ears so that they would not be sold or brought on board the Danish slave ships. On the ships that brought the colonial powers' precious cargo to the so-called Danish West Indies, enslaved Africans claimed their freedom by throwing themselves into the waves, refusing to eat, or attacking the prison guards.

The word maroon comes from the Spanish word cimarrón, which means 'wild animal' and was the name given to those who fled from the plantations in the Caribbean. When maroons banded together and fled into the mountains, out onto the plains, and into the jungle in order to create new societies, it was marronage – organized resistance.

For 250 years, Caribbean plantation owners witnessed the resistance of enslaved workers. And in 1878, Queen Mary wielded her torch and burned down half the island of St. Croix. Marronage is resistance against a system that seeks to decide who is free and who is not free.

Still today, systems erase people's identities. When you are classified as or have identities forced upon you like 'illegal,' 'refugee,' and 'asylum seeker,' money and heirlooms are seized and scars and tattoos are registered. Remnants of the systems and structures of the colonial era operate all around us. They separate and segregate people, construct borders, and create hierarchies. When nation-states incarcerate people fleeing war and poverty in tent camps and detention centers, isolated from the rest of the population, the aim is to deprive these people of their opportunity to achieve a different life.

But people today also engage in marronage. When they protest at deportation centers, walk on the E45, or set fire to themselves in asylum camps, their actions are provoked by oppression – and are expressions of the strength in resistance. They prove that even under the most powerless and hopeless of circumstances, resistance is a possibility. No matter how heavy the oppression, you cannot deprive people of their hope and dreams of freedom.

Marronage sets the past in motion, and when we release the potentials of history, we create freedom on our own terms.

We have found each other at a time when everything seems to be falling apart. Racist violence defines our times, and demagogues who were previously on the fringes are now considered mainstream. One hundred years after the sale of 'The Danish West Indies' to the US, the colonial era is still frighteningly close. The feeling of apathy can be overwhelming and paralyzing. One can cry, be confused, or laugh at the absurdity when politicians, with a straight face, argue that Denmark cannot be held responsible for its colonial crimes, while at the same time enforcing racist laws and segregation.

Marronage is the movement towards making the destruction of imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy real. Only then can we create something new. We must help each other realize that our reality is not a nightmare we can wake up from, but something we must rebel against.

We see you, the powers that be, who profit from us daily and play us out against each other; we see you, petty bureaucrats, who blindly follow laws and create desperation; and we see the system that uses violence against bodies in the name of normality.

But despite the temptation to stand still in despair, the resistance is growing at a fast pace. The movements are varied and involve many different struggles against all forms of oppression.

We gave up, long ago, on the fantasy that the political system is the solution: this becomes obvious when it is necessary for an international movement to insist that 'Black Lives Matter.' That Black life is life. When Indigenous people in Standing Rock have to fight for the right to clean water that others take for granted, and when transgender people have to fight for the right to their own bodies. We are speaking to those of you who fight for the freedom of movements, who fight to erode the hierarchies of nation states; we are speaking to you who are locked away in detention centers; we are speaking to you who are in fear of the authorities; and we are speaking to you, who have been written out of history, because you refuse to fit into the narrative of the 'West' as the center of the world.

### MARRONAGE IS COLLECTIVE RESISTANCE

On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the sale of 'Danish West Indies' to the US, Denmark's

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institutions began to face their bad conscience. The question of an 'apology' for colonial crimes arose in some of the very places where the national project and national identity itself were created.

We have been invited to be the 'critical voice' in debates, we have been given speaking time in news programs, and have been guests at exhibition openings and board meetings.

They have accused us of taking history hostage, because of our focus on the resistance of the enslaved. But the national narrative has already taken history hostage when Peter von Scholten is portrayed as a liberator.

We found ourselves stepping into the very institutions that we want to deconstruct. Our soul and motivation must be self-examined. For we stand on the shoulders of the many that power has sought to forget, make invisible, and silence.

Black women from St. Croix have, since the time of slavery, exposed Denmark's distortion of history. While the colonists fantasized about their own heroism, the oral storytelling tradition of *Cariso* ensured that the colonists' narrative about the enslaved and their descendants was revealed as a strategic lie.

When we choose to use these institutions as our platforms, we risk erasing the voices we want to give space to. We risk being complicit in attempting to deprive those who were and are enslaved, those who do not have papers, and the many others whose existence is threatened every single day, of their agency and will.

We have been ushered into the structures we criticize for being exclusionary. Whilst we are tolerated on the stages of Danish cultural institutions and when talking about structural oppression in the media, our friends are being deported.

Marronage is a process characterized by hope, anger, and doubt.

We are in doubt about how the narrative of historical and contemporary oppression can be written without reproducing suffering – knowing full well that we cannot avoid feeding into certain stereotypes. For how do we break out of the identities that are still used to subjugate us while, at the same time, using the strength that we find in making these identities visible?

We must not let ourselves be seduced by the notion that everything is going to be okay. We are creating something because we are killjoys. Because we are destructive.

We have realized that being misfits in a society based on standardization is what gives us the opportunity to destroy the standard. It can be a heavy burden when you gradually lose the ability to close your eyes to oppression. But those of us who do not fit in, do not desire the privileges and willful ignorance of whiteness. Instead, we strive for change.

We do not doubt that our anger will be used as a weapon against us, and we also do not doubt that our anger will continue to grow.

The fear of what our wrath can lead to reveals itself when we are accused of working against our community because we do not fit into or strive for respectability.

But on the other hand, what is anger against respectability in a reality where Black men are killed for wearing hoodies? The stereotype that people who are racialized as non-white are less intelligent, less

worthy – less human – is confirmed when the 'West' is still understood as the world's civilized center.

Therefore, children from so-called ghettos in Denmark can be legally mandated to be spoon-fed 'Danish values' and their parents can be penalized financially if they do not consent. In this way, everyone is not equal before the law. Therefore, the media can publish pseudo-scientific reports, claiming that 'non-western' children are less empathetic than those with 'Danish blood,' or are more likely to commit rape when they grow older. But what is empathy in a country where the emergency center lets a man die on the street because he is Greenlandic Inuit?

This is why elected politicians gain popularity by leaving people to drown in the Mediterranean. For what is a human life worth if it is a potential liability?

Because we are descendants of 'non-Westerners,' we do not doubt whether we should occupy as many spaces as possible, as long as we remember that we can only create a counterweight to institutional control and nationalist agendas if we continuously reconsider our strategies and are self-critical.

Over time, we have united in new relationships and new alliances. Now we speak as a collective we.

We do not believe in one single direction towards another world. But we believe that there is strength in insisting that our different battles can only be won if we meet and work together. Because the powers that threaten our existence are inextricably linked. We can count on one another.

Marronage is to see the spaces where we can heal our wounds together: both the ones we have been dealt and those we have inherited. We must remember that we are not machines, but bodies with needs and limitations. Loving ourselves and each other is the political resistance needed to combat self-hate and the death it brings.

Political struggles of past generations send waves of hope, anger, and doubt to us, through time and space. Waves that grow stronger as they reach new corners and create dissonance, but also sympathy.

### **MARRONAGE IS ALLIANCES**

We have oceans of time – behind us and in front of us – but we are writing at a moment when racism in all its forms continues to pressure us from all sides.

In 2017, the 'official' Denmark suddenly took an interest in our colonial history. The white creative middle class benefited from the colonial renaissance in the cultural sphere, which featured countless exhibitions and debates.

Today, the exhibition brochures have been neatly stacked away in a corner, and politicians are no longer able to gain popularity with 'apologies.'
But the colonial era and the racist necropolitics it brought about are hardly history. There is still so much to do.

