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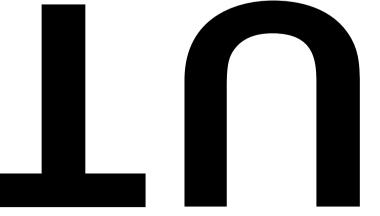
Actualise Utopia

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From dreams to reality.

"An anthology about racial barriers
in the structure of the Nordic arts field."

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KULTURRÅDET
Arts Council
Norway

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INDEX

To us, from us
by us
for our future.

Editor's Note

"It is time to break the white colonial structure of the Nordic cultural cycle"

Who do you fear the most, the one who openly despises your existence, or the one who silently excludes your existence while pretending to care for it?

Though the Nordics is a key cultural region, the road to intercultural inclusion and fairness is still long. Issues stemming from systemic and structural racism are apparent in all segments of society, including the arts and culture. Each day, I am witnessing how a number of Black, Indigenous and artists of color, who dedicate their practices to "non-western contemporary aesthetic technique", are being met with closed doors because of structural and systematic criteria of exclusion. They face resistance in order to make their art, and many of them must use their artistry as a weapon just to get their voice heard.

When populistic forces embrace the arts and culture, we are told that the respect for the cultural cycle is lost and its social influence is overshadowed. We must speak clearly about how culture is essential in our welfare system, where it contributes to economic growth, works in educational purposes for our society and is a leading factor in safeguarding our democracy. *Stand united.*

On the other hand, the white privileged norm have dedicated decades to systematically exclude cultural content and representation of racialized minorities, portraying a fictitious cultural sector, permeated by borderless openness and idyllic inclusivity. *Are we still standing united?*

Unity is what keeps the Nordic cultural sector to flourish, but in truth, the cultural sector is just as, if not more, segregated as the Nordic society at large, where whiteness stands as gatekeeper and refuses to open its doors. If the doors are opened, the brown and black body cannot enter unconditionally, but only through narratives, tokenism and other colonial structures linked to race, exotification and stereotypes.

The focus of this publication include artistic, educational, curatorial, and exhibition practices, but also political and commercial strategies. Few want to talk about it. The vast majority who do are those who have fallen and still fall victim to the structural racism within the Nordic cultural cycle. They are often being told to be quiet and wait their turn, this anthology is their and our common voice.

The cultural cycle is the circular journey from one's first encounter with the arts and culture, through its lifelong capacity of access and participation, to its recycled infinity. It starts with a child's familiarity with the arts and culture, known as cultural capital*, which is established early in relation to their familiar and socioeconomic circumstances as with their surrounding resources, knowledge and exposure. Cultural capital is, in Western systems, the imprint that a child carries with them through their journey in the cultural cycle. Children in the Nordic countries do not have equal rights, opportunities and access to participate in the cultural cycle[2] as their background and resources are catalogued outside the dominant colonial normativity. If the cultural cycle is imbued with a colonial view of what is accepted as cultural capital from its very beginning, we have planted the seed for an exclusionary Nordic cultural sector.

So, *How does a child move forward if their cultural backpack is not accredited to qualify as cultural capital?*

The first proper stop in the cultural cycle is the Arts and Culture school (Kulturskolan), which applies tight framework around which genres that are offered and considered to be of qualitatively merit. It reproduces a colonial approach to art, where expressions that do not follow Western traditions are excluded and valued to a lesser extent.

* French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu coined the term in 1973, describing Cultural capital as the accumulation of knowledge, behaviors, and skills that a person can tap into to demonstrate one's cultural competence and social status.

A dangerous indoctrination as children, in their very first encounter with the arts and culture, are being told that only some of them are allowed to belong and to which limited capacity. A subject touched upon by **Michell Sibongiseni Mpike** in her research about representation in children's literature. The increased investment in the Arts and Culture school, made by several Nordic countries, becomes deceptive if we keep feeding children and youth with hope and later greet them with closed doors. We must fear the psychological impact this will have, and have had, on racialized children with creative souls. Thus, the structure of the Arts and Culture schools in the Nordics limit equal representation.

The next step in the cultural cycle is the professional art education. Here it is painfully obvious that the lack of non-western art forms and expressions, educators, and programs, create a system where artists who dedicate their practice to Western traditions get their entire education subsidized by the state. From the Arts and Cultural schools, through art profiled classes at primary and lower secondary school, aesthetic programs at upper secondary school, to community colleges and on to universities and national academies of art. As these require rigorous study of traditional Western art forms or practices, it proves that the Nordic countries cultivate the art forms that reflect the aesthetics and philosophies of the majority in the region. Please remember, Nordic art educational systems are not universal, they automatically reproduce a colonial narrative in the arts field, and we must ensure that faculties, schools, departments, and institutes in the arts and culture sector recognizes non-Western focused educational systems to enable an increase in representation. As **Sheyda Shafiei** presents in her article, the normative artists career is further subsidized at our state-funded cultural institutions and independent scene, as well as their following retirement. By offering such exclusive, tax-subsidized systems in the cultural cycle, the state-implemented structure itself maintains

a colonial gaze which excludes black and brown bodies, minority expressions, non-Western practices and marginalized artistry.

A current discussion in the Nordic cultural sector is the issue of broader recruitment at art schools and how to reach students from socioeconomically vulnerable environments. There has been talks on lowering the criteria for admission, favorable intake of students and implementation of simplified curricula in order to enable equal participation for "all". Assuming that this group does not possess equal competence and knowledge, and by intentionally having lower expectations on artists of non-Western ethnicity is a blatant act of racist othering. The main discussions, though, have centered around how to improve the social conditions for professional practitioners, as well as how financial safety nets should be instituted to attract and broaden the recruitment of students from socioeconomic vulnerability. Governmental investigations have shown that the economic and social conditions for art practitioners in the Nordics[3] have not followed the same development as in society at large, and there is still a lot to be done in this matter. As this dialogue continues, so does the lack of invitation to firsthand voices in this matter. It is crucial not to use the deficiencies in the already existing safety nets provided for the professional cultural sector to justify the ongoing homogeneous recruitment patterns, replication of colonial narratives in the arts field and the systematically unfair allocation of resources. We ought to be honest and highlight the fact that these financial support systems, ie art alliances, state income guarantees and general arts funding, even those that are defective, are almost completely utilized by and divided by the white homogeneity, and would continue to be so.

What makes the whiteness assume that financial security is what would save the exclusionary Nordic cultural sector when it would only benefit the already privileged norm?

For those lucky enough to overcome the structural obstacles, a segregated professional field – dominated by a white norm and gaze – awaits.

A topic on which the Danish collective **Marronage** deliberates. Their article poses the question of how elements in curating are not decolonized, reinvented, or adapted to postcoloniality. It considers institutions, mostly in the form of exhibition cultures and artistic production, as subjects of practicing colonial gaze and presents tools for the formation and implementation of postcolonial strategies. Whether it is on or off the stage and screen, in children's literature or in structural levels, we are all aware of the sparse and tokenized representation of black, indigenous and people of color. The professional field covers the biggest part of the cultural cycle and even if the recruitment of students was to be diversified, we must still ensure that there is a field that welcomes, includes and offers mutual respect and understanding. While we are familiar with the role of cultural institutions as imperial technologies of power, there has been little to no focus on the postcolonial history of these institutions and their role in upholding systematic colonial exclusion. If we want our cultural sector to remain at the forefront of social development, it needs marginalized perspectives to be emphasized and prioritized.

"Exclusion can be expected if we do not actively work with inclusion," writes **Khalid Salimi,** demonstrating how the field is in need of a restructuring where government bills, appropriation directions, guidelines and policy documents for state-funded cultural institutions, on all governmental levels, should specify a cultural equity process and action plan that restores access to resources, opportunities, and visibility to those who are denied it. The unequal distribution is often a result of historic realities of conquest, colonialism, cultural domination and systematic exclusion. Although

the specific national, regional, and local political situations in which the institutions in this publication operate vary, they have a number of things in common. One common thread is their imagined importance of international credibility. For as long as ethnic representation falls under the collective term diversity, as analyzed in the article written by **Kultwatch,** it is easy for authorities, institutions and the independent field to justify their exclusivity by hiding behind the term's lack of specificity and intentionally misinterpret interculturalism for internationalism. The discrepancy in cultural content and representation of racialized minorities in line with sociodemographic realities across the Nordic is a striking example, and we need to enrich the sector with new experiences far beyond the traditional, and expand the structure of the cultural cycle. This means, amongst other things, professionalizing genres, expressions and methods that are outside of Western traditions, and allowing them to exist and create without derogatory labels. **We can no longer allow black and brown bodies to exist for the simple reason as to entertain the exotifying white gaze.**

Diversity itself can be an exclusive term, in that it allows the white power to separate itself from what is considered to be foreign, specifically non-Western, and by doing so place itself on the highest pedestal. An obvious example of this is the establishment of separatist cultural institutions and platforms for artists of color. We can call it exclusionary diversity – in which further segregation is created as a consequence under the guise of diversity, instead of holding the Nordic arts field accountable for its exclusivity. This is also visible when looking into the distribution of power within the Nordic arts field, where directors, boards, artistic councils and reference groups are imbued with whiteness. When allowed a seat at the table or a moment in the spotlight, racialized people are met with prejudiced conditions and tokenism. The white norm has the ability to produce structures of social cohesion on the

one hand and inegalitarian systems on the other. Palestinian-Icelandic writer **Mazen Maarouf** discusses the approach on displaced refugee artists and the benefits of tokenization among the local population. His story sheds light on the danger of an ahistorical matter which reproduces Eurocentric tropes and dismisses power structures, and proves that each racialized story is individual and unique. There is no denying how the Nordic countries present themselves as open but maintain some of the most rigid immigration policies in the world. **Ruskeat Tytöt,** a collective of black and brown female and non-binary identifying individuals, guide us through acts of self care in relation to power structures.

It is impossible to discuss power structures in the Nordic arts field without mentioning quality, a term which has been used by whiteness to justify the exclusion of the racialized artistry. The long-enduring assumptions about the inferior quality of art from colonized, and other non-Western, areas have made it difficult to incorporate artists of color into art history narratives. Yet, white artists have been permitted to simply appropriate narratives and forms of tribal arts, to explore, recuperate, and reimagine the fullness of non-Western heritage in their own arts practice and be celebrated and considered of qualitative caliber. This is when we must ask: *What gives whiteness the tools to define quality?* We must further acknowledge the existence of systemic obstacles related to ethnocentric references, "otherness," and false representation of racialized persons and communities which are the result of an inherited and unfair racial system that excludes them from the arts and cultural sector.

The last stop in the cultural cycle is the recycled infinity. A place for those who will be remembered and whose art will long be recycled to teach the coming generations. History has proven how the existence of ethnic groups and minorities have been erased, how their stories have been rewritten and their cultures made extinct.

Archeologist **Susana Vallejos** discusses the consequences of when traces are intentionally hidden by archeology, and museum heritage is adapted to the benefit of the Western world, while **Aka Niviâna** shares her personal story from an indigenous perspective. *Who will be remembered?* If the structure intentionally excludes artists of color and marginalized experiences, it means that the actions of the white structure in the Nordic arts field automatically defines who is allowed to be a part of our future history.

This anthology does not ask you to give up your seat; including us does not exclude you. But it challenges you to examine your own privileges. It is necessary to guarantee the availability of and access to art in order for the entire society to be heard and seen. Having arts and culture available does not mean it is accessible to everyone, even less so for marginalized people. And having access to arts and culture does not automatically make it available to people of color. We need to be careful not to let ethnic diversity become a trend to establish favorable development for the already privileged white majority in the cultural sector. The real issue is not that Black, Indigenous and people of color are not interested or active within the sector, it is that we are not given a fair and equal place, and are thus silenced.

To quote **Deise Faria Nunes,** "Let me insist, we are not there yet!"

Ninos Josef
Editor

Ninos Josef *(1989),* Swedish-Syriac, is an award-winning and internationally acclaimed dancer and actor. He is educated at The Royal Swedish Ballet School and has danced with some of the most renowned dance companies in the world, most recently at The Royal Swedish Opera and as an actor at The Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm. He is the Editor in Chief at Kultwatch, platform for the arts and intersectional cultural analysis. Josef received a BFA Honors Degree in Fine Arts and an MA Degree in Middle East Studies, with a focus on cultural development, and has been commissioned as an expert in diversity for the Nordic Council of Ministers, under the Norwegian Presidency. He has been appointed by the Swedish Government as a board member at the Swedish Arts Grants Committee and was previously the project leader for the Stockholm Model United Nations.

Intersectionally feminist self-care manual for the POC artist

Self-care is defined as any action to preserve or better one's health. The general interpretation seems to culminate in the idea of straightforward physical actions, like sports, or mental exercises such as meditation, increasing comfort and oxytocin levels and therefore contentment and health. Unfortunately, as marginalized people and artists, we do not possess the luxury of viewing the care of our health only from the most obvious, concrete perspectives, as mentioned above. Nor can we rely on the privileged to tell us how. Because we constantly need to tackle societal barriers and faulty perceptions of what we are, simply to exist as versatile and complete beings, we need to observe our all-round well-being from a more fundamental angle.

That is not to say we cannot enjoy sheet masks and scalp massages like our non-marginalized, white colleagues. On the contrary. We should delve into everyday self-care with passion. Because in a society that teaches us to serve

its derogatory agendas, practicing kindness, loyalty and respect towards ourselves, even through the smallest of actions, is nothing short of rebellious. As the late African-American writer and activist Audre Lorde once said: "Caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare."

Accordingly, the first lesson needs to be imposing mercy, starting with ourselves. Learning to let ourselves be incomplete, imperfect and impulsive is vital. Coming to terms with the reality that a significant portion of our creative, mental and physical capacity is unwillingly consumed by the struggle merely to exist in a marginalizing society. The constant experience of being pushed aside from what is considered normal and neutral inevitably affects how we see ourselves in relation to the society we exist in. But that is not all. Research suggests that experiences of racism might even have severe effects on an individual's mental health. This phenomenon is referred to as racial trauma. In The Collaborative Psychiatric Epidemiology Surveys (CPES) conducted in the years 2001-2003, it was found that post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in the diverse U.S. population is significantly higher among people of color in comparison to Caucasian participants. Needless to say, staying above the surface, in an environment sculptured to swallow us whole, is a struggle that indeed is very real.

From this need, we birthed a list of guidelines and suggestions to help in the process of redeeming and strengthening our sense of self-worth:

✳ **You are not an artist in relation to whiteness, you are an artist.**
Your creative work exists as independent creations and not in relation to whiteness. Whatever the content may be, it should not be pre-labeled by white collaborators or audiences. As an artist of color, it is especially important to not let outside

forces shape your narrative without your consent. Unsolicited characterizations are just tools of oppression and tokenism. Your content does not need to play into a storyline dictated by society.our art is yours to determine.

Whereas pain and inspiration might at times intersect, your creative work does not need to embody elements of personal trauma or have any aspect of politics for it to be valid. Your content does not need to derive from suffering, nor does it have to have any educational value for it to be impactful.

As there are significant opposing forces at play, it is also important to understand that your worth as an artist is not tied to how you succeed in a field that is rigged against you. However, you are allowed, and should be encouraged, to celebrate your achievements in it. Enjoy your personal and professional wins. You do not need to shrink yourself for others.

✳   **Acknowledge the structuralized injustice towards
       marginalized artists as a wholeness.**
In order to understand the entirety of discriminative structures, we need to start looking at art institutions as they are: Built by and for the white gaze only. This applies to art at all of its levels: Starting from the schools and teachers who teach us what art is, trickling down all the way to those who determine how it should be viewed, reviewed and presented, and even what its impact is and should be. It is essential to understand that racist power structures are also internalized through all the casual injustice we have become accustomed to. Having a sense of the discriminative patterns in all of their many layers makes it easier to redirect our thought patterns. There is potential for great empowerment in realizing that, as a POC artist, feeling out of place in those pale structures is not only possible, it is designed.

✳   **Taking care of your mental health is important.** Unfortunately, not all of us have the resources needed to seek the professional help we need. Even if the resources are available, there is no guarantee of having access to professionals with the required skills in the specific area of racial trauma. If this is the reality for you, we advise you to seek support from people with similar experiences. **The best thing you can do for yourself is to not stay alone with your possible anxiety and experiences of discrimination.** Marginalization forces us to the side, but finding others on the sidelines makes it easier to push back or even just stay still. Utilize all possible ways of finding peer support. With the world at your fingertips, making connections on an international level is easier than ever, so the tools to help your personal journey might very well be found somewhere else, especially if they are not provided locally. *Network ferociously - there is power in sharing and unloading.*

To empower, you need to be empowered. As the needed spaces do not necessarily yet exist for artists of color in your micro-reality, you might need to create your own platforms and institutions. Stay open, lead discussions, share your art and experiences with others, and create the space you wish you had.

✳   **Let yourself try and explore.
       You do not need to excel at everything you do.**
Fighting against discrimination in our everyday life often results in a mindset of working twice as hard to get half the praise and always maintaining a meticulously high quality in our work. It can be excruciatingly difficult to unlearn this mindset, but in order to nurture our creativity, we need to give ourselves room to play. Every project does not need to be a masterpiece. Let yourself be messy, embrace imperfections.

✳ **Expect more from allies, collaborators and institutions. Recognize real allyship.*** Activism is ultimately based on actions, and allyship always requires deeds that go towards dismantling the unequal power structures. In order to do so, an ally needs to understand the imbalance of privilege and be aware of the hierarchies invisible to many. However anti-discrimination and/or pro-equality, an ally in a position of privilege is never able to truly understand the experiences of the oppressed on a personal level. To understand their status of privilege, an ally needs to come to terms with their own position in the hierarchy.

As a marginalized person you have no obligation to feel gratitude for the bare minimum from allies. The idea of giving space to marginalized groups is problematic, because it feeds into a narrative of fighting discrimination as an act of heroism, when in reality it is merely common decency. You do not need to waste energy putting allies on a pedestal for white saviorism. Instead, celebrate real progress.

Do not let institutions whitewash your work. When collaborating with non-marginalized parties, it is easy to start filtering your art towards a more palatable form.

✳ Demand more diversity at all levels of the projects you are involved in. To have a better chance at a truly receptive working environment, there needs to be representation not only at the production level, but also in executive roles.

✳ Do not let yourself be diminished into a token anything. If possible, make sure you are not the only marginalized artist in any project.

✳ Do not work for free for the benefit of those in power. There is a huge difference between supporting each other as marginalized content creators and working without proper compensation for white institutions. Choose where you invest your power and creativity, for it is priceless.

✳ And don't forget to live, love, laugh.

✳ **You are allowed to say no.**
You have the right to turn down parts in projects that compromise your values or integrity. You can say no to racist, misogynistic, homophobic, xenophobic and fatphobic productions, just for being that. In the event that you nonetheless end up in a project with offensive features, which most of them have one way or another, you have the right to voice your disagreement with the marginalizing content to the people in executive roles.

Typecasting is an unfortunately common and demeaning reality, pushing POC artists towards stereotypical parts. Turning down such roles is not always possible for the simple lack of non-offensive projects and roles. There will inevitably be situations where you are forced to choose between your values and work. We encourage you to trust your intuition. If something feels off, it most likely is. It is a useful habit to prepare yourself in advance for situations where you might be discriminated against by default, such as casting or pay negotiations.

*There are three possible parties in the act of discrimination: the oppressor, the oppressed and the ally. However, in writing the anthology, we as a team began to wonder whether the role of allyship even exists, because, ultimately, an ally always plays into the unequal power dynamic, just by being in a position of privilege.

✳ **Someone has probably done it before, you do not need to start from scratch every time.**
Even though marginalized artists are not yet in the mainstream of our field at large, there is usually someone who has done it before, at least once or twice. Just as you should find help from your peers in relation to other issues, you should also seek advice when it comes to practicalities. We do not encourage you to claim the knowledge or expertise of others as your own. Instead, we urge you to use the already existing talent of the community to support your personal wellbeing. There are lessons to be learned in the fights of other marginalized groups as well, and research is essential. Give credit where due to those who paved the way, but do not shy away from benefiting from their achievements. When based on mutual respect, thriving individually also strengthens others.

✳ **Take a break, also from activism.**
All of the above promotes self-care in the long run. But above all, you need to stop just to breathe every now and then. Realistically we cannot rely on the world to change overnight, and meanwhile we still need to take care of our acute wellbeing. Do things that bring you joy in your daily life. Try to minimize negative influences in your life, such as harmful social media content and people who are not supportive of your growth. Practice mercy, solidarity and kindness, starting with yourself.

Selective Access and Belongings in Archaeology and Museums

Archaeology and museums are intimately connected. Archaeology fills museums with content and, in doing so, helps shape how people have come to understand themselves, others, and the things around them.[1] They have become spaces where people attempt to make sense of the past and the people in it. But, whereas some people in these spaces have been able to interpret the vast collections we keep and share narratives about many, numerous groups have been excluded from them, given limited influence over the content or reduced to the content itself through inaccurate and oversimplified representations, when their history has not been missing altogether.[2]

In my years as an archaeologist and museum professional, I have sometimes felt discouraged by the invisibility of the experience of those treated as 'the other'. This occurred recently in a conference on cultural heritage and migration organized by the National Board of Antiquities

and the Joint Programming Initiative on Cultural Heritage and Global Change held in Stockholm in May 2019. A cultural heritage researcher attending the conference said that what minorities want is not representation but advocacy. It was a curious, and perhaps incomplete, statement to make in a meeting that brought together leading experts and professionals. Though representation can mean a number of things, at that moment, it seemed as though a white, female academic was in effect telling the few female minorities in the room that they did not need to get involved, and exempted the rest of the responsibility to include them. I would contend that minority academics and professionals may favor being championed as much as women have been content to have men advocate on their behalf instead of being able to voice their own interests and concerns. Representation does matter when it helps shape how people come to know others, but more importantly, how people come to know themselves. We can do away with biased representation, but the underrepresentation or absence of people still remains, and rightly so, a major concern for people.

Encounters with Archaeology and Museums
I think it is necessary to share some of my experiences, as it would be difficult to explain the insight I have gained along the way without them. I first encountered archaeology when I was, perhaps, seven years old. At the time, I was still living in a suburb in Santiago, Chile, and, even though I did not know what it meant to be an archaeologist, I knew I had found what I wanted to do with my life. Fast forward to a suburb in Stockholm and you see me beginning to become aware of my own shifting positionalities and learning lessons that have left a lasting impression. As I arrived in Sweden, what had started as a way for my curious mind to explore beyond the boundaries of my daily life, changed into a search for how I fit into my surroundings and my role in the world.

Like others who had moved to Sweden at a young age, I was confronted at the border with the knowledge that not everyone has control over their own identities. Like border crossers everywhere, I find myself somewhere in the margins, between a perceived homeland and a country to which I am never completely allowed to belong. For before I could begin to understand who I was, I had been weighed on the scales of the majority's imagined concept of Swedishness and found wanting. It was at this moment I realized that not everyone is recognized in Swedish society, and it made me want to understand how that came to be. My existence was made understandable to people whose self-image derives from a world view that associates those who belong in the nation with a group that shares a common ancestry, history, religion, and language. It wasn't until much later that I became aware of how archaeology had helped to delineate this identity and that it lives on in museum practices dating back to the 19th century.[3] I still remember how it felt as though people knew something about me, or more generally about the human condition, that I did not. At the time, I could not help but wonder where this knowledge came from. Was it accurate? If I did not identify with the identities available to me, what of me then? And, if this had been my experience, what was the experience like for other minorities growing up in Sweden? Or in the other Nordic countries?

I began searching for what could help me make sense of my membership of a group that did not share much in common, apart from being rendered different from society at large. I would not have been able to articulate to you, then, what I was looking for, but what I could not find in school, I searched for outside it, in other public educational spaces: museums. I had been introduced to cultural-historical/ historical/archaeological museums by my grandfather, but human interaction across national or other borders seemed mostly absent from these spaces, and my inquiries into why

were routinely overlooked. Or, perhaps, left to some other entity to deal with.[4] Still, the absence of multiplicity seemed to align somewhat effortlessly with recurrent references made to the nation as the physical space where human action could take place. Though there were probably several contributing factors, it seemed that the museums I spent much of my childhood in, that I had come to care about and that, in turn, cared for thousands of objects in their collections, were more likely to emphasize a museum object's contribution to the understanding of the history of Swedes, or a broader Nordic identity, than that of any other group of people. A heritage item could become better known as the "Helgö-Buddha" and placed in a permanent exhibition about Viking Age Sweden than for what it could tell us about the lives of the people who made it in northern India around a century before it found its way to Sweden.[5] In the early 2000s, I began to study archaeology at university, moving from classical archaeology and ancient history, Nordic and historical archaeology, to elements of contemporary archaeology, until I settled on maritime archaeology. This discipline is associated with some of the most complex artifacts in the archaeological record and clearest examples of movement: ships. What I had been looking for were the border crossers. They had been right there all along and yet seemingly invisible.

Archaeological Locations

For the sake of clarity, you might ask, *what is archaeology?* I have asked myself that question many times over the years. Is it something static or changeable? Is the answer something exclusively for our experts to define? Or is it something underrepresented groups may have a say in? I would say that the answers to these questions vary depending on the archaeologist providing them. Archaeologists have different experiences and backgrounds that have shaped their interests and the concerns they consider meaningful to reflect upon.

It is not, however, unreasonable to claim that there is a common understanding of what archaeology is about. The answer once given to me is that archaeology is the study of people through the material things they once produced, used, or discarded.

Indeed, archaeologists learn about people from, among other things, artifacts – the material things involved in social practices. A practice that is not solely engaged with the past, but also with our contemporary present. Without always being explicit about the people an artifact can specifically tell us about (or the perspective used to study them), archaeologists attempt to make sense of the archaeological record. This can be seen in almost every aspect of archaeologically generated knowledge; from the exhibition texts which archaeologists once contributed to creating (and that, by now, have not been updated for years), to the educational programs developed with their help or input, to the research once published and made available in libraries, shops and school visits to ongoing projects, to the lectures and presentations given to fellow scholars, students, and 'the public', to the databases with digitized records that make their documentation and collections accessible from afar, to the interviews they give, to the tours that disseminate the interpretations of the materials they are working on, to the research they conduct nationally and internationally, to the items once collected and now in storage or on display. What archaeologists do is found in multiple places and, once there, entangles numerous people and things. Yet, what we do, as archaeologists, we do in relation to nations.[6]

In Sweden, 19th century nationalism has drawn on 17th century endeavors to legitimize the royal power's command over territories by creating a shared history and distinct identity that people could mirror themselves in with the help of myths and the physical remains of human activity.[7] However, more people were involved in what has been claimed to be Swedish than those enfolded into the group. The intellectual historian Bo Lindgren, for example, has detailed how "war reports on victories and defeats that spread across Europe during the Thirty Years' War spoke assuredly about 'Swedes', despite only a fraction of the troops fighting in the Swedish army coming from Sweden"[8]. Thus, more people wore the same uniform and used the same weapons, lay sick in the same field camp, died on the same battlefield, and survived the same war, but their presence was, nonetheless, overshadowed by a Swedishness. The Swedes' relations to the materiality of the past were made more visible, while the presence of others passed unnoticed.

In our case, commenting on the concept of Swedishness is unnecessary. For we cannot assume that no other people have been involved in what has been portrayed as Swedish, irrespective of changes to what has been included in the concept. What is interesting is why, knowing full-well that more people than 'Swedes' might be present, researchers began to restrict themselves in a similar manner as the writers of Lindberg's war reports. One scholar to touch upon this issue is the historian Peter Aronsson, who has said that the concept of Swedishness has been persistent, even among researchers that "explicitly deviate from such a frame of interpretation"[9]. These conversations, though relevant to archaeologists and museum professionals, seem rarely to take place in public or involve 'the public' at all. And, if they do, they do not seem to lead to profound changes in internal practices or to more attention being paid to how the perception of a homogenous past induced by such practices impacts minorities in Sweden. Perhaps many of us, and I include myself here, assume that we are naturally able to do better than our predecessors and do not need to question our practices. Or that it is not possible to do things differently for the people who are absent from these spaces but who we too are meant to serve.

In the past few hundred years, multiple nations have, however, emerged and dissolved while the continuity of others has since the 1980s been interpreted as imagined or invented.[10] Still, many do have a strong sense of national belonging and identify with a national identity. In relative contrast, the national as a single category or identifier is not enough to convey the complexities of the lived experience of many groups living in Sweden. If so, can we continue to conceive of Swedish cultural heritage as tied to a single Swedish nation? Can we limit museums to the histories of the majority community? Or the national identity our cultural institutions have helped shape through the selective collective memories our work evokes?

Multiple Presences

In this text, I want to return to the things archaeologists and museum professionals work with to search for presences that might have been overshadowed by the dominant group, without assuming that only the social group defined with their help might have had a connection to the objects. I want to pay attention to what is and isn't seen in public spaces to reflect upon the impact our practices have on people's ability to participate in a meaningful manner in both the present and the past.

