JYU DISSERTATIONS 427

Johanna Turunen

Unlearning Narratives of Privilege

A Decolonial Reading of the European Heritage Label

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
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Editors
Tuuli Lähdesmäki
Department of Music, Art and Culture Studies, University of Jyväskylä
Timo Hautala
Open Science Centre, University of Jyväskylä

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ABSTRACT

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Cultural heritage has become a vital policy field for the European Union (EU). It has particularly been identified as a tool for identity politics – as a way to promote European belonging and intercultural dialogue. As the EU's interests towards heritage have grown throughout the years, its authorised heritage discourse (the EU-AHD) and the values it seeks to promote have taken an equally prominent role. This thesis examines the relationship between the EU-AHD and its associated cultural archive from the viewpoint of colonial and imperial legacies. As such, the focus is not only on colonial heritage but also on the multitudes of ways different values, preconceptions, discourses, stereotypes, and ideological remnants stemming from colonial mentalities have been engraved in European mindsets. Consequently, this thesis seeks to identify existing structures and unearth ways the 'European mind' could be decolonised.

Combining critical heritage studies with post-, and decolonial theory this thesis scrutinises the European Heritage Label (EHL) – a European Union heritage action founded in 2011. The EHL aims to tell a story of Europe and the values it seeks to represents. It is focused on the symbolic and narrative aspects of heritage and their potential for constructing a community of EU citizens or EUropeans.

As argued in the thesis, an element of 'affective inequality' can be identified within the EU-AHD and the ways it engages different histories and memories. This inequality is structured around Eurocentric ideals and coloniality, and it manifests in Europe's external as well as internal relations. It influences particularly the ways different communities are narrated through EUropean heritage: between those who are represented through mere facts and those whose past is expressed through memories, empathy and engagement. This division significantly contributes to narratives of EUropean diversity defined primarily around whiteness and the diversity of European nation states and the need to either assimilate – and thereby depoliticise – or exclude all elements that would contradict this narrative. To counter this dynamic the thesis investigates the prospects of unlearning racial and cultural hierarchies and the ways they manifest in harmful practices and attitudes.

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Keywords: heritage, European Union, decoloniality, unlearning

TIIVISTELMÄ (ABSTRACT IN FINNISH)

Turunen, Johanna
Etuoikeuksien kertomuksia purkamassa: Euroopan kulttuuriperintötunnuksen dekoloniaali luenta
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Kulttuuriperinnöstä on tullut viime vuosikymmenien aikana merkittävä Euroopan Unionin (EU) toimialue. Erityisesti identiteettipolitiikan saralla se on muodostunut keskeiseksi keinoksi tukea kuulumisen tunnetta Eurooppaan ja lisätä kulttuurien välistä vuoropuhelua. Samalla kun EU:n aktiivisuus laajenee, myös sen levittämän auktorisoidun kulttuuriperintödiskurssin (EU-AHD) ja sen edustamien arvojen merkitys kasvaa. Tämä väitöskirja tarkastelee EU-AHD ja sen taustalla olevan kulttuurisen arkiston yhteyksiä kolonialismin ja imperialismin historiaan. Tutkimus ei keskity vain kolonialismin kulttuuriperintöön, vaan käsittelee laajemmin koloniaalia mentaliteettia, joka tulee esiin erilaisten arvojen, ennakkoluulojen, stereotyyppien ja ideologisten jäänteiden kautta. Syrjivien rakenteiden näkyväksi tekemisen ohella, väitöskirjan tavoitteena on tutkia tapoja joilla ns. eurooppalaista mieltä voitaisiin dekolonisoida.

Väitöskirja yhdistää kriittistä kulttuuriperintötutkimusta ja jälkikoloniaalia ja dekoloniaalia teoriaa. Empiirisesti se keskittyy EU:n vuonna 2011 perustamaan Euroopan kulttuuriperintötunnukseen (EHL). EHL:n tavoitteena on nimetä kulttuuriperintökohteita, jotka kertovat Euroopan tarinaa ja symboloivat eurooppalaisia arvoja. Keskittymällä kulttuuriperintökohteiden narratiivisiin mahdollisuuksiin EHL pyrkii rakentamaan kulttuuriperintöyhteisöä EU kansalaisuuden ympärille.

Väitöskirjan artikkelit nostavat esiin EU-AHD:n eurosentrisiä ja koloniaaleja piirteitä, jotka tulevat esiin myös affektiivisen epätasa-arvon muodossa. Tämä näkyy erityisesti tavoissa, joilla eri historioista ja ihmisryhmistä kerrotaan. Toiset historiat kuvaillaan henkilökohtaisten muistojen ja kokemusten kautta korostaen empatiaa, kun taas toiset muistot vaiennetaan ja niiden edustamat historiat kerrotaan ilman henkilökohtaisia kokemuksia. Tämä kahtiajako ylläpitää rakenteellista epätasa-arvoa, korostaa eurooppalaisuuden ja valkoisuuden yhteyksiä, ja vahvistaa tulkintaa, jossa Euroopan monimuotoisuus nähdään pääasiallisesti kansallisten identiteettien kautta. Vertailevan tutkimuksen ja uusimpien dekoloniaalin ajattelun ja kulttuuriperintö- ja muistitutkimuksen teorioiden kautta väitöskirja kehittää keinoja *oppia pois* kulttuurisia valtahierarkioita ja haitallisia käytäntöjä ja asenteita.

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Asiasanat: kulttuuriperintö, Euroopan unioni, dekoloniaalisuus, poisoppiminen

Author

Johanna Turunen
Department of Music, Art and Culture Studies
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
University of Jyväskylä
johanna.k.turunen@jyu.fi
https://orcid.org/0000-0001–6188–4282

Supervisors

Associate Professor, Ph.D., Tuuli Lähdesmäki
Department of Music, Art and Culture Studies
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
University of Jyväskylä

Senior Researcher, Ph.D., Katja Mäkinen
Department of Music, Art and Culture Studies
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
University of Jyväskylä

Reviewers

Research Associate, Ph.D.,Jasper Chalcraft
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
European University Institute

Docent, Ph.D. Olli Löytty
School of History, Culture and Arts Studies
University of Turku

Opponent

Research Associate, Ph.D., Jasper Chalcraft
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
European University Institute

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Let's plant a seed and humbly say:
I changed the world today!
…
Let's join the cause and boldly say:
We'll change the world today!
…
Let's be the ones who rise and say:
We changed the world today!

Wayne Visser 2018.

Jyväskylä, August 2021
Johanna Turunen

FIGURES

LIST OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES

I Turunen, J. (2019). Geography of Coloniality – Re-narrating European Integration. In T. Lähdesmäki, L. Passerini, S. Kaasik-Krogerus & I. Van Huis (ed.) *Dissonant Heritages and Memories in Contemporary Europe* (pp. 185–214). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

II Turunen, J. (2021). Borderscapes of Europe: Cultural Production of Border Imaginaries through European Heritage. *Journal of borderlands studies.* Ahead of print, https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2021.1918569.

III Turunen, J. (2020a). Decolonising European Minds through Heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 26(10), 1013-1028.

IV Turunen. J.; V.L.A. Čeginskas; S. Kaasik-Krogerus; T. Lähdesmäki & K. Mäkinen. (2020). Poly-Space: Creating New Concepts through Reflexive Team Ethnography. In T. Lähdesmäki, E. Koskinen-Koivisto, V.L.A. Čeginskas & A.-K. Koistinen (ed.), *Challenges and Solutions in Ethnographic Research. Ethnography with a Twist* (pp. 3-20). Abingdon & New York: Routledge.

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION: THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG

> There is no history, one might say, without remembrance: no history… for those not remembered, whose past is not made present, whose past is deemed to have no presence. (Goldberg 2008, 24)

Born out of the devastation of the Second World War and presented as the ultimate peace project (see Mäkinen 2019), the founding of the European Union (EU) and its subsequent development can be seen as a process of forgetting and letting go. In the early years of the Union, forging a common future depended mainly on the ability to move beyond old hostilities, reprisals, and grievances. To some extent, it required a "pact to forget" (see Cazorla-Sanchez 2008). In this pact, many histories were forgotten and repressed – partly intentionally and partly by default. They were pushed back from public consciousness, stripped from their European character, and made parochial. Colonialism was one such history: it was "framed as the past property of individual nation states to be displaced by a new narrative of European integration free from the stain of colonialism" (Bhambra 2014a, 155, see also Passerini 2012). This has also been the primary approach European Union (EU) has followed in its different heritage actions: that, for the most part, seem to stay silent on issues related to colonialism. As a result, the important role that colonies had both in imagining and constructing a new Europe has been poorly acknowledged (however, see Hansen & Jonsson 2011; 2014; 2015; 2017; see also Tully 2002).

However, in light of recent events, the debates on Europe's colonial history seem to be going through rapid changes. In May 2020, the killing of George Floyd led to a wave of Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests across Europe: calling for social justice and an end to police brutality and racism. In many places these protests gathered around and against colonial statues, like rather infamously happened around the statues of Edward Colston in Bristol. In the aftermath of the protest, the European Parliament quickly passed a resolution denouncing racism and condemning the death of Floyd (EP 2020). In the following months, numerous European museums also took the stand and made significant changes in their practices: evidenced by numerous dialogues, seminars and discussion forums on race, colonialism and museums organised across Europe; statements calling for

more diverse recruitment practices; largescale changes in numerous exhibition narratives; introduction of more accurate descriptions of artefacts and how they ended up in the museum's collections; as well as several recent announcements of new repatriation processes seeking to return stolen artefacts to their source communities. Many of these debates are not necessarily new for the museums, but it seems the BLM protests provided a much-needed gear shift.

The BLM protests and the active role taken by museums has not pleased everyone. Populist right-wing movements organised counter-protests and garnered support across Europe during and after the wave of BLM protests. There have been public outcries demanding the protection of colonial-era monuments at risk of being removed from their current locations. Some museums have even been threatened by funding cuts should they continue to adopt more critical messages or remove contentious statues or objects. For example, in a letter published September 2020, Oliver Dowden, the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, responded to the BLM protests in the United Kingdom by re-stating that the Government of the United Kingdom (2020) "does not support the removal of statues or other similar objects" and that all publicly funded museums should avoid "taking actions motivated by activism or politics" (ibid.).

It is clear the issue is dividing opinions, and many who have not chosen their side might not wish to dig up old and forgotten histories. However, forgetting always comes with a price and one reason behind current societal polarisation is the desire to simply forget the contested and divisive elements of colonial history. The problem in Europe is not a lack of knowledge about colonialism *per se*. Instead, silences about colonial histories and their continuing effects in Europe can be approached as an "imposed amnesia" (Passerini 2003) or even as a form of "sanctioned ignorance" (Spivak 1999). Colonial history is a past that Europe has wanted to forget: the continent has requested this same oblivion both from its own citizens and the rest of the world. This forgetting resembles what Vinitzky-Seroussi & Teeger (2010) have described as a "covert silence" (see also Turunen 2020a): instead of complete lack of talk, there is a lack of content, understanding, and awareness. Deepening and multiplying knowledge about the coloniality of Europe allows us to examine critically, not only how colonial heritage is present in contemporary Europe, but also the implicit biases embedded in the hegemonic narratives used to describe this heritage.

As I show in this thesis, lack of engagement does not make colonial history's legacies less present in today's Europe. In many senses, we could argue the opposite. It would be foolish to think that more than 500 years of conquest, occupation, appropriation, slavery, and violence would have left Europe unaffected (see Kinvall 2016). Colonialism is ingrained in all aspects of European society: its echoes can be found in our laws, economy, values, and culture. It is entrenched in the European mind. Contemporary European phenomena such as its diverse citizenry, the sustained racism European postmigrant communities face, the rise of right-wing populism, the violent enforcement of Europe's external borders against refugees, and the recent Black Lives Matter protests across Europe are all examples of the afterlives of colonialism. Although some of these phenomena –

for example the Black Lives Matter movement – have originated elsewhere, they all manifest how Europe's colonial history "continues to haunt its present in quite powerful ways" (Yeğenoğlu 2017, 18).

This dichotomy is a crucial starting point of this thesis: the apparent lack of engagement with colonial history and the equally apparent presence of its legacies in Europe. The gap between these two realities actualises a deep historical wound: a wound that some suggest may be incurable (see Chambers 2014, 243). Attending to this postcolonial wound requires deep engagement with the complex and diverse practices of heritagizing, remembering, and ultimately also unlearning our pasts. For, to paraphrase Goldberg, only through remembrance and history can those whose past is not made present have a presence in contemporary Europe.

It is not traditional to start the thesis by stating what it is not about, however, I feel that I need to begin with a few words about belonging. The long-term working title of my thesis was "Manufacturing belonging". I began the whole thesis, and every article that is included in it, with belonging. The choice seemed natural as belonging has also been identified as the primary aim of the European Heritage Label (EHL or the Label) – a European Union cultural heritage action this dissertation is empirically focused on. In every case, the debates about belonging eventually ended up deleted. Starting to write this introduction I once again poured belonging onto these pages but yet again, I realised this thesis is not about belonging. At least not in a straightforward way.

Instead of belonging, this thesis is more about elements that Anthias (2008, 8) defines as identity. It is about the myths and narratives that communities – in this case Europeans – use to define who they are. As such identities are "the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (Hall 1990, 225, see also Somers 1994). In contrast belonging "is more about experiences of being part of the social fabric and the ways in which social bonds and ties are manifested in practices, experiences and emotions of inclusion" (Anhias 2008, 8). Belonging, therefore, is one way that communities and individuals may respond to heritage, but heritages are not essentially about belonging – despite active attempts to frame them as such. Visiting a heritage site will not make you feel you belong if the stories told there do not connect to your sense of identity.

Let me use an iceberg metaphor to explain this relationship. In this thesis I explore how the idea of a shared European heritage and identity is constructed in an EU cultural heritage action – the EHL – and how colonial traces manifest in this construction. This official discourse of what European heritage is only on the tip of the iceberg, the visible processes aimed at creating a sense of Europeanness. What lies beneath the surface – and beyond the scope of this thesis – is the heavy mass of belonging: the murky affects and emotions, daily inclusions and exclusions, the social bonds that unite us, and the silent stares that separate us. When reading the analysis, examples of discourses, discovered lacks, and seeds of potential I want you to feel the full weight of the iceberg. I want you to remember what lies beneath the surface. Because in the end, "struggles over narrations are

… are struggles over identity" (Somers 1994, 631). In narrating European heritage, we are simultaneously always defining the contours of the collective identities of Europeans.

1.1 Governing, defining, and narrating EUrope through heritage

Empirically this thesis is focused on the EHL. The EHL is an EU heritage action founded in 2011 to nominate heritage sites with a specific 'European significance'. The negotiation and governance of the meanings of European significance – the key criterion of the EHL – is the beating heart of this thesis. As I will show, narrations of European significance are not only subject to governance, but also act as potent tools for governance (see also Sassatelli 2009, 5). In addition to governing admission to the action, these narrations essentially govern the structures, requirements, and legitimations of 'being European'.

The EHL is outspoken about its identity politics. Its official aim is to promote a feeling of belonging to Europe and to support intercultural dialogue (EP 2010). As explained on the EHL website (EC n.d.),

> European Heritage sites are milestones in the creation of today's Europe. Spanning from the dawn of civilisation to the Europe we see today, these sites celebrate and symbolise European ideals, values, history and integration… These sites bring the European Union and its citizens closer together.

Unlike many other heritage initiatives, the EHL is not interested in heritage protection or restoration. Rather its interests are limited to the symbolic and narrative aspects of heritage and their potential for constructing a community of EU citizens or EUropeans. Using cultural heritage for identity political aims is not new. You could even argue that identity politics have always been crucial for constructing cultural heritage. This connection to identity politics is one reason why the EU has become an increasingly prominent actor in cultural heritage policy (e.g. Lähdesmäki, Kaasik-Krogerus & Mäkinen 2019). The EU has many aims for its cultural heritage policies, from economic interests in tourism and creative industries to promotion of a pro-European attitude and EU branding (see Lähdesmäki 2014). Above all, for the EU, cultural heritage is a tool for cultural Europeanisation: for promoting cultural integration and spreading common values (see also Turunen 2019) or the simultaneous cultivation of European future and memory (Rigney 2012).

As Sassatelli has noted, such "European cultural policies [are] particularly relevant as *symbolic* policies" (Sassatelli 2009, 47, original emphasis). They are attuned to the identity/belonging dichotomy. They are based on an idea of a shared European cultural identity: this narrative is intended to promote a sense of belonging to Europe and they function as "political and cultural discourses that aim to situate people" (Lähdesmäki et al. 2021, see also Hall 1990; Somers 1994).

Although cultural heritage is a powerful way to narrativise identities, it is a difficult policy tool. A central reason is that heritage is not always a tangible 'thing' (Smith 2006; Waterton & Smith 2009) but a social construct with deep affective capabilities. It is a performative and discursive process of giving certain cultural and historical elements a definitive role in who we think we are and what values we cherish. As such it is ultimately also a verb (Harvey 2001, 327) – a construct that actively does things.

As Graham and Howard explain, heritage refers "to the ways in which very selective past material artefacts, natural landscapes, mythologies, memories and traditions become cultural, political and economic resources for the present" (Graham & Howard 2005, 2). Heritages are fundamentally selective, and as such, they are never self-evident nor stable. Instead, all heritages are inherently dissonant (e.g., Kisić 2016) and processual (e.g., Harvey 2001). They exist in relation to other ways to narrate history and are constantly challenged by internal and external discontinuities and silences. Accordingly, the narrative that is proposed and promoted by the EU – the focus of this study – is only one among many different versions of European heritage. Whitehead et al. (2019) have characterised this relationship as one of many dimensions. As they explain, these potential narrative dimensions create multiple Europes: each defined by its own stories, experiential realities and memories (see also Delanty 2016a).

When it comes to these dimensions, they are not all treated equally. Especially in terms of heritage, disproportioned attention has traditionally been given to expert voices. Smith (2006) has conceptualised these expert-driven narratives as authorised heritage discourses (AHD, see chapter 3.1). This thesis is focused on the authorised heritage discourse promoted by the EU: its colonial limitations, biases and boundaries and the potentials that postcolonial memories and have for challenging its hegemonic position.

Two distinct concepts are used to highlight the role of the EU: EU-AHD to highlight the authorised nature of the heritage narrative promoted by the EU (see also Turunen 2019a) and the concept of EUrope to distinguish talk of broader understandings of Europe or European heritage from the interpretation of European history promoted by the EU (see also Turunen 2021; Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, 14-15). Following Aman (2018), there are also some instances where I will refer to 'Europe' as "the place of hegemonic epistemology rather than a spot on the map" (ibid. 18). Although hiding many of the complexities of using epistemic authority, the term 'Europe' substitutes as the actors for the abstract workings of racialised, Eurocentric power. It explicates a way of knowing and highlights the situatedness of European knowledge (e.g. Haraway 1988; Grosfoguel 2007; see also chapter 2). Finally, I often refer to the 'European significance' of specific heritage sites. This concept is derived directly from the evaluation criteria of the EHL.

All these conceptual distinctions highlight the complexities and diversities contained in the word Europe. All the concepts outlined above mainly work to highlight specific dominant – or authorised (Smith 2006) – aspects of European

heritage. Behind them lie numerous silences, omissions, repressions, reinterpretations, and alliterations. A diverse web of memories that are yet to be considered important enough to be made into heritage.

Silences and amnesia are part of dealing with the past. They are descriptive of narratives and exist for multiple reasons (Mason & Sayner 2019). For as Trouillot (2015, 152–153) notes: "narratives are made of silences, not all of which are deliberate or even perceptible as such within the time of their production". Although it is often easy to find traces of colonialism in Europe, and these are increasingly being acknowledged, the presence of people who arrived in Europe as a result of colonial entanglements has largely been ignored in EU heritage discourses. Moreover, the intangible elements of colonial heritage – the values that manifest in Eurocentrism, European racism, exceptionalism, and a general cultural Whiteness – still remain largely undisputed and not yet decolonised (see also Turunen 2020a).

The aim of this thesis is to define the relationship between the EU-AHD and these ideological remnants of colonialism. I will show that the values, preconceptions, and stereotypes that were engraved in European mindsets during the centuries of imperialism continue to be reproduced in hegemonic heritage narratives. An element of "affective inequality" (Modin, Alderman & Gentry 2011) is embedded in how AHDs engage with histories and memories. I will show that this is manifest particularly in how communities are constructed through ideas of EUropean heritage: some are represented through inanimate facts or simply omitted; others are narrated through animated and deeply affective memories.

1.2 The European Heritage Label and the research questions

The empirical research for this thesis was done as part of the EUROHERIT project (Legitimation of European cultural heritage and the dynamics of identity politics in the EU, ERC 2015–2020). Like the overall project, this thesis focuses on the EHL. Two articles focus solely on the EHL (articles I and II). Article III is a comparative analysis of one EHL site with two other European museums. Lastly article IV concerns the project fieldwork conducted at eleven EHL sites, focusing more on the practices of collaborative knowledge production inside the EUROHERIT team rather than the EHL.

The EHL was first initiated in 2006 as an intergovernmental scheme. A few years later, in 2011 (EP 2010) the EHL was reformed into an EU action (for debate on this process see Čeginskas 2018). This integration into the EU framework resulted in many changes to the EHL: the requirements for the Label were specified, a European panel of experts (the Panel) was formed to evaluate the sites, and the power to nominate sites moved from national actors to the European Commission. Additionally, all nominated sites had to reapply for the Label. In 2020 there were a total of 48 nominated sites across Europe (see figure 2). As we have noted elsewhere, the "majority of sites from the intergovernmental phase of the initiative have not reapplied. Out of the 27 sites that have, only 12 have been granted

the EHL under the new criteria" (Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, 9). Therefore, integration into the EU framework changed the EHL greatly especially in terms of what type of sites and themes were perceived to symbolise Europe.

It is essential to understand the selections process of EHL sites, as it has crucial effects on the overall aims and questions this thesis seeks to answer. The sites are selected through a two-stage process. First, a preliminary selection is conducted on the national level. Each member state is free to organise this national selection as they wish, and the practices vary from open public consultations and online voting platforms to very ministry-oriented approaches.

In the second phase, the Panel makes the final selection based on the sites proposed by the national coordinators. Currently, the sites are evaluated in this final selection based on three criteria: their European significance, the proposed project to communicate this significance, and the management capacity of the site. Whereas the two latter criteria are fairly easy to measure and compare, the 'European significance' is often quite ambiguous – and quite open for debate – as the Panel give very limited grounds for their decisions on whether a site meets this criterion (for debate on the meanings of European significance see Turunen 2019; Lähdesmäki & Mäkinen 2019). Although the applications in 2013–2015 were evaluated by the Panel with clear yes/no parameters, the 2017 evaluations had more variety (see Lähdesmäki et.al. 2020, 41; EC 2017). It is notable that although all the candidate sites have been deemed as having European significance by the proposing member states, many are rejected based on the Panel's differing views of this interpretation. In the selection reports several sites were deemed to have "potential" for European significance that was not expressed in the application, making European significance itself a matter of articulation, or of adopting the proper discourse or narrative.

EHL applicant sites are not evaluated for status as heritage, as they are all included in different national and regional heritage frameworks. The aspect being evaluated and governed is their status as *European* heritage. As the 2016 report on the monitoring of nominated sites states, it is the Panel's responsibility to determine "whether the European significance was fully understood, well-articulated and conveyed by the sites" (EC 2016, 8, see also Turunen 2019, 198). This highlights the constructed and controlled nature of European significance. Instead of being a stable character that a site either has or does not have, it functions both as a discursive resource and a tool for governance. It is this process of defining the meanings and values of European significance that I seek to understand in this thesis. Combining critical heritage studies and post- and decolonial theory, I ask:

1. How is European significance narrated in the EHL, and what effects these hegemonic narratives have on ideas of European heritage?
    a. what values and ideals are attached to the idea of EUropeanness?
    b. how and where are the physical and discursive borders of EUrope constructed?
2. How is colonialism approached in the EU-AHD?

   a. what are the main differences in how the EU-AHD and other museum narratives deal with colonialism?
3. What does decolonizing EUropean heritage mean and what potential avenues for decolonisation exist in the contemporary EUropean heritagescape?

Questions one and two are primarily answered through the four articles; question three is answered by a broader reflection that goes beyond the articles. Some of the elements discussed in article IV receive less attention here. This is not to say that the role of affects, emotions, and embodied knowledges when dealing with difficult topics, like coloniality, are less important. On the contrary, poly-space has immense potential as a concept. I discuss elements of this potential in the theory section, the broader findings, and the conclusions. However, some elements related to poly-space are also reserved for future studies.

1.3 What are European Heritage Label sites?

When we are thinking about the EHL sites, it is important to note that the EHL is "not only about the sites but also about the European project" (EC 2010, 46, see Figure 1). As was noted above, it could even be argued that the sites are primarily selected for their potential to tell a story: the added benefit they can add to the story of EUrope and the values it seeks to symbolise.

The sites comprise mainly of different kinds of museums, archaeological sites, memorials, archives or other memory institutions. Although their European significance is often defined in a manner that combines elements from different eras, in terms of a strict timeline the sites span from archaeological digs focused on Neanderthal settlements to recent EU symbols like the city of Schengen (see also figure 1).

Thematically the sites can be grouped under four rough categories. First, several EHL sites nominated as symbols of European integration or for their role in the founding of the EU. These include sites associated to the so-called Founding Fathers of the EU (e.g. the Alcide De Gasperi's House Museum and Robert Schuman's House); sites connected to previously established EU symbols (e.g. the Maastricht Treaty, the Village of Schengen, and the European District of Strasbourg). Interestingly there are also numerous sites described in the Panel reports as early sites of European integration that can be seen as part of this first category. These sites are often connected to transnational political, economic or cultural expansion and the associated 'integration' that took place. Examples include sites related to intra-European Empires like the Greek (the Heart of Ancient Athens) and Roman Empires (e.g. Archaeological Park Carnuntum and Archaeological area of Ostia Antica), Astro-Hungarian Empire (the Imperial Palace) or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Union of Lublin), as well as sites associated with powerful transnational economic elites like the Hansa traders (Great Guild Hall; The Three Brothers, although see also the Azores Underwater Cultural Heritage, EC 2019, 21).

The second category includes sites dedicated to different European wars, peace processes or to victims of war (see also Mäkinen 2019). These sites span from different centuries (e.g. Fort Cadine, sites of the Peace of Westphalia, and site of Remembrance in Łambinowice). However, the role of the two World Wars is predominant (e.g. Franja Partisan Hospital, Lieu de Mémoire au Chambon-sur-Lignon, and World War I Eastern Front Cemetery No. 123). This is complemented by a number of sites connected to the Holocaust (e.g. Camp Westerbork, Former Natzweiler concentration camps, see also Dohány Street Synagogue Complex) and the end of the Soviet rule of Eastern Europe, including also the trauma caused by it (e.g. Historic Gdańsk Shipyard, Pan-European Picnic Memorial Park, and the Sighet Memorial).

The sites that are connected to the resistance of authoritarian rule connect strongly also to the third category, the promotion of democracy and other so-called European values, as opposing any threats to the implementation of these values is considered equally important as the initial aim of spreading them. In addition to democracy and rule of law (e.g. 3 May 1791 Constitution, the Hambach Castle, and the Heart of Ancient Athens), these values include peace (e.g. Peace Palace) human rights (e.g. the Charter of Law for Abolition of the Death Penalty), solidarity (e.g. Historic Gdańsk Shipyard) and a wide variety of more abstract references to values such as equality, freedom, diversity and religious tolerance (see also Turunen 2019, 195).

The fourth and last theme are the intellectual and cultural developments of Europe. Typical topics under this last theme have been the Enlightenment and development of scientific institutions (e.g. Abbey of Cluny, General Library of the University of Coimbra, Historic Ensemble of the University of Tartu, Mundaneum, and the Student Residence); developments in European architecture (e.g. Javorca Church and its cultural landscape, Kaunas of 1919-1940, and Werkbund Estates in Europe) and classical music (e.g. Franz Liszt Academy of Music, and Leipzig's Musical Heritage Sites).

I suspect that the three first categories will remain relatively stable. Although the number of sites will probably increase, the key thematic focuses –EU milestones and earlier integration, different elements related to European wars and peace processes, and the symbolic representation of European values – will likely remain the same. However, the increase of sites categorised under the last theme will probably also lead towards a more versatile idea of European intellectual and cultural traditions. There are already some emerging areas. The analysis conducted for article I already showed that different sites related to industrial heritage received rather enthusiastic reviews from the Panel. Although for the most part these sited did not receive the Label they were almost unanimously deemed as having European significance. In the latter application rounds, there seems to be a growing trend towards sites related to nature or climate change – although this interest is clearly coming more from the member states than the Panel. Additionally, there seem to be small attempts to build connections towards the construction of the European welfare state – although this last one is more of an inkling for the time being. With each application year, the list of sites

is slowly integrating new elements and as such I believe it is likely that the dominant themes that the EU-AHD is promoting are also suspect to future negotiations and changes.

As will hopefully become apparent in the following pages, there are some notable and problematic silences in the themes highlighted by the EHL. One is the silence over colonialism and slavery. The talk of around colonialism has increased in a very modest sense. Although these topics are not discussed or engaged with, here are a few separate mentions of colonialism and the concept has been also used in the reports to describe intra-European developments, for example in application coming from the Baltic states. In addition to these dispersed instances, there are also sites that could be read through a colonial narrative in a more comprehensive manner. However, these connections are not made in the EU-AHD (Turunen 2019; 2020a).

Secondly and closely connected to the former, is the lack of sites dealing with migration from outside of Europe. Although there is amble talk of multicultural tolerance and dialogue, based on the Panel reports there is very little attention to actual migration in the EU-AHD. A notable exception here is Camp Westerbork that attempts to also engage the history of the Moluccan community in its exhibition (Turunen 2021). As will be argued in this thesis, critical engagement and the integration of these topics into the EU-AHD could help in opening European heritage to more varied interpretations that would work as a more inclusive foundation for building a EUropean heritage community. Engaging in these debates requires the adoption of new types of sites but also demands willingness to address these topics through the sites that already exist.

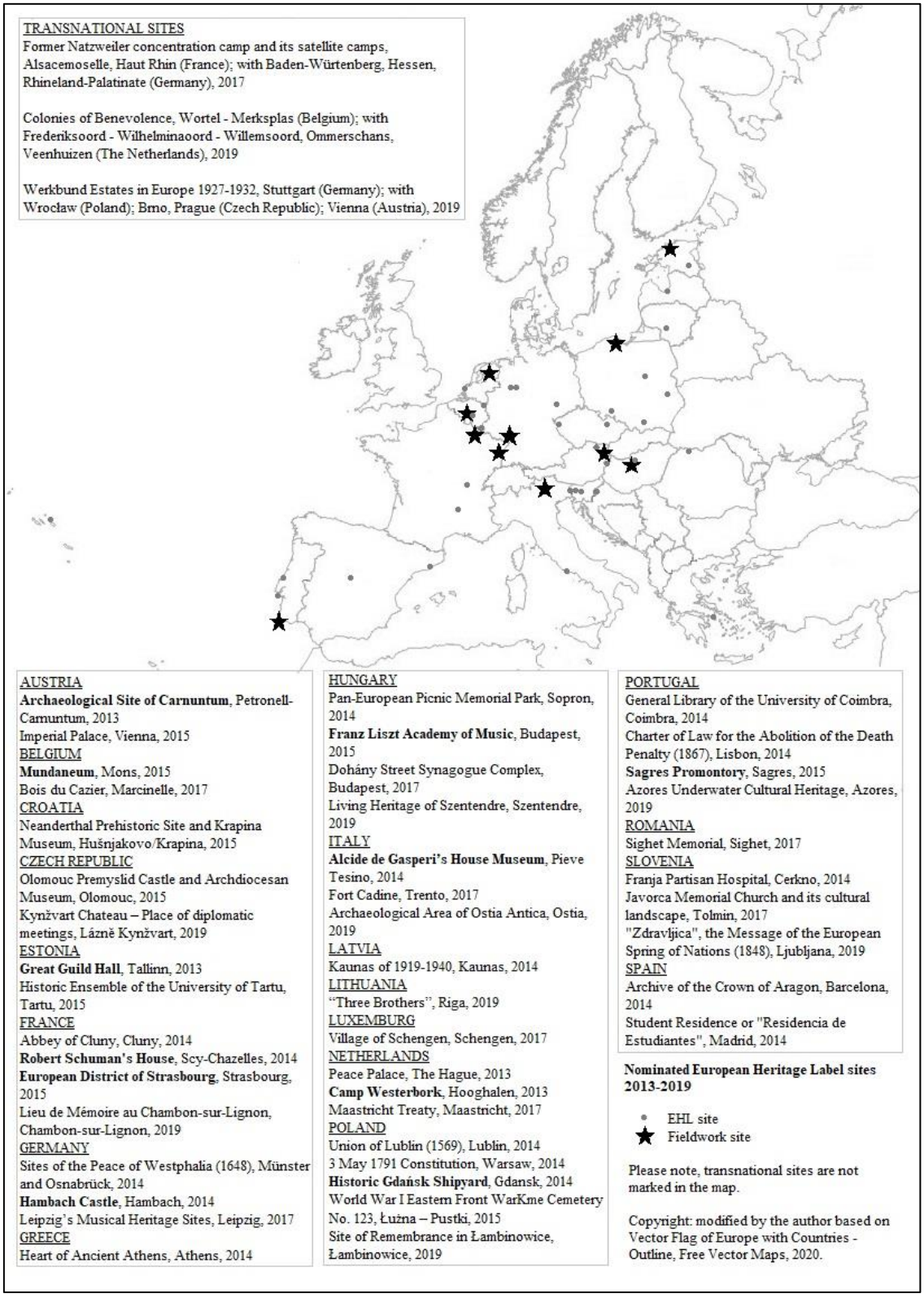

FIGURE 1 Map of the nominated European Heritage Label sites 2013–2019. Copyright: Johanna Turunen, modified based on Free Vector Maps.

2 WHERE DO I KNOW FROM?

A key starting point of decolonial studies, as well as many feminist theorists, is the situated nature of all knowledge. Especially, when we talk of social and cultural knowledge, all of its forms – both academic and banal – are entangled in webs of epistemological, cultural, political, geographical, and experiential influences that are also conditioned by hierarchical positionings based on class, sexuality, gender, religion, linguistic abilities, and racial/ethnic identity. As such, all knowledge is situated.

The ability to free oneself from one's situatedness has traditionally been considered as the difference between knowledge and opinion. As Harding explains:

> In conventional accounts, socially situated beliefs only get to count as opinions. In order to achieve a status of knowledge, beliefs are supposed to break free of – to transcend – their original ties to local, historical interests, values and agendas. (Harding 1993, 50)

Accordingly, the foundations of knowledge are often posited on objectivity and neutrality and a (false) sense of universality that can be deducted from these. To achieve this "the subject that speaks is always hidden, concealed, erased from the analysis" (Grosfoguel 2007, 213). As a result, the researcher is traditionally depicted as able to move beyond all situationalities and therefore, rather paradoxically, as beyond or irrelevant to the process of creating knowledge. It is often simply assumed that the authors of academic research always speak from a neutral and universal position.

This is not often the case. As Aman argues "universal norms that have come to be perceived as valid for all humanity are often but a reflection of their own geohistorical and bodypolitical location" (2018, 18). Consequently Aman encourages all readers to constantly ask "*when, why* and by *whom* knowledge is being constructed" (ibid.). This constant questioning that Aman wants from readers, resembles the "strong objectivity" that Harding wants from researchers:

> The problem with the conventional conception of objectivity is not that it is too rigorous or too 'objectifying' as some have argued, but that it is *not rigorous or objectifying enough*; it is too weak to accomplish even the goals for which it has been designed" (Harding 1993, 50-51).

Insufficient objectivity should not be understood to mean total lack of credible knowledge. Instead, it could be taken as an acknowledgement of the messiness that research can entail. Santos (2018, 185–186) has compared science to a monument.

> Like any other [monument], it has an inside and an outside. The outside is the social being of science, the way science presents itself in the public sphere; the inside refers to the actual work involved in doing science. The messy inside of science totally gainsays its monumental outside, but that does not affect in the least the credibility of the monument.

Quite on the contrary, although it may distort the pretty façade of science, acknowledging this messiness strengthens the validity and importance of research. As Failler and Simon (2015) note, ideas that matter are often contentious: they are difficult and messy, and figuring them out requires sidesteps and detours. To overcome this messiness, we need objectivity that is situated: it "demands the enunciation of the researcher herself or himself, and the making visible of his or her presence in this thinking" (Walsh 2018, 28): it highlights the need to "think *from and with* standpoints" (ibid., 20). As Haraway (1988) argues, acknowledging and understanding this situated nature of knowledge is the key to ensuring greater objectivity: in addition to the content, we can take into account the position from which it was stated.

This chapter is my attempt at positioning myself as an academic and more broadly, as a knowledge producer drawing from decolonial thinking. I start by discussing how decoloniality affects knowledge production and then outline some key elements of my own situatedness.

2.1 Countering hegemony: The (anti/post/de)colonial framework

Anticolonial or counterhegemonic critique takes many forms; many argue that they do not constitute a stable theoretical framework, but rather a viewpoint into research or a reading strategy (e.g. Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2002). Regional approaches to and terminologies within anticolonialism vary. The four most common (postcolonial theory, critical race studies, subaltern studies, and decoloniality) differ in disciplinary focus (literature/cultural studies, social studies, history, and epistemological critique), origin (former colonies, North America, India, South America) and definitions of *who* the postcolonial subject is. Despite – or because of – these differences, anticolonial approaches have blossomed into a vibrant field. This splintering has enabled anticolonial critique to enter new disciplines, fields, and areas of study (see Hall 1996).

For this thesis, I mainly draw on decolonial and postcolonial theory. Besides different disciplinary backgrounds and geographical origins, the two differ in their approach to colonialism. Whereas postcolonial theorists focus on the effects of colonialism more directly, decolonial theorists perceive colonialism only as a part of a wider process of Eurocentric modernity. The latter therefore focus on what they call the modernity/coloniality dichotomy – a continuing structure built around the dynamic between modernity and coloniality (see more chapter 3.2).

Attempting to define disciplinary borders between anticolonial approaches directs our attention away from the main aim of this thesis: to challenge the colonial legacies embedded in narratives of Europe. All fields attuned to the debates on anticolonialism, counterhegemony, and race have something to give to this endeavour. Therefore, I see no need to limit my approach to one subfield or debate their differences at length here (however see Bhambra 2014a, 2014b; Huquet 2015; Sabaratnam 2020). Gustavo Lins Ribeiro (2011) has described all these related fields as "cosmopolitics" to highlight the fact that all are rooted in their shared anticolonial mission: "[t]here is not a singular cosmopolitics capable of dealing with the entire complexity of the global counter-hegemonic struggle" (ibid. 288). Dealing with the internal dynamics of a region that has been studied as a source of hegemony requires combining insight from several of these anti-hegemonic fields.

Taking into account this multiplicity, I identify my academic work as decolonial or at least as deeply influenced by decoloniality. In doing so, I acknowledge that some decolonial authors place limits on what topics can be approached through decoloniality. Writing in a North American framework Tuck and Yang (2012) have famously stated that "decoloniality is not a metaphor" – or at least that it should not be made into one. They are highly critical of the

> ease with which the language of decolonisation has been superficially adopted into education and other social sciences, supplanting prior ways of talking about social justice, critical methodologies, or approaches which decenter settler perspectives. (ibid., 2)

For Tuck and Yang, debates about decolonisation without proper contextualisation and active connection to indigenous struggles water down the empirical and epistemological power of the concept. More importantly, they see this easy adoption also a form of appropriation. As they explain:

> Decolonise (a verb) and decolonisation (a noun) cannot easily be grafted onto pre-existing discourses/frameworks, even if they are critical, even if they are anti-racist, even if they are justice frameworks. The easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonisation is yet another form of settler appropriation. When we write about decolonisation, we are not offering it as a metaphor; it is not an approximation of other experiences of oppression. Decolonisation is not a swappable term for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools. (ibid. 3)

Given this critique, what does decolonisation mean in the European context – is it a mere appropriation or a "move to innocence" as Tuck and Yang would say or is it a genuine process of addressing continuing legacies of colonial oppression?

European debates on settler colonialism and indigenous land rights have been much less vocal than, for example, in the United States or Australia, with the exception of recent decolonial debates about the rights of the Sámi (Valkonen 2009; Aikio 2018; Kuokkanen 2019) in Northern Europe. Additionally, decolonial and postcolonial theory have been increasingly adapted to the study of Eastern European power relations (Kuus 2004; Mälksoo 2009; Tlostanova 2018). Beyond these debates, talk of decolonisation in Europe has often been connected to either discussions on institutions such as museums and universities or more generally to debates on diversity and migration.

Although there is a legitimate concern over appropriation of decolonisation rhetoric, as argued by myself and Mari Viita-aho, decoloniality should be understood "as a broader issue than indigenous peoples or minorities, as the whole Western self-conception and our identities [as European] are inherently penetrated by coloniality" (Turunen & Viita-aho 2021, 97, translated by the author; see also Araeen 2011; Turunen 2020a). Deconstructing the coloniality embedded in Europe's self-image entails cultural decolonisation which cannot be reduced to a "move to innocence" – an appropriation of rhetoric for the sake of appearances. At the same time, I recognise the need to think over the terminology of this process in Europe. For colonisers, decolonizing means unlearning the hegemonic imperial mindset of privilege, supremacy, and conquest, and the idea of an ever-expanding area of influence. Therefore, perhaps we should talk about post/de-imperializing, post/de-hegemonizing or merely decentring.

In line with terminology that is in active use in the field under study, I will in this thesis refer to coloniality and its variations postcolonial and decolonial. Although these concepts are sometimes used almost interchangeably, as a rule I follow the distinction where 'postcolonial' refers more to status or character (i.e. postcolonial Europe) and 'decolonial' more to a process (i.e. decolonizing Europe). In this regard I follow Mignolo (2011, 2018) who has repeatedly stated that decoloniality is a process of building options. It is not meant to replace other forms of knowledges, epistemologies, or ontologies; to become the 'new universal'; or to achieve a perfect end result on the horizon. Decoloniality is one option among others. It a constant process of knowledge creation aimed at challenging, confronting, or opposing hegemonic knowledges, or at times simply complementing or deepening them. It is interested in diversifying, multiplying, or "pluriversalizing" (Suárez-Krabbe 2014) the stories, knowledges, and experiences that matter. For me, decoloniality is a personal, internal process aimed at challenging my own thinking, but also a tool I use to challenge the hegemonic narratives of European history. Finally, I regularly use the concept (post)colonial to mark the obscure and tenuous nature of our contemporary moment – stuck somewhere between the colonial and the postcolonial.

2.2 Finding my position

In the decolonial frame the discussion over situatedness often revolves around the "locus of enunciation" (Mignolo 2007) – meaning the position from which one is speaking. What the locus of enunciation often comes down to is the difference between "epistemic location" and "social location". Although these might seem like easy categories at first, they are not often straightforward. As Grosfoguel explains:

> The fact that one is socially located in the oppressed side of power relations, does not automatically mean that he/she is epistemically thinking from a subaltern epistemic location. (2007, 213)

Although this claim is made less frequently, I also believe the opposite is the case: privileged social and epistemic locations do not automatically determine each other. In terms of my social location, I am as a knowledge producer located within the privileged White European canon of knowledge. Epistemically, I believe my position to be less straightforward.

In the following, I consider my position as a knowledge producer through three personal detours. First, I shortly discuss how my own cultural identity and nationality as a Finn influences my approach to coloniality. Secondly, I go through some elements of my academic training that lead me to the path towards decoloniality. Finally, I will shortly discuss some effects of working in a research team.

2.2.1 Coloniality in Finland

Different debates on decoloniality have blossomed in Finland in the recent years – both in academic circles and in the public realm. During the five years I have been working on this thesis the change has been enormous. Finland, however, is not internationally renowned for postcolonial debates. Until quite recently, migration to Finland has been relatively low and as such talk of race and racialization has mainly concentrated on rather small circles and understanding about structural racism and coloniality has remained almost non-existent among the general public. Additionally, Finland is traditionally not considered an imperial state. Instead, it has historically been part of the Swedish and Russian empires, gaining independence only in 1917.

As a result, the notion that Finns are among the oppressed, not the oppressors, remains collectively strong amongst the Finns. It does not mean that Finland would be free from the effects of the broader European imperial system. Although having no official colonies of our own, Finns participated in the colonial system in varied ways (e.g. special issue on Finnish colonialism edited by Lahti & Kullaa 2020): missionaries, soldiers, workers, and migrants. Moreover, Finnish society benefited economically from colonial trade and products of slavery. It is fair to suggest that building the Finnish welfare state and education system –

from which I have generously benefitted – would not have been possible without direct and indirect benefits from the colonial wealth that has been poured into Europe.

During the colonial period, Finnish researchers, travellers, artists, museum collectors and writers also actively contributed to creating and spreading the colonial mindset into the Finnish society (e.g. Kaartinen 2004; Mikkonen 2005; Koivunen 2015). Throughout past decades, these effects have been repeatedly reproduced through Finnish literature, art, entertainment, media, museums, education, and politics (e.g. Kuortti, Lehtonen & Löytty 2007; Keskinen et al. 2009; Rastas 2012; Mikander 2016; Turunen & Viita-aho 2020; 2021; Keskinen, Seikkula & Mkwesha 2021; Rastas & Koivunen 2021). This makes coloniality an enduring cultural and cognitive aspect of also Finnish culture. As such, the Finnish mind is in equal need of decolonisation as the European one.

More importantly, Finns have a long, contentious history when it comes to the indigenous Sámi communities living in Northern Finland, Norway, Russia and Sweden. Before and after Finnish independence, the Sámi were subjected to varied forms of colonial tactics in Finland (e.g. Valkonen 2009; Lehtola 2015; Ranta & Kanninen 2019): the occupation of their traditional lands, compulsory boarding schools that tore families apart, forceful conversion to Christianity, and repression of their language, culture and traditional livelihoods. Representatives of different Sámi communities were paraded in many European 'human zoos' by alongside other colonial subjects (Kanninen 2019, 127). They were also repeatedly subjected to medical race science. The earliest expeditions started during the 1800s well before Finnish independence. The last known craniometric measurements were collected in 1966-1973 (ibid. 119).