We want to see you in Nørrebro when Pegida and the police invade the neighborhood; at airport counters when yet another human being is being deported to torture and death; in front of the deportation center Kærshovedgård in solidarity with the hunger strikers; and when there is a demonstration in front of the 'job center.' We want to see you kill the silencing consensus every time racism is used to dehumanize anyone. It is counterproductive to embrace slogans and good intentions carried forth by whiteness and class privileges. Whiteness is not something you can take on and off as you see fit. Whiteness must be held accountable when those who are inscribed in it

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have no intention of abolishing it. It has become clear to us that our anger disrupts the white consensus, and we plan to let it continue to do so.

It is easy to ridicule identity politics when one's own identity is seen as neutral. It's easy when you do not have to fight for the right to exist. Whiteness masks the fact that it is also identity politics when politicians want to create a census of 'third generation immigrants' for new assimilation strategies. It is identity politics that preserves university syllabi, which reproduce knowledge based on the white man's assumed neutrality. And it is identity politics when you desperately hold on to the gender binary and erase transgender people. Violence, apparently, is preferable to changing your vocabulary.

It angers us that the politically engaged who call us 'divisive' are the same people who exclude us from the political community. We are tired of starting from scratch every single time we talk to white people about the n-word. Our anger can never be a bigger problem than the structures our anger is directed against. We see the people who are only on our side until we challenge their privileges. We have seen how they proclaim diversity politics while whispering in the corners that we should abstain from violence. They have never had to fight for their right to be here.

We are disappointed that you continue to perceive our work as a personal attack. It's not about you. Marronage is not for your absolution for colonial crimes. Marronage is not a friendly gesture. We do not desire you – fuck your tolerance. We are concerned with our allies and those who will become our allies. When whiteness is no longer centered, we can be vulnerable together.

It takes courage to put one's body up against a system that could potentially become one's destruction. We can help each other build the necessary courage. We must make sure that we react to the mistakes we are going to make. We must hold on to each other and acknowledge that our trauma and grief stand side by side with our anger.

We have not come to negotiate. We are not here to create consensus. Our struggle is not about improving institutions but creating new alternatives. We do not expect anything from the structures that allowed Sri Lankan children to be kidnapped from their parents for profit through transnational adoption; that criminalizes homeless people by banning begging and sleeping on the streets; that allows for postcolonial countries to be disproportionately hit by climate change; that is based on separation and exploitation; that turns a blind eye to Israel's genocide of Palestinians; that uses a lot of resources to dissolve anti-racist organizations but allows racist groups to flourish—that does not believe that our lives have value.

We are not surprised at the advancement of the alt-right movement, Alternative für Deutschland's success in the parliament or France's permanent state of emergency. We are not surprised that the systematic violence of the state has been increased in the treatment of people migrating and seeking asylum. It is not difficult to recognize Denmark. And we don't want to be 'welcomed' by Denmark.

We know that the patriarchal and neocolonial structures that shape our lives are only driven by profit, which requires hierarchies, oppression, and exploitation. But all systems have cracks. When the oppression is intersectional, resistance can run through different channels and hit the same target.

Here allies give up their privileges, saying "It's the least we can do!"; here we don't give a fuck if our activism becomes 'the brown voice;' here we cover our hair because it gives us joy; and here we conspire and laugh at the thought of the coming insurrection.

Marronage is to see the alliances that already exist and those that will emerge.

We are counting on you and you can count on us. We do not know what to expect from the future, other than that we will be standing next to you when shit goes up in flames.

Come with us.

— Translated from Danish by Lesley-Ann Brown

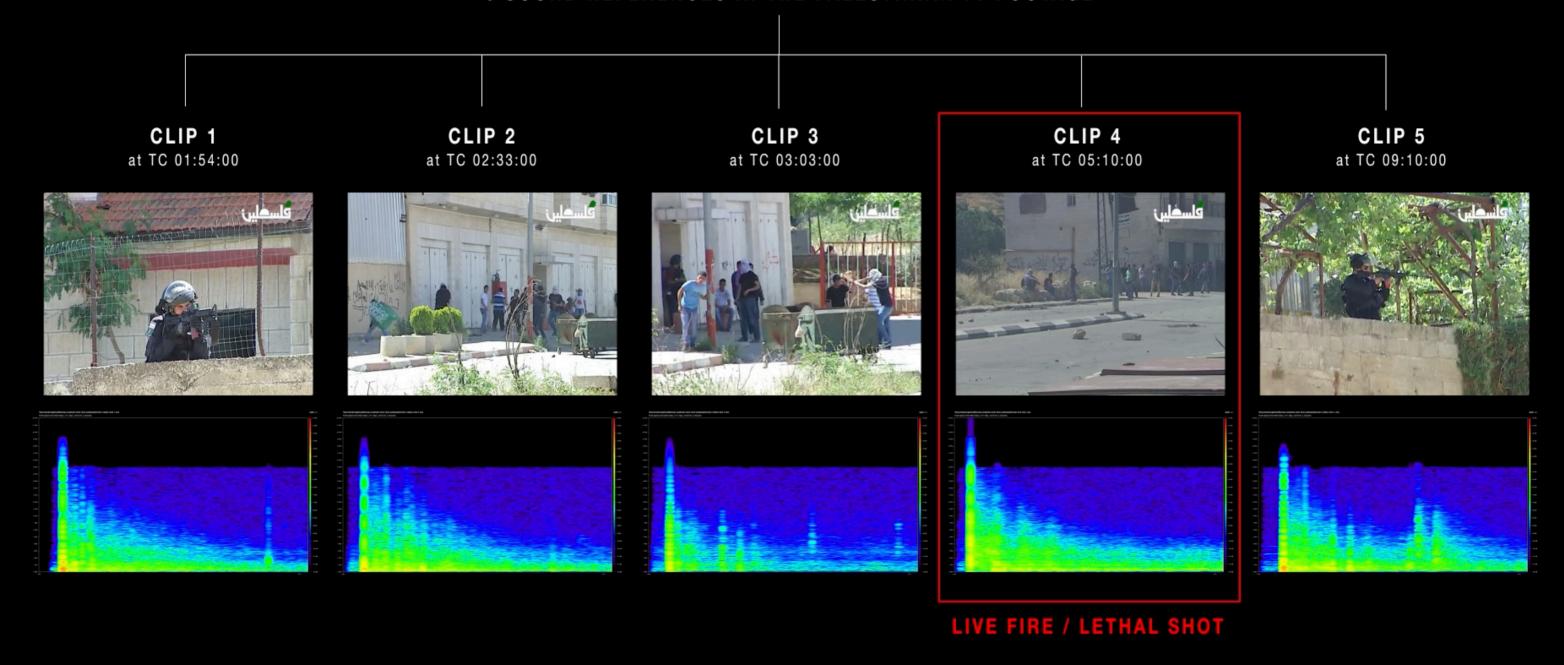
Marronage intervention at SMK – National Gallery of Denmark,
May 5, 2017, during SMK Friday: Unfinished Histories.

Courtesy of the collective



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# 5 SOUND REFERENCES IN THE PALESTINIAN TV FOOTAGE



# **WORKS & PROJECTS**

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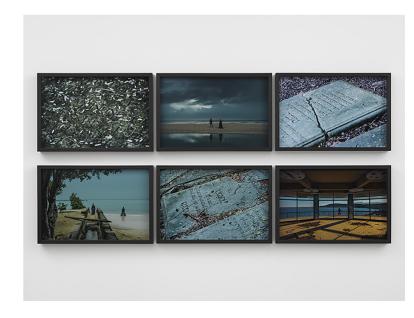
# **JOHN AKOMFRAH**

The Utopian Palimpsest (2016)
6 x C-type prints mounted on dibond
43.2 x 63.5 cm each frame
Courtesy of Lisson Gallery, London

The Utopian Palimpsest is a series of six color C-type photographs that offer a meditation on migration, diasporas, and the sea. Contemplating current global social panics, the series meditates on the social contract of migration; of leaving one space as a citizen, being in transit, and arriving in another space as a migrant. The Utopian Palimpsest is a vision that has been dreamt over thousands of years, and the series highlights fragments of these lost pasts; French Huguenots fleeing persecution in France, 17th century Sephardic Jews fleeing Catholic Brazil to Barbados, and present day migrations from Mosul to the West. The Utopian Palimpsest traces spectral fragments, ghosts, and histories that are left behind. It reminds us of lost communities of refugees.

