



EUROPEAN COLONIAL HERITAGE MODALITIES IN ENTANGLED CITIES

Final Report



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1. Background

1.1 Starting Point

ECHOES addresses a pressing dilemma at the heart of contemporary Europe: the fact that while the history of empires and colonialism undoubtedly constitutes a shared European past, this past remains strangely silent in official narratives about Europe's 'heritage'; those things it values enough to save for future generations. However, at the level of Europe's cities – where colonial heritage is often manifested in monumental symbolism and architectural materiality – we simultaneously see an increasing willingness to engage with this often-problematic past, at times in highly creative, reflexive, and transnationally open ways.

We argue that the EU urgently needs not just to acknowledge this phenomenon but to reflexively and progressively include it at the heart of its identity. 'Europeanizing' difficult colonial heritage is becoming all the more necessary today as the EU operates in increasingly global contexts, relationships, and geographies, where its ongoing 'deficit' towards accepting colonialism as a part of European history collides with the palpable surplus of colonial memory in much of the outside world with which Europe grows ever more entangled.

ECHOES therefore proposes that the memory of colonialism needs to find its place in the contemporary narratives and politics of Europe. Crucially, it should do so in ways which make this memory a productive element in Europe's ongoing engagement with the wider world, rather than an uncomfortable silence haunting its activities on the global stage. To further this agenda, ECHOES combined the innovative theoretical conceptualization of 'de-colonial entanglements' with deep empirical exploration of both EU institutional activities and programmes, especially at the city level.

1.2 Context

From the very early modern period onwards, Europe's evolution became increasingly intertwined with far-flung transoceanic regions as maritime empires expended and extended their influence. These were not separate, hermetically sealed spheres but mutually constituted spaces. Europe itself was transformed through unequal geopolitical power relations, and increasingly globalized economy, and mobile peoples and cultures, including the millions of enslaved people transported from Africa to the Americas during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These complex colonial legacies and heritage – or what we call 'entanglements' – remain central not only to postcolonial societies overseas but also to postcolonial Europe, hence the title of our project.

At the same time, we acknowledge that 'Europe' is not a unitary identity. Eastern Europe has a different past when it comes to colonialism, hence our use of the term 'internal colonialism', which points to analogies between the policies pursued by colonial empires and those pursued by subordinate European and non-European nations. In the case of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), we can identify three colonizing forces: the West (specifically German-speaking countries), the East (Russia and the former Soviet Union) and those countries in the region with imperial ambitions (Poland and Hungary).¹

While an essential part of European history, these colonial entanglements have in the past often been silenced or ignored. Yet they have played an important role in shaping European identity and European history up to this day, not to mention Europe's wealth, influence and prestige abroad. They have also been instrumental, whether acknowledged or not, in shaping EU policy, whether it comes to asylum and border policies, or housing, the labour market, economic development or cultural policies of one kind or another. This is why we believe that the concept of entanglements is an important starting point for rethinking the whole question of heritage.

Recent events have brought into sharper focus the need to reckon with Europe's colonial past. The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed deep economic inequalities, especially

¹ Glowacka-Grajper 2019

in relation to the world's poor, for whom lockdown measures (even as something as simple as washing one's hands with soap several times a day) have often proved a luxury beyond reach. Workers in lower-paid sectors of the economy, or those who depended on casual contracts, have seen their livelihoods threatened in the face of rising unemployment. A shortage of care services has had a disproportionate impact on women, many of them members of immigrant communities, as providers of unpaid care work. Moreover, as statistics clearly show, the worst effects of the pandemic have fallen on black and minority ethnic groups, marginalized communities affected by poverty, deprivation, and the legacies of colonialism (GOV.UK 2020).

This is not all. Perversely, rising death rates across Europe and frustration over the delays in developing a vaccine have fueled anti-Asian racism, which has resulted in physical and verbal attacks, hate crimes and anti-Chinese rhetoric.² Even efforts to contain the virus have exposed worrying Eurocentric tendencies. Among other memorable episodes, this was brought to light by an incident in the French media, when two doctors' suggestion that Africa should be used as a testing ground for the efficacy of vaccines provoked a furious backlash, notably from leading African and Afro-European football stars. While this was an isolated incident in an increasingly heated debate, research and thinking in this area have led to accusations that the Global South has been all but absent in scientific and/or medical collaborations related to the COVID-19 pandemic. These attitudes, in turn, have led to calls to decolonize global health, not least as a form of resistance.³

The COVID-19 pandemic also coincided with the murder of black US citizen, George Floyd, by a white police officer in May 2020. Floyd's murder triggered massive protests across the Global North and beyond focused on anti-racist and social justice messages, most of them embracing the rhetoric and slogans of the earlier grassroots campaign #BlackLivesMatter. Perhaps the most widely publicized of these protests, certainly in the UK, was the successful effort in Bristol to remove the statue of Edward Colston, a

² Mercer 2020

³ Ahmed 2020

prominent eighteenth-century slave trader and businessman.⁴ Similar protests erupted in Belgium, this time focusing on the controversial figure of Leopold II and the atrocities carried out in his name in the Congo Free State (1885-1908).⁵ Meanwhile, Italian activists in Milan daubed the statue of the twentieth-century journalist Indro Montanelli with red paint in June 2020 in an orchestrated protest against his questionable activities in Ethiopia in the 1930s and 1940s, which led to accusations of racism and rape.⁶ In Britain, angry #RhodesMustFall protesters in Oxford targeted Oriel College's statue of Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in South Africa (1890–96) and advocate of vigorous settler colonialism, demanding its immediate removal.⁷

1.3 Decolonial Heritage Practices

The insurgent contestation of heritage in public spaces and heritage institutions frequently comes from marginalized voices that demand to be heard and met on equal terms. The recovery of indigenous traditions, including the oral tradition of storytelling, is just one aspect of this type of inclusion. So, too, is the increasing emphasis on the restitution of colonial objects. Professor Dan Hicks, Curator of World Archaeology at the

⁴ Shutz and Zabunyan 2018

⁵ Lusalusa 2020

⁶ Pozzi 2020

⁷ Mohdin, Adams and Quinn 2020

Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford, has been especially active in leading calls for the restitution of African works of art, not least through the museum network, ‘Action for Restitution to Africa’, which works with curators in Europe, as well as Egypt, Ghana and South Africa. Hicks’ broadside, *The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution* (2020) makes a powerful case for the urgent return of such objects, as part of a wider project of addressing the outstanding debt of colonialism.⁸

