"Something Didn't Feel Right." A Retrospective View from the Future*

* This text was written on the occasion of my lecture at the conference *Archiving Feminist Futures: Temporality and Gender in Cultural Analysis*, held at the Humboldt University in Berlin on November 3, 2018. With this in mind, I would like to thank Silvy Chakkalakal, who invited me to the conference.

Today is November 3, 2031, and there's a lot going on in our small occupied museum in Vienna – there are more of us every day, and each day we continue with our work. We look through material, we develop theses, we cook, we research, we make exhibitions, open them, and show them to each other, we read and write, we learn languages, we write a blog that is read internationally, we organize ourselves. The museum has become our place of retreat and refuge – a space for discussion, thought, and living. Gradually, we have taken it over and rebuilt it for our own purposes. We have left two of the rooms in their original form – these we use for exhibitions.

We've known for some time now that we won't be able to achieve much. Whenever we want to lift each other's spirits, we imagine ourselves as an echo of the future – we hope that after this regime and the seemingly endless cycle of lies and violence, something else will come. We speak of a new Left, which we imagine as feminist but also and above all as freer, more equal, and more united than the Left and the future have been until now. We imagine a different future, then, different to those ideas of the future we have imagined until now, but above all different to any further extension of this present. It helps us to survive this moment. We look forward and we look back, in order to better understand what has happened. Not because we think it is possible to avoid making any mistakes, but because we believe it doesn't always have to be the same mistakes that we do make.

I'm the main person in charge of the exhibitions, and happily so. Particularly since we see them as spaces of assembly. Tomorrow, before the plenum, I will again give a tour of the new exhibition. It's based upon material from a 426-day period in the 2010s. The small archival show begins in April 2017 with *documenta 14*, which was held in Athens and Kassel, and ends in early 2018 with the tenth edition of the Berlin Biennale. To us, it seemed a good curatorial idea to pick a year between two large-scale exhibitions, in order to further pursue a question that we return to repeatedly, one that arises primarily with regard to material from the late 2010s. Everything seems so contradictory, and yet no one seems to have given it any thought at the time. The national-conservative, authoritarian AfD (Alternative for Germany) grew slowly stronger, until it became the governing party in Germany and now – with authoritarian partner administrations throughout almost all of Europe – the leading power in the current ruling alliance. The African continent, where many of us have since moved and where many more of us would like to go if only we had passports, was very present in the German art scene in the '10s. Since then, Africa has increasingly become a place of reference for us. We printed out messages and photographs from our colleagues in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Bamako, and Dakar from our computers and phones, because we wanted them around us, and we collaborated on a blog with our many fellow activists there for as long as it was still possible.

But I'm digressing. Back to the materials: Perspectives against the racism of the increasingly powerful right-wing parties and the increasing fascisization of society seem to have emerged above all in the materials, concepts, and rhetoric of exhibitions. We'll use a word from that time to describe it: post-political. The exhibitions' printed materials display an evident formal ambition – they look expensive, but their design also seems to want to draw on cheap and simple materials. The texts announcing the exhibitions do so with fighting spirit, and yet their materials were strongly influenced by the economies of their time. I'll show both rooms of the small exhibition in my tour, beginning with *documenta 14* ...

November 4, 2031

My dear colleagues and fellow activists, it's my pleasure to be able to present the exhibition to you before the plenum today. In our working group, we have tried repeatedly over the last few years to understand what happened in the years of Europe's transition, as the continent became increasingly fascistic. A programmer from Germany has provided us with a "Wayback Machine" internet backup of the years 2020–2025, and so we can surf the internet as it was at that time. We have all "public" data from this period, including that of websites that are no longer available to us here today due to regulated access. But we only have historical data. Social media was no longer new by then, it already seemed old-fashioned, and for all the promises advertised by social media companies at the time, it hasn't gotten any more serviceable since. And with every government so focused on exerting control, most of it is inaccessible anyway. In developing the concept for this exhibition, we focused on artistic institutions. We picked a single year in Germany. We looked at exhibition websites, announcements, videos, and discussions. We have tried to understand them. A lot of it sounds great, compatible with our ideals, a lot of it sounds radical. The historical sheen is hard to understand, though. It sounds strange. But maybe we can get some understanding of it together by looking at the materials.