The Kalmar Nyckel and the *Fogel Grip* are the two ships the New Sweden Company used to transport settlers, soldiers and sailors in order to set up a colony in what came to be known as the Americas.[11] The New Sweden Company, chartered by the Swedish Crown, established a colony along the Delaware River on its arrival in 1638.[12] Neither of the ships has been found, but a recreation of the *Kalmar Nyckel* was built in Wilmington, Delaware, US in the 1990s. It is managed by the Kalmar Nyckel Foundation, a non-profit organization with an educational mission, as a floating classroom and a recreational operation for adults to help subsidize the educational program costs for school children.

Over the years, several archaeologists and experts have spent time on the recreation of the *Kalmar Nyckel,* including me. It was there I learned to sail in my late 20s in order to better understand the material I was working with both underwater and in museums. I sought to become a more well-rounded marine archaeologist by gaining hands-on experience of the only sailable recreation of a 17th century ship in the world. I ended up spending some of the most challenging months of my professional life on board this vessel, gathering experience and skills that would give me invaluable insight into ships and ship handling. It is also the place where I came to learn about Sweden's colonial activities in the 17th century, an episode that is not well-known and has often been positively framed as not having caused real damage to anyone, including the indigenous people whose lands European powers sought to control and exploit. It is a narrative that has softened people's understanding of Sweden's colonial expansion and its disruptive and harmful impact on the people who were colonized, including their ways of life and material culture.

In 2018, Glass Entertainment Group and the Kalmar Nyckel Foundation produced a documentary titled *Kalmar Nyckel: The Forgotten Journey.* As its title indicates, the documentary centers around the *Kalmar Nyckel* and its involvement in the Swedish Crown's colonial pursuits. The documentary does not mention the *Fogel Grip,* the company's second colonial ship and, as a consequence, disconnects both the ship and the people on board it from the narrative it creates. Instead, the one ship in focus is used to tell the story of the many. Throughout the documentary, a narrator and commentators identify the major players on board as "Swedish" and "Dutch", and refer, more generally, to the colonial expedition that both the *Kalmar Nyckel* and

the *Fogel Grip* joined as "Swedish" and more generally to the people involved as "Swedes." Yet, more people than "Swedes" were on board *Kalmar Nyckel* and even more became entangled with the colonial ships during the subsequent voyages made in the seventeen years the New Sweden Company controlled the colony.[13]

In 1639, a person known as Antoni Swart was among the people to arrive at the New Sweden colony on board the *Fogel Grip.*[14] As one of the earliest people of African descent in Swedish territories known by name, Antoni and the many people besides 'Swedes' on board these ships, reveal more complicated global connections and activities than those portrayed in the documentary. Without a broader representation of people, my concern is that the documentary will help people forget rather than remember the many lives impacted by these colonial activities. It leads me to wonder, is it a matter of small concern? How does the absence of more complicated social relations from the narrative impact people who have been colonized in the present? The documentary has subsequently been nominated for an Emmy, premiered on Sweden's public television network, and been shown at a private event at the Swedish National Maritime and Transport Museums. As people begin to be confronted with the documentary's narrative, will it influence who people remember? An expansion of the narrative to include more people than 'Swedes' does, however, also raise questions about what can be done. If we acknowledge that more people coexisted and if we recognize the presence of others, what other knowledges did they carry with them? How would, for example, scholars of the African diaspora make sense of the complexities associated with interpreting heritage items from an African worldview?[15] How would they approach this? While the Afro-Swedish community is increasingly taking the lead in collaborating with museums and their professionals to search for traces of people of African descent, how can we ensure that

this sector continues to support them in their efforts to create a more inclusive representation of history?

Another example comes from the Swedish History Museum in Stockholm, Sweden, a museum, whose responsibility is to preserve and display Swedish cultural heritage.[16] The museum holds the most extensive collection of objects from the Viking Age, a historical period that in Scandinavia stretches from 800 to 1050 CE.[17] About 5,000 objects were shown in the permanent exhibition, Vikings, between 2001 and 2019.[18]

The museum's representatives made it clear early on that the artifacts would be the center of the exhibition.[19] The artifacts were presented in stripped-down display cases organized into different themes or arranged around a number of personalities. Upon a closer examination of the museum's object database, however, it appears that the objects could be divided into roughly two hundred object categories with the largest one containing about 2,000 coins, or almost 40 percent of the objects. People have previously raised concerns that the selection of objects is not representative of Viking Age Sweden, as the archaeological sites were initially located primarily in Mälardalen (but also Gotland)*. My intention, however, is not to discuss how well the selection of objects represents this time period seen from within the territorial boundaries of a particular nation-state, but rather to locate more presences. For it is not only a few 'Arabic' coins that bear witness to more presences than those the museum built an exhibition around. The majority of coins in this exhibition, and tens of thousands more found in various places around Sweden, constitute an extensive cultural heritage.[21]

Some of these coins were found in the section of the exhibition called Entrance, under the theme Arabic silver.[22] The silver was a deposition find from the Sigarve site in the parish of Hejde in Gotland, but contained coins of Arabic origin. The imageless coins with rows of Arabic inscriptions

came from the Islamic Empire, but were not used to convey knowledge about the diversity of people who lived in the numerous places Muslims controlled during the Middle Ages or the many people the coins could have passed through - from engravers, mine workers, mint workers and transporters, to many more lives in different locations. They were used to develop an exhibition about people many have come to know as Vikings. The provenance of these artefacts, meaning where they were found, placed them in a site, a parish, a county and, finally, a nation – the territorial backdrop for the social life of people who have become central to the Swedish national identity. And yet, within them we also find the presence of people who are overlooked. If archaeology is the study of people, is it unreasonable to question the naturalness or inevitability of using these artifacts to tell a story of 'Vikings' and leaving others historyless? Or to call for more transparency to contrast this obliviousness? What would be the alternative? Is a broader and more accurate representation of people in a museum whose existing collections bear witness to both Europeans and non-Europeans possible? What would a permanent exhibition that concerns itself with interactions between people or the kingdoms ruled by the Caliphate look like using the same artifacts? What would an exhibition that is intended for this minority in Sweden, and not primarily for the majority, look like? What assumptions and conceptions in our practices would we need to become aware of and what changes would we need to make to meaningfully engage with people who might have a different worldview? What other traces of non-Europeans are found in the museum's collection or the Viking Age material? A new exhibition on the Viking Age will open at the Swedish History Museum in 2020. What presences will it bring to life?

Another example focuses on materials that have been located outside the national domain, beyond what is considered to belong within the nation (though still considered to belong to it). I am referring to the hundreds of thousands of non-European objects found in more peripheral places in storage vaults where they are held and cared for but to which people have limited access.

The Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm is a place with the challenging task of not only "showing and enlivening the world's cultures, especially cultures originating outside Sweden"[23] but also "documenting and highlighting expressions and conditions of different cultures as well as cultural encounters and cultural variation, historically and in today's society, nationally and internationally"[24]. As such, the museum is intended to "mediate knowledge about its field of activity"[25]. There are over 30,000 objects in the museum that were taken to Sweden from South America. Roughly 450 of them were collected in what we now call Chile, and most are kept in the museum's artifact repository, along with over 200,000 objects from people around the world. The exceptions are 14 objects on display in the exhibition 'Magasinet' (The Repository). The exhibition contains close to 6,000 objects that give people a sense of just how much was brought to the museum. In this sample of its extensive collection, different objects are arranged together based on the materials they were made out of or themes, with few printed texts, for people to interpret them on their own or, if so inclined, use a web application to search for information in the museum's artifact database.[26] We are not intended to walk away from this space with a greater understanding of people's history, but rather, with the experience of "discover(ing) new worlds".[27]

A closer look at the Ethnographic Museum's collection database shows that the most recent exhibition to touch upon issues related to the many communities in Chile was the photo exhibition 'Mellan diktatur och demokrati – exemplet Chile' (Between Dictatorship and Democracy - the example Chile) that was shown between 1992 and 1993. Simultaneously,

Sweden has the world's fourth-largest Chilean diaspora group, which is also the largest group of people with a South American background in the country.[28] There are many objects in the museum that can help people make sense of lives not otherwise represented in the country's historical and archaeological museums, an area where archaeology could help to make a contribution. And though I recognize that many have never needed archaeology or museums to make sense of their histories, or have created spaces of their own to make sense of them, for some, a multiplicity of presences in public spaces for collective memory can also aid in recovering knowledge not found elsewhere. Over the past few years, archaeologists from Chile have visited the museum's collections and begun including objects in their research. This includes a boat by a nomadic Indigenous people, the Kaweskar, that was brought to Sweden by Carl Skottsberg during an expedition to Patagonia between 1907 and 1909 (and a second one brought back from the same expedition that is held at the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg).[29] This so-called dalca is intact but stored for only a few to see (unless arrangements are made in advance).[30] It makes me wonder how the museum is sharing the knowledge produced about these objects with communities. How is it communicating with them about a complicated and difficult colonial heritage in this public space? How is the museum proactively working with descendant communities? What measures are being taken to identify what these communities think should be done with it in the future? While there are multiple museums dedicated to Swedish history, Indigenous history has been obscured. How do we neither hide nor colonize Indigenous history by writing it according to Western conceptions, but still recognize it?

Museum of the Future?

I remember entering my first museum as a kid. There was something about museum spaces. At first, it wasn't about the narratives told within them, connecting or interacting with other people that drew me to them, but a sense of calmness I felt inside them. Museums created a quiet space for deep introspection where I could wander on my own and learn about the past. At first, they made sense of, and in, the chaos around me. Museums became important for me, but it wasn't long before I realized that, in them, I was ethnicized, culturalized, nationalized or transformed in different ways into someone different from the majority community. A border was drawn between some people and majority Swedes, a border that came to include the artifacts I had spent so much of my time with growing up, and that seemed to be able to tell us about more people than those they were used to tell us about. There was a Swedish cultural heritage that was intended to represent the majority community and, without alternatives, those who defied the norm became historyless.

Existing somewhere in between here and an elsewhere, being in a state of unbelonging, have, perhaps, made me pay closer attention to the absence of certain groups from history in Sweden, or the lack of minority history and our inability to learn about people from their perspective, than if I had not had these experiences and insights. But it has also made me consider what the cost of representation is in a world where agency is contingent on the majority community, and what my role as an archaeologist is in this context. For now, it means following the traces of people not considered the norm and recognizing their presence without inserting them into spaces without due consideration or care for their concerns.[31]

More than a decade ago, the archaeologist Mats Roslund declared that

> *The view that archaeology is rooted in society, and the archaeologist is not an objective observer has existed since the 1970s. The realization that science is bound to worldviews anchored in contemporary times has been released and broadened the subject... The change in approach has resulted in even today's unheard voices coming to the fore.[32]*

Undoubtedly, people have engaged with these issues to varying degrees for some time. However, whenever we encounter a repeated invisibility of certain groups, we must wonder how much change has taken place, since there seems to be such a long way to go in fully addressing this lack of representation. As an archaeologist and museum professional, I am often the only non-European woman in the rooms I move in, or one of few people with a 'foreign background', as it is more commonly referred to in Sweden. It is hard to know how many might share these experiences, but museum employees with a foreign background often sit "in positions with limited influence over the public, collective and caring work"[33]. It is not unreasonable to assume that there are not many of us. According to the report *Museerna och mångfalden,* it is estimated that "no more than a couple of percent of those who work in museums have a foreign background"[34]. Though, interestingly, not everyone with a foreign background is underrepresented in the country's cultural institutions, which include roughly fifty museums of different types. According to the report *Kultur med olika bakgrund,* there has been an overrepresentation of employees born in Western Europe and English-speaking countries and

** Latin America is the term used in the report to denote a geographical area that stretches from Mexico down to Argentina. But the term is based on Latin-based languages brought over by Europeans. South America, which is the term I use throughout the rest of the text, covers a smaller territory. It is not possible to replace one term with the other in this context as it would impact the report's results.

an underrepresentation of employees born in Africa, Asia, and Latin America**. Clearly, efforts made to address the unequal access to these spaces fall short and, as a result, continue to preclude many from engaging in them. It will take addressing these internal discrepancies for more voices to be heard. And, fortunately, in more recent years, there are many more people from many different backgrounds carrying the discussion in an effort to move towards multiplicity.[36]

To create a unifying national identity, a line was drawn between what was considered to belong within the nation and what was considered to belong elsewhere. Some museums, those that more specifically dealt with the nation's history and archaeological material, became spaces to tell stories about those who had once lived within the borders of the nation. But not all who had at one point or another found themselves within this defined territory were of equal interest. At times, the traces of people involved in the co-production, co-use, or co-disposal of things, but not deemed to share the same identity, were not given the same (kind of) attention.[37] The distinction entailed placing artifacts that could support stories about Swedes and Swedish history in historical and archaeological museums, while the material culture of people considered distinct from not only a Swedish but also a broader community of Europeans was placed in separate museums for non-European people.[38] As a result, historical and archaeological museums, and other places for collective national memory, were filled with selective presences that represent some more than others. This has made it difficult for us to find the histories of people deemed not to belong, due to notions of difference between, on one level, different nations and, on another, Europeans and non-Europeans who, nonetheless, became entangled with each other. It seems that archaeology and museums helped create the very realities of belonging that they sought to describe.

But, the marginalization of people begins already in the production of borders and relations in the past and is linked to how the people involved in their production consider things to exist. Museums are, as archaeologist Eeva-Kristiina Harlin put it, "a Western phenomenon and part of Western national projects. Made for the needs and purposes of the Europeans, museums are and have always been dominated by the Western worldview and way of thinking"[39]. It does not mean that museums cannot or do not mean something to more people than those they currently serve, but that a renegotiation of these spaces and what occurs in them is necessary to serve more people meaningfully. If museums want to mean something to a growing, heterogeneous number of people (with connections to about 200 nations), whose presence in Sweden makes notions of access and belonging(s) all the more relevant, it is not enough to add more stories of more people to these spaces, as it would not address their inability to define these narratives themselves or to be defined not according to the norm or the limitations and biases built in to our practices. Engaging with more people entails reconsidering our own normative positionalities, meaning critically addressing the legacies of our own work and challenging the assumptions that we and many more have come to take for granted. If we do not, we risk making ourselves irrelevant to large sections of the population, though one could argue that this is already the case. We also risk forcing the histories of those we attempt to include from here on out, such as recent migrants, to be fraught with deep-rooted problems that do not represent the people intended. If we do not, for whom are these public educational spaces? Engaging with difficult questions is challenging work but leaving things as they are, is not good enough.

Disturbing Peace

I was no older than nine or ten when I wanted a gun for the first time. All the kids in the streets carried guns back then, mostly plastic, that fired blanks, sound and air. Most of us were kids of displaced Palestinian families who had fled massacres and moved to certain areas in Beirut. These areas were known as violent and people would prefer to avoid walking by them. The kids on the parallel street, who belonged to more privileged families, called us 'plastic kids'. However, we felt too inferior to clash with them. As I did not carry a gun, I was categorized as 'non-plastic'. Non-plastic meant 'vulnerable' and so I desperately wanted to become plastic. The armed kids would harass the non-plastic ones by placing their gun barrels next to their ear or against their skin and then pull the trigger. I realized that in order to live in peace in our neighbourhood, you had to be armed.

I told my mom I would not use the gun. "So why do you want one?" she asked. "To be left alone," I replied. My mom refused fiercely. She was working as a nurse at a UN clinic and did not want to get herself involved in any trouble. She prayed day and night, hoping that they would not fire her, because she was taking care of four children and an unemployed husband, who she was madly in love with. If you lived on our street you would realize that plastic kids would not only harass you but choose one part of you to weaken. They chose my left ear. My hearing acuity dropped to less than 40% and as it got weaker, I could no longer hear when a plastic kid sneaked up from my left side and fired. I asked my mom to take me to the clinic where she worked but she refused as, to her colleagues, it would look like I was a troublemaker and they would lose interest and fire her. There was only one kid in the neighbourhood who would not get affected whatsoever by the gun sounds or burns. We called him superman. He was deaf and paralyzed after a car bomb, so it was impossible to do any harm to him with those plastic guns. But as most kids carried one or more of those guns, people around got so used to their sound that they stopped hearing or even noticing them in our hands. It was as if we were fighting each other with invisible weapons.

Living in Beirut meant that you did not have any right to disagree, though remaining silent would not save your life all the time. I grew up as a frustrated kid. Afraid and aware. I would guard my mouth like a dog guarding a prisoner in an open cell, as speaking out was the most dangerous thing. Newspapers were forbidden in our home. My parents never bought one. We lived like tightrope walkers. All my childhood friends were as frustrated as me, or perhaps even more so. They were aggressive and violent kids, and even though we were friends, we never trusted each other. Adults were the same. As the war ended, the frustration and trauma

did not disappear. Our bodies had become a repository for psychological effects and I would later realize that I was going to have to live with such psychological byproducts of war, if not for the rest of my life, at least until the moment I am writing these words.

The war ended, technically speaking, in 1990, but the political tension remained. What I thought was a fantasy as a kid, was now the 'sublime' reality: to live in peace, you need to be armed. I refused to believe it until I got my first death threat. It was at the faculty of sciences where I was doing my major. Two, casually dressed, armed men dragged me out to a nearby classroom while threatening that I would disappear if I ever spoke out again in the way I did about "that regime". The secret to a safe life in Lebanon was to shut up and organize life routines, such as hobbies, interests and sports, within that bubble of tension that you were living in. People were arguing in the streets, on public buses, in amusement parks, sport courts and bakeries. Even garbage men were arguing over piles of garbage on the street. These were the circumstances of the world in which I lived. A world that I had become so adapted to that I could no longer function in a society different from it. Because of that, I always wanted to live in a peaceful city. A city where you can be weak without getting harassed, a city where you can be skinny, poor, where hierarchy does not exist. Where your neighbours are not assuming things about you, where you do not have to be defensive, where you can walk down the streets without thinking that every car might potentially be stuffed with explosives. A city where nobody would shame you for being a refugee, where war does not exist, nor social tension. Where nobody judges you for what you think or believe, or the way you look. However, when I arrived in Reykjavik, I knew I had to reboot my mind.

I thought it was impossible for such a place to exist, as it defines our human nature to dominate, conquer, manipulate and offend. So the first thing I did after I had arrived in Reykjavik was to make sure it was as peaceful a place as everybody had said.

I came to Iceland in November 2011 as part of the ICORN (International Cities of Refuge Network) program. The city of Reykjavik had joined the program a few years prior to that. The situation changed and became stressful when the Immigration Directorate[1] refused to give me a two-year residence permit, even though I was personally sponsored by the city of Reykjavik. Instead, I was issued an eleven-month residence permit which, by the time it had been issued, left me with less remaining time than that. I started to feel worried. The Immigration Directorate could, at any point, refuse to extend my residence permit, and I would have to go back to Beirut again and live as a stateless person. That is, a person with no passport, as I was a paperless refugee in Lebanon. The uncertainty was troublesome. The peaceful city I now lived in suddenly seemed very far away. It was as if I was living the phantom of the city and not the city itself. Everything started to look suspicious to me. I was, yet again, not allowed to build an intimate relationship with the place I found myself in. At some point, Reykjavik was giving me the same feeling Beirut used to give me, that is a city to which I am not allowed to belong. To go from the peaceful non-belonging city, back to the unpeaceful one felt like a nightmare to me. The best was suddenly no longer the best, it was just less bad.

Anna, the project coordinator of ICORN in Iceland, wasn't certain of anything either. I was their first guest writer and they were in the process of learning both how to handle the project and how to deal with the strict rules of the Icelandic immigration office. I would later find out that the Immigration

Directorate had tried everything they could to make her guarantee that I would not stay in Iceland and apply for asylum or citizenship once the program had finished. That is against the law, as every non-European foreigner is entitled to apply for either.

Upon my arrival in Iceland, I was met by the mayor of Reykjavik, Jón Gnar, who welcomed me saying that he was aiming to disarm the police force and make Reykjavik the first unarmed city in the world. I, however, kept silently scouting the streets, grocery stores, hotdog stands, cafés, pubs and bookstores day and night to see if people would fight. Verbally or physically. Or if somebody would open fire on somebody else. People thought that the newly arrived writer was just getting himself introduced to the city and its cozy streets. I sometimes saw people arguing when they were drunk and I always thought to myself: "That doesn't count." I would stand still, from a distance, if I spotted two or more people speaking loudly. I did not understand Icelandic, but was eager to see if the conversation would break out into a fight. It never did, and after two weeks I gave up. Icelandic society is devoid of the daily tension and frustration I experienced in Beirut. Besides, Icelanders are basically all relatives. It is a small nation and with a population of nearly 340,000 inhabitants, they are the biggest family on Earth.

Instead of feeling fascinated, I thought something was wrong with the city. I did not know what it was. Though Reykjavik was peaceful, I somehow felt unbalanced, in a state of flotation and confusion, like I had no center of mass. It was an irritating feeling and as I could not make sense of it, the question that my mind kept repeating like a broken record was *"why do I not feel alright here when it is so peaceful?".*

Then it struck me all at once; I do not feel well because it is too peaceful. I jumped out of my bed one night uttering this thought out loud, realizing that I am disturbed by the peace in Reykjavik. The tension, frustration, insecurity and other brutal incidents that I had experienced for years and years in Beirut, became the condition under which my mind operated, created and acted socially. I carried these feelings like I was carrying poisoned blood in my body, but it was the only kind of blood my body knew. My creativity was intrigued by those kinds of feelings and behaviors around me (mostly violent, aggressive, abusive and frustrated), which were implied by others. So my mind did not know how to function in conditions different from those socio-psychological characteristics. I was now in a country where people would not scream in the streets or argue, cars would not honk and neighbors would not assume things about you. People were too shy to judge you. People of different lifestyles, choices and orientations all lived together without harassment. Nobody was alienated. It felt like landing in the future. The Iceland of the 11th to 14th centuries looks, to me, like modern-day Lebanon, where unwritten laws govern society and power see-saws between different religious sectoral groups. I believe it would take a country like Lebanon decades at least, if not a century, to reach this level of respect towards other choices and identities. Over the phone, I told my mom: "Here I can disagree with people." She replied: "Even if that is the case, do not do it as then they will kick you out of the country." Her fear of getting fired from her job in the clinic was now projected onto me. For the first time, I felt like I could disagree with somebody without having to think of a possible death threat. A friend would tell me that it is not as peaceful as it seems. "When you realize that part of the truth, then you are a true Icelander." It was an accurate assessment. From a sociological point of view, for any society to thrive, it must deal with its problems, dilemmas and challenges. For Icelanders, who make up a small society, Reykjavik is more like

a big village than a small city. You are exposed here. Everybody knows everything about everybody else and this makes you feel like you are being watched, or that you are kept under the radar. You are being extra careful and this makes you calculate every step you are heading to, every plan, and it makes you lose some sense of your humanity and privacy.

Another discovery I had not imagined, was that my presence in Reykjavik would be worrying to some people. For xenophobic and racist individuals, it did not matter what title I carried. Whether I was a writer, chemist, journalist, translator, poet or anything else; I was reduced to only being an immigrant. An opportunistic, certainly passive, foreigner who came to the country to abuse the system, to live off of Icelanders' paid taxes. I would know from some people in Reykjavik that a politician announced on the radio that I should be returned to where I belong, meaning the Middle East, as hosting me in Reykjavik was of no benefit. That I was a burden on the shoulders of the Icelandic nation and that the project of making Reykjavik a city of refuge was nonsense. There were even a few citizens who called Reykjavik City Hall to express their frustration and complain about my existence in Iceland, asking for me to be thrown out of the country. Today, I work part-time in that same City Hall – which makes some people quite upset that a non-Icelander is working in such a place of authority. I have not mastered the Icelandic language yet and I remember this young guy, whom I had to ask to be escorted out of the office as he got angry over my language barrier.

Iceland has not experienced problems from refugees, though they have lived in the country since the early seventies. The paranoia and fear of strangers, demonstrated by some Icelanders, is therefore not justified. However, xenophobic Icelanders picked up the fear from like-minded citizens in neighboring countries, like Sweden, Denmark, Norway,

Great Britain, France and others. This fear would not be functional without the bad portrayal of refugees, meaning, how non-white refugees (mainly from Middle Eastern, African or South American descent) are transformed into fictional characters and narratives, stripped of their background, their cultures, their personal sufferings, their motives to flee and their challenges with death. We are, furthermore, reduced to ambiguous and potential criminals, which is not only evil but also leads to exclusion, and therefore this narrative cannot be trusted. This is a structural mechanism, which involves the social transformation of refugees and it establishes a system which further justifies the prejudiced treatment and segregation of refugees, based on nothing but the false media narratives in Europe and the United States. An Icelandic politician debated the topic on the radio, stating that "we do not want to be like France".

My anxiety increased over my next residence permit. It was clear that the warmth of people was not reflected in the country's officials when it came to welcoming refugees or immigrants. I no longer felt safe and the peace around me was clearly relative to Icelandic people and designed for them. However, I was more privileged than other foreign writers in the city. A friend would tell me: "You have to remember, you are a project, and this project will end someday." The comment first sounded as a hint of white privilege, but I soon came to realize that Icelanders are more simple than that, they just need a new story, something that keeps them busy and interested. They are curious by nature, especially considering the fact that they are isolated. Their local stories keep them busy for some time, but they also have a strong sense of activism. For them, it was a mission to keep me in the country, and after I had established my legal status they left to take care of other refugees. My friend was absolutely right, except that I was actually a project people tried hard to take care of.

I was torn between the kindness of the people around me and the immigration officials who had made it clear that I would have to leave Iceland after the residence permit expired. Their message extended to saying that any attempt to apply to stay in Iceland would affect the continuity of the ICORN project in the future.

I was still more privileged than other foreign writers. *(At least, that is how the people around me preferred to put it.)* In a small city like Reykjavik, things depend on how much you are connected and I suddenly found myself connected to all those culturally powerful and influential people who would give me moral support and attempt to open the literary scene for me. I thought that this was the case for all foreign writers in Iceland before realizing that I was alone and that the Icelandic literary scene is very excluding. Icelandic literature is the celebrated and prioritized kind over any literature produced by a foreigner. This is unless you write something about Iceland, mainly because Iceland has never experienced foreign writers who actually lived in and worked there. Authors like Jules Verne, Jorge Luis Borges, J.M.G. Le Clézio and others have always been interested in and fascinated by Icelandic literature, its heritage and sagas. However, Icelanders developed a very strong sense of national identity related to their local literature as it was literature which saved them from death in olden times. As they were poor and could not access hot water or electricity, they would gather in winter time to read and share books.

Days after my book was nominated for the Man Booker International Prize 2019, Icelandic TV broadcast footage of the Icelandic police attacking a group of asylum seekers who, very peacefully, protested to improve conditions at the camp where they were kept confined, or let me say, frozen, until a decision was taken on either deporting them or keeping them

in the country. It was embarrassing and shocking to witness the Icelandic police using force against a helpless group of people. It was another moment of confusion in my life. I was being celebrated by people around me, friends, work colleagues, acquaintances, authors, journalists and artists. Even by people I did not know and people I knew but had forgotten that I knew. I was portrayed as the good example of an immigrant who had proven to the Icelandic society that immigrants actually could do good for the country. It was an ironic moment for me, as for everybody else I was now a writer again. This of course includes those who did not want me to stay in the country in the first place. I was all of a sudden seen as a source of pride for the Icelandic nation. I was still an immigrant, but a writer as well. I did not know that, six years after receiving my Icelandic citizenship, I ought to prove myself and my worth in the Icelandic society. I felt like I was back to myself again from the previously reduced version, that of being an 'immigrant'. A year before that, I had applied for a Master's program in creative writing at the University of Iceland, but my application was rejected because the program favored Icelanders. I was told that I should apply the following year. After the nomination, I was invited to the same university to attend a seminar, that included a writer and an academic, to discuss my literary style and storytelling.

The warmth of Icelandic people is not the key to rooting yourself in the Icelandic haven. Though you are received with embraces, love and solidarity from people, the system plays by different technical standards. Language is the most important one of them. It is a wall, as no matter how many other languages you master or how high your academic qualifications are, the Icelandic language is the wall you will keep bumping into like a bumble bee bumping into a transparent glass. Even when you learn Icelandic, this wall does not fall down but becomes a filter instead. And if you

remain unable to speak Icelandic, you will be excluded. You will never get a good job or get appreciated for your previous achievements. When I decided to continue my PhD studies in chemistry, the clerk at the university would not acknowledge my MA in chemistry from the Lebanese University as he had "never seen such a degree before". He refused to contact the Lebanese University and I would have been forced to re-do my graduate studies again. The same thing applies in the cultural sector. Though Reykjavik is a highly active literary city, foreign writers in Iceland feel excluded, as they are not entitled to be a part of the dynamics within the literary scene. As Reykjavik is one of the most vibrant literary cities in the world, such systemic structures make one question how such narratives can exist. Who is entitled to be involved in the literary scene? To be highlighted? To be accepted? Interactive?
More importantly, on what basis? What are the bases on which someone can be acknowledged as an author in Iceland? Is it the topics? The language? The story settings?

Ós Pressan is a collective established by a group of foreign authors who decided to take the initiative to highlight and publish their own works, as they felt that they were not being taken seriously or highlighted as they should be in the Icelandic literary scene. They organize writing workshops and readings, and they have published a literary journal which welcomes and embraces poetry, essays and short stories by foreign writers living in Reykjavik. The journal has been a success and functions as a breathing space for the non-Icelandic authors who write in languages like Polish, Arabic, English, French and so on.