Similarly, artists across Europe, Africa and the Americas have led calls to decolonize museums and art galleries, joining those voices calling for a reckoning with the past, evident not only in the removal of statues but in the creation of new works of art that situate slavery at the centre of the black experience.⁹ As our research demonstrates, artists often draw on a wide range of affective practices in their work, including forms of indigenous and local knowledge. They have also been at the forefront of efforts to go beyond the ‘comprehensible’ and to create works that initiate ‘healing and respect’ for others.¹⁰ Decolonial heritage practices of this kind – what we refer to throughout this report as ‘re-emergence’ -- open up new ways of looking at the past, while at the same time imagining futures that are significantly different. We would go further. Artists should be considered as heritage diplomats, reclaiming and repurposing different types of knowledge, while at the same time challenging us to re-think the implicit and explicit racial hegemonies that in the past have so often worked to the detriment of Europe’s engagement with hitherto marginalized groups.¹¹

So far from being threatening, we believe that these decolonial heritage practices provide an opportunity for Europe to rethink its relations to its past, as well as its present and future. Here, one could take as a point of departure the argument that Europe—not least owing to its colonial history—is already entangled with other

⁸ Hicks 2020

⁹ ECHOES 2021

¹⁰ Schutz and Joffe 2020

¹¹ Andersen, Clopot and Ifversen 2019

continents, and that to take those entanglements seriously and responsibly would totally transform the idea of Europe.

1.4 Main Directions of ECHOES Project

The major research objectives of the ECHOES Project were as follows:

- To theoretically and methodologically develop the idea of ‘de-colonial entanglements’ as a mode of transnational and global connectivity that entails and calls for new kinds of heritage practices between Europe and countries that were formerly colonized.
- To analyse the EU’s expanding engagement with ‘heritage politics’ through investigating the (missing) place of colonialism in key EU initiatives, policies, or programmes, and thus more broadly with contemporary notions of European identity and quests to legitimate the EU’s global initiatives.
- To explore and assess heritage practices in and entanglements between European and non-European cities, focusing on city museums, artistic creations and citizen activities. Our investigation involved the following cities as nodal points of former imperial connections: Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon, Nuuk, Copenhagen, Bristol, Cape Town, Marseille, Shanghai, Amsterdam, and Warsaw.
- To share insights and knowledge via a form of science diplomacy, thus introducing the decolonial heritage practices evident in key European and non-European city interventions into EU-level debates, thereby ensuring that such practices play a productive role in the EU’s ambitions to be an effective global player.

1.5 Structure of Project

ECHOES consisted of six Work Packages. Of these, two (WP1 and WP2) were broadly conceptual in nature, setting out the project’s Methodology (WP1) and what we meant by ‘Europeanizing Colonial Heritage’ (WP2). WPs 3 to 5 were devoted to a series of case studies, involving extensive field work and interviews with critical actors, whether museum curators, artists, activists or community groups. WP5 also funded the creation

and co-creation of new artistic works, notably in Bristol. WP6 attempted to draw all this research together, while at the same time engaging with the EU's strategy on International Cultural Relations (ICR). Further details are provided below.

The ECHOES Consortium was made up of six European Partners (University of Hull, UK; Aarhus University, Denmark; University of Rennes 2, France; University of Warsaw, Poland; University of Coimbra, Portugal; and the University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands), as well as three non-European partners (UNIRO, Brazil; Shanghai University, China; and the University of Cape Town, South Africa). We also had a number of institutional partners, as follows: Amsterdam Museum, Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (MUCEM), Museu Histórico Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), Shanghai History Museum and the Museum of Warsaw.

2 Methodology (Work Package 1)

One of the main issues addressed by ECHOES was to develop a framework to analyse heritage practices of European colonial heritage inside and outside of Europe. This necessarily entailed consideration of how to think and produce knowledge on entangled AND decolonial relationships between former colonizers and former colonized people and territories. The normative agenda of ECHOES was to move Europe towards an acknowledgement of the colonial heritage and to make new actors, regions and ontological and epistemological perspectives visible and important in order to formulate alternatives to obsolete power geometries.

In order to more fully engage with heritage practices at both the formal and informal levels, we developed four modalities--**repression**, **removal**, **reframing**, and **re-emergence**--to confront and analyze the manifold contours and ramifications of the colonial past. **Repression** denotes practices that involve a silencing or denial of the colonial past, which is what has (and still is) happening most of the time across much of in Europe. **Removal** denotes situations where the presence or absence of this heritage in public spaces, archives and discourses is actively or often antagonistically politicized, while **reframing** points to situations that seek to incorporate this heritage into new

consensual—and at times commercialized—frames of reference. **Re-emergence**, our prime focus, is used for the practices that, at least potentially, open up social space for new voices, affects and bodies forging relations or ‘contact zones’ between actors, which transcend both the antagonistic dichotomies of removal and the domesticating pressures of reframing, thereby opening up the possibility for a heritage practice that presents a lost opportunity from the past that returns to offer itself as a potential future horizon.¹² Re-emergence transgresses linear temporalities as it connects and moves back and forth between the past, the present and the future. The dichotomy between imaginary and real is likewise dissolved to express the imagined decolonial future in the here and now.¹³

Re-emergence happens when heritage actors respond to memory erasure, epistemic colonization and persistent expressions of the political matrices that governed the past in urban space and public discourse. To take another example, it also occurs when academics or heritage institutions begin listening to the testimonies of local—often diasporic—populations and groups and their ‘banal’ everyday experiences of racism and marginalization. The unfolding of the perspectives and life stories of these new heritage actors is in itself an act of resistance that offers decolonial alternatives to official narratives. Re-emergence appears in the form of new heritage actors, as well as new epistemologies, narratives and phenomenologies that come to the fore to take issue with and challenge the predominance of Eurocentric paradigms, whether inside or outside Europe. Re-emergence can also be something as simple as art coming out of an encounter, as in the case of Shawn Naphtali Sobers’s auto-ethnographic film *Tell Me the Good News*, which was made during his research visit to Cape Town in 2019 as part of the ECHOES programme.¹⁴

As an entangled temporality between past, present and future, re-emergence happens in decolonial agendas in festivals, art installations, visual and sculptural works, street

¹² Ifversen 2018; Pratt 1991

¹³ Knudsen 2018

¹⁴ Sobers 2019

performances, curatorial works, documentaries, exhibitions, civic rituals and applied associations' work. It is propelled by emotions of hope, joy and vital energy, as the future morphs into the here and now and opens doors to new possibilities. Filled with hope for the future, contemporary agents invent sociologies and aesthetics of emergence that can retain their hold and allure, regardless of what the future actually brings.¹⁵ The 're-futuring' of societies occurs through decolonial endeavours that proceed in the subjunctive 'as if', thereby holding on to the possibility that the future can be shaped as an improvement on current conditions.¹⁶ Re-emergence has also become apparent in Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, where different Black and immigrant communities have produced multi-layered counter-narratives and provided previews of decolonial pluriverse urban spaces through their heritage practices in harbour areas that remain heavily haunted by colonialism in its most brutal variants.