The title of our exhibition comes from a very different time: it's quoted from a Surrealist book from the early 20th century. It is taken from the last page of *Nadja* by André Breton: "Something didn't feel right."^A Why did we decide on this title? The sentence is simultaneously both succinct and ominous. That's just how it must have felt. And it can be sensed to have originated from a time when a lot of things still seemed normal. And then again did not. This same feeling emanates from the material – and therefore the title. But now let's turn to the materials, then we can see for ourselves or at least try to understand together how it was.

^A Translator's note: In the original French, this quote ("Il y a quelque chose qui ne va pas") translates roughly to "There is something wrong." It was translated variously as "Irgendetwas stimmte nicht" ("Something wasn't right") in the German edition and "There is something which is not working" in the English.

Room 1: documenta 14

We decided to arrange the exhibition in chronological order. This was suggested by both its chosen spatiotemporal dimension – Germany in the period between two large-scale exhibitions – and its collected material. I'll begin, as I said I would, with *documenta 14*. It opened with a press conference, held on April 6, 2017 in Athens.

On April 6 of all dates ... still a day of remembrance for us today. We feel it's important to remember, even if so many things got so much worse later on. We still cling to the moment of transition, maybe obsessively. Each year, we remember the crimes of the terrorist group that named itself the "National Socialist Underground," a group that was already extremely well organized long before the wider turn to fascism. April 6 was the day that Halit Yozgat was murdered in an internet café in Kassel. For us, April 6 has become a transnational reference point – those of us who do remember are scattered across the world – a day of anti-fascist action that stretches back to the time when travel within Europe and from Europe to other places was still taken for granted by those with European passports. After the NSU murders, survivors of the attacks, friends and relatives of the victims, and activists all came together – many of them visited us while it was still easy for them to travel. A month after the murder, they organized a demonstration under the banner "No 10th Victim." A video of this demonstration was shown at *documenta 14*. We're showing it again here:



It was presented at documenta in Kassel by the "Society of Friends of Halit," a group founded on the occasion of *documenta 14* that was also present at the opening on April 6 in Athens. It was described on the *documenta 14* website as follows:

[...] The Society of Friends of Halit, part of the Parliament of Bodies, the documenta 14 Public Programs, understands migration as an irreversible process and aligns itself with the society of the many. The Society of Friends of Halit connects various groups and initiatives working on such issues: People's Tribunal Unravelling the NSU Complex, Initiative 6. April, Forensic Architecture, and many more activists, researchers, filmmakers, and artists. The Society is an alliance with those whose work is devoted to antiracist and antifascist research and activism between and beyond the cities of Kassel and Athens, work which has been ongoing for decades and continues today.¹

Ayşe Güleç was one of the activists. She worked for *documenta 14*, and to this day she is an extremely important member of our community of activists. In a memorable plenum in 2025 - I remember how distraught we all were, while she always remained so spirited, warm, and peaceful

¹ Cf. online at https:// www.documenta14.de/en/ public-programs/22411/ the-society-of-friends-of-halit [12.09.2018].

Fig. 1 "No 10th Victim" demonstration in Kassel, 2006, still from the video "No 10th Victim" by Sefa Defterli, https://pad.ma/ CTC/editor/00:00:00;00:05: 43.321#embed throughout the years – she made the suggestion that we choose April 6 as a day of remembrance. So that we would have some dates to hold on to in this absurd time, in this absurd world. She suggested we tell the story every year on April 6, in order that we don't forget that nothing happened suddenly, and that we don't forget what was when we can't forget what is, at a time when we want to draw together all of our strength to fight the reality by building a counterfactual future.