I had never heard the term 'immigrant writer' before, hence, it carries a political dimension. When Europe was troubled and the war was rolling like a rotten corpse, banging on and breaking through its doors, a large number of artists and

writers were obliged to flee. It was mostly a movement within Europe itself, or most likely to the US, a movement within the leading countries in, not only, industrialism but also culture. The fleeing artists were white, mostly Europeans, and though the term was used to describe people who initially fled from Italy, Ireland, Poland and other countries at the start of the 20th century, it never infiltrated into literature or art. Today, we hear it, the term 'immigrant writer' and it has malignant overtones. When uttered, it gives the impression that the writer descends from a troubled place, where terror hits and people get executed, imprisoned or disappeared for opposing the regime, where women's rights are limited and freedom of speech doesn't exist, and most of the time, these acts are mistakenly tied to a specific narrative of a culture. Which is offensive and inaccurate.

I cannot help but consider the term 'immigrant writer' segregating. It personally takes me back to Lebanon every time I hear it. I was born in Beirut, I was raised there, experienced the same trauma of war as any Lebanese. I studied there, I finished my major at Lebanon's official university, I published books there. And yet I was never granted any form or any level of civil rights. I was not allowed to practice a wide variety of jobs (engineer, doctor, lawyer, journalist, teacher, etc.). I was not allowed to vote. I did not have health insurance and I do not have any pension. I was segregated from society and the term 'immigrant writer' does exactly that, it segregates me from the Icelandic society by making me think that, even if I ever got established as a writer, I would always be looked at as an immigrant. Does the mechanism of highlighting the immigrant-status of a writer have a negative effect and does it devalue the actual work and erase the meaning and dimensions of the literary work? Or can literature actually be judged on factors such as ethnicity, gender, color, etc.? History does not tell us much about that, but we know at least

how patriarchy shadowed great female artists, authors and philosophers who were to be revealed later on. We also had writers like Alexandre Dumas or William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, who proved that literature can pass through time and break through stereotypes. I am, on the contrary, worried that some 'immigrant writers' are acting as excellent activists, and instead, not giving enough interest to their literary work that is often written and adjusted to fit the European stereotype.

Some writers and artists flourish in exile. They need isolation, space, and they need to experience new references when it comes to surroundings, mentalities, memories, lifestyles and cultures. Most do well. Exile provides them the distance on which they plant their seeds in literature. The ones who fled to the States during the WWII enriched both the literary and art scene, and they contributed significantly to the modernization of US cultural life. This was despite the anti-Semitism which was rooting itself among institutions and people, including students. Other writers fade and get confused in exile. When he went into exile in Paris, from his home country of Ireland, Oscar Wilde found that he had lost the pleasure of writing. He was confused and sad and was found dead five years later.

The crime rate in Iceland is very low, but Icelanders imagine crimes happening in their towns. Their literary culture is rich in noirs and they have some of the finest crime fiction in the world. Crime stories extend back to the sagas that are built on feuding tales, violence, romance, sorcery and battles. When Iceland left the union with Denmark in 1944 and became independent, its culture and pride were still centered around white men. In 1951, Iceland agreed to a US military presence on the island, where one of the agreement conditions was "we do not want black soldiers". Iceland showed an expansionary policy through her attempts to increase her

fishing rights in the Atlantic, which resulted in three Cod Wars in the 70s against the UK Royal Navy. Was it a colonial attitude or exclusively business?

However, Icelanders came face to face, for the first time in their modern history, with feelings of fear, insecurity, panic and trauma after the financial crash in 2008. The normally well-behaved population clashed with the police, rushed to grocery stores to buy and store every kind of food they could grasp as if it was a state of war, but not an actual war. Three years later, Icelanders were still talking about it upon my arrival in Reykjavik. People were in shock, because they are accustomed to a society where growth is usually turned into social development. The atmosphere which shadows the country has changed since then, and though there are some people using anti-immigrant rhetoric, the majority of Icelanders are ready to defend immigrants and fight racism.

Reykjavik now is different from how it was in 2011, and certainly different from 2008. The money epidemic is hitting hard and the town is transforming from a relatively remote Nordic capital into a postmodern cosmopolitan and exotic city. The rapid change and increase of wealth are intrigued by tourism, but also by the arrival of more refugees every day. It is a confusing change to a small, but alarming, number of people who more openly call out against refugees on social media, in line with the wave of hatred and populism that is spreading through Europe and the US. Last year, a taxi driver started to talk to me about how he believed himself to be a part of the Icelandic racial supremacy. He thinks Icelanders are pure, they are Arians, and any foreigner who did not speak Icelandic should be thrown out of the country. I had never heard anything like that since my arrival in 2011. He was so serious and scary that when he asked me what I was doing in Iceland, I said:

"Tourism, I am a tourist."
"Where are you from?" he asked me.
"Palestinian," I replied.
"So you are a Palestinian tourist in Iceland."
"That's right!" I said.

↗   Artwork: Brown Island (Laleh
     Kazemi Veisari, Alejandro Montero
     Bravo, Nathalie Ruejas Jonson)

Diversity and positive representation in Nordic children's literature

*The sociology of emotions
meets the sociology of power*

Seeing yourself represented in the fictional world is an acknowledgment of your existence[1] and being excluded is a message that you are invisible, not seen or acknowledged as part of a particular society or the world. With reference to the concepts of symbolic annihilation and belonging, this piece discusses diversity and positive representation in Nordic children's literature, largely referencing the state of Norwegian children's literature. Where diversity and positive representation in literature and other media are concerned, the focus is rightly on minorities and groups who are marginalised both in society and often also in books and television and magazines. In recent years, the spotlight has been focused more intently on the lack of diversity and/or positive representation in children's literature. Even in countries with a rich tradition of children's literature, such as Norway, it can be difficult to find books which minority ethnic, religious and other marginalised identities can identify with. Children from dominant social groups have always had and continue to have the privilege of complex and positive representation in media and the arts, while children from minority and marginalised groups have had little to no reflections of themselves and their realities. As things stand, Nordic children's literature communicates that it is children and families of the majority population who are valued, exist and belong in Nordic society. As a sector of cultural transmission, the publishing world has a responsibility to use the power that it holds to communicate a different message and to play a role in social cohesion and ensuring that children's rights are fulfilled.

Diversity in literature refers to the recognition and inclusion of people and characters with various human traits, intersecting social and economic locations and identities, and who exist within or come from different contexts. That is, to tell and illustrate stories that reflect the depth and breadth of human diversity. Being included in the fictional world,

whether it be in literature, on stage or on television, signifies social existence; and absence means symbolic annihilation.[2] Symbolic annihilation, as a concept, was first introduced in 1972 by George Gerbner, a professor of communications. The concept refers to the lack of representation or absence of certain groups in the media. The 'media' includes all the tools of mass communication and entertainment, such as broadcasting, publishing and the internet. When the media systematically exclude, minimise, or condemn particular groups that are not valued in society, they (further) disenfranchise them by not reflecting them.[3] As a tool for cultural transmission, the media therefore send a symbolic message to viewers or readers about the value of the people who make up the excluded group(s) or perpetuate the undervaluing of that group by society.[4] Symbolic annihilation also says something about who belongs and has a valid stake in a given society.

Nira Yuval-Davis[5], an author and professor on migration, refugees and belonging; and Marco Antonsich[6], a senior academic of human geography, agree that at its core, belonging is about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home' and safe. To them, we can belong to multiple objects of attachment (people, groups, neighbourhoods, countries) at the same time, in different concrete and abstract ways. Claiming to belong to a place or group can be a means of self-identification and it can enable others to identify you as belonging to a particular object of attachment, in fixed, contested or changing ways. However, even in its most stable form, belonging is always a dynamic process and is constructed and reconstructed through the social hierarchy and everyday practices as well as interactions.[7] For Yuval-Davis[8], belonging specifically pertains to our social location and our individual and collective identities and attachments. Social location refers to categories such as ethnic group,

gender, class, profession or nation, and identity refers to the narratives, the stories we tell ourselves and others about who we are and who we are not. In some historical contexts, the stories about who people are, have been imposed on them. However, not all of the stories are about belonging to particular groups; they can be about body image, professional aspirations or physical and intellectual prowess. Belonging is also about how these social locations and identities are valued or judged. Specific attitudes and ideologies inform who is valued, how we judge ourselves and others, how we identify others and where categorical boundaries are drawn. This can lead to inclusion or exclusion, with greater or fewer opportunities to cross those boundaries depending on one's social location and personal or imposed identity. It is in this realm of attitudes and ideologies that value and judge others' right to belong and where the sociology of emotions (emotional attachment and feeling at home in a place or a group) meets the sociology of power (discourses and decisions about who can belong and why)[9], that belonging meets the politics of belonging. The boundaries that are created through the political projects of belonging are sometimes physical but always symbolic, and divide the people of the world into 'us' and 'them'. Nordic and not Nordic.

Diversity and positive representation in Norwegian children's literature

As of January 2019, the number of people living in Norway stands at over 5.3 million, and much of the future population growth will most likely be due to net immigration.[10] According to the Norwegian statistics office, Statistikkbanken, 17 percent of the population is made up of people who are immigrants (persons born outside of Norway, to two foreign-born parents and four foreign-born grandparents)[11] and Norwegians born to immigrant parents (people born in Norway, to two foreign-born

parents and four foreign- born grandparents). Just under one in five children under the age of 18 is an immigrant or is Norwegian-born with immigrant parents.[12] In Oslo, one in every three residents is of an immigrant background and a quarter of all people with an immigrant background in Norway, live in Oslo. If neighbouring Akershus County is included, the number rises to nearly 40 percent.[13] These numbers include all immigration backgrounds, including from the Nordics, Europe and other Western countries. However, people of Polish background make up the largest group of people with an immigrant background and half of all people with an immigrant background are of African, Asian and South American descent.[14] That said, Norwegians born to only one immigrant parent and Norwegians born to two Norwegian-born parents, and four foreign grandparents are not included in the statistics of people with an immigrant background. The absolute number of people with some kind of immigrant background may therefore be higher. Simply put, including the country's national minorities[15], Norway is a country with a diversity of ethnicities and cultures.

Despite this, one is unlikely to find this reality mirrored in the books and literature available to children in Norway and in the Norwegian languages. With a few exceptions, what you will probably find in Norwegian children's books is a picture of what Norway used to look like - an almost monoethnic, monocultural country, where the majority group made up 96% of the population[16] - a snapshot of a time past. Only about one in twenty books has a main character with a clear multicultural background.[17] The books available to children and families also contain scant representations of diverse family structures; make little reference to non-heternormative ways

of being, fail to show depictions of minority religions and rarely feature children and adults living with disabilities. Rudine Sims Bishop, an author and Emeritus Professor of Education who taught on children's literature, talks about books as mirrors and books as windows. She describes how books can act as a reflection of ourselves and our identities and experiences (mirrors); as well as a 'window' into the identities and experiences of others.[18] Whether it be in books, on television or on theatre stages, children from dominant social groups have always had the privilege of the arts and media acting as mirrors of their complex realities, while children of minority and marginalised social locations and identities have been offered little to no opportunity to experience media and the arts as mirrors of themselves. And often when there are people who look like them in books, on screen or on stage, they are mostly greeted with a single story of what people like them are or are supposed to be. And that single story is often negative or told through the eyes of the dominant group - who often characterise marginalised people as the problematic and irrational other.[19] How people are included and presented in the stories that we tell is therefore also important. Including people should be accompanied by considerations of the complexity of their personal identities, their social locations and the complexities of the contexts that they are placed in or are said to come from. For example, if a character who reflects the reality of a certain person is being continuously portrayed to behave only in certain ways (often negative stereotypes), this can lead one to wonder if that is the only way that one is seen in society. Or one may wonder if that is the only expectation that society has of one. This is what we call positive representation - inclusion that actively avoids single stories and perpetuating negative stereotypes of certain people and groups.

For minority and marginalised children, seeing themselves positively reflected in the arts, literature and other media can make them feel personally validated and can paint a picture of who they could become, as well as provide role models and inspiration. Positive representation also supports positive identity formation. How a child constructs their identity, which stories they tell themselves and others about who they are, is linked to larger societal dynamics and to the processes of social inclusion and exclusion.[20] Additionally, positive images of their families, backgrounds, cultures, beliefs and languages help children to develop pride in who they are and affirm that they are of equal value, importance and status as other children, families and groups. Apart from the power of what can be found within the pages of a book or on a theatre stage, being represented in the media or in the arts can give a child the feeling that they too can one day create stories and contribute to the richness of the cultural landscape. This also tells the child that they have a voice, that they can use it and that they will be listened to. Ragnfrid Trohaug, a publishing manager for children's and youth literature, rightly states that for social development, diversity and inclusion in children's books is important because Norway has to give all children and young people, regardless of background, the belief that they have a voice that can be heard and used, and that Norway's modern democracy, depends on this.[21] Over and above these aspects, children learn better from books that have characters to which they can relate.

Children are aware of ethnic, gender, class, language and physical differences from about three years of age.[22] As adults, we are not blind to the differences between us and neither are children. There is nothing inherently wrong with us or children noticing that we are all different, this is part of their natural process of development. They do, however, also adopt positive and negative, spoken and unspoken messages, about the value placed on certain differences. They have their learned negative and positive views reinforced by attitudes they experience primarily through relationships with adults and the broader community - including through the media. Children then use these learned attitudes as a factor of power, to determine, for example, who may join in with games and who may not.[23] While we must be careful that when we talk about 'windows' it does not come to mean creating books with minority children, depicting parts of their complex realities, so that majority children can look in on and gaze at for their own benefit; it is true that for children who are in the majority population, diversity in the books that they read reminds them that although people are different, they all share a common humanity, equal value and equal status. That children can go out into the world with positive ideas and images of diversity and difference, and of themselves, will only serve them, and the people they meet, well in the long run. In Norway, diversity in books can act as a subtle reminder and assertion that Norwegians comes in different colours, shapes, sizes, abilities and backgrounds, and that all are equally valued and equally Norwegian.

In 2011, a researcher of children's literature, Åse Marie Ommundsen, concluded that Norwegian authors have not portrayed a cosmopolitan outlook and openness to otherness because the cosmopolitan view is represented in big cities, and Oslo is the only big and truly multicultural city in Norway.[24] She stated that Norwegians are typically concerned with roots and feel bound to places; and where one comes from closely relates to one's identity. She found that this tendency was reflected in children's literature, where reflections of rural life are dominant, whereas city life or life in Oslo rarely features in the stories. Eight years later, Oslo's population has almost doubled, one third of people in Oslo are of an immigrant background, 82 percent of the Norwegian population is said

to live in an urban settlement and the five biggest urban settlements are home to over a third of the population.[25] Yet one still struggles to find representations of the diversity of urban Norwegian life, of the diversity of the Nordics and the diversity of the world. The personal and national identity of the majority population might still be shaped by the view of Norway and Norwegians as a nation of solely white farmers and fishermen, living in rural corners, where no one would believe anyone could live. That said, this would mean that Norwegian writers are still depicting a past that they themselves can no longer fully relate to or experience personally. Ida Jackson, a Norwegian author, believes that being in the majority, white writers take whiteness as neutral but the portrayal of minority characters as a drastic choice [26], and also that some writers may be afraid to come across as politically correct whilst failing to acknowledge that excluding minority children from their books is a political choice in itself.

Even if Norway was a monoethnic country, or if Oslo was the only city in Norway that can be considered to be truly diverse, the books available do not offer a window to the globalised world, never mind the realities of diversity and diverse experiences within the country. A monoethnic and monocultural Norway would not be blind to or unaffected by global media and culture. Television, radio, newspapers, magazines and social media bring diverse people and cultures into Norway, with some aspects being woven into Norwegian contemporary culture. I say this while recognising that the fight for diverse and positive representation in literature and other media for minority groups is a global one and that Norwegians are not necessarily engaging with diverse enough and/or positive representations of the people of the world, which may subsequently have an impact on the continued marginalisation of minority groups in the media. Nonetheless, international media bring diversity into Norwegian homes. Norwegian

children and families also travel to various parts of the world. Despite this interaction with the global village, Norwegian children's books do not act as a window to the world that Norwegian children and adults interact with on a daily basis in direct and indirect ways. Nor do they display interactions between Norway and the world, Norwegian people and culture, and people and cultures from various parts of the world. It is translated and foreign language literature that has played a leading role in centring children of minority background and showing encounters between diverse ethnicities and cultures. Norway's public libraries have access to literature in about 70 languages, including literature for children, through the country's Multilingual Library[27]. The Multilingual Library, which is housed in the National Library, is devoted to acquiring books in languages from around the world, to provide literature to Norway's multilingual and multicultural population. The books acquired by the library are then made available for lending to the public via local libraries. The library can only be visited online because the collection and staff are spread out across the National Library's different locations. In Sweden, up until recently, the International Library in Stockholm has had children's and other books available in over 100 languages, which families could borrow from other parts of Sweden through their local library. Unfortunately, the library's current operations have been halted. The collection will be relocated to a smaller library, and not all of the books will be moved to the new location. The majority of the 120,000 books in its stack will move to a different location and some of the books will be either recycled, donated or destroyed due to lack of circulation[28]. This potentially pushes foreign language literature from the centre back into the margins and presents one less opportunity for minority families in Sweden to access positive representations of their children. The Arts Council Norway now funds the purchase of translated children's literature[29], which should encourage publishers to acquire the publishing

rights to children's literature with diverse characters, to serve the needs of minority children and reflect the Norwegian population. In the same way that the Norwegian translation of the Swedish book, Alfons Åberg by Gunilla Bergström broke down the taboo on writing about war in Norwegian children's books[30], translated and foreign language literature can clear the way for more white Norwegian authors to include minority children or cultures from outside of Norway in their books, without fear of being seen as politically correct but rather as simply writing about and illustrating the world and Norway as it is.

While all active Norwegian writers and illustrators should come to the fore and actively diversify their work with positive representations, Norwegian publishers and public institutions need to do more to create the space and provide resources for minority artists to create the stories that authors belonging to the majority population may be unwilling or uncomfortable to write and illustrate. The Norwegian Children's Book Institute is already leading the way in this regard. The institute recruits candidates with a background from South America, Asia, Africa or the Middle East to their author education programme. Since 2007, two of the places on the programme have been reserved for such candidates, whose tuition fees are funded by a scholarship[31].

Symbolic annihilation, the politics of belonging and Nordic children's literature

Authors and publishers should be free to write and publish what they wish. However, as things stand, Norwegian and Nordic children's literature does not reflect society (as it should) and is an example of the symbolic annihilation of children, families and people of minority and other marginalised backgrounds, including people living with disabilities and those whose lives do not conform to a heternormative

narrative. When minority children are absent, this communicates to both minority and majority children, that minority children are invisible or non-existent in society, that they do not belong and that they do not hold any value. When minority children are represented using negative, singular and stereotypical images and stories, this locks them into a particular image, with little opportunity to be seen or show themselves as something else. Over and above this, children of all kinds see no reflection of the reality or possibility of encounters and interactions between people from various social locations, with differing personal identities and from different contexts.

While Sweden has historically done better at representing children from minority cultures and backgrounds[32], and recent debates on ethnicity in children's books and other media have made Swedish authors and illustrators more aware of the issue, the problem still persists. Additionally, characters in Swedish children's books still largely conform to a heteronormative mould and are usually able-bodied[33]. In Denmark, most children's books are about children and families with a majority background. When children of minority ethnicities are featured (particularly with black or brown skin), the representation is often singular and negative, riddled with negative stereotypes[34]. Where children's books and other media are concerned, it would be valuable to work towards the inclusion of minority children and children from other marginalised backgrounds, so as to communicate that they too are valued and belong in Nordic society, irrespective of nationality, citizenship, ethnicity or cultural background. This would communicate a message that stands in contrast to that proclaimed by nationalist political projects about who has the right to belong in Nordic societies. Nationalist perceptions of belonging are based on the belief that people, states and homelands are inherently and permanently

connected, belonging to a place or territory because you were there first[35].

To help inform their policies and practices and to create literature that communicates belonging to all children, the publishing world could draw from the principles of cosmopolitan political projects of belonging, which turn to human rights discourses to claim belonging and therefore entitlement for individual and collective rights[36]. For example, if it were to turn to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child[37] to inform its policies and practices, the publishing world would find that the Convention asks states to "encourage the production and dissemination of children's books," and also explicitly mentions that the state should encourage media "to disseminate information and material of social and cultural benefit to the child...", as well as "ensure that the child has access to information and material from a diversity of national and international sources, especially those aimed at the promotion of his or her social, spiritual and moral well-being and physical and mental health". Drawing on the rights afforded to all children in the Convention, the publishing and media world at large could make an active decision to ensure that all children in the Nordics have access to books of social and cultural benefit, as well as books that promote their social wellbeing and mental health, by creating material that has diverse and positive representations of all children. Pride in oneself and one's background, positive identity development, social acceptance and being recognised and valued by others all contribute to social wellbeing and good mental health. In Sweden, Olika Forlag, a publishing company devoted to diversifying children's literature in Sweden, was founded by Marie Tomicic in 2006[38]. The company was founded because Marie noticed the need for greater diversity in children's books, "for books that mirror the real world rather than the picture of the world held by the majority".

At the time, Marie found that every book she read was about children living with two, heterosexual parents. However, that was not the reality for her child, who alternated between both parents' homes, and she worried how this would hurt her child. States are also responsible for using their resources to promote and encourage the development of such materials, to the fulfilment of the rights of children in the Nordics.

Children also have the right to "be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, and universal brotherhood", and the right to be "...brought up in... the spirit of peace, dignity, tolerance, freedom, equality and solidarity". Both minority and majority children therefore have a right to grow up in a society that promotes friendship among all people, a sense of fraternity and acceptance of differences. Children's literature has an important role to play in this regard. The media and other mechanisms of cultural transmission have a responsibility to use the power that they hold to help fulfil this right for all children living in the Nordics, irrespective of their citizenship, ethnic background or personal identity, or that of their families. As things stand, the literary world harms the possibility of all children attaining this right, by communicating that it is children and families of the majority population who are valued, exist and belong in Nordic society, while undervaluing and/or perpetuating the undervaluing, marginalisation and othering of children and families from minority and other marginalised groups. Whatever learned prejudices that children pick up from the world around them can be countered by active choices from different sectors of society, including the media and the literary world. Not only is it important for children as they grow up, it is also important because the children of today will be the custodians of society tomorrow. Raising children in an environment that fosters and communicates the ideals

of universal friendship, brotherhood and tolerance among all people, creates a better chance that they too will raise future Nordic children in the same environment and therefore fulfil their rights too. Dignity is defined as the state or quality or being worthy of honour or respect (from self or others) and a sense of pride in oneself[39]. Positive representation in the media and in books gives minority children the message that they are valued and respected, and gives majority children the message that other children are valued and worthy of respect. As stated before, being positively represented in cultural media can also give minority and other marginalised children pride in who they and their families are. Cosmopolitan perceptions of belonging are also driven by solidarity with marginalised and oppressed groups[40]. If the writing and publishing community makes an active choice to produce books that contain diverse and positive representation, it would be a show of solidarity to minority and marginalised communities, and an indication that they are aware of the problem and are invested in protecting minority children from the harm caused by the status quo.

In transforming their policies and practices, I would suggest that those who hold the power of cultural transmission draw on the 'ethics of care' feminist political project of belonging. The feminist ethics of care addresses the ways people should relate and belong to each other rather than who should be included and excluded and on what grounds[41]. At one point or another, all of us will be dependent on care from other people, and some of the most vulnerable people in society, the children, are especially in need of care and solidarity. Part of this is to ensure that all children have their need for belonging and affirmation met, despite their social locations or personal identities or those of their families. Unfortunately, emotions such as care and compassion are not enough and cannot be effective to meet the needs of all children,

if they are not coupled with power[42]. Knowing that we will all need to be cared for at one point in our lives, and that caring for another is an important part of social solidarity, the publishing world as a tool for cultural transmission has the power to embed care in its work, effect positive change and also encourage others to care for and value the needs of minority and marginalised children.

The lack of diversity, inclusion and positive representation in Norwegian and Nordic children's literature is acknowledged by publishers and researchers alike[43], and is echoed by parents who struggle to find depictions of themselves and their children in the books available to them. This has significant personal and societal impacts, on both minority and majority children. Minority children lack mirrors of themselves in the books that they read and majority children have no window into the lives of their friends, neighbours, schoolmates and peers. Additionally, all children have one less example upon which to model positive inter-group interactions. When children read books featuring diverse groups of peers or people doing things together, it has a lasting positive impact on their play and interaction with members of other groups[44]. While public institutions have taken some minor steps to improve access to translated literature and literature in foreign languages, these steps still relegate literature including minority children to the margins. Furthermore, private institutions are not doing enough, as evidence from the past ten years shows.

In the same way as the Norwegian Children's Book Institute, institutions that are involved with training authors in general, and children's book authors specifically, can actively recruit and reserve funded space for people of minority background. Such an initiative could, for example, be funded by the Nordic Council of Ministers to ensure region-wide implementation. However, they should not stop there. They should act as

a feeder to private publishing companies by establishing formal partnerships through which publishers can either commission stories from the newly graduated minority authors or accept original manuscripts. Public institutions that fund the dissemination of culture and literature should find ways to incentivise the inclusion of minority characters in children's books and also make an explicit effort to fund the purchase of translated children's books that feature diversity.

Including minority and marginalised children and stories that reflect their reality adds to the rich tapestry of literature and the options available to everyone. Including marginalised people does not take away from literature, it adds value. Furthermore, we cannot ignore the harm that is caused by the symbolic annihilation of marginalised children by the publishing world. While we cannot tell people what to write, public institutions need to find ways to encourage the publishing world and the media world at large to include minorities. In portraying groups, we need to ask ourselves, how has the group been represented (positive, negative, neutral) and how would this kind of representation make them feel? Simply put, authors and illustrators will need to steer clear of stereotypical representations, which are often negative, and can harm the self-image of that group or perpetuate negative views of certain groups by others. The consequent message of such diverse and positive representation would be that children from minority and other marginalised backgrounds do exist in, belong in and are valued by the Nordic society. I also suggest that writers, illustrators, publishers and others who hold power in the production and dissemination of literature and culture adopt an outlook and practices that reflect a cosmopolitan view of belonging, informed by the feminist ethics of care, as part of reimaging who belongs in Norwegian children's books and Norwegian society.

↗   Artwork: Nathalie Ruejas Jonson

Are we just here to fill a quota?

We might be a new enlightened generation, more informed than before, allegedly more open-minded, on the whole more inclined to love than hate. But I have put naivety aside.

We are two decades into the twenty-first century and we have not come very far in terms of tolerance, at least not as far as we had wished for. We are still, today, subjects to hate crimes, we are not given the same facilities and opportunities, and we are, furthermore, segregated from our white fellows. We are simply not considered equal citizens in today's Nordic society. All because of the amount of melanin we carry in our bodies.

I come from a small region in the Nordics, consisting of idyllic nature, glittering seas, strong independence and family ties. However, a small region does not mean that there is a lack of ethnic diversity. It is home to people of over seventy different nationalities[1], around sixty different languages are spoken and more than three percent of the population are of non-European descent. In my region, we have the highest share of foreign-born residents in the whole country.[2]

This is not reflected in the cultural sector, where the representatives of racialized cultural workers are so few that we can count them on one hand. Even fewer, if any, in leading positions. Instead of being seen as equal practitioners, we are exotified to maintain the colonial gaze on the racialized artist's body. This may be expressed subtly, such as when our art is labeled less professional and more urban, exotic or oriental, or more directly, by branding it 'commercial' and not at all what might be considered fine arts. It may also be found in the way we are expected to produce political art because our bodies are automatically politicized among the white homogeneity. This leads to the exclusion of racialized bodies and artists from institutional culture organizations. Thus is the chain of representation broken, both on and behind the stage. If one is not accepted as the whole individual one is, should one then settle for less?

The answer is simply, no.

Today, in 2019, I read about how colleagues from the UK refuse to accept a black woman as their project manager[3], about a staged hate crime against a highly regarded politician in Norway who, tastelessly, tried to point the finger at a non-white theater group[4], and about how sparse the ethnic representation is at large, established cultural institutions and independent theaters throughout the Nordic region. If representation exists, it is very limited, often based on stereotypical narratives and restricted to a specific area or genre. In December 2017, The Nordic Agency for Cultural Policy Analysis (Kulturanalys Norden) published the report *Culture with different backgrounds[5],* which stated that employees with foreign background* make up 15.2% of the workforce

* Foreign background (according to the Statistics Sweden Government Agency) – foreign-born children and Swedish-born children with two foreign-born parents.

at state-funded cultural institutions in Sweden, 14.8% in Norway, 9.5% in Denmark, 6.7% in Iceland and 6% in Finland. Correct figures for Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Åland Islands are not available. As an example, the report further shows that in Sweden, approximately 22% of the 15.2% with a foreign background are of African, Asian and Latin American descent. The remaining 78% are individuals from the Nordic countries, Europe or other Western countries. The actual figure, when separating interculturalism from internationalism, for employees with a non-European/non-Western foreign background at state-funded cultural institutions in Sweden is thus 3.3%. This is the highest percentage in the entire Nordic region.