Yet another valuable methodological insight that all ECHOES participants have experienced extends from our own diverse backgrounds and life experiences. Without falling into the trap of thinking that 'unless I have undergone the exact same experience as the other, I know nothing of his or her pain and should simply shut up', as Achille Mbembe has put it.¹⁷ ECHOES affiliates have at times found their legitimacy as researchers of evolving heritage landscapes questioned or even challenged. We have been enriched by these encounters and discussions, coming away with greatly enhanced self-awareness and better able to reflect on our own subjective position. Those of us who are white, for example, have valued decolonial methodologies as a constructive means of grappling with 'white innocence'.¹⁸

Our findings are summarized in our 'Methodological Toolkit' (see <https://projectechoes.eu/keywords>). Starting out with our four modalities (see above),

¹⁵ Bloch 1995; Sousa Santos 2011; Rigney 2018

¹⁶ Miyazaki 2004; Pedersen 2012

¹⁷ Mbembe in Bangstad and Tumyr Nilsen 2019

¹⁸ Tuck and Yang 2012; Tihuwai Smith 2012; Wekker 2016.

this 'Toolkit' has expanded to 16 'keywords', including entries on **interculturality**, **decolonial aesthetics**, **decolonising the mind**, **internal colonization**, **entangled cities**, **multiple colonialisms**, and **European entanglements**, which are freely available to researchers (see <https://projectechoes.eu/keywords>). A subsite entitled *Interventions* was added in June 2020 to gather reactions, especially from marginalized voices, to local colonial heritage contestations all around the world to the murder of George Floyd in May 2020, thereby giving the floor to those who have something to tell us.

Some of this research is also summarized in a special issue of *Heritage & Society* in 2020/2021 entitled 'Decolonizing European Colonial Heritage in Urban Spaces', which is likely to be a key reference work in further discussions on the colonial/decolonial; and in our edited book, *Decolonizing Colonial Heritage*, which will be published by Routledge in October 2021. All of this work is underpinned by the methodological perspectives outlined above and, in particular, the notion of **re-emergence**.

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3 Europeanizing Colonial Heritage (Work Package 2)

Another aim of the ECHOES project was to address critically the legacy of European colonial heritage from a transnational and European perspective. The questions addressed here relate directly to the Methodological Toolkit referred to above, and seek to understand whether European colonial heritage is being repressed, removed, reframed or is re-emerging in articulations of European identity and Europeanness in a range of different fields: European historiography, European history politics and EU external relations policies within cultural areas and from a range of different positions (academia, EU funded cultural institutions, EU cultural diplomacy actors and policy actors within other fields of external relations).

Central to this enquiry was a critical assessment of the existing modes of addressing European colonial heritage at a European level (a Europeanization of European history); and proposing new ways of approaching this sensitive issue to relevant stakeholders within the EU in order to rethink and re-conceptualize external cultural relations with partners and institutions from countries formerly colonized by Europe. The investigations conducted with European policy actors and with cultural institutions such as the House of European History were designed to create a framework for a science diplomacy focusing on colonial heritage (see Section 7 below) that opened the way for intercultural relations, which 1) acknowledge the role of European colonialism and 2) challenge existing forms of understandings and of engagement with partners in the world formerly colonized by European powers.

Our main objectives here can be summarized as follows:

- Identifying the main historiographical trends regarding the missing, possible or potential Europeanisation of colonialism, charting especially avant-garde work which contains elements of de-colonial re-emergence.
- Analyzing how public EU discourses and material concerned with communicating the Union's external relations within culture and ambitions do (or do not) handle references to colonialism, focusing also on which other European pasts are then drawn on for legitimation and justification of contemporary priorities and relationships.
- Analyzing in depth the role of colonialism in EU's engagement with politics of remembrance with a special focus on 'The House of European history'.

Actors from the following EU and EU-related cultural institutions were selected for a first round of interviews: Goethe-Institut Brüssel/ EU Office, UNESCO, European Parliament, European Commission, EUNIC/ European Union National Institutes of Culture, Culture Action Europe, EUROCITIES, European Cultural Foundation. Participant observation was also conducted at the following conferences: 'House of European History: Policy debate' (20-21 March 2019) organized by the REACH project (funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme) and 'The Fair of European Innovators

in Cultural Heritage’ (15-16 November 2018). organized by European Commission, Directorate General for Research and Innovation. Data collected during the course of this research fed directly into the three policy workshops organized by WP6 (see below) in Brussels and online between 2019 and 2020, and a policy synthesis, ‘Decolonial Heritage Practices and the EU’s Strategy for Intercultural Relations’, targeted at stakeholders and relevant EU institutions, including the EU Parliament.

Together with curators and events and partnerships coordinators from the House of European History (HEH) in Brussels, a live and interactive event on Exhibiting European Colonial heritage was planned from February 2020. Due to the corona pandemic the event was postponed several times, but was finally held in online format with contributions from the director Constanze Itzel, curators and coordinators from the HEH, as well as four researchers from ECHOES on 17 June 2021.

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Policy Briefs

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4 City Museums and Multiple Colonial Pasts (Work Package 3)

Museums have proved one of the most interesting and vibrant arenas in which the colonial past has been contested, critiqued and reinterpreted. Many major institutions are also now reviewing and reinterpreting their collections in the light of challenges from both within and outside the 'establishment' to Eurocentric hierarchies that so

often work to the detriment of Europe's (and the EU's) engagement with its colonial past and decolonial present. While the impetus here comes very largely from curators, other groups, notably artists and activists, have joined the call to decolonize museums and galleries, even to the extent of questioning the role of the 'museum' itself.