11 years had already elapsed since Halit Yozgat's murder by 2017, and still it remained unsolved. The date of his death provided an occasion for remembrance at the press conference for *documenta* 14. The exhibition – 14 years ago now – was probably also somehow decisive in defining the significance of our day of commemoration. The "Society of Friends of Halit" worked in collaboration with a research collective from London by the name of Forensic Architecture. Ayşe Güleç wrote about their work together at the time:

In March 2017, an activist-organized international conference was held at Berlin's Haus der Kulturen der Welt [House of World Cultures] under the title The Apparatus of Racism. Using a leaked police video, scenes from the murder were reenacted in a 1:1 scale model of the place of the crime, in order to test the plausibility of Andreas Temme's testimony. The video underlying the reconstruction of the murder – filmed in Halit's internet café – was intended by Temme to support his claim, as a former employee of Hessen's intelligence services, that he had failed to notice Halit Yozgat lying shot on the floor of the café when leaving; in other words, that he had neither heard nor seen anything of the murder despite his presence in the café's back rooms at the time of the murder being verified. This police video formed the basis of the "investigation of the investigation" or "reenactment of the reconstruction of Temme's testimony within the microcosm of the recreated internet café, made it possible to substantiate arguments, long put forward by the victim's family, that problematized the role of those state institutions involved in the murder investigation. For many years, İsmail Yozgat, Halit's father, analyzed the inconsistencies in the testimony of the then employee of the intelligence services.²

Here we see the video by Forensic Architecture, which was shown in a huge number of exhibitions in the years following *documenta 14*:



documenta 14 continues to be relevant to us today. We wanted to understand more about the context in which anti-fascist groups organized themselves. It wasn't at all long ago – I was ten years old then, and I still remember the music I listened to, the Netflix series I watched, and the first books I read with enthusiasm – but it was a very different time.

² Ayşe Güleç: "The Society of Friends of Halit. Migrant-Situated Knowledge and Affirmative Sabotage," documenta studies #01, October 2018, online at: https://documenta-studien. de/media/1/documentastudien_1-Ays%CC%A7e_ Gu%CC%88lec%CC%A7_ EN.pdf [12.09.2018].

Fig. 2

"77sqm_9:26min" Counter investigation of the testimony of Andreas Temme in relation to the murder of Halit Yozgat in Kassel, April 6, 2006. Commissioned by the "Unraveling the NSU Complex" people's tribunal; Haus der Kulturen der Welt (HKW); Initiative 6 April; and *documenta 14*, accessible online at: www.forensicarchitecture.org/ We found an image of the opening in the "Wayback Machine" while researching the exhibition:

<image>

Fig. 3

documenta 14's artistic director Adam Szymczyk surrounded by his team Photo: Kaelen Wilson-Goldie, accessible online at: www.artforum.com/diary/ kaelen-wilson-goldie-at-theopening-of-documenta-14in-athens-67683

Most probably just a press photo. We decided to project certain images onto the wall. In the course of preparing the exhibition, we looked at them together and asked ourselves: What sort of collective is that? What sort of staging is that? When we tried to understand the image of the "team" as it presented itself at the press conference, we couldn't avoid the impression of an arrangement of bodies. We all agreed: they look like managers from that time – the old-fashioned suits worn with trainers, the shirts and the skirts. The photo presents collectivity as a hierarchy. Who's the focal point? One man and one woman seem to be at the center of things. We know of course that everything is directed toward the "artistic director" – Adam Szymczyk. But how are the bodies arranged in this so-called "Parliament of Bodies"? It looks almost as if they formed an audience that is looking back at us. We try to understand the change of perspective that took place in the staging of the press conference, but in the end, we see managers – a leading manager and his team – or we see a choir. One at the front, with the others joining in. While we identify with the substance of the exhibition, the image of collectivity the picture presents is strange and cold and alienating to us. What does this mean for our current exhibition? For the year 2017/2018 that it refers to?

We also found a piece of graffiti from Athens in the "Wayback Machine":



We don't fully understand it, but it seemed sensible to us to project it along with the picture of the press conference. Let me show you what else we found:

Adam Szymczyk was vilified as a Pole in the German press and as a German in the Greek press. We think to ourselves how heavily the Second World War fed into this perception. Time becomes blurred ... A financial debacle that arose during *documenta 14* was then played up in the press, and the exhibition's CEO seemingly forced out. More defamation, this time with the AfD at the forefront. We're unable to lay bare the many contradictions, to untangle the knots, to answer the questions that present themselves to us. And now we continue: let's go together to the photos there at the front. They show the documenta work "Monument to Strangers and Refugees" by the artist Olu Oguibe.