Many contemporary Finns are not aware of this history – or perhaps we are again talking of a sanctioned ignorance (see Spivak 1999). Even today, there is little to no content on Sámi history or culture in the Finnish official curriculum. Although the Sámi are a crucial element for understanding the complexity of colonial debates in Finland and the position from which I enter the debates on European coloniality, I believe that for this thesis it is a debate that remains outside of the scope, primarily as the EHL has not actively addressed the topic (however see briefly in Turunen 2020a, 1022-1023).

2.2.2 Learning to know from the edge of the abyss

As one of the first university graduates in my extended family, choosing to go to university and to work there after graduation was not a self-evident choice. Trying to find my own place in the academic realm consists of many shifts and turns. This has had such a significant influence on my own position as an academic, that I feel I need to address some of the lessons learned here.

Despite having no inherited capital as an academic, university felt instantly like a home to me. However, I was less lucky in finding a discipline that would feel equally welcoming. I have always felt most at home where different disciplines meet or mix and I have never really understood the value of strict identification to a single discipline. In contemporary higher education discourse this

would make me inter-, trans-, or perhaps multidisciplinary. In the past this might have made me an academic outcast – a knowledge producer who fails to meet the standards of 'authentic', 'true', 'scientific' knowledge. In reality, while finding my academic footing I completed two full masters degrees (history and sociology) and a *long* list of minors, including social policy, political science, cultural anthropology, philosophy, EU law, even mathematics, and last but not least, development studies.

Although I did not eventually do my PhD in the multidisciplinary field of development studies, it was incremental in making me the scholar I am today. First of all, it helped me accept and embrace my position as a researcher who is perhaps eternally somewhere between disciplines. I believe this position has been crucial in enabling me to conduct this research. Secondly, development studies led me to challenge Eurocentric knowledge production. In past centuries, European scientists established their view as the norm from which to study the world. I want to shake that norm and see what emerges from this shift.

I began work on this thesis with one clear goal in my mind. I wanted to think what 'Europe' looked like from the viewpoint of non-European knowledge: if instead of using hegemonic 'European' knowledge to study the subaltern world, you used the knowledge of the subaltern to study Europe. My interest was rather theoretical and methodological. I did not want to study what recent migrants, other minorities, or disenfranchised groups think of Europe. I do not feel entitled to speak for them: countless others are better suited to this. I wanted to use the tools derived from other parts of the world to examine and challenge the view that 'Europe' has of itself, and how this view is re-narrated and reinterpreted in European heritage narratives.

I am not sure how well I succeeded in this. I am a product of European and Eurocentric knowledge production systems, which limit my own ability to know 'otherwise'. As a result, my own position is somewhere between what Mignolo (2000) and Grosfoguel (2007, 211) would characterise as postmodern critique, meaning a "Eurocentric critique of Eurocentrism" (ibid.) and decolonial critique meaning "a critique of Eurocentrism from subalternised and silenced knowledges" (ibid.). This explicit attempt to move towards decolonial critique is one of the distinguishing features between my approach and other recent critical approaches to European heritage; for example, Delanty's (2017, see also 2010) attempt to re-evaluate European heritage through critical cosmopolitanism.

Delanty agrees with many of the critical challenges that European heritage is facing: the eroding relevance of grand narratives, the need to learn more about problematic phases in European history such as colonialism, slavery, and continuing effects of Eurocentrism, as well as the overall need to promote disenfranchised voices. He maintains that processes like 'provincializing' (see Chakrabarty 2000) or 'decolonizing' European heritage are part of the "cosmopolitan challenge" (Delanty 2017, 78) he seeks to answer. However, when it comes to where one should primarily look to find ways to combat Eurocentrism, Delanty explicitly turns away from postcolonial theory and directs his gaze on Europe. He explains that

> a critical cosmopolitan critique of Europe is itself one of the legacies of European heritage… This means that the European heritage contains within itself the resources to overcome itself. (ibid. 76)

Therefore although having its substantial merits, I find the approach too limiting. As a critical scholar learning ways to deconstruct, contrast, and challenge Eurocentric knowledge with the tools learned from decolonial scholars, I am consciously attempting to narrow the gap between postmodern and decolonial forms of critique. This is not an easy mission as the distinction between the two has been described as "abyssal" (Santos 2007). The metaphor of an abyss is historically meaningful: Santos places the emergence of abyssal thinking in the conquest of South America, in the transporting 'European' knowledge across the Atlantic and then violently institutionalizing European hegemony, first in the Americas and later across the world. This abyss is as wide as the Atlantic: it constitutes the separation between modern and colonial. I attempt to comprehend this abyss and, hopefully, make it narrower and shallower.

My approach therefore approximates a form of "border thinking" (Anzaldúa 1999; Mignolo 2012). Border thinking is often seen more as a response to modernity than as its result. It is a way of analysing the (epistemic) inside from the point of alterity or, as Mignolo and Tlostanova (2006, 206) would say, from "the epistemology of the exteriority; that is, [the point of view] of the outside created from the inside". It is thinking on the edge of the abyss. Knowing my own standpoint is not enough: it is vital to learn to "think *from and with* standpoints" (Walsh 2018, 20). In addition to our own positionalisties, we must attempt to understand the varied positions of other's as well.

As I have explained here, I work from and focus on the inside. Border thinking for me, therefore, is not border crossing – I am firmly inside the line. Instead, I aim to make that border porous and allow other forms of knowledge in. The border still functions as an important epistemological tool for my research. In learning to approach and learn from this border, I owe a huge debt to thinkers from the (post)colonial world. Without their work, and that of researchers in gender and queer studies, this thesis would not exist.

Finally, decoloniality is not simply an academic discipline: it is a praxis (Walsh 2018) and a form of politics. In drawing knowledge and inspiration from decolonial theories, I become a political actor – or an activist, if you will. Many scholars have highlighted the ability of heritage to create worlds (e.g. Hall 1999; Wu & Hou 2015). This applies also to heritage scholars. As Gentry and Smith (2019, 2) note, "[h]eritage studies as a field of study is… itself party to the cultural and political work that heritage does". By producing knowledge about European heritage, I create parts of that heritage: I give it meaning, politicise it, and take part in defining what values it represents. I do all this from a specific position. My aim in this sense is clear. I want to see heritage – and culture more generally – used to create a Europe that is conscious of its colonial past and aware of the continuing effects of this past on contemporary society. I want to see a Europe where these effects of colonialism are addressed, where ideas of belonging cease to be racialised: a Europe that is explicitly antiracist. Moreover, I want to learn to

be part of that Europe. That is the aim of my decolonial politics. It is where I as an academic knowledge producer 'know' from.

2.2.3 Working independently together

Working in a team is not always easy. Therefore, I consider myself immensely lucky. I have been able to work in an environment that has been supportive, and that has guided me forward and at the same time pushed me to follow my vision and to have the courage to jump into the deep end. Despite being the youngest member of the team, I never felt any extra need to prove my position in the project. For the most part, I did not have to justify my approach nor the openly political character it embodies.

This is not to say that I did not receive any critique. Especially early on, we read many of each other's texts, and there was a great balance of constructive critique and support. I believe this enabled me to find my voice but also helped to tie us together as a team. It created the foundation for the deeply affective collaborative space I describe in more detail in article IV. Especially for us, who did not have our backgrounds in heritage studies, it also functioned as a vital crash course into critical heritage studies.

In the end, I got to do a lot more than was initially planned for me. In hindsight, I probably did too much. I was initially supposed to write the thesis primarily on different policy documents, reports and other data that did not require ethnographic fieldwork (see Turunen 2019). In the end, I was actively involved in planning the fieldwork and independently collected data from two sites – which I also got to choose based on my research interests. These two sites were Camp Westerbork and Sagres Promontory. Only some of the data I collected ended up in this thesis. The rest was used as part of the broader EHL data.

Working on a project, of course, always brings some limitations. The biggest one, in my case, was that I had to focus on the EHL. There are very limited debates on colonialism in the EHL, and therefore this single limitation first felt like a major obstacle. Additionally, as the only researcher in our team focused on the effects of colonial heritage, there was very little guidance available for finding my bearings. Critical heritage studies was a completely new field for me, and I was attempting to simultaneously learn the field and figure out how to study the effects of colonialism without actually using debates on colonialism as the data. Being accustomed to being at the margins of academic disciplines proved to be the key to solving this problem. Finding the answer to this question turned out to be a transformative and formative moment on my path towards being a researcher. Finding this route would probably not have been possible without the benefit of a brilliantly planned research setting, within which I was allowed to build my approach.

I do not want to paint an overly rosy picture. Doing a doctorate is difficult. And so is teamwork. There are always compromises, tensions and miscommunications. However, this time the benefits have by far surpassed the disadvantages. Yet another privilege not many get during the PhD studies.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Through combining critical heritage studies with postcolonial and decolonial approaches, I seek to analyse the EHL from the viewpoint of coloniality. In this chapter, I explore the connections between critical heritage studies (chapter 3.1) and coloniality (chapter 3.2), to show what makes their combination into a very powerful analytical tool. Part of this power comes from the way postcolonial approaches seem to counter heritage. Whereas heritage is often perceived as a way to maintain dominant memory narratives and practices, to use the past to highlight or legitimise something seen as positive (e.g. Pakier & Stråth 2010, 2; see also Kisić 2018, 138), postcolonial approaches and critical heritage studies are aimed at unearthing the difficult and silenced experiences that have been hidden behind dominant cultural narratives. Giblin (2015, 313) has identified this as a potent combination, particularly as both approaches tend to rely on the Foucauldian tradition of discourse analysis:

> postcolonial critique encourages a critical approach to not only the relationship between heritage, colonialism, and power but also the inherently colonial aspects of contemporary authorised heritage practices, compared with alternative, non-authorised practices. (ibid., 316)

As such, the combination is well suited for analysing colonial tensions between authorised versions of EUropean heritage and the many alternative heritages and memories that seek to challenge them.

Understanding the interplay of different heritage narratives and the values they represent forces us to be mindful of the different layers that heritage manifests in. The theoretical framework of this thesis is conditioned by the acknowledgment of these many layers and their differentiated effects (see figure 2). The layers are: the material remains, the narratives and discourses that seek to give meaning to these material traces, and the immaterial values and ideals of the cultural archive that define and guide these narratives and their interpretation. As visualised in figure 2, different theoretical approaches taken in this thesis target different layers of cultural heritage. In this thesis, I focus more on the intangible

end of this spectrum, both in attempting to understand what effects different heritage narratives have and in recognizing the different value regimes or cultural archives that these narratives draw on. Moreover, I investigate how recent developments in memory studies could assist in rethinking contemporary challenges to institutionalised forms of cultural memory and in reassessing the entangled relationships between collective memories and authorised heritage narratives.

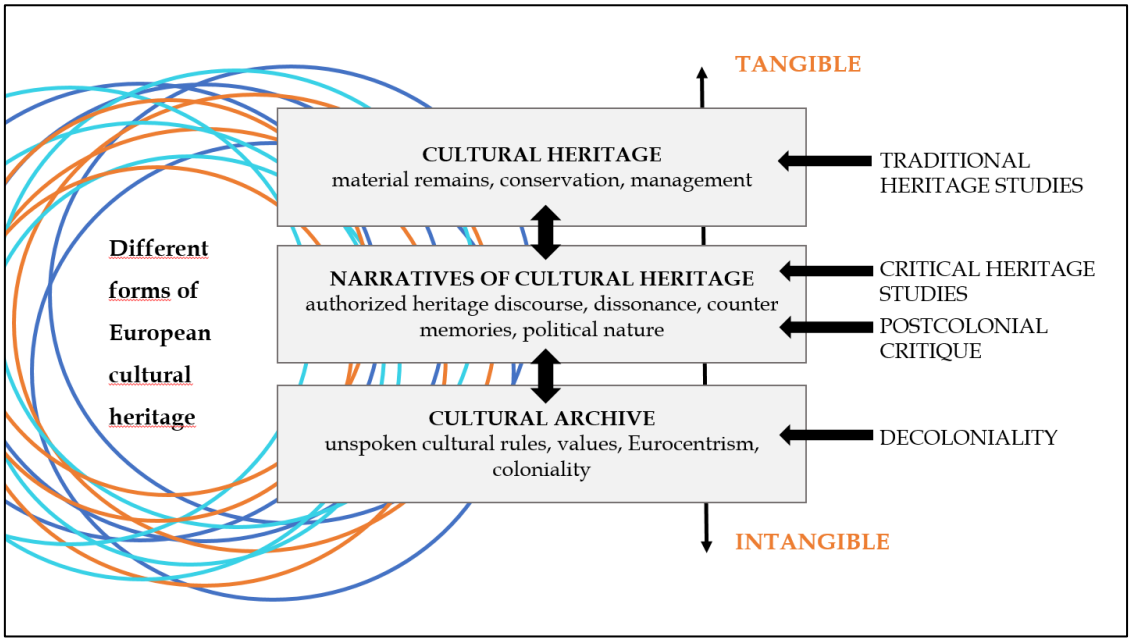

FIGURE 2 The analytical frame of the thesis. Copyright: JohannaTurunen.

3.1 (Re)Politicizing heritage: Critical heritage studies

Heritage as a concept is very ambiguous and it has been used to describe a wide variety of different processes, cultural phenomena, and artefacts (e.g. Graham & Howard 2008; Harrison 2013). The early research on cultural heritage was largely concerned with practical and technical issues related to material heritage (Holtorf & Högberg 2015; see also figure 1). Due to its ability to "place" heritage in specific objects or locations this technocratic approach has been seen as a powerful way to naturalise and depoliticise heritage. As Smith (2006, 31; see also Lähdesmäki 2014) argues it has helped

> to reduce the social, cultural, or historical conflicts about the meaning, value and nature of heritage, or more broadly the past, into discrete and specific conflicts over individual sites and/or technical issues of site management.

As Gnecco (2015, 265) explains "this technical reductionism is not operational but ideological". It stems from the politics that are embodied in heritage practices. By political here, I simply mean different practices conducted either by individuals or institutions aimed at influencing other people (Mouffe 2005). Due to its

inherent linkages to ideas of identity and community, heritage is political in a very deep sense, whether it is approached as a technical issue, as a system of maintaining and cherishing traditional values and customs, or as a protest movement seeking to challenge them. Although in practice, often only calls to change heritage or how it is interpreted – like the BLM – are actively acknowledged as being political (see Turunen & Viita-aho 2020; 2021).

Critical heritage studies grew out of the need to "remind heritage studies that heritage is primarily a cultural phenomenon, and not something simply subject to technical and policy debate" (Smith 2012, 535). It emerged out of a desire to understand the political motivations behind the seemingly apolitical façade of technocratic knowledge to which heritage was often reduced to. In other words, to understand what heritage *does* both on individual and societal levels.

The emergence of a new critical interdisciplinary approach to heritage was concretised in the founding Manifesto (ACHS 2012) of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies:

> Heritage is, as much as anything, a political act and we need to ask serious questions about the power relations that 'heritage' has all too often been invoked to sustain. Nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, cultural elitism, Western triumphalism, social exclusion based on class and ethnicity, and the fetishising of expert knowledge have all exerted strong influences on how heritage is used, defined and managed. We argue that a truly critical heritage studies will ask many uncomfortable questions of traditional ways of thinking about and doing heritage, and that the interests of the marginalised and excluded will be brought to the forefront when posing these questions. (ibid.)

The manifesto builds strongly on the need to overcome the hegemonic power relations that exemplify the grand, Western-centric narratives of heritage as well as the expert-led, management-oriented approach to heritage. This criticised approach was defined later in the manifesto as the authorised heritage discourse (AHD) – a term developed by Smith, the founding president of the association, in her book Uses of Heritage (2006). As argued in article I (Turunen 2019, 190), the "authorised heritage discourses are problematic as they tend to not only distance the public and the visitors from the knowledge production around meanings attached to heritage, but also to exclude or disenfranchise specific historical, cultural and social experiences".

By highlighting the role of heritage experts in defining, instituting, and maintaining the meanings of heritage, the AHD ignores the role of contemporary communities in performing, interpreting, and defining heritages – in reliving the meanings specific heritages hold in the present moment. Acknowledging the importance of the present moment challenges conventional ideas about heritage. Seeing heritage as a contemporary social, political, and economic phenomenon means it is "primarily *not* about the *past,* but instead about our relationship with the *present* and the *future*" (Harrison 2013, 4, original emphasis; see also Turnbridge & Ashworth 1996; Graham & Howard 2008). This makes heritage essentially a "presentist" or even a future-oriented phenomenon (e.g. Harrison 2013; Lähdesmäki 2017; van Huis et al. 2019; Turunen 2020b; Lähdesmäki et al. 2020). It highlights the agency embedded in heritage communities and reveals the

change potential rooted in the meaning-making processes around heritage. As Hall (1997, 61) explains,

> it is us – in society, within human cultures – who make things mean, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change, from one culture or period to another.

As societal values and aspirations develop over time, our ideas of cultural heritage also change and evolve. Moreover, according to Harrison (2013, 198), heritage "requires regular revision and review to see if it continues to meet the needs of contemporary society". In other words, heritage needs to continue to express the values a society upholds in order to remain meaningful as a collective cultural practice. Protest movements like the BLM and the debates over decolonisation make visible the tensions that are currently growing in Europe, especially around colonial heritage. As already noted in the introduction, public reactions to these debates are far from unanimous. As such, heritage is best perceived as a constant political negotiation of selecting what elements of our history we use to build our collective futures. As Delanty (2017, 67) argues in building his critical cosmopolitan approach, there are always forces "that challenge Eurocentrism and… that affirm Eurocentrism". As a result, all heritage negotiations are always contentious and dissonant. However, as van Huis reminds us, "heritage is more visibly contested and more rapidly changing at certain moments in time" (2019, 218). Although debates over decolonizing museums have been active both in the museums and academic sector for at least a couple of decades, it is clear that we are currently in a phase of heightened public attention.

However, this thesis is not focused on the most visible parts of these debates: the public demonstrations, activist campaigns, nor the so-called "museums exhibiting Empire" (Aldrich 2009). The focus is on heritage actors who do not explicitly debate Empire but rather approach coloniality in a more indirect or subdued manner. Focusing on the meaning making practices highlights the role of discursive and performative elements around heritage and it enables analysing the politics of coloniality in varied forms of intensity.

Finally, the last key character stemming from critical heritage studies debates is the high emphasis posited on the process of heritagisation: how a specific place, tradition, or object, is transformed from an ordinary thing into heritage. As Smith (2006, 3) explains

> heritage is heritage *because* it is subjected to the management and preservation/conservation process, not because it simply '*is*'. This process does not just 'find' sites and places to manage and protect. It is itself a constitutive cultural process that identifies those things and places that can be given meaning and value as 'heritage', reflecting contemporary cultural and social values, debates and aspirations.

Seen within this framework, heritage is an active process, which gives selected objects, places, and practices from the past new meanings in the present. These meanings are created – and managed – to project selected values, ideals, and aspirations into the future. They are open to change and reinterpretation, so heritages can also be "cut-adrift from the anchoring historical narratives that rightly

or wrongly helped shape cultural memory" (Chalcraft & Delanty 2015, see also Delanty 2016b). As such heritage is not about facts or figures, but about choices. Although there are extensive heritage regimes – such as the EHL – designed to govern and limit these choices, it is possible to choose to highlight different aspects of our past and choose to read different meanings into specific historical phenomena. Or, as I argue in chapter 4, we can choose what discourse we use to narrate our past.

Most colonial heritage is yet to be heritagised in this way: especially the elements connected to decolonisation have been poorly taken into official heritage initiatives. However, there is active political pressure pushing debates on colonialism and decolonisation towards heritagisation. These explicit efforts to change the values associated with colonial heritage are simultaneously challenging the cultural archive sustaining our contemporary interpretations of European heritage.

3.2 Cultural archive and the intangible heritage of colonialism

Although the material aspects of colonial heritage – the remains of imperial debris (Stoler 2013) – are the physical markers of this past, its coloniality is especially visible in its values and narratives. Focusing on the intangible elements of heritage can help understand the effects different heritages have on the communities that engage with them (e.g. Harvey 2001; Smith 2006; Smith & Waterton 2009; Harrison 2013; Lähdesmäki 2014). One concept that can be used to approach the profound, intangible cultural influences that contour and condition how communities interact with heritage is the cultural archive.

James (1999 [1988], 5) explains that a cultural archive consists of "substantive notions about the varieties and distinctions of primary human experience, not always clearly described, and indeed often obscured behind the changing modes of overt discourse" (see also Said 2003; Wekker 2016). As James argues, these notions form "a lasting base of past reference and future validation" (1999, 5): they exist in deeper, almost gut-instinct type cultural reactions, norms, and biases that powerfully govern the way we react to different cultural incentives. They form the deep and at times perhaps dark currents of cultures. As such they are an incremental part of the (unrecognised) values that are cherished and reproduced as part of cultural heritage.

For Gloria Wekker (2016), one hidden aspect of the European cultural archive is its colonial roots. As she argues, the European cultural archive is "an unacknowledged reservoir of knowledge and feelings based on four hundred years of imperial rule [that has] played a vital but unacknowledged part in the dominant meaning-making processes taking place in [European] society" (Wekker 2016, 3). For Wekker, this archive is the primary cause behind what she calls "white innocence" (ibid.): the paradox between the varied effects race continues to provoke in Europe and the simultaneous stubborn denial of racism. Writing in the Dutch context, Wekker argues that this paradox is at the heart of

the "White Dutch sense of self" (ibid. 1). As a result, Wekker dedicates her book to the study of whiteness and the ways it is constituted through coloniality. In this thesis, I attempt to follow Wekker's example on the EUropean scale by analysing the prospects of decolonizing White European minds.

However, before we can talk of decolonizing or unlearning, we need to understand the key components contributing to the coloniality of European heritage. I will here discuss three different elements: first, the idea of modernity/coloniality; secondly, the way ideas of progress, civilisation, and the need to preserve the past conjoin in the idea of heritage; and finally, I will shortly outline the relationship between nationalism, colonialism and European identities.

3.2.1 Modernity/coloniality and heritage

There is often a foundational Eurocentric element attached to ideas of modernity. The hegemonic understanding of modernity follows the definition that the "key historical events for the creation of the principle of [modern] subjectivity are the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the French revolution" (Habermas 1988, 27). This list of events has later been expanded, but still all reference points are traditionally taken from Europe, making 'Europe' the key agent in the creation of a modern world. In his recent book on European heritage Delanty (2017, 54) states that "[m]odernity is the constitutive matrix that gave to Europe a direction and meaning", in other words it gave Europe a mission. There is ample research challenging this Eurocentric narrative of modernity (e.g. Dussel 2000; Dainotto 2007). However, what is crucial is that the idea of European modernity acts as a narrative – one way to frame a historical process. As Mignolo explains, "the idea of modernity… is neither an entity nor an ontological historical period, but a set of self-serving narratives" (2018, 110) that position Europe at the centre of the global order.

Although Europe can no longer be considered as "the vanguard of modernity" (Passerini 2012, 123–124; see also 2002) modernity has not lost its strong Eurocentric tone or ability to create meanings: on the contrary, the Eurocentric narrative of modernity is very much alive. Its legacy can be identified in the EU-AHD, especially in two ways – the continuous use of civilisational thinking (see chapter 3.2.2 and Turunen 2019) and the central role of nationalism (see chapter 3.2.3 and Turunen 2021). Because of these effects of modernity, it is vital to integrate particularly decolonial approaches into the theoretical framework. One key difference between postcolonial and decolonial approaches is their scope. Decolonial scholars, many of whom originate from South America, highlight the 1492 conquest of their continent as the starting point of European colonialism. This refocuses postcolonial theory in terms of both temporal scope and content. Key distinctive feature is the idea of modernity/coloniality.

As early as 1961, Fanon acknowledged the connections between colonialism and the construction of modern Europe. These links have been drawn repeatedly also in museum and heritage studies. For example Harrison and Hughes state that "it is possible to argue that the process of colonialism essentially *created* the modern world as we know it" (2010, 234 original emphasis). Decolonial scholars

go one step further and see modernity and coloniality as constitutive of each other (e.g. Mignolo 2006). One cannot exist without the other – like two sides of the same coin. As such, decolonial theorists do not focus on colonial rule per se but on a broader structure of power that conditions both modernity and its darker side, coloniality.

Coloniality was first defined by Anibal Quijano in 2000 and the concept has been developed further by theorists like Walter Mignolo, Maria Lugones, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, and Ramón Grosfoguel. According to Maldonado-Torres coloniality "refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations" (2007, 247). As Grosfoguel (2006) emphasises, in addition to the modern/colonial disposition, coloniality manifests in patriarchal and capitalist systems of power. To account for this comprehensive nature Santos (2018, 108) has for example talked of the need to depatriarchalise while decolonizing.

As coloniality is part of modernity, the power structure at its core did not disappear with the end of colonial rule. When coloniality is seen as a continuous structure, the wealth, development, and progress of some is always seen as a result of appropriation from, discrimination against, and impoverishment of others. In contemporary globalised society, coloniality is no longer reducible to direct colonial subjugation or slavery. Rather, the systemic appropriation of many for the benefit of the few is a constitutive element of societies, both in the former colonies and in the metropoles (e.g. Narayan & Sealey-Huggins 2017). Subsequently, decolonisation needs to be a process that engages both ends of the spectrum and all the varieties between them.

3.2.2 Narratives of progress: The role of civilisation, nation and race

Ideals connected to modernity had a central role in creating the idea of heritage. The change in how time was perceived proved essential for transforming the past into something that needed to be preserved. Modernity started to be increasingly measured by progress. Where modern society was seen as an end result of linear progress, the past became viewed as less developed, inferior, and potentially disappearing into the sands of time – a line of argument used to evaluate also many colonised cultures (see chapter 3.2.3; see also Turunen & Viita-aho 2020). To avoid losing the past, it had to be managed, controlled and eventually preserved for future generations.

It is precisely this risk of loss that makes different cultural heritages especially valuable (De Silvey & Harrison 2019). In order to be preserved specific objects, buildings, traditions, or customs are categorised as heritage. This desire to preserve is intricately linked both to nostalgia for the past and belief in a progressive future. As Bijn (2015, 138) has noted, "the production of a new future in modernity entails the production of a new past". Bijn explains that nostalgia (*nostos* = the return home and *algia* = longing) literally means longing to return to a place where one can feel at home. However, the "future is an always receding horizon, it does not offer a new 'home'" (ibid.). It leaves us longing for a 'home' that is

simultaneously unattainable and lost or disappearing. This constant process of contrasting modernity (meaning future) with the past "makes heritage such an important factor in determining how modern societies conceptualise themselves" (Walsh 1992, quoted in Harrison 2013, 25). Heritage can be seen as "both a product and producer of Western modernity" (Harrison 2013, 39). To be modern implies the existence of a 'civilised' culture; to have a 'civilised' culture means to be modern. More importantly, it is not enough to merely have a 'civilised' culture. In order to be modern, you need heritage. You need to protect and preserve it.

When the first practices connected to modern idea of heritage started to emerge in Western Europe around the sixteenth century "the activities of collecting, understanding, and representing the past were very much in the hands of those with the private economic means and leisure to pursue their interests" (West & Ansell 2010, 9). In these early attempts to preserve heritage, collective memory was assembled from a privileged perspective with private means.

Methods and rules for classifying objects and cultures developed gradually, and the idea of cultural hierarchies and progressive human development was slowly inscribed into the root idea of cultural heritage (see also Giblin 2015). As Modlin, Alderman, and Gentry (2011, 8) explain

> Museums assert certain ways of thinking and knowing the past and reinforce particular community identities through ordering knowledge in ways that naturalise particular worldviews.

As such, museums systematically reproduced a specific cultural hierarchy: "between those who *have* culture and those who *belong* to a culture" (Landkammer 2018, 4, original emphasis). This separation developed parallel with two ideas: race and nationalism (see Crang & Tolia-Kelly 2010).

With the growth of nationalism, heritage became a tool to build a sense of nationhood. It was used to construct national histories and the narratives of the origins of the nation (e.g. Geismar 2015); these constructions of national cultural heritage were no longer private activities. They were sanctioned by states and actively promoted and spread by national museums and educational institutions. However, as Dirks explains "[c]laims about nationality necessitated notions of culture that marked groups off from one another in essential ways, uniting language, race, geography, and history in a single concept" (Dirks 1992, 3). This combination of national and colonial divides became the marker of the so-called 'natural order of things': between the presumably highly developed and modern national cultures of European civilisation, who presented themselves as superior to the allegedly lesser-developed traditional societies and customs of the colonial world.

Of course this order is everything but natural. The idea of a 'people without history and culture' was a construction designed to justify colonial rule. This epistemic violence – the functioning of the "forgetting machine" as Césaire (2000) would say – was heavily criticised by anticolonial authors. As Fanon (2001 [1963], 169) explains:

> Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it.

This was not a mere de(con)struction. The erasure of precolonial history was complemented by a reconstruction in which the colonised were forced into a Eurocentric narrative of history. As Cabral (quoted in Young 2001, 288) explains,

> [t]he colonialists usually say that it was they who brought us into history… They made us leave history, our history, to follow them… to follow the progress of their history.

This reconstruction altered the epistemic and ontological realities of colonised communities that is reflected in the heavy focus on epistemological and ontological work among decolonial theorists (e.g. Santos 2018). By erasing their histories and cultural forms, colonial authorities presented the colonised subjects as beings outside of modernity whose worth was tied to their ability to assimilate and adapt to 'European' norms and values – in other words, to the extent that they were able to become 'civilised'.

This changes the aims of decolonisation. Political processes of decolonisation where power was transferred (often as a result of violent protests) from colonial authorities to newly independent states did not take into account this epistemic aspect of colonisation. More comprehensive approaches are needed, including cultural decolonisation (Walsh 2018; see also Coutts-Smith 2002). For the colonised decolonisation includes more than political control: it also involves a need to change "the narratives of our histories" and to "transform our sense of what it means to live" (Bhabha [1994] 2004, 256) – what it means to be worthy of a life.

However, as was noted earlier, this thesis aims to understand the prospects of decolonizing the White European mind, the mind of the coloniser. It requires a different set of tools. Focusing on coloniality makes visible the role of modernity, and its companion terms of progress, development, and civilisation continue to have when debating heritage. In this context, heritage museums should be seen as "arenas for ideological assertion" (Katriel 1993, 7). They continue to have a central role in re-producing coloniality in contemporary European society. It is therefore essential to remember that despite the tendency to view "heritage as having an unquestionable positive prefix […] numerous heritage practices and traditions are the bastions of patriarchy, colonialism, ageism and other discriminative and enslaving ideologies" (Kisić 2018, 138). In order to break this chain, we need to decolonise also the other side of the modernity/coloniality duality: the European mind. A central tool for this is the process of unlearning.

3.3 Unlearning the cultural archive: Heritage, embodied knowledges and memories

Archives are generally thought of as stable and constant in their character. However, at times, different elements of the archive are activated while others lie dormant. The archive is flexible and to a certain degree malleable. However, its control is limited by cultural rules that emphasise continuity. As Appadurai explains in reference to cultural rules that define our ideas of the past and its continuing legacies: "anything is possible, but only some things are permissible" (Appadurai 1981, 218). Building on Appadurai, Trouillot explains how archives "convey authority and set the rules for credibility and interdependence; they help select the stories that matter" (Trouillot 1995, 52). In other words, they partly control which narratives and interpretations are permissible in the context of EUropean cultural heritage.

To challenge the cultural archive one must therefore seek to change the rules. It is not enough to simply create new ones. We need to also unlearn some of the old rules that are designed to maintain the status quo. We need to create a rupture.

As discussed in article III (Turunen 2020, 1016; see also wa Thiong'o 1986), "in the European context, we must approach decolonisation of the minds as a process of unlearning the racial and cultural hierarchies imbedded in the ways many Europeans still (unconsciously) view the world". This decolonisation is fundamentally about unlearning harmful practices and attitudes (Tlostanova & Mignolo 2012, 3; Maldonado-Torres 2017) that influence how colonial history and its ramifications are engaged within contemporary Europe. It is not just about objects or their narrations: to achieve sustained change, we must challenge the cultural archive that guides the rules regarding the 'permissibility' of different interpretations.

3.3.1 Gradual decolonisation of heritage – Between alternatives and correctives

Hewison (1987) argued in an early classic of critical heritage studies, that heritage should be seen as a biased history that favours dominant classes. Although the societies around heritage have changed, this basic tendency of how heritages work has largely remained the same. Smith (2020) argues that heritage sites still function mainly to affirm existing attachments, rather than encouraging visitors to build new affiliations and connections. One reason for this is the nature of the AHDs. For the large part heritage continues to be seen as an authorised process that requires primarily the engagement and action of experts: heritage is "something visitors are led to, are instructed about, but are then not invited to engage with more actively" (Smith 2006, 31). This is compounded by the cultural archive: as an "an unacknowledged reservoir of knowledge and feelings" (Wekker 2016, 3) it is rarely actively encountered or resisted. This interpretation contrasts the

active agency (praxis) that decoloniality scholars emphasise (e.g. Walsh 2018) and other critical interpretations of the agency of museum visitors (Kros 2014, see also Ranciére 2009) – is there a way to bring heritage closer to active participation and inclusivity?

Bhambra (2014, 117) has claimed that "[p]ostcolonial and decolonial arguments have been explicit in their challenge to their insularity of historical narratives and historiographical traditions emanating from Europe" (Bhambra 2014b, 117). The response to this increasing critique against 'Europe' has often been only "minor adjustments" by the "proponents of more orthodox views" (ibid., see also Ascroft, Griffits & Tiffin 2002 [1989], 162).

Decolonial theorists seek to go beyond this tendency to counter critique through dismissal and minor adaptations: to stop looking for corrective measures and start looking for genuine alternatives.

> [T]ransformations… require an epistemic decolonial shift. Not a 'new,' a 'post,' or a 'neo,' which are all changes within the same modern colonial epistemology, but… a delinking from the rules of the game… in which deconstruction itself and all the 'posts' for sure are caught. (Mignolo 2006, 313)

Although recent research on heritage and museums have been positioned as a means for societal change (e.g. Reilly 2018; van Huis 2019; Janes & Sandell 2019; Turunen 2020b), considering the role that heritage has played in constructing European modernity, it seems an unlikely candidate for dismantling it. For as famously stated by Black, feminist, queer writer and poet Audre Lorde (2018 [1984]) "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house".

Heritages seem to respond to critique primarily through corrective approaches. As Waterton and Watson (2015, 26) explain

> Where the ontologies of this construction of heritage have been challenged, often on political grounds, a process of assimilation has taken place. All that was oppositional was simply admitted to the fold, given a label and re-presented in a non-threatening way as heritage – deracinated and depoliticised from class domination, gender inequalities and racial oppression.

This tendency to include new elements under 'heritage' through assimilation and suppression has led Giblin (2015, 316) to describe the expansionist practices embedded in AHDs as echoes of colonial mentalities. As he explains, if colonialism "can be characterised as a process by which the world and its people were explored, describes, divided up and 'conquered', a process that was aided by anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians, among many other expert actors" (ibid.), the AHDs can be characterised by similar practices of "identification, listing and conservation [in which] they become appropriated and 'conquered', or owned and interpreted, by similar expert actors and their organisations" (ibid.) Similarly, many museums have approached decolonisation as a corrective process that starts from the decolonisation of the minds of the practitioners: through unlearning the colonizing tendencies described by Giblin. As Landkammer, a museum pedagogue, explains:

> the museum can become a site of unlearning not only for the facilitators themselves, but also for the public it attracts. As an institution in which the legacy of colonial history becomes materially and symbolically tangible, the ethnographic museum is perhaps better suited than any other educational institution to take up the task of unlearning this legacy. (Landkammer 2018, 4)

In this context, instead of an alternative epistemology, decoloniality can be seen as a gradual process working towards alternatives or as "the exercise of power within the colonial matrix to undermine the mechanism that keeps it in place" (Mignolo 2018, 114). This kind of corrective process that includes an element of unlearning can help redefine which stories matter in individual institutions such as museums and on a more general level in society. It helps lessen polarisation around decolonial debates and can be perceived as a form of 'preparing the land' for more radical debates and changes. As such, corrective approaches can also lead to critical new openings – for example, the debates on post-Western (Delanty 2003; 2017) or postnational (Rigney 2012) notions of Europe. As such, decolonizing European heritage does not necessarily have to be a revolution that provides an alternative epistemology, even less an alternative ontology of Europeanness. It needs to be seen as a process that works towards pluralised notions of Europeanness.

Therefore, although stemming from colonial roots, heritage as a means to narrate and make certain historical elements meaningful on a societal level is part of the cultural and epistemological politics aimed at challenging the colonial matrix. In the European context, this type of corrective process is, in my opinion, crucial, particularly for shifting the perspective and affective positionings of White Europeans. While more radical processes calling for decolonisation – the protests and activist interventions – have an important role in empowering postcolonial communities and in providing agency and political engagement for communities that are often sidelined in European cultural and identity politics, these more gradual approaches have an important role in pushing public debates towards the language and practice of decoloniality.

I believe there are two particularly potent future avenues for this type of gradual decolonisation: increased attention to the affectual and embodied reactions that people have when engaging with heritage and the integration of new memories into the collective awareness of Europe.

3.3.2 Combining embodied knowledges and memories

It is often hard to draw a definitive border between cultural heritage and memories: collective memories are often intensified and sustained through heritage performances. Simultaneously, heritages draw on collective memories as a source of meaning and as ways to connect and engage with the community with which they are associated. Without some form of collective memory, no heritage can exist.

> If heritage is that from the past which groups consider important to remember and remember as part of crafting and articulating various identities in the present, then

> memory and memorywork are intrinsic, constitutive properties of heritage (Sather-Wagstaff 2015, 191–192).

Accordingly, heritage can be seen as a way in which memories are mediated. As argued in article III, particular heritage sites connect also to memories other than the ones actively promoted by the chosen heritage narrative and its component discourses (see chapter 4.1.1; Turunen 2020). Sather-Wagstaff (2015, 196) sees memories as crucial elements in all debates on so-called difficult heritages (see Macdonald 2009) because of how memories and official narratives of history, or by extension heritage, contrast and relate to each other. Memories connected to contentious heritages are often deeply emotive – and divisive. AHDs tend to represent 'history written by the winners' or the story of the dominant classes: this is a key cause of the powerful silencing and exclusion of the under-represented sections of society.

Although earlier defined as the source of continuity, I believe the arena of the cultural archive – the complex webs of feelings, bodily reactions, instincts, and memories – holds also the possibilities for change. Crang and Tolia-Kelly argue that "the production and circulation of feeling and sentiment, rather than civic knowledge, [is] crucial in excluding and including different people" (2010, 2315). Making cultural heritage more inclusive requires more than adding knowledge or changing the narrative: it also requires provoking emotions and understanding how our bodies and minds react to different narratives.

At its best remembering at the museum can be an "emotive, even affective, process because museums are spaces of emotion as well as information" (Modlin, Alderman & Gentry 2011, 8). These experiences may sometimes be hard to name and pinpoint. As we argued in article IV (Turunen et al. 2020), heritage sites can provoke deeply affective experiences. The experiences that we conceptualised as poly-space were "meaningful for understanding the world(s), people and life entangled with the heritage site" (ibid. 3). However, these experiences became meaningful only through embodied forms of knowing, as we argue later in the article:

> Although often connected to the cognitive meaning-making practices around heritage, the sensorial and physical element of experiencing poly-space was crucial in terms of thinking heritage sites not only through poly-space, but also inherently as poly-space – as places where several histories and temporalities are layered and active. (ibid. 13)

While building on embodied and affective experiences, many of these reactions were deeply connected to memories we as individuals possessed. As argued by Seremetakis, memory "as a distinct meta-sense transports, bridges and crosses all the other senses" (Seremetakis 1994, 9, quoted in Sather-Wagstaff 2017, 19, see also Turunen et.al. 2020, 16). The act of remembering essentially connects different reactions, emotions, and experiences to existing meanings and the interpretations that we use to make sense of them. This connection to memory is vital as "antiracism requires historical memory, recalling the conditions of racial degradation and relating contemporary to historical and local to global conditions" (Goldberg 2008, 21). Besides learning to re-remember silenced pasts, antiracism

requires us to learn to 'feel' together across existing community boundaries – to create new forms of empathy and solidarity across community lines.

In addition to anti-racism, this work of connecting different histories can be approached through critical cosmopolitanism (Delanty 2010; 2014a; 2014b; 2017). Attempting to create a corrective understanding of cosmopolitanism as a legal and cognitive framework, Delanty argues that cosmopolitanism is best understood as a form of learning (2014a, 218). Although Delanty does not make any reference to decolonisation, by stretching his argument on the need to overcome Eurocentric ideals embedded in cosmopolitanism (2014b), we could even argue it entails an element of unlearning or the adaptation of new (decolonial) attitudes (see Tlostanova & Mignolo 2012; Maldonado-Torres 2017). As Delanty explains, achieving social justice "requires major cognitive transformation" (2014a, 218) that also implies "shifting the self-understanding of contemporary societies" (ibid.).

Bender (2017) also comes to similar results when approaching cosmopolitanism from a critical anthropological perspective. Bender sees cosmopolitanism primarily as an experience or a sentiment: a form of double consciousness that intentionally echoes W.E.B DuBois (ibid. 118).

> The cosmopolitan is open to the unease of forming a new understanding of both one's self and of the world when invited by the confrontation of difference. […] It implies being open to a particular kind of novel experience. (ibid., 117)

Bender's approach connects cosmopolitanism back to affects and the uneasy work of learning to understand the effects of structural privilege. In a museum environment, this uneasiness can also take deeply embodied forms that challenge the visitors emotionally and cognitively. Participating in unlearning is thus likely a very uncomfortable experience that challenges many of the taken-for-granted norms of Western societies and thus also the individuals own identity and perceived place in the world. However, the aim of unlearning is not merely to make people suffer or repent: it should not be seen as a bullying tactic. The uncomfortability that is embedded in it has a purpose and an aim: it has a generative dynamic. It can even be seen as a form of pedagogy (see Hyvärinen, Koistinen & Koivunen 2021). It is a pedagogy specifically designed to tackle difficult topics and it is ultimately geared towards promoting societal change for a more just society.

3.3.3 Remembering (post)colonialism: Multidirectional sensibilities and postmemories

A massive conflict is obviously at the heart of how colonialism is remembered and heritagised both in Europe and across the world. The scale of the experience combined with the continuing global racial dynamic make it hard to avoid antagonistic memory practices (see Bull and Hansen 2011) among those formerly colonised. The loss of empire has led to similarly antagonistic memory discourses also in Europe. The ability to imagine postcolonial or decolonial futures largely

depends on how different memories are used to position ourselves and others. This requires overcoming antagonistic and competitive approaches to memory (see Rothberg 2009; Rigney 2012).

Postcolonial memories have been described using many different concepts. Communities subjected to colonial rule often discuss them as wounds (Chambers 2014) or work of mourning (Durrant 2004) – as potential points of both healing and recurring trauma or melancholia (e.g. Gilroy 2004; Azoulay 2009). Hegemonic memory canons – such as European heritage narratives – often refer to postcolonial memories as counter-memories (i.e. Mills 2007). As with heritage itself, this highlights a similar antagonistic or competitive dynamic. An unrelenting division between officially authorised forms of heritage and remembrance that opposes or challenges these forms can be observed: the division of *our* and *their* heritage. As a result, postcolonial counter-memories are often reduced to "a haunting disturbance or potentiality at the edges of social practice" (Kølvraa 2019) – always outside or at the outskirts of officially sanctioned collective remembrance activities.

To overcome this competitive and antagonistic tendency and better integrate postcolonial memories into public remembrance activities, we need to move beyond "modes of remembering [that] tend to simplify past historical events, hampering a critical understanding of their complexity" (Bull and Hansen 2016, 395). Instead, memories should be used to kindle collective solidarities and active commitment towards democratic memory practices and institutions (ibid. 400). Bull and Hansen describe this form of memory as agonistic: it involves reflexivity and understanding the complexities entangled in different social conflicts. They reiterate the need for the "multidirectional sensibility" that Rothberg (2009, 2011) calls for – although not in those words.

Multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009; see also van Ooijen & Raaijmakers 2012; Chalcraft & Delanty 2015; Chalcraft 2018; Bayraktar 2019; Turunen 2020a) is an often-discussed approach to overcoming memories of trauma and conflict. The concept was developed to debate relational connections between different occurrences of racialised violence. Rothberg initially conceived his multidirectional approach while attempting to identify connections between decolonisation and the Holocaust (see also Gilroy 2004; Durrant 2004; Goldberg 2006; Silverman 2013). It has also been used in variety of debates, for example the Palestinian conflict (Rothberg 2011), migration (Bayraktar 2019), and the inclusion of the Sámi in European heritage narratives (Turunen 2020a).

Multidirectional memory arises from a turn away from competitive conceptualisations of memory towards an idea of memory as "subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing, as productive and not privative" (Rothberg 2009, 3). Different memories of violence and trauma can spark feelings of empathy or similarity, even when no formal connections exist. This dynamic of connectedness does not emerge from equation of historical wrongs, which quite conversely can lead to competition, but from recognizing the uniqueness and connectedness of different events. In Rothberg's words, it requires "a multidirectional sensibility—a tendency to see history as relational and as woven from

similar, but not identical, fabrics" (2011, 528). Although Rothberg is primarily interested in remembrance of violence, similar approaches have been adopted in other contexts. In a debate on the role of memory in constructing contemporary EUropean society, Rigney argues that memory should be perceived as

> an imaginative resource that can be shared, rather than as a fixed legacy that is inherited or owned by particular groups in an exclusive way. [Such approach to memory] provides a better model for Europe and for new forms of postnational citizenship based on the principle of affiliation rather than descent. (Rigney 2012, 610)

Similar to Rothberg, Rigney sees memories as inherently generative, not only of connections but of identifications (ibid.). For Rigney, memories therefore have a performative dimension. Participating in particular acts of remembrance calls into being collective identities: according to her they have the ability to call into being a collectivity around the idea of Europe. I am currently collecting data on people's experiences of the BLM protests and it is still premature to make any definitive statements. However, based on initial findings it is very likely that a similar performative element can also be discovered around the BLM protests during the summer of 2020. In addition to varied communities of colour, the protests enabled White Europeans to connect to colonial memories in a critical yet empathetic and proactive manner. Participating in the protests therefore functioned as an act of remembrance that created a sense of community across racial lines.