One of our aims on the ECHOES project was to map the pace and extent of these interventions across three very different geographical and urban spaces: The Netherlands (Amsterdam Museum), Poland (Museum of Warsaw) and China (Shanghai History Museum). Amsterdam provides an example of Western European situatedness as a former global colonial power and as somewhat of a 'trendsetter' in terms of contemporary critical heritage discourse. Warsaw represents the in-between situation of an East-Central European city that was implicated in overseas colonization but without any direct involvement in the conquest of land. Shanghai, meanwhile, exemplifies remnants and representations of European colonialism in Asia as well as Chinese ambiguities of dealing with this legacy today. Both Warsaw and Shanghai add a complexity to what colonization can mean beyond 'overseas colonization'. Warsaw was at once a victim of the imperial ambitions of Prussia and Russia, as well as home to an elite that aspired to the colonization of what is today Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania. Shanghai, in turn, was controlled by European colonizers who settled in several enclaves, yet China 'uses' this colonial legacy to present itself as a modern superpower that in many crucial aspects, not least manufacturing, is ahead of the West.

These differences notwithstanding, each city abounds in museums, Amsterdam over the longer term and Shanghai and Warsaw thanks to recent museum booms. Our analysis shows how museums influence decolonization processes in these cities, taking city, ethnographic, and art museums as examples. Differences include, for instance, the degree of agency of (ethnographic) museums, the extent to which racism is related to colonization, and how self-reflective the process of decolonization is able to be. Moreover, the case of Shanghai shows that 'decolonization' does not necessarily equal 'critical' discourse. Ultimately, the comparative focus adopted here helps to identify factors that escape analysis of single cases.

This comparative venture into three very different urban museum spaces adds complexity to the current decolonization wave. It calls attention to the question of how the global decolonization movement, influenced by historical and cultural particularities, results in divergent discourses and practices on the city level. As such, how is the destabilization of decolonization encouraged, supported, or resisted in urban centres and, specifically, their museums?

First, we have observed important differences at the level of agency in our three case studies. Historically, Amsterdam's decolonial discourse—similar to that found within other Western cities—was triggered by debates revolving around its ethnographic museum, the Tropenmuseum. Yet the State Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw did not play a comparable role. Instead, in Warsaw it was mainly independent artists and curators who pushed the boundaries of collective memory by recalling forgotten or silenced colonial histories. That said, in Amsterdam today artists and activists have indeed moved to the forefront of new waves of decolonial initiatives. In Shanghai, however, the CCP exercises such a strong influence over museums' representation of history and culture that curators must take authorities' perspectives into account.

Second, one of the most important tenets of the recent decolonization movement in Amsterdam has been the struggle for racial equality. This has only been weakly echoed in Warsaw owing to the existence of such a tiny minority of non-Polish activists aided by their white, liberal counterparts coupled with a limited sensitivity toward multiculturalism among curators. China and Shanghai reveal a different stance on race and racial equality. Unlike Warsaw, Shanghai is characterized by significant urban diversity, but this is either largely disregarded in favour of Han Chinese uniformity or 'othered'. Indeed, as the example of the Peking man shows, the focus is rather on setting the Chinese racially apart from all other humans.

Third, comparing Shanghai with two European cities shows that the term 'decolonial' does not always mean 'critical' or 'self-reflexive' in the way it has been postulated by the New Museology movement. Shanghai's museums, with their exhibitions planned in a top-down manner, reflect the current politics of memory within the Chinese Communist

Party that accords limited recognition to regional and urban differences. Chinese museums are decolonial in the sense that they deal strongly with their history of European settlement; however, they are not self-reflexive in terms of critically assessing their own past nor of engaging diverse actors into the process of developing exhibitions.

Finally, we have seen how all three cities and their museum spaces experienced conflicts in viewing their roles in the past and present. Amsterdam has conceptualized itself firmly as a colonizer in the (distant) past. Its focus on particular colonial aspects, primarily slavery, removes energy and resources from the unresolved implications of coloniality today. Warsaw, in turn, has not worked through its history and heritage deeply enough to account for the colonial implications neglected in the city space. Indeed, on an institutional level all possible entanglements of internal or second-hand colonialism tend to be disregarded. Shanghai with its past as a colonized city and its present role in China's neo-colonization efforts is deeply colonially entangled. Tapping into nationalism and patriotism produces a positive representation of Chinese imperialism and the ways in which Shanghai wrestled itself free from its oppressors, rather than any attempts to atone for hardships inflicted upon ethnic minorities in the past and in the present.

Overall, our analysis of different urban museum spaces adds complexity to the current 'decolonization wave'. It calls for attention to the question of how the global decolonization movement, influenced by historical and cultural particularities, results in divergent discourses and practices at the city level. All three cities and their museum spaces experience conflicts in viewing their roles vis-à-vis the past and the present. While Amsterdam Museum has engaged with colonialism in its activities and products, the Museum of Warsaw has not worked through its history and heritage deeply enough to account for the colonial implications neglected in the city space. Where they occur, decolonial approaches and practices are undertaken by some progressive curators and artists. These two groups are the main, and only, actors responsible for ongoing change in this regard. Finally, European heritage is central to the Shanghai History Museum's exhibition. The curators' main aim is to criticize European colonialism, while at the same

time recognizing the influence of the European presence on the city's economy, architecture and culture. Moreover, despite the authorities' strict control over the museum's historical narrative, there are modest examples of re-emergence.

As regards the projects four modalities, repression, reframing and removing are evident (and implemented) in all three museums. Attempts at re-emerge are present but it remains the most difficult of the four modalities to apply in the museum sector.

Besides three peer-reviewed articles (see below), the results of this research are reflected in 9 sub-reports on city museums: three on Amsterdam Museum ('In search of a history and identity and a future', 'Decolonizing the Amsterdam Museum', 'Visitors Study'); three on the Museum of Warsaw ('Evolution and Priorities of the Museum of Warsaw', 'Dealing with difficult pasts', 'Visitors Study'); and three on Shanghai History Museum ('A city, its history and its museum', 'Decolonizing Chinese museums', 'Visitors Study'). Researches in Warsaw have also framed new syllabi and two courses on 'City Museums and Decolonization' for graduate students at the University of Warsaw. They also organised the following international conference: 'Decolonizing Museum Cultures: Mapping Theory & Practice in East-Central Europe', 21-24 October 2020.