JOHN AKOMFRAH (born 1957, Accra, Ghana) lives and works in London. He is a hugely respected artist and filmmaker, whose works are characterized by their investigations into memory, postcolonialism, temporality, and aesthetics and often explore the experience of the African diaspora in Europe and the US. Akomfrah was a founding member of the influential Black Audio Film Collective, which started in London in 1982 alongside the artists David Lawson and Lina Gopaul, who he still collaborates with today. Their first film, Handsworth Songs (1986), explored the events surrounding the 1985 riots in Birmingham and London through a charged combination of archive footage, still photos, and newsreel. The film won several international prizes and established a multilayered visual style that has become a recognizable motif of Akomfrah's practice.

Akomfrah has had numerous solo exhibitions in major museums and art spaces across the globe including New Museum, New York, USA (2018); SFMOMA, San Francisco, CA, USA (2018); Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, Spain (2018): Barbican. London, UK (2017); University of New South Wales, Paddington, Australia (2016); Nikolaj Kunsthal, Copenhagen, Denmark (2016); STUK Kunstcentrum, Leuven, Belgium (2016); Bildmuseet Umeå, Sweden (2015); Tate Britain, London, UK (2013-14); and a week long series of screenings at MoMA, New York, USA (2011). His participation in international group shows has included: The 1980s: Today's Beginnings?, Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven, The Netherlands (2016); British Art Show 8 (2015-17); All the World's Futures, 56th Venice Biennale, Italy (2015); History is Now: 7 Artists Take On Britain, Hayward Gallery, London, UK (2015); Africa Now: Political Patterns, SeMA, Seoul, South Korea (2014); Sharjah Biennial 11, Sharjah, United Arab Emirates (2013); Liverpool Biennial, UK (2012); and Taipei Biennial, Taiwan (2012). He has also been featured in many international film festivals, including Sundance Film Festival, Utah, USA (2013 and 2011) and Toronto International Film Festival, Canada (2012).



John Akomfrah, The Utopian Palimpsest (2016) © Smoking Dogs Films; Courtesy Lisson Galle Photography Jack Hems.













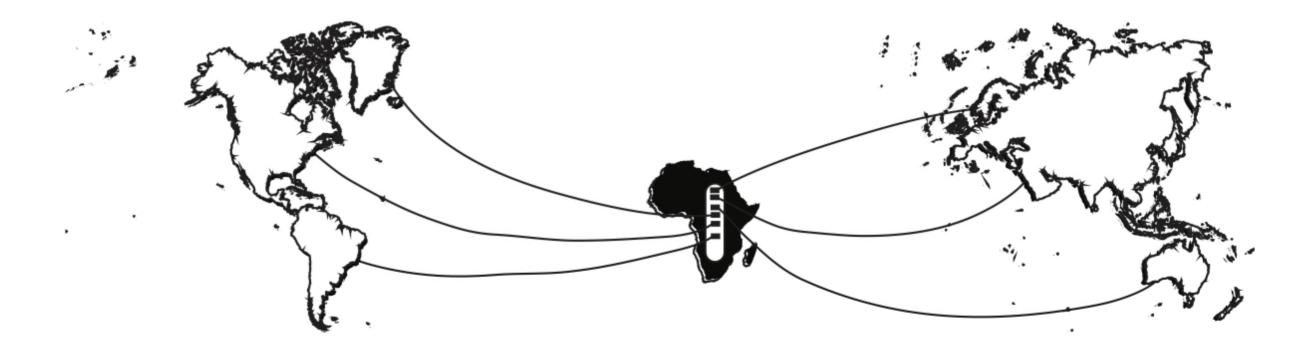
# **KHALID ALBAIH**

Africa Light (2018)
Mixed media light installation
Dimensions variable
Courtesy of the artist

Africa Light is a prototype of a larger light installation in progress. Based on data collected by the artist, the installation visualizes the resources exported out of Africa. These resources are symbolized in the cables extending from the African continent, which light up the planet's other continents, while the continent of Africa is ironically still kept in the dark.

KHALID ALBAIH is a Sudanese artist and political cartoonist, who often publishes under the name "Khartoon" (a pun on Khartoum, the capital of Sudan). His cartoons have appeared in newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting corporations such as The New York Times, The Atlantic, NPR: National Public Radio, and the BBC. He has had solo exhibitions in Tokyo, Doha, Boston, Providence, New Delhi, Dearborn, Montreal, and London. Albaih is also the founder of @DohaFashionFridays and the co-founder of Khartoum Art & Design Center.

Image courtesy of the artist.



# **ABDUL DUBE**

The only title I want is... human (2011/2018)
Silk screen poster
A2, framed
Courtesy of the artist

I created this poster in conjunction with the 2011 Danish election, when the then leftwing Social Democrats won and took the stage. Back then, I had the idea that this poster should remind the party that people (womxn) did not come to Denmark to be labeled a 'problem.' They came to live their lives and raise their children in a friendly and safe environment. It is crazy that it is the same party that has recently outlawed Muslim womxn by voting for the 'Burka and Nigab Ban' and taken away their freedom to express their religious beliefs. It is the perfect time to share this image and its text again, which stems from a 2011 newspaper clipping.

I create work to better understand the visual world and help create a better resource for myself to gather thoughts. I create to explore and most of the time I start my projects with a subject from my first Mind Maps and just go

from there. I mainly like to use readily available materials, print media from the past centuries and the present.

Collaboration stands at the foreground of most of my practice. At the present time, I make my art to speak to my duality living in Denmark and having part of myself still in my home country South Africa.

ABDUL DUBE's poster next to 2011 election posters in the city of Aarhus as part of the exhibition project *tilVALG!* [Opt in!] organized by rum46 from Sept. 12–15, 2011.