In addition to memories, a crucial element of this process of building a community is also linked to the ways it is sustained through narrativisation (see Somers 1994). The problem in Europe is not the lack of colonial memories per se, although the passing of time is making direct memories of colonialism less and less prevalent. The problem is the divisive manner the narratives created through colonial memories position European communities and the affective inequality (see Modlin, Alderman & Gentry 2012) that characterises how AHDs engage with them. Colonial memories – of being colonised or coloniser – are transmitted and mediated in numerous ways.

As such, memories of colonialism can be perceived as postmemories. Conceived by Hirsch (2012) as a tool to understand the transfer of traumatic memories of the Holocaust from one generation to another, the idea of postmemory provokes interesting thinking on how communities and generations can learn to handle historical baggage – both individually and as a society. For Hirsch, postmemories are ultimately ways to remember other people's memories. These memories can be passed down through familial ties or mediated through societal ties. They are not based on personal experience of trauma; in some cases they can resemble some form of historical and affective awareness of how difficult histories live on in the society around you.

As a result, postmemories are more than just memories. Hirsch perceives them as a "structure of inter- and transgenerational return of traumatic knowledge and embodied experience" (Hirsch 2012, 6). Memories of colonialism or slavery surely function like postmemories for many individuals and communities. What interests me is how postmemories can influence individuals and

groups beyond communities directly affected by the trauma they imply: can European communities implicated in colonialism learn to participate in the collective trauma that colonial postmemories seek to make sense of?

This is where colonial postmemories connect back to the idea of building communities around particular memories (see Rigney 2012). Benton and Cecil (2010, 12) argue that collective memory "consist[s] of the similarities between the memories of a number of people, produced either by shared experience or by the common rehearsal of stories representing events of which people may have more of less direct experience". Heritage as means to imbue historical events, practices and memories with societal importance, could be an ideal tool for this process.

Phenomena like the BLM protests exemplify this political potential and manifest the relevance these memories hold for the wider European public. The protests manifest the possibility of resisting the colonial cultural archive and creating alternative value regimes around colonial heritage. Although there is significant resistance against this alternative reading, it is essential to note that there has also been significant mobilisation to support it. This type of action stretches the limits of what is permissible within the EUropean cultural heritage debates. They challenge the colonial cultural archive, and ultimately they help European publics in all their multitudes become fluent with each other's histories.

4 DATA AND METHODS

I have always had a slight aversion towards the methods section in my articles. Despite numerous courses on different methodologies, I find myself often returning to my doubts over whether any method could adequately explain what steps I took in coming up with my findings. This hesitance is not because I see methodology as irrelevant or useless, quite the contrary: I believe it is fundamental to academic research. I follow Law and Urry (2004, 391) in believing that methodologies "do not simply describe the world as it is, but also enact it". Moreover "they have effects; they make differences; they enact realities; and they can help to bring into being what they also discover" (ibid., 394). When approached comprehensively, methodology can reveal the subjectivities we as authors transport to the knowledge we produce.

Method, like writing more generally, is much more than the practical 'how to' guide to research. As already argued in chapter 2, it demands acknowledging our own implication in the constitution of knowledge. Academic writing is "a comprehensive activity that includes cognitive *and* affective or emotional elements" (Kiriakos & Tienari 2018, 265, original emphasis). Understanding this affective side of knowledge creation challenges researchers to reflect not only their own positionalities as knowledge producers, but also on "how we [as researchers] came up with the patterns we call meaningful or cultural" (Lichterman 2015, 42). This applies equally to researchers working individually and, as argued in article IV, in collaboration (Turunen et al. 2020, 7–8).

4.1 Reading cultural heritage

> We should think of The Heritage as a discursive practice. It is one of the ways in which the nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory (Hall 1999, 5).

As Hall notes, heritage can be seen as a discursive tool or process aimed at ordering and making sense of collective memories: it connects individual

memories to shared narratives and corresponding material objects and landscapes (see also Brockmeier 2010). As such, it is fundamentally a form of knowledge creation.

From a Foucauldian perspective knowledge is always imbued with power. By defining the parameters of knowledge – the concepts we use, how and where we use them, and the meanings they possess – discourses control what knowledge is and effectively contour its objects. As Foucault states, discourses are "a set of practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak" (1972, 49). Thus, heritage understood through a discursive lens is an act of communication (see also Dicks 2000) that simultaneously forms, defines, and conditions what that heritage is and what it means.

Acknowledging this narrative and discursive power embedded in definitions of 'European significance' is the key methodological starting point for this thesis. As explained in chapter 3.1, critical heritage studies have emphasised the discursive and performative aspects of heritage. They are interested in what heritage *does*: not to preserve objects and sites, but to affect individuals and societies. Narratives and discourses have a prominent role in this *doing*. As Gentry and Smith (2019, 2) explain, "the discourses that frame our understanding of heritage are a performance in which the meaning of the past is continuously negotiated in the context of the needs of the present". Accordingly, we can view the actors involved in the EHL as engaged in a performative process seeking to narrate and define Europeanness and its borders, boundaries, and inherent meanings.

4.1.1 Between narratives, discourses and stories

Although narratives, stories, and even discourses are commonly referred to interchangeably, I want to distinguish between the three. Building on structural and poststructural literary scholars, for example Barthes (1966), Brophy (2009) argues that narratives consist of stories and discourses. Stories in this context mean the chronological account of the events, whereas, discourses are the choices about how that story is told. Narratives consist of the overall story and the many potential discourses that could be used to tell that story. This means that each story can result in several different narratives and each narrative is always a selective version of a story conditioned by the choice of discourse that is used. Taking this structure into the heritage context, the story is the historical record of what has happened, the discourse is the selected way of telling that history and the more abstract idea of heritage is the narrative that results from this process. Taking this simple model one step further, in this context the discourses can be perceived as the primary viewpoint or as the set of collective memories through which the heritage is narrativised.

Of course, heritage is more than a narrative. It is connected to material realities, which have effects that cannot be accounted for through narratives. From a methodological angle, however, focusing on narratives, discourses, and stories has many advantages. It draws attention to the agency that heritage actors have

in selecting the discourses they use to construct the narrative told by their sites. In this context the narrative works as the lens that brings seemingly unconnected experiences together with the story and its interpretations (see Polkinghorne 1988). Essentially, it works as a tool of meaning-making that in a Foucauldian sense is contoured by the use of power.

Many political interests are entangled in choosing specific discourses. In defining what being European means today, the past is used as a resource, to justify present political needs and ideals about the future. Using this method does not mean analysing narrations of the European past to unearth historical facts, *per se*. Filling the gaps in the story is the realm of historical research. My aim in this thesis is to understand the politics entangled in the discourses chosen to construct the overall narrative. I am particularly interested in the relationship between narrative and discourse – the choices about what is told and what is forgotten, what concepts are being used, whose story is being told and who it is primarily told to, what power structures are involved, and what effects specific discourses have on the narratives that are being constructed. It is less about what those stories are than about how they are told and what this telling achieves. Heritage narratives therefore *do* things. They construct worlds, constrain what we know, and engage their audiences. As Brophy (2009, 34) explains, "narratives do not lie idle: they invite, indeed demand, a response from their listeners". So they are "complex not only for the narrator but for the listener" (ibid.).

Somers (1994) perceives narratives as a crucial element of identity formation, mainly because they enable the construction of social epistemology and ontology. This affective component – the ability of narratives to do things and invoke responses – enables heritages to construct communities. Similarly to Hall (1990, 225), she argues that "all of us come to *be* who we *are* […] by being located and locating ourselves […] in social narratives *rarely of our own making*" (Somers 1994, 606, original emphasis). Like my use of discourse, Somers identifies thematic emplotment as a definitive factor in how we position ourselves into existing narratives. As she argues,

> in the face of a potentially limitless array of social experiences deriving from social contact with events, institutions and people, the evaluative capacity of emplotment demands and enables *selective appropriation* in constructing narrative. (ibid., 617, original emphasis)

Many actors are constructing the narratives of the EHL – therefore, there are also many plots or discourses. Article I focuses on the type of narrative proposed by the European panel of experts. This voice, the EU-AHD, is entangled with the more versatile voices promoted by the EHL sites, but in most cases, it offers a more one-dimensional or narrow interpretation of the histories of the sites. As such, although it is based on elements that the sites themselves have proposed, this authorised voice cannot be said to represent the full complexity of sites' histories. The EU-AHD, in essence, creates an agency of its own making based on the selective appropriation of the sites narratives.

At the same time, it is essential to remember that when it comes to the visitors' engagements with the sites, they are most often faced with the more varied plotlines the sites offer. This agency of the sites is analyzed more in articles II and III. These voices differ from each other – some offer a somewhat nationalistic narrative, some aim for universal messages, some repeat the EU-AHD, while others contest or attempt to reform it, some aim for multitudes of messages, whereas others opt for a single story. As such, there is always more than one way to interpret the sites: also my reading is only one of them.

4.1.2 Reading against the colonial grain

As noted above, historical narratives are often used to construct a community (e.g. Macdonald 2006, 11). Heritage narratives analyzed here seek to tell a story of European history that legitimise a shared future for EU citizens: a transnational heritage community in the making (see Lähdesmäki et al. 2020). In this understanding, the EUropean past is something *we* can take pride in, that can serve as a cautionary tale or as a reminder of past mistakes *we* can learn from. EU-AHDs seek to define who belongs to this collective EUropean *we*. Part of the power of heritage lies in this constant process of constructing a shared narrative out of the many stories that could define Europe.

In this process, postcolonial critique can be used as a reading strategy (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2002). It "works 'backwards', in terms of reconstructing historical representation as well as 'forwards' to the creation of future stories" (Bhambra 2009, 70). It offers means to pay attention to how imperial and colonial rhetoric and imaginaries continue to be expressed and circulated in heritage narratives and how the discourses used relate to the creation of collective identities.

Due to their explicit aims to counter hegemonies, postcolonial and decolonial approaches enable us to read against the grain – to actively look beyond the hegemonic narratives and identify the discourses and plots that work behind them. This is not about searching for a 'true' or 'authentic' account. As Brophy notes

> some variations are more useful for some purposes than others. There are probably many variations that haven't yet been identified. If we start out with a predetermined idea of what a 'real story' is, we may end up missing useful forms of narrative. (Denning 2007, 230, cited in Brophy 2009, 35)

Therefore, attempting to decolonise European heritage narratives is about identifying new variations and reconceptualising "the complexity of the relationship between the past and present, between the histories of European colonisation and contemporary forms of globalisation" (Ahmed 2000, 11). This attempt is also about finding and legitimating different discourses, and imagining what those different narratives might enable in the future.

4.2 Conducting research

As much as I argued above that methodology cannot be reduced to simple toolbox, I recognise the need to open up the 'black box' of the methods I used. In chapter 4.2.1 I focus on analysis, and in chapter 4.2.2, on data collection.

4.2.1 The 'black box' of analysis

In articles I, II, and III, I largely followed the same method of analysis. All of them were based on thematic close reading. As each individual article focused in a relatively small amount of interviews and other data, no additional software was used to assist in the analysis. For all three articles, I first pre-analysed the data by highlighting key words/themes and by examining how these terms were contextualised. In the second phase, I reanalysed these key themes, focusing on the use of power in framing the concepts, the relations that existed between them, synonyms used, and their roles in constructing the overall narrative. At both stages, I paid less attention to historical accuracy (the story) but more attention to the discourses and their roles in constructing the narrative.

To give an example, in the first article I focused on Eurocentrism, modernity, and coloniality. After analysing the contexts in which these phenomena were discussed, I then examined their relationship with ideas of European values and integration. Focusing on these two terms helped me to identify a narrative construct that was largely built on a Eurocentric power structure with a dominant discourse that all integration and spread of European values (even when violent) were positive aspects of building a shared European culture.

A key finding – the actual layout of the geography of coloniality (see Turunen 2019 and chapter 5.1.1) – came as a surprise. I was preparing a presentation for the bi-annual conference of Finnish cultural studies. The conference topic was environments, and I was making a map to use as a visualisation in the Powerpoint. Because of this exercise, I came to find the actual pattern that the different narratives used by the sites created. Although sharing the overall focus on coloniality and modernity, the keywords and themes between articles differed significantly. In article I, as mentioned above, I focused on European values and integration. In article II, I examined visual representations of borders, more precisely in the relationship between Europe's internal and external borders, and the visual representations of crossing European borders. Finally in article III, I focused on narrations of colonialism, how these varied between different institutions, and the role that critique and awareness played in these narratives.

In each of the three articles, I applied the same method to different data. The data for article I was primarily textual documents, for article II it was images, and for article III I combined textual and visual materials with interview data and physical objects. One central methodological concern was how to adapt the same method to different media. In articles II and III, I was able to compare narratives and discourses across multiple media. I focused on the points where discourses

used in different media (e.g. visual and textual discourse in article II, see chapter 5.2) clash or are out of sync, resulting in an unclear or mixed overall narrative.

While spelling out these steps here, I fear I am no closer to explaining my actual process of gaining insights. This is precisely what I mean by the inability to reduce research to a specific method (see also Cerwonka 2007). My subjectivity affected how I experienced the atmospheres at the fieldwork sites, how I connected with the interviewees, and how different data sparked a connection to something I had read somewhere else. These are crucial elements of developing the thematic keywords and the insights I gained by colliding them together. These steps would be impossible to recreate for me, even more so for an outsider trying to redo my analysis. This is why in chapter 2 I go to some length to explain my subjective position.

I am not alone in thinking that researchers' experiences should be given centre stage, especially when studying heritage. As Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (2015, 25) – both eminent scholars in the field – argue

> The individual, configured as a sentient, prescient, thinking, emotional, feeling and embodied consciousness, we suggest, is central. This… should be as much the starting point of heritage research as the representations of it that are found in the various discourses in which it is currently discovered and researched.

Article IV was different in many regards, although the basic method of analysis – thematic close reading – was largely the same. A large proportion of the data was textual (fieldwork notes, emails, meeting records); we could analyse all this in similar ways. Another part of the data was our own experiences, the numerous times we had discussed them, and the traces these discussions left in our thinking. As these were not all recorded, the whole process of knowledge co-creation was dialogical, situational, and bound by memory. Additionally, a thick affectual residue was enmeshed in all aspects of the data and its analysis. However, our collaborative work was able to demonstrate "that experience, properly interpreted, can yield reliable and genuine knowledge" (Mohanty 1993, 44).

Although I was the primary author of article IV, the team dynamics were engrained in producing both the data and the insights it yielded (for details, e.g. on the division of labour, see chapter 5.4). A key challenge in writing this article was how to account for affective processes and situationalities of other team members. Our main aim was to think through how we came to know what we know while conducting collaborative ethnography, as such the team itself was simultaneously the subject and object of research.

4.2.2 Data and fieldwork

The data used in this thesis was partly collected as part of the EUROHERIT fieldwork and partly independently by the author. As such, the data collection process was heavily influenced by aspects of collaborative team ethnography (e.g. Spiller et al. 2015), multi-sited ethnography (e.g. Marcus 1995; Falzon 2009) and mobile ethnography (e.g. Jarzabkowski et al. 2015). The latter two exemplify a shift in cultural production. Many contemporary social and cultural phenomena,

such as cultural Europeanisation or the coloniality of European heritage, "cannot be accounted for by focusing on a single site" (Falzon 2009, 1). Research design needs to take into account the transnational scale of these processes. This forces researchers to follow or move along with their research object and to adopt collaborative practices in both data collection and analysis (e.g. Jarzabkowski et al. 2015). Due to this multi-sitedness of EUropean heritage, in addition to the individual sites I needed to analyse it separately from the sites that represent it, on a more comprehensive and abstract level – as I did in articles I and II. This is a process of continuous attachment and detachment – a fluctuating focus on the sites and the idea of EUrope they collectively create and sustain.

In an attempt to follow where and how the construction of European heritage takes place, the EUROHERIT team conducted fieldwork at eleven EHL sites and at the European Commission in Brussels in 2017 and 2018: Alcide De Gasperi's House Museum, Italy; Archaeological Park Carnuntum, Austria; Camp Westerbork, The Netherlands; European District of Strasbourg, France; Franz Liszt Academy of Music, Hungary; Great Guild Hall, Estonia; Hambach Castle, Germany; Historic Gdańsk Shipyard, Poland; Mundaneum, Belgium; Robert Schuman's House, France; and Sagres Promontory, Portugal (sites in bold in figure 1; see also appendix 1). Each site was primarily visited by one project researcher (Tuuli Lähdesmäki, the leader of the project, Viktorija Čeginskas, Sigrid Kaasik-Krogerus, Katja Mäkinen, or myself), although multiple team members visited some sites, like Alcide De Gasperi's House Museum, Camp Westerbork, and the Great Guild Hall.

I was responsible for conducting the fieldwork at two sites – Camp Westerbork in Netherlands and Sagres Promontory in Portugal. At both sites I had a research assistant conducting part of the visitor interviews in the local language: Anne Vera Veen at Camp Westerbork and Rita Vargas de Freitas Matias at Sagres Promotory. Although notably these visitor interviews were not analysed as part of this thesis. Research assistants also transcribed all the interviews: Anne Vera Veen and Rita Vargas both transcribed their own, and my interviews were transcribed by Miro Keränen, Sofia Kotilainen, Ave Tikkanen, and Urho Tulonen.

Each article is based on different data. Article I is based on material I collected by myself through desk research, including online documents regarding the EHL – Impact assessment (EC 2010), Founding decision (EP 2011), Panel reports (EC 2013, 2014 & 2015), monitoring report (EC 2016) – and original applications requested from the sites via email. This data collected by me was also available to other members of the EUROHERIT research team.

Article II was based on data collected collaboratively as part of the ethnographic fieldwork for the EUROHERIT research project (see also Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, 15–19; I was the author of this part of the co-authored monograph). In the article, I examine a small section of the overall data that has not been analysed in any other publication – the photographs taken as part of the fieldwork, especially images of exhibitions using maps or other visual representations of space. The data included material collected by other researchers on the team. Regarding

these other sites, most notably Alcide De Gasperi's House Museum which is discussed in more detail in the article, I double checked the analysis with the researcher(s) responsible for collecting the data.

Article III uses data collected as part of the EUROHERIT fieldwork (Sagres Promontory) and two other sites (the House of European History and Deutsches Historisches Museum). With the exception of some visitor interviews in Sagres, taken by the research assistant Rita Vargas de Freitas Matias, I collected all the data. The data from Sagres included extensive interviews with the staff and visitors, and ethnographic observation of the site, including written, filmed, and photographed material. The data from the two other sites consist of ethnographic observation of the exhibitions, different written materials, such as exhibition catalogues and other promotional materials, as well as short interviews with representatives of the curatorial staff.

As explained above, the data for article IV consisted of fieldwork notes, meeting records, emails, and other relevant material produced by the project researchers.

5 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION

As explained in the introduction the main aim of this thesis is to understand the process of defining the meanings and values of EUropean heritage especially from the perspective of coloniality. This meaning making process is analysis in many different context – in official documents and selection reports (article I, Turunen 2019), visual representations used at the exhibitions of the eleven different EHL sites (article II, Turunen 2021), and a wide variety of material collected from one EHL site and two other European museums (article III, Turunen 2020a). All these articles are discussed in separate sub chapters. The second aim of the thesis is to potential avenues for decolonisation exist in the contemporary EUropean heritagescape. Article IV (Turunen et al. 2020) already starts to map out these potentials in chapter 5.4. However, the bulk of these debates are discussed in chapter 5.5 which pushes the discoveries beyond the findings of the four separate articles.

5.1 Colonial foundations of EUrope: Debating values, integration, and expansion

In article I, titled Geography of Coloniality – Re-Narrating European Integration (Turunen 2019), I focus on the dynamics of narrating integration in the EHL Panel reports between 2013 and 2016 (EC 2013, 2014, 2015 & 2016). Based on an analysis of these selection reports, I identify the effects of coloniality and how they actualise in the narratives of European significance – a key criterion for the EHL. Although coloniality manifests very differently in different contexts, I do not aim to compare or map out these different colonialities. Instead, I seek "to unearth the coloniality that exists beyond these diversities – a deeper level of coloniality embedded into the European project of the European Union" (Turunen 2019, 187).

Analytically, in this article I approach the EHL as a central aspect of the European Union's authorised heritage discourse (EU-AHD). As was explained in

chapter 3.1, an AHD is a specific understanding of heritage that emphasises the role of knowledge production in heritage and the importance of experts and professionals as the authors and mediators of heritage knowledges (Smith 2006). The aim in the article is to make the EU-AHD's hegemonic position visible and deconstruct that narrative's implicit Eurocentric tendencies. Overall, I seek to answer three questions:

1. How is the 'European significance' of the EHL sites narrated in the selection process?
2. How are notions of Eurocentrism integrated into these narratives of Europe?
3. What spatial dynamic does these narratives produce as a by-product of narrating European heritage? (Turunen 2019, 188)

In the article, I approach Eurocentrism from two interlinked perspectives: the "tendency to position specific cultures and forms of knowledge in hierarchical positions" (Turunen 2019, 192) and "the incentive for 'spreading' culture with little consideration for other pre-existing cultures and forms of knowledge production" (ibid. 193). As the entanglement of modernity, coloniality, and Eurocentrism was discussed in chapter 3.2, here I focus on how European significance has been narrated and the emerging spatial dynamic – the geography of coloniality – arising from these narratives.

The EHL sites are not all directly related to the EU, nor do they all date from the period of its existence, but span from "the dawn of civilisation to the Europe we see today" (ibid.). This narrative can be a problematic foundation for ideas of shared heritage due to its Eurocentric foundations. I argue that the EU-AHD aimed to create

> a progressive, continuous narrative of Europe, spanning from the first steps of what is termed as "European civilisation" to the contemporary European Union. Through this narrative, the EU-AHD not only seeks to take credit for a number of European historical developments, but also posits EU as the final state of this continuous process of European integration. (Turunen 2019a, 194)

Within this framework, I analysed three interlinked themes related to 'European significance': the idea of shared 'European values', integration, and the tendency to spread 'Europeanness' beyond Europe.

The idea of shared European values runs through all narrations of European significance. This normative position of values is a central element of integration and the idea of spreading cultural influences within and beyond Europe: both often narrated through adaptation to these so-called European values. As article I shows, these values are rarely defined: sites are connected to them primarily through very abstract rhetoric. Passerini (2012) has identified this tendency to recite abstract value mantras as a central element of Eurocentrism and a typical nearly global character of official political discourses. Thus, the connection between this often-repeated mantra of peace, democracy, human rights, rule of law, religious tolerance, cultural diversity, and solidarity is not particularly European but merely Eurocentric. It is a form of appropriation: of claiming ownership over something whose origins could easily be traced to several other

sources worldwide (see e.g. Sen 1999; Chackrabarty 2000; Delanty & Rumford 2005; Bhambra 2009; El-Tayeb 2011; Suáres-Krabbe 2013).

The second means of narrating European significance is through emphasizing integration. In many ways the EU-AHD mirrors a process of continuous growth, where new areas are 'joined' to Europe through cultural, economic, and political integration. As I show in the article, a central flaw in these narratives is disregard for questions of power. In the EHL, all forms of expansion and spread of European values and culture – however violent – are narrated and actively depoliticised through labelling them as "early integration" (Turunen 2019, 203). Challenging the normative position that integration is inherently good and benign reveals that Europeanness is often positioned in the EU-AHD as a characteristic that emanates outwards through economic, political, and cultural use of power. In this narrative, European values and integration are frequently used interchangeably. As explained in the article,

> integration is often narrated in relation to the spread of 'common European values' … making it difficult, if not impossible, to always distinguish between European values and European integration, as adaptation to European values is treated as a sign of integration, and integration is understood to imply adaptation to European values. (Turunen 2019, 198)

Inside Europe, the integration narrative is mixed with the idea of becoming European through contact with, adaptation, or even submission to influences emanating from Western Europe. Although several Eastern European sites are nominated on very symbolic grounds, in the nomination process they are often required to complement their symbolic claims by a narrative, either of adaptation to Western cultural or political influences or of their resistance against "non-European" influences (Turunen 2019, 203). The latter mainly refers to their historical relationship to either Russia or the Soviet Union. As argued in the article,

> [t]his notion of resistance of values and ideals that are seen threatening those of Europe substantially participates in the creation and management of the discursive borders of Europe within the EU-AHD. (Turunen 2019, 204)

A similar dynamic of expansion and integration functions beyond European borders, although with stricter Eurocentric tendencies. Although there is little discussion about colonialism within the EHL as a whole (see also Turunen 2020a; Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, 237), at a site related directly to the so-called Portuguese discoveries this tendency is actively made visible. Sagres Promontory is the former private fortress of Henry the Navigator – a Portuguese prince who had a central role in starting Portugal's expansion across the Mediterranean and towards the Atlantic. How the site is narrated in the EU-AHD highlights the critical role the 'discoveries' had in making Europe what it is today. The narrative avoids making any reference to colonialism, conquest or slavery – focusing solely on exploration, trade, scientific development, and "expansion of European culture" (EC 2015, 8). This tendency to avoid mentioning colonialism is in line with observations made by Passerini (2012) and Bhambra (2014). They claim that silence about colonialism stems from the desire to construct a positive European identity,

which, in turn, has contributed to the tendency to see colonialism primarily as a national than a European phenomenon (see also Turunen 2021). This equation is highly problematic; in this thesis I seek to show that it has extensive ramifications for how colonialism and its aftereffects continue to be debated in Europe.

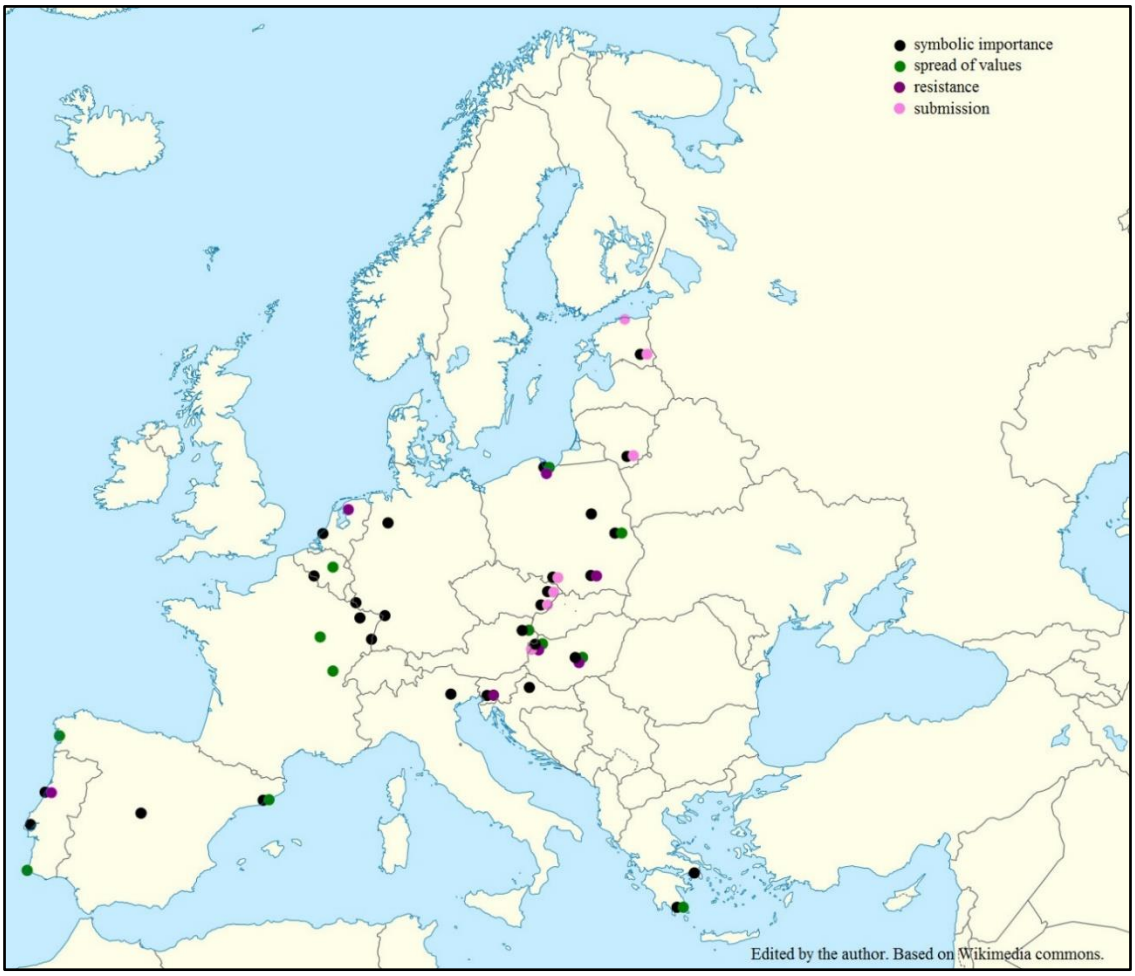

FIGURE 3 Geography of coloniality. Spatial dispersion of different narrative dynamics among the 39 sites that have either received the EHL (29) or were evaluated as meeting the criterion of European significance (10) between 2011-2016. Originally published in Turunen 2019.

Returning to the initial claim of finding "a deeper level of coloniality embedded into the European project" (Turunen 2019, 187), in the article I take one more analytical step. Based on the analysis I identify four categories of European significance as narrated in the Panel reports. These are 1) symbolic importance, 2) spread of European values, 3) resistance against external influences, and 4) submission. Categories 1 and 2 are constructed based on the debate on European values and integration, while categories 3 and 4 are based on the intertwined effects of integration and expansion. Placing these characteristics in a spatial framework reveals a geographical structure. This 'geography of coloniality' originates from how Europe's relations to external regions are expressed in the EU-AHD.

Due to extensive use of Eurocentric and Western-centric ideals, it also dramatically structures Europe's internal dynamics. As summarised in the article:

> The way the narratives of both resistance and submission are expressed brings out the effects of coloniality. Although in Eastern Europe, we must acknowledge that the form of modernity/coloniality relationship takes in this internal dynamic is very different from the relationship between Europe and its former colonies. Instead of violence and direct dominance, the coloniality of the East-West division in the EU-AHD takes a conceptual or cultural form. As a form of conceptual and value-based dominance, its effects in the real world are harder to determine. (Turunen 2019a, 205)

Although hard to determine, acknowledge, and address, this coloniality poses severe limitations on the idea of shared European heritage and its aim to promote belonging. The geography of coloniality makes visible some of the biases and power hierarchies buried at the roots of cultural Europeanisation. As argued in the following articles and chapter 5.5, this uneven foundation remains mostly hidden under established ways of narrating Europeanness. Its effects can be made visible by explicitly focusing on the entanglements between ideas, narratives, and discourses of Europe and the impacts of coloniality.

5.2 Visualizing Europe as a space and as a people

Article II, Mapping the idea of Europe: Cultural Production of Border Imaginaries through Heritage (Turunen 2021), in many ways continues where article I left off. By analysing the connections between ideas of Europe as a space and the effects those ideas have on European belonging, I deepen the understanding of how geographies of coloniality manifest both within and beyond Europe. Whereas article I was based on the official EU data, in article II I engage with data collected from the EHL sites. In terms of scope, I move away from the EU-AHD in general and home in on visual representations of where the borders and boundaries of Europeanness lie.

Of the four articles contained in this thesis, article II engages most explicitly with the idea of belonging. I start from the EU's explicit aims to promote belonging through its cultural heritage actions (see EP 2011). These aims have significant effects on people as EUrope has largely become "a political project that ideologically (re)produces Europe not only in terms of territory, but also, and arguably increasingly more, in terms of a population connected in its 'Europeanness'" (Engelbert et.al. 2019, 134; see also 2021, 3). Different aspects of this attempt to create a 'European people' through the EHL have been analysed elsewhere (e.g. Kaasik-Krogerus 2020, 2021; Lähdesmäki et.al. 2020; Lähdesmäki et.al. 2021). Therefore in this article, I focus only on the visual aspects of how the idea of Europe is narrated as a territory, an institution, and a people.

The bulk of the empirical data consists of different kinds of maps. Maps are a stable characteristic of museum displays. Maps are often considered to be neutral, fact-based representations of space. My empirical aim is to "look beyond the

apolitical façade of maps" (Turunen 2021, 3) and to read maps as "thick texts" (Harley 2001, 52): as cultural products that are actively designed to transmit a specific interpretation.

> By relying on predictable markers that most people read intuitively, maps construct a visual discourse that works to orient us in the world. Just by few strokes of a pen, a choice of color, and a seemingly innocently placed arrow, they help us define who we are, where we belong, and who our friends, allies, and enemies are. (Turunen 2021, 1, see also Van Houtum & Bueno Lacy 2020)

Part of this intuitive interpretation comes from the recited nature of border imaginaries and discourses. I use the concept of borderscapes as an empirical lens to focus on how "social and cultural images and imaginaries… work to normalise and legitimise different borders and their effects on different groups of people" (Turunen 2021, 5; see also Rajaram & Grundy-Warr 2007; Brambilla 2014). In her definition of borderscapes, Strüver builds especially on Butler's (1993) ideas of performativity. For Butler, performativity can be condensed to the act of repetition "through which discourse produces the effects that it names" (1993, 2, see also Foucault 1972, 49). Accordingly, for Stüver the essence of borderscapes lies in bringing both the multitudes of "representations… performative acts…acts of narration, visualisation, and imagination" (2005, 170) together with their intended interpretations, or in Butler's words the effects they aim to produce. Through repetition of both these imaginaries and their intended meanings, borderscapes are able to bridge separate images together under a unifying interpretive discourse. However, as is the case with other "recited truths" (see Lentin & Titley 2011; see also De Certeau 1984) their repetition often hides "the gap between their implied content… and empirical realities of many of those who are affected by it" (Turunen 2021, 3).

To encounter this tendency, in the article I aim at identifying other ways of 'reading' (see Hall 1997, 7) visual border discourses. I focus primarily on recognizing "aspects constructed in silence: the elements hidden behind the 'recited truths' of Europeanisation – namely those of (national) diversity and free mobility" (Turunen 2021, 3). From this starting point, I analyse how different representations of borders created through cultural heritage function to create an idea of a European space. More precisely I ask

1. How is EUropean space represented in the EHL?
2. What connections, continuities, and breaks do the visual discourses of EHL sites construct at EUrope's internal and external borders?
3. What type of scalar and cultural power hierarchies can be identified behind these representations?

The analysis is threefold. The first part covers the role of intra-European borders, focusing on the normative role of the nation state, which was strongly present throughout the data. Ethno-national references were prominent both in terms of maps depicting national borders and in other visual imaginaries such as flags, emblems, seals and the use of national colours (see also Kaasik-Krogerus 2020).

This dominance of the national is not necessarily a surprise. Many contemporary researchers have commented on the European Commission's reliance on 'national tools' when constructing the idea of European heritage (e.g. Abélès 2000; Kaiser et al. 2014; De Cesari 2017). Moreover, although coordinated by the European Commission, the EHL works on multiple scales: the national and local scales serve as important interpretive contexts for the sites' narratives (see also Lähdesmäki and Mäkinen 2019).

The EHL – and EU heritage actions more generally – can also be seen as an attempt to move beyond national interpretations of European heritage (see also Lähdesmäki et.al. 2020). The explicit focus of the EHL is on the European level; transnational heritage sites form a special nomination category as part of a sustained effort to overcome the national frame. Delanty (2016b) has also identified a transnational approach as one way to combat the problematic tension between Europe and its nations – leading to a proposition that these different scalar interpretations are in the end entangled in each other to the extent that they cannot be separated.

In terms of visual discourse, the use of trans*national* rhetoric, however, seems to extend the national frame of reference by highlighting connections between different nation states, leaving again many minorities outside of the narrative of EUrope. As also demonstrated by figure 4 the idea of the nation state has a constitutive role in the imaginations of Europe.

FIGURE 4 Display outside Robert Schuman's house. Copyright: EUROHERIT.

In the end, the analysis demonstrates how

> the variety of European national communities functions not only as the primary identities under construction but also as the 'naturalised' forms of belonging that lay the groundwork against which other forms of politics of belonging emerge. (Turunen 2021, 7; see also Yuval-Davis 2006)

These politics come from two directions: top-down from the EU, and bottom-up from the minority, (post)migrant and refugee communities who consider Europe as their home.

In the second part of the analysis, I engage with how the outer limits of Europe are visualised and what breaks and continuities in those external borders

are narrated. Overall there is a lot of variation in how Europe is imagined. Only two sites refer to Europe in terms of the EU (Robert Schuman's House and Alcide De Gasperi's House Museum). Additionally, at the European District in Strasbourg, Europe is pictured through the Council of Europe. The other sites make very limited references the EU and other European institutions, although they use banal symbols like the EU flag/logo throughout, as they are also obliged to by the EHL.

Apart from these three, the other fieldwork sites do not actively engage with Europe as a space. Instead, Europe functions as a backdrop for national, transnational, or in some cases regional stories. In the representations of Europe in the data, important continuities and breaks can be identified. Whereas nearly all maps found at the sites represent continuity towards the East – meaning Russia/Soviet Union and Turkey (not without tensions see Turunen 2021, 10–11) – there are prominent breaks on the North-South axis. Northern parts of the Nordic countries including Iceland, and some Scottish isles, are repeatedly cut off. This can be explained through limited space; for example on a map of the Roman Empire, the northernmost part of Europe is not necessarily a high priority. Similarly, inclusion of the Overseas Countries and Territories (OCTs) and the Outermost Regions (ORs) of the EU (one map, without identifying them as such) and Greenland (two maps, see figure 5) are very rarely included. Therefore Europe is represented more in terms of normative geographic presentation than through the legal reality of the EU.

It is striking how Africa is often cut out of these maps, even when doing so makes the maps geographically incorrect. In several cases, Europe cuts out into the Mediterranean, although in the shape of the display the northern shore of Africa should also be shown. Although a seemingly small detail – when repeated and recited – "the distancing of Africa contributes to the depiction of the Mediterranean […] as a powerful political and cultural border zone" (Turunen forthcoming, 12-13). It enforces the dismissal of African and Muslim influences in the constitution of Europe and is in "contrast with the symbolic role given to both the Greek and Roman empires" (ibid.) as symbols of early Europe – both cultural and political entities with strong ties to North Africa and the Middle East. As such, this representation negates the historical basis for North African and Middle Eastern communities and their descendants belonging to Europe by enforcing an idea of Europe that is disconnected from these deep historical cultural connections.

In the third and last part of the analysis, I focus on the varying ability of White Europeans and racialised colonial others to cross European borders. Discussions on colonialism are very sporadic in the EHL and therefore depictions of European space through connections to imperial space are rare. In the data there are two relevant depictions: one from an exhibition called "Beyond the Borders – 200 Years of Geopolitics in Europe" at Alcide De Gasperi's House Museum and the other from Camp Westerbork on the history of the Moluccan community. In both cases we can identify a visual narrative where Europeans first travel beyond Europe to conquer new lands and then later return and pull back to Europe. The

cases move on very different scales which makes direct comparisons impossible. The Alcide De Gasperi exhibition uses a global scale, debating colonialism and imperialism in a very detached, systemic manner. In contrast, the Camp Westerbork example focuses on the Dutch East Indies, Dutch repatriates, and the Moluccan community.

FIGURE 5 Map of the members of the Council of Europe, European District of Strasbourg. Copyright: EUROHERIT.

Moluccans fought in the Dutch army during the Second World War and on the Dutch side in the Indonesian war of independence. When Indonesia gained independence, both Dutch military officers and a large community of Moluccans were forced to flee the country. Although the White Dutch repatriates are depicted in the exhibition as victims of this war, the arrival of the Moluccan community is left outside the overall narrative. This is a powerful example of how "affective inequality" (Modin, Alderman & Gentry 2011) works in a museum exhibition. A later section of the exhibition merely describes Moluccans' life in the Netherlands – segregated and confined to a former Holocaust transit camp.

These two imperial narratives powerfully contribute to the narrative of free mobility – although now in a global and racialised context. Whereas White Europeans continue to be narrated as people with an unlimited right to move not only within Europe, but also beyond it, (post)colonial others and their arrival in Europe is left unremarked. Much like the dismissal of African and Muslim influences, the effects of postcolonial mobilities are absent from the visual narratives

of EUrope. By failing to engage with the historical narratives that has brought different communities to Europe, narratives of European heritage contribute to excluding them from the realm of European belonging.

5.3 Decolonizing narratives of European colonialism

Article III Decolonising European Minds through Heritage (Turunen 2020a) emerged from the need to find ways of countering the Eurocentric foundation of Europeanness identified in articles I and II. As the EHL is limited in its engagement with debates on colonialism, I broadened the scope of this article to include other European institutions that a) debate colonialism or colonial collections in European museums and b) engage with either the idea of a nation, the idea of Europe, or both. Using these criteria, I selected three separate sites and exhibitions for case studies. The first is Sagres Promontory (see also Turunen 2019), a Portuguese heritage site related to the 'Portuguese discoveries', and Prince Henry the Navigator, which has a significant role on the national Portuguese heritage sector and which has also been granted the EHL by the European Commission. The second is the permanent exhibition at the House of European History, a recently opened museum in the European Quarter in Brussels founded by the European Parliament and dedicated to telling (and constructing) explicitly European history. The third is a temporary exhibition held at the Deutsches Historisches Museum in 2016–2017 called German Colonialism: fragments, past and present, which represents a national interpretation of colonialism.

Overall, in article III I investigated how these sites engage with colonial history in their exhibitions. To do this, I focused on theory and literature regarding museal silences, historical awareness, and multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009). My aim for the article was to identify the potential for decolonizing European minds. This aim arose from the need to approach cultural decolonisation as a process that involves the White majority population of Europe. For them, it is "fundamentally a process of unlearning and of undoing the structures of colonial knowledge production" (Turunen 2020, 1013; see also Tlostanova & Mignolo 2012; Santos 2017) and thereby challenging the conventional ways in which colonial pasts are 'made present' in European museums. With this aim in mind, I analysed three intertwined processes:

1. acknowledgment of connections between colonial histories and their contemporary influences in and for Europe;
2. the role of historical consciousness when dealing with the history of colonialism;
3. re-narrations of colonial history through enabling new voices. (see Turunen 2020, 1014)

All three museums approached these three processes differently. Debates around decolonisation in museums have focused heavily on ethnographic museums and colonial collections (e.g. Simpson 2001; Thomas 2009; Sauvage 2010; Dixon 2012;

Deliss 2015; Landkammer 2018; van Huis 2019) whereas discussions on the wider ramifications of decoloniality for ideas of national and European heritage have been more sporadic (however see Turunen & Viita-aho 2020 on coloniality and the construction of Finnish national identity). Therefore it is not surprising that in many ways the DHM, as a museum with a sizeable ethnographic collection originating from German colonies, seems to be one step ahead of the other two sites. The temporary exhibition was specifically designed to engage with colonial histories and their postcolonial afterlives. It was a result of several years of research, including an academic conference devoted to the topic. As exemplified throughout the article, the Deutsches Historisches Museum sought to engage different kinds of audiences with its exhibition through versatile approaches. It sought to make explicit linkages between colonial histories and how they continue to be reproduced in museum environments and the public sphere.

Moreover, in its exhibition, the Deutsches Historisches Museum took a critical approach to its collections and the stories told by them. Not to be critical in a performative manner, but to understand something about the societal meaning of the objects on display and learn new ways of co-existing with and relating to both the objects and the histories and people represented by them. The exhibitors directly attempted to break normative museal practices of displaying and refused to show some artefacts – e.g. plaster casts – due to their racist nature. The casts were replaced by an extensive explanation of the pain and humiliation that making such casts caused. It condemned the science made based on the casts and showed how scientific findings were distorted and taken out of context to create the basis for scientific racism. The exhibition successfully shed light on many difficult, complex, and murky characteristics of colonial histories that were earlier left mostly undebated.

Similarly, House of European History sought to connect the past with the present and implication for the future. This approach, later used throughout the exhibition, was laid out on the first floor in a section entitled "Memory and European Heritage". The section represented fourteen essential phenomena through juxtaposing a historical object with a contemporary photograph, object, or artwork and asked the visitors to consider "which part of this European heritage should we preserve; what do we want to change; what should we contest?" (EU 2017, 15, see also Turunen 2020a, 1019–1020). The fourteen phenomena included topics like democracy, the rule of law, revolutions, colonialism, and slavery. The section actively made the connection between historical processes and their contemporary legacies and invited visitors to not only learn about them but to consider their effects today. As such, the approach highlights historical consciousness and understanding.

Later sections in the House of European History permanent exhibitions fail to maintain this early tone. In a section on "Notions of Progress and Superiority", colonialism and imperialism are debated in terms of scientific, technological, and industrial progress and how this led to the expansion of European interests overseas (see also Turunen 2019 on the use of the rhetoric of expansion in EU-AHD).

This section incorporated many objects from European colonies, including plaster casts used in race science that the Deutsches Historisches Museum had refused to display. Instead of the white generic casts, the ones displayed in the HEH are painted: in all their gruesomeness, they are aesthetically beautiful.

The exhibition of this kind of objects is a complicated field for curators to navigate. They are reminders of a violent history and contain strong affective potential that can be used to both educate and to provoke feelings of empathy. However, they can also provoke offence and, most importantly, they may reproduce traumatic experiences for communities that have been affected by those particular histories.

Tolia-Kelly has commented how many museums continue to function as "theatres of pain" (2017) for racialised communities. Tolia-Kelly engages with ethnographic objects acquired or looted from colonised communities, and the effects encountering these objects in the museum space cause for those communities. Artefacts, such as the plaster casts that have been created as part of the colonizing process by colonial authorities, have a different, yet equally painful, affective atmosphere around them. They primarily echo racism and violence instead of cultural loss or grief that might be connected to looted artefacts.

I do not believe that museums should avoid raising uneasy or uncomfortable feelings *per se*. I agree with Endter (2018, 13) that the "museum isn't obliged to be a 'comfortable place'" (see also Turunen & Viita-aho 2021). What decoloniality challenges curators to consider is whose comfort is prioritised. Selected approaches, therefore, also tell a lot about whom the primary audiences of the exhibition are considered to be.