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4 Entangled Cities (Work Package 4)

One of the aims of the ECHOES project was to give more concrete expression to the idea of 'entanglements' through consideration of 'entangled cities'. For this research, we undertook two case studies; the first the ongoing entanglements between Portugal (Lisbon) and Brazil (Rio de Janeiro), rooted in Portuguese expansionism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and the second the more recent entanglements between Greenland (Nuuk) and Denmark (Copenhagen), which formally date from 1814, although the missionary and royal envoy Hans Egede landed in Nuuk in 1721.

Lisbon-Rio de Janeiro

Here, we were chiefly interested in recent contestations of what has been described as the 'Authorized Heritage' discourse, which places emphasis on Portugal's 'heroic' history of overseas trade and expansion. Focussing on decolonizing initiatives, one strand of our research dealt with counter-narratives; subaltern histories that reveal the damaging and repressive effects of Portugal's colonial past – and in particular its involvement in slavery and the slave trade. Working with a range of actors, including a former MP, a retired academic, a museologist and a 'Macho guide', researchers documented in detail the lasting impact of colonial narratives, perhaps most evident in the interpretation of sites such as the *Ribeira*, the point of departure for Portuguese overseas conquests. The main

outcomes of this research provide a wider understanding of the relevance of African and Afro-descendant people and cultures in Portugal, past and present, and the ways in which these communities confront the ongoing impact of the imperial narrative on their socio-political marginalization. Collectively, their stories amplify the dynamic and inclusive knowledge of colonial memory in two ways: firstly, they help us to fully grasp the lived realities of imperial-excluding mechanisms; secondly, they affirm the importance of decolonial and affirmative counter-narratives, experiences and initiatives, evident in such things as the decolonization of museums, graffiti, music, festivals and changes to the curriculum (e.g., the teaching of African history).

Picking up on this same theme, another group of researchers looked in detail at the *Todos* festival that has been staged annually in Lisbon since 2009. Conceived and planned in cooperation with local political authorities and representatives of the independent arts scene, the festival includes cultural programming, urban regeneration and social inclusion among its stated themes, all of this under the umbrella of what is described as a commitment to intercultural contact and the ethics of encounter and tolerance. In short, the *Todos* festival is part of a process of placemaking that seeks to affirm Lisbon as a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious city. Yet this emphasis on unity comes at a price. As our research reveals, heritage ‘allegories’ reframe Portugal’s colonial history in order to make the city more attractive to tourists, ‘gentrifiers’ and those involved in the urban leisure market. *Todos* therefore produces and reproduces ideologies of consensus and a rhetoric of the conviviality of difference, while also aesthetically reframing the ‘contact zones’ where different groups meet and struggle with each other. Conviviality is this mediated by institutional, political and cultural actors, favouring the emergence of a festival space that celebrate ‘togetherness’.

Space and the interpretation of space was also a focus of our work in Rio de Janeiro – in this case, the wider implications of the recognition of the Valongo Wharf, the site of the landing and trading of enslaved Africans until 1831, as a World Heritage Site. The

narrative of value attached to this site was first analysed, as well as the treatment of the nearby New African Cemetery. Interviews conducted with those living and working in the port area, particularly those of African descent, revealed the emergence of decolonial perspectives. Perhaps most revealing was the use of heritage, difficult pasts and identification with imagined collectives related to ‘blackness’ as a form of resistance to the structural racism evident in Brazilian society today. Here again, decolonial counter-narratives have become an important means of displacing colonial ‘certainties’, not least in local and national museums, as well as illuminating changes in attitude, evident in a growing assertiveness on the part of these cultural actors.

Nuuk-Copenhagen

The entangled cities of Nuuk and Copenhagen provided an interesting comparative case study. Greenland was ceded to Denmark in 1814. It was granted limited home rule in 1979, which was extended in 2009. However, the Danish government still retains control of monetary policy and foreign affairs, which makes Greenland potentially vulnerable when it comes to issues such as sovereignty and self-determination. These political tensions are exacerbated by cultural resentments that have their origins in negative perceptions of Greenlanders as being prone to drinking, substance abuse and assorted social problems. These prejudices also have a marked racial dimension, linked in no small part to the fact that the majority of Greenland’s residents are Inuit.

Our research focused less on the racism encountered by Greenlanders who have settled in Denmark than on forms of colonial resistance. Interviews with artists and activists revealed a significant investment in forms of local knowledge, including storytelling, songs and myths (see, for instance, the Fifth Thule Expedition Atlas, [Copper Inuit Culture Area \(thuleatlas.org\)](http://thuleatlas.org), as well as ongoing efforts to critique Danish colonialism and/or symbols of Danish colonialism. Also significant in this regard is the so-called ‘Utimut Process’, a multi-year, continuing process followed by Denmark and Greenland to establish a fair distribution of over 100,000 archaeological and ethnological items currently held in Danish museums. These insurgent contestations of heritage, which are performed by Greenlandic activists and artists in Greenland and Denmark (primarily

Copenhagen), have a powerful transnational force, drawing a degree of inspiration from similar movements and protests in North America.¹⁹

ECHOES researchers in Copenhagen and Nuuk did mapping exercises of colonial heritage in Copenhagen and of the different heritage practices performed by Greenlandic activists and artists in Copenhagen. They also studied several cases of ‘removal’ in Greenland (for instance, what to do with the Hans Egede statue in Nuuk) and, above city level, looked at the special truth and reconciliation process between Greenland and Denmark. Meanwhile, ECHOES researchers in Lisbon and Rio conducted interviews with artists and activists, organised workshops and exhibitions, carried out cultural mapping exercises (Lisbon) and cooperated with local/national museums (Rio). The team were also responsible for the highly successful international online ‘Rio’ conference in April 2021, ‘Decolonising the Postcolonial? Disputes Heritages’, which attracted over 1200 attendees, many of them academics and practitioners from the Global South.