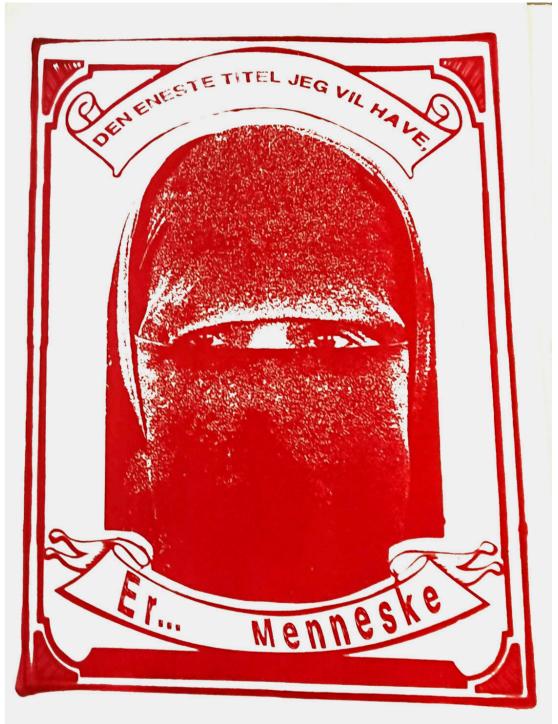


Image courtesy of the

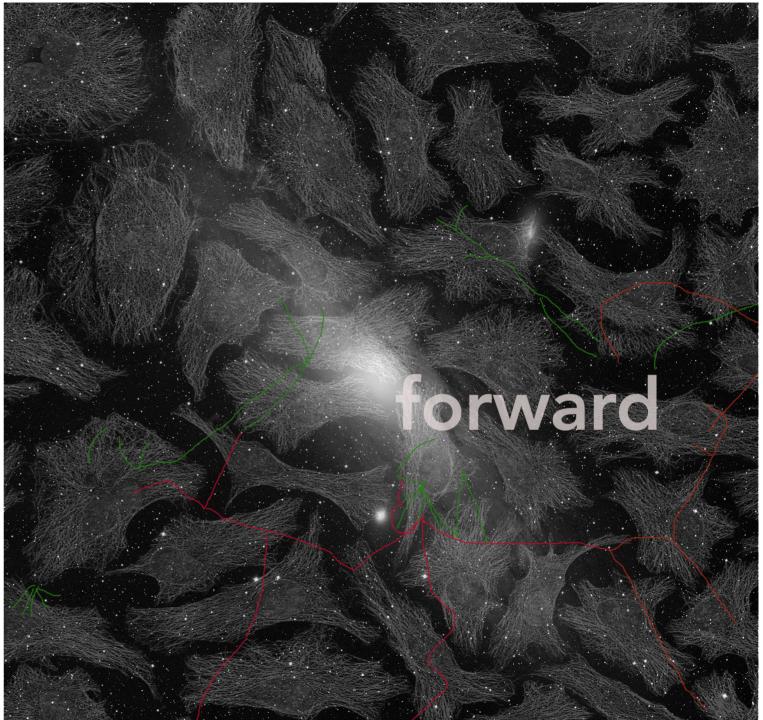
# **SONYA DYER**

Forward (2018) Performance Duration approx. 30 min. Courtesy of the artist

How does the abjected body claim autonomy? Across the Mediterranean or across the galaxy – ever moving forward.

Sonya Dyer contributes with the performance Forward, which she will perform during the event Another World is Possible: poetry, performance and practice accompanying the exhibition on December 2, 2018. The performance uses the idea of the virus and viral in relation to migration to Europe, the legacies of African American cancer patient Henrietta Lacks, and the "dark fecundity" of her HeLa cell line.

SONYA DYER is an artist, writer, and occasional curator from London, where she is a Somerset House Studios Resident. Her practice currently manifests itself through the ...And Beyond Institute for Future Research, a peripatetic think tank concerned with the creation of possible futures (www.andbeyondinstitute.com). Recent projects include In Some Far Off Space (Cubitt Gallery, London), The Claudia Jones Space Station (BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art and The NewBridge Project, Newcastle), and Into the Future (Primary, Nottingham). Dyer was a 2011–12 Whitney Museum of American Art: Independent Study Program Fellow.



# **JEANNETTE EHLERS**

The Gaze (2018)

HD 2 channel video projection with sound

Dimensions variable

Courtesy of the artist

"Time is this really fluid thing. Now is now, but the past is now and the future too."

- Niama Safia Sandy, curator and anthropologist

The video *The Gaze* depicts an intense scene centering the gaze. The confrontational style of the scene strives to poetically expose the imprint of colonialism on the present, reflect on humanity and power structures, and challenge 'the white gaze.' Everyone in the video is of non-Danish ethnic origin, the majority applying for residence in Denmark.

JEANNETTE EHLERS is a visual artist based in Copenhagen, whose multidisciplinary work is characterized by experimental imagery. On these changeable terms, meaning and identity are explored in both a sophisticated and immediate way. Ehlers' performative and cinematic universes delve into ethnicity and identity, inspired by her Danish-Caribbean background.

Photo: Delmar Mavignier



# FORENSIC ARCHITECTURE

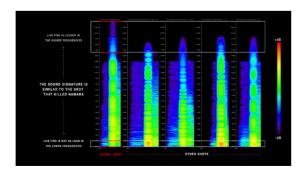
The Killing of Nadeem Nawara and Mohammad Abu Daher, Beitunia,
Palestine, Nakba Day: 15 May 2014 (2015)
Video
14:46 min.
Courtesy of Forensic Architecture

On May 15, 2014, two Palestinian teenagers - 17-year-old Nadeem Nawara and 16-year-old Mohammad Mahmoud Odeh Abu Daher – were shot and killed by Israeli forces in the town of Beitunia, after a day of protests marking Nakba Day (the annual commemoration of the forced displacement of Palestinians in 1948). Both deaths were captured on security cameras installed on a nearby shop, as well as by TV film crews. The footage showed the two teenagers were killed while walking unarmed and posing no threat. The Israeli military denied its security personnel were involved despite CNN footage showing border policemen discharging their weapons in the protestors' direction - claiming they used only non-lethal rubber coated munitions fired through special attachments to their guns.

Working with the NGO Defense for Children International Palestine

(DCIP), Forensic Architecture analyzed and synchronized multiple media documenting the killings, including CCTV, television news footage, and still photographs, as well as testimonies from individuals present at the scene, and evidence gathered on the aural signatures of gunshots. Through the combination of this evidence, and wider analysis of the use of rubber bullets and live rounds by Israeli forces, Forensic Architecture showed that the killing involved a complex effort to hide its tracks – a border policeman

Image courtesy of Forensic Architecture



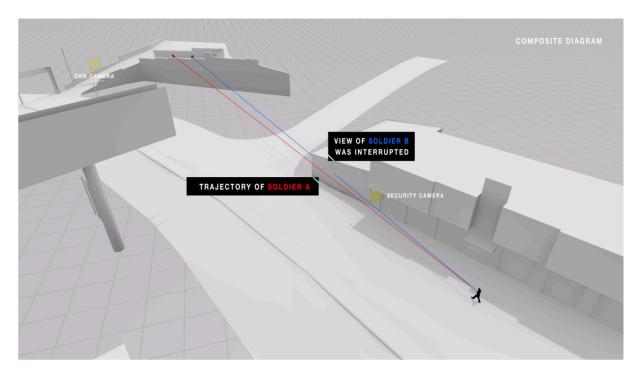


Image courtesy of Forensic Architecture

had used his weapon to shoot live ammunition through a rubber bullet extension.

The policeman, Ben Deri, was arrested in November 2014 for the manslaughter of Nawara (but not of Abu Daher) and put on trial, leading to a massive public campaign in his favor. Despite the overwhelming evidence for his intentional killing of the teenagers, the prosecution agreed to a plea deal, with Deri pleading guilty to negligent killing only.

COMMISSIONED BY: Defense for Children International Palestine (DCIP), on behalf of the parents of Nadeem Nawara and Mohammad Mahmoud Odeh Abu Daher.

PROJECT TEAM: Eyal Weizman (Principal Investigator), Nick Axel (Project Coordinator), Jacob Burns, Steffen Krämer

AUDIO INVESTIGATION: Lawrence Abu Hamdan

FORENSIC ARCHITECTURE (FA) is a research agency based at Goldsmiths, University of London, which operates across a wide variety of fields and disciplines. Founded in 2010 by Professor Eyal Weizman (UK), FA is committed to the development and dissemination of new evidentiary techniques and undertakes advanced architectural and media investigations on behalf of international prosecutors, human rights and civil society groups, as well as political and environmental justice organizations.

# **JANE JIN KAISEN**

The Andersons (2015)
Color photograph, framed
93.3 x 142 cm
Courtesy of the artist



The Andersons is a family portrait of the fictive Anderson family in Minnesota, USA. The artwork reverses the racial dynamic within the transnational adoptive family by portraying a supposedly Asian American couple with their 9-yearold Danish-born adoptive daughter Belinda. The artwork also reverses subject positions in that the fictive family is performed by Tobias Hübinette and the artist herself, who in reality are adopted from South Korea to Scandinavia, while Belinda is performed by the Danish girl Elke Olaf Goll.