Due to insufficient contextualisation, the message communicates through the plaster casts in the HEH exhibition remains vague. Instead of explicitly condemning or challenging the makers of the casts, or making the White majority audiences uncomfortable, they are (perhaps unintentionally) positioned "as exotic props in the narrative of European superiority" (Turunen 2020a, 1021). As such the uncomfortability they create continues to be directed towards the communities who have been subjected to race science. Though these objects might still shock audiences, the manner in which they are exhibited does not invite the visitors to consider the legacies of race science or sympathise with its victims.

At Sagres Promontory, the starting point for dealing with colonialism was a very different situation. It is one of the key heritage sites related to the 'Portuguese discoveries', and as a result, it comes with heavy historical baggage. Critical engagement is further complicated by the fact that Sagres Promontory has been institutionalised on the EUropean level for the same narrative – the celebration of "a key historical moment that marked the expansion of European culture, science and commerce" (EC 2015, 8; see also Turunen 2019, 201). As a result, "the discourses of 'discoveries', 'globalisation' and 'trade' dominate the discussions over concepts like 'conquest', 'rule' and 'colonialism', making the narrative rather Eurocentric" (Turunen 2020a, 1021; see also Turunen 2019, 201). Moreover,

debates on colonialism continue to be understood more through the impact Portugal has on the former colonies (on linguistic colonialism, see Turunen 2020, 1019) than the effects colonial history continues to have on Portugal.

Though interviews with its staff point towards a critical understanding of colonialism and slavery, their integral position inside national and regional AHDs (see Smith 2006), which narrate colonialism partly as an achievement, limits Sagres Promontory's ability to integrate critical approaches into its exhibition. According to exhibition plans, some critical engagement with slavery is integrated in the upcoming exhibition – although still limited in scope. However, despite implicitly saturated in almost every aspect it covers, there is little explicit mention of colonialism in the exhibition. The extent to which the discourse of 'discoveries' dominates is staggering. This could be a national phenomenon as critical debates on colonialism have been traditionally weak in Portugal; however, the direct connection to Prince Henry is likely another reason.

It is impossible to know the different positionalities held by all curators of the exhibitions. However, only the temporary exhibition in the Deutsches Historisches Museum had a curator from the former colonies on its curatorial team. It is also the only one where specific space is created for new voices to be heard within the exhibition. These include historical voices earlier left unheard, but also contemporary ones: like "Antonia Adomako, the great-great-granddaughter of Mandenga Diek, [who] recollects the family history, giving not only a face but also a voice to the decades of struggles of black Germans" (Turunen 2020, 1023). In contrast, the House of European History and Sagres Promontory integrate, critical colonial voices only through events and cultural programmes. Even though they form a crucial arena for important debates, participants in these programmes have practically no ability to influence the sites' broader narratives, discourses, and values.

In retrospect, article III leaves open some concerns about the future of decolonizing European heritage narratives. Although presenting perhaps the most thought-through critical interpretation of colonialism from the three cases analysed here, the Deutsches Historisches Museum was also most actively criticised by activists and scholars. As an exhibition devoted to understanding colonial legacies, the expectations were higher and as such, so was the critique. Therefore, the choice of whether to remain silent or engage in critical debates on colonial histories is deeply political and potentially contentious. It can make museums simultaneous targets of critique from those advocating for and against decolonisation. Despite this risk European museums are getting more involved in these discussions – even when their work is not directly related to colonialism. Understanding these slow and gradual processes that take place outside the so-called usual suspects are crucial for reducing polarisation around debates on decoloniality.

Finally, although decolonisation is being discussed more and colonial collections are being reassessed, there may be a risk that decolonisation and critical engagement with colonialism in the museum sector are becoming similar "recited truths" (Lentin & Titley 2011) in the museum sector as national diversity

and free mobility are in EUropean border discourses. There may be a risk that talk of decolonisation is becoming an empty speech act that hides the continuation of problematic practices. It also heightens the need to develop more precise concepts to describe the processes taking place in Europe. Although using the rhetoric of decolonisation this thesis proposes the concepts of unlearning and decolonisation as two potential avenues for these debates.

5.4 Embodied knowledge at heritage sites: Learning to 'feel' together

Compared to the preceding three, article IV Poly-Space: Creating New Concepts through Reflexive Team Ethnography (Turunen et al. 2020) is more methodological and theoretical in scope. I focus here on key elements for the main argument of this thesis – the concept of poly-space, and the affective and embodied aspects of visiting heritage sites and the potential of such visits for building new solidarities.

Writing this article was a collaborative process and I cannot take sole credit for developing the concept of poly-space. The conceptual work was done by the whole team and some tasks were shared between Viktorija Čeginskas, the second author of the article, and myself. A large part of this conceptual development has also been published in *Creating and Governing Cultural Heritage in the European Union. The European Heritage Label*, a monograph co-authored by the whole EUROHERIT team (see Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, chapter 7). For article IV, I was responsible for developing the overall framework, writing the text, and all required edits. Although the co-authors actively co-produced the empirical data used for analysis, their role in the actual writing process was mainly consultative.

The concept of poly-space emerged out of 'bizarre' experiences that we EUROHERIT team members had while conducting our fieldwork. These were usually rather short instances when our focus suddenly shifted to an unforeseen element. This led to a moment of flux – a short glitch in time where we gained hidden insights into the heritage sites we were researching. These often rather imaginative and embodied reactions were sparked by an external stimulus – a voice, another person, a bird, a story. Through our individual experiences, which were later conceptualised as poly-space, we did not come by new factual knowledge *per se*, but rather learned to 'feel' some aspect of the site and experienced how different elements of the past were continuously entwined into the present moment. As we argue, such engagement "enables people to feel a connection and empathy with other people in different spaces and times" (Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, 172) and makes building of new solidarities possible.

As argued in the article,

> we propose that heritage sites can be approached as poly-space in the sense that they enable and contain different spatial, temporal, affective, sensory and cognitive experiences in one physical place, the heritage site. Poly-space includes four distinct aspects that are in continuous flux, processual and interrelated:
> 1) an element of suddenness and surprise,
> 2) experience of bizarreness,
> 3) social agency and interaction and
> 4) affect, emotion and empathy. (Turunen et.al. 2020, 4)

Poly-space can be conceived as an experience or an affective potential that emerges out of the temporal and spatial narratives, experiences, and atmospheres that surround different heritage sites – or other places dense with affects.

Museums have an important role in creating the conditions and atmospheres that enable these experiences. However, the entanglements of space and time and how the site uses these multilayered narratives is only one part. The other crucial part is the person having the experience and the kind of affective capabilities and memories that person brings into that space.

In figure 6, these three elements are rather evenly spaced – having equal overlap between time and space, time and visitor, and visitor and space. It is a simplification, and it lacks the dynamism that is vital for poly-space. In real life, we are faced with spaces that may have a stronger physical element with relatively little direct connections to multilayered histories or time, while other sites build more on the temporal elements. As a result, the two spheres, time and space, can be closely connected (as in figure 6) or further apart. This overlap can also change depending on which part of the site you are in: as suchs the two spheres are in constant movement.

The same applies to the visitor. We are all positioned differently, and our experiences vary depending on the space that we are in. Sometimes we are deeply entangled, while other times, we are only superficially touching the two other spheres.

All three elements – time, space and the visitor – are equally important. However, they are not enough. These three only create the possibility for poly-space. There is always a secret ingredient sparking the experience: these are the four characteristics of poly-space defined earlier. It can be a surprise – like Viktorija's bird in Carnuntum (Turunen et al. 2020, 11-12) – or it can emerge from a feeling of bizarreness, interaction with someone or something or through a strong affective reaction to something.

The experience can also emerge from an existing relationship that one has with the place. It was the case, for example, during my visit to Camp Westerbork. I was emotionally invested in the colonial part of the history of the site, and as such, my most substantial experiences related to this element. Whereas when visiting Great Guild Hall, although I was invested in the story told by the museum, I remained more detached on an embodied and affective level – the secret ingredient was missing.

The key to poly-spaces is in their infinite adaptability. Everyone experiences it differently, as everyone has different affective and imaginative capacities (see Tolia-Kelly 2006), life histories, memories, and experiences. As such poly-space is a mixture of the physical space, its multiple temporal and narrative layers, and

the aspects that the visitor brings into that space. It cannot be repeated, purposefully created, or anticipated. Nonetheless, poly-space can give us powerful insights into how heritage sites are experienced and how affects circulate in them.

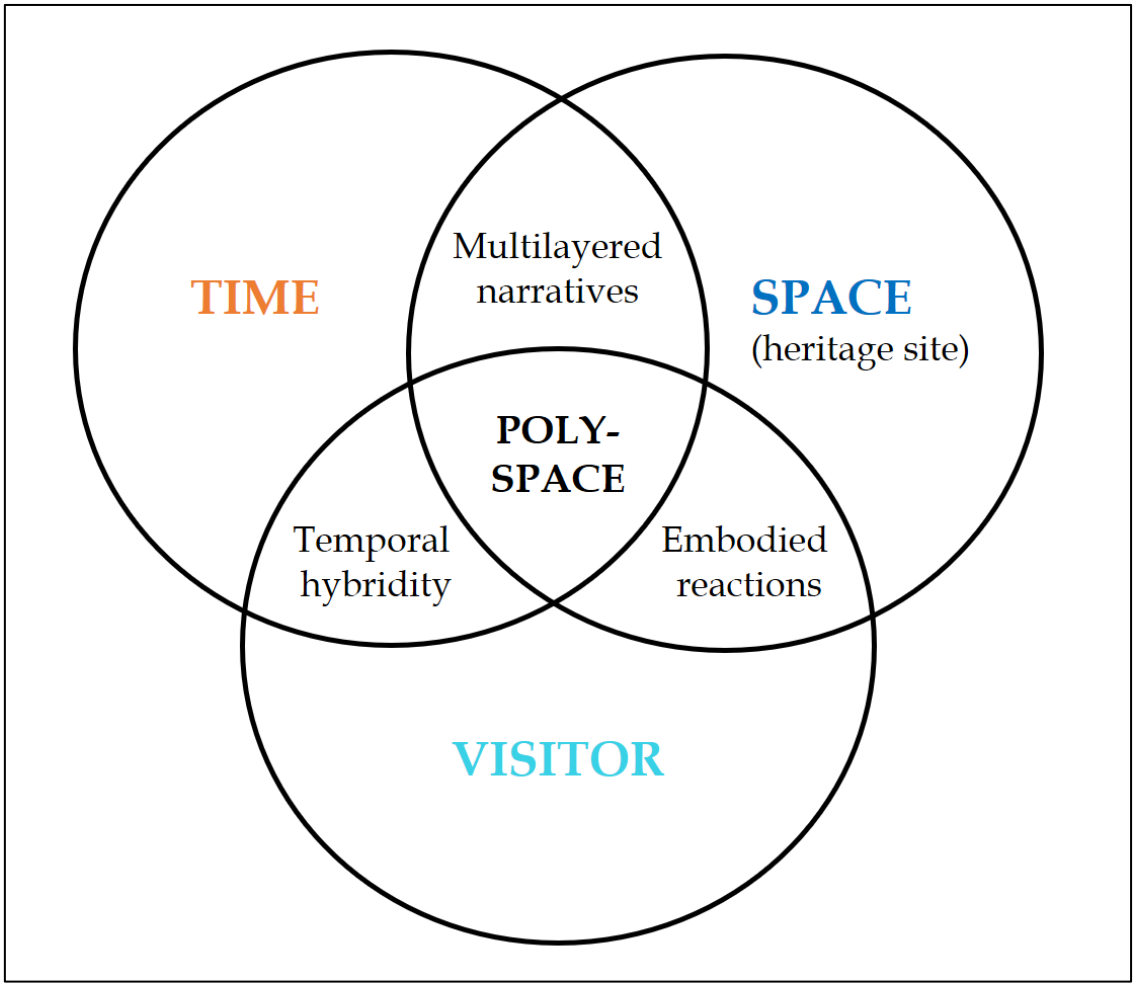

FIGURE 6. The experiental elements of poly-space. Copyright: Johanna Turunen.

The experience of poly-space promotes awareness of the multitudes of memories that exist in the "zone of entanglement" (Ingold 2008, 1797) surrounding a heritage site. As such, the heritage site exists simultaneously as a physical space and an abstract space of alterity and multitude. Although the actual site narrative might be rather one-dimensional, heritage sites materialise memories in ways that allow other memories – or other discourses – to penetrate the experiences of their visitors. This type of deep engagement strongly contradicts the idea, often associated with AHDs, that heritage site visitors are passive receivers of knowledge (e.g. Smith 2006; Waterton & Smith 2009; Turunen 2019).

As commented by Boellstorf (2020) poly-space is "fundamentally a production of memory as well: it is in this conjuncture between space and memory that 'heritage' can be said to appear" (ibid. 217). As such, poly-space can offer important insights into understanding the complex dynamics between heritage, memories, affects and inclusion. The potential of poly-space resides in the way it

"links the different, yet simultaneous, aspects of space […] with the narrative temporal layers of the site, and with the affective, imaginative, and reflective dispositions of the visitor" (Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, 171). Therefore poly-space is able to create links between the different layers of cultural heritage – the material, the narrative, and the cultural archive (see figure 1) – and further connect and contrast those layers with the memories, experiences, and emotional registers of the visitor.

Finally, although entered into individually, taken together, experiences of poly-space contribute to entwined interpretations of a single physical space. A poly-spatial approach to heritage sites could shed light on the effects of the different positionalities people hold. This approach would be highly useful when researching sites that contain several competing or contested narratives – like sites connected to colonialism and slavery. The concept and associated research methodologies, however, need to be further developed to allow researchers access to visitors' different affective experiences at heritage sites. Although deeply meaningful and emotive on a personal level, we did not initially see the academic value of our individual experiences. Perhaps this was a result of the years of academic training aimed at dismissing the embodied, sensorial, and imaginative nature of our experiences. Or perhaps, they simply seemed initially too small in a vast collection of data gathered during the fieldwork. These separate and initially very personal, private, and even silly experiences gained potential when we brought them together. Poly-space eventually became "very meaningful for understanding the world(s), people and life entangled with the heritage site" (Turunen et.al. 2020, 4). This is the major obstacle also for turning poly-space from a concept designed to make sense of our own personal experiences into a tool that could be used more broadly in research. Being able to gather information of such seemingly unimportant, silly and fleeting experiences that others have remains a monumental challenge.

5.5 Discussion: Adopting new values and breaking old norms

In the previous chapter I have outlined the main findings of the four articles included in this thesis. In this final sub-chapter, I want to focus on theoretical, conceptual and practical possibilities for trying to break the exclusionary tendencies of the EU-AHD. In addition to pushing debates beyond the findings of the articles, these last discussions also summarise some of the key debates this thesis has participated in. This chapter will also attempt to answer that last remaining question of this thesis: What does decolonizing EUropean heritage mean and what potential avenues for decolonisation exist in the contemporary EUropean heritagescape?

Although heritage is still largely seen as a force for societal cohesion – especially in official and authorised discourses – there is a growing interest in heritage as an inherently dissonant cultural phenomena and as a source of wider cultural, social and political dissonance (i.e. Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996; Kisić 2016,

Lähdesmäki et.al. 2019). This has changed ideas of heritage from a force that is fundamentally "'unifying', solid and fixed" towards something determined by "'shaking', fragmentation and pluralism" (Kisić 2018, 134).

Accepting this unstable nature of heritages is crucial for perceiving heritage as a possible avenue for societal change. I have already mapped out some potential ways to resist AHDs above – especially the potential of increasing historical awareness (article III) and the prospects of embodied knowledges and affects (article IV). I want to push these potential openings further by focusing on the need to adopt new attitudes and values and developing further the relationship between this alternative value base and the process of unlearning historical privileges. These last ideas proposed here highlight the importance of seeking to also challenge the cultural archive that is guiding our value regimes and cultural norms.

I want to emphasise that in addition to critique, decoloniality should always aim for reparative approaches (see Sedgwick 1997; Koistinen 2015) that build bridges from critical interventions to opportunities for reparation, restitution, and healing. In this context, critique itself can be perceived as "an ethical project, for it represents a departure from normative thinking" (Marstine 2017, 7). It represents "a certain way of thinking and acting, a particular relationship to everything around us. It means to doubt and to challenge the politics of truth" (Lind 2011, 25).

Accordingly, as argued in article III, "embracing the idea of critical historical consciousness in the context of decolonising European heritage would entail… approaching colonialism and decolonisation as a history over which Europe holds a certain level of responsibility" (Turunen 2020, 1017). The first step towards shaping inclusive heritage futures is to acknowledge the negative societal elements of cultural heritage – such as traditional cultural hierarchies. To achieve this, we need to stop treating EUropean heritage as a goodwill project where "sites that align with the self-image of the EU are celebrated as part of its own legacy, while sites dealing with uncomfortable past are linked to a previous, different Europe" (Niklasson 2019, 122). Contemporary EUropeans have inherited a responsibility for the past, and this needs to be acknowledged (Yeğenoğlu 2017). Accepting this responsibility challenges us all to rethink to cultural values, norms, and dynamics that contour our lives.

The broad and inherently complex topics discussed in this section could potentially branch into their own projects. Therefore these summarizing findings are by no means exhaustive. Rather, my aim is to highlight important future trends for the study of EUropean cultural heritage and coloniality.

5.5.1 Intangible heritage of colonialism: We are all postcolonial

Harrison and Hughes have argued that "'Europe' was defined (both economically and conceptually) as an entity by colonialism as much as those countries that were colonised by it" (2010, 235). Correspondingly, we can argue that colonialism has always taken place in Europe as much as it has in the colonies –

although in radically different forms. Colonialism fundamentally changed Europe. Unmeasurable wealth was poured into it from the colonies, which transformed the political and economic reality of Europe as a whole. Europeans accrued this wealth by forcibly seizing material goods and people – people who also migrated to Europe, made it their own, and altered the composition of European citizenry. Last but not least, colonialism changed the idea of what it means to be 'European'.

As famously stated by the anticolonial critic Césaire "no one colonises innocently" (2000, 172). In colonizing large sections of the world, 'Europe' also altered itself. Colonialism and slavery

> broke the world in half, it broke it in every way. It broke Europe. It made them into something else, it made them into slave masters, it made them crazy. You can't do that for hundreds of years and it not take its toll. They had to dehumanise, not just the slaves but themselves. They had to reconstruct everything in order to make that system appear true. (Morrison interview quoted in Gilroy 1993, 221)

I want to linger on that last sentence – reconstructing everything. As I have argued throughout this thesis, colonialism needs to be seen as a comprehensive process that goes far beyond political rule and accumulation of wealth: it has transformed the cultural archive of Europe. If we see colonialism as an epistemic and ontological process, decolonisation needs to address the epistemic and ontological effects of colonialism. In Europe decolonisation needs to also engage the minds, affects, memories, emotions, and solidarities of White Europeans – myself included.

In article III, I argued that decolonizing European minds needs to be thought of as a form of unlearning harmful practices (Turunen 2020a; see also Tlostanova & Mignolo 2012; Landkammer 2018; Azoulay 2019). As I have also argued, this unlearning is not limited to only colonial heritage – the process is ultimately more comprehensive and encompassing. As Landkammer (2018, 15) points out, this type of "unlearning cannot be understood as a simple subtraction" because "the conventions of Europe's gaze on its 'others'… need to be understood". Understanding the normativity embedded in Europe's gaze means challenging the whole cultural archive that sustains European cultural norms. This unlearning is a comprehensive process of deconstructing the intangible heritage of colonialism. It requires looking behind European heritage narratives to identify the norms, attitudes, and values that guide their construction, and choosing to use different discourses and activate different memories.

Deconstruction alone is not enough. As argued by Bhambra (2020), it always needs to be followed by reconstruction – the creation of something new. Salami (2020) compares decolonisation of the mind to tending a garden. Instead of weeding out 'bad thoughts' we need to plant new and better ideas, thoughts, and practices that will in time outgrow the weeds. The same applies to heritages. We need to plant new memories, new practices, and new narratives into European heritage. As Mignolo (2018) argues, decolonisation is not about finding a new universal truth to replace the hegemonic Eurocentric one: decolonisation creates new options. Decolonizing EUropean heritage narratives therefore does

mean we need to weed out old AHDs, but find alternative heritages to bloom alongside them.

Achieving these transformations in practice remains a crucial challenge. Although it lays the theoretical ground on which to build new practices, decoloniality is not about theories: it is a praxis (i.e. Walsh 2018). Bringing multidirectional memories together, too, is not simply a way to highlight existing memories and their connections, but a tool to "provoke productive lines of political thought, new occasions for political resistance, and new forms of solidarity among historically oppressed groups" (Skitolsky 2010, n.p.). The key point is the actions that the connections between multiple memories could provoke.

I believe that in order to act, we first need to reconceptualise the relationship between the postcolonial and Europeanness. Attempting to move away from colonial EUropean identities implies acknowledging the coloniality of *all* Europeans. This does not imply that we are all affected by coloniality in the same way but that we should acknowledge our shared implication in that history. Like eminent artist and curator Araeen (2011, 366), "I assume we share an assumption and belief that we are all postcolonial subjects, irrespective of racial differences and cultural backgrounds". As he explains further

> postcoloniality is the condition of both: those who were once the coloniser and the colonised, and only when we recognise this, can we establish a new relationship based on human equality between the people of Europe and its new citizens, who were once Europe's colonial subjects, and their European-born descendants. It is therefore historically important for Europe… to consider itself as a postcolonial entity. (Araeen 2011, 366)

Postcolonial condition, however, is more than identities. It requires addressing the affective and experiential consequences that such an identifications bring along – the mass of the iceberg that is hidden beneath the surface (see chapter 1). In describing all Europeans as postcolonial, Araeen connects to the idea of the "dreamer of the dream" that is attributed to Morrison (1992, 17). Morrison has argued, that addressing the effects of racism only through its victims misses a crucial component – those who dreamed the possibility of a racially separated world and those who still (often unconsciously) hold onto this dream. For this reason, research into postcolonial Europe requires research on those who dreamed the colonial system – the White Europeans. Cultural decolonisation therefore is not just "something to be done by, about and for people of colour" (Jilani 2018, see also Turunen 2020a, 1013): everyone needs to participate.

This requires a change of consciousness. As Maldonado-Torres argues in his analysis of Fanonia psychology, decolonisation is the process of identifying "a kind of attitude that can lead subjects to become agents in a process that involves the rehumanisation of the world" (2017, 435). Fanon's idea of collective unconscious – "the repository of prejudices, myths, collective attitudes of a particular group" (Fanon 2008, 165) – has many similarities with the cultural archive. Engaging with these repositories means unlearning prejudices or, as argued in article III, it "implies a change in language but also a change in consciousness" (Turunen 2020a, 1020). In this thesis I have focused on the former, the change in

language, but decolonisation is more than production of knowledge. Breaking exclusive colonial mentalities demands also affective engagement with emotions and experiences. It demands new practices, new politics, and new solidarities. As was proposed earlier poly-space could be one avenue to build solidarities. However, we need also more comprehensive approaches.

5.5.2 Breaking universalism: Inclusion without assimilation

As a last point of reparative potential, I want to discuss the use of cultural heritage to promote a more equitably shared (cultural) identity in Europe. Many prominent heritage scholars tend to perceive European heritage as something that it is not built on "any 'factual' or 'true' common layer of meaning" (Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, 14) but expresses Europeanness "in terms of several competing and contradictory histories and memories, a complex plurality of interconnecting narratives of the past and the inclusion of new voices, such as those of post-migration communities" (ibid.; see also Delanty 2017; Whitehead et al. 2019). Perhaps due to the conceptual baggage that come with AHDs, and a more general weight of European history many have warned that "history is what divides Europeans, not what unites them and therefore, it cannot and should not be used as a foundation of European identity building" (Macdonald 2013, 36).

Rigney (2012) describes the EUropean project ultimately as a practice of turning enemies into neighbours. Yet she goes on to say that EUrope's problem might not be former enemies within it, but the multiple others: those who bear no meaning or whose meaning lies in their exclusions. As she explains

> the real challenge for the future may actually lie elsewhere: in creating solidarity and a sense of neighborliness among people who have not been former enemies, who have been indifferent to each other [or] who have not traditionally figured prominently in each other's identity narratives or have been excluded from them but who now belong together for better or for worse as "intimate others" and fellow citizens within the EU? (Rigney 2012, 620–621)

Rigney primarily refers to relationships between the citizens of two seemingly distant European states, like the Finns and Portuguese. However, there is also a colonial dimension to it. As the number of "intimate others" who fail to meet the norms of EUropean assimilationist project increases, the whole structure on which EUropean identity is based is shaking. In a national context Rastas (2012, 100) has argued that "[l]osing the power to define what 'we' are like is understood as a threat to the national identity". A similar concern can easily be raised on the EU level. Although lack of a sense of belonging is not mentioned explicitly in the decision, the justification for the EHL – and other EU cultural actions – emphasises the need to create a stronger sense of belonging among EUropean citizens. This active use of rhetoric of belonging could, therefore, be seen as a response to some sort of threat towards hegemonic forms of identification in EUrope.

In heritage research too, heritage is often connected to a threat of losing some material or immaterial element that individuals and communities see as meaningful (see Harrison 2013). This threat is often conceived in relation to material things

– buildings, memorials, and objects – which explains the heavy focus on conservation in heritage studies. However, as I have argued throughout this thesis, at their core heritages are often about the immaterial – the cultural archives that sustain the values, customs, memories, and identities of specific heritage communities. Does this sense of threat arise from old hegemonic identity structures breaking? Is the thing EU cultural initiatives wish to preserve the EUropean people?

Building on ideas promoted by theorists of radical democracy, Kisić has proposed "inclusive heritage discourses" as a way to counter AHDs and the way they perceive collective identities:

> The inclusive heritage discourse is not about inclusion in the usual sense of the word. It does not imply access by diverse groups to the unchallenged ways of doing heritage, nor does it imply that different groups could be unified under one hegemonic heritage umbrella. On the contrary, it is inclusive because it recognises diverse notions of heritage and accepts the diversity of understandings, visions, interpretations and uses of heritage(s) by diverse actors. (Kisić 2018, 134)

What Kisić proposes counters the core of EU's cultural heritage politics – the idea that heritage could be used as an identity political tool to bring people together and connect them to an idea of shared European culture and identity. She argues that grand ideas, like 'European cultural heritage', cannot bring diverse cultural experiences and traditions together under a single hegemonic nominator.

Kisić's main proposition is to change the meaning of the word 'inclusion'. For her, inclusivity is not about including different elements *inside an existing whole* but about changing the whole structure by proposing there is no inside to be included in. Radical inclusion is based on accepting difference (not sameness). Similarly, for Rothberg (2011, 528), multidirectionality is not based on equation or sameness, but on acknowledging both similarities and difference. Multidirectional memories should not be equated or assimilated under one frame but used to build synergies, solidarities, and shared empathy.

A multidirectional approach to memories that could lay the foundation for inclusive heritage discourses requires giving up on the universalizing (and Eurocentric) tendency to aspire to sameness. "Claiming universality involves asserting that at some level all humans are the same, but what that sameness is uttered from the Occidental [Western] locus of enunciation" (Taylor 2012, 600). As Taylor continues, the problem with this claim is that it "allows 'everyone' to aspire to universal [inclusion] whilst (silently) explaining why some fall short of the mark" (ibid.).

Countering the logic of sameness with practices of multiplicity requires upending the scalar hierarchies embedded in ideas of EUrope (see also Lähdesmäki & Mäkinen 2019, Lähdesmäki et.al. 2020 chapter 3 and 4, Turunen 2021). This means doing away with the standard of aspiring up from local to national, to international, and finally to European. This scalar hierarchy leads to the idea that Europeanness condenses something shared by all heritages that ascribe to it. In these depictions Europeanness always appears as the umbrella under which several other cultural heritages can be assembled – and potentially assimilated (see figure 7).

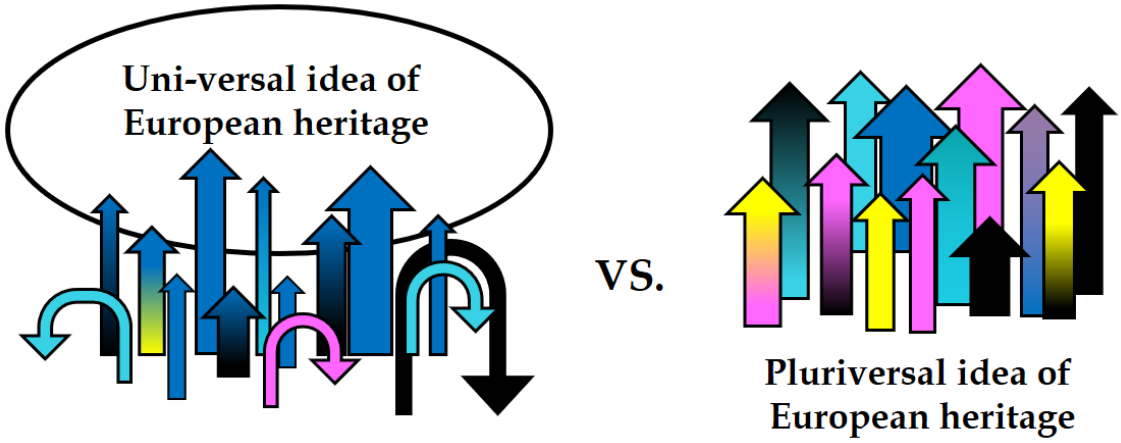

FIGURE 7 Uni-versal and pluriversal idea of European heritage. Copyright: Johanna Turunen.

We need more plural notions of Europeanness than the assimilationist model – a radically inclusive heritagescape in which different heritages are not assimilated under a single interpretive frame, nor suppressed if they refuse to be assimilated. Suárez-Krabbe (2014) describes this process as pluriversalisation. The aim of pluriversalisation is to move away from the 'uni-verse' (i.e. an assimilationist model) which might acknowledge difference only as long as it is assimilated and tamed within a hegemonic universal framework (e.g. an AHD) towards a 'pluriverse' that allows varied histories, heritages and memories to exist as different but equal parts of the European heritagescape (see figure 7). As Suárez-Krabbe (2014, 155) explains

> [p]luriverse implies breaking with the uni-verse, which might involve the coexistence of diverse life projects, but subsumes and hierarchises these, obeying the mono-logic by which they all revolve around one central historical, cultural, political and economic organisational axis – coloniality.

The ultimate aim of a uni-verse is assimilation and trivialisation of alternative views. In the long run, this type of structure suffocates heritage projects, much like the powerful weeds in Salami's (2020) garden discussed earlier. Instead, a pluriverse seeks to nourish the diversity of epistemologies and ontologies, to build synergies and connections without antagonism, competition, or assimilation. Keeping with Salami's metaphor, a pluriverse then resembles the garden where all seeds have an equal right to bloom. This type of epistemological and ontological foundation embodies the multidirectional sensibility called for by Rothberg. AHDs do not need to be removed; they continue to play an important role in constructing and legitimating collective identities. Pluriversalisation creates space for alterity and shifts structures away from assimilation. Like unlearning and decolonizing minds, creating a pluriverse celebrates "heritage for its knowledge potential" (Niklasson 2019, 122) instead of seeing it as a constitutive element of an identity political mission.

6 CONCLUSIONS: IS COLONIALISM EUROPEAN HERITAGE?

It is time to take stock of the critical findings of this thesis. In addition to post- and decolonial theory, the backbone of this thesis is in critical heritage studies (see chapter 3.1). Instead of conservation, critical heritage studies seek to understand the political and cultural effects that heritage has on society. Narratives are an essential part of this *doing*. This thesis has mainly focused on the interplay between heritage narratives and discourses (see chapter 4.1.1) that seek to give meaning to different material remains. As such, I have also focused on the immaterial values and ideals embedded in the cultural archive that defines and guides hegemonic heritage narratives and their interpretation. Ultimately the effects of these narratives manifest in shared cultural identities and their associated bordering practices – in the definitions of who EUropeans are and who gets to feel welcomed in EUrope.

Throughout the thesis, I have focused on the authorised heritage discourse of the EU – the EU-AHD – and the different meanings, values, and biases it contains. In the empirical analysis, I have paid particular attention to how EUropeanness and its connection to colonialism have been narrated in the European Heritage Label (EHL) – a prominent EU cultural heritage action; why certain narratives have become dominant; and what effects these hegemonic narratives have on ideas of European heritage (articles I and II). Moreover, I have aimed to compare the EHL's approach to colonialism with other European museums to understand the role that unlearning, historical awareness, critique as a form of ethics, and pluriversalisation could play in decolonisation (article III and chapters 3.2 and 5.5). Furthermore, I have tried to broaden the understanding of decoloniality in the European context and create concepts and theories that scrutinise what decolonisation means for the White majority population of Europe (article IV and chapter 5.5).

A central concern that all four articles have highlighted is the unidirectional and assimilatory tendency of the EU-AHD. The narrative promoted by the EHL has many problems typical of AHD's and other hegemonic European heritage

canons. Articles I and II contain many examples that demonstrate how the dominant idea of EUropeanness stems from Eurocentric tendencies and overpowers alternative interpretations. This dynamic contours both Europe's external and internal relations. In the latter case, the EU-AHD repeatedly narrates Eastern Europe as a EUropean periphery – a region stuck in a liminal position of becoming EUropean (see also Mälksoo 2009, Kaasik-Krogerus 2021). As such, the EU-AHD is not only Eurocentric but largely Western-centric (see also Dainotto 2007 for coloniality of the North-South divisions in Europe). It is evident that "Europe can no longer be defined exclusively in terms of the historical experience of its founding Western European nations" (Delanty 2017, 21). In addition to the political effects, it has become clear that the EU must also learn to deal with the cultural changes related to its enlargement.

There is also a colonial element in this narrative dominance: as I show in articles I, II, and III, the EU-AHD tends to silence, sideline, and disregard not only debates on colonial history but also the formerly colonised communities whose presence in Europe is entangled with that history. As such, there is a veritable "affective inequality" (Modlin, Alderman & Gentry 2011) in how the stories and memories of the colonisers and the displaced lives of the colonised are debated – in terms of both textual (article I, Turunen 2019) and visual narratives (article II, Turunen 2021). Moreover, I have shown that within the data used in this thesis, colonialism is primarily engaged with primarily through Eurocentric narratives: either through discourses of nostalgia or through a universalising discourse that nominally condemns colonial violence but diverts all debates on its past and present effects and moral responsibility for this impact (for example article III, Turunen 2020a).

These representations and narratives that distance contemporary EUrope from colonialism are not isolated events. Instead, they garner strength from their recited nature (Lentin & Titley 2011). The EU-AHD creates an image of European space, culture, and identity through constant repetition of sometimes seemingly innocent details: referring to colonialism as trade and exploration; describing colonialism only through the voices of White Europeans; cutting Africa out of maps depicting Europe, while still including other neighbouring regions; describing occupation as integration; requiring extra proof of EUropeanness from Eastern European heritage sites. The list could go on. These constantly biased representations show that the coloniality of EUropean cultural heritage is not limited to debates on colonialism. It manifests in intra-European power dynamics focused on maintaining the hegemonic status of the Western European founding states and early members of the EU – many of whom were also the most significant European empires.

Like many AHDs, the EU discourse is ultimately about hegemony. This applies to the celebration of hegemonic cultural elements, as well as to the desire to define the hegemonic narrative. As shown in article I (Turunen 2019), many characteristics of the EU-AHD position it as a narrative of spreading 'European' influence politically, economically and culturally; proponents of this discourse actively maintain and narrate hegemony in concrete historical terms. This tendency

is also actualised in the ways the EU-AHD approached empires. Although the Sagres Promontory is the only site more directly connected to European overseas colonies, several other sites are connected to internal empires, such as the Greek and Roman Empires across the Mediterranean or the Habsburg Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth in Central and East Europe. All of these empires (including also the Portuguese one) are discussed in a positive tone – as predecessors of European integration. Also, the East-West division of Europe that culminates in the resistance of the Soviet Union can be seen as a narrative of an empire that has a very prominent role in the EU-AHD – although in this case, the empire in question is not seen in a particularly positive light. Quite the opposite.

As mentioned, the EHL is about hegemony also on a more practical and contemporary level. A vital aim of the EHL is to govern the overall interpretive frame used to describe EUrope. It is about controlling what is included in the narrative and which discourse should be used to tell the story of EUrope. Therefore, inclusion in the EHL demands succumbing to rather unidirectional interpretations of European history. This unidirectionality is not necessarily descriptive of the sites, merely their "role" in the EU-AHD.

Most likely, this unidirectional undercurrent flows from the fact that the EHL is awarded through competition. Sites apply for nomination and compete against each other. A key criterion in this competition is an adaptation to a predetermined narrative of EUrope that the EHL is interested in promoting. This competitive character can be perceived as a form of "neoliberal belonging" (Lähdesmäki et al. 2019, 68): a governmental logic that forces the sites to compete against each other, guides the sites to adopt a specific interpretive frame in order to be included, and most importantly, seeks to ensure that the sites stick to the approved narrative after nomination. The latter is assured through monitoring rounds that determine whether individual sites continue to meet the requirements of the EHL (see also Turunen 2019, 199-200).

This underlying assimilatory dynamic that both neoliberal belonging and the need to *win* inclusion manifest is critiqued by scholars from the decolonial school. These scholars propose that the same governing rationality is ingrained in many 'Western' concepts, such as that of the citizen (i.e. Mignolo 2006; Grosfoguel 2004; Andreotti 2011; Taylor 2013; Bhambra 2015). They argue that the logic of governance stems from the civilising mission connected to European modernity: the need to assimilate and aspire to become the *same* as the powers setting the criteria. The measuring stick of modernity has been the personification of racialised, patriarchal power – the White, heterosexual, wealthy man. Inclusion in the modern hierarchy of power then depends on the ability to make up for wrong skin colour, sexuality, gender, or lack of wealth by showing one's civilisation, rationality, and ability. Consequently, as Taylor has proposed, inclusion requires adherence to a "vision of sameness" and "social, cultural and epistemological assimilation – the colonisation of the mind" (Taylor 2013, 600). Although we cannot claim that Europeanization is a form of colonisation in a traditional

sense, it works based on same exclusionary and assimilatory logic that is derived from the modernity/coloniality dynamic.

The same dynamic repeats in the idea of the nation state: initially designed to assimilate differences within the nation and to separate the nation from its neighbours as well as Europe from the colonial world. Later similar conceptual developments include multiculturalism – a term developed based on the assimilationist agenda of the nation state (Lentin & Titley 2011). These conceptions continue to influence EUrope's internal diversity debates by separating a 'benign' national diversity from a 'problematic' or 'threatening' multicultural one (see Bhambra 2019). Such dependence on the "national order of things" (Malkki 1995) is deeply troubling for an initiative, such as the EHL, seeking to promote belonging in Europe.

As the articles included in this thesis show, decolonisation and the multitudes of postcolonial memories in Europe are, for the most part, left undebated or at least unattached and unidirectional in the EU-AHD. In this discourse, postcolonial memories mostly continue to exist as counter-memories (see Mills 2007), whose potency culminates in their outside status. In this context, postcolonial counter-memories are forms of remembrance that seek to challenge official forms of EUropean memory and to reverse the unidirectional tendency embedded in the EU-AHD. Although the position of postcolonial counter-memory creates a specific tension with great potential, this potential is founded upon exclusion: the continual construction of the postcolonial as a condition that does not apply to Europe. I fear that remembrance dynamics that continue to position different memories as counter-memories can only lead towards the kind of cultural and political polarisation that we are currently witnessing in EUrope. To break this tendency, 'Europe' needs to acknowledge its own coloniality and start imagining what a postcolonial Europe could look like. Like Waterton and Watson (2013), I believe we need more critical imagination also in heritage studies to rise to the challenge that decentering ideas of European heritage might present.

One way to confront unidirectional interpretations of our past is to try and work towards multidirectional memory practices (Rothberg 2009, see chapter 3.3.3). Multidirectional memory is a concept that has often been used to identify connections, similarities and shared empathies between separate incidences of violence and how they are discussed in both private and public acts of remembrance. A key argument behind this approach is that we need to move away from positioning memories in competitive relations: away from an understanding that remembering one act of violence would somehow reduce the visibility of and empathy towards other acts of violence. A multidirectional approach to memories would enable promoters of transnational cultural heritage to do more than recall difficult and traumatic memories.

However, as argued in this thesis, multidirectionality is not enough. In addition to learning to feel connected to other histories and memories, we need to create space for alternative narratives of Europe and allow them a role in defining what Europe stands for. We need to unlearn the structural biases and power hierarchies and relearn a more inclusive idea of Europeanness – perhaps even a

radical one. This collectice unlearning will not be easy. Striving towards reparative processes or reconciliation requires openness to uncomfortable feelings. As noted by Marstine (2017, 19), it "requires commitment to difficult conversations among the parties involved". Such reflection demands also time. Therefore, we need to complement more radical and revolutionary approaches to decolonisation with more gradual ones. I see no competition between these different approaches, only mutual interests and potential allegiances.

I believe part of the potential power that gradual decolonisation has is connected to the recited nature of heritages. Instead of quick transformation, it is slowly breaking entrenched colonial sentiments and building space for more equal, plural and empathetic narratives of European heritage. It is preparing the ground for a new kind of garden.

To conclude, I return once more to the central premise of this thesis – the decolonisation of European cultural heritage. The problematic nature of the concept of 'decolonisation' was briefly discussed in chapter 2.1: in this thesis, I have presented many alternatives. These alternatives range from antihegemonic and postimperial discourses to more complex ideas like unlearning, multidirectionality, radical inclusivity, and pluriversalisation. In this thesis, I have drawn heavily on memory studies to broaden the range of conceptual tools we can use to think through how European colonialism has been heritagised. Furthermore, the idea of a cultural archive highlights the intangible elements of all heritages.

After all these debates, we can safely state that European heritage continues to be entangled with colonial ideologies, norms and conceptualisations. I am less certain when we reverse the notion: is colonialism European heritage? Throughout the thesis, I have worked on the premise that it is. However, if we follow the definition made in chapter 3.1, that different artefacts, traditions, and phenomena are made into heritage in the act of nomination, labelling, or integration – colonialism is not European heritage, or at least not EUropean. It is a historical phenomenon which is yet to be taken in. This is perhaps why, in the European heritage sector, debates on decolonisation have largely been limited to museums with large colonial collections or smaller institutions that have actively sought to address it. The broader coloniality of European culture and heritage – as opposed to museums – have largely remained undebated.

However, if we define heritage as a means to debate collective histories, their meanings for contemporary society, and to ask "uncomfortable questions" (Manifesto 2012), colonialism is a fundamental element of European heritage. This latter definition challenges the "underlying assumption that heritage is primarily a good, worthy and empowering [and that] participating in heritage-related processes, if rightly implemented, is good in itself" (Kisić 2018, 135). It acknowledges the oppressive nature of both individual traditions and the whole system of constructing unifying heritage narratives. Working towards this latter conceptualisation of heritage may require radical societal change. It demands collective solidarities across the many divisions that continue to be enforced through heritage. I find this praxis important, especially as many of the potential solutions I have proposed are yet to be turned into practices.

In order for us all to be postcolonial as Araeen demands (see chapter 5.5.2), I believe we need to understand the continuing trauma it entails and learn to mourn together. This mourning is part of the need to 'feel' together – to be familiar and comfortable with each other's histories and the roles we play in them. In his research on the postcolonial narrative Durrant (2004, 9) distinguishes between mourning and melancholia by describing mourning as a process of "remembering in order to forget" and melancholia as an extended "remembering that seems to have no end other than the perpetuation of the process of remembering itself". Although Durrant recognises the limits of this distinction, he argues that collective remembrance requires a certain repetition of history, primarily associated with melancholy, in order to culturally come to terms with traumatic pasts. As he explains, "melancholic rituals accrue a wider political significance and thus need to be reinterpreted as modes of collective mourning": postcolonial narrative therefore presents itself "as a way of consciously working through history" (ibid. 10–11).

Although this kind of mourning has become a central element of postcolonial cultural sector, I do not believe that such a comprehensive and truly collective process is possible in Europe. At least not yet. There is too much antagonism embedded in European identity politics and remembrance practices to make shared remembrance possible. The Black Lives Matter protests and all their aftermaths have also shown this divisive power. However, they have also shown signs of a possible better future. They manifested a widespread willingness among protesters to partake in memories that were not strictly speaking their own. They showed historical awareness and a political mobilisation. They demanded justice, not just for those who suffered police brutality but also for those whose memories continue to be ignored. These are potentialities that European heritage actors can build on – if that is what European society wants.

SUMMARY IN FINNISH

Kulttuuriperinnöstä on tullut viime vuosikymmenien aikana merkittävä Euroopan Unionin (EU) toimialue. Erityisesti identiteettipolitiikan saralla se on muodostunut keskeiseksi keinoksi tukea kuulumisen tunnetta Eurooppaan ja lisätä kulttuurien välistä vuoropuhelua. Samalla kun EU:n aktiivisuus laajenee, myös sen levittämän auktorisoidun kulttuuriperintödiskurssin (EU-AHD) ja sen edustamien arvojen merkitys kasvaa. Tarkastelen tässä väitöskirjassa EU-AHD ja sen taustalla olevan kulttuurisen arkiston yhteyksiä kolonialismin ja imperialismin historiaan. Aihe on ajankohtainen, sillä kesän 2020 Black Lives Matter protestit herättivät (ainakin hetkellisesti) meitä ympäröivän kulttuurimaiseman koloniaalisuuden eloon.

En keskity tutkimuksessani kuitenkaan vain pelkästään kolonialismin kulttuuriperintöön, vaan käsittelee laajemmin koloniaalia mentaliteettia, joka tulee esiin erilaisten arvojen, ennakkoluulojen, stereotyyppien ja ideologisten jäänteiden kautta. Syrjivien rakenteiden näkyväksi tekemisen ohella, väitöskirjan tavoitteena on tutkia tapoja joilla ns. valkoista eurooppalaista mieltä voitaisiin dekolonisoida. Hyödynnän tutkimuksessani siis normaalia laajempaa määritelmää dekoloniaalisuudesta. Uskon, että saavuttaaksemme tasa-arvoisemman tulevaisuuden meidän tulee ymmärtää Euroopan koloniaalisuutta sen kaikissa eri muodoissa ja pyrkiä löytämään keinoja purkaa sen erilaisia vaikutuksia.