It consists of a 16.3-meter-high obelisk, erected in the middle of the Königsplatz square, with the inscription "I was a stranger and you took me in" – a quote from the Bible, given in four languages (German, English, Arabic, and Turkish). Both the quote and the form of the obelisk exude overdetermined meanings – powerful forms are thus appropriated and turned back on themselves. We therefore talk of the work as a para-monument.

For this artwork for *documenta 14*, Olu Oguibe was awarded the Arnold Bode Prize by the city of Kassel. In a cultural committee held that same year to discuss the possibility of the obelisk remaining on Königsplatz, the Kassel city councilor Thomas Materner, of the AfD, described the artwork as "ideologically polarizing, deformed art."³ He announced demonstrations against the

Fig. 4 Graffiti from Athens

Figs. 5 & 6 Königsplatz during *documenta 14*, Kassel 2017 Olu Oguibe: "Monument to Strangers and Refugees" (2017). Photo: documenta studies/ Nicolas Wefers

³ "ideologisch polarisierende, entstellte Kunst": Quoted from Andreas Hermann/ Werner Fritsch: "Eklat im Kulturausschuss um Verbleib des d14-Kunstwerks. documenta-Kunstwerk Obelisk: Die AfD spricht von 'entstellter Kunst," in: HNA, August 8, 2017, online at: www. hna.de/kultur/documenta/ documenta-kunstwerkobelisk-afd-spricht-vonentstellter-kunst-8601756. html [12.09.2018].

sculpture. The *Hessische/Niedersächsische Allgemeine (HNA)* newspaper further paraphrased him as follows: "In his experience, there is great anger on the part of the city's citizens over the obelisk."⁴ Even then, Materner's use of the word "deformed" and his talk of the anger of the citizens sounded like an echo from the history of the November Pogroms in Germany, when the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda specified the wording of the "wrath of the people" to the press.⁵ From reports made at the time of *documenta 14*, we gather that Olu Oguibe's paramonument had become a place of assembly in Kassel city center.

The photos show that the base of the obelisk was used every day by young people and passersby. They sit on it, they read and type on their phones, sometimes they're talking to one another. In combining its appropriation of the monumental form with a simultaneously approachable plinth, the obelisk on Königsplatz invited people to use it, to meet in front of it, to sit on it. And so the para-monument had performative qualities, acting out its inscription on a daily basis and allowing its irony to emerge, while the question of its remaining on the square or not became a frequent topic of discussion among the citizens of Kassel. In the end it couldn't stay and was installed instead in the city's Treppenstraße. This new location was situated between the Fridericianum and the Kulturbahnhof, a route that is central to documenta 15 during the exhibition's run in 2022. This second location, though, was less heterogeneously frequented than the original site, and its selection seemingly appeared somewhat opportune.

Finally, we exhibit in this room an act of vandalism – perpetrated in fact by a group that continues to this day to name itself "identitarian." The photo most likely originates from early 2018.



Were these the same people who would later issue their diktats to the boards of universities and museums under this name? We know, then, that art had already begun to be addressed by the Right in 2018. They stuck a label over Thomas Schütte's work "Die Fremden" (The Foreigners), produced for *documenta 9* in 1992, writing "No foothold for the anti-Germans."^B We are aware, of course, that this is a right-wing appropriation of an old anti-fascist slogan. But if I stop here any longer, we won't get to the plenum. And I promised not to speak for more that 45 minutes. So let's go to the next room.

⁴ "Die Wut der Bürger über den Obelisken sei seiner Erfahrung nach groß." Ibid.

⁵ "Zorn des Volkes": Wolfgang Benz: "Schrei, was du kannst. Der Weg in den Holocaust (I): Die 'Reichskristallnacht' 1938," in: *Der Spiegel*, September 12, 1988, online at: www.spiegel. de/spiegel/print/d-13529779. html [12.09.2018].

Fig. 7 "Kein Fußbreit den Antideutschen" sticker (No foothold for the anti-Germans) stuck over the label for "Die Fremden" (The Foreigners) by Thomas Schütte, *documenta 9*, 1992. Photo: Gila Kolb

^B Translator's note: "Kein Fußbreit den Antideutschen" is an appropriation of the anti-fascist slogan "Kein Fußbreit den Faschisten." "Kein Fußbreit geben" means roughly "Concede no ground."