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5 Artists and Citizens (Work Package 5)

As a counterpoint to decolonial heritage discourses within city museums – and other forms of institutional knowledge – the ECHOES project was keen to map key interventions from 'the bottom-up', principally those orchestrated by artists and citizens groups. Many contemporary artists, particularly those from hitherto marginalized groups, see it as their responsibility to challenge traditional, Eurocentric heritage discourses. As our research demonstrates, artistic practices present fertile ground for establishing mid-space 'contact zones'. So, too, do the interventions of citizens groups. Recent events in Bristol, where the statue of Edward Colston was removed and thrown into the local harbour, have brought the significance of these events sharply into focus, as have similar events across Europe and beyond, many of them gaining inspiration from the #BlackLivesMatter.

ECHOES set out to map these interventions across three cities: Marseille, Bristol and Cape Town. All three are port cities with large multi-ethnic populations. Bristol and Cape Town have also been the sites of particularly intense and prolonged citizens' protests, focussed on controversial imperial/colonial figures – Cecil Rhodes, arch imperialist and

advocate of vigorous settler colonialism, in the case of Cape Town; and Edward Colston, slave trader and speculator, in the case of Bristol. All three cities also have vibrant artistic communities that have been at the forefront of efforts to interrogate the colonial past and its hauntings of the present. As our research show, citizen activists and artists ‘artivistically’ create new worlds through their art. Universes are created that challenge and critique hegemonic versions and gazes. In so doing, citizen activists and artists invent new ways of ‘touching’ their audiences and offer new embodied and affective forms of learning, experiencing and self-reflecting that extend from activist and artists’ aesthetic interventions in public spaces. More often than not, these spaces are already fuelled by socio-material intensity and strong place-based emotions, linked directly to the colonial past, such as the Colston statue in Bristol, or the University of Cape Town campus. Moreover, in Bristol and Marseille there has been an institutional response to such interventions: the policies and curatorial projects adopted by Bristol Museum Art Gallery and Musée des Civilisations de l’Europe et de la Méditerranée (MUCEM), one of our project partners, sustain processes of epistemic disobedience/decolonization.

In Marseille, the focus of our research was the striking proliferation of contemporary works exploring the complex cross-cultural relations that have resulted from a long history of exchanges between France and the Maghreb. The city of Marseille was historically the gateway to the East and Africa, which makes it an important crossroads for European, Mediterranean and African cultures. A number of artists living in Marseille take as a starting point the weight of colonialism and colonization on historical narration and representations that, although written in the past, still remain the source of intense suffering. While their responses point to the quest for justice, both social and political, they also convey a conception of the decolonization of knowledge aimed at imagining societies that are more concerned with the individual. They also share an ambition, strongly articulated, to overcome restrictive nationalistic visions of identity in the Maghreb and develop instead transnational approaches that are shaped and determined by the complexity of Franco-Maghrebi identities in art in Marseille.

In these discourses, notions such as borders take on an added resonance and meaning. Traditionally seen as markers of difference – of ways for colonial powers to assert control over conquered territories – artists like Badr El Hammami re-imagine borders as connective zones ‘without a beginning or an end’. They also pay much more attention than hitherto to modes of communication, especially oral cultures (as in the case of Berber culture) that exist at the ‘margins’ of history, forgotten or more often than not silenced. Artists in this sense are conservators of knowledge, utilizing different types of archives (audio tapes, for instance) to restore marginalized ‘voices’ to view.

In Bristol and Cape Town, on the other hand, our focus was on the insurgent contestation of heritage in public spaces, evident in the #RhodesMustFall student protest in Cape Town and in Bristol efforts to remove the Colston statue. The desecration and subsequent removal of the statue of Cecil Rhodes on the University of Cape Town campus presents us with unusual clarity and intensity a set of dynamics and relationships that are a deeply inscribed aspect of the university as institution, wherever the university has a historical relationship to colonial worlds of practice, or slave economies, or is entangled with racism, patriarchy, and forms of patronage and privilege. For a brief moment the activists of #RhodesMustFall found a language and a form of protest that was able to haul this legacy into focus. In doing so, they were aided by the form of the Rhodes statue itself, which so powerfully summarized this deeply inscribed coloniality, as well as by the sheer intensity of the surrounding symbolic and memorial landscape. To argue against systematic forms of disavowal, the disciplinary power of the institution, and the very forms of a certain kind of reason is an extraordinary achievement that involves a kind of unlearning as much as a learning.

In Cape Town, our research made it clear that there is a vibrant community of artists and citizens focussed on confronting the city’s colonial past, the legacy of slavery and the apartheid system. These practices were mobilized to: question how Cape Town still remains divided along lines of race; and to develop a curatorial strategy towards decolonizing the arts and working towards an increased inclusivity. This has been done successfully via prominent critical public art festivals such as ‘Infecting the City’ and the

‘LIVE Art’ public art festival, both of which present socially engaged, dynamic art in inclusive public spaces – for example, Thibault Square and the railway station.

To respond to the presence of colonial memories and legacies, artists and citizens rely on large-scale public art installations to bring attention to the crime and injustice done towards anti-apartheid leaders (for example, Haroon Gun Salies’ installation *Crying for Justice*, outside the castle of Good Hope); and on questioning and challenging the government about the display of symbols of colonial and apartheid leaders via performative installations (for example, Nicolene Burger’s *Take Flight* and Sikumbuzo Mkhandulas’s performative multi-media work, *Zizimase*, at District Six Museum in Cape Town)). As a call for healing and respect to enslaved ancestors, these works, and others like them, serve as public cleansing rituals and pay tribute to the dead.

In Bristol, many of the same forces and ideas were also in play, prompting not just the removal of the Colston statue but moves to rename other sites associated with Colston (for example, Colston Hall, which is now ‘Bristol Beacon’), as well as forms of guerrilla memorialization, as in the case of the erection on the empty (‘Colston’) plinth of a life-size statue of local black activist Jen Reid.

These sites have had an interesting afterlife, inviting further interrogation of the colonial past. Here again, art forms give life and expression to the sensuous and affective layers of experiences, whether paintings, installations or performative works. In each case, the medium of communication to wider audiences is highly important, as it decides how audiences are supposed to engage with and *feel* the experience in question. The medium of walking, for example, is a common tool to make publics themselves embody the traces of the past in an urban landscape. Bristol-based artist Christelle Pellecueur's film *Echoes of Our Ancestors* (2021), which was funded by the ECHOES project, does this by that taking us on an embodied and poetic journey into Bristol's slave-owning past.