Empiirisesti keskityn tässä väitöskirjassa EU:n vuonna 2011 perustamaan Euroopan kulttuuriperintötunnukseen (EHL). EHL:n tavoitteena on nimetä kulttuuriperintökohteita, jotka kertovat Euroopan tarinaa ja symboloivat eurooppalaisia arvoja. Keskittymällä kulttuuriperintökohteiden narratiivisiin mahdollisuuksiin EHL pyrkii varsin eksplisiittisesti rakentamaan kulttuuriperintöyhteisöä EU kansalaisuuden ympärille.

Keskeinen osa EHL:sta ja tätä tutkimusta on ”eurooppalaisen merkityksen” –käsite. Se toimii sekä ensisijaisena kohteiden arviointikriteerinä, mutta samalla tehokkaana hallinnan välineenä: keinona määritellä mitä Eurooppa ja eurooppalaisuus merkitsee EU:n kontekstissa. Teen väitöskirjassa käsitteellisen eron Euroopan ja EUroopan välille, tarkoittaen EUroopalla ajatusta Euroopasta, joka on muotoutunut suorassa suhteessa Unionin ideaaleihin ja käytänteisiin.

Väitöskirja yhdistää kriittistä kulttuuriperintötutkimusta sekä jälkikoloniaalia ja dekoloniaalia teoriaa ja pyrkii vastaamaan seuraaviin kysymyksiin

1. Kuinka eurooppalaista merkitystä sanallistetaan ja kerrotaan EHL:ssa ja mitä vaikutuksia näillä auktorisoiduilla diskursseilla on Euroopan kulttuuriperintöön?
    a. Mitä arvoja ja ideaaleja on liitetty EUrooppalaisuuden ideaan?
    b. Minne, miten ja millä vaikutuksilla EUroopan ja EUrooppalaisuuden fyysiset ja diskursiiviset rajat on rakennettu?
2. Kuinka kolonialismia käsitellään EU-AHD:ssa?
    a. Mitkä ovat EU-AHD:n ja muiden kolonialismia käsittelevien museonarratiivien erot ja yhtäläisyydet?

   b. Minkälainen rooli kritiikillä, historiatietoisuudella ja vaikeiden ja epämukavien rakenteiden ja asenteiden poisoppimisella on kolonialismin käsittelyssä?
3. Mitä kulttuuriperinnön dekolonisointi tarkoittaa Euroopan kontekstissa ja mitä mahdollisia keinoja dekolonisointiin tämän hetken kulttuuriperintökentällä voidaan tunnistaa?

Aineistona käytän yhdessätoista EHL-kohteessa toteutetun kenttätutkimuksen aikana kerättyjä haastatteluja, näyttelynarratiiveja, kohteiden tuottamaa muuta materiaalia (mainosmateriaalit, julkaisut ja raportit, verkkosivut jne.), sekä erilaisia EU:n politiikkadokumentteja. Lisäksi vertailevaa aineistoa on kerätty kahdesta EHL:n ulkopuolisesta näyttelystä.

Analyysi keskittyy läpi väitöskirjan erityisesti EU:n auktorisoidun kulttuuriperintödiskurssin – EU-AHD – ja sen eri merkitysten, arvojen ja vääristymien ympärille. Väitöskirjan neljä artikkelia analysoivat eri tapoja *kerronnallistaa* Euroopan kulttuuriperintöä. Ne selvittävät miksi tietyistä kertomuksista on tullut vallitsevia; mitä vaikutuksia näillä kertomuksilla on EUroopan ideaan ja toisaalta mitä muita kertomuksia on jätetty kertomatta.

Tulokulma rakentuu voimakkaasti kriittisen kulttuuriperinnön tutkimuksen varaan. Kyse ei ole siis kulttuuriperinnön suojelusta, vaan kulttuuriperinnön poliittisista ja yhteiskunnallisista ulottuvuuksista. Lisäksi koloniaalisuuden ja moderniteetin välinen suhde on keskeinen osa analyysia. Dekoloniaali teoria näkee kolonialismin vain yhtenä moderniteetin ilmentymismuotona. Näkökulma korostaa kolonialismin kautta rakentuneen globaalin valta-asetelman ja sitä tukevien arvojen jatkuvia vaikutuksia ja näkee maailman yhä näiden samojen valtasuhteiden kautta. Se siis mahdollistaa kolonialismin vaikutusten kokonaisvaltaisen tutkimisen myös suorien hallinnan ja alisteisuuden suhteiden ulkopuolella.

Väitöskirjan artikkelit nostavat esiin EU-AHD:n eurosentrisiä ja koloniaaleja piirteitä, jotka tulevat esiin myös affektiivisen epätasa-arvon muodossa. Tämä näkyy erityisesti tavoissa, joilla eri historioista ja ihmisryhmistä kerrotaan. Toiset historiat kuvaillaan henkilökohtaisten muistojen ja kokemusten kautta korostaen empatiaa, kun taas toiset muistot vaiennetaan ja niiden edustamat historiat kerrotaan ilman henkilökohtaisia kokemuksia. Prosessin pohjalla on myös voimakas paine assimilaatioon: kaikki vieras tulee joko sulauttaa osaksi hegemonista ideaa EUrooppalaisuudesta tai sulkea sen ulkopuolelle. Tämä kahtiajako ylläpitää rakenteellista epätasa-arvoa, korostaa eurooppalaisuuden ja valkoisuuden yhteyksiä, ja vahvistaa tulkintaa, jossa Euroopan monimuotoisuus nähdään pääasiallisesti kansallisten identiteettien kautta.

Vertailevan tutkimuksen ja uusimpien dekoloniaalin ajattelun ja kulttuuriperintö- ja muistitutkimuksen teorioiden kautta väitöskirja kehittää myös keinoja *oppia pois* kulttuurisia valtahierarkioita ja haitallisia käytäntöjä ja asenteita. Poisoppimista lähestytään erityisesti monisuuntaisen muistin, jälkimuistojen, radikaalin inkluusion ja pluriversalisaation kautta. Korostamalla uudenlaisten arvojen, asenteiden ja käytänteiden tärkeyttä, väitöskirjassa kartoitetaan erilaisia mahdollisuuksia tasa-arvoisemman, historiastaan tietoisemman, empaattisemman ja solidaarisemman Euroopan luomiselle.

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Appendix 1. Description of fieldwork sites

Slightly modified based on Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, Appendix 5.

Alcide De Gasperi House Museum
Pieve Tesino, Italy
Website: http://www.degasperitn.it/en/museo-de-gasperi/museo/

The Alcide De Gasperi House museum is located in the birth house of the Italian statesman Alcide de Gasperi (1881–1954). The permanent exhibition in the museum tells the intertwined story of the region of Trentino, De Gasperi's worldviews, and his political career. The European panel describes in its selection report De Gasperi House Museum's European significance as follows:

> De Gasperi's work is fundamental to the creation of the European Union. One of the Founding Fathers of the European Union along with Robert Schuman, Jean Monnet and Konrad Adenauer inter alia, he played a formative role in the reconstruction of Europe after World War II, culminating in his election as the president of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1954. In addition to raising awareness on de Gasperi, the aim of the museum is promote the democratic values of the European Union, inspired in part by its transboundary history and location between the Italian and German cultures. (EC 2013, 18).

Archaeological Park Carnuntum
Petronell-Carnuntum, Austria
Website: https://www.carnuntum.at/de

Carnuntum was an important Roman settlement founded in the middle of the first century AD at a crossing point of trade routes on the Danube. The park includes a museum and reconstructed Roman buildings, including houses, public baths, a gladiator training arena, and the remains of the Civilian City's Amphitheatre. Reconstructions and the building work in Carnuntum have been largely carried out using ancient building technology and craft skill and with reconstructed Roman tools. The European panel describes in its selection report Carnuntum's European significance as follows:

> Carnuntum is a huge archaeological site, its importance originating from its function in the Roman Empire as an important crossroads of trade routes and also due its links with emperors such as Marcus Aurelius, linked to the Edict of Milan and famous for his influence on the development of religious tolerance. Important events took place in Carnuntum such as the Emperors Conference in 308 AD which decided the future of the Roman Empire. The Roman Empire is considered by some as a predecessor of Europe, combining different cultures, religions, and geographic areas under one administrative system. (EC 2013, 7).

Camp Westerbork
Hooghalen, The Netherlands

Website: https://kampwesterbork.nl/en/

Camp Westerbork was built in 1939 and as a refugee camp for Jews persecuted by the Nazis. After 1942 it was turned into a transit camp from where approximately 102.000 Jews, Roma, and Sinti were deported to Nazi extermination and concentration camps in Germany and occupied territories of Central and Eastern Europe.

After World War II, the site served different purposes. It was used as an internment camp for Dutch collaborators with the Nazi regime, as a military camp and after Indonesia's Declaration of Independence in 1949, it served as a repatriation camp for East Indian Dutch families. Finally, under the name of Schattenberg, the camp was used to accommodate several thousand Moluccan refugees from Indonesia who lived in the original barracks from 1951 until 1971. Most of the former camp was demolished in 1971 to make way for radio telescopes used for astronomy research. Finally, in 1983 the memorial center was founded on the premises.

The European panel describes in its selection report Camp Westerbork's European significance through listing the above mentioned "layered episodes of history" (EC 2013, 8) and noting that it "supports the 'Culture of Peace and Reconciliation' through shared European memories" (ibid.).

European District of Strasbourg
Strasbourg, France
Website: https://lieudeurope.strasbourg.eu/

Since its creation after the Second World War, the European District of Strasbourg has been the home to the Council of Europe and its European Court of Human Rights as well as the European Parliament of the European Union. The site hosts a permanent exhibition of European integration in an exhibition space Lieu d'Europe. The European panel describes in its selection report European District's European significance as follow:

> Bilingual Strasbourg has a symbolic location in the centre of Europe. After the Second World War, European institutions created for maintaining peace were housed in an area which became the European district of Strasbourg. These institutions are the drivers of European consolidation; they are central to the strengthening of human rights and to the defense of democratic values and the rule of law. The district is also host to many events relating to Europe which underscore the candidate site's European dimension. (EC 2015, 14)

Franz Liszt Academy of Music
Budapest, Hungary
Website: https://lfze.hu/en/home

The Franz Liszt Academy of Music was established in 1875 by Liszt himself. The site is composed of the Academy building hosting an international university of

musical arts and a concert centre. In addition, the site integrates the Franz Liszt Memorial Museum and Research Centre, the Kodály Institute, and the Kodály Museum. The European panel describes in its selection report Franz Liszt Academy's European significance as follows:

> Franz Liszt travelled extensively around Europe and the Academy he established is inherently international, from the outset. Throughout its history, the Academy has promoted an open, creative, innovative spirit, using the unbounded language of music as a living tradition. Today, it continues to foster musical talent, to motivate and support committed music teachers, to share the exemplary Kodály method of music education–named after a professor of the Academy who revolutionised the system of music education in Europe and beyond. The Academy maintains close ties with local and foreign musical institutions and orchestras. Many well-known composers played a role in the history of the Academy. A large number of its former students became key figures of the twentieth century's musical performing arts. Overall the Liszt Academy nurtures, preserves and develops a living European cultural tradition. (EC 2015, 11).

Great Guild Hall
Tallinn, Estonia
Website: https://www.ajaloomuuseum.ee/visiting/buildings/great-guild-hall

Located in the Old Town of Tallinn, the Great Guild Hall was built in 1410 by the Great Guild, an association of German Hanseatic merchants. The Guild played an important role in medieval northern European trade and cultural exchanges. The building - a great example of medieval Hanseatic architecture - today hosts the Estonian History Museum. The European panel describes in its selection report the Great Guild Hall's European significance as follows:

> The history of Tallinn's Great Guild Hall is closely linked to the history of trade and cultural developments in medieval northern Europe. The Great Guild of Tallinn merchants was the most important organization in the city for centuries. The Great Guild's history of interactions with the Hanseatic League reveals the intriguing story of European "integration" in medieval times. The candidate for the award of the EHL is the Great Guild Hall together with the Estonian History Museum and its exhibition The Spirit of Survival. One section of this exhibition, "Power of the Elite," is devoted to the Great Guild Hall and its role in European history. As suggested by its title, The Spirit of Survival, the other parts of the exhibition present Estonian history as a long sequence of resistance to enemies and occupations. The recent history of Estonia creates an opportunity to present the narrative of Estonia and Estonian people within the context of European history and integration; the Panel encourages all efforts towards such contextualisation. (EC 2013, 6).

Hambach Castle
Neustadt an der Weinstraße, Germany
Website: https://hambacher-schloss.de/index.php

The medieval Hambach Castle is an important site of German's 19th century history. On 27 May 1832, around 30,000 people from Germany, France, and Poland

came together at the castle to celebrate the Hambacher Fest and to demand fundamental rights, political freedom, equality, and democracy in Germany and Europe. The site is thus also described as the "cradle of democracy" in Germany and known in German history as a symbol of the struggle for civil liberties. The Castle host an exhibition of its history.

The European panel describes in its selection report Hambach Castle's European significance by emphasizing the history of Hambacher Fest and noting that the Castle "stands as a symbol of the pursuit of democracy in a cross-border context" (EC 2014, 12).

Historic Gdańsk Shipyard
Gdańsk, Poland
Website: https://ecs.gda.pl/

The historic Gdańsk Shipyard was the home for the Solidarity movement that emerged from a workers' strike in the 1970s. The strike was bloodily suppressed by the socialist authorities. Later, a new wave of strikes prompted the government to give in and sign the historic August Agreement in 1980. The site integrates several buildings and monuments: BHP Hall (the place where the August Agreement was negotiated), historic Gate no. 2 (where Lech Wałęsa made his speeches to the people), Solidarity Square with the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers of 1970, a wall with commemorative plaques, and the European Solidarity Centre (that hosts exhibitions of the site's history). The European panel describes in its selection report the Historic Gdańsk Shipyard's European significance as follows:

> The Historic Gdańsk Shipyard has strong associations to the birth and commemoration of the Solidarity movement and to the origins of democratic transformations in Central and Eastern Europe in the late 20th century. The events that started in August 1980 at the Vladimir Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk had a fundamental influence on the recovery of freedom by Poland and by other Central and Eastern European countries ruled by communist regimes. These events paved the way to the end of the Cold War and to changes in post-Yalta Europe and the world. (EC 2014, 19).

Mundaneum
Mons, Belgium
Website: http://www.mundaneum.org/

The Mundaneum was founded by Henri La Fontaine and Paul Otlet in Brussels. They were advocates of peace and sharing knowledge with the means of bibliographic enquiry. The Mundaneum's original aim was to gather all information available in the world, regardless of its medium, and to classify it according to a system La Fontaine and Otlet developed, the Universal Decimal Classification. Today, Mundanuem is located in Mons and understands itself primarily as archive. It, however, organizes exhibitions on various topics. The European

panel describes in its selection report Mundanuem's European significance as follows:

> The Mundaneum is a landmark in the intellectual and social fabric of Europe. […] The holdings of the Mundaneum trace the evolution of values now fundamental to Europe, in particular peace through culture, while the Universal Decimal Classification system and Universal Bibliographic Repertory provide the foundations of present day information science and are seen as a precursor of Internet search engines. This combination of knowledge management and intellectual values is of European significance. (EC 2015, 12).

Robert Schuman's House
Scy-Chazelles, France
Website: http://www.mosellepassion.fr/index.php/les-sites-moselle-passion/maison-de-robert-schuman

Robert Schuman's House is the home of French statesman Robert Schuman (1886–1963), who is considered as one of the founding figures of the European Union. The museum is located in the house he bought in 1926 and where he spent his retirement and died. Schuman is buried in the small church across the street. The museum exhibits Schuman as a person and politician through many objects that belonged to him. The site also includes a garden around the building. The European panel describes in its selection report Robert Schuman's House's European significance as follows:

> The site represents the house and grounds owned by the French foreign minister Robert Schuman, one of the Founding Fathers of the European Union. It is in this house Schuman drafted the Declaration of 9 May 1950, known today as the Schuman Declaration - the document that paved the way towards post-war European integration and the European Union. After his death, the site was taken over by a voluntary organisation to promote his memory and the values of peace and international cooperation.
>
> The role of Robert Schuman and the "Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950" in the history of the European Union is fundamental. The location where Schuman lived is used to commemorate the Founding Fathers as well as to promote the history and values of the European Union. (EC 2014, 17)

Sagres Promontory
Sagres, Portugal
Website: http://promontoriodesagres.pt/en/

Located at the South-Western tip of Portugal, Sagres Promontory was a place of myths already in Ancient times. It is best known from the history related to Infante D. Henrique (1349–1460) a.k.a. Henry the Navigator, a Portuguese prince who has been credited with the onset of 'Portuguese discoveries'. As the personal

fortress of Henry the Navigator, Sagres Promontory has been cemented in historical narratives as the central hub for building ideological and technological skills needed for the naval excursions and the onset of Portuguese oversees colonies. The site hosts a broad natural park, exhibition space, and echo chamber installation called 'Dragon's breath'. The European panel describes in its selection report Sagres Promontory's European significance as follows:

> The site constitutes a rich cultural landscape that contains traces of the origins and development of European civilization dating back to the megalithic period. It was known in Roman times as the Sacrum promontorium (sacred promontory) […] a status that continued into the early Middle Ages […] Having been chosen by Prince Henry the Navigator as the headquarters for his projects of maritime expansion it became the privileged scenario for the accomplishments of the Age of Discoveries in the fifteenth century, a key historical moment that marked the expansion of European culture, science, and commerce both towards the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, setting European civilization on its path to the global projection that came to define the modern world. (EC 2015, 18).

ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

GEOGRAPHY OF COLONIALITY – RE-NARRATING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

by

Turunen, J. (2019)

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CHAPTER 7

A Geography of Coloniality: Re-narrating European Integration

Johanna Turunen

Although the interlinkages of European integration and colonialism have been increasingly acknowledged in academic circles (e.g. Ahmed 2000; Bhambra 2009; Hansen and Jonsson 2015; Kinnvall 2016), colonialism continues to be a difficult topic in many forums in and around Europe. In the general narratives on Europe, "colonialism has been framed as the past property of individual nation states to be displaced by a new narrative of European integration free from the stain of colonialism" (Bhambra 2014, 155; see also Passerini 2012). This shifting of responsibility to the EU's member states has been coupled with academic attempts to frame postcoloniality as an issue of the formerly colonized regions and thereby firmly outside of the European polity (for critiques, see e.g. Bhambra 2016; Goldberg 2006; Passerini 2012). This chapter, however, seeks to look beyond former imperial states and colonies to imagine what kind of a role the European Union (EU), as a transnational

J. Turunen (✉)
Department of Music, Art and Culture Studies,
University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland
e-mail: johanna.k.turunen@jyu.fi

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European institution, could have in contributing to dismantling colonial legacies, especially in the realm of European cultural heritage.

It is true that Europe itself is not postcolonial in the same sense that the formerly colonized regions are. As the centre of the former European empires, its position is quite different. This, however, does not mean that Europe, nor the EU are somehow free or detached from the effects of colonialism. As Ahmed has stated, "the colonial project was not external to the constitution of the modernity of European nations" (2000, 10). Indeed, colonialism and the connected processes of slavery (e.g. Gikandi 2011) and racialization (e.g. Goldberg 1993, 2002, 2006) came to define European modernity and also had implications for the development of its political systems, especially in the former imperial states (e.g. Tully 2002). The influence of these processes is not, however, limited to the former imperial states. Through their entanglement with ideas of modernity, the effects of colonialism can be perceived to have wider effect across a wide variety of European states. This colonial foundation is not only embedded in structures of rule and power, but it also has vast cultural influence (e.g. Said 1993 on cultural imperialism) and is deeply infiltrated in Europe's cultural archive (e.g. Wekker 2016; Milica and Van Huis in this volume). Cultural heritage, especially when combined with its ability to create narratives, is an important part of this cultural archive.

To analyze the remnants of colonialism in the context of European cultural heritage, the relationship between modernity and "coloniality" is central. The idea of coloniality stems from the Latin American decolonial school (e.g. Quijano 2007; de Sousa Santos et al. 2007; Mignolo and Escobar 2010). Although drawing from different epistemologies and canons of knowledge, postcolonial and decolonial thinking have many connections and overlaps, and this study draws on both traditions. The decolonial school's emphasis on understanding colonialism and modernity as deeply entwined processes, however, has many advantages for the study of heritage, a concept which itself is a product of European modernity too. In reference to this connection between modernity and coloniality, Mignolo has noted that they "go hand in hand, and you cannot have modernity without coloniality; the unfinished project of modernity carries over its shoulders the unfinished project of coloniality" (2006, 312). Through acknowledging modernity/coloniality as two aspects of the same process, we can move beyond merely analyzing postcolonial heritage (or heritage directly connected to colonialism), towards analyzing the traces of coloniality within the larger

context of all European heritage. Additionally, the broader approach that coloniality enables through its linkage to modernity allows us to shift our focus from the former imperial states to the broader context of the contemporary EU.

As a concept, coloniality "refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations" (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 247). According to Grossfoguel (2004, 320), this coloniality is a manifestation of the long history of European colonialism and is deeply embedded in the modern capitalist world system. Though there are significant differences between the national and regional experiences of this coloniality, coloniality's effects can be detected in almost every sphere of our lives. Although mindful of this diversity, the aim of this chapter is not to analyze or map these different overlapping experiences of coloniality. Rather, this chapter aims to unearth the coloniality that exists beyond these diversities—a deeper level of coloniality embedded into the European project of the European Union.

Many contemporary narratives of modern Europe are still inherently products of the same cultural processes, power relations, and discourses of Western hegemony that were used to legitimate colonial rule. Despite the end of formal colonialism and the disenfranchisement of official colonial and racial discourse, some traces of these ideas are still embedded in contemporary understandings of Europe and of the rest of the world. It is exactly this, Eurocentric understanding of Europe and the ways it manifests through cultural heritage that this chapter seeks to engage. I argue that this coloniality of the European project is deeply embedded in Eurocentric and Western notions of European heritage, not only influencing the ways Europe deals with its many "external" others, but also distorting the internal dynamics of the European Union. As a result, like much of the rest of the world, Europe is posited inside a geography of coloniality—a spatial narrative of the expansion of Eurocentric notions of Europeanness.

This chapter sets out from the understanding, that "colonialism never left Europe unaffected and is still part of European reality" (Kinvall 2016, 153). Accordingly, Europe is analyzed as a profoundly postcolonial space as well as a construct heavily influenced by coloniality. I approach this coloniality and its relationship to the idea of Europe through one cultural construct that heavily draws on the cultural archive mentioned above: the idea of European cultural heritage. I especially

focus on the ways this idea is promoted in the European Union's heritage actions. Empirically, this chapter focuses on the European Heritage Label (EHL)—an EU cultural heritage action that seeks to nominate European heritage sites that represent the history of European integration and common European values.

More specifically, this chapter seeks to analyze the following: how the "European significance" of the EHL sites is narrated in the selection process; how notions of Eurocentrism are integrated into these narratives of Europe; and, finally, what kind of a spatial dynamic these narratives produce as a side-product of the process narrating European heritage. The analysis especially draws on the interconnection of European values and European integration, arguing that, in the context of the EHL, integration is intricately linked to spreading common values which itself is further entangled with the ideas of "European significance".

Although I especially focus on the EU's cultural heritage initiatives, I acknowledge that there is significant overlap between notions of Europe and notions of the EU. As I argue more extensively below, the political entity of the EU seeks to connect itself with wider cultural notions of Europe by promoting the idea of European cultural heritage, which to some extent blurs the limits of these two entities.

The European Heritage Label and Authorized Heritage Discourse

The European Heritage Label (EHL) was first launched as an intergovernmental cultural scheme in 2006. In 2011, the EHL was reinstituted as a European Union action—one of the flagship initiatives of the EU. Along with the renewal of the program, the grounds for granting the label were also renewed. The new criteria placed more emphasis on the European dimension of the sites—as opposed to the more national or regional interpretations that were possible during the intergovernmental phase (see EC 2010). The newly founded European Panel of Experts (see EC 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016) was put in charge of the evaluation of the sites, and the final decision-making power was given to the European Commission.

My primary data consists of different official documentation produced by the European Parliament, European Commission, and the actors coordinating the European Heritage Label. These consist of documents related to the founding of the Label as well as documents related to the

selections of the sites.[1] In the panel reports, all applications are evaluated based on three criteria: the European significance, the proposed project to communicate this significance, and the management capacity of the site. My analysis focuses on the period between 2011 and 2016, when a total of 29 sites in 16 member states had been awarded the label. During that period, an additional 10 sites were evaluated as meeting the criterion of European significance, but not nominated for the actual Label due to deficiencies elsewhere in the application. Although the analysis takes into account all the successful and unsuccessful candidate sites (64 sites in total), the analysis is especially focused on the 39 sites (see Appendix 1) evaluated as meeting the criterion of European significance.

My analysis especially focuses on how the sites' "European significance"—a term used in the EHL documents—is narrated in the panel reports. These narratives of European significance are understood as tools to create, promote, and sustain the sites' perceived—yet fuzzy and ambiguous—ideas of "Europeanness". Although they summarize, re-articulate and reference the original applications, the short descriptions in the panel reports are analyzed as a representation of the applicant sites that has been produced by the European Panel of Experts. The methodology for the analysis is made up of a thematic close reading of the documents that uses postcolonialism as a reading strategy (Ashcroft et al. 2002). By highlighting dissonances, this chapter seeks to re-evaluate the ways we interpret European pasts. Postcolonial approaches can

[1]These documents include Decision No 1194/2011/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council (EP 2011). This is the official founding decision passed by both the European Parliament and Commission. Secondly, the Commission Staff Working Document SEC (2010) 197 (EC 2010), Impact Assessment—Accompanying document to the Proposal for Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing the European Union actions for the European Heritage Label. The Impact Assessment is a comprehensive compilation of documents that was produced as a Commission staff working document to support the founding process of the EHL as an EU action. In addition to the actual Impact Assessment, the document includes several annexes, including the meeting summaries of several public consultations. Additionally, the data comprises of four reports produced by the European Panel of Experts. These reports include the European Heritage Label Panel Reports from 2013, 2014, and 2015, as well as the first Panel Report on Monitoring, published in 2016. All documents have been published by the European Commission. These reports make reference to the original applications of the candidate sites, but mainly consist of the European Panel of Experts' evaluations and commentaries. Finally, as supplementary data I will use the information on the EHL website (https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/heritage-label_en).

offer tools for this process that can tackle issues even beyond analyzing Europe's colonial past. For, as Bhambra (2014, 117) has claimed, "[p]ostcolonial and decolonial arguments have been explicit in their challenge to the insularity of historical narratives and historiographical traditions emanating from Europe". By bringing European heritage and the coloniality of Europe closer together, this postcolonial approach can allow us to make hidden power hierarchies, exclusions, and biases more visible. As such, it can be used to challenge "the universals of European narratives constructed, as they are, on the basis of marginalizing and silencing other experiences and voices" (Bhambra 2009, 81).

Before going into the analysis, I want to reflect on the relationship between this data and the idea of an "authorized heritage discourse" (AHD) proposed by Laurajane Smith (2006; cf. inclusive heritage discourse e.g. Kisić 2017). This approach, along with a larger discursive turn in critical heritage studies, sees heritage as a process of knowledge production. As has been noted by Smith, "[t]here is, really, no such *thing* as heritage" (2006, 11, emphasis added). A specific site, historical phenomenon, tradition, or value is not automatically heritage through some im- or explicit link to the past; rather heritage is a social construct. Objects, places, and landscapes become heritage only through the meanings attached to them in a process of labeling, defining, and ordering. As a result, heritage is "a set of values and meanings" (Smith 2006, 11) as well as a cultural practice seeking to control and regulate these values (ibid.). As a social construct, the meanings we assign to heritage can be altered, reinterpreted, or contested, which makes heritage not only open to change, but also a potential tool for change. However, as Smith criticizes, different kinds of heritage experts hold a predominant role in this process of defining heritage and selecting heritage sites. The resulting authorized heritage discourses that rely on expert opinion are problematic, as they tend to not only distance the public and the visitors from the knowledge production around meanings attached to heritage, but also to exclude or disenfranchise specific historical, cultural, and social experiences. As such, these AHDs also diminish or disguise the transformative potential that heritage could possess as a future-oriented idea (e.g. Harrison 2013, Lähdesmäki 2017).

In terms of the role given to expert opinions, the EHL can be considered as a super-AHD due to its three-layer system of expert evaluation—first at the site, then at the national level, and lastly at the European level. This also leads us to the potential fracture point between the many

narratives of the EHL and the authorized heritage discourses of the EU. The sites, after having received the label, have the potential to challenge the narrative created by the coordinating actors of the EHL and, in many cases, they actually also seek to do this. There is a constant negotiation between the official narrative envisioned in the EU documents and the many narrative strategies used by the sites themselves (on the intergovernmental phase, also see Lähdesmäki 2014). The narratives of European significance that are used as grounds for nomination as an EHL site represent only one aspect of the overall narratives offered by the sites and not always the one most actively communicated to the public.

It would be tempting to label the narrative analyzed here as an authorized heritage discourse of the European Union (EU-AHD). The narrative created through the official documents of the EHL especially reveals the agency of the European Panel of Experts. Through its connections to wider EU policy discourses, however, it is also embedded in the wider political project of the EU and reflects the values and understandings of this wider political construct. As such, it is not a narrative describing European history nor the totality of European heritage, but a politically motivated narrative that the EU in the context of the EHL has produced of itself. As such, there are many grounds for conceptualizing the official narrative and discursive practices of the official documents of the EHL as an authorized heritage discourse of the EU (EU-AHD). However, it also needs to be remembered that in addition to being challenged by the actors within the EHL, this authorized heritage discourse is also challenged by actors both in- and outside the institutional frame of the EU. The European Parliament's own history project, the recently opened House of European History (HEH) is one such attempt. Although engaging with the conceptual frame of history rather than that of heritage, the HEH does offer an alternative interpretation of the story and values of Europe.

With these limitations in mind, this chapter uses the term EU-AHD as a shorthand for the official narrative and/or discursive practices of the official documents of European Heritage Label. What must be emphasized is that the data used for analysis do not represent the totality of what could be the EU-AHD, nor is it able to discuss the narratives the EHL sites themselves choose to use in their everyday practices. It is thus not able to bring forth the agency of the sites themselves. What is analyzed here instead is very much an authorized heritage discourse in the making (see also Kaasik-Krogerus in this volume).

Modernity/Coloniality and Lingering Eurocentrism

The importance of ideas associated with modernity should not be understated when debating European cultural heritage and the values that this heritage embodies. For, as noted by Delanty (2017, 54), "[m]odernity is the constitutive matrix that gave to Europe a direction and meaning". Despite this long and entangled connection between the ideas of Europe and modernity, Europe can no longer be considered as "the vanguard of modernity" (Passerini 2012, 123–124; see also 2002). However, as Passerini continues, even though this identification no longer carries the same meanings, ideas of modernity have continued to maintain a strong Eurocentric tone (ibid.). It is this enduring nature of Eurocentrism that reminds us that modernity should not be reduced to European Enlightenment (see also Chakrabarty 2000), as the connections between modernity and colonialism, and the implications they have for the ideas of Europe, are far deeper. Enrique Dussel (2000)—a central thinker among the decolonial school—has criticized the Eurocentric understanding of modernity "for it indicates intra-European phenomena as the starting point of modernity and explains its later development without making recourse to anything outside of Europe" (ibid., 471; see also Dainotto 2007). This disregards the very material impact the colonies had in the creation of European modernity (e.g. Fanon 1963, 81), and also hides the many historical and cultural entanglements between Europe and the regions European imperial states controlled overseas.

Coloniality as the entwined counterpart of modernity especially manifests in Eurocentrism. According to Quijano (2000, 549), Eurocentrism "does not involve all of the knowledge of history of all of Europe […] It is instead a specific rationality or perspective of knowledge that was made globally hegemonic, colonizing and overcoming other previous or different conceptual formations and their respective concrete knowledges, as much in Europe as in the rest of the world". The central factor of Eurocentrism is the tendency to position specific cultures and forms of knowledge in hierarchical positions. Though these hierarchies played a central role in legitimating colonialism (e.g. Tully 2002), they are not only limited to historical relations, as similar hierarchies can also be found in early documents related to European integration. In her analysis of the Declaration on European Identity (1973) signed by the nine Western European states that formed the European Economic Community (EEC) at the time, Luisa Passerini (2012) commented on

the fundamental hierarchies that the document created in terms of the relations between the EEC and the external states. These hierarchies prioritized Western connections over relationships with Eastern Europe, but also posited former European colonies in a subordinate position. The document can be seen as profoundly influenced by the Cold War and the long colonial histories of many of the signatories. Passerini's analysis shows how deeply Western norms were embedded in the EEC documents, which also form the foundation for the European Union. As the rest of this chapter will show, tendencies towards similar hierarchies, both between Europe and its former colonies, as well as between Western and Eastern Europe, can also be identified in the EU-AHD.

A second key aspect of Eurocentrism (and one directly related to the cultural hierarchies) is the incentive for "spreading" culture with little consideration for other pre-existing cultures and forms of knowledge production. In the founding documents of the EHL, the spread of Eurocentric ideals is evident especially in the Impact Assessment (EC 2010), in which the EHL is aligned with core European values and the promotion of a preconceived and unproblematized joint European heritage. It is important to note that the document is convinced the EHL would have only positive impacts, mainly in terms of social/societal challenges. Any concerns that the promotion of European heritage would downplay or silence other heritages are not actively discussed. As the Impact Assessment states:

> European common values are at the core of the EHL and one of the foundation stones for the initiative concerns the building of a shared European identity based on democratic values and human rights. It should therefore be noted that the label is likely to have positive impacts (and certainly no negative ones) and thereby make a contribution to the objectives of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. (EC 2010, 26)

Within this framework, the spread of central ideals and values is narrated as a positive and desirable development, or as progress, with very limited room for alternative interpretations, criticism, or any acknowledgement of the domination, abuse, and control that might have been associated with it. It presumes that, since these values are depicted as positive, benign, or even universal, anything that is associated with these values is thought to have positive implications. Additionally, as it fails to acknowledge "European domination over much of the world through

colonialism, dispossession, appropriation, and enslavement as significant to that history" (Bhambra and Narayan 2017, 2), it also fails to create space for discussing or dismantling the baggage left by this difficult history. Furthermore, it posits European heritage at the top of a hierarchical system through which Europeanness becomes measurable by the level of adaptation to these values and cultural norms. In the empirical section below, it will become clear that this incentive for spreading a preconceived, yet fuzzy idea of Europe is entangled in the ways integration and expansion are narrated in the EU-AHD.

Narrating European Significance in the European Heritage Label

The EHL website declares that the "European Heritage sites are milestones in the creation of today's Europe. Spanning from the dawn of civilization to the Europe we see today, these sites celebrate and symbolize European ideals, values, history and integration". Already from this basic definition, it is evident that through the EHL sites, the EU-AHD seeks to create a progressive, continuous narrative of Europe, spanning from the first steps of what is termed as "European civilization" to the contemporary European Union. Through this narrative, the EU-AHD not only seeks to take credit for a number of European historical developments, but also posits EU as the final state of this continuous process of European integration. This is a problematic foundation for any type of conceptualization for European memory. Although some EHL sites also represent ruptures or difficult periods of European history, the overall narrative remains one of continuity. Passerini (2011, 48) has strongly criticized this "illusion of continuity" and rather advocates for the acknowledgement of "radical discontinuity". By acknowledging important ruptures and discontinuities, Passerini argues, we can "conceptualize the kind of European memory that might allow for a break with Eurocentrism and hierarchies between European countries and regions" (ibid.). Acknowledgement of this type of ruptures has become more commonplace in the general narratives of Europe (e.g. Delanty 2010), but these discontinuities are not given adequate space and importance in the EU-AHD. Rather, the implied continuity increasingly blurs the separation between cultural and geographical understandings of Europe and the political entity of the EU. This is hardly representative of the reality of European history and downplays the interpretations that emphasize

the plurality of Europe and the plurality of European heritage (see for example Hall 1999; Delanty 2017). It also stands in stark contrast with the rhetoric of diversity that dominates both the founding decision of the EHL (EP 2011), as well as the wider EU policy discourses (e.g. Lähdesmäki 2012; Kraus and Sciortino 2014).

The Idea of "European Values"

As the idea of "European values" is a central aspect of the EHL, it is therefore perhaps unsurprising that "values" are also given a central position when narrating "European significance" in the EU-AHD. These European values are only defined in the EHL documents in terms of abstract references to "values" or by listing typical value mantras of freedom, democracy, human rights, diversity, tolerance, and solidarity. When we look at the way specific sites are narrated, peace and democracy seem to hold a central position. Sites directly related to peace, for example, are the Peace Palace in Hague (Netherlands), the Sites of the Peace of Westphalia (Germany), and several sites related to the First and Second World Wars (see Mäkinen in this volume). In the narrative sites related to democracy and the development of the rule of law include sites like the Archive of the Crown of Aragon (Spain) and the 3 May 1791 Constitution (Poland). References to human rights (e.g. the Charter of Law of Abolition of the Death Penalty 1867, Portugal, and Franja Partisan Hospital, Slovenia), the Enlightenment (e.g. Residencia de Estudiantes, Spain), and solidarity (e.g. European Solidarity Center, Poland) are also prominent.

Despite the ample references to "values", this linking is only rarely done directly. Rather, any references to values are often vague and abstract. Grand, abstract phrases like being a "symbol of the pursuit of democracy" (EC 2014, 12), being "central to strengthening of human rights and to the defense of democratic values and the rule of law" (EC 2015, 14), the fostering of "religious toleration and cultural diversity as well as democratic values" (EC 2014, 8), "highlighting the Enlightenment values" (EC 2014, 10), or being a "beacon of progressive ideas" (EC 2015, 10) were common in Panel reports' descriptions of the EHL sites. Interestingly, a resistance to values that are seen to counter these European values, especially those of democracy and peace, can also be seen as markers of European significance, as evidenced by several sites nominated through their role in the resistance of either communism,

Nazism, or other forms of authoritarian rule. The reports' emphasis on abstract references could be a result of the explicit focus on the sites' symbolic importance that can be derived from the founding decision of the EHL (EP 2011). However, there seems to be only limited discussion on what these values in fact mean or how they should be applied when defining the European significance of the potential EHL sites. As a result of their constant repetition, the connection between the values and Europe seems to hold a normative position in the EU-AHD, yet this connection goes largely unattested. Furthermore, there is clearly an attempt to make these values more concrete by adding a material aspect through connecting abstract European values to specific heritage sites.

This normative position of "values", however, is not unproblematic. The connection between Europe and/or EU and these values has been questioned on numerous accounts. Chakrabarty (2000) and Sen (1999), for example, have challenged the idea of Europe as the home of democracy by highlighting democratic practices in different parts of Africa and India that predate Greek democracy. On the other hand, Bhambra (2009) has highlighted the discrepancies in the idea of the EU as an institution of peace in her analysis of the decolonization-related wars of former European empires during the formative years of the founding of the EU. In terms of human rights, both Delanty and Rumford (2005) and Suárez-Krabbe (2013) have questioned the implicit equality and inclusiveness of human rights and democracy by making the deeper linkages between these values and European racism visible. Finally, El-Tayeb (2011) has sought to highlight the investment in "whiteness as a norm against which ethnicization is read as a tool of differentiation between insiders and outsiders" (ibid., xiv). The relevance of these values is also questioned by many contemporary political and social phenomena, such as the continued structural racism, the discourses around the "immigration crisis", as well as the rise of the right-wing populist parties across Europe. All these processes seem to fundamentally challenge the connection between ideas of Europe and the values it seeks to represent.

Furthermore, as noted by Passerini (2012) the references to these values in official statements are not a particularly European phenomenon, but rather one that is repeated in the official narratives of almost all contemporary political entities. The prominent role of these values in the EHL should thus not be seen as indicative of the connection between these values and Europe per se, but rather as being due to the repetition of a typical global political rhetoric. Passerini identifies

the reliance on these abstract value mantras as a "constant characteristic of Eurocentrism" (ibid., 124) and further points out that "definitions of identity based on such conceptions run the risk of reproducing rhetorical formulae which are either empty or suspect" (ibid.). She has also shown how the disproportionate emphasis on Christianity and the Enlightenment in the narratives of European value mantras makes it possible "to exclude the Judaic and Islamic worlds from this [European] cultural community" (ibid., 136), thus further narrowing the legitimate basis on which to build forms of European identification. The entangled nature of heritage and identities (e.g. Graham and Howard 2008) is also reflected in the founding decision of the EHL, which posits the promotion of belonging as the primary aim of the EHL. These problematic linkages between values and identities force us to reconsider the type of identities that can be built on conceptualizations of heritage focused primarily on abstract values.

Narrating Integration

I will now discuss the EU-AHD in the context of the relationship between "European significance" and integration. The narrative of integration promoted by the EU-AHD starts from the EHL-nominated site called the Heart of Ancient Athens, which represents "a rich historical landscape where events fundamental to the formation of essential aspects of European culture and identity took place" (EC 2014, 5). Next, the Archeological site of Carnuntum in Austria, which represents: "The Roman Empire [which] is considered by some 'as a predecessor of Europe'" (EC 2013, 7). Following the temporal foundation of Europeanness through the Ancient Greeks and Romans, many following sites are represented as sites of early integration. This includes sites that were historical centres of power which then "integrated" new areas under their influence, both in the political (for example The Union of Lublin, Poland, and the Imperial Palace in Vienna, Austria) and the cultural sense (for example the Abbey of Cluny, France). There are also sites that represent integration through submission to foreign political rule (for example the Great Guild Hall in Tallinn or Carnuntum, Austria).

This overall narrative could be criticized for many of its aspects, but a central flaw is the fact that it sidesteps crucial questions of power. More precisely, it fails to contemplate who is being integrated into what and under what conditions. Contributing to these power relations, the

promotion of common values is identified as a tool to legitimate integration. This is not only the case in the EU-AHD, as the below quote from the founding decision of the EHL appears in numerous EU declarations and decisions starting from the Maastricht Treaty.

> For citizens to give their full support to European integration, greater emphasis should be placed on their common values, history and culture as key elements of their membership of a society founded on the principles of freedom, democracy, respect for human rights, cultural and linguistic diversity, tolerance and solidarity. (EP 2011, 1, preamble)

Instead of focusing on aspects of concrete integration, these attempts to narrate integration by focusing on abstract symbols of either European integration or European values are common. This tendency to focus on the internal symbolic value of the site is based largely on the way the EHL has been designed. The EHL is primarily interested in nominating heritage sites which can claim some role in the founding of the European Union or in the wider European project. As such, the sites should not only communicate "about the sites but also about the European project" (EC 2010, 46; see also Mäkinen in this volume). The notions of "European integration" and "European values" are used repeatedly to connect the sites' narratives to the broader European project. However, integration is often narrated in relation to the spread of "common European values" such as peace, democracy, or human rights, making it difficult, if not impossible, to always distinguish between European values and European integration, as adaptation to European values is treated as a sign of integration, and integration is understood to imply adaptation to European values.

In the official documents, these symbolic meanings attached to the sites were also identified as a way to ensure the sustainability and lasting significance of the EHL. According to the Impact Assessment, "the EHL would be awarded mainly on the basis of the symbolic value of sites and that this symbolic would not diminish over time" (EC 2010, 12–13). The monitoring report already departed from this view significantly in 2016, however, stating that it is up to the monitoring panel to determine "whether the European significance was fully understood, well-articulated and conveyed by the sites" (EC 2016, 8). This evinces the regulatory tendencies of authorized heritage discourses. The lasting symbolic meaning of the nominated EHL sites was quickly transformed into an aspect that needed

to be managed, presented, and in some cases improved. For some sites, this meant that the narratives of their European significance were in need of revision to better align them with the core messages of the EU-AHD.

The Great Guild Hall in Tallinn (see also Kaasik-Krogerus in this volume) is an interesting example of this aspect. The panel reports position the site in two roles: as representative of the influence of the Hanseatic merchants in Estonia and the Baltic region at large, and of Estonia as a state emerging from the history of communist rule to re-enter the European polity:

> The Great Guild of Tallinn merchants was the important organization in the city for centuries. The Hanseatic League reveals the intriguing story of European "integration" in medieval times. […] The recent history of Estonia creates an opportunity to present the narrative of Estonia and Estonian people within the context of European history and integration; the Panel encourages all efforts towards such contextualisation. (EC 2013, 6)

The exhibitions in the Great Guild Hall—part of the Estonian History Museum—broaden that scope, however. Although the Great Guild Hall has space allotted to its history and the Hanseatic merchants, the permanent exhibition, "Spirit of Survival", depicts the 11.000 years of Estonian resistance and survival under the German and Russian attempts to rule them. The dissonance between the narrower role posited in the EU-AHD and the broader interpretation presented by the Great Guild Hall was not lost on the European Panel of Experts. The idea that what was thought to be "early integration" would be narrated as hostile foreign rule was not appreciated. In fact, the first ever monitoring report on the nominated EHL sites comments;

> The Panel recommends that within the framework of the European Heritage Label, the story of Tallinn's role in the Hanseatic League – an example of early medieval North European trade and defense organization – be better articulated in the narrative offered by the museum. […] The Panel recommends that during the 2017–2020 period the museum team looks into ways to better articulate and emphasise the European significance of the Great Guild Hall in the site's narrative. (EC 2016, 15)

In light of the often cited rhetoric of "contributing to the flowering of culture of the Member States" (EP 2011, 1, preamble), noted also in the preamble of the Founding Decision of the EHL, the attempts to repress

the Estonian interpretation of their history as one of survival when faced with foreign domination is questionable. The case of the Great Guild Hall reveals the problematic power hierarchies embedded at the core of attempting to build a joint European heritage as well as the equally problematic regulatory tendencies of the EU-AHD.