Room 2: Struggles around Representation

On January 25, 2018, a retrospective exhibition by the Guerrilla Girls opened at the Kestner Gesellschaft in Hanover. It was announced online as follows:

With the exhibition *The Art of Behaving Badly* by the Guerrilla Girls, the Kestner Gesellschaft is presenting one of the most important international positions of the feminist Institutional Critique. Since 1985, the Guerrilla Girls have operated as an anonymous group of female activists in the United States who draw attention to the underrepresentation of women and people of color in galleries, museums, and other art institutions. With posters in public spaces, videos, events, performances, and publications, they reveal the widespread exclusion mechanisms in the art world, which even today contribute to a one-sided, white-male-dominated art and cultural landscape. [...] The Kestner Gesellschaft is presenting the first institutional solo exhibition in Germany by the Guerrilla Girls with around thirty selected posters and banners from 1985 to today as well as four video works from 2015 and 2016. In addition, the Guerrilla Girls will present a new work, which they developed as part of their examination of the history of the Kestner Gesellschaft.⁶

We reflect upon the language of this announcement and, above all, its temporality. Although our Wayback Machine only begins at 2020, the announcement – two years old by that point – somehow remains within a future that is vague and simultaneously both eternal and long past. We decided to include this text in the exhibition for two reasons: Firstly, the Guerrilla Girls were extremely important for both feminist art history and the Institutional Critique of the late 20th century. From the early 1980s onward, they became a symbol of the much-needed interrogation of institutional exclusions and sexism within museums. Such approaches are naturally of interest to us, even if it is a very different thing for us to contemplate feminism now, after the backlash. But we don't want to allow ourselves to be defined by banal, sexist, and violent policies and institutionalizations – their influence upon our lives is already far too great. They don't need to penetrate our thoughts, dreams, and imaginations too.



But we present this poster from that time for another reason also. It is part of our process of questioning, and it is connected to our sense of unease. There seems to have been a boom in the representation of women's positions shortly before the authoritarian turn. Why? And how did it happen? Was it progress, a part of the problem, or both? The Guerrilla Girls' institution-critical interventions drew attention to this state of affairs. They didn't celebrate it as a success but instead widened their perspective to include "artists of color." From this, we infer that the group did in fact see this development as constituting progress, but progress made too late and in urgent need of expansion. We ourselves have a retrospective view of the poster, and so we inevitably discuss

⁶ Cf. online at https:// kestnergesellschaft.de/ wp-content/uploads/ sites/26/2018/01/Pressrelease_Guerrilla-Girls-_The-Art-of-Behaving-Badly.pdf [12.09.2018].

Fig. 8 Guerrilla Girls poster at the occasion of the exhibition *The Art of Behaving Badly*, 2018 at the Kestner Gesellschaft. Photo: Kestner Gesellschaft it in somewhat different terms. Certainly, the battles fought for representation were in some respects successful, and we see ourselves as existing within that history. We work on the basis of a convergence of struggles, but one that is only possible thanks to our predecessors and their efforts to delegitimize the idea of the main contradiction. In our position – marginalized, with no immediate danger to our lives but largely stripped of our power to act – anything other than such a convergence would seem absurd. Our main contradiction is that we seek to fight fascism with an imagination that is not defined by the fact of its fighting.

But is it perhaps possible that this increase in representation was already part of the backlash? Part of the reduction of representation to a facade? Could it be that those positions that were formed around identity politics and went on to claim important victories in gaining inclusion for marginalized positions were in fact unknowingly integrated into the production of this facade?

If we take a look at the internet of the 2020s, we can't escape the impression of a multiplied representation and a multiplied public – both increasingly generated on the basis of mathematics and algorithms – that were no longer either representative or a public in the classic sense. Far more, they seem to have served to segregate the in fact only seemingly still extant and much-invoked "public sphere," to divide it, and to control it within filter bubbles, while the question of who may be allowed to access that *general intellect* our predecessors contributed to on social media, where, and why was knowingly hidden from public view. In this way, the division of one public into many became the basis for its administration, maybe even its exhaustion. If the Guerrilla Girls assumed the existence of a public and its representation back in 2018, then did they actually have anything at all to do with the sort of public they demanded, invoked, and addressed? Or was the algorithmically calculated and fragmented public sphere already long economized, privatized, possibly even simulated? And does the demand for a stronger presence of people of color in the space of these simulacrums of "representation" and the "public" make any sense at all?