In the spring of 2017, I started working as a project manager at a cultural institution under the Nordic Council of Ministers. In connection with the wave of refugees who had arrived a few years earlier, a lot of institutions under the council were now working with issues relating to inclusiveness, integration, equality and diversity. Something that felt very current and important, given the climate of political nationalism and xenophobia which has been, and still is, growing in the Nordics. At the same time, artistic Europe overwhelmingly decided to initiate refugee-themed projects. In Finland, one had the opportunity to *try the life of a refugee*[7] and observe a sculpture of the three-year-old Syrian child, Alan Kurdi, who drowned in the Mediterranean. In Germany, the world-renowned artist Ai Weiwei created an artwork made of life vests used by refugees[8] to flee. Absurd. Mainly because the majority of people behind these projects and artworks had no first-hand experience of life as a refugee, or any relationship to living in a diaspora, but also because it results in the exploitation of non-white traumas. Suddenly, we found ourselves witnessing white people earning financial capital, space and recognition on behalf of non-white people who had lost their

belongings and integrity. Private as well as state-funded cultural institutions and organizations embrace this art by giving it space, leaving artists of color, with authentic self-lived experiences, in the shadows of whiteness. It is absurd that this still remains an issue, because who has the right to abrogate someone else's story and profit financially from it?

Another discussion that needs to be addressed with regard to that particular wave of refugees is how artists of color, with a refugee background, were forced to identify their art in the context of the suffering they endured during their escape, in order to be offered space and visibility. An obvious colonial gaze at non-Western artistry, which is reduced to its origin and one specific political question/body. The importance of fair representation and the consequences of how representation is often confused with exploitation, become of great interest in such matters, as well as who actually benefits from it. Surely, we can agree that representation would have remained sparse if the refugee crisis and people's suffering had not actually generated financial gain? Undoubtedly.

Early during my employment at the institution, I reacted to the fact that I was the only employee with a non-European foreign background, which came as a surprise to me. One out of a hundred employees. White people were continuously deliberating about the importance of having refugees integrate quickly into society. This is how it should be done, this is the way, this is how they become a part of society, it was said. Without a single non-white person anywhere near them. The more I thought about being the only one with a non-European foreign background, the more it became palpable. Why are organizations, funded by public taxes, allowed to continue to exclude marginalized voices, while claiming to be working for them?

I chose to take this discussion further with my supervisor, who I relied on, and who later raised my concerns during a seminar which, ironically, highlighted inclusion, integration and diversity. There, my white supervisor, wrongfully recited me and asked why I was the only 'wog'** in the organization.

You read that right, yet another person in a position of power, like so many others, who tries to portray themselves as world improvers, but unapologetically uses racist terminology. What happens when people in positions of power are confronted about their racist gaze? The accusations are often, if not always, dismissed as unfounded and false. This was no exception.

A racist vocabulary is characterized by derogatory/discriminatory words related to "racial, cultural or ethnic belonging, often permeated by xenophobia".

The cultural sector is a bridge-building and knowledge-seeking, not to mention international, workplace, in which racist terminology does not belong. The use of such terms automatically results in decreased safety and trust, but also an invisibility and exclusion of racialized employees, which further affects the chain of representation. People who practice the use of racist terminology ought to be seen as incompetent, and their legitimacy should therefore also be questioned. Failing to expand the range of ethnic diversity recruited to workplaces is bad enough. But we also need to ask ourselves how can the use of racist vocabulary, directed at the only non-white person among the organization, be justified? Who has the interpretative prerogative when it comes to deciding what is considered racist vocabulary?

There will be no change unless we break away from these unsustainable structural patterns with power-abusing people at the top. But again, what happens when we actually address these problems? The preliminary investigation against my supervisor was shut down. This person remains in their position and I am no longer employed there.

** Wog - a contemptuous and derogatory term used to refer to any non-white person, especially a dark-skinned native of the Middle East or Southeast Asia.

Furthermore, my chances of future employment are minimized because I cannot proudly, nor do I dare, to use this employer as a reference.

But, what does it look like if inclusion is applied, are we just tokens then? Had I been hired because of my skin color, or my non-Western sounding name, to prove that the organization is working on inclusion and diversity? Was I another cosmetically arranged sticker to mask the organization's actual exclusion of non-white bodies? These are examples of questions that I am sure many of us racialized people ask ourselves in various contexts, both in our private lives but mainly in the professional world. How can we be sure whether our skills are the basis for our inclusion, or the organization simply wants to fill its quota? This is a problem which arises in the cultural sector when inclusion and diversity generate financial gain, in the form of grants and positive portrayals of what are normally excluding organizations. I cannot count the number of times I have doubted myself because of this. The more I work directly for inclusivity and diversity, in places where there is a complete lack of diverse ethnic representation, the more I automatically doubt the honesty of the commission I have been given.

The Nordic cultural sector is governed by a host of different boards, councils and reference groups that hold enormous power. In most cases, there is always only one, if any, non-white representative. This person is only expected to possess knowledge of genres that are not considered to be within the framework of Western art forms, since it is assumed that black and brown bodies do not practice, know about or find interest in what is coded as Western art genres. This person is, furthermore, also expected to represent the entire non-white spectrum and, at the same time, take responsibility for educating and informing the white majority about how the structure is racist and excluding – though these

are not formal duties. In the long run, this will likely feel like a burden, a constant struggle to be accepted as an individual, and it highlights the problem of how the racialized body and its competence are defined by its color. Today, we would never recognize or approve of boards, workplaces, cultural institutions made up of only men. So is it not legitimate to ask the sector why we look away when it comes to the shallow representation of ethnic diversity?

We should call it what it really is, ethnic discrimination.

It has always been in the nature of humans to seek out people and places that give us the freedom to be who we are. We want to find a context and feel connected. Not in relation to our culture, our ethnic background or our skin color. Yet people who are being racialized are forced to do just that. We are subconsciously forced, because of an excluding structure, to search for people and places to find a context and affiliation, in direct relation to our culture, our ethnic background or our skin color.

Is it supposed to be this black and white?

It is important not to choose one and exclude the other completely, they both have their advantages and disadvantages. Both approaches contribute to eye-opening, challenging and thought-provoking situations. But there are several reasons why this is a recurring problem in the cultural sector. In addition to the sparse representation and lack of ethnic diversity, the use of racist vocabulary is a problem, the colonial gaze on stereotypes and narratives is another, as is the inadvertency of non-white skills. According to The Nordic Agency for Cultural Policy Analysis report *Culture with different backgrounds,* it was reported that representation is greatest

among the performing arts and symphony orchestras. The report acknowledges that this is because knowledge of the Nordic languages plays a less significant role for these art forms and the execution of the work.

If I had been exposed to diversity at all levels during my upbringing, I would probably have thought differently today. During my schooling, from elementary to university, I was consistently the only student with a non-Western foreign background in my class. This exclusion has continued in my working life as an adult, and is starting to become somewhat tiring, although I am more aware of its presence and have a greater opportunity to influence it now than during my school years.

This exclusion in my life has made it difficult, even today, for me to dare to express my thoughts on racialization. The fear of being misunderstood. To be considering exaggerating. To be questioned. At the same time, I know that fear remains unless I dare to speak up or work for change.
I report on events that are unacceptable. We all have to do that.
I am making it uncomfortable. Both for myself and for others. We all have to do that.
My words are my way of processing the recent racist incident.
Time has passed and I can look at this from a distance.
Life has moved on, even though the incident has left scars.
I have accumulated energy, strength to put my foot down and disagree.
I have sought justice and I strive for change. We all have to. I want to see a change.
I'm going to stir the pot, as my supervisor told me before the racist incident took place.
Because if I don't, yet another person of color will end up in the same mess.

↗   Artwork by Vidha Saumya

The meaning of diversity in Swedish Cultural Politics

Diversity is a word that shows up every now and then in modern life. At least amongst those who, like us, deal with issues of power, race and culture. Diversity is often described as an aspiration, a dream, perhaps even a utopia. But it is also a word that we avoid here at Kultwatch. Why? It is a word which constantly thrusts itself upon us and pursues those of us who are concerned about the imperative norms of power structures. Diversity is an involuntary 'we', for those of us who, in the words of author Sara Ahmed, are forced to embody diversity. So, what does the word 'diversity' mean in the Swedish cultural sector? Where does it come from, what does it mean and how is it defined in cultural policies? These are some questions that we will examine in the following text.

Today, the word 'diversity' is used as an umbrella term when the intention is to refer to different social power structures, such as gender, sexuality, age, functional ability, class, race* or ethnicity. The term 'diversity' can also describe a quantity of something, such as a variety of different cultural expressions, for example. The term tends to show up in opinions expressing ideological goals and is now an accepted term in a variety of spheres, such as cultural policies.

In Sweden, 'diversity' is a key topic in the country's cultural policy goals. These are formulated by the Swedish Ministry of Culture to guide the efforts of public sector cultural institutions. In the government white paper titled *Tid för kultur [Time for Culture]* from 2009, the cultural policy is summarised as follows:

> Culture shall be a dynamic, challenging and independent force, based on freedom of expression. Everyone shall have the opportunity to participate in cultural life. Creativity, diversity and artistic quality shall be integral parts of society's development.

In order to fulfil this goal, cultural policy shall:
— help all citizens to experience culture and education, and develop their creative abilities
— promote quality and artistic renewal, promote a living cultural heritage that is preserved, used and developed
— to promote international and intercultural exchange and cooperation
— special attention shall be paid to the right of children and young citizens to culture[2]

* We understand the concept of race as a social construct that categorises and divides people according to physical and visual markers and notions with historical roots in colonialism and race biology (see Hübinette, Tobias, Hörnfeldt, Helena, Farahani, Fataneh & León Rosales, René (ed.), Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige, Mångkulturellt centrum, Tumba, 2012.

This summary of cultural policy goals raises a number of issues relating to the term 'diversity': What does diversity mean in Tid för kultur; how is it defined and what meanings are accorded to the term? What language accompanies the word 'diversity' in the government bill and what views are created around the concept of diversity? What role do intercultural issues play in relation to diversity? Before examining these issues, we will take a brief look at the history behind the concept of diversity.

A concept focused on benefit

According to researcher Sofia Rönnqvist, the discussion relating to diversity began in the 1980s in the US, where it was used in the context of organisations and the working environment. There were three different development ideas, which broadly related to how discrimination and inequality between groups could be tackled, how a country or people in general should relate to a multicultural or multi-ethnic society, as well as how economic and demographic aspects impact organisations. Rönnqvist writes in her report *Från diversity management till mångfaldsplaner?: om mångfaldsidéns spridning i Sverige och Malmö Stad [From Diversity Management to Diversity Plans?: On the Spread of the Concept of Diversity in Sweden and the City of Malmö],* that the concept of diversity is based on the notion that heterogeneous groups can contribute to and create benefits for the company, and that differences are therefore of intrinsic value. According to Rönnqvist, these benefits are defined on the basis of an organisation's field of activity, frameworks and circumstances.[3] In other words, benefits are linked to organisational structure and productivity rather than structural inequalities and human rights.

The term 'diversity' was first used in Swedish cultural policy as long ago as the 1970s, at that time as a reference to different kinds of aesthetic expression.[4] The term became established through the integration policy adopted during the latter half of the 1990s.[5] According to Rönnqvist, the term 'diversity' has acquired a demographic character, which means that it is linked to how a certain population is composed or how it changes. Thus, diversity has come to be associated with social power structures, identities, areas and groups; how they are organised and how they move and change. The word has thereby become linked to, among other things, resources, and so has become a basis for discussing the difficulties that a heterogeneous organisation may face. Work to promote diversity can thus be presented as a useful and active strategy with a positive emphasis that also works against discrimination and racism.[6] In other words, diversity has been given a positive meaning, where the result is to help organisations become more efficient.

Diversity – a vague concept

In the cultural policy white paper Tid för kultur, diversity is referred to in several ways: "A diversity of cultural expressions" and "a multifaceted cultural offering". It is also possible to read about "cultural diversity". The term is, for example, referred to when discussing how "culture must reflect the great diversity that characterises today's society".[7] This shows that different meanings are attributed to the concept of diversity: one that deals with a range of aesthetic expressions and another that refers to those who practise in and are part of the cultural sector. The latter reflects the cultural policy's endeavours to achieve a more equal society.

A comprehensive definition of the term 'diversity' is not presented in the cultural policy white paper. Nowhere is it possible to find a clear explanation of how the word 'diversity' can be understood or interpreted. This creates a recurring vagueness about the term 'diversity', something that has been highlighted in several reports, including *Vem får vara med? Perspektiv på inkludering och integration i kulturlivet*

i de Nordiska länderna [Who Can Take Part? Perspectives on Inclusion and Integration in Cultural Life in the Nordic Countries]. Since 2017, a number of researchers have claimed that the term 'diversity' has a broad definition and is perceived as vague. In the report, researcher Linnéa Lindsköld states that the term 'diversity' has changed over time and new interpretations have emerged: diversity as variation, diversity as ethnic background and diversity as a collective term.[8] Another report, *Vilken mångfald? Kulturinsitutioners tolkningar av mångfaldsuppdraget [What Diversity? Cultural Institutions' Interpretation of their Mission with respect to Diversity],* from 2017, concludes that diversity is mainly directed to three areas when it is used in cultural policy documents: 1. Artistic expression and variety of cultural offerings; 2. Ethnic and cultural diversity; 3. That everyone, regardless of social power considerations like class, gender, functional ability, age, sexuality or ethnicity, should be able to participate in and contribute to the development of culture.[9]

One consequence of diversity being a vague and flexible word is that it can refer to everyone (all residents), while at the same time being associated with specific individuals. In Tid för kultur, it is stated that culture and arts must be characterised by diversity and must be relevant and accessible to everyone, while at the same time the concept of ethnic diversity is repeated. In Sweden, ethnicity has become a common word that refers to race-related issues, such as non-whiteness, without referring to race.[10] This means that 'ethnicity' is loaded with unwritten meanings and notions, which have been implemented in a general understanding. The fact that diversity is used as another word for ethnicity means that the non-whiteness, i.e. race, does not need to be explicitly stated.**

Another example of the vagueness surrounding the term 'diversity' is how the word 'culture' is used in the cultural policy goals. Near the beginning of the government white paper, it is stated that culture is not a clear concept and that it can encompass all aspects of human life – from people or society's values, rituals, traditions and patterns of life to different expressions of art. The term 'culture' is then used extensively in various contexts, for example in connection with the words "ethnic and cultural diversity". "Cultural diversity" occurs in sentences supporting artistic renewal and the promotion of a vibrant cultural heritage. Thus, it may be understood as being synonymous with various types of aesthetic expressions. Another interpretation is that "ethnic and cultural diversity" refers to purely racialised factors, such as a non-white body and the culture of Others. A third interpretation is that "ethnic and cultural diversity" encompasses two different aspects of culture – one that addresses racialised issues and another that concerns aesthetic expressions. This latter approach reinforces a duality that is deeply neo-colonial.

Overall, the fact that the term 'diversity' is vague, and the fact that it is not defined in *Tid för kultur,* has a number of consequences. There is an element of ambiguity, while at the same time the reader is expected to understand concepts and meanings without explanation, or is left free to interpret such concepts and meanings for themselves. This creates a silent presupposition that invisibly normalises the language. Reading between the lines, there is a normative view that is understood, but not formulated out loud. This leads to questions about how 'us and them' are understood. What are people expected to understand? There is nothing new in the fact that the concept of diversity confirms a binary way of thinking, where the majority society is the norm, i.e. the 'we', while 'they' must be integrated and adapted.[12] There is a misleading democratic goodwill which reinforces exclusionary mechanisms based on binary thinking.

** Several of those who study race and whiteness believe that the term 'ethnicity' is not sufficient to discuss the racist structures in society and that avoiding any discussion of race 'has made it harder to address the social problems of casual racism, segregation and discrimination.' Hübinette, Tobias, Hörnfeldt, Helena, Farahani, Fataneh & León Rosales, René (red.), Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige, Mångkulturellt centrum, Tumba, 2012

The liberal language of diversity

The use of the term 'diversity' creates a specific use of language. This encompasses words, meanings, simplifications, silences and associations governing the way in which diversity is to be understood.[13] Sofia Rönnqvist refers to the term 'diversity' as a "positive word"; it is associated with good intentions.[14] In *Mångfald och differentiering: diskurs, olikhet och normbildning inom svensk forskning och samhällsdebatt [Diversity and Differentiation: Discourse, Difference and Normation in Swedish Research and Public Debate],* researcher Paulina de los Reyes claims that the way diversity is conceptualised in terms of market growth and commercial benefits turn people's differences into a profitable business concept, and diversity into a product. This displaces the meaning of diversity away from aspects of ethical fairness and a discourse is formed without understanding the complexity of identities. It creates dichotomous and one-sided categorisations that mask issues of power, essentialization and marginalisation.[15]

In *Tid för kultur,* the term 'diversity' is used in conjunction with words like development, access, quality and creativity. The topic under discussion encompasses involvement, freedom, artistic renewal and promoting culture and diversity. There is a spirit of enterprise in the language, a linear notion exposing a liberal ideological vision. Diversity must create benefits, development and profit. The positive connotations of the term mean that it feels new, historically fresh and readily accessible. It is a positive word that can be used without causing upset. In this way, terms with a negative tone for the homogeneous majority society can be avoided and replaced. Therefore, words that signal hierarchies of power, privilege and oppression, or that can be linked to ideological movements and political struggles for justice, can be rejected.

The discussion on freedom that is recurrent in the white paper's cultural policy goals also contains an individual focus, which brings to mind thoughts of liberalism and the market economy. The fact that diversity is seen as an asset also emphasises an economic benefit perspective. It focuses on profit and organisational productivity rather than promoting equality. In this way, diversity is placed in a context that is far removed from human rights and democracy.

Interestingly, in the previous Swedish cultural policy goals, established in the 1974 white paper, there was a statement that culture must help to counteract the negative effects of commercialisation. This statement was removed in the 2009 white paper, attracting strong criticism from cultural workers when it was distributed for consultation. This criticism is considered in *Tid för kultur,* which states that there is no contradiction between culture and commercialism. This means that culture becomes part of a free (liberal) market and competition, rather than constituting an obstacle.

The fact that words with clear links to oppression and different power or structural conditions are almost entirely absent from the cultural policy goals, while the term diversity keeps recurring, demonstrates how terms with a negative tone are excluded. One example is that the terms "power conditions" and "power structures" are each mentioned only once. Language, words and meanings are simplified in speech and in writing in relation to diversity, which creates reductions that conceal oppression. Because 'diversity' carries several meanings, it can easily be used in political manifestos, visions and policies. It is made into a buzzword, associated with good intentions, and fits in well with a liberal ideology. This results in a concept of diversity that does not challenge existing structures within the cultural sector.

Rather than the power structures and hierarchies forming the basis for discrimination and inequality in society, *Tid för kultur* emphasises tolerance, individual freedom and a benefit perspective. These are terms that individualise

structural problems and follow a liberal market logic. The word "tolerance", which is used under the heading "Diversity and intercultural cooperation" is based on the notion of 'us and them'. It is 'us' as the norm who must learn to tolerate the 'them' who are different. When negative labels are attached to any deviation from the norm, an 'othering' takes place, which strengthens hierarchical power relations. In other words, the deviation is accorded to the Other, at the same time, structural oppression is individualised.[16, 17]

Interculture – a tool for diversity?

Although diversity is one of the focus areas of the cultural policy goals, and as previously mentioned is not explained, the word is recurrent in *Tid för kultur.* Another term that is even more prominent is "interculture". No precise definition is given for "interculture", though it is explained as an "activity that promotes ethnic and cultural diversity".[18] Consequently, intercultural work is intended to serve as a type of tool for achieving diversity. In the report entitled *Vilken mångfald? Kulturinsitutioners tolkningar av mångfaldsuppdraget [What Diversity? Cultural Institutions' Interpretation of their Mission to Promote Diversity],* the Swedish Agency for Cultural Policy Analysis states that the intercultural perspective has been presented as a means of creating distance from the term 'multiculturalism', which has been criticised for being based on a static notion of the concept of culture.[19]

Tid för kultur discusses interculture in connection with residents of other countries, cultural practitioners and authors with foreign backgrounds. This is intertwined with equality and other power factors such as age, sexuality and functional ability, i.e. categories that are linked to diversity.[20] Once again, the concept of 'us' and 'them' is written between the lines. The discussion encompasses immigrants from other countries who have come *here* and new technological advances that bring us closer to people in other parts of the world *(them).*

This increases *our* knowledge and contact with the cultures of others elsewhere.

Interculture is also referred to and considered together with international activity. An international outlook is a key starting point for the cultural policy goals. However, it is difficult to understand how international issues are linked to and distinguished from the concept of interculture. The definition of 'international activity' may be somewhat clearer, as it is described as cooperation between Sweden and (at least) one other country.

It is clear that there's a belief that both intercultural and international perspectives are important, will lead to development and should continue to be strengthened. The boundaries between interculture, international perspectives and 'cultural diversity' are diffuse. The cultural policy goals describe the theatre and music sectors and how international guest performances provide impulses for Swedish cultural life which contribute to increased diversity. Under the heading "International and intercultural issues in cultural policy", it is stated that

"International and intercultural exchanges broaden our views and create new opportunities – particularly in the field of culture.[21] This our may be interpreted as the inhabitants of Sweden or it may be a general assumption for people in general. Thus, diversity is created in the meeting between the Swedish, where 'Swedish' refers to the majority white population, and the non-Swedish. This is a meaning which provides links to the term 'multiculturalism'. One interpretation is that, overall, it relates to inspiration from the non-Swedish and how it contributes to the white Swedish cultural sector.

Because intercultural work relates to both diversity and international issues, this means that interculture takes on a dual role in the white paper. The term is intended not only to be a way of promoting diversity, but also of contributing to an internationalised Swedish cultural sector. This can create

ambiguity in how institutions can and should work with diversity. The result is that government agencies can have both intercultural and international tasks under the same heading in their annual reports, when what is predominantly involved is, in fact, international work.[22] An important aspect is that there is more credibility in work relating to international networks and a stronger international presence, rather than in working to ensure that more groups in society gain access to positions of power in the cultural sector.

The future: intersectionality and social justice
Sweden today is a country where many cultures meet and cross-fertilise each other. Increased travel, new media habits and technological advances, in addition to increased immigration to Sweden, are some of the contributory causes. Cultural life in Sweden has become more interesting, more enjoyable and more sprawling, but perhaps at the same time harder to obtain an overview of.[23]

In this text, we have attempted to investigate how the term 'diversity' has been, and still is, used in Swedish cultural policy, how it is defined and what meanings are attached to the concept. What use of language follows from the term 'diversity', which discourses become visible through the term and what definitions are created? By taking a closer look at current cultural policy goals set out in the government white paper entitled *Tid för kultur,* we found that diversity is a vague term, not clearly defined but linked to several meanings, a view which has been confirmed by a number of researchers. It is also a term that may refer to everyone in society, at the same time as it is recurrently associated with certain individuals. In this regard, ethnicity and 'cultural diversity' are code words for race-related issues.

Diversity is also used as a positive term, something that conceals discussions of power, oppression and historical exclusion processes. In language use and contexts relating to diversity, an othering process has become apparent, a process where the concept of 'us' has been linked to a white normative majority and become a counterpart to 'them', the non-normative or non-white Other. Another issue of interest to us is that diversity in the cultural policy goals of 2009 forms part of a market-liberal use of language and a vision that is about profit and benefit. In that context, the term 'diversity' is incorporated as a factor in the creation of a better cultural sector.

Something else that this text has revealed is how interculture in the white paper has been highlighted as a way of promoting diversity, while at the same time being linked to international activity. Among other things, intercultural activities are linked to export opportunities and creative industries, thus enriching the market, rather than creating opportunities for groups that are marginalised and excluded from the Swedish cultural sector. For example, no mention is made of intercultural work or diversity in connection with framework conditions for artists. In this regard, there is no particular focus on the condition of migrant artists or how the cultural sector should work to make more groups in society a visible part of Swedish culture. In spite of everything, Tid för Kultur states that "Cultural policy must have a citizen perspective" and that "The specific task of cultural policy is that /…/ culture reflects the wide diversity that characterises modern society."[24]

We see a need for critical studies which address the issue of diversity in the Swedish cultural sector and examine free-market projects. We also lack research on how the current Swedish cultural policy impacts segregation and exclusion. We call for research and studies which address cultural policy from an intersectional perspective. Social power structures such as race, functional ability, age, gender, class, nationality,

body ideal and sexuality are key markers for which obstacles and opportunities people will face on the labour market. This includes unequal working conditions and how specific values and norms frame, single out and marginalises non-normative people. What the term 'diversity', with its history and how it is used, fails to do is to highlight how power systems interact. We believe that starting from an intersectional understanding and striving for social justice is important for a more democratic cultural sector.

Or, in the words of the philosopher Iris Marion Young:

> A condition for social justice is a participant democracy
> /.../ I therefore propose the following principle:
> In order for a society to be called democratic, it must
> have mechanisms which guarantee that oppressed and
> disadvantaged groups in society have an independent
> voice and representation.[25]

Kultwatch
Afrang Nordlöf Malekian, Hana Suzuki Ernström,
Macarena Dusant, Samuel Girma

Allow me
to insist

It is compelling to observe how European colonial views are deeply rooted in our existence as descendants of colonization. A colonial mentality is part of our collective unconscious. This can be expressed in different ways. Paternalism and the exotification of non-Western cultures are two of them. This is true in virtually every area of knowledge. The arts field both reproduces that logic and creates its own, based on uncritically inherited assumptions relating to concepts such as tradition, aesthetics, quality and the autonomy of the arts.

Here in the Nordics, it has been a major challenge to acknowledge the colonial mentality living under our roofs. Some of the work has already been done in certain academic circles, by scrutinizing the schools and traditions that have been consistently followed with very little or no critical decolonial approaches. Nevertheless, the topic is also hot among art practitioners and cultural workers, mainly those with plural identities.

We are halfway through the *United Nations Decade for People of African Descent,*[1] defined to span the period 2015 – 2024. In terms of public policies directed at this particular group, the decade and its purpose have been significantly ignored in Norway. Indeed, most of the politicians in this country have no tradition of paying attention to specific ethnogeographic groups, unless when contextualising them in blame for socio-economic challenges. Yet the United Nations Decade for People of African Descent says:

> *"At the national level, states should take concrete and practical steps through the adoption and effective implementation of national and international legal frameworks, policies and programmes to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance faced by people of African descent, taking into account the particular situation of women, girls and young males in the following areas: recognition, justice, development and multiple or aggravated discrimination."*[2]

As a Black Indigenous woman in the Western arts field, I incorporate my own experiences in my work, in an auto-ethnographic approach from writing to practice. Two main intentions are part of my experience: to insist and to repeat as ritual.

Insisting and repeating are both work methodologies and means of survival. This makes me think of the mothers in the neighborhood where I grew up in southern Brazil. They were loud, they insisted, repeatedly, until something happened, until somebody reacted. It is hard to imagine other possible approaches to the challenges that the arts field imposes on us.

Therefore, allow me to insist. Allow me to say it again: we are not there *yet*. Therefore, allow me to say that this is the moment we should pay attention, because changes are happening. But based on whose views and whose paradigms of quality, beauty and autonomy? How will the Nordic perspectives change when the observing gaze is no longer cisgendered, white, Eurocentric and otherwise normative?

This gaze, our 'othered' gaze, is now timidly starting to be present in some boards, committees, councils, and stages. Present but still, colonized by nonverbal rules that keep hindering us with excluding assumptions, such as that we are not ready to tell stories, even the stories only we ourselves know something about.

Because it is about our bodies, our minds, our children and our blood.

Thus, allow me repeat: the structure of the arts field in the Nordics has not changed.

Allow me to admit: the structure of the arts field in Norway is at a standstill.

Having been othered by means of language normativity for many years, our Nynorsk theatre feels entitled to colonize the ethno-culturally diverse district of Grorud in Oslo and bring *quality theatre* to its inhabitants.

Bodies of color on stage, mostly surrounded by white crews and directors. 'Allies' who systematically benefit from staging stories of othered and racialized beings, and then go forth to the next all-white project. The marginalized body and its oppression have become a token for white feminism in the games of structural power benefits.

Some of us are occasionally invited to be present, yet our transgender and gender non-binary siblings, our siblings with disabilities, those with no money, no families, no papers or no bank accounts, the marginalized, are not visible anywhere near.

So, I insist, and I repeat:

We are still not visible. Even today, our children lack public role models. We are still struggling to tell our stories with our own voices, and the few of us Black Indigenous Women who are making it in the arts field are mostly lone stars. The higher we reach, the lonelier it gets. Meanwhile, the glass ceiling just gets thicker and thicker.

Every day, I see how my sisters disappear. We are a very few on the bus, in the grocery stores, in the streets of the city center. But the Black presence becomes less and less detectable for each step I take in the direction of my brand-new office spot at the top of a shiny public building.