Spreading Europeanness Beyond Europe

In addition to narrating integration within Europe, the idea of spreading European values is tightly intertwined with colonialism on a more global scale. Although there are no sites within the EHL framework that engage with colonialism directly, the sites related to the conquest of the Americas (and the onset of European imperialism) allow us to approach the topic in the context of EHL. Examples of these sites are the Sagres Promontory in Portugal and the Cape Finisterre in Spain.[2] In the EU-AHD, Sagres Promontory is described as one of the central harbors of the "Age of Discoveries", whereas Cape Finisterre, a harbor further north on the Atlantic coast, is identified as "the Westernmost point of civilized territory in Europe" and "the End of the Known World" (EC 2014, 26). I do not want to claim that the importance of these sites or their "European significance" would in itself be problematic. On the contrary, these sites have been fundamental in shaping not only European history and realities, but they have also been instrumental in a global sense through their role in the establishment of the nearly global colonial system. Crucial here are the narratives that are produced about these sites and the ways these narratives are able to connect the historical reality of these sites with contemporary European processes. In critical heritage studies, understandings of heritage have been shifted from being associated with the past towards notions that emphasizes contemporary and future motivations (see for example Harrison 2013; Lähdesmäki 2017; Macdonald 2013; Smith 2006). If we accept this basic principle, sites such as the Sagres Promontory could be powerful avenues to start sustained critical discussions of Europe's colonial past and slavery, as well as their connection to contemporary European racism (e.g.

[2] Please note that although the application of Cape Finisterre was not nominated for the EHL, the European Panel did note that the site met the requirements for "European significance". The application was rejected based on deficiencies in the proposed project and the organizational capacity of the site.

Grosfoguel 2004; Goldberg 2006; El-Tayeb 2011) and wider European identity politics. Based on my analysis, however, this potential is not for the time being acknowledged nor made use of in the official discourses that characterize the EU-AHD. Quite to the contrary, the EU-AHD proudly paints Sagres Promontory as a prime example of the expansionist Eurocentric cultural heritage.

> [Sagres Promontory] became the privileged scenario for the accomplishments of the Age of Discoveries in the fifteenth century, a key historical moment that marked the expansion of European culture, science and commerce both towards the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, setting European civilisation on its path to the global projection that came to define the modern world. […] Sagres Promontory is a rich cultural landscape testifying to the remote origins of European civilisation and its universal expansion in the Age of Discoveries through science, commerce and exploration. (EC 2015, 8)

That quote is a powerful example of the type of Eurocentric rhetoric being used and it exemplifies the ways cultural hierarchies and the tendency towards expansion is embedded at the heart of the EU-AHD. In addition to the Eurocentric tone, it is impossible not to note that there are no direct references to imperialism or colonialism, let alone to any negative effects thereof, in the overall description of these sites. Passerini (2012, 133) has linked the silence over European colonialism to the need for a positive European identity. This has led to a "tendency to privilege a Eurocentric perspective" as well to a "reluctance to approach colonialism as a European rather than a national experience" (ibid., see also Bhambra 2014). However, it should be questioned to what extent colonialism was merely a national experience limited to the former European empires. The many cultural, political, and economic connections and structures of rule that existed during European colonialism were not limited to those between imperial states and their colonies. Many smaller European states also actively participated, for example through trade, military, or missionary work within the ruling, exploitation, and subordination of the colonies. Moreover, those same smaller states were also deeply influenced by the racist colonial discourses of the time that were used to legitimate European rule in the colonies. Approaching colonialism through the prism of imperial states alone is therefore too narrow (cf. Bhambra 2014; Passerini 2012) and will, in Catarina Kinnvall's words, only "feed the illusion that Europe

can be disconnected from its imperial past" (2016, 153). I believe there is a need to also engage with colonialism on a European level, and cultural heritage actions such as the EHL could provide space for these engagements.

Before the EHL can form a sustainable platform to discuss the coloniality of European heritage, it needs to broaden the narratives it offers and especially challenge their embedded Eurocentrism (see also Suaréz-Krabbe 2014). Once more, I return to Passerini (2011), who, in connection to her critique of the tendencies to highlight the continuity of European history, also critiques the idea of an essential "European Spirit" as proposed by Zygmunt Bauman: "if anything of the sort has ever existed, our memory must see it for what it was, a drive towards capitalism and imperialism, while the passion for discovery must be remembered as a passion for conquest and exploitation" (ibid., 49). Although we cannot expect these narratives of "conquest and exploitation" to become the primary narrative of European cultural heritage, there is an urgent need to challenge and replace Eurocentric narratives with narratives that offer a more balanced and less biased narrative of Europe. Breaking the cultural hierarchies between (Western) Europe and its Others and challenging notions of continuity are central steps in this process. In addition to sites connected to colonialism, sites located in Eastern Europe could be important actors in this process. Otherwise, there is a significant risk that the idea of European heritage proposed by the EU-AHD, instead of contributing to the promotion of belonging and multicultural dialogue (the two main aims of the EHL initiative), will continue to the exclude a number of Europeans from being considered as equal members of the wider European community.

A Geography of Coloniality

We have already examined the many entanglements of Eurocentrism and the idea of European cultural heritage in the EU-AHD. In this final part, I want to both summarize some of what has been discussed so far and take one final step forward in the analysis. As we have seen, there have been many ways the "European significance" of the EHL sites has been narrated in the EU-AHD. There is an explicit focus on the symbolic importance of these sites, and using this narrative is a common aspect of almost all the EHL sites analyzed here. When it comes to the ways European values and integration are narrated in the EU-AHD, however,

we are faced with crucial questions of power. For once we let go of the normative notion that integration is inherently good, integration can also be conceptualized through expansion or even further through domination and submission. I have argued above that there is a dynamic of spreading "Europeanness" embedded in the EU-AHD that is reminiscent of Eurocentric notions of European excellence. In the internal dynamic of Europe, however, this spread or expansion is hidden under neutral terms of integration, much as the sites that were complicit in the onset of European colonialism are narrated through the more neutral rhetoric of discoveries and trade. When integration is removed from its normative basis, it can be analyzed through three components: spread of values, resistance of non-European values, and submission. When these three aspects are placed in a spatial context (see Fig. 7.1), a broader underlying structure starts to emerge. This structure has been conceptualized here as a geography of coloniality.

Like the sites' symbolic importance, ideas of expansion or spreading "Europeanness" are similarly central and typical ways to narrate the EHL sites in the EU-AHD, and this type of narratives is spread quite evenly across Europe. The narratives dealing with resistance and submission, however, appear to be disproportionately located in Eastern parts of Europe. As is evident on the map, there is also more overlap of narratives in the sites located in Eastern and Central Europe. Although many of these sites are narrated through their symbolic importance as well as through narratives of spreading of values, the overall European significance of these sites is complemented and strengthened by narratives of resistance to values seen as contradictory to European values, as well as by narratives that emphasize the process of becoming European through interaction with other European powers (i.e. submission).

In terms of resistance, there is a tendency in the EU-AHD to describe sites as having a symbolic importance in the fight against values/ideologies that are seen as somehow countering or opposing "European values". These especially include sites related to the two World Wars and the Holocaust, as well as sites connected to a broader resistance of communism, fascism, and other forms of authoritarian rule. Yet although there are several sites that engage with human rights (for example the Peace Palace, The Netherlands, or the Charter of Law of Abolition of the Death Penalty 1867, Portugal), this resistance of countering or contrasting values is not extended towards, for example, resistance to racism or discrimination. Instead, this resistance is reserved for fighting

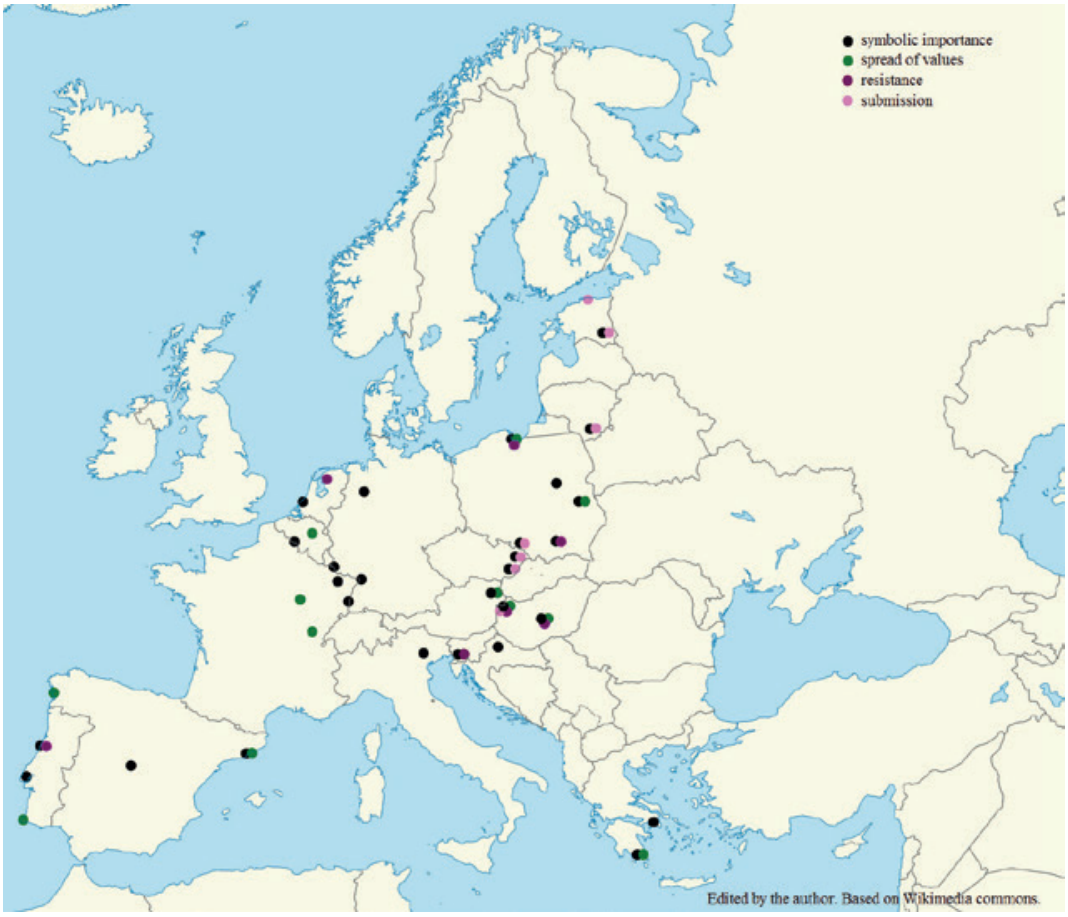

Fig. 7.1 Spatial dispersion of different narrative dynamics among the 39 sites that have either received the EHL (29) or were evaluated as meeting the criterion of European significance (10) between 2011 and 2016 (At the moment, the EHL is not open to countries who are not EU members. Additionally, some member states are currently not involved in the initiative, which explains the apparent "emptiness" in, for example, Northern Europe)

the authoritarian regimes of the World War II—or the "new forms of the Other [that] were found inside, in Europe's own history" (Passerini 2012, 121). This notion of resistance of values and ideals that are seen threatening those of Europe substantially participates in the creation and management of the discursive borders of Europe within the EU-AHD.

In terms of submission, the Great Guild Hall that was discussed earlier is perhaps the strongest example. Additionally, there are also several sites related to the adaptation of Western European technology in the industrialization of the region (for example the Hlubbina Mine and Vitkovice

Ironworks, Czech Republic, and the Industrialisation in Upper Silesia, Poland), as well as sites like the Kaunas of 1919–1940, which is narrated through the modernization (and westernization) of the city in line with "European interwar modernism". This took place during the 21 years Kaunas acted as the temporary capital of independent Lithuania, more precisely during the years between the rule of the Russian Empire and the occupation by the Soviet Union. Interestingly, the case of Kaunas plays into both submission, but also implies that its Europeanness relies on its ability to escape the influences of both Russian and Soviet rule. Although not representations of violence, these sites bring out a narrative of showcasing external influences in the region. With a few notable exceptions, especially the sites related to the development of parliamentarianism and democracy in Poland, and the sites related to the resistance of communism, the EU-AHD deposits Eastern European heritage as being European to the extent it is in relationship with a preconceived Western notion of Europe. As was already noted above, this process of being or becoming European is not stable but rather subject to monitoring and improvement. This becoming is akin to the idea of "waiting room of history" coined by Chakrabarty (2000; see also Mälksoo 2009), a state of constant liminality.

The way the narratives of both resistance and submission are expressed bring out the effects of coloniality. Although in the case of Eastern Europe, we must acknowledge that the form the modernity/coloniality relationship takes in this internal dynamic is of a very different nature than in the relationship between Europe and its former colonies. Instead of violence and direct dominance, the coloniality of the East–West division in the EU-AHD rather takes a conceptual or cultural form. As such a conceptual and value-based form of dominance, its effects in the real world are harder to determine. Despite the long history of European wars, this internal dynamic is largely lacking the history of direct rule, physical violence, and appropriation that is descriptive of the relationships between the European Empires and their colonies. In this sense, Eastern Europe is in fact in many cases more affected by the actions of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, and the remaining effects of Soviet colonialization in the region (e.g. Annus 2018; Tlostanova 2018). Additionally, although the processes of racialization in Europe have become increasingly versatile, this internal dynamic between Western and Eastern Europe misses the crucial racial aspect that characterizes the more global dynamics of coloniality. Though these aspects make

the coloniality in Eastern Europe much more ambiguous, its many dimensions have been actively engaged by academics from a wide variety of fields (e.g. Kuus 2004; Mälksoo 2009; Imre 2014; Mayblin et al. 2016). These critical tones should also be better reflected in the idea of European heritage that is being created through the heritage actions of the EU. For, as Delanty states, "Europe is now 'post-Western' in the sense that it is not reducible to the category of the West and […] can no longer be defined exclusively in terms of the historical experience of its founding Western European nations" (2017, 21; see also 2003). In light of the analysis in this chapter, the EU-AHD seems to still privilege the Western European experience when defining European heritage, leaving Eastern European experiences in a liminal position. Unless these implicit biases are taken seriously, and effort is taken to balance the narratives used within the EU-AHD, there is a risk of producing tensions and conflicts that challenge not only ideas of joint European heritage, but also European identity politics at large.

Concluding Remarks

The EHL initiative is still in its early stages, and the number of selected sites is still relatively small. It is likely that in a few years the initiative will look significantly different. The first monitoring panel report on the EHL sites states that by "presenting their narrative in a historical and wider European context, the sites invite us and our leadership to visit them, to reflect on these problems and on our values, which in turn will, hopefully, contribute to better informed decisions for our society" (EC 2016, 5). In contrast with this optimistic tone, the chapter's analysis has shown that on the institutional level of the EHL, at least for the time being, there are several causes for concern behind this optimistic mission. Pakier and Stråth (2010) have noted the tendency to find common ground on the "positive sides of an argued European heritage" (ibid., 2), whereas the difficult history of violence, catastrophes, and atrocities is often only discussed in national terms. Yet this reliance on the good hides the darker side of European history (e.g. Mazower 1998)—what MacDonald (2009) has called "difficult heritage" (cf. Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996)—and clouds the role that the European Union could have in dismantling this historical baggage. The Holocaust has constituted Europe's ultimate difficult past, but Goldberg (2006) has argued that it is precisely this reliance on the Holocaust as the European symbol of racialized violence that

makes discussions on colonialism and contemporary racism so difficult in Europe. There are increasing academic calls to also engage with Europe's dark heritage beyond the Holocaust, especially concerning slavery (for example Chalcraft and Delanty 2015), the war and ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslav region (e.g. Kisić 2017), and colonialism (for example Delanty 2017). This chapter joins those calls.

In their book *EURAFRICA: The Untold history of European Integration and Colonialism* (2015; see also Hansen and Jonsson 2011), Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson intricately analyze the entanglement of the impulses behind European integration and the desire to continue to colonize the African continent both during and after the two World Wars. According to their analysis, European integration was never simply motivated by peace and economic cooperation in Europe, but always to a certain degree by the need to cooperate in order to continue to control European colonies, especially in Africa. At the time of the founding of the EEC in 1957, France, Belgium, and Italy all still had significant colonies in Africa. Controlling the resources of the European colonies in Africa was identified as one of the crucial components for the rebuilding of post-war Europe. Given these colonial motivations that were entangled with the early impulses for European integration, the continued Eurocentrism and entrenched coloniality of the EU-AHD and the ways it relates to integration do not come as a surprise. As my analysis has shown, the Eurocentric understandings of Europeanness embedded in the EU-AHD posit European cultural heritage as a process of mapping and displaying the spread of a hierarchical Eurocentric value system—or as a manifestation of the geography of coloniality. It displays the spread of, and integration into, Europeanness through positing certain regions in a position of becoming. For them, becoming European is a matter of relation, adaptation, and submission. Furthermore, their Europeanness is suspect to monitoring, development, and re-articulation. As we saw above through the example of the Great Guild Hall in Tallinn, the site's peripheral narrative of suffering and resistance seems to counter the underlying narrative of benign modernity that underpins the EU-AHD. As a result, the coloniality of the Estonian experience seems to have limited legitimacy in the European authorized heritage discourse and the spread of this narrative thus is subjected to regulation.

Similar to the discourse of integration that seeks to downplay or hide the resistance and submission that this integration also entails for those being integrated, the discourse of "Age of Discoveries" expands

these processes to a global scale. The discourse of the "discoveries" that seems to be hardwired into the EU-AHD not only conceals the true nature of European colonialism, but also enforces a view that Europe should be celebrated for its role in manufacturing a new modern world. Furthermore, it fails to make use of the potential for social change that is embedded in critical engagement with the sites related to Europe's colonial past. It is worth remembering that European history is "not simply about past events, because the past of Europe continues to haunt its present in quite powerful ways" (Yegenoglu 2017, 18). The history of European colonialism lives on in capitalism and European racism, as well as in the exclusionary narratives of Europeanness and in Eurocentrism at large. It prevails in the disconnect between colonialism and the "immigration crisis", which is not so much a crisis of immigration, but a crisis of postcolonial Europe coming to grips with its colonial past. The migrants dying at Europe's borders are powerful examples of the extent to which the EU is ignoring the fundamental dissonance between its values and its actions. Through critical engagement with Europe's colonial past, actions like the EHL could fundamentally contribute to opening up space for solidarity. Many of the EHL sites themselves have engaged in this process, but this should also be reflected in the narratives produced around the EHL on the institutional level in the EU-AHD.

I noted earlier that acknowledging the ruptures and discontinuities in Europe's past and memory would be an important avenue to challenge the Eurocentrism of the EU-AHD. Another approach would be to focus on entanglements between Europe and its Others (e.g. Said 2003; Hall 1999; Delanty 2017). Through emphasizing entanglements and ruptures, the narratives of Europe could be opened up to create space to the silenced or hidden aspects of our past. This, however, would also require breaking away from old power hierarchies that prioritize a Eurocentric understanding of the world. Through approaches like these we can attempt to form paths towards more equal and inclusive narratives of Europeanness that are not only diverse in rhetoric, but also in practice.

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Appendix 1: List of European Heritage Label Sites 2011–2016

- Abbey of Cluny, France
- Archaeological Park Carnuntum, Austria
- Archive of the Crown of Aragon, Barcelona, Spain
- Camp Westerbork, The Netherlands
- Charter of Law of Abolition of the Death Penalty, Lisbon, Portugal
- European District of Strasbourg, France
- Franja Partisan Hospital, Slovenia
- General Library of the University of Coimbra, Portugal
- Great Guild Hall, Tallinn, Estonia
- Hambach Castle, Germany
- Historic Ensemble of the University of Tartu, Estonia
- Kaunas of 1919–1940, Lithuania
- Krapina Neanderthal Site, Croatia
- Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, Budapest, Hungary
- Mundaneum, Mons, Belgium
- Museo Casa Alcide De Gasperi, Pieve Tesino, Italy
- Münster and Osnabrück—Sites of the Peace of Westphalia, Germany
- Olomouc Premyslid Castle and Archdiocesan Museum, Czech Republic
- Pan-European Picnic Memorial Park, Sopron, Hungary
- Peace Palace, The Hague, The Netherlands
- Residencia de Estudiantes, Madrid, Spain
- Robert Schuman's House, Scy-Chazelles, France
- Sagres Promontory, Portugal
- The Heart of Ancient Athens, Greece
- The historic Gdańsk Shipyard, Poland
- The Imperial Palace, Vienna, Austria
- The May 3, 1791 Constitution, Warsaw, Poland
- Union of Lublin, Poland
- World War I Eastern Front Cemetery No. 123, Łużna—Pustki, Poland

The additional sites meeting the criterion of "European Significance"

- Archeological site of Movemvassia, Greece
- Cape Finisterre, Spain
- Congress Hall of Vienna, Austria
- Coudenberg, Former Palace of Brussels, Belgium
- Hlubbina Mine and Vitkovice Ironworks, Czech Republic
- Industrialisation in Upper Silesia, Poland
- Royal Palace of Visegrád, Hungary
- Schengen, France
- Troyes, France
- Zling city conservation zone, Czech Republic

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II

MAPPING THE IDEA OF EUROPE – CULTURAL PRODUCTION OF BORDER IMAGINARIES THROUGH HERITAGE

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Johanna Turunen

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Mapping the Idea of Europe – Cultural Production of Border Imaginaries through Heritage

Johanna Turunen

Department of Music, Art and Culture Studies, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland

ABSTRACT

In contrast to recent reinforcements of Europe's internal and external borders due to the refugee situation on the Mediterranean and the Covid-19 outbreak, talk of European borders has in the past decades focused on the freedom of mobility guaranteed by the Schengen treaty. In many senses, free intra-European mobility has become a recited truth in the EU discourse: a phrase that hides under its repetition the gap between its implied content and empirical realities of many of those who are affected by European borders' exclusive tendencies. Through the concept of borderscape, this article focuses on the role that cultural products – especially maps exhibited at heritage sites – have in reciting ideas of European borders. In this context, ideas of European heritage are approached as a bordering practice – as an active process of creating, sustaining and challenging cultural border imaginaries and the many in/exclusion they imply. Empirically the article is focused on the European Heritage Label (EHL), a recent heritage action of the European Union (EU). The article asks what is the relationship between national and European representations of space; how are Europe's external borders represented; and what kind of cultural power hierarchies can be identified behind these representations?

KEYWORDS

Borderscapes; heritage; Europe; European Union

If you were asked to imagine Europe in your head, what would you see? Would you see a collage of landscapes, cities, buildings, and people, a string of flags representing the many nation states of Europe, or would you perhaps envision a map: a simplified image where Europe in all its complexities is simplified on a piece of paper? (see Image 1). If you imagined a map, close your eyes and focus on that map once more. What does Europe look like, is it colorful, or is it painted in a single color? Are there any internal borders visible? Does Europe have any external boundaries, do they coincide with the European Union (EU), or does Europe expand outwards and blur into other regions without clear borders? Is there land visible below the Mediterranean? Can you see Greenland? What about Russia or Turkey? Can you place yourself on that map and imagine crossing the

CONTACT Johanna Turunen johanna.k.turunen@jyu.fi

Image 1. Clockwise from the top: Collage of flags located on the outside wall of Robert Schuman's House, France; a still from a small interactive section of the permanent exhibition in the Alcide De Gasperi's House Museum, Italy; a street banderol outside European District of Strasbourg, France. COPYRIGHT: EUROHERIT.

borders that are drawn there? If you again answered yes, what do the people traveling with you look like?

The questions above might seem silly. However, answers to such questions can reveal a good deal about the cultural meanings we attach to borders and the idea of Europe. Maps are often presumed to be innocent and neutral, but they "conceal at least as much as they reveal" (van Houtum and Bueno Lacy 2020, 213). By relying on predictable markers that most people read intuitively, maps construct a visual discourse that works to orient us in the world. Just by few strokes of a pen, a choice of color, and a seemingly innocently placed arrow, they help us define who we are, where we belong, and who our friends, allies, and enemies are. Consequently, maps are far from neutral. As van Houtum and Bueno Lacy argue, maps

> are not merely a reflection of power but *power itself*. [They are] visual statements and narratives about the political topics they picture or, in other words, visual discourses. Their production is 'controlled, selected, organised, and redistributed' by procedures of exclusion that establish what is reasonable, true, and acceptable to say – or depict – and what is not. (2020, 196, italics in the original, see also Foucault 1981)

To scrutinize how this discursive power is mediated and reproduced in the cultural realm, this article analyzes European Union (EU) cultural heritage actions from the perspective of borderscapes (Brambilla 2014). As defined by Brambilla, the concept of borderscapes aims "to deconstruct the […] political practices of inclusion-exclusion and the images created to support and communicate them on the cultural level" (2014, 25–26, see also Strüver 2005; Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007; Newman 2011; Brambilla et al. 2015). Therefore, the concept perceives borders as actively constructed, fluctuating,

and, in an Appaduraian sense, flowing (see Appadurai 1999). Moreover, it highlights the long-established tradition of emphasizing the agency of people and institutions in constructing, maintaining, and performing borders (e.g. Paasi 1998; Anzaldúa 1999; Strüver 2005; Newman 2011). These performances take place in varied forms. Here I focus on visual representations of borders communicated through selected EU cultural heritage sites and investigate how these representations formulate an idea of EUrope[1] – an understanding of Europe conditioned by the EU.

Heritage's ability to connect abstract processes and debates into a specific space, location, or an artifact (Smith 2006, 31; see also Demetriou and Dimova 2019) facilitates a reconceptualized sense of place for ideas of EUrope. It connects EUrope to a material environment but also to collective processes of remembering and forgetting (see De Cesari 2019). It enables the construction of communities and the promotion a sense of belonging (Lähdesmäki et al. 2021). As a result, it not only contributes to our understanding of self but can also engage us on an affective level and adjust our experience of being included in society (see Crang and Tolia-Kelly 2010, 2315). However, the inclusion of some always implies the exclusion of others. In mediating belonging, heritage sites and the borderscapes constructed through them act as visual and narrative "battlefields of border-making and border-crossing" (Van Huis et al. 2019, 6; see also De Cesari 2017, 18) through which we collectively situate both ourselves and others. The battles over the bordescapes of EUrope have very little to do with actual borderlands: they are fought at the heart of the EUropean project, over the multitudes of social and cultural images and imaginaries that work to normalize and legitimize different borders and their effects on different groups of people.

The article will start by outlining the research problem and the data. Second, it will continue with a short debate on some general trends in EU cultural heritage politics, the role of the European Heritage Label (EHL) as the flagship heritage action of the EU and the agency and relationships between the European Commission (EC) – the final authority in the EHL – and other associated actors involved in the EHL. The EHL is aimed at nominating heritage sites that are able to manifest the "breadth and scale of what Europe has to offer and what it has achieved" and as such represent the "milestones in the creation of today's Europe."[2] At the moment, there are 48 nominated sites and the next application round takes place in 2021. Third, the article will debate critical findings from the empirical analysis: starting from depictions of the nation, then external borders of EUrope and last EUrope's relations to its former colonies, including evaluating different communities' ability to cross both internal and external borders of EUrope. Finally, the article will conclude with some final concerns.

Research Problem and Data: Looking beyond the Recited Truths of EUrope

This article aims to look beyond the apolitical façade of maps and analyze the EUrope under construction in EU heritage actions. More precisely, I ask how is EUropean space represented in the EHL; what kind of connections, continuities, and breaks the visual discourses of EHL sites construct at EUrope's internal and external borders; and what type of scalar and cultural power hierarchies can be identified behind these representations?

The analysis focuses primarily on the aspects constructed in silence: the elements hidden behind the "recited truths" of Europeanization – namely those of (national) diversity and free mobility. I follow Lentin and Titley (2011; see also De Certeau 1984), who describe recited truths as phrases that hide under their repetition the gap between their implied content (e.g. free mobility) and empirical realities of many of those who are affected by it (e.g. immobility and exclusion). The recited truths of EUropean borderscapes reside in the prevailing contradiction between ethno-nationalist and postcolonial discourses and the prominent position of Eurocentric attitudes in EU policy (for debate see Shore 2000; Passserini 2002; Sassatelli 2009; Turunen 2019). This article promotes a critical re-reading of these bordescapes, where maps collected from the heritage sites are read "against the backdrop of colonial history and its inherent power relations" (van Huis 2019, 219).

Empirically I focus on the European Heritage Label (hereafter the EHL or the Label) – a recent EU heritage action. As part of the EUROHERIT research project, ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in eleven EHL sites in ten different EU member states between August 2017 and February 2018. These sites are Alcide De Gasperi's House Museum, Italy; Archaeological Park Carnuntum, Austria; Camp Westerbork, The Netherlands; European District of Strasbourg, France; Franz Liszt Academy of Music, Hungary; Great Guild Hall, Estonia; Hambach Castle, Germany; Historic Gdańsk Shipyard, Poland; Mundaneum, Belgium; Robert Schuman's House, France; and Sagres Promontory, Portugal. Different aspects of this vast fieldwork have been published elsewhere (e.g. Turunen 2019; Lähdesmäki et al. 2020; Lähdesmäki et al. 2021). This article concentrates on these sites' exhibitions, specifically using maps exhibited at the fieldwork sites as its primary empirical data, thereby shifting the focus from the textual or narrative discourses of EUrope to the visual discourse constructed in the EHL sheds light on bordering practices hidden in plain sight. The analysis moves between general trends of the whole data and more specific sites and pieces of the exhibitions. Camp Westerbork – a former Dutch transit camp for the Jews, Roma, and Sinti – is especially carried along as a case study. Camp Westerbork was given the EHL in 2013 for its links to "crucial issues in European history, such as occupation, persecution, migration, decolonisation, and multiculturalism" (official nomination plaque placed outside the campgrounds). As such, it enables versatile debates on the nature of EUropean borderscapes.

Methodologically the analysis builds on the growing tradition of using narrative and discursive approaches to study museums and cultural heritage (e.g. Price 2010; Wu and Hou 2015; Lähdesmäki 2017; Smith and Foote 2017). An essential starting point for the analysis is acknowledging the "thick" nature of maps as sources of knowledge. As Harley (2001, 52) has noted, "although maps have long been central to the discourse of geography, they are seldom read as 'thick' texts or as socially constructed forms of knowledge." Instead, they are often a taken-for-granted aspect of what we perceive to be both the geographical and social landscape in which we live. To analyze how the selected maps mediate an idea of Europe, I focus on visual representations of space and territory on the national and the transnational level (Rose 2016). Following van Houtum and Bueno Lacy (2020), I use the iconological method to analyze different maps as contributing elements of broader visual discourses. Focus is posited, especially on the maps' visual composition and their subject matter (ibid. 197; see also Kitchin, Perkins, and Dodge 2009). As a final step, these visual discourses are further analyzed by reading them

against the broader textual narratives and discourses produced by the EHL and our earlier analysis based on the more general fieldwork data. This juxtaposition aims to focus on different ways to "read" an image and how these readings relate to textual interpretations (see Hall 1997).

Cultural Europeanization and the Production of EUrope

Sassatelli (2009, 46–47) argues that while cultural integration was not explicitly part of the early European integration policies, the idea of cultural integration was, in many ways, part of the long-term plans from the very beginning of European cooperation. In recent decades, cultural heritage has become an increasingly important policy area for the EU (e.g. Shore 2000; Sassatelli 2009; Lähdesmäki, Kaasik-Krogerus, and Mäkinen 2019). There have been several switches and changes in the rhetoric of EU heritage policies. Following the Eastern enlargement of the EU, emphasis on the EU cultural policies shifted from the rhetoric of integration to identity (Sassatelli 2009, 24). This development was mirrored by an associated shift from material aspects of heritage to memory, or as Niklasson (2017) puts it, shifting from "things" to "people." These changes are essential from the perspective of visual imaginaries of space, as "Europe" has in many senses become "a political project that ideologically (re-)produces Europe not only in terms of territory but also, and arguably increasingly more, in terms of a population connected in its 'Europeanness'" (Engelbert, Awad, and Van Sterkenburg 2019, 134).

Along with the increasing effects of globalization, Calligaro (2014) has identified a more recent rhetorical shift towards intercultural dialogue. Although initially used especially in debates on EU cultural relations across the Mediterranean Sea, the same rhetoric quickly spread to all EU cultural debates. The EHL, as the latest EU actions aimed at cultural EUropeanization, is, in many ways, the poster child of both of these developments. The EHL is not interested in preserving European cultural heritage *per se*, and the sites receive no funding for conservation. Instead, the general aims of the EHL as defined as the "strengthening European citizens' sense of belonging to the Union" and the "promotion of intercultural dialogue" (EP 2011). Therefore, the practical aim of the EHL is to nominate heritage sites that symbolize or characterize the idea of EUrope that the EU wishes to promote and use this symbolic potential for identity political needs. This emphasis on symbolic meanings, belonging, and dialogue makes the EHL a compelling and essential case for analyzing the kind of EUropean space it constructs and who is represented as legitimate citizens within it.

Before becoming an EU action in 2011, the EHL acted as an intergovernmental cultural scheme for five years. Integration into the EU framework led to some practical changes in the EHL, particularly in terms of the agencies of different actors involved in the EHL. Although the EC's role and legitimacy as a cultural actor have been promoted in several EU declarations and policy guidelines (Sassatelli 2009, 49), the EC's position remains far from straightforward in the EHL. Sites are selected based on member states' applications, and the official decision-making power lies with the European Commission. However, in practical terms, de facto authority over nomination and monitoring belongs to an external European panel of experts (hereafter the panel). Moreover, the execution of day-to-day actions remains at the EHL sites and thereby firmly embedded

in their national frameworks. Due to these inter-scalar agencies entrenched within the EHL (see Lähdesmäki and Mäkinen 2019; see also Laine 2016), there are structural tensions between national interpretations of individual heritage sites and the "European significance" that all EHL sites are supposed to both individually and collectively manifest.

Although EU heritage actions, such as the EHL, are important bordering actors, their activities are by no means geared towards explicit border security concerns. Instead, all "European cultural policies [are] particularly relevant as *symbolic* policies" (Sassatelli 2009, 47, italics in original) that function as "political and cultural discourses that aim to situate people" (Lähdesmäki et al. 2021, 26). There is a performative element embedded in the way they function. In its simplest form, performativity refers to "reiterative and citational practice through which discourse produces the effects that it names" (Butler 1993, 2). Through the repeated intermingling of maps, borders, and heritage, an abstract idea of EUrope is being constructed. Both borders and heritage thereby do things. As Niklasson puts it, they "are world-making acts leaving their own imprint on reality" (2019, 107).

Participating in this process also contributes to constructing the subjectivities of those who inhabit those worlds. In addition to belonging, this process is fundamentally about governance (e.g. Sassatelli 2009, 5). As we have argued elsewhere (Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, 40), in the EHL, this "conduct of conduct" (Foucault 1994, 337) is not merely directed towards the audiences but also takes place between the EU and the EHL sites. After initiation into the EHL, the sites are expected to adopt EU discourses and rhetoric in their work and create the whole action's main contents (ibid.). In this process, both the application (initial assessment of suitability for EU cultural policy aims) and the following monitoring (the measurement of continuing suitability) by the panel highlight the continuous governance of the EUropeanness of EHL sites.

Borderscapes of EUrope

Reproducing Ethno-National Cultural Spaces

Heritage is often understood as inherently linked to the formation and legitimation of identities (e.g. Graham and Howard 2008). In Europe, where the idea of heritage as we know it has been developed, these collective identities have almost, by default, been conceived through the (ethno)national lens. Perhaps due to this national tendency embedded in ideas of heritage, the ***E***nation state's image seems to dominate the visual representations of EUrope brought forward in the data.

The variety of maps included in the data range from different periods, and thereby, the borders being represented often vary from the locations of contemporary borders. Despite this temporal variety, the maps repeatedly bring forth the (proto)national space in their exhibitions. In addition to traditional maps, the nation is invoked in puzzles or other more symbolic representations (see Image 2. The puzzle analogy also repeats on the European level, see Image 3). These national interpretations are further emphasized by using other banal national symbols such as flags or national colors within the exhibitions, promotional material, and more broadly around the sites (see Image 1; see also Kaasik-Krogerus 2020).

In effect, the variety of European national communities function as the primary identities under construction and as the "naturalized" forms of belonging that lay the

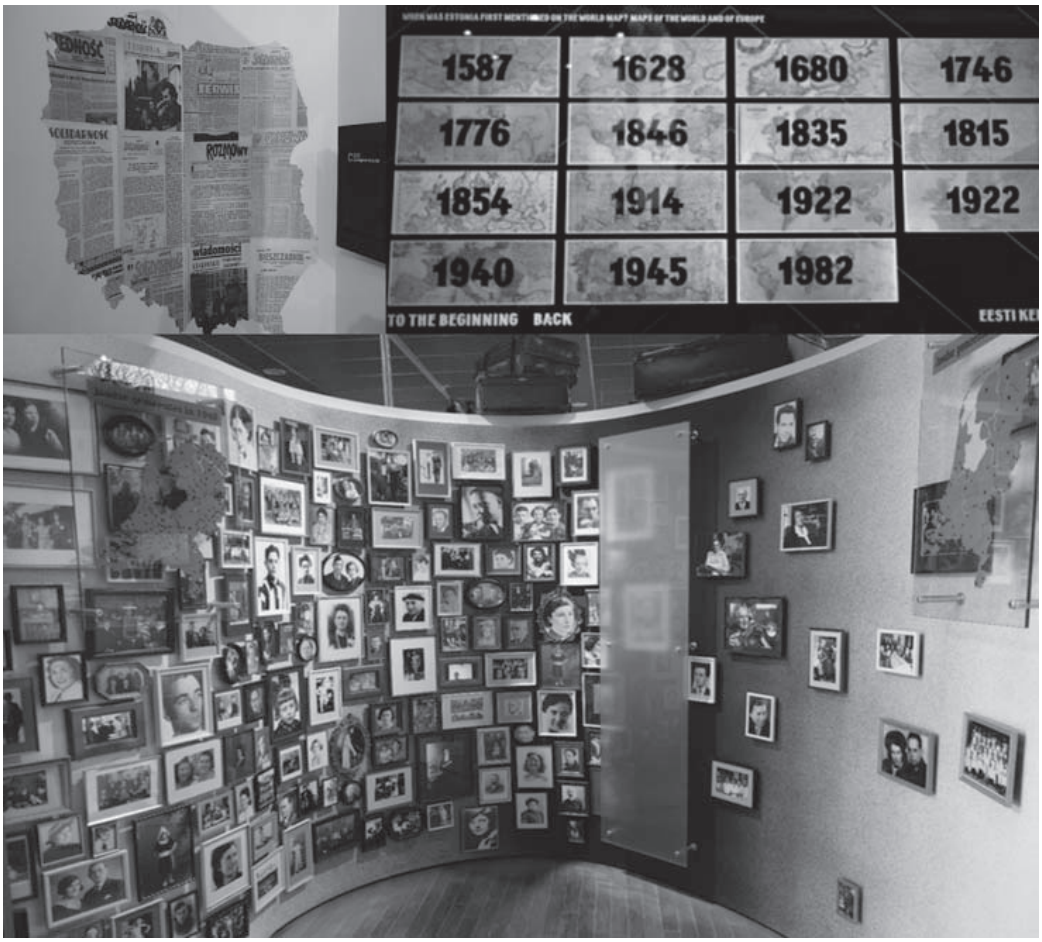

Image 2. Clockwise from the top: Wall painting at the Historic Gdańsk Shipyard, Poland; still image from an interactive display located at the main hall of the Great Guild Hall, Estonia; the closing installation at the permanent exhibition of Camp Westerbork, the Netherlands. COPYRIGHT: EUROHERIT.

groundwork against which other forms of politics of belonging emerge (see Yuval-Davis 2006). The idea of the nation serves as the primary type of belonging that is mirrored back through social and cultural products of that society. However, as Cram has noted, "the coincidence of state and nation is rare, and the focus on the existing national state identities distorts" (Cram 2009, 110) European cultural politics and blurs the division between cultural identity (nation) and political identity (state). It also has broader effects in terms of how we envision EUrope. Bhambra (2019) has conceptualized the dominance of ethno-national imaginaries in EUropean cultural discourses by distinguishing between two different European dimensions. First, an idea of a cosmopolitan Europe revolves around exclusive notions of white national diversity disguised behind the nominally inclusive EU rhetoric of "United in Diversity." Second, the idea of multicultural Europe conceived through the discursive reproduction of the otherness of Europe's (post)migrant communities and the supposed threat that they pose to the unity of Europe.

Pervasiveness of the national frame speaks to the normative "national order of things" (Malkki 1995) as well as to the notion of "nationalism without walls" (Gwyn 1995). There

is a sense of national imaginaries that seem to exist and create differences beyond the borders that seek to distinguish those spaces. Especially in the museum sector, the persistence of national imaginaries over the European could be the result of museums' attempts to define European memory politics to work "through the very institutions and tropes of the nation-state it is expected to supersede" (De Cesari 2017, 18; see also Abélès 2000; Kaiser, Krankenhangen, and Poehls 2014).

To some extent, it could be argued that the EHL is attempting to change this by also nominating transnational sites and trying to create shared European heritage around the EHL sites. There are three transnational sites designated within the EHL (the Former Natzweiler Concentration camps, between France and Germany, Colonies of Benevolence between Belgium and Netherlands, and Werkbund Estates between Germany, Poland, Czech Republic, and Austria). Additionally, many sites use transnational rhetoric at their sites (e.g. Camp Westerbork, City of Schengen, Hambach Castle, Pan-European Picnic Memorial Park, and Robert Schuman's House). Although designed to shift focus away from national narratives, in terms of visual discourse, this transnational focus seems to reproduce the national setting: it is precisely the existence of the border that justifies their transnational status. Transnational rhetoric and the associated discourses of free mobility, therefore, have not reduced the significance of these national imaginaries.

In addition to separate national imaginaries, the exhibitions are in some EHL sites enlisted for displaying the emergence of a nation, for example in Hambach Castle (Germany) and Great Guild Hall (Estonia). In both of these cases, maps that show the emergence and expansion of the national space form a vital part of the visual discourse (see Figure 2 for an interactive map display on the emergence of the Estonian state). Although there is little attention paid to the nation's visual depictions that the EHL also actively reproduces in its promotional material (see Kaasik-Krogerus 2020), there is dynamic pressure from the panel to manage and suppress this national rhetoric on the narrative level. The monitoring report highlights "the historic role that the Hambach Festival played in the promotion of democratic ideals in Germany and in Europe during the nineteenth century" (EC 2016, 20). At the same time, Estonia's national story is actively criticized. As the report states

> Whilst the site still meets the project criteria required for the European Heritage Label, the panel recommends that a thorough rethinking takes place in the upcoming project period on how to contextualize the mainly Estonian national history narrative in a wider European perspective […] The project plans for 2016–2020 need to be revised accordingly. (Ibid.; 15, see also Turunen 2019, 199*y*).

Niklasson argues that the cause of the ambiguity over what "European significance" means for different sites is not due to unclear application guidelines nor the definition of heritage promoted by the EHL but the authorities' "vague approach to 'Europe' as a signifier" (Niklasson 2019, 108). As Niklasson continues, this elusiveness is not an accident but strategic (ibid. 109). It allows the European panel of experts (and indirectly the EC) to modify the overall narrative of the EHL to better align with their identity political needs. However, promotion of Europeanness as a cultural identity may unintentionally promote essentialist, Eurocentric tendencies that position Europeanness as an assimilationist, culturally superior identification seeking to suppress other forms of identification (see, e.g. Shore 2000; Sassatelli 2009: see also Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Mohanty 1993; Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, 80).

Finally, although the idea of a nation is often criticized for being an exclusive construction (e.g. Gunew 2004, 16; Bhambra 2014, 154), there are also some inclusionary attempts to visualize the nation in ways that depart from ethno-nationalist concerns. One such example can be found in Camp Westerbork, where the "102.000 Stones" installation at the former campsite represents all people deported from the camp. Although many of the victims were not Dutch by nationality, the stones and the tiling are arranged in the shape of the Netherlands. According to the website, the aim was to remind visitors "the persecution of the Jews [is] the concern of the whole Dutch society."[3] These symbolic burial stones, in a sense, create a figurative national space of grief and remembrance on the grounds of the former campsite – invoking an understanding of the Dutch nation. Although this emphasis on "Dutchness" reminds of the dominance of the national frame of interpretation, at the same time, it powerfully seeks to include formerly racialized groups, such as the Jews, Roma, and Sinti, into the core of the Dutch nation by seeking to define their fate as the fate of the Dutch.

A similar visual discourse is repeated inside the exhibition in an emotive visual installation that combines multiple media (see Figure 2). The display shows a partially transparent map of the Netherlands in both top corners. On the right, the map is from the pre-war period and densely dotted with red dots, signifying the density of Jewish communities in the Netherlands, whereas the map on the left corner shows the post-war Netherlands with only a few red dots remaining. The space between the two maps represents the passing of time. On the right-hand side, the wall invokes a sense of a Dutch space filled with a vibrant Jewish community depicted through a dense collage of photos and videos. The gray glass panel in the middle symbolizes the war years and, while moving further to the left, gives way to a wall that is now empty with only a few sporadic pictures of Dutch Jews – a state descriptive of the post-Holocaust situation in the Netherlands.

These inclusive tones are used extensively elsewhere in the exhibition to create a link between the Jewish refugees and the contemporary Syrian refugees in Europe. Remembering De Genova's emotive comment that "in the European context, the very figure of migration is always already racialized" (2018, 1769), attempting to include the Syrian refugees in the Dutch realm of mourning seeks to challenges the ethno-nationalist ethos of EUropean borderscapes and the existing racial undertones of contemporary immigration debates.

Where Does EUrope End?

Given the connection between the EU and the EHL, it is perhaps surprising that Europe is directly mapped as the EU only at two sites – the two museums dedicated to the founding fathers of the EU, Robert Schuman, and Alcide De Gasperi. Additionally, in Lieu d'Europe in Strasbourg, France, Europe is depicted through the Council of Europe (CoE), a collection of 47 European states; including EU-members and non-members (see Images 1 and 3). However, beyond sites associated directly with European institutions, there seem to be very few instances of trying to depict Europe as a clearly defined space, although the use of banal EUropean symbols, such as the EU flag and certain logos, is prevalent (partly due to the requirements of the EHL). This most likely stems from the way EHL is structured and that the sites are not designed initially to represent EUrope. They are all existing national heritage sites that have, in retrospect, been selected to symbolize EUrope. Although many sites reported in our broader

Image 3. Clockwise from the top: A puzzle prominently displayed, promoted, and sold at the European District of Strasbourg, France; prominent wall installation that depicts the fall of the Soviet rule by chronologically turning Eastern European states from red to gray located at one of the main halls at the Historic Gdańsk Shipyard, Poland; a map painted on a wall opposite a staircase that connects two exhibition rooms, Archaeological Park Carnuntum, Austria. COPYRIGHT: EUROHERIT.

fieldwork developing some of their activities due to receiving the EHL, none have redesigned their permanent exhibitions to match the specific aims of the EHL. Consequently, EUrope serves as a backdrop or a side narrative of the events and remains a vague background signifier that can easily be manipulated to suit contemporary needs (see also Niklasson 2019, 108).