By reversing the racial dynamic, the work is a critical commentary on transnational adoption as an overwhelmingly white, heterosexual privilege, while the composition of the photograph and the ambivalent body language and facial expressions of the characters raise questions about idealized notions of the heteronormative family unit.

The Andersons is part of a larger art project titled Loving Belinda, which began in 2006 with the performative video Adopting Belinda in which a Danish TV host travels to Minnesota to interview the Andersons about having adopted Belinda from Denmark. In 2015, the Loving Belinda exhibition was created as a follow-up to reflect upon changing discourses on transnational adoption and race within Danish society. As a whole, the project employs the mockumentary genre, a fictive appropriation of the documentary in order to distort reality with ironic and subversive effect in order to point to unspoken and tabooed relations of power within the family as a microcosm of society.

JANE JIN KAISEN is a visual artist born in Jeju Island, South Korea, and adopted to Denmark in 1980. She currently lives in Berlin. Kaisen's practice is propelled by a sense of necessity and an aspiration for carving out spaces for critical reflection and dialogue. Employing a variety of aesthetic strategies and forms, she deals with themes of memory, trauma, migration, and translation at the intersection of personal and collective histories. While each work is driven by its own aesthetic and discursive inquiry, together they form a multi-faceted and in-depth inquiry into transnational and gendered histories related to legacies of colonialism, modernity, war, and borders. www.janejinkaisen.com

# **PEDRO LASCH**

Global Indianization / Indianización Global
(2009/2018)

Map

Dimensions variable

Courtesy of the artist

Entitled Global Indianization / Indianización Global, this map (2009) by Pedro Lasch merges English, Spanish, and French to produce a new cartography based on the meanings of the words 'Indian' and 'Indigenous.' Providing the foundation for our current processes of globalization, the map returns to the image of extreme ignorance and confusion experienced by Europeans during their arrival to the American continent. As a future or contemporary world order implied by the renaming of the continents, however, the map also registers the epic growth of cultural and political power accomplished by the very populations who have been accurately and mistakenly defined by the idea of the 'Indian' and the 'Indigenous.'

For this exhibition, the map appears as a painted mural that will also be the backdrop for a special workshop led by the artist during the event Another World is Possible: poetry, performance and practice accompanying the exhibition on December 2, 2018. The participatory process held under the name of "Naturalizations: Facial Politics and Decolonial Aesthetics" will involve an exploration of these topics through the use of mirror masks and other processes of collective defacement. It will also address how the concept of the 'Indian' and the 'Indigenous' resonate in Copenhagen and its immigrant communities. Optional readings on Lasch's previous engagements with decolonial aesthetics (2003–2018) will also serve as a complement to our conversation.

PEDRO LASCH is an artist, Duke professor, 16 Beaver organizer, and FHI Social Practice Lab director. Author of four books, his solo projects include QMA, The Phillips Collection, and Creative Time, among others; group exhibitions include MoMA PS1, MASS MoCA, RCA, Hayward Gallery, MUAC, Mexico's National Palace, Prospect.4 Triennial, 2006 Gwangju Biennial, 12th Havana Biennial, Documenta 13 (ANDANDAND), and 56th Venice Biennale (CTS). His pedagogical artwork ART of the MOOC has had over 29,000 enrolled participants in 134 countries since it launched in late 2015. To learn more about his work, visit: www.pedrolasch.com

Image courtesy of the artist

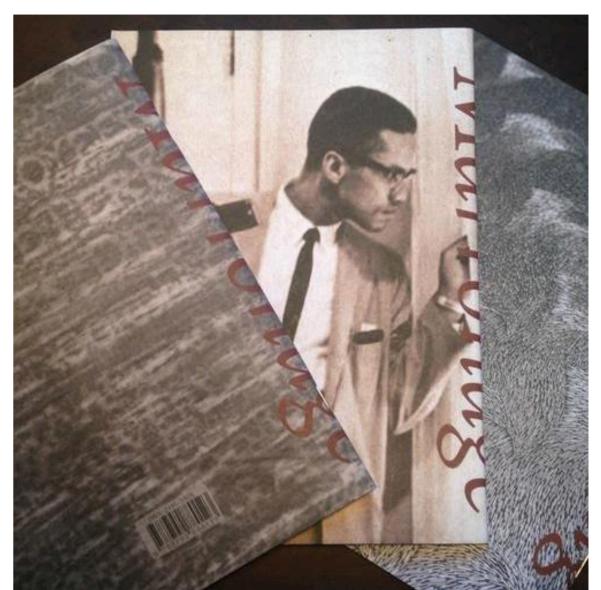


# **MARRONAGE**

Marronage #1, Marronage #2, Marronage #3 (2017)
3 x journals
16.8 x 23.8 cm each
Courtesy of Marronage

The collective Marronage contributes with three issues of its journal. The journal *Marronage* was launched in 2017, 100 years after the sale of the former Danish West Indies to the US. With contributions from artists, scholars, and activists, the journal is dedicated to exposing the structures of colonialism in a specifically Nordic historical context. The journal aims to center voices that have resisted silencing by white supremacist capitalist hetero-patriarchy. Marronage also contributes with a happening titled *We Are Here – Marronage Is Resistance* during the event *Decolonizing Assembly* accompanying the exhibition on September 23, 2018.

MARRONAGE is a decolonial feminist collective that brings focus onto narratives of resistance through activism, editorial and curatorial work, and events.



age courtesy of Marronc

# **MTL COLLECTIVE**

MTL Collective will be holding an assembly and an action production party at CAMP and Trampoline House. The assembly, which takes place on September 23, 2018, will focus on what would be the framework for thinking through decolonization for the space and its goers. The production party, which takes place the week before the exhibition opening, will involve banner making, food, and conversations. We begin the conversation not with answers but the possibility of asking better questions as we gather together.

Amin Husain and Nitasha Dhillon are MTL COLLECTIVE, a collaboration that joins research, aesthetics, organizing, and action in its practice. MTL is a founding member of Tidal: Occupy Theory; Direct Action Front for Palestine; Global Ultra Luxury Faction (G.U.L.F.); Decolonial Cultural Front; and most recently MTL+, the collective facilitating Decolonize This Place, an action-oriented movement and decolonial formation that blurs the lines between art and activism around five strands of struggle: Indigenous Struggle, Black Liberation, Free Palestine, Global Wage Worker, and De-Gentrification. Read more: www.artforum.com/contributor/mtl-collective







MTL+ action at the Brooklyn Museum, New York, April 29, 2018. Courtesy of MTL Collective

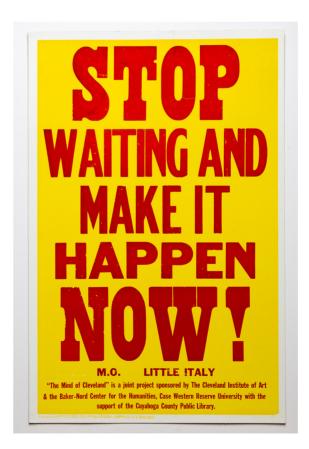
# **CARL POPE**

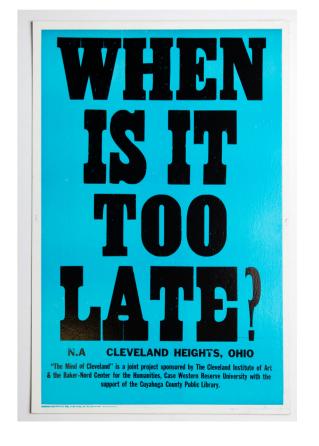
Excepts from The Bad Air Smelled of Roses
A continuous, unending writing project
started in 2004
Letterpress Broadsides
Dimensions variable
Courtesy of the artist

I wanted to create an artwork and a forest of signs that addressed aspects of Blackness which is a narrative thread that is weaved through every area of knowledge. Blackness as a metaphor is associated with African-American culture, the unconscious, negative emotions, the unknown and the unknowable, deception, duplicity, forgetfulness, denial, blind spots, confusion etc. Blackness also corresponds to manifested forms and is feminine and magnetic in nature. The graphic essay/poster installation The Bad Air Smelled of Roses represents my attempt to use quotes as referential signs to create epiphanies about the ubiquitous presence and function of Blackness within society, Nature, and the imagination of the viewer. This poster installation is a continuous, perpetual work in progress since Blackness and The Light that actively manifest and maintain the universe is also an endless work in progress. For me, each poster operate as markers that map some of the territory in the spaciousness of this subject, like stars in the night sky that articulate the vastness of outer space.