So, let me ask again: How many Black Indigenous Women of Color do you know in the arts? Are they part of the official canon? Are our buildings, streets, parks or squares named after them? Are their names mentioned in public speeches and tributes? How many are a part of the syllabus in the art history that we study?

It has been a paradoxical dilemma: establish our presence in white spaces, or create spaces of our own?

I want both, thank you very much.

We need strong and safe places to debate our in-group problems, free from the white gaze. We need places that allow us to try and fail, where we can experiment without the burden of having to succeed to get a second opportunity, similar to the prerequisites as our white colleagues are given. We need spaces where we can define our practices as art and ourselves as artists, without stereotypical prefixes like 'urban', 'ethnic', 'exotic', 'oriental' or 'Afro'.

We must be present at the heart of established institutional spaces. Because the institutions that have coined the concept of art, its autonomy and the geniosity of the white male artist, were created and built over the enslaved, mistreated and assassinated bodies of our ancestors.

Allow me to insist one last time: we demand to exist on our own terms.

The white gaze within the structure

Marronage in *the wake*

How do we come into being in this world? This question has been posed innumerable times before and will undoubtedly be raised again and again, with variations in intensity, urgency and style, informed by specific local and historical contexts… and *kinship with the Other.*

As Marronage, we speak in extension of the political, cultural and affective *displacement* to which the colonial event has subjected the non-white body. We are, as we write in our manifesto in the journal *Marronage,** children of 'the non-Western'.[2] And as descendants of the colonial and racial Other, we wish to challenge the history, language and representations made available to us. In order to understand how history permeates our bodies and comprehend the dimensions, possibilities and impossibilities of the project we are writing ourselves into, we reach out for Christina Sharpe's concept of *the wake.*

* In 2017, we published three journals in order to politicise the centennial commemoration of the sale of the former Danish West Indies to the United States and to challenge the coloniality and whiteness expressed in the Danish state's border politics, in history books and not least in Danish cultural institutions – the focus of this anthology.

For Sharpe, the wake describes the disruption of the black body that started with its abduction over the Atlantic, and with its continued movement towards coming into (non) being. The wake is the disturbance on the surface of the water surrounding the drowning or dead body in the sea. The wake is the current of air created when people flee. The wake is the slave ship's semiotic slipstream that seeps into everyday life, the prison, the camp, the school. To be 'in the wake' is also a way of being awake, conscious. A wake is a ritual, a putting-into-words, that through black experience can provide care for the dead in the wake of transatlantic enslavement. Through Sharpe's project, we understand the wake and 'wake work' as a framework for artistic production, resistance and decolonial consciousness-raising that makes it possible to live in diaspora.

> *"The wake – a problem of and for thought. I want to think 'care' as a problem for thought. I want to think care in the wake as a problem for thinking of and for Black non/being in the world."[3]*

As a black person, born and raised in a US-American context and the descendant of enslaved Africans, Sharpe's way into and through the unfinished project of emancipation is different to ours. Many of us are of so-called 'mixed' heritage, whose foremothers include enslaved as well as colonised and apartheid-raised Africans *and* white European colonisers. Others were brought to Denmark through transnational adoption – the West's 'charitable' insistence on displacing children from their families and countries of origin, an act that takes place in the colonial wake of the West's capitalist desire to own other people. But although it is important to acknowledge our different geographical contexts and Othered positions, it is just as important to underscore our connectedness.

The colonial project, understood as Europe's expansion from the 15th century onwards and the accompanying formal control over large parts of the world until the middle of the 20th century,** was of paradigmatic scale.

In addition to the economic and political consequences of colonialism, the *white colonial mentality* that made colonisation possible continues to thrive globally. This is a mentality that glorifies white people as aesthetically, linguistically and culturally superior. And Denmark is no exception in this respect, despite the widespread trivialisation of Danish colonialism.

Under the working title *The white gaze within the structure,* we have examined how this phenomenon has played out in recent years in curatorial initiatives at three Copenhagen institutions: Statens Museum for Kunst (SMK), The Workers Museum and CAMP / Center for Art on Migration Politics. We are interested in what happens when institutions provide care for what we understand as *white fragility:* white people's reduced ability to tolerate racial criticism as a result of their racial privileges.[5] During our writing process, a picture began to emerge of how curation can ensure that white fragility remains unchallenged, whether because of economic considerations or political, emotional and cultural concerns.

If we look up 'to curate' in the dictionary, it will unsurprisingly tell us that the verb describes "those activities at a museum related to the acquisition, identification, storage, categorisation and registration of objects in the collection."[6] But etymologically, 'to curate' comes from the Latin *cūrāre*, a word that bears within it the meanings to arrange, to pay attention to, to secure, to care for. *To care for.* This makes clear the affect in dealing with not just something, but someone. It concerns the relationship between the living, and how the living care for the dead. How is the need to provide care challenged by a pervasive white gaze?

Scene #1: SMK
Certainly, from the standpoint of white supremacist, capitalist patriarchy, the hope is that desires for the 'primitive' or fantasies about the Other can be continually exploited, and that such exploitation will occur in a manner that reinscribes and maintains the status quo. Whether or not desire for contact with the Other, for connection rooted in the longing for pleasure, can act as a critical intervention challenging and subverting racist domination, inviting and enabling critical resistance, is an unrealized political possibility.
—bell hooks, "Eating the Other"

In 2017, in connection with the centenary of the sale of the former Danish West Indies to the United States, Danish media, politicians and cultural institutions put colonial history and self-scrutiny on the national agenda, but without touching upon Denmark's continued colonial relationship to Greenland. SMK also participated in this gesture with the spot-exhibition *What Lies Unspoken - Sounding the Colonial Archive.* In collaboration with the Black British, Sweden-based art historian Temi Odumosu, the museum's curators re-visited and re-curated artworks that can be linked to Denmark's and SMK's coloniality, asking different questions than the ones they would normally ask. The time had come, as the introductory wall text announced, to examine how SMK's artworks reflect the colonial power's gaze on the colonised, what words the museum used to describe the people portrayed in the artworks, how the artworks were discussed within the museum ("in an objective and distanced manner or on the basis of emotional reactions" [our translation]), and what significance one's positionality has when encountering SMK's collections, whether as a museum guest or member of museum staff.[7]

** Coloniality continues to thrive through settler colonialism and neocolonialism. Among the territories that are still under colonial duress are Greenland, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands of the United States (the former Danish West Indies).

Who is Rose?

One particular picture featured time and again. In the entrance hall, in the press release, on the museum's website and social media outlets. When SMK first unveiled *What Lies Unspoken,* it was a depiction of Rose that we saw. As one of the few black women represented in SMK's collection, she is portrayed as a solitary figure amongst flowers and fruits in the Danish artist

↑   Astrid Holm, *Rose Laying the Table,* 1914.
Courtesy of SMK.

Astrid Holm's (1876–1937) painting *Rose Laying the Table* from 1914. Standing behind the bountiful table, Rose featured as the exhibition's 'host'. From there she oriented potential museum visitors' gazes toward the exhibition, giving them a taste of what they could expect to meet behind the exhibition's walls.

The choice of this painting as the exhibition's eye-catching device may seem self-evident for several reasons. The press release that accompanied the picture stated that Rose "might have been a descendant of the many enslaved people who were deprived of their freedom to serve Danish families in the Danish West Indies" [our translation].[8] If we consider the fact that the painting was created on St. Thomas by a Danish artist three years prior to the sale of the islands, the work brings us as close as possible (temporally and geographically) to the event that occasioned the commemorative exhibition. The press release tells us that although the painting "exudes calmness and warmth" [our translation] it is *also* evidence of Denmark's role in the colonial project and in transatlantic slavery. In and behind, but mostly behind, Rose Laying the Table, the press release indicates, are the histories that lie unspoken. As a paratext, the work may even have given museum visitors the impression that their encounter with the exhibition would not be an uncomfortable one – the museum visitor is guaranteed a pleasurable experience and a manageable dose of self-scrutiny. But *Rose Lays the Table* covers (over) more than the press release tells us, namely the colonial violence that is partially obscured in both the press material and the painting itself.

But who is Rose?

The young black woman who is allegedly named Rose is depicted with downcast eyes standing next to displays of flowers and fruits. The painting might, to an uncritical eye, reveal a quiet, everyday scene in a private St. Thomas home. The framing of the work as a paratext to *What Lies Unspoken*

encourages viewers to see it as evidence of the European colonial presence in the Caribbean. We, however, have wanted to carefully renegotiate the conditions that surround Rose's portrayal.

> *"I want to think 'care' in the wake as a problem for thinking of and for Black non/being in the world."*[9]

How should we understand our own desire to care for Rose, as a political and painted subject? About the desire to create narratives about black women's life stories out of the coloniser's archives, black US-American theoretician Saidiya Hartman asks: "Is it possible to construct a story from 'the locus of impossible speech' or resurrect lives from the ruins? Can beauty provide an antidote to dishonor, and love a way to 'exhume buried cries' and reanimate the dead?"[10] Hartman describes her sorrow over the colonial, representational, violence inflicted on black women, while, at the same time, confessing her desire to redeem these women through narrative.

Just as the annihilating archives of transatlantic slavery render Venus' speech impossible, Astrid Holm's portrayal of Rose can be said to position the latter in silent captivity. Rose, as we encounter her here, is unable to tell her own story because she has come into being through the white artist's brushstrokes. She (dis)appears in the colours, becomes a 'beautiful' and 'pleasant' object, like a vase can be a beautiful object. And she is seen in the white museum space by visitors whose gazes reproduce a way of viewing the black woman as an object of pleasure. How then can we imagine an ethics of visibility in the wake? Where are the possibilities for writing counter-narratives? What stories can we (un)tell without causing further harm to Rose?

Rethinking a Major Work(?)

Whereas *Rose Lays the Table* only became known to a broader public as a result of the centennial commemoration, some of the museum's so-called 'major works' also featured in What Lies Unspoken. One of these is Jens Juel's The Ryberg Family from 1797, a large family portrait painted in the wake of the transatlantic slave trade, whose subject and creation would not have been possible without this (de)humanising practice. The painting tells us nothing of the connection between the sitters' wealth and enslavement. And the museum had never previously attempted to explain this connection.

↑   Jens Juel, The Ryberg Family,
         1797. Courtesy of SMK.

But let's take a closer look at how the spot-exhibition encouraged museum visitors to cast a critical gaze at this painting:

Niels Ryberg was born a serf but was bought out of [serfdom] by an acquaintance who trained him to be a merchant. Benefitting from the so-called "florissant" (flourishing) trade in the years leading up to 1800, he grew so wealthy that eventually he himself had serfs under him. The physical scale of this painting is in itself a sign of Ryberg's wealth. His income came directly from supplying goods on behalf of the Danish state to the colonies, and slave trade. At the time, he described the Danish West Indies as 'one of the greatest jewels in His Majesty's crown'. What would an enslaved person from the time have said about the painting if he or she had had the chance? The enslaved tried to be heard through uprisings, such as the one that took place on Saint Domingue (Haiti) around the time when Juel painted this picture. There are stories they do not show. **Should we develop new ways of engaging with these pictures? Do we really want to know the difficult stories behind them?**

The text highlights that while Ryberg and his family were posing for Juel, a trauma of unfathomable proportions was taking place. At the same time, it mentions the silencing mechanisms that allowed the coloniser's documents (such as Juel's painting) to be transmitted from the past, while the voices of those in whose enslavement Ryberg was complicit have been repressed. But in its concluding appeal to an unspecified "we" the text opens the possibility of yet again denying responsibility for colonialism and the Danish participation in transatlantic slavery by checking out of the "difficult" conversation. For whom are these questions relevant? What kind of "we" would be able to imagine disengaging from the coloniality that structures Danish society? Who does this coloniality benefit, politically, economically and culturally, and who does it weigh down on every single day?

This unspecified "we" at once places the racial equation left behind by transatlantic slavery at a convenient distance. This strategy obscures racialised positionalities and privileges even as the exhibition's introductory text emphasises positionality as a crucial matter in critical approaches to colonial history. As the questions threaten to shut down or derail a discussion that has only just begun, it is hard not to see this rhetoric as an expression of a reluctance to deal with racism and the discomfort discussions about racism could potentially induce in the museum's white staff and visitors. A similar interplay between anti-colonial critique and white fragility seemed to be at play in the lack of clarity about how the reflections from *What Lies Unspoken* would cement themselves in the museum's future praxis after the exhibition period, when the works would be going back to their usual spots in the museum's permanent exhibitions or in storage.

Marronage's 'performance' during SMK Friday
Under the concept of SMK Fridays, the museum regularly invites guests to "explore [the museum] after hours and experience art in new and informal ways."[11] On the opening night of *What Lies Unspoken,* visitors were presented with a blend of drinks, street food, researchers, stolen archives, stolen lives, historical cheques, bodies bought and sold, indignant BIPOC artists... and *us.*

↑ Marronage and allies reading our manifesto at SMK Friday, 2017. Courtesy of Rine Rodin.

Nervous, we crowd together in the cloistered room of the museum's outer wing. We position ourselves on steps forming a kind of grandstand. Our backs are to the wall. We did not want to be downstairs on the main stage, we did not want people's gazes to fall on us. Ironically, that is why we are now standing up here. Like an overlooked sculpture in the museum's collection, waiting for someone to find it. But this sculpture can speak. Will people, we wonder, experience us as artists rather than as political activists?

With an attentiveness that only art can induce, the audience cautiously enters the room. Crowded to bursting point, it is more claustrophobic than intimate. Is there room in here for us to claim space? Is there room, in this small cell of the museum's body, for our pent-up outburst? Our movement towards coming into (non)being in the wake, all of our impossible dreams (passed down over generations)?

> *'Marronage is resistance!'*
The voice trembles alone in the room.
> *'Marronage takes on different forms, and always finds a way to express itself!'*
With her gaze fixed on the grey pamphlet, her feet shift eagerly as the text progresses. She straightens her back, tries to find her footing and to somehow manifest a heavier weight in the room. As if the weight of her body and her words could provide a counterweight to the displacement of bodies over centuries. In and out of places, functions, definitions, presentations and archival columns.
> ...The word maroon derives from the Spanish word 'cimarrón' used to describe wild animals and the enslaved escaping their captivity on Caribbean plantations. When maroons banded together and fled into the mountains, to the plain or into the jungle in

order to create a new society, it was an act of Marronage – organised resistance...
In the crowded room, we assume a formation around her. And in spite of the sharpness with which the white walls meet our brown and black silhouettes, our voices carry hers onward…
> ...As our marronage sets the past into motion, we deliver the history of its potential and thereby insist on defining freedom on our own terms…
In those moments where our voices find each other in tempo, rhythm, intensity, we feel the connectedness of our routes. Together we move onward with and through the wake.
> *... Racist violence defines our era, and demagogues, who previously found themselves marginalized, take centre-stage. One hundred years have passed since the sale of the 'Danish West Indies', yet colonialism remains horrifyingly close...*
But in the few quiet pauses, where we remember to breathe, doubt takes hold. We feel the weight of people's gazes, the weight of the room's white walls, the weight of being curated as the predictably shocking contribution. And when all is said and done, how can we be sure that we won't be obscured, like Rose? We do not inhabit the same position in the wake. We are not, as she is, frozen as a servant in the white master's house through the white painter's brushstrokes. But how can we be sure that we will appear as something other than projections of a white curatorial fantasy? Other than 'authentic' bodies with an authentic anger that provides white viewers with an authentic experience?
> *....Marronage is the movement towards actualising the collapse of these systems. Because only then can something new be created. We must assist each other in realising that our present reality is not simply a nightmare, but a condition, which we must rebel against...*

Is this the moment when we are supposed to look up and meet their gazes, as if to let them know that we are also subjects with agency, that this is self-representation, that we are done with self-censorship!

Instead, our gazes remain glued to our pamphlets. Turned away from the exhibition space, they wander persistently down the lines of text and into the manifesto's utopias. As if rejecting the premise of the institution's invitation or mounting a frail attempt to preserve something of ourselves for ourselves. An attempt to provide care for ourselves in our resistance to the fantasies of the white gaze and its construction of us as we come into (non)being in the wake.

'Marronage is resistance…
Whether or not our (in)appropriate grief, anger, hope and longing exist outside the realm of art, outside of the stylistic form that constitutes our manifesto, is probably unclear to most of the spectators… Maybe they hope it will stay here. Within the curated, the fictional. Within the limited time and space for experiments.

The museum's (un)spoken histories
Two years after *What Lies Unspoken* opened at SMK it is hard to detect what traces the exhibition has left in the museum and the ways the works that were included in the exhibition are communicated to the public. Jens Juel's *The Ryberg Family* is back in the permanent display *Absolute Monarchy, the Rise of the Middle Classes and Academy of Arts in Denmark.* In the company of portraits of 18th century royalty and nobility, the painting is once again enlisted to tell the story of the Danish nation's progress – to illustrate a period of upheaval in which the bourgeoisie established itself. In the text currently accompanying the painting, no mention is made of Ryberg's active participation in enslavement. Instead, we find the use of understatements – "The merchant Niels Ryberg" – and euphemisms – "who built a fortune in international

trading". As the family portrait finds its way back to its usual position, we are struck by the lack of reflection around which bodies are reduced (the black Other) through a movement that expands other bodies (the white coloniser and the white artist).

When we walk over to the museum's extension to revisit *Rose Lays the Table,* we notice that the painting has been removed from its usual position. Next to the empty hooks, a note has been affixed to the painting's interpretative text, informing us that "this work is presently in conservation". Although we are well aware that conservation is a requirement within the museum's management of its collection, we cannot help but question what is being conserved and on whose terms. If the painting is an asset that contributes to the confinement of the black model, then conservation contributes to the maintenance of the overwhelming silence that surrounds Rose, to her (dis)appearance. The work's conservation ensures that Holm's representation of Rose can continue to be used, included or excluded in the nation's narratives about its art and colonial histories.

The conditions put in place by the museum fill us with sorrow. And in the time since our 'performance' at the opening of *What Lies Unspoken,* we have had many collective discussions about what it means to raise our voices and put our bodies on display within white institutions where colonialism is engaged as a theme in anniversary exhibitions, rather than being treated as a structural problem. A theme that can entertain and educate a predominantly white audience for a limited amount of time in a limited space, ensuring that they never get too uncomfortable. In these spaces, it is difficult to find the hope that structural change can take place, and the danger of being 'eaten' by the white gaze is all-pervading.

Scene #2: CAMP

When we speak within institutional frameworks, we risk erasing the voices we want to accentuate and depriving those who became and those who are enslaved of their agency; those who do not have papers and the many others whose existence is threatened every single day. We have been caught up in the vortex of the structure we criticize for being exclusionary. While we are tolerated and invited to stand on the stages of Danish cultural institutions to talk about structural oppression, our friends are being deported. – Marronage #2

[…] you're absolutely right that there are clear signs of global capital willing us to network and co-operate, intensifying the risk of activist collective curating being co-opted by the very system it sets forth to challenge. So Kuratorisk Aktion is very conscious of how we position ourselves within and beyond the art world and how to keep our curatorial politics intact, both when we self-initiate projects and are reliant upon institutional partners to host them and when we get invited to guest-curate projects for institutions. – Kuratorisk Aktion

To be co-opted is to be absorbed into, ingested by and incorporated into larger structures. This concept describes the process of learning to speak the language of power. It is a phenomenon that takes place on several levels: in discourse (when histories are 'rewritten' to support dominant narratives), institutionally (through organisational hierarchies and their orientations) and economically (through capitalist and financial structures). These elements are intricately connected and can endanger all forms of radical or critical organising. Co-optation is also a phenomenon that comes to the fore when dealing with whiteness, the white gaze and coloniality. In the following section, we demonstrate how co-optation

and whiteness unfolded within CAMP, its group show *Decolonizing Appearance* (2018–19) and the process leading up to Johan Tiren's solo exhibition *Vi siger, hvad du tænker* (2019). Our point of departure is our own participation in *Decolonising Appearance* as well as the fact that a member of our collective was employed as Head of Communication and Education at CAMP during the period concerned.

Unlike SMK, CAMP is an independent, privately owned exhibition space established in 2015. Its history is closely tied to the white, extra-parliamentary left-wing movement and its migration activism. CAMP is located inside Trampoline House, a community centre for refugees and asylum seekers. CAMP's vision is that the centre, through art, can "stimulate greater understanding between displaced people and the communities that receive them – and stimulate new visions for a more inclusive and equitable migration, refugee and asylum policy."[12] The method to achieve this vision builds on the founders Tone Olaf Nielsen and Frederikke Hansen's earlier practice from the curatorial collective Kuratorisk Aktion.

Nielsen and Hansen's work as Kuratorisk Aktion was, from its beginnings in 2005, an important intervention in the art world and the field of curatorial praxis. Through their collective praxis, Kuratorisk Aktion developed what they called a 'politics of alliance' that "combines various struggles, practices and theories in order to stress that the war has to be fought on *both* sides of the (neo)colonial divide."[13] This 'politics of alliance' was also important, seeing as they were "a collective of white, Scandinavian, middle-class women, who 'every morning wake up on the right side of capitalism'," and so required colonised voices as correctives to their position.[14] An example of Kuratorisk Aktion's use of this approach is the extensive exhibition series *Rethinking Nordic Colonialism* (2006), which connected political groups, artists and academics in Nuuk, Reykjavik, Tórshavn, Rovaniemi and Copenhagen. It focused on creating a "transnational,

multi-vocal and cross-disciplinary" platform that could address the past and the present; an attempt to make the Nordics aware of its colonial history and reality. In this project and methodology, both white and colonised people shared responsibility for changing society, working together under a curatorial policy which "never [compromises] the thematic of the exhibition project or the contributions of the participants."[15]

Who and what is being decolonised?

In many ways, *Decolonizing Appearance* is a continuation of Kuratorisk Aktion's 'politics of alliance'. The group show, guest curated by visual culture theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff, was ambitious in its scale. It included a number of prominent contemporary artists (Khalid Albaih, Jeannette Ehlers, John Akomfrah, Dread Scott, Carl Pope, Jane Jin Kaisen, Abdul Dube), a research centre (Forensic Architecture), academics (Gurminder K. Bhambra, Pedro Lasch, Sonja Dyer) and activist collectives (MTL/Decolonize This Place and Marronage). Our decision to participate was in part informed by Hansen and Nielsen's earlier work in Kuratorisk Aktion and their attentiveness to our interventions in the public debate and in public space.

Our contribution consisted of a compilation of editorials from our three journals for the exhibition catalogue, an installation consisting of physical copies of Marronage journals and a collective reading during the opening weekend. Along with a programme of events and workshops, hopes were high that the exhibition would also contribute to establishing new decolonial groups within Trampoline House, as well as supporting already existing groups. But despite the project's ambitions, we found ourselves wondering: Who does the exhibition address? And what is being decolonised? If we review the exhibition, we can sense a tendency in which a white subject is assumed to be the target receiver.

↑   Still from Decolonizing Appearance press video showing Abdul Dube's The only title I want is… human, 2011/2018. Courtesy of CAMP.

With the possible exception of those by John Akomfrah and Dread Scott, a common characteristic for the works was that although the artists and collectives were using their own voices, their gaze and their words were directed at Europe – in order to show the workings of whiteness, and in order to show white people the workings of whiteness. In our journals, this is expressed in the hope that a white majority will read our texts and be moved to act in solidarity. Jane Jin Kaisen's family portrait *The Andersons* critiques white desire for the nuclear family. Carl Pope's series of letterpress posters *The Bad Air Smelled of Roses* contains questions and statements by black people to black people (that could be purchased for $400 a piece)***. Khalid Albaih's *Africa Light* illustrates an African 'we' plundered by the surrounding world. Jeannette Ehlers' video installation *The Gaze* tries to create eye contact and remind the white visitor that 'I am here because you were there'.

***   A special deal meant that 75% of the price would go to CAMP.

And Abdul Dube's piece expresses a wish for the niqab-wearing Muslim woman to be seen by others as human. In all these works, a reality is explained to a white audience. There is a desire for recognition: of the injustice, violence, oppression and marginalisation. Even though there is a critique of whiteness, there is also a desire for acceptance by that whiteness, a hope for dialogue or a belief that things will change when we are seen. Appearance is decolonised for the white gaze; but we struggle to imagine who 'we' are without it. Don't the colonised already intuitively know that they are colonised? Do we need to address the white subject, just to educate them about their violence? And what does it do to a white subject to move through an exhibition where their body is centred, even if the walls are painted red instead of white? What happens when questions and critiques addressed to a white audience are mixed with attempts to create a utopian future where 'we' can appear as human and breathe together? These are among the questions raised by the presence of a banner on the ceiling of the large exhibition room.

　　'When we breathe, we breathe together' were the words MTL decided to use during a banner workshop with users of Trampoline House. The banner was originally intended for Trampoline House, but was moved into the exhibition space for aesthetic reasons. Here it is transformed from a futuristic paraphrase of the Black Lives Matter slogan 'I can't breathe', and Eric Garner's final words and cries for help are made into a performance for an anonymous 'we'.

↑　　Installation view of Decolonizing Appearance showing contributions by Jeannette Ehlers, Marronage, MTL and Carl Pope. Courtesy of CAMP.

　　Within this curatorial and artistic decision lies a danger of commodifying blackness, in which – as bell hooks notes on blackness, art and Otherness – "communities of resistance are replaced by communities of consumption."[17] The white subject is invited to breathe on equal terms with bodies whose shortness of breath is caused by white supremacy. Moreover, how can "we" breathe together when Forensic Architecture is showing two Palestinian boys being murdered by the Israeli state on repeat in the same exhibition?

　　Although the exhibition points to the grip of whiteness and colonialism on most of the world, the question of who is assumed to be the the exhibition's receiver and what space is created in the exhibition is further confused by the guest curator himself. The clearest example is Mirzoeff's statement to kunsten.nu: "Here, [in Trampoline House] no one asks where you are from. No one tells you you have an accent or that you don't speak correctly. Everyone works cooperatively.

There are shared meals and child care, education and legal aid. Trampoline House is an example of a world I would like to live in," [our translation].[18] One could argue that Mirzoeff gives the impression that stepping into Trampoline House is not just the first step towards decolonisation, but that it is to step into a space outside of power relations. Yet what happens when asylum seekers divulge their experience of the exhibition as part of CAMP's *talking about art* programme in order to improve their chances of getting residence permits? What happens when their voices and experiences are used to correct a white art audience? And what about those that Mirzoeff mentions indirectly, who need legal counsel and education in the rest of the building?

Trampoline House and CAMP are important spaces, but they are not free of power relations. They are very real spaces structured by white supremacy, misogyny, class, citizenship and heterosexuality, among other factors.[19] What we end up with is decolonisation once again being reduced to a metaphor that covers over other conditions – be it whiteness or internal power dynamics. The danger here is that consuming the exhibition is equated with decolonisation. Yet the metaphor and the idea about CAMP (and Trampoline House) as a transformative space also form a useful communication strategy that helps make the exhibition, the exhibition space and its thematics 'edible' for white sponsors and art audiences.

The (in)edibility of migration politics
One of the main challenges for arts institutions is securing funding, whether from their users or in the form of grants from foundations. This means that all cultural institutions have to find ways to commodify their content, and that they often decide what that content should be based on its financial potential. CAMP, which works with migration politics and artists that have migrant and racialised backgrounds, is subject to this demand just as much as other institutions.

As a result, it must make critical exhibitions, as well as the exhibition space itself, 'edible'.

In "Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance" bell hooks explains how the commodification of 'the Other' and 'Otherness' offers a white society – herein a white consumer subject – a more satisfying, well-seasoned experience. To desire these experiences and spices, so to speak, is part of what sets this white subject apart from the rest of the 'racist whites' and makes them feel superior. In this way, racialised and colonised people's struggles, cultures and lives are made into consumer objects, snacks, that can be 'eaten' by white people as part of their personal growth.

At CAMP, however, what takes place is not the usual exotification, but a range of practices that try to convince a racist Danish political reality of the asylum seeker, migrant or racialised person's edibility. All this to attract capital. It takes the form of teaching asylum seekers about Danish values and the job market, giving them guide training focused on Western art, thereby demonstrating how integration can succeed at CAMP and Trampoline House in a way that it does not elsewhere in society. On the one hand, these spaces fill a gap and a need created by the state's migration and death politics. On the other, this strategy contributes to the necessity of integration politics. The Othered individual's story is only useful insofar as it generates value and positions Western society as superior. The Othered individual is edible when they are grateful and willing to integrate – and only then. Even though CAMP is distinct from Trampoline House, there are overlaps, as can be seen in CAMP's plan of action for 2018–2020.

In this plan of action, CAMP's success and justification is tied to its importance for migration and integration. And the institution attempts to make this into a commodity that could and should be exposed to more majority Danes. The targets in the plan were high. Between 2018 and 2020, the institution aimed to increase the number of visitors by 50%; increase

the number of guided tours, presentations, educational programmes and publications by 15% every year; and increase its fundraising earnings by 20% annually. During this period, CAMP aimed to secure 65% of its increased earnings from private and public foundations.[20] These requirements or wishes or dependencies for CAMP's growth put pressure on the frameworks for external communication and on the production of content. Because how can you challenge the white subject when you desire growth that is dependent on the white subject's participation? How can you improve the opportunities open to racialised asylum seekers when money from foundations is conditional on the achievement of integration efforts?