Perhaps due to the tendency not to explicitly depict Europe, there is much variation in Europe's outer limits. Moreover, most of Europe's depictions highlight the plurality of regions and various scalar dimensions (Lähdesmäki and Mäkinen 2019, 39–42). Often

Europe is represented through a rectangular box of geographical features. As is to be expected, these map squares sometimes contain "European" land and territories and the seas and neighboring regions surrounding it. The divide between what is considered as "Europe" and what is beyond it is left either unmarked or more often marked through some kind of coloring. On occasions, these rectangular boxes section off parts of EU member states: most often the northern parts of the Nordic states (Image 3). The outermost regions of the EU (OMR) and overseas countries and territories (OCT) are included primarily only in maps using the global scale, although no map explicitly acknowledges their status as part of the legal reality of the EU. This is not merely a matter of geographical location, as the OMRs closest to mainland Europe are also mainly absent: the Azores are included in one map, whereas the Canary Islands and Madeira can be found in two maps. Greenland is included in one map, making it the only OCT to be included in a map without a global scale. The tendency towards exclusion also pertains to Iceland – a state that although culturally and politically often conceived as part of Europe is not a member of the EU.

Interestingly, although these visual representations of Europe include many breaks, discontinuities, and exclusions (see, e.g. East–West divisions, Image 3), an aspect of continuity and shared space is also narrated. As most maps include the neighboring countries, they position Europe as a space that expands beyond the EU. In addition to countries like Switzerland and Norway, this continuity includes Western Russia and Turkey. In comparison, it is, for example, more likely that the northern parts of Nordic countries are cut out. This inclusion of Russia and Turkey points to geographical proximity and historical and cultural connections between these regions. It implies that imagining Europe is nearly impossible without referring to its long historical relationship with its two key neighbors, Western Russia and Turkey.

This visual continuity is actively broken when the visual discourse is compared to narrative discourses. The two World Wars and the Holocaust are the crucial anchor point for different EU remembrance activities (e.g. Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, 237), and they hold a prominent position in the EHL. With the Eastern enlargement of the EU, the emphasis on Holocaust remembrance has been complemented by attempts to engage with the trauma caused in Eastern Europe during the Soviet era. In this narrative, the end of the Cold war and Eastern Europe's re-entry to EUrope serve as a crucial turning point. The role that Russia/Soviet Union holds in this narrative is almost by default that of the enemy: it resides at sites that on a symbolic level either narrate the hostility and brutality of the Soviet rule or explicitly narrate its end (e.g. Historic Gdańsk Shipyard Poland; Pan-European Picnic Memorial Park, Hungary; Sighet Memorial, Romania).

In terms of Turkey, the inclusion is more fractured, and this liminal position also repeats in the visual discourse: one map in our data has explicitly cut Turkey out in a way that makes the map geographically incorrect (see Solidarity Center in Image 3). Moreover, based on the panel reports, all applications that have debated connections to Turkey/Ottoman Empire as part of their European significance have been rejected. There are minimal grounds for these rejections in the panel reports (e.g. EC 2015, 2017). However, similar rejections can also be found concerning sites that highlight cultural connections towards Northern Africa in their applications (e.g. EC 2015). Although

we do not know the panel's full arguments and therefore we can only hypothesize, these rejections hint towards hesitance concerning the role of Islam in EUropean heritage.

When we switch our focus to the southern border of Europe, there is an even more prominent break both in terms of narrative and visual discourse. Africa is repeatedly cut out of many mappings of Europe, even when this makes the maps geographically incorrect (Image 3, see also Alcide de Gasperi's House Museum in Image 1). Although it could be argued that Africa has been left out for visual reasons or that the inclusion of Africa on maps designed to depict, for example, the fall of the Iron curtain is a trivial concern, these kinds of omissions have great influence over the visual imaginaries of EUropean space, EUropean people and their closest "neighbors." The distancing of Africa contributes to the depiction of the Mediterranean, once known as Mare Nostrum,[4] as a powerful political and cultural border zone (see also De Cesari 2019). Although in geopolitical terms, Africa has been of vital interest for EUrope both before, during, and after the colonial period (e.g. Hansen and Jonsson 2015), this tendency to dismiss Africa as less important in the global Eurocentric hierarchy of regions (see also Passerini 2012) shows the pervasiveness of colonial attitudes in contemporary EUropean discourses.

Moreover, these dismissive visual discourses contrast with the symbolic role given to both the Greek and Roman empires (the Heart of Ancient Athens and Carnuntum) and, by extension, to the Mediterranean in the EHL. The only maps in our data that highlight the long history of deep cultural entanglements across the Mediterranean (see Chambers 2008) are presented at Carnuntum, where maps of the Roman Empire frequently include both the Middle East and Northern Africa (Image 3). In addition to maps found at Carnuntum, there is only one other map in our data show Europe together with the northern shore of Africa (in Hambach Castle). Strikingly, all other maps either use the global scale or cut off at the Mediterranean. However, it is important to note that the Sagres Promontory's permanent exhibition was closed due to renovation during our fieldwork. Additionally, several EHL sites located in Southern Europe are likely to have mappings that contradict our data. Therefore, it is very likely that the overall situation is not as drastic as our data indicate.

Visualizing (Post)Colonial EUropean Borders

Overall, discussions over colonialism are still mostly absent from the EHL (see also Lähdesmäki et al. 2020), and there is minimal visualization of EUrope in our data that would engage the imperial history of Europe. However, one could argue that it is precisely their absence, the encompassing silence, and the act of forgetting that makes the omission of colonial history such a powerful bordering tool (see De Cesari 2019). By erasing histories, these silences also effectively erase people from the realm of EUropean belonging.

One of the only examples from our data is the "Beyond the Borders – 200 Years of Geopolitics in Europe" section of the permanent exhibition at the De Gasperi House Museum, Italy. The exhibition introduces global elements to its "European geopolitics," especially in two instances. First, it depicts the truly global nature of the two World Wars, including all European colonies in mapping the war effort's alliances. Second, it uses the global scale to map European colonialism and the decolonization process (see Image 4). The maps include the European colonies (United Kingdom, France, Spain, Portugal,

Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, and Germany) and departing from typical representations of colonialism include Russia/USSR, the Ottoman Empire/Turkey, Japan, and United States of America (which notably is already positioned as an empire in its own right rather than a European colony). Moreover, due to leaving out over three centuries of earlier colonial geopolitics, the timeframe used in the exhibition (1822–2008) somewhat erroneously represents Southern America as a region that has always remained free from European geopolitics.

The maps use color to distinguish regions belonging to each empire. The first map portrays a seemingly white map of the world. Successive maps show the division of – primarily – Africa and Asia into multi-colored blocks and then return them once so colorful map of the colonial world to its original empty white condition, implying a definite end of colonialism and erasure of its effects. In the final map from 2008, European imperial politics are visually reversed by pulling European empires into their national spheres. As opposed to the implied definite end of EUropean colonialism, due to their geographical size, the United States and Russia continue to be inadvertently represented as vast empires even in the last map. This visual illusion distances EUrope from being considered an imperial power that should be reprimanded for its actions, thereby legitimating widespread unwillingness to debate the after-effects of colonialism through EU policies.

A similar dismissal of colonial effects can also be identified in the ways mobility and migration are visualized and narrated in the EHL. Emphasis on borders has been buried in the official EU discourse under the rhetoric of freedom of movement. The notion of free mobility is an essential aspect of the story the EHL wants to communicate. As we have argued in our earlier work, free movement and borderlessness function both as a

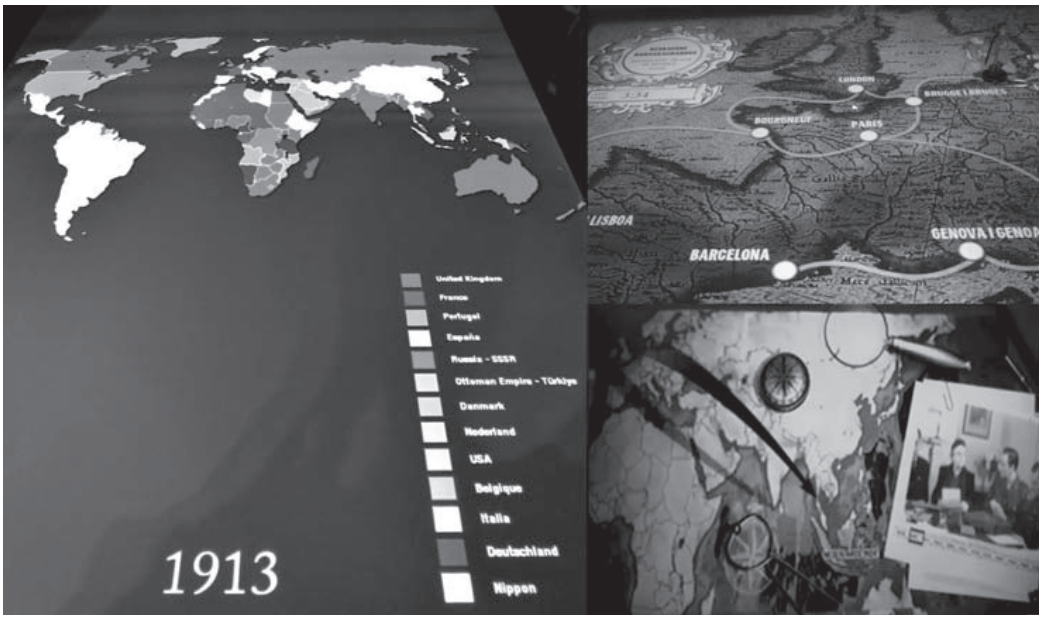

Image 4. Clockwise from the top: A still from a small interactive section of the permanent exhibition in the Alcide De Gasperi's House Museum, Italy; a large and prominently located interactive game on the Hansa traders at the bottom floor of the Great Guild Hall, Estonia; a still image from a video situated in a section on the Moluccan community's life at Camp Westerbork, the Netherlands. COPYRIGHT: EUROHERIT.

contemporary practice and future ideal in the discourses promoted by the EHL (Lähdesmäki et al. 2020, 102–103*)*. Similarly, lack of cross-border mobility is seen as a risk or a threat to the future of EUrope (ibid.). This normative position of open borders is further emphasized by the inclusion of symbolic sites like the city of Schengen, the symbol of border-free Europe, as one of the EHL sites.

Interestingly some exhibitions also allow the visitors to try crossing (historical) European borders. For example, the virtual game in the Great Guild Hall enables the visitor to step into the Hansa traders' shoes and travel across a map of the Baltic Sea and beyond selling and buying goods (however notably not across the Mediterranean, see Image 4). Although hiding some of the privileges that the ability to cross that sea meant, it supports the illusion that moving across Europe is not a new phenomenon but has always been free.

This discourse actively dismisses the reality that borders exist to create divisions, and regardless of whether they are geographical, social, cultural, or imaginary, their primary function is to "include some and exclude many others" (Newman 2011, 15). Consequently, the recited truth of free mobility is often confronted by the inability of those on the outside to enter (Kinnvall 2016, 157), highlighting the border's asymmetry (Rico 2005, 5).

There is an interesting example of the unequal opportunity to cross borders in the permanent exhibition at Camp Westerbork. After the initial period as a transit camp, the area was used for multiple purposes, including a repatriation camp for Dutch colonial officers and soldiers and a settlement called Schattenberg for Moluccan refugees from the former Dutch East Indies.

The exhibition includes a video that focuses on the Second World War and the Dutch war effort in the East Indies. It uses maps as the constant background over which animation, images, and video clips are imposed (see Image 4). These maps are explicitly used to show movement: first, the unrestricted and unquestioned travels of the white Dutch to the colony, followed by the Japanese, Dutch, and American troops' actions during the war. The video culminates in the independence of Indonesia and the end of Dutch colonial rule. Although not depicted through the allegory of maps, Dutch colonial officers' ensuing migration back to the Netherlands is described as a traumatic event: showing burning colonial buildings and villas and women and children being crammed into trucks and airplanes. This narration places the Dutch colonial officers within the refugee narrative, one of the main narrative lines of the Westerbork exhibition. Elizabeth Buettner (2016, 248) has commented on the broader tendency of positioning Dutch repatriates as the victims of decolonization and the effects it has had on the racialization, discrimination, and even segregation of later colonial migrants. This victimization of the Dutch repatriates is contrasted by utter silence over the travel of the Moluccans, who were forced to leave Indonesia due to their role as Dutch collaborators during colonial rule. Only the white Dutch are represented as actors capable of crossing borders. The exhibition merely exhibits the Moluccans as living in the former campgrounds segregated from mainstream Dutch society.

Initially, one reason for the isolation of the Moluccans was that their presence in the Netherlands was not thought to be permanent. Rather their arrival to the Netherlands was seen as a temporary fix to a volatile situation in the newly independent Indonesia. Integration of the Moluccans started only in the 1970s, roughly twenty years after they arrived, along with the increase of colonial migrants from other Dutch colonies,

especially Surinam (Buettner 2016, 273). Even after decades of integration policies, the Dutch colonial migrants and their descendants continue to face discrimination, racism, and active silencing of their histories in public remembrance (e.g. Oostindie 2011; Buettner 2016; Wekker 2016).

The way the Moluccans are represented departs from how the wider exhibition repeatedly seeks to frame the Jews, Roma, and Sinti within the Dutch national space – producing an inclusive borderscape around formerly persecuted and racialized minorities. Similar inclusive refugee narratives are also extended towards the contemporary Syrian refugees. Simultaneously, the one refugee group who lived in the camp for twenty years, the refugees of Dutch colonialism, are left out of the main narrative the site wishes to promote. The inclusion of the so-called old minorities (Jews, Roma, and Sinti) in the national frame highlights the continuing importance of the idea of the nation state as a powerful tool of "postcolonial bordering" (Cash and Kinnvall 2017). Despite inclusive tones, postcolonial subjectivities continue to be excluded from the realm of European belonging (e.g. Bhambra 2019) – in effect, although they travel across the border between colony and empire, "the border travels with them" (Niklasson 2019, 119).

Discussion and Conclusions

In this article, I have analyzed the nature of bordescapes constructed in the exhibitions at the selected European Heritage Label (EHL) sites. These EUropean borderscapes have been approached as performative visual imaginaries that sustain, enforce, and contrast contemporary European heritage narratives. Focusing on this discursive and performative aspect of heritage, De Cesari has called talk about European memory and European heritage as "a speech act that […] call[s] into being a bounded entity called 'Europe'" (2017, 30). Albeit still inherently ambiguous and vague, the constant repetition of this act has indeed created an idea of EUrope and a sustained discourse of EUropean heritage and increasingly an impression of a EUropean people.

A central aim has been to determine what is hidden behind the constant repetition of certain visual representations of EUrope. The majority of the maps analyzed treat the national community as the basic norm against which all diversity is measured. By relying on the repetition of national symbols and imagery, the implied belonging that European identity narratives seek to promote is that of the many nationalities of Europe. In addition to this type of daily reinforced banal nationalism (Billig 1995), it is relatively easy to identify a sense of banal Europeanism (Cram 2009) in the data. Although there are very few depictions of Europe as a clearly defined space, our data showed amble use of other EU imagery.

Many scholars have shown how national identity pivots around a sensibility that divides along racialized lines and exacerbates the white normativity of EUropean belonging (Ahmed 2000; Rico 2005; El-Tayeb 2011; Cash and Kinnvall 2017; De Genova 2018; Bhambra 2019). By perceiving EUrope as a collection of its many national communities, the nation state's heavy exclusionary baggage is actively reproduced on the EUropean scale: the exhibitions implicitly enforce an idea of EUrope that Bhambra (2019) would define as "cosmopolitan" EUropean diversity that is composed of the plurality of white national communities. As a result, the Europeanness of many post-migrant communities

continues to be denied based on "an often unspoken, but nonetheless seemingly very precise, racialized understanding of proper Europeanness" (El-Tayeb 2011, xii). Perhaps because of this stubborn denial of the Europeanness of EUrope's postcolonial communities, borders continue to be "the European question" of our time (De Genova 2016) even in the time of the rhetoric of free mobility.

To transform the idea of EUropean heritage towards genuinely inclusive forms, there is a need to avoid perceiving EUropeanness as a cultural category: as an umbrella under which other cultural expressions are assimilated. If such a thing as European culture exists, it exists only in the plurality of contemporary practices. It resides in notions of EUrope that are postnational (Eder 2009), post-Western (Delanty 2017), postcolonial (El-Tayeb 2011; Bhambra 2019), or even post-European (Niklasson 2019). For such a pluralistic understanding, the potential of EUropean heritage actions is not in identity politics – in the appropriation of individual historical traces as markers of EUrope's long-standing cultural presence. The prospect of pluralistic heritage exists in engagement with European history as a tool for learning about the good aspects of European history as well as the difficult ones. It resides in ability to use "heritage for its knowledge potential" (Niklasson 2019, 122).

Acknowledging this potential is equally about the type of sites chosen to represent EUrope and the kind of visual and discursive narratives we tell through them. Many existing EHL sites could already help us imagine a different kind of EUrope: one that would express the multitude of Europes hiding behind its self-constructed recited truths. Europes that are not conditioned by political agendas attempting to fit them under a pre-designed idea of EUrope. This would require significant changes in the ways we perceive heritage, borders, and the role of cultural differences within Europe. However, it is fair to question how our perception of EUropean borderscapes would change if instead of sites like the city of Schengen, the EHL sites focused on mobility would include places like Cova da Moura, the so-called favela of Lisbon, or the Camp de la Lande, better known as the Calais Jungle. Contemporary European diversity, when understood in a more comprehensive manner, is difficult to condense under a simplified representation, such as a map. Attempting to do so result in a similar epistemic and cultural violence that the construction of national cultures caused in the past. This baggage reproduced in language. It's continuing effects have been revealed through conceptual developments such as the divide between cosmopolitan, white Europe of national cultures and free mobilities and the threat that non-white multicultural mobilities manifest to this ideal (Bhambra 2019). I believe the cultural baggage of this violence is also actualized in the normative position of assimilation – the desire to reduce and govern multicultural difference in the name of cosmopolitan (or national) ideals. The drive towards assimilation and aspiration to sameness are likely also some of the reasons behind visual representations that attempt to hide historical mobilities directed towards Europe. However, Europe has never been reducible to its national cultures. It has always been a home to transnational heritages that escape these neat categorization such as those of the Roma, the Sami, or the ones Pitts (2020) calls "Afropean" (see also Otele 2020).

Visualizing these communities existence in Europe requires breaking existing normative representations designed to hide their existence in and arrival to Europe. It requires much more than changing our maps. It requires sustained efforts to look beyond the recited truths of EUrope and a systematic re-thinking of what kind of histories we

collectively imbue with cultural significance, affects and empathy: meaning what elements of our past we, the citizens of Europe, collectively choose to treat as our shared heritage. As the cases discussed in this article show, the seeds for radically different stories of Europe already exist, for example, the stories Moluccan refugees confined into Holocaust transit camps. More such stories can be integrated into our heritage through actions like the EHL. However, it requires a switch from seeing heritage as identity politics towards seeing it as a means for learning from our past and as means to build alternative solidarities to replace those based on nationality, ethnicity or race.

Notes

1. I use the concept EUrope to distinguish between more general understandings of Europe and an idea of Europe conditioned by the EU. For earlier use of EUrope, see De Cesari (2017); Lähdesmäki et al. (2020).
2. The EHL website: https://ec.europa.eu/culture/cultural-heritage/initiatives-and-success-stories/european-heritage-label-sites, visited 22.3.2021.
3. Camp Westerbork website, https://www.kampwesterbork.nl/en/museum/camp-grounds/102000-stones/index.html#/index, visited 6.3.2019.
4. "Our sea" in Latin.

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ORCID

Johanna Turunen http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6188-4282

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III

DECOLONISING EUROPEAN MINDS THROUGH HERITAGE

by

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Decolonising European Minds through Heritage

By analysing three museums exhibitions, this article investigates how the history of European colonialism is approached in an attempt to identify potential for decolonising European minds. The case studies consist of a temporary exhibition (2016-2017) concerning German colonialism at the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin; the permanent exhibition of the House of European History in Brussels and the permanent exhibition of the Sagres Promontory (Portugal), a heritage site related to the conquest of the Americas. The analysis will focus on three aspects: 1) acknowledgement of connections between colonial histories and their contemporary influences in and for Europe; 2) the role of historical consciousness when dealing with the history of colonialism; and 3) re-narrations of colonial history through enabling new voices. Ultimately this approach involves 'past presencing' (Macdonald 2013), in bringing the many connections of Europe's colonial past and postcolonial present together. It is argued, that although museums are increasingly engaging with decolonisation, there exists a need to better include decolonisation of European minds in these processes. Heritage as a future oriented project and a tool to manage memory, can be used to support historical consciousness and imagine a just future.

Keywords: Europe; decolonisation; heritage; meaning making, museums

Introduction

In a recent opinion piece Jilani (2018) comments how decolonisation of museums is often perceived as 'something to be done by, about and for people of colour'. This notion has resulted in a rather one-sided understanding where decolonisation is primarily approached as a euphemism for diversification of representation. Instead, as Jilani continues, decolonisation should be 'about how museums can facilitate historical accuracy by engaging their majority-white audiences with how cultures, societies and national identities today remain deeply shaped by the era of colonialism' (Jilani, 2018). What Jilani ultimately calls for is a change of perception; a switch from seeing decolonisation primarily as a process directed towards the 'other', towards seeing the decolonisation of European museums as a process aimed at rethinking how colonialism continues to influence the subjectivities of 'white' Europeans and through them our ideas about European heritage. In line with Jilani's argument, this article is driven by the need to move away from an idea of one-way influences and the idea of Europe influencing the rest of the world towards an idea of the colonial project altering Europe (see also Lüthi et. al. 2016). Overcoming these influences requires decolonising European minds (cf. wa Thiong'o 1989, Andersen 2019), which for 'white' Europeans, is fundamentally a process of unlearning (see also Tlostanova and Mignolo 2012; de Sousa Santos 2017) and of undoing the structures of colonial knowledge production. Central to this aim is the concept of 'coloniality' that stems from Latin America (e.g. Dussel 2000; Maldonado-Torres 2007; Mignolo and Escobar 2010; Shepherd 2019). Coloniality thinkers focus on the entangled nature of colonialism and modernity – connecting coloniality to both cultural, economic and political processes entangled in modernity, but more importantly to central questions over the need to decolonise knowledge production and consciousness.

By analysing three museums exhibitions, this article investigates how they approach the history of colonialism in their exhibitions in an attempt to identify potential for decolonising European minds. By exploring colonialism especially through the ways it is inscribed into European heritage, this article engages with the connection between the history of colonialism and its importance for contemporary Europe. The analysis will focus on three aspects: 1) acknowledgement of connections between colonial histories and their contemporary influences in and for Europe; 2) the role of historical consciousness when dealing with the history of colonialism; and 3) re-narrations of colonial history through enabling new voices. Ultimately this approach involves 'past presencing' (Macdonald 2012, 2013), in bringing the many connections of Europe's colonial past and postcolonial present together. As Macdonald notes, '[p]ast presencing is concerned with the ways in which people variously draw on, experience, reconstruct and perform the past in their ongoing lives' (2012, 234). This process engages both modes of remembering, which Macdonald has also referred to as forms of historical consciousness, and the attempt to uncover alternative or silenced histories and narratives – both of which are also key areas of decoloniality theorising (e.g. de Sousa Santos et.al. 2007; Suarez-Krabbe 2014; Maldonado-Torres 2017).

Within this article, I depart from Macdonald slightly and approach especially the performative aspect of how institutions engage in past presencing. I focus on how they create spaces where visitors can form connections between the colonial pasts and the contemporary realities in which they live in. As such, the focus is on museums as 'change agents' (van Huis, 2019) or as actors enabling new forms of past presencing to emerge. Central to this approach is the understanding of heritage as inherently dissonant (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Kisić 2017) and acknowledging that there are times when these dissonances are more visible and openly contested (van Huis forthcoming). With the growing diversity of European citizenry, we are in an era that makes the dissonances over the continent's colonial legacies more

prominent – especially in Western Europe. Accordingly, many contemporary museums have acknowledged the need to change their activities and practices when engaging with colonial legacies of museums as institutions as well as those embedded in their collections and the ways to narrate them (e.g. Simpson 2001; Thomas 2009; Sauvage 2010; Dixon 2012; Deliss 2015; van Huis 2019). Furthermore, recent research has started to position both museums and their visitors as active participants in public debates (e.g. Simon 2010; Kros 2014), shifting the idea of museums from places of collecting and learning towards places of dialogue, activism and even criticism (Murawska-Muthesius and Piotrowski 2016).

Data and Methods

There are many exemplary comparative analyses done between museums engaging with different colonial empires (e.g. Dixon 2016) or between museums attempting to engage colonialism from a European or a transnational viewpoint (e.g. De Cesari 2017). I want to depart from these analyses and focus on sites that take different positions in the national-European scale. The three cases under analysis are the German Colonialism: fragments, past and present, a temporary exhibition in 2016–2017 at the Deutsches Historisches Museum (DHM) in Berlin; the permanent exhibition at the House of European History (HEH) at Brussels; and the soon to be opened general exhibition at the Sagres Promontory (SP), a national heritage site related to the onset of the Portuguese Colonial Empire. The sites comprise of one national site (DHM), one 'European' site (HEH) and one that is a mixture of the two, having been integrated into a national as well as a European heritage initiative (SP). Moreover, the choice of the sites is designed to reflect the re-focusing attempts of the decolonial school by broadening the timeframe to range from 1492 to contemporary realities. All three sites are located in former colonial empires in Western Europe. Although all three engage with both

imperialism and colonialism in the exhibitions, none of the sites can be considered explicitly as 'museums exhibiting Empire' (c.f. Aldrich 2009). Focusing on sites that engage with European colonialism as only one topic among many other aspects of European heritage is a conscious choice, as I am interested in how re-narrations and critiques of colonialism function when they are entwined with ideas of national and European heritage.

The data from the first two sites consists of ethnographic observations and documentation of the above mentioned exhibitions and their audio guides, as well as a collection of different written materials (exhibition catalogues, background papers, websites, brochures etc.) that were collected during and after the visit. Additionally short interviews with staff at the sites were conducted during the data collection. The data from SP was collected as part of a broader ethnographic fieldwork conducted by the EUROHERIT research project[1]. Due to an ongoing renovation of the exhibition the analysis relies on extensive structured interviews with the curatorial staff at the site as well as the conceptual plans of the exhibition that is due to be opened towards the end of 2018. All data was collected during brief site visits. The DHM was visited between 11 and 12 May 2017, the HEH between 31 January and 2 February 2018 and SP between 20 and 27 February 2018. All interviews were conducted in English by the author and later transcribed in English by the EUROHERIT research staff.

Methodologically the analysis comprises of thematic close reading of exhibitions and interviews, where special attention is posited on the intersection between the material remains of colonialism and the kinds of discursive approaches that are being used to narrate them. In the analysis, heritage is perceived as consisting both of its material aspects (e.g. heritage as buildings, objects and artefacts) and the meanings associated with it in narrative meaning making processes. Whereas approaches linked to material colonial heritage or 'imperial debris'

[1] Legitimation of European Cultural Heritage and the Dynamics of Identity Politics in the EU, more information at www.jyu.fi/euroherit.

(Stoler 2008) enable the analysis of continuities of coloniality, i.e. the extent that its physical remains still exist around us. This discursive approach to decolonisation as a process of re-narration and unlearning, posits more emphasis on contemporary knowledge production around colonial heritage. In this framework, decolonisation of heritage could be perceived as a process that attempts to challenge coloniality of heritage through the creation of new meanings. Although not aimed at solving questions around the origins of the material objects nor the power dynamics involved in either their collections or their contemporary curation, this approach questions what that heritage can do now, by seeking to transform and open up the stories being told by those objects.

The article will start with a discussion on decolonising heritage from a theoretical angle. It will then introduce the three cases and their exhibitions in more detail, which is followed by the analysis of the three key aspects – presencing colonial pasts, creation of historical consciousness and attempt to challenge established meanings. The article concludes with final discussion and some final remarks.

From Avoidance to Awareness – Bridging Critical Heritage Studies and Coloniality

Building on the ideas of Ernest Renan (1882), Delanty (2017, 3) proposes 'the nation is based on forgetting of history, especially where the nation was born out of violence'. When we examine contemporary European nation states and the European Union as a collective agent of those states, it is clear they have built their historical narratives through certain exclusions. Overcoming these omissions is not merely a question of knowledge, for the history of European colonialism is not unknown per se. Nevertheless, there is an avoidance or layer of silence over not making all its continuing legacies fully visible among the white majority of Europeans (a position I myself also identify with). This avoidance has been discussed through concepts of

amnesia (e.g. Passerini 2003), white ignorance (e.g. Mills 2007) or even white innocence (e.g. Wekker 2016). However, it could also be conceived as repression – as active rejection of dealing with especially the traumatic aspects of colonial heritage (Kølvraa 2019).

Certain amount of repression or silence is not uncommon when compiling historical narratives. Trouillot (2015, 152-3) writes 'narratives are made of silences, not all of which are deliberate or even perceptible as such within the time of their production'. Moreover, as Mason and Sayner (2018) point out in their analysis of the multiple and complex reasons behind museal silence, reticence does not always imply forgetting. Reticence has not erased colonialism from the collective European memory, but this partial or 'covert silence' (Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010) influences extensively how colonialism has been narrated and remembered in Europe. As Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger explain, covert silences 'are not about the complete absence of talk, ritual or practice. Rather, they are about the absence of content' (Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010, 1104). Both the concept of covert silence and repression enable the analysis of the grey areas between presence and absence of remembrance. Kølvraa (2019) explains how 'strict divisions between absence and presence, collective and individual, might cause us to overlook how certain heritages can be a part of social life even if they are not clearly or fully articulated; even if they are reduced to a haunting disturbance or potentiality at the edges of social practice' (Kølvraa 2019). In this article, I approach covert museal silences as forms of wider processes of repression of colonial heritages and memories. Overcoming these silences requires epistemological and ontological work, which is why we must approach heritage beyond its material aspects. Through a deeper and more honest engagement with colonial history, we must challenge narratives of European history, but also redefine what it means to be European in contemporary Europe. This must entail helping Europe's post-immigrant populations to have "the European history they deserve as Europeans" (Buettner 2018, 145, emphasis in original).

A central aspect in promoting historical consciousness is connected to processes of knowledge production around the colonial past. As mentioned earlier, Jilani (2018) comments on the need for 'historical accuracy', but when calling for accuracy we have to be careful not to confuse heritage with history. Whereas history involves getting a full picture of the past, heritage is always about choices and, as a result, heritage can at times be 'cut-adrift from the anchoring historical narratives that rightly or wrongly helped shape cultural memory' (Chalcraft and Delanty 2015). Perceiving heritage as emerging from the act of labelling and categorisation emphasises meaning making processes around heritage and highlights the open-endedness of heritage as well as its potential for change (Lähdesmäki 2017). Critical heritage studies have enabled a shift towards these discursive and narrative meaning making processes around heritage (e.g. Smith 2006, Macdonald 2013, Lähdesmäki 2016), emphasising the importance of the contemporary moment in shaping our views of the past (e.g. Harrison 2013). This presentist approach can also enable decolonising European minds (cf. wa Thiong'o 1989). For wa Thiong'o the need to decolonise minds was aimed at moving beyond the colonial mind set instilled on the colonised and to reinvigorate African languages, cultures and science. In the European context, we must approach decolonisation of the minds as a process of unlearning the racial and cultural hierarchies imbedded in the ways many Europeans still (unconsciously) view the world. It is unlearning with a clear aim. As Tlostanova and Mignolo (2012, 3) frame it 'it is time to start learning to unlearn […] in order to relearn'. This unlearning is the key to relearning more inclusive and comprehensive ways to deal with Europe's colonial histories.

Museums are central actors in creating these new meanings for existing heritage. Jones (1992, 911) argues '[m]useums necessarily decontextualize and then recontextualize their contents, thereby radically altering the matrices through which meaning may be projected, discerned [and] constructed'. Through this kind of de- and re-contextualisations, colonial ethnographic collections can also be perceived as being filled with transformative potential,

although their histories make these changes difficult and at times uneasy. Deliss (2015, 29) states that to 'remediate the ethnographic collection is to engage with a mix of discomfort, doubt and melancholia […] transforming these objects into a contemporary environment and thereby building additional interpretations onto their existing set of references'. As such, colonial collection and the heritage associated to them, is not only open to change, but according to Harrison (2013, 198) it 'requires regular revision and review to see if it continues to meet the needs of contemporary society'.

As Deliss notes, we must attempt to present historical elements with contentious histories, by enabling 'new visibilities and sayable things' (Deliss 2015, 28), which finds echoes in the work of Bhambra, who proposes that postcolonial research 'works "backwards", in terms of reconstructing historical representation as well as "forwards" to the creation of future stories' (Bhambra 2009, 70). Emphasis on the future is important as it enables change. Quijano (2000, 547) contends future is 'the only territory of time where the changes can occur'. Accordingly, decoloniality should not be viewed as a process seeking to return to a pre-colonial status quo. The influences of colonialism are part of contemporary realities and as Mignolo states 'future is bound to the chains of the past' (2011, 31). Consequently, decoloniality should be directed towards change, freedom and future. However, in the process of creating something new, the past is not only the source of submission. The core of the decolonial debate is built on the acknowledgement of indigenous knowledges, epistemologies and ontologies. In this paradigm, the past functions as a source to recover currently marginalised and repressed knowledges that can be used to challenge current paradigms of Western knowledge and to imagine different decolonial futures (see also de Sousa Santos et.al. 2007; Mignolo 2011).

Creating a new postcolonial Europe on a more decolonial foundation will require a lot of memory work. This implies acknowledging the historical connections between colonialism and multicultural constitution of European societies (e.g. Ahmed 2000; El-Tayeb 2011;

Buettner 2016; Bhambra and Narayan 2017), as well as making the many entangled histories between Europe and its others more visible (e.g., Hall 1999; Said 2003; Delanty 2017). Rothberg's (2009) conceptualisation of multidirectional memory is an interesting tool for this process. By bringing the memories of decolonisation and Holocaust together, Rothberg is arguing for a conceptualisation of memory that builds links between these two difficult memories. Moving away from the idea of competitive memories, the idea of multidirectionality, as Chalcraft and Delanty (2015, 17) note, can also demonstrate 'the entanglement of different pasts and the hybridity that can emerge from these'. This kind of borrowing, cross-referencing, and negotiation is inherent to all memories, not only the difficult ones. As an overriding approach to understanding cultural cross-referencing, connectivity, transfer and hybridity the idea of entanglements ties closely to the emergence of self-critical historical consciousness and as Delanty (2016, 137), 'draws attention to the legacy of critique in European culture'. Embracing the idea of critical historical consciousness in the context of decolonising European heritage, would entail inclusion of forms of remembrance that would enable approaching colonialism and decolonisation as a history over which Europe holds a certain level of we must start to understand 'postcolonial' as a term that applies just as much to Europe, as it does to its former colonies.

Exhibition Summaries

According to their website the Deutsches Historisches Museum (DHM) views itself as 'a place of active communication and discussion of history' (https://www.dhm.de/, accessed 9/2018). In the permanent exhibition, the history of German colonialism has a rather small role. However, the DHM's temporary exhibition (tDHM) October 2016 to May 2017, 'German Colonialism: fragments, past and present' aims to raise awareness of the German history of

colonialism. The tDHM was mainly built around the museum's own ethnographic collection although some loans from other museums and private collections were used. Most of these objects were collected as part of the colonial system during and after German colonial rule (cf. museums exhibiting empire in Aldrich 2009). The exhibition consists of eight thematic areas[2]. In addition to engaging with the colonial period, the exhibition sought to bring the narrative from the colonial period to our contemporary society, which includes the process of political decolonisation as well as the contemporary post-colonial present. The tDHM was complemented by a series of public lectures and debates, film screenings and an academic conference.

The HEH is a history project designed and institutionalised by an initiative of the European Parliament. The HEH views itself as a place where visitors can 'strengthen [their] knowledge of Europe's common history and shared memories, reflect on the present, and visualize the future' (https://historia-europa.ep.eu/en, accessed 10/2018). The HEH aims to tell a single European story instead of many national ones, and has raised the issues of colonialism, slavery and European expansionism as aspects of this story. As a new museum, opened in May 2017, the HEH had to start its collection from scratch and is still heavily dependent on loans in terms of the artefacts it uses in its exhibitions. The exhibition consists of six thematic areas[3]3. In terms of space or number of objects, references to colonialism play a minor role in the vast museum as they surface explicitly at just three points in the exhibition. However, the entangled

[2] 1) German Colonialism in a Global Context, 2) Colonial Worldviews and Colonial Rule, 3) Negotiations in Colonial Daily Life, 4) Drawing and Transcending Boundaries in the Colonial Context , 5) Colonial Collections, Colonial Gaze, 6) Colonialism Without Colonies (1919-1945), 7) Decolonization and Divided Remembrance and 8) Post-colonial Present?

[3] 1) Shaping Europe, 2) Europe: A Global Power, 3) Europe in Ruins, 4) Rebuilding a Divided Continent 5) Shattering Certainties and 6) Accolades and Criticism.

nature of colonial histories, does play a prominent role for example in the ways First World War is exhibited.

The last of the three, Sagres Promontory (SP) is a national Portuguese heritage site, which also received the European Heritage Label (EHL, an initiative of the European Commission) in 2015, marking its significance at the European level. The SP is best known for its history related to the Infante D. Henrique, (1394-1460), better known in the English speaking world as Henry the Navigator who was instrumental in establishing the Portuguese maritime expeditions and the colonial period that followed. Today SP has become one of the dominant symbols of 'Portuguese discoveries' both in terms of national and international heritage. The exhibition, still under construction, focuses almost solely on visual installations, projections, audios and texts. The plans include only few artefacts, most of which are reproductions. The exhibition is planned to cover SP's history, the life of Henry the Navigator, and the expansion of the Portuguese Colonial Empire (including technological and scientific developments it required) and finally a grand 360 degree installation of the film 'A Viagem' (the Voyage). The exit corridor is lined with large LED screens showing people from former Portuguese colonies talking in the many dialects of Portuguese.

Although my intention is not to go into details on different curatorial voices or the details of the curatorial processes at different sites, some contextualisation is needed. The curatorial team in the SP comprises of a fairly small team and there seems to be a strong emphasis on the institutional voice that dominates over the individual voices of the curators. The exhibitions in both DHM and HEH on the other hand, are a result a vast collaborative processes, which in addition to large curatorial teams included academic advisory boards. The inclusion of many curators is visible throughout the exhibitions as both in DHM and HEH it is possible to identify different tones, although the overall approach is the same throughout the exhibitions. However, it is worth highlighting that the tDHM is the only exhibition out of the

three to use curators from former colonies, although even in this case this addition came rather late in the process of planning the exhibition.

Presencing Europe's Colonial Past

The first step in terms of decolonising colonial heritage in Europe must be aimed at acknowledging its historical relevance and the influences it has had and continues to have on Europe. These lingering influences can be conceptualised as coloniality – a network of meanings and power relations stemming from the colonial structures that continue to influence political, economic and cultural realms (e.g. Quijano 2000; Maldonado-Torres 2007). Coloniality greatly influences processes related to the remembrance of colonialism. The extent to which these lingering effects are acknowledged influence what aspects of colonialism are remembered and how those histories are told (cf. covert silences Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010).

At SP, the link between past and present remains quite abstract. Although the Portuguese Colonial Empire was the longest lasting in Western Europe, the exhibition does not seem to acknowledge that this period affects contemporary Portugal. The space created by the exhibition seems to be reserved for the remembrance of Portuguese colonialism in a rather nostalgic sense. The Colonial Empire is seen as a period of national pride leaving out both the influences it had on people living in the colonies as well as the connections that history has to contemporary Portuguese culture and society. In the interviews conducted at SP, it was stated that the difficult history of colonialism and more precisely of slavery and Portugal's role in the slave trade was 'not exactly hidden, but it was not shown', nor was it an aspect of history that made the Portuguese particularly 'proud'. None-the less the topic of slavery is briefly included in the exhibition plans and the importance of this history is widely acknowledged. The

interviews highlight how history of slavery can provide a key opportunity to learn from past mistakes. However, these past mistakes are not seen as something concerning contemporary Portugal directly, but rather refer to the actions of Portuguese taken in another time and another place – either at sea or in the colonies. This separation of Europe from the colonies was further emphasised by the final installation, which instead of showing the many languages that (colonial) migrants speak in Portugal, shows the many versions of Portuguese spoken around the world in the former Colonial Empire. Thus SP chooses to narrate the continuing linguistic colonialism rather than linguistic and cultural diversity of postcolonial Portugal.

Connecting contemporary realities to Germany's colonial past was, however, one of the starting points of the tDHM exhibition. The opening display stated

> Beyond the temporal and spatial borders of the colonial empire, German colonialism was part of a history of global entanglements that still have an impact today. The role of colonialism, which has been relatively minor in Germany's culture of remembrance up to now is now being critically re-examined (direct quote from tDHM, visited May 2017).

This can be seen in the ways the exhibition sought to encourage visitors to challenge preconceived ideas about colonialism. Furthermore, it is important to note, that of the three exhibitions the tDHM was the only one dedicating explicit space to the contemporary realities of postcolonial Europe. In the exhibition there was a separate section entitled 'Post-colonial present?' and in the tDHM catalogue authored by Gottschalk et.al. (2016), the post-colonial narratives were used as interruptions that use contemporary facts and objects to continuously challenge the historical narrative as it unfolds.

Although not reserving a separate space to debate the postcolonial continuities in Europe explicitly, the HEH does however make this link early in the exhibition. Similar to the tDHM, the HEH does not seek to present ready-made answers. Instead, it seeks to position the visitor as an active agent (see also Kros 2004). The introduction of the guidebook concludes by saying, 'you are invited always to keep a critical eye and to engage in the public conversation

about Europe's past and its implications for the present and the future' (EU 2017, 4). This approach is tested on the first floor, where under the title of 'Memory and European Heritage', the HEH attempts to set the overall tone for the exhibition. The installation is built around a list of fourteen phenomena common throughout Europe, such as democracy, the nation state, philosophy, capitalism and colonialism, etc. A pair of objects – one historical and one contemporary – represents with the present. Each theme starts with a historical artefact, which is contextualised by a short informative historical description. This historical narrative is then followed by a contemporary artefact, photograph or artwork, which is accompanied by a question aimed at challenging the historical narrative presented with the original object.

For example, the section on colonialism seeks to challenge the view that Europeans are the 'bringers of civilisation' by pairing a statue from Benin depicting an armed European sailor and Peter Turnley's 2003 photograph of a military checkpoint in Basra where an armed soldier is standing in front of a young girl. Similarly, the section on slavery raises the question of whether or not slavery has truly been abolished. The exhibition contrasts slave chains with a Banksy's mural 'Slave Labour' (2012), which depicts a young child kneeling over a sewing machine making a string of flags of the United Kingdom. By using a question format, the exhibition forces the visitor to engage with the contrast that displayed instead of just receiving a readymade answer. At the same time, it also shows how none of the fourteen themes are purely historical, but are still pertinent to European societies. Ultimately, this part of the exhibition raises the question of 'which part of this European heritage should we preserve; what do we want to change; what should we contest?' (EU 2017, 15), and highlights how heritage engages with the present and the future rather than being merely a representation of the past. Although, the HEH exhibition returns to these connections and critical tones in the following floor when debating the period between 1789-1914 (see later) and to a lesser degree in the section on the Frist World War, to a large extend these debates are not engaged once the

exhibition moves beyond this time frame (see also Buettner 2018). The only direct reference to colonialism later is a short video on decolonisation in Africa included in the section on the Cold War.

Creating Historical Consciousness

Ahonen (2005) explains how historical consciousness implies a certain level of personal engagement with the past as well as an ability to be critical towards the past in question (see also Delanty 2016). As Maldonado-Torres (2017, 434) argues in his analysis of Fanon's Black skin, white masks (2008), decolonisation as a process of overcoming epistemic and ontological colonisation implies a change in language but also a change in consciousness. This change entails a challenge to the 'collective unconscious' which Fanon (2008, 165) describes as 'the repository of prejudices, myths, collective attitudes of a particular group'. From this perspective, the need for historical consciousness can

therefore be seen as consisting both of increasing knowledge and of adopting new attitudes.

The DHM acknowledges the coloniality of its collections and aims to engage with it directly. As Förster (2016, 158) notes, society should not only seek to 'critically assess the number of objects and circumstances of their acquisition, but also the knowledge and classification systems established in the museum and popularized by them'. This emphasis on the kind of knowledge that has been produced based on the objects takes us to the heart of the issues of addressing the continuing influences of colonialism on our contemporary perceptions of the world. As Förster continues 'these divisions still influence our mode of perception today and call for a decolonisation of ideas and concepts' (Förster 2016, 158), thus shifting our focus away from the debates on material objects to the meanings they embody and the potential for alternative knowledges that they might enable.

This attempt to challenge accepted knowledges is also reflected in the way the tDHM chose to exhibit plaster masks used as part of racial science experiments. The curatorial staff deliberately hid the plaster masks, choosing to refer to the immorality of displaying overtly racist material. Instead of the actual masks, the exhibition showed a wooden box that was used to transport one of the moulds from the Pacific to Germany and used this container as the bearer of the wider story implied by the masks. The accompanying text started by describing the research conducted by Otto Finsch (the maker of the moulds), including direct references to 'tortuous procedures the models were subjected to' (Gottschalk et.al. 2016, 206). The text takes a turn when it used Finsch's own findings and words to show how the racial categories were, in addition to being morally suspect, scientifically unsound. After explicitly condemning racial science, of which the casts are a physical remainder, the section concluded by placing the artefact on display in relation to the racist colonial network within which it was initially created.