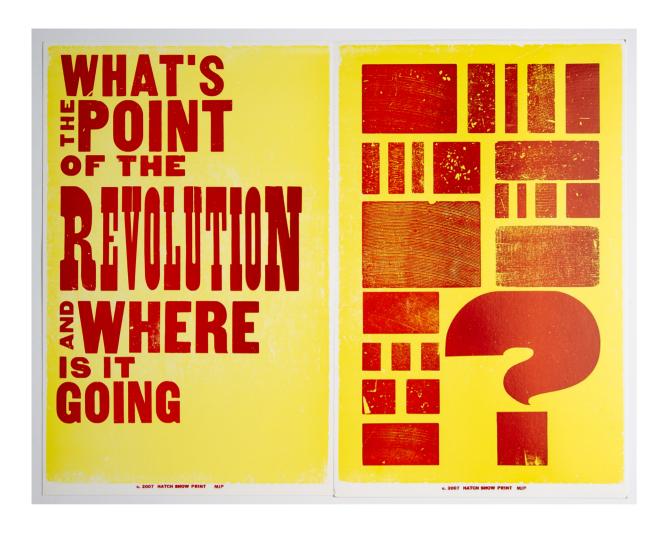
CARL POPE's creative endeavors are based on the idea of art as a catalyst for individual and collective transformation(s). Since 1990, Pope's methodology with public art evolved into ongoing collaborative efforts with artists and communities producing large-scale public art inventions that stimulate public dialogue and/or community revitalization. Excursions into his internal landscape produced the video/text installation Palimpsest commissioned by the Wadsworth Atheneum that with funds from The Warhol and Lannan Foundations was included in the Whitney Biennial 2000. The essay of letterpress posters The Bad Air Smelled of Roses and his recent billboard campaigns continue his ongoing exploration into public and inner space.

Images courtesy of the artist

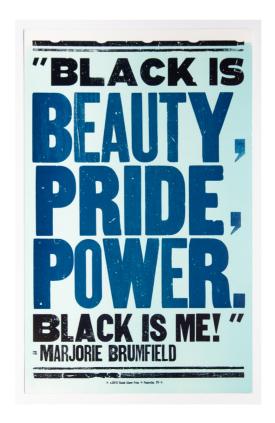














# **DREAD SCOTT**

I Am Not a Man, performance still 68 (2009)
Pigment print
89 x 122 cm
Courtesy of the artist

I Am Not a Man was a performance that was presented on the streets of Harlem, New York. I walked bearing a historic, but crucially altered, protest sign that read "I Am Not a Man."

Throughout the walk, actions in the performance evoked the humiliation that is visited on Black people and the negation that defines our existence.

Making reference to the 1968 Memphis Sanitation workers strike where the iconic "I Am a Man" sign originated, the performance inverted the sign's statement, pointing to the importance of the Civil Rights protests as well as to their limitations. Along with this historic resonance, the performance simultaneously addressed our era – racism is foundational to America and has not abated. Despite assertions that America has entered a post-racial period, reality contradicts this: 1 in 9 young Black men are in prison; predatory lending policies in the fist

decade of the century have caused the greatest loss of wealth for people of color in modern US history; Henry Louis Gates Jr., the public intellectual, gets arrested "breaking into" his own home; etc. I Am Not a Man resides in the uncomfortable space between a race-free fantasy world and the lived experience of millions.

The performance took place September 9, 2009. Performance stills from the work are independent artworks that use the performance as their point of departure. They do not attempt to tell the narrative of the performance. Rather, they engage the themes which the live work explored in singular static images for a gallery audience. DREAD SCOTT makes revolutionary art to propel history forward. In 1989, the entire US Senate denounced and outlawed his artwork and President Bush declared it "disgraceful" because of its use of the American flag. His work has been exhibited/performed at the Whitney Museum, MoMA/PS1, BAM Fisher, and galleries and street corners across the country.

Image courtesy of the artist



# **ESSAY & EVENT CONTRIBUTORS**

**GURMINDER K. BHAMBRA** is Professor of Postcolonial and Decolonial Studies in the School of Global Studies, University of Sussex. She is author of Rethinking Modernity and Connected Sociologies and editor of the Global Social Theory website globalsocialtheory.org.

GHETTO FITNESS is a radio program broadcast on the Danish radio station Radio24syv. The program gives a voice to immigrants in the so-called ghettos in Denmark that we often hear about, but rarely hear from. Radio hosts Kian and Mj want to put an end to the idea that the 'successful immigrant' has to distance herself/himself from the ghetto. Similarly, we are tired of the idea that people stereotype and play know-it-alls when it comes to immigrants, based solely on numbers in statistics. We are not as different as you think. We have dreams, ambitions, ideas, and we struggle for all of us to have the fundamental rights needed to be a human being in development. GHETTO FITNESS FOR MUSCLE AND MIND.

NICHOLAS MIRZOEFF is a writer and visual activist. He is Professor of Media, Culture and Communication at New York University (NYU). Among his many books, How To See The World (2015) has been translated into ten languages and The Appearance of Black Lives Matter (2017) was published as a limited edition collaborative project with the artist Carl Pope (2018). A frequent blogger and writer, his work has appeared in The New York Times, The Guardian, Time, and The New Republic. He grew up in London and now lives in New York City.

**SONYA DYER** contributes to the Dec. 2 closing event with her new performance *Forward*.

**PEDRO LASCH** will host the workshop "Naturalizations: Facial Politics and Decolonial Aesthetics" during the Dec. 2 closing event.

**GHETTO FITNESS** aka Kian and MJ will take audiences through their street training program, messing with our notions of the 'well-integrated' and 'poorly-integrated' immigrant during the Dec. 2 closing event.



Image courtesy of Pedro Lasch

# **EVENTS & EDUCATION PROGRAM**

### OPENING PARTY

Friday, September 21, 2018, 6 pm-12 am @ CAMP and Trampoline House

Join us for the opening party of CAMP's new focus! exhibition DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE and hear guest curator Nicholas Mirzoeff talk about his ideas behind the exhibition. There will also be artist talks by Copenhagen and Aarhus-based artists Khalid Albaih, Abdul Dube, and Jeannette Ehlers, who have contributed to the exhibition. The evening is concluded with community dinner in Trampoline House and a dance party.

### PROGRAM

### 6-6:30 pm

Welcome / by CAMP's directors and guest curator Nicholas Mirzoeff (Professor of Media, Culture and Communication, New York University)

### 6:30-7:30 pm

Exhibition viewing and community dinner in Trampoline House (suggested donation DKK 30)

# 7:30-8:30 pm

Artist talks / by Copenhagen and Aarhus-based contributing artists Khalid Albaih, Abdul Dube, and Jeannette Ehlers

# 8:30 pm-12 am

Party / with Trampoline House DJs and bar

# EVENT /

# DECOLONIZING ASSEMBLY

Sunday, September 23, 2018, 1–5 pm @ CAMP and Trampoline House

Decolonizing is the work of asking questions. What does decolonizing look like? How do the colonized and the colonizer appear to each other? How can the colonized have the right to look, the right to be seen – in short, the right to appear? What would happen when appearance is decolonized? What has to happen for decolonizing to take place where you live?