Even if the reason for generating more money is tied to the institution's sustainability, CAMP's management has indirectly contributed to creating an economic pressure that is conditional on an edibility that goes against the content of its exhibitions. And precisely this interplay between edibility, capital and whiteness can also illustrate some of the consequences of being co-opted by larger structures. Although CAMP has attempted to open the possibility of critical engagement with 'integration' through their two-year exhibition programme *State of Integration,* it cannot avoid internalising the dominant discourse.

Co-opted by nationalism

Some clear effects of co-optation and whiteness can be seen in the run-up to the CAMP open exhibition by the white Swedish artist Johan Tirén, Vi siger, hvad du tænker. Where the previous CAMP open exhibition was created by Pablo Andres, a queer dissident from Chile and asylum seeker in Denmark, this year's exhibition consisted of video installations showing interviews with the Sweden Democrats' then secretary general Jan Milld and press secretary Jonas Åkerlund carried out in 2005. According to the press material, the exhibition's intention

was to let the neo-fascists' own words speak for themselves. As Tirén explains: "What I wanted to do was to let the Sweden Democrats speak about their ideology. I wanted to hear them formulate their politics and see if they could actually provide arguments for the politics they put on the table" [our translation].[21] Through this tactic, it was hoped that the audience's own possible fascistoid thoughts would be mirrored by the Sweden Democrats and that viewers would draw parallels with the politics of the Danish People's Party.

But the exhibition's content was criticised by, among others, CAMP's own guides and some users of Trampoline House. They expressed a dissatisfaction and puzzlement over the decision to give fascists and Nazis room to speak in the house. This internal critique resulted in a person in the asylum system being removed from the guide programme, with the explanation that they were unfit to be a guide due to the feelings the exhibition provoked in them. Instead of the critiques being heard as legitimate considerations of curatorial and political choices, a marginalised user and part of both CAMP and Trampoline House was pushed aside.

The consequences of such internal decisions were further heightened by developments in the Danish political landscape. The Venstre-led government, in collaboration with the Social Democrats, the Socialist People's Party and the Danish People's Party, had voted to introduce an apartheid-like 'ghetto package' that would privatise social housing and discriminate against people with 'non-Western' backgrounds. The political consensus also supported making conditions worse for people in the asylum system. This included a proposal to imprison asylum seekers on the remote Lindholm island, which has been used for scientific experiments involving highly contagious diseases. It was a climate in which a general election was to be called before June 2019 and two fascist parties were poised to enter the electoral race: The New Right (Nye Borgerlige) and Hard Line (Stram Kurs).

Especially the latter would prove important to developments at CAMP.

At the beginning of April that same year, Rasmus Paludan, leader of Hard Line, had ignited Nørrebro when he walked through the neighbourhood setting fire to the Quran. Paludan's demonstration was met with riots. Just a few days later, on 12 April, a historic event took place. Bwalya Sørensen, leader of Black Lives Matter Denmark, won one of the country's only racism cases against Paludan.[22] Unfortunately, this once again made Bwalya the target of retaliation. Her home was vandalised and Paludan was given police permission – and protection – to demonstrate near her home, despite having just been convicted of racism. A member of Marronage, who also worked for CAMP, was among those organising solidarity with Bwalya. But when working on the exhibition, the institution's management raised a disappointing suggestion.

They suggested organising a panel discussion in Trampoline House featuring, among others, the Danish People's Party. And if not them, members of parliament from the Conservative People's Party, Venstre or the Social Democrats. This suggestion may be tied to CAMP's need to create political alliances at the municipal level, but its problematic nature is obvious. Inviting racist politicians to speak at an exhibition about Nazism is to give that discourse speaking time. You end up with an exhibition that aestheticises neo-fascist beliefs and the content is allowed to seep out of CAMP to take up space in Trampoline House – without the users' consent. People forced into camps would be obliged to listen to the people responsible for upholding the border regime. While fascism was on the rise outside the exhibition space, the institution had no problems imagining giving it room within the exhibition. This decision resulted in our group member leaving CAMP before the end of their contract, as they could no longer support the institution's prioritisations. If Kuratorisk Aktion were wary of being co-opted by larger

structures earlier in their career, we are tempted to say that that fear has become a reality.

For us, this episode demonstrates the interplay between well-meaning white people occupying positions of power, hierarchies conditioned by racialisation and citizenship, and the dilemma that lies in being reliant on larger financial structures. Our participation in CAMP's group show and the final episode illustrate how co-optation unfolds at different levels (management, communication, curation, etc.) and how whiteness is a structural element. These dynamics will be further elaborated in the next section, which consists of an interview with Emil Elg, whose work was expelled from the Workers Museum in 2016.

Scene #3: The Workers Museum
There is an apprehensive fear that if the colonial subject speaks, the colonizer will have to listen. She/he [sic] would be forced into an uncomfortable confrontation with 'Other' truths. Truths that have been denied, repressed and kept quiet, as secrets. [...] Secrets like slavery. Secrets like colonialism. Secrets like racism.
– Grada Kilomba, Plantation Memories

On 3 September 2016, artist and academic Emil Elg performed the piece *Hvis du er hvid er du min fjende [If you are white you are my enemy]* at the opening of the exhibition *En blank og vårfrisk dag [On a shiny, fresh spring day]* at the Workers Museum in Copenhagen.[23] Taking the museum's extensive historical collection of labour movement banners as its starting point, this exhibition proposed to explore, through contemporary art, what 'solidarity' and 'community' meant at that current moment.

In the form of a 20-minute speech, Elg's performance unfolded a comparative analysis of the socialist anthems *Naar jeg ser et rødt Flag smælde* and The Internationale that pointed

to the nationalist undertones of the former. It went on to show how Danish social democracy is a racist ideology, as evidenced by the Social Democrats' stance on migration politics, that has found its utmost expression in party leader Mette Frederiksen.[24] As the setting for his performance, Elg chose the rostrum in the Workers Assembly Building's Banquet Hall, which carries a specific party-political charge as a result of its historical and ongoing use by the Social Democrats. And although intended to be filmed and subsequently screened in the exhibition, the performance's afterlife ended up veering in a drastically different direction.

The Workers Museum's director and board responded to *Hvis du er hvid er du min fjende* by removing the piece from the exhibition and firing Elg with immediate effect from his position as 'in-house artist'. The debate surrounding this decision reverberated across the Danish media landscape, framed in terms of censorship, artistic freedom and freedom of speech.

In part as a consequence of the museum's affiliations with a specific political party, Elg's performance was present in the exhibition only as an absence, a silence. Although the museum seems to have wanted to erase any and all traces of Elg's contribution (from taking down the screen on which his work was to be shown to removing his name from all press material), the act of removal produced its own traces. As with the many absentings at SMK and CAMP, the removal of Hvis du er hvid er du min fjende speaks of a conversation cut short by the institution's cultural-political agenda and white fragility. We are grateful to Emil Elg for answering our questions about his performance and the sequence of events that unfolded around it. We see the following interview as a way of *caring for* and communicating his experience of exposing the 'Other truths' that the institution would have preferred to cover up.

Marronage: *What did it mean (for you as a black artist) to be invited to participate in the exhibition En blank og vårfrisk dag?*

Emil Elg: Thank you for asking. The first question is somewhat difficult to answer, I feel. I was happy to have been invited. The exhibition concept seemed interesting and relevant, and despite there being a number of issues (as there inevitably are when dealing with institutions of that size), I wasn't in doubt about wanting to participate.

I don't know if I saw myself as a black artist when I began my working relationship with the Workers Museum, but I know that I did when it ended.

M: *What thoughts did you have about the significance of form, the speech as a genre and your own physical presence for the work?*

EE: Quite some time passed after I was invited to participate in the exhibition before I decided that the speech would be my primary contribution (I say 'primary contribution' because there was also an agreement with the Workers Museum that I would be affiliated with the museum's educational department for a longer period of time after the exhibition's opening as a so-called in-house artist responsible for facilitating workshops with elementary school students). Before I decided on the speech as a format, I considered a number of other possibilities. For instance, I intended at one point to use the production budget to buy Volkswagen shares for the Workers Museum. But as the project progressed, it became increasingly apparent that my contribution had to be very clear in its communication.

There were several reasons for this. The Social Democrats, under the leadership of Mette Frederiksen, have recently won the general election, but when I received the invitation to participate in *En blank og vårfrisk dag,* the party was still in opposition. And one of the central strategies they employed with a view to taking over the prime minister's

seat was to shift their stance on the so-called immigration and integration policy area further to the right. The objective was to attract voters that would otherwise favour the Danish People's Party, and thereby undermine the then government's parliamentary foundation.

The combination of this intensification of an already racist discourse and the Danish state apparatus' radical use of violence against refugees meant that it became necessary to explicitly verbalise the Workers Museum's concrete political history and ties. Because the Workers Museum is, as its name suggests, an institution with very direct connections to the Danish labour movement and to the Danish Social Democrats who still today use the museum's Banquet Hall (where my speech was given) on a variety of occasions, such as election nights, weddings and book releases. And when I was told that the exhibition's title would be derived from the prominent, nationalist, social democratic anthem *Naar jeg ser et rødt Flag smælde,* it seemed necessary to devise a work with the capacity to address this concoction of social democracy, nationalism and racism.

↑   Still from video of Emil Elg performing Hvis du er hvid er du min fjænde from the rostrum in the Workers Museum Banquet Hall, 2016. Courtesy of the artist.

EE: Another reason I felt it was necessary for my contribution to be unambiguous was that the other works in the exhibition, in my view, didn't take the Workers Museum's relationship to the current political situation seriously enough. There is no reason for me to go into depth about the other works, but an illustrative example that gives an impression of the elementary level of reflection is a large flag produced by a Danish artist duo for the exhibition, consisting of old red labour movement banners that had been sewn together and embellished with the phrase "Hope not fear".

So these were among the reflections that led me to decide to deliver a speech on the opening night. The speech format could support the communicative clarity I felt was necessary and, at the same time, it made the Workers Museum's peculiar institutional status clear. Because although the Workers Museum is a museum whose main responsibility is to communicate a specific part of Danish history, it is also a building where politicians and union leaders continue to meet and deliver speeches to each other from the rostrum in the impressive banner-bedecked Banquet Hall. This was the rostrum I spoke from.

Regarding the last part of your question, the question of the significance of my "own physical presence" for the piece, this was something I spent a lot of time thinking about. For example, I considered whether I should ask someone else/ several other people to deliver the speech and, in that case, who that person/those people should be. And I also thought about staging the performance with more drama…
for instance, I thought about entering the exhibition opening with an entourage of bodyguards… but as the case often is with these things, I ended up choosing the simpler solution: me, alone on stage, behind the rostrum, no bodyguards, no backing band. Another central question was how the speech was to be pronounced…
what kind of energy I would aim to convey. Would it be best

to memorise the speech and present it with politician-like diction? I decided – maybe with the intent of keeping the potential totalitarian undertones of the format at bay – not to look out into the audience too often, to keep the energy of the performance introverted, porous…

M: *Why was it important for you to give your critique a personal dimension by pointing out an individual that represents and upholds racist structures?*

EE: I presume you are referring to the fact that I called the leader of the Social Democrats, Mette Frederiksen, a racist in the speech? For me the critique wasn't 'personal'. It's true that I, in the final part of the speech, cited some of Frederiksen's statements, but these were statements she had made as a politician and on behalf of Denmark's largest political party. I know nothing about Mette Frederiksen as a person, and she doesn't interest me.

But I think I understand what you are asking, and it's always a balancing act. The critique needs to be directed at the structural level if it is to be effective in the long run. But at the same time, there can be great strength and clarity in zooming in and naming specific names. I tried to reconcile these two levels in the speech.

I recently read the book Who Killed My Father by the French author Édouard Louis. The text, which is addressed directly to the author's father, ends with some passages that, in a very effective and moving way, exemplify where responsibility for structural violence can and should be placed. I would like to quote one such passage:

> "In March 2006, the government of Jacques Chirac, then eleven years in office as president of France, and his health minister Xavier Bertrand announced that dozens of medications would no longer be covered by the state, including many medications for digestive problems. Because you'd had to spend your days lying

> flat since your accident, and because you had bad nutrition, digestive problems were a constant for you. Buying medicine to relieve them became more and more difficult. Jacques Chirac and Xavier Bertrand destroyed your intestines."

M: *Why do you think an artwork that took the form of a critique or an analysis of racism couldn't be seen as a contribution?*

EE: This is difficult for me to answer, but the director of the Workers Museum, Søren Bak-Jensen, made the following statement about me and the speech to a major Danish newspaper:

> "The charge of racism was a crude generalisation, but the decisive factor was that his speech had no relation to the exhibition En blank og vårfrisk dag in which six artists were asked to reflect on future symbols of community. It was this lack of connection to the exhibition's theme that was central to our decision."

This is obviously a rather muddled statement, seeing as my work was the piece in the exhibition that most clearly addressed the exhibition's theme and its institutional frame. In addition, Bak-Jensen tries to make it sound like it's common practice within arts and cultural institutions for directors to remove artists – without consulting the institution's curators – on the basis of autocratic assessments of the extent to which their work relates to a given exhibition's theme or not. This is hardly common practice in Denmark. But in a strange way, I think the director is speaking honestly.

It is important to remember that the Workers Museum doesn't usually exhibit contemporary art, and that the director, when he decided to house En blank og vårfrisk dag, had no experience with exhibitions of that kind. He has now. It is my

impression that what Bak-Jensen is trying to say when he claims my work's "lack of connection to the exhibition's theme" is that he doesn't see it as an artwork. He was expecting art, but what he got was, for him, not credible as art, it didn't fit his notion of (contemporary) art because it resembled something else, resembled politics. It was too realistic to be art and, as a result, it was inappropriate. He was, quite simply, confused.

↑   Media player in En blank og vårfrisk dag with an empty space where Emil Elg's name should have been, demonstrating one of the inelegant solutions attempted by the Workers Museum in the wake of Elg's expulsion from the exhibition. Courtesy of Emil Elg.

M: *What consequences have the performance and the Workers Museum's reaction to it had for you?*

EE: All sorts. In relation to the work, one could probably say that it, in a somewhat sad and ironic way, was enhanced as a consequence of the exclusion. At any rate, the speech reached a far larger audience than if it, as originally intended, had only been featured in the exhibition on a monitor.

Our – mine and the work's – expulsion from the museum also ended up becoming a point in itself. A point that in some respects supported and illustrated the contents of the speech. And in addition, the jovial, feel-good mood that the exhibition was unfortunately characterised by, was killed once and for all. The exhibition's curator was fired, the institution's political agenda was brought out into the open. And all of this, one could say, were good results.

But maybe it's a bit too easy, a bit glib and a bit dishonest of me to answer in this way. Because I was both shocked and hurt when the director called me in for a meeting to inform me of the expulsion two days after the opening. Shocked because I hadn't by any stretch of my imagination thought that he, on the basis of my relatively unobtrusive speech, would take such a drastic, old-fashioned and risky decision; hurt because I had put a lot of time and energy into the work, and because I felt I was being subjected to extremely patronising behaviour.

So, mixed feelings, both then and now.

It took me a long time to get used to the attention the case received, both in mainstream media and on other platforms. For instance, I remember a worried, sleepless night after I found a discussion about myself and the speech in a long thread on a far-right online forum. And the comments on YouTube, where I uploaded a video version of the speech, were also quite distressing. Many of the comments have since been deleted, but one of the comments that remains reads:

> *"just goes to show that they aren't danes, even if they grew up here … they will never be integrated. they want to impose islam on christian country ..deport this man from the country ..immediately. .useless politicians. ."*

That said, it is important for me to underline that I was also grateful for the overwhelming support I received from many different quarters. The speech became my entryway into a number of communities that still hold immense significance to me.

↑   Empty wall in the exhibition space where a monitor showing *Hvis du er hvid er du min fjænde* was supposed to be placed. Courtesy of Emil Elg.

For the racialised subject, speaking about racism can make you the problem and make you disposable. "If racism tends to recede from social consciousness," as Sara Ahmed suggests, "then it appears as if the ones who 'bring it up' are bringing it into existence."[25] Through the Workers Museum's defensive process of exclusion, the artist, who was seen as speaking racism into existence, (as if racism was not present in the space before it was spoken about) was singled out as someone the institution refused to acknowledge. Their contribution was framed as a disturbing attack that needed to be controlled because it could not be eaten. The white gaze, blindsided by the

content of the performance, used reference to the thematic as a regulating tool, structuring inclusion and exclusion.

From the chain of events that followed Emil Elg's performance we learn, among other things, about the limitation of the invitation, of being in an institutional space at the mercy of others, as a framework for meaningful and long-lasting interaction. We are left wondering what would have to happen for cultural institutions to become welcome homes for non-white cultural workers to "come to voice"[26] and how many "Other truths" are waiting to be expressed.

Concluding reflections and advice

In this article, we have examined how elements of specific exhibition projects at SMK, CAMP and the Workers Museum have provided care for whiteness and white fragility at the expense of BIPOC bodies, perspectives and historical experiences. For us, each example illustrates part of a larger whole. Instead of summarising each section, we have chosen to dedicate our conclusion to offering some concrete advice and reflections to racialised members of the cultural industry. We hope that they can inspire further resistance to and critical reflection of the structure and its white gaze.

1   *Pay attention to who owns the institutions. Examine their ownership and financial structure!* Capitalism and racism coexist, and even the best intentions fall short when money runs low. Likewise, larger institution can allocate funding to exhibitions about racism and colonialism, but that does not entail a change in the institution's orientation or constitution.

1.1   *Assimilation won't change the institutions!* Institutions are part of the colonial, capitalist and nationalist society. They enable oppression and often have centuries worth of experience co-opting critique

and erasing BIPOCS. Whiteness is part of the institutions' DNA. To wander through the institutions is to absorb their logics until you know them by heart. Eventually, you will begin to wonder who you were before. Bread on the table is important and representation is important, but don't think that you are more important and have more power than you really do. A racialised or colonised person cannot change a monster.

2   *White people cannot decolonise!*
We are critical of white people who build an image for themselves through anti-racist struggle, whether artistically, curatorially, academically, in activism or otherwise. The white subject is entangled in the colonial project in ways that centre and privilege it. The white subject cannot decolonise, because it does not have the historical or embodied experience as Othered. We believe that only racialised and colonised people can decolonise. And even here we have to take into account that conditions in the Global North are radically different from those in the Global South, and place even marginalised and oppressed groups in relatively advantageous, though contradictory, positions.
       The white subject can be an ally and fight against racism together with us and take responsibility for educating and bringing other white allies into the struggle. The white subject can use their privilege and power to fight in the places where we are always denied access, like white arts and educational institutions. We are sceptical of white artists and academics' frequent use of the word 'decolonial' when they are nowhere to be found at demonstrations outside the camps, when they do not use their knowledge in the media, when they work with 'decolonisation' behind their closed office doors and in white 'intellectual' communities.

3   *Organise!*
Organising collectively and in solidarity is the only solution to the challenges that racialised and colonised people face. That means, in the first instance, organising within a profession or an industry. An example of this is The Union, a union created by and for racialised artists and cultural workers in Denmark. Here, people can help each other with everything from writing workshops, funding applications and interventions to demonstrations and negotiations. It is vital that we see each other, create access for each other and care for each other.

4   *Stand in solidarity with all racialised and colonised people!*
It is also vital that those with privilege look beyond their own situation. This means solidarity with security guards, cleaning staff and kitchen workers. Solidarity with all forms of reproductive and invisible labour that are often carried out by migrants or people with little formal education. Truly decolonising and anti-racist work cannot be carried out as long as border regimes exist and are reproduced in a place of work.

The Seventh – strategies for increased cultural diversity

"One evening, an actor asked me to write a play for an all-black cast. But what exactly is black? First of all, what's his colour?"
   Jean Genet

The wish for more cultural diversity in the Nordic countries is based on a belief that arts and culture should reflect society, with all its nuances and complexities. The case for diversity in the Nordics could be understood better by looking at the history of immigration to Europe. After the second world war, there was a significant demand for workers, most of whom did not come from other European countries. From the 1960s onwards, every seventh worker in Europe was non-European. It was this figure that John Berger[1] refers to in his book title "A Seventh Man". The seventh worker hailed from the old European colonies and was, by that coincidence, non-white. This fact was used to rekindle old theories about race, but adapted for a new context.

Racism's argument had evolved from the belief that black people were inherently and genetically inferior to the new idea that their culture was not compatible with ours. This meant not only marginalizing and shutting out the newly arrived, but also their art, culture and particularities. It is this all-round exclusion that is the agenda for some political groups, and it is this scenario which warrants the response of actions such as those we call 'cultural diversity'. Cultural diversity is also meant to secure equality as well as ensure innovation within the cultural and arts fields.

The biggest misconception and assumption about the drive for cultural diversity is that it is predominantly about countering exclusion or supporting a specific individual artist. In reality, it is a generous act of enrichment, to society and especially the cultural field.

Simply put, cultural diversity is about challenging the established arts and culture institutions to keep pace with society, especially the demographic changes. In this way, what they offer can be in tune with the pulse of the community. It can be experienced as both relevant and resonant with the population. Furthermore, any efforts to promote cultural diversity must ensure improvements for the less privileged minorities, as well as artists from these groups. In short, it is about ensuring that cultural goods are distributed evenly among the entire public. That specific geographical areas, certain families and groups have less access to arts and culture is a result of social inequality and injustice. Cultural offerings either do not reach them or have no relevance to them and their situation, or both.

That art and culture do not reach everyone is a result of an imbalance where some define the premises and others have to accept being defined from above. It is not globalization but globalism that has erased the sense of community which used to be our protection. Perhaps arts and culture could serve as protection against new forms of suppression and inequality.

To do so, we must debunk the belief that we are now living in post-colonial times. On the contrary, we find ourselves in the middle of a neo-colonial era. The very same mechanism which was active in the old colonial times is still in place and affecting non-white citizens in our part of the world. Today, we have internal colonies consisting of minorities, and a 'colonial order' enforced by the majority. This process of difference and injustice is echoed in our arts field. I, therefore, suggest a seven-point strategy for improving our efforts to achieve cultural diversity in the arts field:

Strategic Action

The focus on cultural diversity in the Nordics in recent decades has yielded both favourable and not so favourable results. Our focus on diversity is often a sporadic act within the arts field, often taking the form of one-off events or projects. After these events, we pat ourselves on the back, happy to return to 'business as usual' without much change.

In 1998 Arts Council Norway launched The Mosaikk project, intended to specify and define the framework, language and terminology, stimulate and strengthen already established diverse projects, front new initiatives and create a climate which black and minority ethnic artist would feel was inclusive and credible. Various research boards had established that focusing on artists with immigrant and/or foreign background would be necessary for the arts field and the goal was to gather knowledge and foster competence to better understand and manage the new challenges which diversity represented for us.

Through all of these years, there have been multiple studies, action plans, proposals and support for both efficient and inefficient projects. It can, however, be argued that many of the initiatives should have continued and been further developed, altered or renewed. Alas, that has not been the case.

No doubt many are still looking for the results which could have led us to some fundamental conclusions and changes?

Probably due to how new the field of diversity is, we have more questions than answers. Long-term strategic planning and actions therefore become paramount. Strategies should reveal priorities and positioning of initiatives in relation to social challenges, surrounding and how these will be maintained to create an entirety. Here, it is essential to remember that the individual artist's right to remain autonomous and unique is in no way a contradiction to diversity.

In today's society, diversity can neither be ignored nor exaggerated.

Power Relations – Who has a seat at the table where the decisions are made?

Differential treatment in the social sphere shines through when we take a closer look at how power is distributed. We need to see "who has a seat at the table where the decisions are made," because it is in doing so that the inequality becomes visible. It is paramount that those who are marginalized when it comes to cultural power should not only be present when decisions are being made, but that they also have actual influence in the decision-making process. Platitudes and symbolic actions are not enough. To point out that the very composition of the structures themselves facilitates and leads to what is called structural discrimination is still considered a taboo. When decision-makers lack competence and training in diversity, the outcome becomes tokenism, injustice and righteous disappointment on the part of the actual stakeholders. Boards, committees, and reference groups, which administer or assess applications in relation to diverse genres, artist or segments without the necessary insight or training, should be deemed unfit.

In almost any given scenario, if eight people sit on a board or committee, we are lucky if even one of them is black or a person of colour or has any kind of minority background. Black is not a skin colour, but a political colour denoting political power or lack thereof.

Language and rhetorics

Some of the terminologies used in the public discourse on diversity and art are more revealing than others. An example of this is the intersection between terminologies, such as audience development, and existing prejudice. One could be led to the misconception that there is something 'wrong' with the audience that one has, instead of being directed to critically assess one's programming strategies with respect to only one specific audience. Relevance is, I believe, a much better lens to look at programming through for an existing or potential audience.

Encountering the 'others' has, to some, been such a new and surprising experience that it has taken time to develop a language to describe new situations and phenomena. Early on, most terminologies and phrases were designed to define minorities as something outside of the commons: foreigners, foreign workers, guest workers, first and second-generation immigrants, immigrant children, and so on. To be accepted as Norwegian can at times be such a demanding endeavour that many teens of colour instead define themselves as non-Norwegians rather than be rejected. Any effort will fall short if marginalized artists are to hear diversity mantras, while still experiencing that their cultural references are being negated.

Consistently and consciously creating terminologies and discourses that facilitate a cultural climate conducive to break down barriers rather than setting them is necessary groundwork if we are to strengthen the potential that cultural diversity has as a positive driving force in society.

Consistent Follow-up

Concrete actions designed to elevate and centre marginalized artist and their vantage points are met with many obstacles today that it is easy to fall back into old habits of exclusion. To ensure that this does not continue to occur, it is crucial that we continuously monitor and are consistent at all levels of implementation..

That the programming content of the larger arts institutions is relevant to as many as possible is one of the most important points highlighted in the *White Paper on Culture* published by our current Minister of Culture and Equality, Trine Skei Grande, in the autumn of 2018.

Some diversity initiatives have proven to be more successful and sustainable than others, precisely because they have assured continuity. Det Norske Teaterets project *Den Mangfoldige Scenen* is an example of how cultural diversity can be included in an established national institution. The project was initially met with scepticism as exemplified in Professor Odd Are Berkaak's evaluation in Arts Council Norway's report from 2002 called "Fri for fremmede" [Free for foreigners].

In spite of this scepticism, the theatre has thrived and receives a positive response to giving stage roles to actors with an immigrant background. This shows the importance of willingness within the institutions to engage in continuous strategic work.

However, it is an open question whether an institution which is fundamentally purely white could be sufficiently altered and evolved through projects like such.

Many of the challenges that face the theatres are universal, and similar situations occur and are encountered in every country. Many thoughts arise. Searching for the answers to the question, so that we may move forward, is a long-term endeavour.

Have the theatre institutions ever asked themselves: Why have separate theatre companies for and by black artists emerged? The Oslo-based Nordic Black Theatre developed as an answer to the community's call for alternatives to the established theatres and is today delivering professional productions.

Collaboration between public, private and voluntary sectors

There is a need for new opportunities and a new arena to foster insight and experience. Sadly, it seems that the national arts institutions lack the flexibility needed to develop multicultural and de-colonial approaches. Most of these institutions were built on cultural policies aimed at promoting national traditions and a classical understanding of cultural heritage. With such cultural policy starting point, it is only natural that they are poorly equipped to build practices and competencies designed to disseminate art to a 'third position' or create a 'third space'. Today, these competencies and practices are housed in predominantly non-commercial, partly voluntary, and privately-owned institutions like Cosmopolite, Nordic Black Theatre, X-Ray Youthclub, Samspill Music Network, Union Scene and Melahuset.

It is essential to continue to invest in and build the institutions that have managed to create the necessary experience and competence over the last thirty years. The reason why these private institutions have been able to evolve in tune with the development of the field is that these institutions, and their surrounding communities, have built experience, skills, networks and empathy to implement and manage change. The Mela House in Oslo is an example of how having a foundation built on history, minority-led initiatives, knowledge and infrastructure has proven essential in developing an innovative and new arena, as well as ways of approaching the programming process. In an evaluation of the

Mela Festival and our vision "to be an other amongst the others" Professor Odd Are Berkaak writes the following:

> *"In Mela's vision, there is a core belief that presenting international art will allow the audience to experience themselves in situations where thinking along the lines of nationality and ethnicity is no longer as relevant and defining. Mela values accessible art and culture as a human right."*

However, we still find ourselves at a stage where collaboration between the public and voluntary sectors is a necessary prerequisite for success. Results can be achieved by combining the public sector's access to resources and institutional structures/competence on the one hand with the flexibility, network and credibility in the community that the voluntary sector has on the other. If what we wish to achieve is collaboration between the voluntary and public sectors (such as Arts Council Norway), it will be necessary for the public sector to engage in the process of self-reflection and evaluation. This should be seen as a prerequisite for future expansion in this field.