In 2017, these demands were made by anti-racist artists and activists at demonstrations, in institutions, and in panel discussions. They addressed the provincialism and fatuity of the existing canon and the recruitment policies of that time. Among those making such demands was an important funding body: the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (KSB, German Federal Funding Foundation for Culture), which sought to counter the absurd homogeneity of undoubtedly reactionary museums and institutions by creating new funding channels – or as we prefer to no longer say today, by "implementing" approaches aimed at diversification. Our exhibition includes an interface that allows anyone to browse the various programs from that period.⁷ We're trying to unpick their wording. What was it about, this moment, when there still existed powerful discourses that weren't aimed against us? What did it mean? What made it possible? And to what extent, despite the proximity of those ideas to our own dreams and the clear position that the identitarians were themselves later able to "implement" – namely the transformation of museums to well-functioning, globally networked, neonationalized, and experimental propaganda machines?

⁷ Cf. online at www. kulturstiftung-des-bundes.de/ de/projekte/nachhaltigkeit_ und_zukunft/detail/360_ fonds_fuer_kulturen_der_ neuen_stadtgesellschaft.html [12.09.2018]. One of the projects supported by the KSB in 2018 was *Hello World* at the Hamburger Bahnhof in Berlin. We find the title strange, and yet it speaks to us. We ourselves still manage to communicate with the world and with our friends and fellow activists. It isn't always easy. But we persist, we build networks, we are in contact with programmers and know people in free countries who organize and support our communication. And so *Hello World* speaks to us somehow, but despite this it still sounds odd. Who said it back then? And to whom? We show the promotional video for the exhibition, to help us understand.⁸ This makes it clear: the exhibition was meant to thematize unconscious (but no less violent) exclusions and the colonial history of Germany, and the collection was to be addressed through examining the gaps within it. It seems a little spurious. Just another promotional video from the time, then, we think to ourselves.

A further important recipient of the KSB's funding was the Berlin Biennale. It had a fantastic title in 2018, a reference to a song we always love to hear since it reminds us of our grandmothers: "We Don't Need Another Hero" by Tina Turner.



⁸ Cf. online at www.youtube. com/watch?v=Xmky0VQhlAs [12.09.2018].

Fig. 9 Key visual of the *10th Berlin Biennale for Contemporary Art*, 2018, concept and graphic design by Maziyar Pahlevan



Fig. 10 Curatorial team, *10th Berlin Biennale* Photo: Anthea Schaap

Everything we could find about this exhibition on the Wayback Machine resonates with us. This is surely in part down to the fact that it presented so many positions from South Africa, where we'd all love to be. It seems to us to be a place of the future, a place of refuge already reached by some of us, a place that provides the base for much of our communication. There was no lack of people of color in the exhibition, then. What the exhibition did unfortunately lack was performative power – we all know that the AfD was becoming increasingly strong at that time, and today it's the identitarians who govern art.

What we think we understand from the material is this: There were important fighters and activists within the field of art, they were anything but naive, and they spoke up and used those spaces that were available to them. They fought institutions (such as the Humboldt Forum in Berlin, today a stronghold of the identitarians) or they transformed them with governmental means or from within. They were every bit as concerned with challenging the canon and the existing discourse as they were with adapting themselves to the situation. They won space for discourse, created jobs, and lost positions. The material shows us how they succeeded in changing institutions, but also the extent to which neoliberal, post-democratic structures had already shaped the discourses and subjectivities of the time. The field of art seemed to be a battle ground for themes that still occupy us today, but many battles appeared to already have been lost. The signs were there. And the will too. But everything was always already arranged in such a way that its path was inevitable. In post-politics, the train rides on tracks whose switching points are undemocratically operated. At first, the train continues to travel with an advert for democracy sprayed on its exterior. Trains today simply look the way they look. If they don't cross any borders and we can find some money somehow, we're allowed to travel along with them. But they promise not to arrive anywhere where things would be better. This exhibition could barely end on a sadder note than this - it's a history of our present moment. But after this present, there will be a future. Our future.

Let's begin the plenum now ...

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NORA STERNFELD "Something Didn't Feel Right." A Retrospective View from the Future

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