The Decolonizing Assembly is an assembly led by MTL Collective (see p. 54) that will unpack these questions. The assembly will focus on what would be the framework for thinking through decolonization for the Trampoline House and CAMP spaces and its goers. MTL Collective will begin the conversation not with answers but the possibility of asking better questions as we gather together. The assembly also features a keynote by Professor of Postcolonial and Decolonial Studies, Gurminder K. Bhambra, who contributes with her paper "Decolonizing Appearance: Migration to Europe in the Context of Migration from Europe" (see p. 16). The event concludes with the happening We Are Here -Marronage Is Resistance by the decolonial feminist collective Marronage (see p. 52), who invites the audience to join them for a collective reading of Marronage's manifesto. Together, we will celebrate the past, present, and future acts of resistance.

The assembly accompanies CAMP's new focus! exhibition *DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE*, which will be open for viewing during the event. The assembly is conducted in English (with simultaneous interpretation to Farsi and Arabic). All are welcome. Free admission.



### PROGRAM

# 1-1:15 pm

Welcome / by CAMP's directors and guest curator Nicholas Mirzoeff (Professor of Media, Culture and Communication, New York University)

# 1:15-2:15 pm

WHAT IS DECOLONIZATION IN THIS PLACE? / assembly by MTL Collective (a New York-based collaboration that joins research, aesthetics, organizing, and action in its practice)

# 2:15-2:45 pm

Lunch (suggested donation DKK 30)

# 2:45-3:15 pm

DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE: MIGRATION TO EUROPE IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION FROM EUROPE / keynote by Gurminder K. Bhambra (Professor of Postcolonial and Decolonial Studies, School of Global Studies, University of Sussex)

# 3:15-3:45 pm

WE ARE HERE - MARRONAGE IS RESISTANCE / happening by Marronage (Copenhagen-based decolonial feminist collective)

3:45-4 pm Coffee break

# 4-5 pm

Concluding discussion / MTL Collective, Gurminder K. Bhambra, Marronage, and Nicholas Mirzoeff

# **EVENT DURING CULTURE NIGHT /** THE POLITICS OF MIGRANT IMAGES

Friday, October 12, 2018, 6 pm-12 am @ CAMP and Trampoline House

Would we have a different asylum and integration policy in Denmark if we had different representations of refugees and immigrants? How can we produce new images capable of creating community between new and old citizens?

Trampoline House and its exhibition space CAMP / Center for Art on Migration Politics invite you to a

66 | CAMP focus! Events & Education program Center for Art on Migration Politics | 67 Culture Night with soup kitchen, international art exhibition, and a debate on *THE POLITICS OF MIGRANT IMAGES* with Rushy Rashid, Khaterah Parwani, Natasha Al-Hariri, Aydin Soei, Tarek Ziad Hussein, Farhiya Khalid, Nermin Durakovic, Yannick Harrison, and more.

### PROGRAM

### 6-7 pm

Community dinner cooked by Trampoline House's catering service Sisters' Cuisine

# 7-8 pm

DEBATE 1: THE ONLY TITLE I WANT IS... HUMAN

Four experts with refugee/immigrant experience reflect on seeing themselves represented as 'victims,' 'oppressed,' 'freeloader,' or 'overachievers' in Danish cultural life and in the public debate. Come and discuss with them how images contribute to marginalizing minority groups, what role our institutions and media play in this stereotyping, and how we can create new images that strengthen the cohesion between new and old citizens. Debaters: Natasha Al-Hariri (lawyer and debater), Nermin Durakovic (visual artist), Farhiya Khalid (journalist and historian). Facilitator: Rushy Rashid (debater and radio host).

# 8:15-9 pm

View the international group exhibition DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE, guest curated by Nicholas Mirzoeff, at CAMP

### 9 – 10 pm

DEBATE 2: IMMIGRANT IMAGING AND POPULIST DEMOCRACY

What influence do stereotypical images of refugees and immigrants have on voters, politicians, and recent legislative initiatives in Denmark, such as the "Ghetto Plan", the "Burka and Niqab Ban," and proposals to establish Danish asylum and deportation centers outside of Denmark? Would we have a different asylum and integration policy in Denmark if we had different representations of refugees and immigrants? Come and discuss with Tarek Ziad Hussein (law student, author, and

debater), Khaterah Parwani (lawyer and debater), and Aydin Soei (sociologist, author, and lecturer). Facilitator: Yannick Harrison (researcher, editor, and political economist).

# 10 pm-12 am

Bar and dance party with DJs from Trampoline House

Every week, Trampoline House and CAMP are visited by hundreds of asylum seekers and refugees who make use of the various job training, counseling, and education offers offered by the house. We therefore expect a very mixed audience at the event. Simultaneous interpretation to English, Farsi, Arabic, and Tigrinya is offered to include everyone in the discussion.

Free admission – only for guests with a Culture Night pass.

# EVENT / ANOTHER WORLD IS POSSIBLE: POETRY, PERFORMANCE AND PRACTICE

Sunday, December 2, 2018, 1–5 pm @ CAMP and Trampoline House

Join us for this event that marks the closing of CAMP's focus! exhibition DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE. Under the heading ANOTHER WORLD IS POSSIBLE: POETRY, PERFORMANCE AND PRACTICE, the event brings together a group of cultural practitioners, who in different ways imagine other presents and possible futures through decolonial practice and aesthetics.

As nationalism, racism, and xenophobia claim to be the 'common sense' of the global now, it is vital to continue to imagine other presents and possible futures. And to live in them with the right to appear. What is it to appear? It is first to claim the right to exist and to possess one's body, whether in terms of enslavement, reproductive rights, or gender and sexual identity. To appear is to matter, in the sense of Black Lives Matter, to be grievable, to be a person that counts for something. And it is to be able to claim the right to look within that space. In appearing, I see you, and you see me, and a space is formed by that exchange, which, by consent, can be mediated into shareable and distributable forms.

Guest curator of the exhibition DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE, Nicholas Mirzoeff (see p. 64), opens the event by unpacking these questions in his talk "Decolonizing the Space of Appearance." Londonbased artist Sonya Dyer will then present her new performance FORWARD, which contemplates how the abjected body can claim autonomy across the Mediterranean or across the galaxy (see p. 42). After the lunch break, hosts of the radio program Ghetto Fitness, Kian and MJ (see p. 64), who give a voice to residents in the so-called ghettos in Denmark that we often hear about but rarely hear from, will take audiences through their street training program, messing with our notions of the 'well-integrated' and 'poorly-integrated' immigrant. The event is concluded with the workshop "Naturalizations: Facial Politics and Decolonial Aesthetics" by artist and Duke professor Pedro Lasch (see p. 50). The workshop, which takes its starting point in the painted mural 6Global Indianization / Indianización Global that forms Lasch's contributing to the exhibition, explores the epic growth of cultural and political power accomplished by the populations who have been accurately and mistakenly defined by the idea of the 'Indian' and the 'Indigenous.'

The DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE exhibition will be open for viewing during the closing event. The event is organized in collaboration with the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, Schools of Visual Arts: BFA, School of Conceptual and Contextual Practices, and Institute for Art, Writing and Research and is conducted in English (with simultaneous interpretation to Farsi and Arabic). All are welcome. Free admission.