To the extent to which the art forms are relational and deploy interfaces for audiences to engage with and immerse themselves into, while at the same time creating an escapist self-forgetting experience, the more they succeed in producing self-reflective subjects that have been touched by art. Meghna Singh's work in the immersive multimedia installation, *Container*, which traces the linkages between historical and contemporary slavery within the context of Cape Town's urban geography, deals with a lot of ambiguous feelings in the publics she is addressing: unruly moods and atmosphere-creation, feelings of empathy with the victims of slavery and the responsibility-taking necessary to correct errors. This mix of sometimes contradictory feelings is productive, we argue, as it shows very clearly that a decolonial future is not like a seamless dream but presents a delicate and self-aware balance out of all our comfort-zones, pointing towards new horizons of collaborations that will make us all grow and feel alive.

ECHOES researchers interviewed artists and activists in Bristol and Marseille, undertook site visits (Bristol and Cape Town), organized workshops and symposia (Cape Town and Rennes), including the highly successful ‘Echoes of Empire: International Panel on Art and Colonial Heritage in the Cities of Bristol, Cape Town and Marseille’, in May 2021. They also produced three ‘Sub-Reports on Artists and Citizens (Bristol, Cape Town, Marseille)’ and played a leading role in managing the project’s relationship with the Musée des Civilisations de l’Europe et de la Méditerranée (MUCEM).

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7 Heritage Diplomacy (Work Package 6)

One of the tasks the ECHOES project set itself was to re-evaluate the notion of 'science diplomacy', which hitherto has been associated with 'diffusion'; that is, the export of ideas, values, expertise and money. This emphasis is perhaps most common associated with US cultural diplomacy post-WW2. Similar ideas have been embedded (and are still evident) in a lot of thinking about the EU's exercise of 'soft power' – even at a moment when the EU (as of 2016) has committed itself to International Cultural Relations, which imagines states and other actors working collaboratively, rather than in pursuit of narrow national interests.

During the first twelve months of the project, we spent a lot of time scoping the literature on European science diplomacy, while at the same time framing a new discourse around the idea of ‘heritage diplomacy’, which engaged with the EU’s ‘Strategy for International Cultural Relations’ (2016). In M13 we produced a brief outline model, which formed the basis for the **first** of three ECHOES workshops held in Brussels on 15 May 2019. The 18 participants included academics from different institutions (University of Leuven, Vrije Universiteit Brussels, Universite Laval, etc.). Some of these were members of other Horizon 2020 projects, including EI-CSID and Ilucidare, as part of our strategy to connect with other projects with an interest in heritage diplomacy. Representatives of various European institutions and networks were also in attendance (e.g., House of European History, Europa Nostra, Eurocities, ENCATC, TRACES, UNREST, SOPHIA). The main aims of the workshop were to introduce the ECHOES project to key stakeholders, while at the same time outlining our particular approach to heritage diplomacy. To this end, prior to the event participants were supplied with a conceptual working paper on heritage diplomacy.

The feedback from **Workshop 1** informed our first policy brief, disseminated among participants in June 2019. From this point, we worked on two different tracks. The first was to develop our knowledge and understanding on non-European perspectives, which formed the subject of **Workshop 2** held in Brussels in October 2019. The aim of this workshop was to reflect on what Europe might learn from diplomacy practices outside Europe and to spark discussion on European-non-European collaborations. Speakers included Jean-Francois Manicom from the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool; Dr Da Kong from Fudan University, Shanghai; Bonita Bennett from the District Six Museum in Cape Town; Suraji Sarkar from the Centre for Community Knowledge, New Delhi; and Calvyn Gilfellan, CEO, Castle of Good Hope, Cape Town. Participants: 27. This workshop formed the basis of our second policy brief, published in January 2020: ‘Heritage Diplomacy – A Way Forward for Colonial Heritage in Europe.’

https://projectechoes.eu/wp-content/uploads/ECHOES_Policy-Brief_Heritage-Diplomacy_January-2020.pdf

Plans for a parallel workshop on ‘Perspectives from the Inside Out’, which was our other research focus, were delayed by the COVID-19. The intervening period also witnessed the murder of George Floyd in May 2020 and the rise of #BlackLivesMatter protests across Europe. The delayed workshop was eventually held online in September 2020. Participants included Walter Zampieri, Head of Unit at the EU’s Education Audiovisual and Cultural Executive Agency (EACEA), Damien Helly, team leader of Tfanen-Tinisie Creative (EUNIC-British Council Programme, and Andrew Murray, former Global Director of EUNIC (European Union National Institute for Culture). Participants: c. 45. This workshop formed the basis of our third and final policy brief, published in March 2021: ‘A Renewed impetus for Reflection on our Colonial Legacies in 2020.’ Available at: https://projectechoes.eu/wp-content/uploads/ECHOES_heritage-diplomacy-policy-brief_3_final.pdf. As the title suggests, this policy brief reflected more broadly on the impact of COVID and #BlackLivesMatter on EU policy, while at the same time pushing the case for a reinvigoration of International Cultural Relations (ICR), particularly as it affected EU policies on the ground.

Drawing on all this, our objective has been to frame and disseminate a different notion of ‘science diplomacy’ that emphasizes the importance of dialogue, intercultural ‘contact zones’ and active listening. Our work presses heavily on current debates about migration, refugees, heritage, history and memory. Our aim is to influence these debates by offering a different strategic emphasis and one that is more attuned to realities on the ground – particularly those projects that engage critically and imaginatively with Europe’s colonial legacies.

7.1 Core Principles

Cultural cooperation, like any kind of cooperation, depends on reciprocity and trust. If our research demonstrates anything, it is the way colonialism haunts Europe’s civil and political relations, creating an atmosphere in which heritage debates quickly becomes polarized, particularly when so-called cherished symbols of the past (statues, institutions, rituals, ceremonies) seem to be under attack. It is easy to become distracted by these culture wars but at the heart of the European project going forward must be a

reckoning with the legacies of colonialism; not in a superficial or tokenistic way but honestly and openly.