We must critically ask how diversity in the Norwegian arts sector has developed since the Mosaikk project. How diverse is the work being done in the Arts Council's expert committees? How much of the total grants are going towards strengthening minorities' cultural heritage?

Specialized focus and core activities

The Norwegian Theatre's work in the field of cultural diversity opens up new avenues of questioning. Should cultural diversity be a specific affirmative action, or should the work be an integrated, streamlined part of the institutions' core activity, or both?

It should be possible to create a dynamic relationship between establishing and initiating specialized projects, such as Mosaikk, and the expert committees' core activities. This dynamic relationship should be viewed as an essential prerequisite for success. Furthermore, it should then be evaluated, reassessed and tweaked every year in line with progress in the field.

Taking all this and more into account, the arts field's response to the positive changes that the aforementioned specialized initiatives have generated, has, on the whole, been rather modest compared to the all-consuming processes of change that society at large has undergone. If we were to compile everything that has been achieved and attempted in recent years into one comprehensive overview, it would make for very informative reading. Both with respect to what has been successful and what has not.

Diversity and equity in a holistic arts policy

Cultural diversity means to mirror the reality of the broader arts field. Time is running out on combining the struggle for equity and the struggle for diversity. As distances are closing in and the world is 'becoming smaller', we see how cultural expressions from around the world are represented, blended and assimilated into popular culture, such as music, dance, literature and film. If the larger established institutions do not keep up with these developments, they will find themselves outdated and made irrelevant for the generations to come.

A holistic approach to cultural diversity means that different public institutions communicate with each other and reach an understanding. It matters little that a Minister of Culture attends several conferences about cultural exchange and artistic interaction across borders, if the same ministers' government is actively doing its utmost to ensure limitations on the very international artists in question, such as visa denials as a simple example. Our most important task is

to create an environment where the guiding principle is that diversity and variety, in all its complexity, is perceived as a strength and an asset to society.

The various Nordic societies have undergone huge changes over the last 50 years. The arts field has felt the effects of this movement, albeit at a slightly slower tempo. Even with the many activities and projects initiated over this time, we are yet to see much visible change. Maybe we should merge initiatives for equity and equality with an initiative aimed at strengthening cultural diversity? Working for cultural diversity could be compared to the struggle women have fought to define their representation in the arts.

How can the ethnocentric and Eurocentric barriers be challenged? How much time must pass before we reach the understanding that Salman Rushdie, Wole Soyinka, Gabriel Garcia Marquez and William Shakespeare all belong to our shared cultural heritage?

When the position of minorities' in society is generally weak, we find many obstacles in the arts field. When strong forces are mobilized in the 'othering' of the non-European and create an inhuman representation of 'others', it is even more important that art and culture should push back to humanize the image of those others. There is simply no more significant argument for why we must mobilize and strengthen the arts.

Switch

Some days my heart is hopeful,
ready to fill my surroundings
with energy
with light
Some days I need the surroundings
to fill me
with the very same things

Then I ask myself,
What if some days there's nothing to fill me up?
When I know the possibility is never to give up?
Could I invent a switch,
that turns on the fire
Like electricity turns on a lightbulb

The sunbeams from my open window wake me up,
Early in the morning,
Telling me it's a new day,
New day to make my life better,
A new day to shine bright like the sun
Greeting us from the sky

Then I remember,
That I am that switch
Unapologetically flipping
on/off
light on, rarely off
Remembering that sometimes
We have to be switched off
in order to be on

Then a few moments
trying to remember
Who I am
Where I am
Funny how the answer tends to differ

The pressure from the World
tends to make us forget
that we are allowed to be soft,
in need of help
we have a right to not be
a fireball of resilience
all the time

One day I am a warrior,
Ready to conquer the control of myself,
Of my life
The next day I feel like life is the one conquering me

we tend to forget
that our very existence
is pure resistance
we will not die

Don't let them forget
that you come from a line of survivors,
Remember
the ancestral force that lives in you,
that is woven in your DNA
The force that they tried to erase
To hold down,
But you,
You are the evidence of the victory of your ancestors

We carry the responsibility for the future of our children,
our sisters' children,
brothers' children
and also
our parents' children
we owe it to us to secure the future

But what if I told you
It's not your burden to carry
By yourself

I love you for trying
every day
every night
know your rights
but more importantly
believe in your rights

to exist
to succeed
to fail
to question
to not know better
to learn
to try again

The Road to Utopia

It is always a challenge for me to put words on the current situation in Kalaallit Nunaat, renamed by colonizers as Greenland. It is a place like no other in the world and it is so, not only because of its geography but also its demography. Kalaallit Nunaat is an island of over two million square kilometres, making it the largest island in the world, with a population of fifty-six thousand people,[1] of which the vast majority are concentrated on the west coast, with a smaller population residing on the east coast. We live on foundations divided by water where a look invites to what seems like infinite landscape. The climate can be rough, though, and the superiority of nature can sometimes feel overwhelming, not to mention challenging in practicality.

I have always had a strong connection to my homeland and its political situation, as my family always lived here. But I have felt that something was missing in terms of the work that I was trying to do. I moved back to the island two years ago for many reasons. Primarily to re-learn Kalaallisut (also known as Greenlandic, the official and indigenous language in Greenland), but also to understand the political and social situation better. I soon learned that it was the right decision,
as my perspective and understanding changed immediately.

I realized that the mindset here was radically different from what I have experienced while living in Denmark, particularly in the way we accept circumstances that are out of our control. I was missing the conversation on colonialism and independence while being in Denmark, and I soon got to witness how much it is being and always has been, debated and discussed in my homeland. I even experienced people who are so tired of highlighting the issue that there was no interest in even trying. I came to understand the privilege of being distanced to the daily struggles that the Kalaallit* face. I have not spent my entire life thinking about the extremely high costs

of the most basic necessities, such as food, housing and its accessibility. This stems from a long history of colonialism, but also the geographical and climate-conditioned reality where we are in need of importing everything from groceries to building materials, which is complicated in itself. For some people, to even have enough money to eat for the whole month is a struggle in itself. Despite this, the one thing for me that came as a surprise, even though I was aware of it, was the social struggle and how sensitive I realized that I had to be around these topics.

Dealing with issues that regard your own people is always tough, but to live in the very same circumstances makes it even harder. Not only do you feel the daily struggles but you try to understand them while living them. It may seem as if it would be easier, but that is far from the experience that I have had.

The fear of stepping on people's toes sometimes paralyzes me to the point where I don't even know where to start. Amongst the Greenlandic population living here and abroad, it is a well-known fact that the suicide rate is very high, actually one of the highest in the world (35 in 2012). It is something that I have dealt with my whole life, first-hand, second-hand and so on - it is always a very present issue. It has always been difficult to deal with but when I moved here and there was no longer a distance, it became palpable. For it is crucial to find ways to continuously motivate and inspire the population, especially the young ones, to pull through these hard times, even though it may sometimes seem hopeless.

Which leads me to the main question: what causes all of this? Why is life so hard, living in such a beautiful place? It always brings me back to the aftermath of our colonial history, which forcibly displaced the population in attempts of urbanization, abused the coal mining resources, exclusively promoted the use of Danish language in official matters, and required Greenlanders go to Denmark for their education after high school, as a few examples.

* Kalaallit (Greenlandic Inuit) are the indigenous population of Kalaallit Nunaat and makes up about 89% of the population.

As I have mentioned before, the conversation does exist here, and it will continue to do so. What I think is missing, or what needs to change, is the way we talk about it. After dealing with it for such a long time, people are justifiably tired and an inevitable negative outcome is expected from a conversation on colonialism. To me, it is very understandable, because it often becomes extremely polarized, non-nuanced and at times even hostile.

This is not a specific Greenlandic issue, I think this is the reality in every place where you find a disagreement, whether it stems from political, ideological or fundamental values. The difference, I believe, is the number of people** and how it can seem more intense when dealing with such significant issues. Your actions, statements and opinions can backfire everywhere, but somehow, here, you are more easily confronted with them. You can basically walk out the door and meet a reaction, especially if you are a public figure or just a well-known person in the community. Which you can easily become.

There is a need to create a space for these difficult, sensitive dialogues, which in practice would mean to create events for that specific purpose. The challenging part may be to facilitate a dialogue which leaves room for people to express their opinions and for everyone to be heard. Nevertheless, how do you facilitate such an event and at the same time do it in a responsible way? Could it even be done?

We need to understand the past and why the present is how it is today. That is a painful process for all of us, but it is there, haunting us; no matter if we speak about it or not. It is not a question of feeling sorry for yourself – which is often the answer you get when speaking on the colonization and its effects – but it is to acknowledge, understand and respect our situation. Even if this is not a new conversation, there is a new generation, ready to pick up this fight again. Prepared to face the reality with new energy and hopes for better circumstances

in our land. We can learn from the elders and their experience and we can use the vitality of the young ones. It does not have to be a battle between the old and the new generation – with such a small population and so little resources, everyone is needed.

I further believe that we need to start taking better care of ourselves, individually. We have to take our health seriously, not only physically but mentally. Healing from three hundred years of colonization is not a pink-clouded, blue-skied fairytale. It will take a lot of energy and resources, but we have to start now. We cannot keep postponing our well-being on behalf of our people.

Bringing awareness to these different issues is very important, but it is also uncomfortable. As I said before, when you live in this society it can easily seem hopeless. What is important is to keep reminding yourself, and the people around you, that it is not. The only ones that can change it are us. I am saying this being very aware that the outer factors need to be held accountable too. It is just as important to teach people living in Denmark about the issues our society is facing, due to our common colonial history. This can be a starting point which changes the perspectives and narratives that we as Greenlandic people face from Danish society. I have witnessed a great wish to confront these issues in Denmark (from both Greenlanders and Danes) in recent years, but I believe we still have a long way to go and many more conversations that need to take place.

I hope that in the future, there will be as much knowledge about Greenland in Denmark, as there is knowledge about Denmark in Greenland. I hope that I will not have to give a history lesson about what happened when the Danes arrived on our land in 1721 and the impact it has had, leading to the current situation in our country. I hope that in the future, I can introduce myself as a Greenlandic person in Denmark, without being met with an awkward, almost pitiful reaction.

** Greenland is the least densely populated country in the world.

Artwork by Laleh Kazemi Veisari

APPEN-
DIX

Tools, bandages, heights and blindfolded eyes

P I.

"Do you have a bandage?"

Yes, I know.
We can not fix the damage just by applying a plaster on the top.
Wounds must be purged consciously.
You need to do the cleaning repeatedly, every time you change the bandage or apply a remedy.
Honour the wounds' needs, remember to leave it to breathe.
Have patience and be consistent.
Things heal by regenerating other things. We can not foresee the texture, size and colour of the marks they will leave on us.
But Love your scars as you might get many over the years.

Privileges can be like utensils that every single one of us should have, as they serve our existence and survival.
Like tools, privileges can also be borrowed and stolen from others, so you can keep them in your garage because your neighbour can not.

What sort of means do we carry in our toolbox?
Why?
And how do we use them?

Did you know that a synonym for "tool" is "weapon"?
They can serve their function even without anyone operating them, sometimes they just need to be placed and exist
Tools can work as weapons even if they are not consciously handled as such.

Did you know that there is no adhesive bandage that will stick on a beaten heart?

Privileges then can be like blades
so useful and needed as looked over quickly.
I was never a knife thrower or their assistant,
To learn how to use sharp objects with respect and care,
and especially, to fear those who don't.

I had this old and strong neighbour who would try to comfort us by saying - At the end, we are all of one blood*-
She was one of the few people I've met who would pat you on the back fueled by hope. She died without having experienced an adhesive bandage that will match her skin colour.
Well, she wore so many! still, not even once did she complain or let that stop her from healing and take care of her scars.
She loved her scars as she loved her body, life and music.
She was one of the most talented pianists I have listened to in my life.

*   *"Al final somos todos de una
        misma sangre"*

Have you been cut by other people' privileges?

-Hello, Where are you from? -

Some are like paper cuts on our fingers,
editing our digit identity without asking.

P. II

Grandma said I was a man *"because the rage I carried was of men only."*
I was not a man, not a woman.

Some days I reach to the point where I am not even human,
and how could I be while surviving in this inhumanity?

What is human then?

Could we stop it?

Where will all of this end? Will it end?

Have we not done enough?

"Am I doing enough?"

I repeat
"Am I doing enough?"

I repeat
Are you doing enough?

Does your gut constrain when you hear yourself saying it too?
Does your blood freeze when you think, really think, about it

too?
My body feels like flying at 20,000 feet high, not knowing if
being an aeroplane or inside of it.

"Put your oxygen mask on first, before helping others."

"The red lights in the aisle will guide you towards an exit."

- I don't see colour-
(says someone next to me)

Are you sure?

I witnessed how people suddenly recover that capacity when
the alarm signs start to light on top of them.

It should be the height. I even saw people retrieving their
capability to see class, gender, sexuality, disability, age,
religion and other social stratification' tags they claimed not to
carry whilst boarding.
It is a miracle!
Like flying.

P. III

The first time I took a plane, I was 31 years old, and I came to
this country.
You asked me before, but some questions are formulated to
not admit the answer, I have plural origin, I live in,
I have no country
but the unearned power of an inherited European passport.
My parents sweated it out for me
They were forced to choose
trade it for another

trade
parts of their pride, history and dignity
so I could have the advantage of continue moving,
lighter and farther than they ever did.

Yet, as much I have grown towards the north and its sky,
as many borders, my body crossed, or scars it collected,
I never heard wiser sounds than those from my intricate roots,
serpenting and connecting
from east to south,
nourishing my soul and holding me on solid ground
while allowing me to stretch my bones 'til my eyes could stare
at the high peaks where the birds of prey abide.

There

Where a giant screen displays "Paradise" in a minimalistic font,
followed by the image of a happy family of hawks sharing
a festive ham in their mainstream fashionable design nest
meanwhile a voice informs of a 10% discount when shopping
at their furniture stores.

- How long have you lived here?-
- Do you speak our language?-

I opened my toolbox and put on my owl-passing privilege**,
as much I feared their talons and beaks I could also find them
beautiful,
but not more than me.

-Are you a craft or a tree? A human? A bird?-

I used to feel so desperate to know where I belong,
to show you I could fit at least in one of your narrow

classifications.
I used to be so little,
but neither getting smaller or dissecting myself in pieces I
could.

"You urge me to fit in one of these boxes
but I can hear my siblings who still do not have one.
I know what you are asking us.
Some questions are traps devised as warning signs".

Yet I stayed.
I wanted to explain what my elders thoroughly tried to teach
us: "Nobody is above any other", and "Own the consequences
of your choices".
But those birds of prey were trained before having feathers to
not recognise themselves as raptors, so their unconsciousness
would shield their unmerited advantages from being reduced
or to disappear.

"Why is it that when you sing for equality, your melodies
speak of enjoying equal opportunities to become a hunter?"
"Why do your hymns boast your position of dominance as
raptors, but your tunes reject the system where that exists?"

"No, I am not a bird,
my grandmother said I was a man because of the rage I carried.
Sometimes she was wrong, not often.
I don't speak your language, and when I do it, I do it with an
accent.
Broken, as the English I arrived with.
Well, I figured out I must use it anyway, when I was coming a
little door opened over my seat and it hung over my head.
Would you listen to me if I would not?
Would you try to understand what I am saying If I speak in a
different language? With a distinct twang?

** Metaphor, white-passing privilege

Or would it be just another oxygen mask to wear while I wait for the exit lights to show me the "right way"?"

<div align="center">

* * *
** ** **

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That's why I appeared smiling with missing patches of fur asking you for a bandage.
The bird pecks are not as hurtful as knowing they are not just the action of a few, but by an oppressive structure so carefully built that only the injuries it leaves on us are visible, and never felt, by their blindfolded habitats.

Would you have time to help me clean and disinfect before catching your flight up?

Kemê *(1983)* is a visual artist and a poet based in Finland who works interdisciplinary exploring the complexity of our individual construction and the constructions we inhabit. Its practice is currently focused on a project and research in the crossroad between, identity, art, community, intersectional feminism and the quality of myths as an open-source. Kemê also works with several Nordic cultural organisations and projects centred on diversity, accessibility, multiples identities, migration and norm-critical practices.

This glossary aims to enhance the quality of the dialogue on diversity, race and discrimination by providing a commonplace to ensure awareness on the terminology used when adressing these subjects.

It is acknowledged that often when discussing topics linked to diversity, structural power, privilege, racism, accessibility, inclusion and oppression at open forums, the terminology used by BIPOC is misunderstood, or had caused confusion. This has led to controversy and antipathy, preventing from achieving any degree of shared understanding and therefore, a common vocabulary is essential to avoid misunderstandings, which is the purpose of this glossary.

The following terms are defined collectively to the best of our capacity in order to improve knowledge on discrimination and marginalization — as we belive self-education is essential to oppose, eradicating, and dismantling racism as education is key to the process.

We share the experience of witnessing how terminology is used daily, knowingly, to engage and backing or to ignite and create more division and we therefore kindly ask you to recognise and respect the differences in what vocabulary you are entitled to use, when to use it and how.

Many of the terms below have evolved in their uses and acceptions over time, new words and definitions are created every day, and, in addition, there is a nonexisting universally agreed-upon language on diversity and racism, so that the same terms can have different uses on our varied Nordic countries as translations or acceptions. We are aware that some terms do not have an equivalent in every language and we therefore welcome the use of the English definition.

We expect institutions, organizations and decision makers to embrace this vocabulary and ensure that every room in the Nordic Art Sector is understood with its' importance, relevance and the vigorous change it holds.

Glossary

Afrocontempt

SV   Afroförakt
NO   Afro-forrakt
DK   -
FI   -
IS   -
GL   Qernertormiunik narruginninneq / Maajuginninneq

Afrocontempt is a word that goes beyond the definition of Afrophobia (see description below). It describes the contempt for the lives, rights and value of Black people. Afrocontempt explains a psychological process that renders possible the continued unjust treatment of Black people across the world. Blackness here is associated with not being fully human and therefore does not warrant full human rights. Afrocontempt is employed by people to stress that the unjust treatment of Black people doesn't necessarily spring from fear, but rather, out of contempt and malicious intent.

Afrophobia

SV   Afrofobi
NO   Afrofobi
DK   Afrofobi
FI   Afrofobia
IS   Andúð gegn Afríkumönnum
GL   Qernertormiuluarneq

Afrophobia can be compared with terms such as homophobia or Islamophobia, and is a generic term which includes racism, discrimination and hate crimes against black people or people whose skin colour is assumed to have associations to Africa.

BIPOC/POC/WOC

SV   BIPOC/POC/WOC
NO   Melaninrike, BIPOC/POC/WOC
DK   BIPOC/POC/WOC
FI   BIPOC/POC/WOC
IS   Litað fólk/litaðar konur, BIPOC/POC/WOC
GL   Qernertormiuluarneq, BIPOC/POC/WOC

BIPOC stands for Black people, Indigenous people, and Person of colour. The term highlights the unique relationship to whiteness that Indigenous and Black people have, which shapes the experiences of and relationship to white supremacy for all People of Color within the context of the United States. POC is an acronym for a person of color and people of color in plural. A closely related term is WOC, which is an acronym for women of color. The words are imported from an American context where it is used as an umbrella term to refer to non-white bodies. Though POC and WOC have evolved from self-identifications, that is to say, movements or groups that are racialized as non-white, there are critiques towards the terms. One critique is that the words don't differentiate a great deal from colonial concepts such as coloured people.

Class

SV   Klass
NO   Klasse
DK   Klasse
FI   Luokka, Yhteiskuntaluokka
IS   Stétt
GL   Inuiaqatigiinni inissisimaffeqatigiit

The concept was established in the 1800s as a base for both classical liberalism and early socialism. The concept has had the most importance within Marxist theory, where social classes have different roles in and in relation to modes of production. Here, class is about the power over ownership and to change the economic power structure in society.

      In sociology, other concepts of class have developed, with regards to not only the position of social groups to production, but also to processes such as consumption patterns, education and fundamental values. Class here is also about exploring different groups economic provisions – what they owe, how they provide for themselves and the possibilities they have for consumption. These factors affect groups' prospects to shape their lives and structure society in an unequal way. Research also shows how power relations based on class and racialization or ethnicity influence and reinforce each other. It is often called the ethnicization of the labour market when men and women of immigrant backgrounds are overrepresented in sectors and businesses with low salaries and bad working conditions such as in the taxi, cleaning and restaurant sectors. What can be explained from one perspective as a class inequality can also be seen as an expression of power relations based on ethnicity or place of origin.

Coloured

SV   Färgad
NO   Farget
DK   Farvet
FI   Värillinen
IS   Litaður - Lituð
GL   Simertoq

It is a term with colonial roots that originates from whiteness as a norm. Whiteness is made into a neutral non-colour, while other people are seen as coloured. It renders invisible not only white as a skin colour but also as a structural power position.

Colorism

SV   -
NO   -
DK   Colorisme
FI   Kolorismi
IS   -
GL   Inuiaqatigiinni inissisimaffeqatigiit

Colorism, also known as skin tone discrimination, is a the preferential or prejudicial treatment of same-race people based on skin color. A form of racial discrimination based on the shade of an individual's skin tone, typically favoring lighter skinned people who are treated with higher regard than those with darker skin tones. It can occur both within a specific ethnic group and across ethnic groups. The practice of colorism spans history and culture and was viewed as a sign of privilege and wealth, as darker skin resulted from manual labor in the sun.

Culture

SV   Kultur
NO   Kultur
DK   Kultur
FI   Kulttuuri
IS   Menning
GL   Kulturi

The word culture is almost used instinctively by many people, especially in debates about immigrants. At the same time, culture is seen as one of the most difficult concepts within the social sciences.

According to the anthropological definition, culture is the collection of values, rituals, traditions and customs created by people to understand, interpret and give meaning to the world. Included here as part of a culture are experiences and being –or conditions of life. More commonly, culture is understood as a changeable and volatile process that cooperates and is created through social (power)structures, economy, institutions and other social phenomenon.

The aesthetic definition instead captures culture as artistic, literary and symbolic artefacts—such as music, dance, film, art, and architecture. Central to the aesthetic perspective on culture is taste, appreciation, and pleasure of what is seen as beautiful or nice. In popular parlance, this type of culture is often seen as "fine culture", the culture of the elite or simply, culture.

Culture Clash

SV   Kulturkrock
NO   Kulturkræsj
DK   Kultursammenstød
FI   Kulttuurien yhteentörmäys
IS   Menningarmunur
GL   Kulturi pillugu aporaanneq

There is a reason to be critical of words such as culture clashes, cultural meetings and cultural competence. These words tend to assume culture to be stable, monolithic and as an object. The metaphor culture clash not only often frames the discussion of the conditions and challenges of the multicultural society in for example the realm of schools, it also creates an image of individuals carrying their cultures around. There is an inherent problem in the description of culture clash. Culture here works as a means to differentiate an "us" from a "them". The Other is defined as different because of their culture. The further the Other is from, the more different they are perceived and the more violent the clash is imagined. The further the place of origin of a person, the more they are perceived to be entrenched in culture – while "we" (westerners) are seen as individuals, freed from the burden of culture.

Culturalism, Cultural racism

SV   Kulturalism, Kultur rasism
NO   Kulturalisme, Kultur rasisme
DK   Kulturalisme, Kulturel racisme
FI   Kulturalismi, Kulttuuri rasismi
IS   Menningarleg nauðhyggja, Menningarlegur rasismi
GL   Kulturi tunuliaqutaralugu annikillisaaneq
      Kulturi tunuliaqutaralugu assigiinngisitsineq

Explanations that take culture for granted and natural or ascribe people as determined by culture can be seen as culturalism. Culturalist reasoning constitutes gross simplifications as it removes culture from its historical, institutional, economic and political context. Culturalism is suitable to gloze over or hide different structures – class-based, gendered or ethnic – inequalities, injustices and oppressions. Culturalist reasoning and opinions are an important part of the phenomenon, cultural racism.

A cultural racist discourse presents culture as static baggage that non-white people always carry around. Ideas of static cultural differences resemble earlier race biological thoughts on definitive and insurmountable differences between people. In cultural racism, racist principles and thoughts about a race-based essence, that is to say, qualities, skills and abilities inherited from culture or cultural belonging are expressed. Cultural racism emerges from the teaching or belief about culture is a given phenomenon with its own 'being'. Culture is seen as a characteristic that follows are a given and collective identity and origin. Cultural racism follows, in other words, similar principles as biological racism and is therefore equally problematic.

Diversity

SV   Mångfald
NO   Mangfold
DK   Mangfoldighed
FI   Moninaisuus
IS   Margbreytileiki
GL   Assigiinngiiaassuseq

Diversity is created when an organization or group is heterogeneous and contains many different experiences, people and identities. Many organizations aim to reflect society and therefore often have diversity as a goal. Examples of factors often included in diversity work are gender, foreign/non-foreign background, regional span, socioeconomic background, education level, religious belief, cultural identification, national minorities, variations in physical and mental abilities, sexual orientation/identity, age, ethnicity and race.

Ethnicity/Ethnic identity

SV   Etnicitet
NO   Etnisitet
DK   Etnicitet
FI   Etnisyys
IS   Etnerni
GL   Immikkut inuiaassuseq

Ethnicity means identification with and a feeling of belongingness to a group that defines itself in cultural terms. Today, ethnicity is understood as an aspect of a social relation between groups of people who see themselves as culturally distinctive to other groups. The self-identification of the group is central. Ethnic identity denotes the ways in which people define and position themselves in relation to ideas about ethnicity. There is no unified definition of what constitutes an ethnic group. Classifications of ethnic groups have often been based on a combination of different criteria such as language, religion, place/region, kinship and a common lineage. A person can have several ethnicities or ethnic identities.

Ethnocentrism

SV   Etnocentrism
NO   Etnosentrisitet
DK   Etnocentrisme
FI   Etnosentrismi
IS   þjóðhverfa
GL   Naggueqatigiittut imminut pingaartinneq

Ethnocentrism means centralizing one's own culture and viewing and measuring the world from one's own position and experiences. It means that a person or group views their own specific position as universal and assumes that everyone else shares (or should share) their cultural conceptions and norms. In other words, ethnocentrism can be described as an assumption that the cultural relationships and conceptions relevant to one's group/culture should be universal.

Everyday racism

SV   Vardagsrasism
NO   Hverdags-rasisme
DK   Hverdagsracisme
FI   Arkipäivän rasismi
IS   Hversdagsrasismi
GL   Ulluinnarni ammip qalipaataa pillugu assigiinngisitsineq

Everyday racism is a term used to describe daily racist situations. Central to everyday racism is its systematic feature; it is racism that is reproduced in familiar and daily routines in ways observable for the person on the receiving end. It is produced and affirmed through language and behaviour: at staff meetings, in daily conversations, job interviews, films, schoolbooks, news reports, political propaganda, parliamentary debates, academic articles and in many other statements.

Foreign background

SV   Utländsk bakgrund
NO   Utenlandsk opprinnelse
DK   Udlændinge/Fremmed baggrund
FI   Ulkomaalaistaustainen
IS   Erlendur bakgrunnur
GL   Allamiutut tunuliaqutalik

The term is defined by Statistics Sweden as a person born abroad or born in Sweden to two foreign-born parents. In Finland, a person whose both parents or the only known parent were born abroad is, according to Statistics Finland, considered to be of foreign background. Immigrants and Norwegian-born children to immigrant parents are considered to have a foreign background states Statistics Norway. The Danish definition, according to Statistics Denmark, say that immigrants or descendants of recent immigrants are registered to be of foreign background while in Iceland, officially by Statistics Iceland, it is enough to have one parent of foreign origin to be considered as a person with foreign background. In other words, a foreign background is connected to migration and therefore should not be used as a reference to a person's race or ethnicity. *There is no information regarding the Greenlandic definition.*

Immigrant

SV   Invandrare
NO   Immigrant
DK   Immigrant/Invandrere
FI   Maahanmuuttaja
IS   Innflytjendur
GL   Nunasisoq

The term immigrant is used to indicate persons born abroad or foreign nationals that have moved from one country to settle in another, either permanently or temporary. Within this definition, everyone with a registered residence in the Nordics, who is either born abroad or a foreign national is an immigrant. During the latter part of the 1990s, the term immigrant has been questioned from different directions. Government reports and proposals have underlined the importance of avoiding the use of words such as immigrants, immigrant youths and second-generation immigrants as much as possible. This is because these words have through media depictions, though not exclusively, become associated with societal problems such as unemployment, housing segregation, welfare dependency, social issues, youth crime. Secondly, the words have been charged with meanings of difference and otherness.

Inclusion

SV   Inkludering
NO   Inkludering
DK   Inklusion
FI   Inklusiivisuus
IS   Aðild
GL   Ilaatitsineq

A person that feels as equally welcome, safe and seen as others in a group can be said to be included. A context that achieves this for an entire target group can be seen as inclusive. Being inclusive is difficult and requires a conscious engagement and a critical examination about the terms of the norms. To be inclusive should be to create the best conditions for everyone to participate, in accordance with their different characteristics, qualifications, needs and capacities.