### PROGRAM

# 1-1:15 pm

Welcome / by CAMP's directors and guest curator Nicholas Mirzoeff

# 1:15-1:45 pm

DECOLONIZING THE SPACE OF APPEARANCE / talk by Nicholas Mirzoeff (Professor of Media, Culture and Communication, New York University)

# 1:45-2:15 pm

FORWARD / performance by Sonya Dyer (artist, London)

# 2:15-2:45 pm

Lunch (suggested donation DKK 30)

### 2:45-3 pm

GHETTO FITNESS / intervention by Kian Sadeghi and Mukhtar 'MJ' Afhakame (hosts of the Danish radio program Ghetto Fitness which gives a voice to the so-called ghettos in Denmark)

# 3-4 pm

NATURALIZATIONS: FACIAL POLITICS AND DECOLONIAL AESTHETICS / workshop by Pedro Lasch (artist, Duke professor, 16 Beaver organizer, and FHI Social Practice Lab director)

# 4-4:15 pm Coffee break

### 4:15-5 pm

Concluding discussion / with Sonya Dyer, Kian and MJ, Pedro Lasch, and Nicholas Mirzoeff

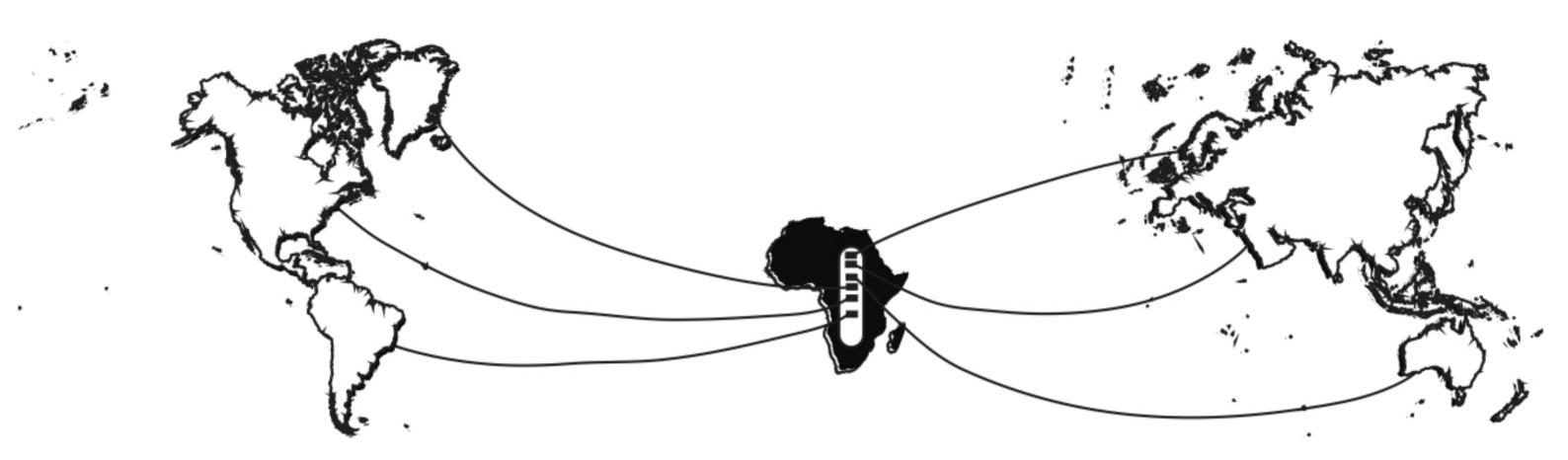
### **GUIDED TOURS**

Saturdays, 3-4 pm, from Sept. 21 - Dec. 15, 2018 (last Saturday of the month closed) @ CAMP

Every Saturday, CAMP invites you to a free guided tour in *DECOLONIZING APPEARANCE*. The tours are conducted by graduates from CAMP's art gallery guide program for refugees and asylum seekers in collaboration with CAMP education interns. The tours are conducted in English. Admission DKK 20 /€3/ \$3. Free admission to people in the asylum system.

For dates, see the special events calendar campoph.org/events/

68 | CAMP focus! Events & Education program Events & Education program



# **ABOUT CAMP**

CAMP / CENTER FOR ART ON MIGRATION POLITICS is a nonprofit exhibition space for art discussing questions of displacement, migration, asylum, and immigration. The center is located in Trampoline House, an independent community center in Copenhagen that provides refugees and asylum seekers in Denmark with a place of support, community, and purpose. CAMP produces exhibitions, events, publications, and education programs about migration and the questions this phenomena gives rise to today. The center works with renowned international artists as well as less established practitioners, most with refugee or migrant experience, and has gained international recognition for breaking new ground in exhibiting and communicating art that makes the human and societal challenges posed by migration present and relatable.

CAMP takes its point of departure in the fact that more people than ever before are displaced from their homes because of climate change, war, conflict, persecution, and poverty. The center works to increase insight into the life situations of displaced and migrant persons, and to discuss these in relation to the overall factors that cause displacement and migration. The objective is, through art, to stimulate greater understanding between displaced people and the communities that receive them – and to stimulate new visions for a more inclusive and equitable migration, refugee, and asylum policy.

CAMP is the first center of its kind in Scandinavia and is directed as a self-governing institution by Danish curators Frederikke Hansen and Tone Olaf Nielsen, who also founded the center in 2015. The center's name refers to the nation-state's perhaps most extreme responses to human migration: the refugee camp, the asylum center, and the detention center.

CAMP is realized with support from private sponsors and the following foundations and associations:

Det Obelske Familiefond
Statens Kunstfond
Foreningen Roskilde Festival
Images 16
European Cultural Foundation
Københavns Billedkunstudvalg
Knud Højgaards Fond
Migrationspolitisk Pulje
Bispebjerg Lokaludvalg
BKF – Billedkunstnernes Forbund
Københavns Kommune: Kultur- og Fritidsudvalget
Susi og Peter Robinsohns Fond



# **ABOUT TRAMPOLINE HOUSE**

TRAMPOLINE HOUSE: COPENHAGEN REFUGEE
COMMUNITY CENTER is an independent community
center in Copenhagen that provides refugees and
asylum seekers in Denmark with a place of support,
community, and purpose. Four days a week, the
house offers internships and job training, language
classes and activities, legal/medical/psychological
counseling and campaigns for change to both asylum
seekers and refugees in the Danish integration
program. The aim is to break the social isolation and
sense of powerlessness that many refugees and
asylum seekers experience, while undergoing the
integration program or while waiting years in the
Danish asylum centers for a response to their asylum
claim or for their deportation.

TRAMPOLINE HOUSE's mission is to be an antidote to damaging effects of Denmark's asylum and immigration policies. It brings together asylum seekers and Danish citizens, refugees with residence permit and other residents of Denmark, united by a desire to improve the conditions for asylum seekers and refugees. Our vision is an asylum system that allows asylum seekers to work, to live in private housing, and to participate in society from the day they arrive.

TRAMPOLINE HOUSE is a self-governing institution with a board of directors, a paid staff of 11, and close to 200 interns and volunteers. It was formed in 2009–2010 by artists Morten Goll and Joachim Hamou and curator Tone Olaf Nielsen in collaboration with a large group of asylum seekers, socially engaged art students, migration activists, and immigration lawyers in reaction to current Danish refugee and immigration politics, which has become one of the toughest in Europe.

trampolinehouse.dk facebook.com/trampolinhuset facebook.com/groups/134600380053 twitter.com/trampolinehouse instagram.com/trampolinehouse



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Carl Pope, The Bad Air Smelled of Roses (2004-). Letterpress Broadsides. Courtesy of the art

- RITA ALLEGRO C,2005 - Hatch Show Print Nashville, TN.

Carl Pope, The Bad Air Smelled of Roses (2004-). Letterpress Broadsides. Courtesy o