> The plaster mould shown here makes us aware of the scientific practices in the colonial context without exposing again the person depicted in the image. The mould is imbued with the violence involved in making pieces of anthropological evidence. As a numbered series, the moulds document the dehumanized cataloguing process. (Gottschalk et.al. 2016, 207)

Whereas the tDHM attempted to break the established racist colonial narrative by practicing Jilani's 'historical accuracy', the HEH made the choice to exhibit the masks in the 'Notions of Progress and Superiority' section alongside a variety of other colonial objects. In addition to giving the technical data on the artefacts, the Guidebook states

> European museums, exhibitions and entertainments displayed colonial objects and sometimes even non-European people in 'living zoos'. Non-Europeans became the 'other', presented as different from perceived European civilization and contrasted with how European saw themselves (EU, 2017).

The narrative promoted by the HEH website gives a slightly more nuanced approach to these casts, linking more directly to racial science and condemning their racist nature. Although acknowledging their racist nature, the curatorial staff did not however see the exhibition of these objects as an ethical problem. Moreover, the choice of words 'non-European became the "other"' suggests avoidance of pointing out the agency that Europeans had in this process of 'becoming'. Instead of prompting the visitor to question racialised images and the science used to legitimate them and the broader colonial system, the exhibition reproduces them and ends up positioning the masks in a very problematic manner as exotic props in the narrative of European superiority.

In essence, these masks and the crates function as 'physical and embodied dimensions of the past' (Macdonald 2012, 240). They show how past presencing and historical consciousness are not only discursive or linguistic phenomena, but involves physical objects that have both with material and discursive afterlives. The case of the plaster masks seems to suggest various understandings over how to critically engage these afterlives. There is a difference between critique for the sake of being critical and that for creating understanding. In the tDHM critique was based more on giving a nuanced picture of the phenomenon, including taking some responsibility over that history and seeking alternative objects through which to tell the story. However, in the HEH although being highly critical, seems to (perhaps unintentionally) rely on reproducing contentious content as an attempt to use their shock value to provoke a reaction in the visitor without any explicit discussion on issues of responsibility or guilt.

Whereas both the tDHM and the HEH seek to use the platform they have created to point to the critical aspects, the case at the SP is more muddled. Although the interviews with the staff point towards a more nuanced and even critical approach to colonialism, the plans for the exhibition nevertheless highlight how the pressures to maintain a traditional, hegemonic

way to narrate (inter)national history can result in a hesitance in changing the established narrative. Although taking some crucial (but small) steps in opening up the debate on the role of the Portuguese in the slave trade, the approach of the new exhibition to colonialism is sporadic, superficial and rather uncritical. The discourses of 'discoveries', 'globalisation' and 'trade' dominate the discussions over concepts like 'conquest', 'rule' and 'colonialism', making the narrative rather Eurocentric.

Remembering colonialism through the lens of national pride has increasingly been challenged (e.g. Bragard and Planche 2009; Macdonald 2009), but the long tradition that prioritises a narrative of colonialism from the viewpoint of the colonisers is still explicitly and implicitly embedded in the ways colonialism has been narrated as part of European heritage in the SP (see also Turunen 2019). According to the SP interviews, this tradition stems from the prominent role the site historically has had, for example during the Salazar dictatorship (1932–1968) when Portuguese colonialism was tied to the rhetoric of 'discoveries' and the Fortress of Sagres was used prominently in building the national identity. As stated in the interviews: 'This is a really important icon for Portugal. […] Everybody knows, what is Fortaleza Sagres, everybody. Every single Portuguese knows what it is and what it meant'. This prominent position in constructing national heritage and the decades if not centuries of the hegemony of the narrative of 'Portuguese discoveries' make critical debates over colonialism extremely tense in the case of SP, although at the same time also long overdue.

Enabling New Voices

Inclusion of new voices or critical viewpoints into contemporary museums is not exactly a new phenomenon, rather there are many exemplary museums who have engaged in decolonisation in the past decades (e.g. Sauvage 2010; Kross 2014; van Huis 2019). In the

context of the three museums under study, the ability to enable new voices can be seen in two ways. First, as enabling stories to emerge through re-narrating existing heritage through novel meanings. Secondly, through the concrete act of allowing unheard voices to enter the museum space. I will start with the former. Perhaps due to the very different position that the DHM has as a result of its extensive colonial collection, a central goal in the tDHM exhibition was to challenge the narratives that these artefacts were traditionally used to portray. The tDHM exhibition sought to explicitly highlight the 'categories and perceptions behind such [colonial] collections, uncovering fault lines and different histories' (direct quote from tDHM, visited May 2018). As an attempt to break the traditional colonial gaze, the tDHM exhibition opened with the 'colon figures', a set of wooden statues depicting German colonial officers made by their colonial subjects. The statues were accompanied by an explanation of how the European mind-set and style of categorisation influences museum exhibitions on colonialism. The 'colon figures' are posited as symbols reminding us for the need to look anew from a different perspective. This change of perspective is repeated at several instances in the exhibition – constantly reminding the visitor to challenge preconceived knowledge about colonial history.

The ability to transform the narrative by adding new layers of meaning to the artefacts (e.g. Jones 1992; McLeod 2009) is also actively understood by the curators at the HEH. According to Mork (2018, 133), who is the head curator of the HEH, '[t]he object is an actor: a good actor can play ten different roles'. She explains the 'interpretation of each object has to be created anew in the concrete framework of each new presentation' (Mork 2018, 133). The gradual accumulation of knowledge and its de- and re-contextualisation enables new interpretations. This ability is not however automatic and there are limitations to the extent that new meanings can be created.

Although neither the HEH, nor the SP necessarily engage in this re-narration to the same extent as the DHM, they both provide a prominent platform for it. Michael Rothberg

(2009), when defining his idea of multidirectional memory, talks on the ability of memories to create space for other forms of remembrance. He sees memory as 'subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing, as productive and not privative' (Rothberg 2009, 3). Taking Rothberg's idea into the museum environment and building on Ranciére's (2009) notion of the 'emancipated spectator', Kros (2014) emphasises the visitors' capabilities to create counter narratives. This approach sees museums as public spaces that expand beyond their walls and thus attempts to transform museum spaces into places that enable other forms of remembrance and perhaps also other sayable things.

Both the DHM and HEH explicitly claim being spaces of dialogue, but in SP the ongoing renovation was clearly influencing the abilities for dialogue that were present. However, the cultural program (Dinamização E Valorização Dos Monumentos, DiVaM) at Sagres offers an opportunity for dialogue far beyond the space of the exhibition or the fortress. Through an annual call, the cultural programs lends the site as a platform for local cultural associations to organise events. This enables them to take the debates further than the site can in their official narrative. The theme for 2018 was 'Heritage, what future?' and for 2017 was 'Places of Globalisation'. Although the current analysis did not cover the details of SP's cultural program, the importance of its ability to bring new voices to heritage sites should not be undermined. The cultural program offers an institutional frame for bringing new voices into debates about heritage and culture and this institutional connection is crucial as it gives these voices greater legitimacy.

New voices can also be brought into museums without a direct institutional link. One practical example of constructing new sayable things, took place in February 2018 when a group participating in Remembering 1918 -programme[4] was asked to visit the HEH and after

[4] 'Remembering 1918 – European Dreams of Modernity' was a project of the Brussels-based Bozar Centre for Fine Arts, which is organised in partnership with European cultural and academic institutes. The aim of the project was to cast a critical and unbiased eye on the events of 1918 and their impact on the next one hundred years. The

an introductory tour of the museums the group members were asked to plan their own individual tours. Pirita Näkkäläjärvi, a Sámi journalist and scholar participating in the tour, took the opportunity and used different parts of the exhibition to talk about the history, culture and struggles of the Sámi people. It was not a simple task as she quickly noted 'there's nothing here on the Sámi people' (Näkkäläjärvi 2018). However, many sections of the exhibition enabled her to talk about Sámi culture, its symbols, the colonisation of their lands and, in many regards unmet, the rights that international agreements have granted them. This shows how debates over European colonialism should also engage with the many forms of internal colonisation taking place within Europe. In addition to the Sámi question, these debates are relevant for understanding for example the political and cultural dynamics of Eastern Europe (e.g. Mälksoo 2009; Mayblin 2016; Tlostanova 2018; Głowacka-Grajper 2019). This was a very flawed and partial act of inclusion, but it serves to show the power objects have in enabling other stories to be told and perhaps other histories to be remembered. However, inclusion of marginal voices of European minorities, such as the Sámi, in the actual exhibition should be the primary aim. The current approach of both HEH and SP posits the responsibility of re-narration on others, whereas the institutions should work towards processes where the ones in marginal positions are not required to demand their rights, but that the institutions would engage in guaranteeing minorities the right to have a voice.

Indeed, one of the only points in the three exhibitions where voice is given to Europeans of colour in concrete terms is an installation in the DHM which follows the life of four generations of the Diek-Mpessa-Adomako-Reiprich family and their struggles to build a life in Germany, while being black. The photo installation is accompanied by an audio recording, in which Antonia Adomako, the great-great granddaughter of Mandenga Diek,

project was funded by the European Commission and the Europe for Citizens programme. The project was part of the European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018. More information at bozar.be/1918.

recollects the family history, giving not only a face, but also a voice to the decades of struggles of black Germans.

Concluding Remarks – Towards a Shared Heritage

In the analysis, we have seen different kinds of attempts towards engagement with Europe's colonial history from the three cases studies – Sagres Promontory in Portugal (SP), Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin (DHM) and House of European History in Brussels (HEH). The article has focused on knowledge production around colonial heritage in an attempt to make the intangible heritage of colonialism more visible. Despite political decolonisation, moving from the colonial towards the postcolonial in a cultural sense is still an ongoing process.

In the context of museum exhibitions central concern is the intended audience of the exhibitions – whose memory are we trying to spark and what precisely are we hoping to remember? More precisely, who do we perceive as the primary audience of the exhibitions – the general public, the postcolonial minorities or already engaged audiences? All of these require distinct approaches. Those used by the selected case studies cater mostly to initiating this debate among the general public. This leaves them vulnerable to critique from the more engaged and more aware visitors (and researchers). I have attempted to look beyond these critical points towards the potentialities that exist in these exhibitions. As the analysis has shown, there is still a leap that needs to be taken from this form of engagement towards legitimating marginal voices.

However, what do we mean by inclusion of marginal voices? In her analysis of the development process of the HEH, Settele (2015) discusses the inclusion of what she calls 'marginal voices' into the narrative provided by the HEH. Her analysis predates the opening

of the exhibition and relies on interviews and documents related to the development of the concept and narrative for the museum. Settele is able to show crucial steps towards including 'marginal voices' were taken during the development process. In the second phase of the planning of the exhibition, issues such as colonialism, migration and Islam were brought into the narrative, although they had been excluded in the original plans made by the political initiators of the museum. Although Settele sees the increased prevalence of these topics as the inclusion of marginal voices, I would hesitate making the same claim. Although nominally 'including exclusion' – meaning engaging with some of the early processes othering and racism that contributed to the exclusion of Europe's Muslim and postcolonial minority communities – the exhibition overall fails to include those who are excluded. It fails to create space for those communities to construct their own position inside European history and especially in offering a comprehensive debate on European colonial history beyond the First World War (see also Buettner 2018). After this point, HEH offers only a sporadic narrative on these in/exclusions that is poorly contextualised to the wider colonial context of post-war Europe.

Despite these flaws, the HEH exhibition does lay an important groundwork for debates on in/exclusion. Through linking the Enlightenment period as well as the industrialisation processes in Europe to the ways both of these manifested in European imperialism and the notions of European superiority that were driving the colonial process, both the DHM and HEH are able to raise important questions over some of the issues that lay at the foundation of European modernity. In SP these debates are still absent. The development of notions of superiority and the racial science used to support these claims can be in many ways considered as the intangible heritage of colonialism, and highlighting these aspects is crucial as it is these intangible notions that in many cases continue influencing contemporary European ideals and cultural norms. Although engaging in these debates, the HEH fails to use the platform it has created for providing actual voice for those who are marginalised in the narrative of European

history. The tDHM managed to make a few small steps towards creating some space for the minorities; these were precisely that, small steps. Moreover, although also the tDHM explicitly highlighted to role of racial science as a motivating and legitimating factor behind the colonial drive, neither it nor HEH explicitly connected this colonial heritage to contemporary European racism (cf. Goldberg 2006), rather both primarily engaged with racism as a historical phenomenon.

Additionally, none of the exhibitions connected colonialism directly to either past or contemporary migration, which was a grave missed opportunity (in reference to HEH see also Buettner 2018). In SP, mobility was narrated primarily as that of the Portuguese who travelled and the goods, including slaves, which moved between the colonies and Portugal. However, the colonial subject was not allowed to move. Even in the exit corridor the colonial subject remains enclosed in the former colonies. The HEH on the other hand engaged with both migration and colonialism. Although intra-European migration received a lion's share of these migration narratives, HEH did also make an effort to introduce debates of past and contemporary migration, including the ongoing 'refuge crisis'. However, these migratory flows from outside of Europe were not seen in connection to the imperial structures that connected Europe and the colonies. Acknowledging that people arrived in Europe as participants of transnational political and cultural networks would provide a crucial first step in normalising their existence in Europe (see also de Genova 2017). Out of the three museums, DHM alone included both migration and the voices of those who migrated in their exhibition.

As has been argued, this conversation on coloniality of heritage is needed to create historical consciousness, visibility and polyvocality for remembrance of colonialism. As Goldberg (2009, 24) eloquently states, 'there is no history, one might say, without remembrance: no history of or for those not remembered, whose past is not made present, whose past is deemed to have no presence'. Goldberg's quote goes to the heart of many of the

complexities surrounding debates over the history of colonialism and its connections to the constitution of European citizenry and historical and contemporary migrant movements. If we perceive heritage as being entangled with ideas of identity (e.g. Macdonald 2006, Graham and Howard 2008), we need to also consider whether decolonising heritage can enable belonging for postcolonial European subjectivities. As was noted earlier, Rothberg attempts to discuss decolonisation as a shared memory (Rothberg 2009, 15). He builds his idea of a shared memory on the division of common and shared collective memory, initially devised by Avishai Margalit (2002), for whom common memory 'aggregates the memories of all those people who remember a certain episode which each of them experienced individually' (Margalit 2002, 51). A shared memory, however, is more complex and involves a level of communication. For Margalit 'a shared memory integrates and calibrates the different perspectives of those who remember the episode … into one version' (Margalit 2002, 51-52).

The idea of shared memory is built on the idea of multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009), which has been further developed by various scholars focusing on the idea of entanglements that exist in transnational memories, heritages and histories (e.g. Chalcraft and Delanty 2015; Delanty 2016; Delanty 2017; Chalcraft 2018). While optimistic about the potential that multidirectionality brings to the ability of transnational memory cultures to deal with difficult heritages, I agree with Delanty (2016, 140) who notes that '[w]hile there are some examples of memories that cut across European societies […] it is unlikely that there will be a common European memory as such'. I believe this holds true on colonial memories. However, with colonial memories time may be on our side. Although very much alive in many parts of the world, memory of colonialism for most within Europe is no longer direct. It is memory through affiliation, or one that is passed down. Hirsch conceptualises it as post-memory (Hirsch 2008). It is a memory that is not fully ours, but still conditions the world we live in.

Still, contemporary society can claim colonial memories and a central aspect of that process to is understand the ways those memories are present in contemporary Europe and how they for example manifest in the contemporary migrant flows on the Mediterranean. Durrant argues that the principal task of postcolonial narratives is 'to engender a consciousness of the unjust foundations of the present and to open up the possibility of a just future' (2004, 1). Heritage as a future oriented project and a tool to manage memory, can be used as tool in this process of imagining a just future.

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IV

POLY-SPACE: CREATING NEW CONCEPTS THROUGH REFLEXIVE TEAM ETHNOGRAPHY

by

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CHAPTER 1

POLY-SPACE

CREATING NEW CONCEPTS THROUGH REFLEXIVE TEAM ETHNOGRAPHY

Johanna Turunen, Viktorija L. A. Čeginskas, Sigrid Kaasik-Krogerus, Tuuli Lähdesmäki and Katja Mäkinen

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1

POLY-SPACE

Creating new concepts through reflexive team ethnography

Johanna Turunen, Viktorija L. A. Čeginskas, Sigrid Kaasik-Krogerus, Tuuli Lähdesmäki and Katja Mäkinen

Introduction

Ethnographic research always contains an element of surprise (Malkki 2007). In this chapter, we engage with a process of knowledge production and collaborative sense-making that grew out of such unexpected elements. At the core of this chapter are the short "bizarre" moments that the EUROHERIT[1] research team felt when conducting ethnographic fieldwork at selected heritage sites that the European Union (EU) has awarded with the European Heritage Label. These "bizarre" moments occurred to us unexpectedly and outside our planned observation agenda, when our attention shifted to some secondary or minor details or trivial events, which suddenly became very meaningful for understanding the world(s), people and life entangled with the heritage site.

Although usually lasting only a short time, between a flash of surprise and a short discussion, these moments often had continuing effects throughout the remainder of the fieldwork. When viewed separately, the moments seemed deeply personal and disconnected. It was only in retrospect, when viewing them jointly, that we came to perceive their importance for understanding something new about heritage sites and the idea of heritage itself. As we have come to realize, these experiences and the insights they brought about may change the ways in which we relate to heritage and perceive its meanings.

To better grasp these experiences, we propose that heritage sites can be approached as poly-space in the sense that they enable and contain different spatial, temporal, affective, sensory and cognitive experiences in one physical place, the heritage site. Poly-space includes four distinct aspects that are in continuous flux, processual and interrelated: 1) an element of suddenness and surprise, 2) experience of bizarreness, 3) social agency and interaction and (4) affect, emotion and empathy. The concept of poly-space encourages (self-)reflection and enables discussion

of the various temporal and spatial dimensions included both in the heritage narratives and practices and in individual experiences felt at the heritage site (for a more detailed definition, see Lähdesmäki et al. 2020).

In this chapter, we outline how we developed the concept of poly-space by discussing our fieldwork experiences and making sense of them through the process of "interpretive reflexivity" (Lichterman 2015) and affective sharing. Approaching methodology through the lens of knowledge co-creation, according to Boyer and Marcus (2015, 3), can be considered as an enabler of epistemological critique. Poly-space can be used to re-evaluate the depth of ethnographic knowledge even when the duration of fieldwork is not long: affective, unconscious experiences inspire, trigger and entangle with interpretive and cognitive processes, to mutually create new insights and knowledges. As Dalsgaard and Nielsen (2013, 3) note, "the length of the fieldwork period has constituted a central albeit much contested factor for determining the quality of collected ethnographic data". Spending months or years in the field has become problematic due to the fast pace of academic research today; emphasizing duration is ill-suited for mobile and team-based ethnographic approaches. Extensive fieldwork periods are connected with the "chances of serendipitous findings or surprises, which will supposedly destabilize the researcher's prior understandings and generate new insights" (ibid.). However, we argue, emphasis on duration can be (partially) remedied by enabling ethnographers "to take often marginalized forms of embodied affective, imaginative and creative knowledge seriously" (Culhane 2017, 7), which allows us to challenge how we come to know the things we know.

Although we mainly engage here with the theory and methodology behind our collaborative work and conceptual innovation, a short introduction to our fieldwork is needed before we enter these debates. The European Heritage Label (EHL) is the EU's heritage action initiated in 2011 to highlight the so-called European significance (see Lähdesmäki and Mäkinen 2019; Turunen 2019) of heritage sites across Europe. Creating an idea of joint European cultural heritage is fundamentally a political act. The EUROHERIT researchers are most interested in this political nature of the production of ideas and practices of "European heritage" and its identity-political relevance. To access these politics, discourses and practices of heritage, the EUROHERIT team conducted ethnographic fieldwork at 11 EHL sites[2] and at the European Commission in Brussels in 2017 and 2018. The duration of each visit ranged between four and six days. All researchers participated in the data collection. The fieldwork at each site was primarily carried out by one researcher, although some sites were visited by several members of the project, either before or after the actual fieldwork. Native-speaking research assistants were used at some of the sites, especially for the visitor interviews.

During the fieldwork, we collected a broad range of data both on and off the site through participant observation, interviewing and going through documentary, archival and academic literature (e.g. Clifford and Marcus 1986; Culhane 2017). This data includes extensive interviews with both heritage practitioners and visitors

to the sites, as well as the use of a broad range of visual and written materials related to the sites and their exhibitions. Our analysis of different aspects of this data has been published elsewhere (e.g. Lähdesmäki et al. 2019; Lähdesmäki et al. 2020). In this chapter, we focus on material produced by the team members during and after the fieldwork. These include fieldwork memos and journals, notes from project meetings, email exchanges and informal conversations. These different forms of communication between the project researchers form the core empirical data used here to decipher the dynamics of collaborative knowledge creation and collective sense-making practices.

Towards collaborative ethnography and collective interpretive reflexivity

Ethnographic research has evolved from its roots in cultural anthropology and the colonial entanglements that the discipline had in its early forms (e.g. Stocking 1991; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). This overcoming of historical legacies has not been an easy or simple process. As the vast literature on ethnographic research methodologies shows, the practice and ethics of ethnographic research has gone through several cycles of reinterpretation. It has come a long way from classic anthropological ethnographies, often conducted in colonial settings (e.g. Malinowski 1922/1972; Evans-Pritchard 1940) or the early works of scholars of the Chicago School of Sociology, who used ethnographic approaches to study cultures of disenfranchised minority groups in urban environments (e.g. Park, Burgess, and McKenzie 1926; Blumer 1933). Influenced by the reflexive turn and increasing postcolonial critique of the 1980s (e.g. Geertz 1973; Clifford and Marcus 1986) ethnography has developed into a widespread approach that endorses reflexivity and co-production of knowledge as the crucial elements of research practice and analysis. The steady flow of literature on the relationships between fieldwork practices, methodology and theory (e.g. Cerwonka and Malkki 2007; Puddephatt et al. 2009; Burgess and Murcott 2014), the social nature of ethnographic knowledge (e.g. Katz 2012), ethnographic writing (e.g. van Maanen 2011), reflexivity (e.g. Davies 2008) and new alternative and multi-faceted approaches to ethnography (Hämeenaho and Koskinen-Koivisto 2014; Elliott and Culhane 2017), all show that the development of ethnographic practices is ongoing. In this process, the role of interdisciplinary knowledge production, intersectional social positions and new arenas of ethnographic research, such as online environments, are emerging areas of debate.

Moreover, in recent years, there has been a shift towards collaborative team ethnographies (e.g. Spiller et al. 2015), multi-sited approaches (e.g. Marcus 1995; Falzon 2009) and mobile ethnographies (e.g. Jarzabkowski et al. 2015). This multi-sitedness has arisen from changing cultural mobilities that have "transformed locations of cultural production" (Marcus 1995, 97) forcing ethnographers to focus on connections or associations between separate places, rather than on a single site or entity. These mobile research approaches (see also Büscher and Urry 2009) aim to

trace or follow their ethnographic object through multiple locales. The aim of multi-sited approaches is not to produce "thick descriptions" (Geertz 1973) of single sites or precise cultural practice, but rather to engage with complex transnational cultural phenomenon that "cannot be accounted for by focusing on a single site" (Falzon 2009, 1).

This mobility, scale and transnational nature of contemporary cultural transformation has increasingly led researchers to adopt collaborative approaches to both data collection and analysis (e.g. Jarzabkowski et al. 2015). This was also the case in our research process. Tracking and analysing transnational production of the ideas and practices of "European cultural heritage" not only involves numerous research locales and layers of meaning but also requires multiple sets of expertise. The team was able to bring together a broad range of disciplinary backgrounds in the social sciences and humanities, as well as several nationalities and languages. Although most of us had collected data by ethnographic means in previous research, only one of us readily identified herself as an ethnographer. Participating in a reflexive, collaborative ethnography as a form of knowledge production was therefore a new experience for most of us.

The process of bringing different disciplinary viewpoints into a coherent approach has been described in many ways. Franks and colleagues (2007) have characterized this process as "knowledge integration", whereas Spiller and colleagues (2015, 558) have settled on the use of carnival as an allegory for a "transformation, in which the world is turned upside down". As they argue, this space, that is akin to Bakhtin's "place-beyond-place", creates the openness to let go of our disciplinary boundaries and to think again through new perspectives. Moreover, there is an element of serendipity (e.g. Rivoal and Salazar 2013; Hazan and Hertzog 2011) involved in the process of creating new knowledge. This serendipity allows us to relax our conceptions of knowledge, facilitating the emergence of new forms of knowledge out of the combination of different disciplinary backgrounds and our own affective experiences. By affective experiences, we refer here to emotional reactions, sensory experiences, gut feelings and other embodied sensations we experienced during our fieldwork. All knowledge constructed through such experiences challenges the conventional Cartesian division of mind and body and enables us to "articulate a realm of experience, thinking and being; one that has formerly been considered as inarticulatable" (Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson 2017, 1). By making inarticulatable knowledge articulable, we acknowledge the subjectivity and plurality of the knowledges that surround us. They overlap, entangle and build in relation to other forms of making sense of the world, and testify against ideas of universal truth or knowledge.

As it is often stated, all knowledge gained through ethnography is, in many senses, partial (Clifford 1986), situated (Haraway 1991) and plural (e.g. Fenske and Davidovic-Walther 2010). Acknowledging this incompleteness highlights our own limitations as ethnographers and producers of knowledge. Focusing on the "inarticulatable" in team ethnography, however, means that our collective embodied knowledges include hidden, silent and tacit observations of multiple

researchers that exist rather in terms of affects, interpretive insights and shards of wisdom than in a form of easily sharable knowledge. Then the main question, brilliantly framed by Jarzabkowski, Bednarek, and Cabantous (2015, 7), is "how [do] we make such ethnographies 'whole' given that the ethnographic experience of 'being there' is said to be intrinsically personal"? In other words, how can we share the (embodied) experiences and insights of being there when we have each conducted our fieldwork alone? The "whole" in this context does not relate to definite, true knowledge, but to the collective sum of our subjective observations, their internal relations and what they tell us about our subject – European cultural heritage.

To understand our experiences and allow affective knowledge to emerge, we needed to think beyond our positionalities as academics relating to our research subjects (see Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) and to practice active reflexivity in terms of our positionalities within the team. As Creese and colleagues state, building on the work of Jones and his co-authors (2000), the team dynamic of ethnographic research requires the "interpretive knowledge building exercise to be explicitly interactive and negotiated" (Creese et al. 2008, 200). This negotiation is formed through the "interaction of different identities/values/histories that are brought directly into the research process by different team members" (ibid.). For us, negotiation of viewpoints within the team has been a continuous process. Although there are many similarities between the team members – all of us are white, able-bodied, European women with higher education and a certain level of privilege – we are also different in terms of our nationalities, cultural backgrounds, family status, mother tongues and language skills, disciplinary identities, areas of interest and more. Balancing these intersectional differences and deciphering their many influences on our dynamics of knowledge production is not easy; for example, notions of class status differ in our respective native countries and many of these differences have both historical roots and contemporary manifestations. Moreover, all of us (on the team and in general) have different affective capacities and registers (Tolia-Kelly 2006, 213) which actively influence the way we perceive and interpret our surroundings. For Tolia-Kelly, discussing affective capacities is a way to promote a "non-universalistic understanding of emotional registers" (216). This highlights how individuals not only perceive affective geographies differently due to intersectional dynamics of social positioning and associated power hierarchies (see also Haraway 1991), but also respond and react differently to affects. Although not always actively acknowledged, all these aspects were entangled in every phase of planning and conducting our joint ethnographic fieldwork.

We have attempted to counteract this disjointedness of ethnographic knowledge that has resulted from a collaborative approach, by practising what Lichterman (2015) has conceptualized as "interpretive reflexivity", a process of not only figuring out our own positionalities but trying to understand "how we came up with our interpretations" (ibid., 38). As we embarked on this reflexive process together, we needed to figure out our roles as co-producers of knowledge and

how we collectively come to know "something". This practice has a direct impact on the more epistemological conditions that influence our knowledge production and the way we know what we know as individual ethnographers and as a team. By practising interpretive reflexivity, it is possible to "show how we came up with the patterns we call meaningful or cultural" (ibid., 42), and more importantly, as we will show, to create knowledge that is beyond the scope of a single ethnographer.

Practices of sharing knowledge

There are different modes of sharing in ethnographic teamwork (e.g. Jarzabkowski et al. 2015, 19). These sharing practices can be conducted face-to-face or via virtual tools and at different stages of research, whether before, during or after fieldwork. Our collaboration entailed multiple forms of sharing, including sharing the entire data with all team members, analysing data together, cross-commenting on academic articles and co-authoring a book based on our fieldwork (Lähdesmäki et al. 2020). In this chapter, we focus on the relationship between emotional and empirical sharing as a form of conceptual development. Through practising interpretive reflexivity, we analyse how different processes of sharing emotions, experiences, ideas and insights enabled new forms of knowledge to emerge and how these were used to develop the concept of poly-space.

We used various tools to communicate in our team. Face-to-face meetings are crucial for sharing experiences but since we neither live nor work close to each other, the use of virtual tools was key to our cooperation. We used Skype video conference calls, collaborative writing on virtual platforms and chat platforms, Whatsapp group messages and a lot of email exchanges. Many emails focused on the practical aspects of teamwork, but early on, these emails also contained "emotional labour". By sharing anecdotes from the conferences, fieldwork experiences and frustrations of academic work, the team members settled into their own sharing habits. Some focused mainly on meetings in person, whereas others shared more online. For example, Johanna and Sigrid accidentally found themselves sharing long, meandering emails, resembling free writing or a stream of consciousness, which allowed them to go through their emotions, but also work on unfinished thoughts and emerging ideas in a pressure-free environment. Viktorija and Katja worked a lot through discussions on Skype, while Viktorija and Sigrid found conversations and emails in their Estonian mother tongue a more natural way to make sense of their ideas and experiences.

These multiple ways of sharing constructed what Wasser and Bresler (1996, 6) have conceptualized as a "[p]owerful interpretative zone". For them, multidisciplinary teams create an affective space "where multiple viewpoints are held in dynamic tension as [the] group seeks to make sense of fieldwork issues and meaning" (ibid.). Crossing the boundaries of one's own discipline and knowledge is crucial. Within our team these multidisciplinary tensions not only started to dynamically provoke our thinking, but also helped to entangle our disciplinary and

cultural knowledges into new forms of conceptualizing the realities and imaginaries embedded in our vast research data.

Emails between members of the research group were a crucial tool in coping with the fieldwork and the many emotional reactions it sparked in us. Viktorija, as the first to go into the field, started this tradition but sharing experiences from the field became a habit for the rest of the team as well. For example, Johanna, the most junior member of the team who had very limited experience of ethnographic fieldwork, wrote a long email after her first day of the field in Camp Westerbork, the Netherlands, a former transit camp for Jews, Roma and Sinti during the Second World War.

> **From: Turunen, Johanna**
> **Sent: 27 January 2018 7:08 PM**
> **To:** Čeginskas, Viktorija; Lähdesmäki, Tuuli; Mäkinen, Katja; Kaasik-Krogerus, Sigrid
> **Subject:** So this is field work?
>
> Hi all and greetings from Westerbork.
> Day one is done and although as an eternal internal critic there were some things I should have done better (I think I rushed too much in the interviews), I think overall, we already got more than we bargained for and even though I had a really nice day I am not sure I was truly prepared for all of this. I almost cried in one of the interviews … but I will get back to that.

Johanna goes on to give a long and detailed record of her observations at the site, as well as a summary of a very touching interview with one of the visitors – a person who had lost almost his entire family during Holocaust. In her email, Johanna also recounts a second chance encounter, which in fact came to characterize her stay in Camp Westerbork and evolved in her field journals into a key element of her experience of poly-space at this site, although she did not have words or concepts to describe it as such at this point. This was an encounter with another phase of the camp's history. For approximately 20 years, it served as a resettlement camp for a group of Moluccan refugees. As she continues in the same email:

> Already in the morning, it turned out that our cab driver had been born at the camp. His parents had arrived there as refugees after the end of the Dutch colonial rule and he had lived the first 11 years of his life there at the camp. He talked of how he feels really torn when going there. For him it was a happy place. He was happy as a child. Playing in the forests. No-one in the community told the children what the place had initially been used for. He only found out much later when he was older.

This email sparked words of encouragement but also interesting reflections from the team members. After the fieldwork, Johanna recounted the effects of the

experience with the Moluccan taxi driver once more in her notes. This time she put her experience into the perspective of her whole research stay. The excerpt brings out the powerful impact that this early encounter had and the time-bending effect it seemed to produce.

> Later when walking in the museums, the forest and around the now demolished camp and reading and hearing the heartbreaking personal stories of the people who had passed through it, in the back of my mind I kept hearing laughter. It was the laughter of the Moluccan children whose families had been forced out

FIGURE 1.1 Part of the forest around the former campground in Camp Westerbork has been cleared for a field of radio telescopes. These telescopes, placed next to the memorial to the camp's victims, are visible from the site of the former camp, contributing to the bizarre experience of different worlds meeting. Copyright: EUROHERIT

> of their home in Indonesia, but who managed to turn the transit camp into a happy home for themselves. Although the memories of the site were quite different for their parents who carried the trauma of leaving Indonesia and who knew the history of the place they were living in, the memories of the happy, innocent childhood lingered and almost haunted me throughout my visit. However, it was not a terrifying haunting, but a haunting of hope. A sign that even in the saddest of places, we can find happy memories.

Although the mixing layers of the Holocaust, the Moluccan child and the contemporary moment of the fieldwork already had some of the seeds of the idea of poly-space, this flux of temporalities was something Johanna initially felt to be just a silly trick of her mind and therefore she did not share this part of the experience with the team. Later on, as our team started to share stories and experiences more intensely, they started to become increasingly meaningful for us all and, through focusing on the small, the irrelevant and the banal, we were able to create space for new conceptual innovations.

Constructing poly-space

In spring 2017, when planning our fieldwork, we were seeking to investigate the multitemporality of heritage and the relationships between the past, present and future. Although this was a central interest of the project, it was only during and after the fieldwork in spring 2018 that the need for new concepts started to emerge. This quest for a conceptual tool that would allow us to make sense of our fieldwork experiences started as a theoretical one. We explored concepts like Foucault's (1997) "heterotopia", Turner's (1974) ideas on liminality and the liminoid, and Massey's (2005) work on "time-space compression". Next, we turned to memory and heritage studies and tried to think through Macdonald's (2013) "past presencing", Rothberg's (2009) "multidirectional memory" and Hirsch's (2012) idea of "post-memory". While none of these seemed to fully capture our need, we looked outside the Western tradition of knowledge. Viktorija pondered on the idea of "time-knots" developed by Chakrabarty (2000) and Johanna read up on conceptualizations of time in Yoruba culture (e.g. Kazeem 2016).

While all this theoretical work was underway, we also turned inwards and started to look more into our own experiences. How did we experience time during our fieldwork? If and when temporalities mixed, what initiated that experience? The idea behind poly-space started to finally take shape after Viktorija shared her experience of one moment characterized by a sudden flux or overlapping of multiple layers of time and space, or a "flash of surprise". This happened in the Archaeological Park Carnuntum, Austria, an open-air reconstructed Roman site rebuilt using Roman techniques on the excavated remains of the original site.

> I went alone to visit again the kitchen of the Villa Urbana. It was in the late afternoon and the late sun was shining into the otherwise rather dark kitchen.

> I surprised two small birds, which had flown in and were picking at bread. The bread is part of the fresh props lying in the reconstructed buildings with the intention to create an "authentic" experience of inhabited space and of travelling through time for the visitors. It then suddenly occurred to me that such situations had happened at precisely the same spot but some 1700 years ago, when birds flew into the kitchen to pick at food leftovers on the bare ground and were startled by the entrance of a slave, a servant, or the mistress of the house. This realization came as a surprise and made me feel closer to the situations that happened in the past. It helped me to reimagine or see the past with different "eyes", making it also part of a personal experience for me and imagining it as a personal experience for people unknown to me who had lived almost 2000 years ago. It made the otherwise still and material sites be filled with life and people.

When we started to think about poly-space through connecting it to some kind of external, interactive and affective catalysts – like Viktorija's birds or Johanna's taxi driver – we were able to see the relationships between our individual experiences as interrelated and embedded in the nature of heritage sites. While doing her fieldwork in the Great Guild Hall in Tallinn, Estonia, Sigrid had a sensation of the histories narrated in the museums entangling with contemporary realities beyond its doors. The permanent exhibition of the Great Guild Hall positions the Germans and Russians as both the main historical "Others" and as important past and contemporary minorities in Estonian society. The ambivalence of these historical and intercultural relations was mirrored in the social landscape that surrounded the museum – in a way expanding the narrative of the museum to the everyday practices of the old town of Tallinn. Sigrid, herself Estonian, explained this in her field journal.

> On my very first fieldwork day, I experienced how this ambivalent relationship was performed there in the neighbourhood of the Great Guild Hall. On Wednesday afternoon, I heard shouts and noise from outside until the museum staff closed the large front door. I asked about this noise the next day during one of my interviews. It turned out that it was a protest in front of the Russian embassy [located just next to the museum], as my interviewee captured it, "against Russia, for Ukraine". This weekly protest is repeated every Wednesday afternoon, so according to the museum practitioner, it helps them to recall that, "oh, it is Wednesday again". This experience made me feel that the past, present and the future are indeed entangled and also very much "alive" and "in action" in heritage sites, sometimes in a rather surprising way.

This experience shows that the existing interaction with the social forces beyond the museum seemed to highlight and interlink continuities between the past and the present at the site, thereby creating a space where past and present coexisted in the same physical space of the museum and its immediate surroundings. In contrast, the fieldwork in the Franz Liszt Academy of Music in Budapest, Hungary, illustrated

how the past and the present may exist in the same space but, as Tuuli notes, still be totally disconnected from each other.

> I felt it was a big contrast to stand in Liszt's living room surrounded by his pianos, paintings of him made by famous Hungarian painters, marvellous old furniture, decorative wall paper, chandeliers and so forth, to listen to his music through an audio guide, and at the same time to look from the balcony window to the Vörösmarty utca metro station and see today's people walking and hanging around the metro station. For example, two black young men wearing trendy street clothes and headphones passed the windows while I looked out. They seemed to be so far from the reality of the room, although just some metres away. It felt that the past and today's world were there in this quarter at the same time, but without any connection to each other.

After coming up with these initial experiences, we started to see aspects of poly-space in our broader data. Going through the vast data we had collected, we often marked out issues related to poly-space and shared them with the team, as the next email from Sigrid demonstrates.

> **From:** Kaasik-Krogerus, Sigrid
> **Sent:** 11 January 2019 3:21 PM
> **To:** Čeginskas, Viktorija; Lähdesmäki, Tuuli; Mäkinen, Katja; Turunen, Johanna
> **Subject:** Some more poly-space
>
> Dear all,
> I started to go through the expert interviews and the data is very rich and inspiring indeed!
> Although I try to focus on the centre-periphery aspect, I could not help other associations evoking while reading the interviews. I wrote down some ideas related to poly-space that may be relevant from the perspective of the article.

Integrating senses and affects

As more and more material related to poly-space emerged in our data, we started to pay more attention to the sensory and affective elements of our experiences with poly-space. It was clear that our insights were not gained by knowledge or cognitive work but through sensory experiences, emotional reactions and gut instincts – in other words, through our varied affective experiences. Our understanding of poly-space therefore encompasses an embodied element – the feeling of being swept out of time and place. Although often connected to the cognitive meaning-making practices around heritage, the sensorial and physical element of experiencing poly-space was crucial in terms of thinking heritage sites not only through poly-space, but also inherently as poly-space – as places where several histories and temporalities are layered and active.

FIGURE 1.2 The view from the living room in the Franz Liszt Memorial Museum in Budapest. Copyright: EUROHERIT.

To include this affective, sensory experience in our elaboration of poly-space, our research draws from the affective turn in scholarship, which considers the body as a vehicle in creating "authentic" knowledge (e.g. Crang and Tolia-Kelly 2010; Waterton 2014). As Sather-Wagstaff (2017, 13) notes, "[a]ffective experiences translate into multiple effects, one being knowledge […] and the other an excess residual that may never be fully categorized cognitively". There is a sociocultural, but also biological, aspect to these senses, which points towards the need to overcome the Cartesian separation of mind and body, or knowledge and feeling, in order to move towards an approach that celebrates and encompasses both aspects of our sense-making capabilities.

When debating the sensory experiences related to heritage, the visual aspects are often emphasized, because Western cultures tend to value sight as the highest of our senses. At times sensory experiences are more comprehensive, or to borrow from Sather-Wagstaff (2017), polysensory. This was the case in our fieldwork in Sagres Promontory, Portugal. Johanna described this in her field journal.

> The most influential experience was the "Voice from the Sea" installation that was also known as the dragon's breath. It was a spiral shaped echo chamber built on top of the caves, which connect the promontory to the sea tens of metres below. In the chamber, you can stand on metal crates built on top of the cave entrance and feel "the dragon breathe". As the waves rush into the caves, a surge of warm air gushes through the caves and surrounds you with an explosive wind that shoots your hair up and roars around you. The bigger the wave, the louder the roar. Because of the rhythm of the waves, the gusts of wind come up and through the caves in a rhythm of someone breathing.

> The power was so intense that my research assistant had to leave. It all made her feel physically uneasy. I stayed behind and suddenly I was overwhelmed with the stories we had heard the day before from the staff. Stories of the promontory having been an ancient sacrificial site belonging to the gods and more importantly the story of Henry the Navigator, the Portuguese prince who had built his personal fortress on the Promontory. Henry's emblem was the black dragon and as I sat, listened and felt the dragon breathe around me, my mind travelled to the past, to people who came to the promontory, under the dark sky, with wooden torches in their hands to meet the dragon the fortress owner had locked up in the caves below.

This last excerpt from our field journals shows the complexity of the relationship between our sensory experience, the physical place of the heritage site and the narratives used to make sense of the many layers of history that the site encompasses. Ingold (2008) has explained how ethnographic research is about figuring out the "entangled relationships" between humans and non-humans and the natural, social and cultural environments that they inhabit. According to Ingold, these environments are not merely the "surroundings of the organism but a zone of entanglement" (ibid., 1797). Hence, poly-space became one way for us to make sense of the zone of entanglements that existed in and around the heritage sites we were researching. Our experiences and engagements all contained an element of memory, as they were in one or more ways embedded in our own past experiences, as well as the histories and narratives of the site. As such, it is easy to agree with Seremetakis (1994, 9, quoted in Sather-Wagstaff 2017, 19) who states that memory "as a distinct meta-sense transports, bridges and crosses all the other senses". We do not want to claim that poly-space is an element

FIGURE 1.3 Johanna at the *Voice from the Sea* sound installation in Sagres Promontory Copyright: EUROHERIT.

exclusively reserved for heritage sites. Rather, we see it as an experiential moment that can emerge in a multitude of surroundings. Nevertheless, the central role of memory in our meaning-making practices suggests that heritage sites as places that "materialize memory" are particularly active poly-spaces – physical places that make the entanglements of multiple moments and experiences of layered histories visible and tangible.

Conclusions: how do we know what we know?

There is an epistemological elephant in the room when talking about poly-space: it is always experienced subjectively. Since it builds on personal experiences, memories, senses, affective capacities and social awareness of the individual and the social surrounding in which the experiencer is located, it is always different. Two people visiting the same site will not experience it in the same way, neither will a person visiting the same site again experience it in exactly the same way as they did before. Therefore, the whole idea of taking poly-space seriously breaks a foundational rule of scientific knowledge – its repeatability.

Moreover, our insights were not gained by knowledge or cognitive work alone but through the entanglements of sensory experiences, affective reactions and intuitive knowledge that sparked a cognitive process. Allowing these sensory elements to play a role in our collaborative sense-making practices has been a form of epistemological critique or a challenge to the status quo of scientific knowledge. As Culhane explains:

> Academic conventions reflect this culturally and historically specific approach to knowledge where sights, words, and text are privileged, whereas dynamic interactions among sounds, tastes, odors, touches, senses of place and of belonging and exclusions, and the extrasensory are often ignored or dismissed as irrelevant to social life and the study of knowledge. To take sensory experience, like imagination, as significant in knowledge co-creation constitutes a practice of epistemological and political critique. (Culhane 2017, 11)

It is precisely because of these sensory aspects of knowledge that "one cannot reduce understanding to a method, […] the fusion at the center of understanding means that we must see knowledge production as a flexible, creatively, historically influenced process" (Cerwonka 2007, 23). Both understanding and knowledge are always partial and situated (Haraway 1991) and to a significant degree also conditioned by our own personal histories which "shape our capacities for affect as well as interpretation of affective experiences" (Sather-Wagstaff 2017, 23). Acknowledging and interpreting these situationalities needs to be at the core of reflexive work around knowledge production, as it allows us to map the boundaries, overlaps and conflicts in and between our cognitive processes.

As we have argued in this chapter, collaborative reflexive work can allow new forms of knowledge to emerge from affective encounters in the field. Poly-space would not have developed as a concept without our team engaging in interpretive reflexivity and

affective sharing of the inarticulatable. Our embodied experiences, taken individually, seemed initially rather personal and irrelevant to academic knowledge. Yet they made sense when connected with other similar experiences. Only through this merging or integration of diverse experiences and perspectives were we able to produce knowledge that we could not have created as individual ethnographers. We co-constructed this knowledge through our collaborative meaning-making practices. For the researchers, engaging in this type of emotional and intellectual sharing demands profound openness, reflexivity, empathy and, ultimately, courage.

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Notes

1 Legitimation of European cultural heritage and the dynamics of identity politics in the EU, European Research Council, H2020, 2015–2020.
2 Alcide De Gasperi's House Museum, Italy; Archaeological Park Carnuntum, Austria; Camp Westerbork, The Netherlands; European District of Strasbourg, France; Franz Liszt Academy of Music, Hungary; Great Guild Hall, Estonia; Hambach Castle, Germany; Historic Gdańsk Shipyard, Poland; Mundaneum, Belgium; Robert Schuman's House, France; and Sagres Promontory, Portugal.

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