Indigenous people

SV   Urfolk/Ursprungsbefolkning
NO   Innfødte/Urbefolkning/"Førsterettsbefolkning"
DK   Oprindelige befolkning/Indfødte
FI   Alkuperäiskansat
IS   Frumbyggjar
GL   Nunap inoqqaavi

Indigenous people, First peoples, Aboriginal peoples or Native peoples, are commonly ethnic groups who are descendants of the first inhabitants of a specific geographic area. In general, governments have preferred to use the term "population" to delimit people's right to self-determination, while many indigenous people themselves stress that they are "people of the land".

Many indigenous people have similar experiences of colonization or occupation. They have lost large parts of their land and their self-determination and have often been targets of attempts of forced assimilation into the majority society. This also means that many terms used to describe specific indigenous groups are not originally self-identifications rather terms with colonial roots. During the classic colonial times in the 1800s and during the first half of the 1900s, there was a flourish of words, names and descriptions for different minorities both in the colonies and in Europe. Terms such as "inbred", "m-word", "savage", "n-word", "redskin", "oriental", "eskimo", "Lapp", "Semite" and "gypsy" were used in different contexts within science and in research, in politics and by governments, in media and the culture realm and not to mention, in people's daily life.

Even if these words are still present today, they are considered offensive and acknowledged as heritage from colonialism, they should be avoided by those who do not self-identify with them. One example is "Indian". The term Indians comprise different ethnic groups part of the indigenous populations in South-and North America and was coined by Christopher Columbus when he mistook the Caribbean Islands to be East India in 1492. Today it is a word that is deemed offensive. In many contexts, Native American is used instead.

What is recommended and asked is respecting and adopting a group's own way of naming and describing themselves.

Integration

SV   Integration
NO   Integrering
DK   Integration
FI   Integraatio
IS   Samþætting
GL   Akuutitsineq

Integration is the social process that makes it possible to create a coherent totality from the interests, experiences and differences of a specific group. In contrast to assimilation that assumes an adaption to the norms and attitudes of the majority society, the term integration means that different societal groups do not need to give up their differences to achieve equal economic, social and political provisions as the dominant group. Integration is a mutual process even though attention is often placed on groups that are coming into a society.

Intersectionality

SV   Intersektionalitet
NO   Inter-seksjonalitet
DK   Intersektionalitet
FI   Intersektionaalisuus
IS   Skörun
GL   Assigiinngitsunik tunuliaqutaqaraluartunik ataatsimoorussuineq

Intersectionality is a concept theory about how power structures based on categories such as gender, race, sexuality, able-bodiedness, age, ethnicity and class interact with each other in different ways and create inequalities, discrimination and oppression. The term intersectionality was coined by Kimberly Crenshaw to explain the experiences of women of colour, specifically black women within the legal system. One example is how a white feminist movement as well as an anti-racist movement, risk rendering invisible the experiences of, particularly non-white women. Racialized discrimination and gender discrimination often occur simultaneously and are difficult to separate from each other. Today, intersectionality is used as a theoretical perspective and a methodological aid in research, as well as in activism and practical work of change.

Mixed

SV   Mixad
NO   Blandet
DK   Blandede
FI   -
IS   Blandað (hk)
GL   Akutaq/Affaq

Mixed is a term that can be used to describe descent, ethnicities and/or (racialized) identity(ies) of a person who for example has one parent racialized as white and the other as Asian. Mixed is used to replace the term "half-" often used to describe people's identities, such as half-Swedish, half-Asian. The "half" refers to a simplified and static view of culture, ethnicity and identity. Mixed, in contrast to the racist term m-word (from the word mule, i.e., a hybrid between a horse and a donkey), offers an accurate description of a person with one white and one parent of color.

N-word

SV   N-ordet
NO   N-ordet
DK   N-ordet
FI   N-sana
IS   N-orðið
GL   Oqaasipiluut i.e. kalaaneraaneq

This is a very racist, offensive and derogatory word used to describe people who are racialized as black. The word originates from the 1600s slave trade as a reference to the African slaves that were shipped to the US and other countries. The word is a colonial expression with close associations to racist and very oppressive practices. The original term should therefore never be used by non-black people, regardless of the intentions and the context they choose to use it.

Othering

SV   Andrafiering
NO   Annengjøring
DK   Fremmedgørelse
FI   Toiseuttaminen/Toiseutus
IS   Hinum/Öðrun
GL   Allaaneraaneq

Othering describes a process where bodies are marked as for example, non-whites and become the Other. The term demonstrates a process where the construction of the Other also involves the construction of an "us". Postcolonial theories show how othering and the upholding of the image of an inferior Other (the colonized) and a superior "us" (the colonizers) was important to enable and legitimize colonization.

Postcolonialism

SV   Postkolonialism
NO   Postkolonialisme
DK   Postkolonialisme
FI   Postkolonialismi
IS   Síðnýlenduhyggja
GL   Nunasiaataanerup kingorna sunniutit

The postcolonial thought is developed from an understanding that colonialism didn't cease with the formal independence of areas colonized by European states during the 1700s-1900s. The effects and aftermath of colonialism influence how the world and unequal power relations construct our contemporary time. The starting points for postcolonial theory are how colonial legacy shapes our current world and is reproduced both locally and globally. Ideas about a modern, civilized and rational "West" is closely linked to the construction of an irrational, pre-modern and mysterious "East". This view legitimizes hierarchization, where western culture and social model is placed in a superior position on the colonial developmental model. Ideas about the Global North and South are connected to the West/East division, where the North is presented as modern, rich, civilized and developed, in contrast to an underdeveloped, un-modern/traditional and uncivilized South. The Nordic countries participated in the transatlantic slave trade and in colonialization, as well as colonizing Sápmi and Greenland, using similar methods.

Power

SV   Makt
NO   Makt
DK   Magt
FI   Valta
IS   Vald
GL   Pissaaneq

The concept of power is central for racial research and other critical theories to explain how societies and social relationships are constructed. Inequality can be understood as a form of power imbalance where some people have more possibilities to influence their lives and society than others. A clear way to express power is through violence, both state-sanctioned violence, for example through the police, which people of color are more likely to fall victims for. It is important to remember that violence involves much more than physical violence. Linguistic, psychological and symbolic violence also play a part in the exercise of power.

Privileges

SV   Privilegier
NO   Privilegier
DK   Privilegier
FI   Etuoikeudet
IS   Forréttindi
GL   Immikkut pisinnaatitaanerit

Privileges mean benefits and advantages. People can receive privileges in the form of social benefits based on gender, sexuality, able-bodiedness, race, etc. In regards to race, the term "White privilege" (or white skin privilege) is often used to describe the soclicolgical concept where societal privilege, such as possibilities, power and interpretative prerogative, benefits white people over non-white people.

Racialization

SV   Rasifiering
NO   Rasifisering
DK   Racialisering
FI   Rodullistaminen
IS   Kynþáttun/Kynþætting
GL   Imminnut taamatut isiginngikkaluartunut taamaattuutitsineq

Racialization means that different people with different experiences, opinions and backgrounds are assigned to a specific group, made into a group, through ideas based on external characteristics (such as skin colour and hair colour), culture and religion. To be racialized often becomes a synonym for non-whiteness which renders invisible how racialization processes not only create structures of oppression and discrimination but also privileges and power positions.

Racism

SV   Rasism
NO   Rasisme
DK   Racisme
FI   Rasismi
IS   Rasismi
GL   Ammip qalipaataa pissutigalugu assigiinngisitsineq

Racism and its meaning are very disputed. Up till the 1960s, most studies defined racism as an ideology or doctrine. Today, racism is often described by researchers as a collection of theories, world views, movements, processes, social systems and practices that presuppose that humankind can be divided into different biological races, ethnic groups. It can also be the assumption of how racial or ethnic belonging of people, a group or a society constitute their 'being' or essence, the assumed essence is understood to shape and explain differences in characteristics, abilities, talents and skills between different races, ethnic groups or individuals.

    Nobody is immune to being racist or exercise racism.

Representation

SV   Representation
NO   Representasjon
DK   Repræsentation
FI   Representaatio
IS   Ímynd, Fulltrúi, Birtingarmynd
GL   Sinniisaaneq

Representation is a term used in many different contexts. There are different reasons to want to broaden representation in a context, such as attracting a wider audience or ensuring that many perspectives have been taken into account. It is important that no one is forced to participate on the basis of representing something they don't want to represent, for example, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, disability or age. Representation is at best when as many people as possible are included (or potentially included) while participating on equal terms and as they are.

Structure

SV   Struktur
NO   Struktur
DK   Struktur
FI   Rakenne
IS   Formgerð
GL   Iluseq

Structure means 'building'. In popular terms, the word is used to describe the interrelations and coherence that exists between the parts that form a whole. In other words, the ways in which a whole is constituted by its parts. Social structure is about how society is composed of people and institutions: companies, organizations, administrative authorities, schools, colleges, and so on. In other words, it is the framework of social institutions, roles, status positions and relations between groups and individuals that regulate patterns of social behaviour and ensures the continuity of the social system over time.

Structural/Institutional racism

SV   Strukturell/Institutionell rasism
NO   Strukturell/Institusjonell rasisme
DK   Strukturel/Institutionel racisme
FI   Akenteellinen/Institutionaalinen rasismi
IS   Formgerðarlegur/Stofnanabundinn rasismi
GL   Aaqqissugaanikkut iml. suliffeqarfik aqqutigalugu
        ammip qalipaataanik assigiinngisitsineq

Structural/Institutional racism is the active and often invisible patterns of behaviour and processes that benefit people and groups that are part of the majority society while creating barriers for the participation of minorities and immigrant groups in society.

Institutional racism arises when rules, norms and taken for granted patterns of behaviour (praxis) within social institutions, such as in schools and universities become a limitation and barrier for minorities or non-white people and groups in achieving equal possibilities as the rest of society. Structural racism arises when social structures such as the legal system, education system, political system, etc., exclude non-white, minorities and/or immigrant groups from participating fully in social life.

The multicultural society

SV   Det mångkulturella samhället
NO   Det flerkulturelle samfunnet
DK   Det multikulturelle samfund
FI   Monikulttuurinen yhteiskunta
IS   Hið fjölmenningarlega samfélag
GL   Inuiaqatigiit assigiinngitsunik kulturillit

There is currently no unified and established definition of the multicultural society. The term multiculturalism is not without issues. Firstly, it often alludes to an idea of cultures as homogenous, stable over time and different in distinct ways from each other. This idea is sometimes referred to as cultural essentialism. It is problematic as cultures according to critical cultural studies should rather be seen as something in constant change, created and recreated relationally. Secondly, multiculturalism is often seen as a "migrant question" — where immigrants, in contrast to Nordic people, are produced as "ethnic". The cultures of immigrants can later be produced as exotic, exciting and a problem that generates clashes and conflicts.

Tokenism

SV   Tokenism
NO   Tokenisme
DK   Tokenisme
FI   Tokenismi
IS   Kynþáttaleg sýndarhyggja/Málamiðlun í kynþáttamálum
GL   Takoqqusaarutigalugu allaanerusunik akuutitsisarneq

Tokenism emerged from the US in the end of the 1960s and describe the practice of hiring or nominating symbolic representatives from underrepresented groups to be displayed. The intention is generally understood as avoidance of accusations for only recruiting white or other normative people rather than an ambition in achieving real change. Tokenism is criticized to be a tool that upholds the status quo and therefore, white or normative power along with other associated privileges.

Whiteness/Whiteness as a norm

SV   Vithet/Vithetsnorm
NO   Hvithet/Hvithetsnorm
DK   Hvidhed/Hvidhedsnorm
FI   Valkoisuus/Valkoisuus normina
IS   Hvítleiki/Hvítleikanorm
GL   Qaqirtumik ameqartuuneq

It is a structure in society which means that being white entails social, economic and political privileges, which influence it has and it's level of power. Whiteness as a norm goes hand in hand with racism and racialization. Whiteness as a norm exists globally and originates from colonialism, which means that whiteness or having light skin is a marker of status, even in countries where white people as a racialized group is the minority.

White passing

SV   Vithetspasserande/White passing
NO   -
DK   -
FI   -
IS   Séð sem hvít/Skynjaður sem hvítur
GL   Allatut ammip qalipaateqartunik siuleqarsimagaluarluni qaqortumik amillit akornannut akuusutut akuerisaasimaneq

White passing refers to a person that can pass – unnoticeable and unquestioned— as white, therefore runs lower or no risks to experience discrimination on the basis of race (racial discrimination).

Xenophobia

SV   Främlingsfientlighet
NO   Fremmedfrykt
DK   Fremmedhad
FI   Muukalaispelko
IS   Útlendingaandúð
GL   Avataaneersunut tatiginninnginneq

The term xenophobia is often used to refer to negative attitudes towards people that have migrated to the Nordics or people that are racialized as non-white. In the Nordics, the term has been part of a discussion about the differences between xenophobia and racism. Xenophobia can amongst others be understood from two perspectives with different purposes. The first is about avoiding talking about racism, which is seen as associated with eugenics (the science of racial biology) and therefore often thought to be too strong of a word. According to this view, the motivations behind xenophobic attitudes and behaviour towards non-white people and immigrants are different from racist eugenics attitudes. The second view argues that the term xenophobia justifies hostile acts because of fear of the stranger. The fear of the stranger is made to seem as a human and understandable feeling that can change with closeness and familiarity. In both explanations, there is a shared problem, which is that people who have migrated from certain parts of the world are automatically defined as strangers.

Glossary is co-produced by Hana Suzuki Ernström, Ninos Josef and Kemê Pellicer.

Swedish translation	Hana Suzuki Ernström
Norwegian translation	Thomas Prestø
Danish translation	Sade Yde Johnson
Finnish translation	Ruskeat Tytöt
Icelandic translation	Kristján Þór Sigurðsson
Kalaallisut translation	Alexander Montgomery-Andersen

Biographies

Ruskeat Tytöt *(eng: Brown girls)* is an institutionally nonaligned, politically and religiously independent, non-profit organization for Brown People by Brown People. Their mission is to broaden representations in the field of culture – especially media, literature, communications and advertising, as well as to function as a platform for cultural professionals of colour to realize their creative and meaningful projects. Their vision for Finland is a more inclusive and norm-critical culture and media field, work-life and society.

Susana Vallejos *(1984)* is a Santiago-born, Stockholm-raised archaeologist with experience from Bermuda, Canada, Italy, and, most recently, Ireland. Susana is a PhD Candidate in Archaeology at the Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada, currently conducting research and working on her dissertation in Sweden. She has been involved in archaeology since 2004, has a background working at such places as the Vasa Museum, and has been an invited guest lecturer on several occasions.

Mazen Maarouf *(1978)* is a Palestinian-Icelandic writer, poet and journalist. He has published several poetry and short story collections, his most recent one ."Jokes for the Gunmen" was longlisted for Man Booker International Prize. He is the recipient of the Lana Literature Prize for poetry and the Al-Multaqa Prize for best short story collection in the Middle East.

Michell Sibongiseni Mpike *(1990)* is a South African researcher and social entrepreneur, based in Oslo, Norway. She holds an MA degree in Education Policies for Global Development and her undergraduate studies focused on Social development and Public policy. In 2018, Michell founded Inklusive Books, a publishing house focused on diversifying the stories available to European children, starting in Norway.

Sheyda Shafiei *(1987)* is an art & cultural manager, specializing in creating productive environments where art thrives. Sheyda is educated at Arcada University, Helsinki where she got to explore the varied dimensions of the arts and cultural management. She was born in Iran and her family have been at home in Åland since the early 1990s.

Kultwatch is an online editorial platform for the arts and intersectional cultural analysis founded in 2014. As a non-profit association Kultwatch wishes to create movement in the cultural debate, broaden the cultural field and give room to marginalized voices excluded from the Swedish arts sphere. It aims to shape and support lasting efforts to challenge and deconstruct power structures and the normative homogeneity in the Swedish arts scenes.

Deise Faria Nunes *(1974)* is a Brazilian-Norwegian researching theatre practitioner with her interest in interdisciplinary collaborations. Having a special interest in practical-theoretical investigations on ethnicity and gender within the arts field, Nunes established 7 the company Golden Mirrors Arts Norway in 2017, focusing to produce and spread the works and thoughts of black women. She is currently a PhD research fellow in Theatre in Context at the University of Agder, Norway.

Marronage is a decolonial feminist collective, that emerged in 2016 to politicise the centennial of the sale of the former Danish West Indies to the United States. They – together with other likeminded collectives and comrades – organise events, workshops, demonstrations, actions, interventions, texts, video, audio, imagery, financial support with the aim of working towards the abolition of a still colonizing world.

Khalid Salimi *(1954)* is an author, human rights activist and art-critic. Salimi was the first person of colour to become the deputy of Arts Council Norway and is the initiator behind "Immigrantkollektivet" and "Antirasistisk Senter". Today, he is the founder and director for the Norwegian Mela Festival and Melahuset as well as the editor in chief of SAMORA Forum.

Aka Niviâna *(1995)* is an Inuk writer and multidisciplinary artist based in Nuuk, Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland). She incorporates her own experiences and interest in her practice focusing on topics like climate change, identity and colonialism. Aka has also written several scripts for theatre dealing with the nuances of the identity debates.

Artworks:

Reference List

Editor's Note

*   French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu coined the term in 1973, describing Cultural capital as the accumulation of knowledge, behaviors, and skills that a person can tap into to demonstrate one's cultural competence and social status.

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3   Public inquiry by the Swedish Government; Konstnär - oavsett villkor, SOU 2018:23

01   Intersectionally feminist self-care manual for the POC artist

       Footnotes:
*   There are three possible parties in the act of discrimination: the oppressor, the oppressed and the ally. However, in writing the anthology, we as a team began to wonder whether the role of allyship even exists, because, ultimately, an ally always plays into the unequal power dynamic, just by being in a position of privilege.

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02   Selective Access and Belongings in Archaeology and Museums

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02   Ojala, 2009; Trigger, 1980; Atalay, 2006; Orser, 1998; Simpson, 1996; Muñoz, 2011; Riksutställningar, 2014.
03   Hyltén-Cavallius & Svanberg, 2018; Díaz-Andreu, 2007.
04   Johansson, 2015.
05   "Buddha-figur", n.d.
06   Thomas, 2004; Díaz-Andreu, 2007.
07   Lindberg, 2002.
08   Lindberg, 2002, p. 9. *Translated from Swedish to English by the author.*
09   Aronsson, 2006, p. 8. *Translated from Swedish to English by the author.*
10   Anderson, 2001; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Kohl & Fawcett, 2000.
11   Rabuschka 2008, p. 48; Heed, Morgens & Gillanders, 2008; Ekengren, Naum & Zagal-Mach Wolfe, 2013.
12   Rabuschka 2008, p. 45, 47-48; Johnson, 1911.
13   Rabuschka, 2008; Ekengren et al., 2013; Heed et al, 2008; Weslager, 1990; Johnson, 1911.
14   Johnson, 1911, p. 195, 699, 710; Nordin, 2013, p. 217; Soderlund, 2015, p. 60; Heed et al., 2008, p. 44; Ekengren et al., 2013.
15   Battle-Baptiste, 2011, p. 53-54; Orser, 1998.
16   SFS 2014:1079.
17   "Ny utställning om Vikingar öppnar 2020", n.d.; "Vikingar", n.d.
18   "Vikingar", n.d. Figures on the objects in the museum gathered from the museum's collection database.
19   Ringstedt, 2002, p. 57–58.
*   Various changes have been made to the original exhibition. In 2016, a section was added to the exhibition about Sámi history.
21   Heikki, 2016; Ringstedt, 2002.
22   Including a substantial portion of the so-called "Spilling Hoard". Ström, 2002.
23   SHM Inv.nr. 16200.
24   SFS 2007:1185. *Translated from Swedish to English by the author.*
25   SFS 2007:1185. *Translated from Swedish to English by the author.*
26   SFS 2007:1185. *Translated from Swedish to English by the author.*
27   "Magasinet en etnografisk skattkammare", n.d.a. *Translated from Swedish to English by the author;* "Magasinet en etnografisk skattkammare". n.d.b. *Translated into Swedish by the author.* Figures on the objects in the museum also come from the museum's collection database.
28   "Magasinet en etnografisk skattkammare". n.d.b. *Translated from Swedish to English by the author.*
29   Instituto Nacional de Estadisticas, 2017, p. 28, 185; Statistics Sweden, 2018.
30   Carabias, 2018, p. 1-5; Lira, Figueroa & Braichovich, 2015, p. 311; see also Lira 2014, 2015, 2017; Muñoz, 2011; Skottsberg, 1913.
31   Lira et al., 2015; see also Lira 2014, 2017. Inv.nr. 1909.10.0001
32   Blaser, 2009.

33   Roslund, 2006, p. 199-200. T*ranslated from Swedish to English
      by the author.*
34   Riksutställningar, 2014, p. 12. *Translated from Swedish to English
      by the author.*
**   Latin America is the term used in the report to denote a geographical
      area that stretches from Mexico down to Argentina. But the term is based
      on Latin-based languages brought over by Europeans. South America,
      which is the term I use throughout the rest of the text, covers a smaller
      territory. It is not possible to replace one term with the other in this
      context as it would impact the report's results. *The English-speaking
      countries in the report are the US, Canada, Ireland, Australia,
      Great Britain and New Zealand.* Kulturanalys Norden, 2017, p. 51, 60–61.
36   Battle-Baptiste, 2011.
37   Götlind & Lamberg, 2017; Fernstål & Hyltén-Cavallius, 2015.
38   Muñoz, 2011; Widen, 2011; Johansson, 2015.
39   Harlin, 2019, p. 47.

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03 Disturbing peace

Footnotes:
01   Official term, UTL / Útlendingastofnun

04 Diversity and positive representation in Nordic children's literature

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02   Gerber, 1972
03   Klein, H., & Shiffman, K. S., 2009
04   Klein, H., & Shiffman, K. S., 2009
05   Yuval-Davis, 2006
06   Antonsich, 2010
07   Yuval-Davis, 2006
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10   Statistics Norway, 2017
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13   Statistics Norway, 2018
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17   Johansen, 2019
18   Cunningham, 2013
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20   Republic of Ireland Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2016
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23   Paulsen, 2019
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25   Statistics Norway, 2019
26   Hammer, Espevik, & Rudjord, 2019
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05 Are We here just to fill a quota?

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01   https://www.asub.ax/sv/statistik/befolkningsrorelsen-tredje-kvartalet-2019
02   https://www.tilastokeskus.fi/til/vaerak/2018/02/vaerak_2018_02_2019-06-19
        _tie_001_sv.html

03   https://www.eurocadres.eu/the-crudest-forms-of-racism-within-the-
        workplace-are-alive-and-kicking/
04   https://www.nrk.no/kultur/dette-skjer-i-_ways-of-seeing_-1.14479730
05   https://kulturanalysnorden.se/publications/ - Kultur med olika bakgrund
*   Foreign background (according to the Statistics Sweden Government
        Agency) – foreign-born children and Swedish-born children with two
        foreign-born parents.
07   https://svenska.yle.fi/artikel/2015/10/07/tonaringar-far-pro-
        va-pa-livet-som-flykting
08   https://theculturetrip.com/europe/germany/articles/ai-weiwei-covers-
        berlins-konzerthaus-in-refugee-life-jackets/
**   Wog - a contemptuous and derogatory term used to refer to any non-white
        person, especially a dark-skinned native of the Middle East or
        Southeast Asia.

06 The meaning of diversity in Swedish Cultural Politics

        Footnotes:
*   We understand the concept of race as a social construct that categorises
        and divides people according to physical and visual markers and notions
        with historical roots in colonialism and race biology (see Hübinette, Tobias,
        Hörnfeldt, Helena, Farahani, Fataneh & León Rosales, René (ed.), Om ras
        och vithet i det samtida Sverige, Mångkulturellt centrum, Tumba, 2012.
02   Sverige. Regeringen (2009), p. 26.
03   Rönnqvist (2008), p. 12f, 69, 76, 91f, 94.
04   Lindsköld (2017), p. 64.
05   This policy began with the government white paper titled "Sverige,
        framtiden och mångfalden – från invandringspolitik till integrationspolitik".
        Edström & Hyltén-Cavallius (2017), p. 111.
06   Rönnqvist (2008), p. 1, 88.
07   Sverige. Regeringen (2009), p. 12, 22, 25, 82ff, 107, 143ff, 146ff.
08   See Linnéa Lindsköld (2017).
09   Myndigheten för kulturanalys (2017), p. 5.
10   Jebari, Magnusson, Måns (2013), p. 6.
**   Several of those who study race and whiteness believe that the term
        'ethnicity' is not sufficient to discuss the racist structures in society and
        that avoiding any discussion of race 'has made it harder to address the
        social problems of casual racism, segregation and discrimination.'
        Hübinette, Tobias, Hörnfeldt, Helena, Farahani, Fataneh & León Rosales,
        René (red.), Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige, Mångkulturellt
        centrum, Tumba, 2012
12   See for example Aleksander Motturi's discussion of the government
        project "Mångkulturåret, 2006" based on the concept of ethnicity.
        Motturi (2015).
13   Ahmed, Hunter, Kilic, Swan, Turner (2006), p. 33, 13.
14   Rönnqvist (2008), p. 11.
15   de los Reyes (2001), p. 181ff, 184.
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19   Myndigheten för kulturanalys (2017), p. 20f.
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07 Allow me to insist

Footnotes:
01   Nations. 2015-2024 International Decade for People of African Descent.
02   https://www.un.org/en/events/africandescentdecade/plan-action.shtml
       Retrieved October 15, 2019.

08 The white gaze within the structure

Footnotes:
*   In 2017, we published three journals in order to politicise the centennial
       commemoration of the sale of the former Danish West Indies to the United
       States and to challenge the coloniality and whiteness expressed in the
       Danish state's border politics, in history books and not least in Danish
       cultural institutions – the focus of this anthology.
02   Leader, Marronage #1, 2017. The vague term "non-Western" (ikke-vestlig)
       is one that we borrow from Danish media and politicians. We claim this
       term in order to make clear the connection between the Danish welfare
       state's problem with 'non-Western' people in 2019 and the Danish nation's
       engagement in the colonial project.
03   Christina Sharpe, In the Wake: On Blackness and Being,
       Duke University Press, 2016, p. 5.
**   Coloniality continues to thrive through settler colonialism and
       neocolonialism. Among the territories that are still under colonial duress
       are Greenland, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands of the United States
       (the former Danish West Indies).
05   "Vigtige ord og begreber", Marronage #2, 2017, p. 10.
06   Niels Peder Kristensen, "Kuratering," Den Store Danske, Gyldendal.
07   In this text, we will only be commenting on the museum's own
       statements. This means that we will not be discussing Temi Odumosu's
       sound installation and Mary Consolata Namagambe's contribution to the
       exhibition audio guide – both of which importantly brought other voices,
       BIPOC voices, to the conversation, that moved beyond the institution's
       narratives.
08   SMK, "Ufortalte Historier", kunsten.nu, https://kunsten.nu/artguide/
       calendar/ufortalte-historier/.
09   Sharpe, In the Wake, p. 5.
10   Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts". Small Axe (2008) 12 (2), p. 3.
11   SMK, "SMK Fridays", https://www.smk.dk/en/article/smk-fridays/.
12   "About CAMP" in T. Olaf Nielsen & Y. Harrison (eds.) Decolonizing
       Appearance, 2018, p. 72.
13   Angela Dimitrakaki, "Curatorial Collectives and Feminist Politics in 21st
       century Europe: An Interview with Kuratorisk Aktion" in A. Dimitrakaki &
       L. Perry (eds.) Politics in a Glass Case, Liverpool University Press, 2013.
14   Ibid.
15   Ibid.
***   A special deal meant that 75% of the price would go to CAMP.
17   bell hooks, "Eating the Other: Resistance and Desire" in Black Looks:
       Race and Representation, 1992, South End Press, p. 33.
18   Mille Højerslev Nielsen (October 24, 2018) "Fuldkommen menneskelig i
       en umenneskelig verden," kunsten.nu.

19   For a critique of Trampolinhuset see Ali Ali, "Barriers on the Road of
       Transformative Dialogue," VisAvis 13 (2018), p. 44-49.
20   CAMP, CAMP Handlingsplan 2018-2020, p. 23.
21   Quoted in Johan Tiren, "A conversation between Johan Tirén and
       Marianna Garin", 2006.
22   Emil Søndergård Ingvorsen (July 4 2019) "Landsretten: Rasmus Paludan
       får 14 dages betinget fængsel for racisme", DR.
23   This temporary exhibition was curated by external curator
       Kasper Lynge Jensen.
24   See Emil Elg, Om Racisme, Forlaget Nemo, 2016.
25   Sara Ahmed, On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life,
       Duke University Press, 2012, p. 162.
26   bell hooks, Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black,
       South End Press, 1989, p. 53.

09 The seventh – strategies for increased cultural diversity

Footnotes:
01   John Berger is one of Europe's most celebrated authors and thinkers,
       and is, among other things, the creator of classics such as
       "Ways of Seeing".

10 Switch

Footnotes:
01   Number from Statistics Greenland, http://www.stat.gl
*   Kalaallit (Greenlandic Inuit) are the indigenous population of
       Kalaallit Nunaat and makes up about 89% of the population.
**   Greenland is the least densely populated country in the world.

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