We also stress the importance of intercultural ‘contact zones’, where actors from different cultural backgrounds and with different resources and power engage with each other on equal terms.²⁰ This necessarily involves ‘Europe’ opening up to and acknowledging the different modes of transculturation practised by the marginalized and granting them far more agency. It also involves ‘active listening’, an approach to listening that is based on a genuine interest in the other’s perspective and which considers listening as an outcome in and of itself.²¹ Listening, we believe, is the primary characteristic of two-way communication. Who does the talking and who does the listening is key to this approach, as strengths and weaknesses are part of the positionalities in ALL diplomatic relations; not just in global-North and global-south relations but in relations *within* the global North and global South. This applies as much to broader debates about cultural cooperation, as it does to the restitution of colonial objects or the decolonization of museums and galleries.

It follows from this that we should also place greater emphasis on the intrinsic value and significance of different types of knowledge and different epistemologies. Here again, we look to the example of what is going on in many museums across Europe and beyond. Whereas in the past, museums tended to align themselves with official versions of the past, today many of them are much more likely to be aligned to community and indigenous knowledge.²² This is particularly true in the case of city museums, such as those in Lisbon and Amsterdam, which see it as part of their job to formulate more explicit decolonial perspectives by engaging with local communities and representing their concerns, whether cultural, social or environmental.²³ Much the same applies to citizen groups and artistic collectives of one kind or another, many of which are marginalized and/or speak from positions of marginality. Citizens groups, by definition,

²⁰ Pratt 1991

²¹ Di Martino 2020

²² Crooke 2006

²³ Ariese 2019

are rooted in a deep sense of community knowledge, however loosely defined, just as they are determined to preserve this knowledge and give it some form of cultural expression, whether through music, art or film.

Finally, we believe that policymakers should move beyond state-centric ideas that regard diplomacy as the exclusive preserve of the state, foreign ministries and their authorized representatives. Rather, we place much greater emphasis on plural diplomacies, involving a much broader range of diplomatic actors, including curators, artists and citizens groups.²⁴ As our research reveals, those working on the ground, whether they be museum curators, artists, or citizen groups, often create projects that involve a deeper engagement with colonial legacies in their communities. There is a great opportunity to further this agenda, we believe, by supporting and encouraging the work of such grassroots actors.

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²⁴ Cornago 2013

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8. What did we learn?

We can briefly summarize our findings as follows:

- Colonialism continues to haunt Europe's civil and political relations. This is evident not only in the insurgent contestation of colonial heritage in public spaces and heritage institutions: pulling down statues, renaming roads and buildings, decolonizing the curriculum, the restitution of colonial artefacts. It is also evident in the way in which Europe and the EU responds to the so-called migrant crisis, refugees, health care, housing and European identity – even scientific and medical research. All of this has been brought sharply into focus by the recent COVID-19 pandemic, which has exposed harmful and

demeaning colonial mentalities, a kind of blindness connected to the lingering fantasy of European superiority.

- Paradoxically, there is an increasing willingness to engage with this often-problematic past, at times in highly creative, reflexive, and transnationally open ways, particularly within an urban context. Here we can identify a number of diplomatic actors, among them museum curators, artists, filmmakers, citizens groups and educators. What these different groups have in common is a willingness to engage with colonial legacies and subject them to critical scrutiny, creating in the process interventions that recognise the creative force and energy of those hitherto marginalized or denied a voice, particularly when it comes to something as sensitive and politically charged as heritage. We can see this not only across Europe but also within non-European cities – in our case, Cape Town, Rio and Shanghai.
- These decolonial heritage practices are deeply sympathetic to – and keen to embrace – different knowledges and different epistemologies. They also point unequivocally towards a future of more diversity and less inequality. Not that such a future is necessarily within close reach—in fact, far from it. But alternative scenarios are nonetheless frequently tried out as alternative lifestyles and forms of economic organizations by groups defeated by capitalism and colonialism, if only on an experimental basis.
- Such bottom-up initiatives are critically important but we believe that they need to be supported and encouraged by EU policymakers and stakeholders. If anything, there is a gap here – that is, between the EU's commitment to International Cultural Relations, on the one hand, and its practice, on the other. To make good on the promise of 'cooperation with local stakeholders and civil society at all levels', the EU needs to adapt its policies and its training accordingly, paying far greater attention to the voices of the marginalized and giving them much greater agency.
- Decolonisation is not an event but an ongoing process. If we are to face up to the enduring legacies of past wrongdoings and create a future that is both

equitable and fair, then we need to move away from official narratives and Eurocentric notions of ‘heritage’, while at the same time embracing holistic approaches that recognize the different ways knowledge and heritage are produced and consumed; that give a voice to the marginalized; and place much greater emphasis on diversity and inclusivity.

8.1 Policy Recommendations

Throughout the duration of the ECHOES project (2018-2021), we have analyzed different projects addressing colonial heritage at the city level in a range of different countries: the UK, The Netherlands, Denmark, Greenland France, Portugal, Poland, China, Brazil and South Africa.

Here we bring together some of our key recommendations:

- There is an urgent need for EU policymakers at all levels to confront the legacies of European colonialism.
- While there are significant barriers to the creation of a shared European narrative of our colonial past, some of them political or related to different interpretations of the colonial past across member states, we need to arrive at a more equitable (and decolonial) representation of colonial legacies across Europe.
- While top-down approaches have their merits, grassroots movements and independent cultural actors (including museum curators, artists and citizens groups) are vitally important in advancing our understanding of colonial legacies and in helping us to imagine a future that is significantly different.
- Such independent cultural actors bring with them a wealth of knowledge that needs to be incorporated into heritage practices and treated on equal terms with other forms of knowledge (e.g., scientific knowledge).
- Listening and the ability to foster genuine intercultural dialogue are skills that policymakers and EU professionals at all levels need to exercise routinely.

This includes an openness towards integrating a wider range of actors into diplomatic activities and involving them in policy development processes.

- European institutions, representatives and policymakers should go further in advocating the acceptance of a multicultural Europe as a precondition for thinking in terms of intercultural relations. This includes addressing inconsistencies in the treatment of heritage across different areas of policy interventions (e.g., integration, development, etc.).
- Whether labelled as heritage diplomacy or ICR, international collaboration projects and initiatives that address the colonial past need to be based on a foundation of trust and mitigate against unequal power relations between partners. This should include actions or reparations needed to reckon with the colonial past.
- Rather than being ignored, or addressed solely by grassroots efforts, colonial heritage needs be mainstreamed at European level and should be included as a fundamental topic in existing heritage and arts initiatives.

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