

# On a Museum of Care (in Rojava)

Elif Sarican, Nika Dubrovsky, and Elizaveta Mhaili

Fig. 41  
Nika Dubrovsky, *Hiwa K "Chicago Boys: While We Were Singing, They Were Dreaming,"* 2010, 2020



We produce a cup only once, but we wash and dry it a thousand times.  
—David Graeber

This is an essay about a museum that does not yet exist.

The idea of the Museum of Care is to provide a space where people, artists and non-artists, cooperate with each other to change, restore, and repair the social fabric of society, as opposed to a traditional museum, which most of the time is designed to create the space to exhibit, appreciate, and archive certain sorts of objects or to document certain sorts of situations, with the purpose of presenting them as one or another form of the sublime. A large number of new museums are built every year around the world. No one is quite sure where the phrase “museum-industrial complex” originally came from, but the art critic, media theorist, and philosopher Boris Groys has been referring to this phenomenon for many years now, emphasizing the scale of museum expansion bringing together family entertainment, touristic development, investment, and sacred space in service of the production and reproduction of what are considered society’s highest values.<sup>1</sup> Why, then, do we need to add another project to what already seems like a neurotically long queue of infinitely expanding spaces of representation? We believe that our museum represents a genuine departure: it is a museum that does not need buildings or sponsors, guards or archives, one that does not need cashiers, accountants, and lawyers.

Our museum relies on the interest of like-minded people in radicalizing the practices of contemporary art by changing the very essence of what contemporary art could be.

The authors of this text are a collective in the process of becoming, joined only by an idea. We are artists, Kurdish activists, and contemporary-art theorists who have gathered around this idea as a way to think together about what can be changed, not so much in contemporary art as in the society around us. And how exactly could contemporary art play a part in this? It might seem surprising to focus on Rojava or the Kurdish liberation movement in this context—and of course, we don’t want to make it our exclusive focus—simply because the situation there might seem, to the outside eye, so desperate. These are people literally battling patriarchy, faced with the possibility of outright genocide. One might imagine the role of art and society is far from their immediate concerns, that it would be a bit narcissistic or exploitative of even the most well-meaning Western artists to treat it as if it should be. In fact, these matters are topics of lively and active debate in Rojava itself. There is a broad recognition that part

<sup>1</sup> Boris Groys, conversation with the authors, New York, February 12, 2020; Hal Foster, *The Art-Architecture Complex* (London: Verso,

2013); Gerald Bast, Elias G. Carayannis, and David F. J. Campbell, *The Future of Museums* (Vienna: Springer, 2018).

of creating a society without bosses or subordinates, where authority exists only as long as it can immediately justify itself and not because it is imposed by people with guns, where knowledge is to be disseminated as broadly as possible, that the relation of ethics, aesthetics, and the social good must necessarily be reimagined.<sup>2</sup> We are calling it the Museum of Care in Rojava. Rojava means west in Kurdish and refers specifically to a largely (but by no means exclusively) Kurdish region of northern Syria, also known to Kurds as “the west” of the larger region, which also includes the parts of Turkey, Iraq, and Iran where Kurdish people have historically been located. For the last eight years, it has taken its place on the world stage, thanks to Rojava’s women. Despite the war and destruction that surrounds it, despite the hostility of all its neighbors and the determined attacks of the Islamic State—and now the Syrian and Turkish governments—the people of Rojava, for almost a decade now, have been building a society founded on direct-democratic assemblies, ecology, anti-capitalist cooperation, and alliances across genders, ethnicities, religions, and beliefs.

For many reasons, the primary economic system of production in Rojava is based on cooperatives. Decision-making is based on principles of democratic confederalism, which means that the ultimate power is bottom-up, resting in a system of neighborhood assemblies, which send delegates, not representatives, to larger municipal or regional ones. The representation of women in all committees of all levels is determined by quotas: not only must there be at least 40 percent women present to hold any meeting, but all official positions are co-chaired, shared by one female and one male. This is not just for gender balance, but for the general principle that no one should make decisions alone. Most of the women involved in these assemblies are active caregivers.

## Cultural Genocide

Raphael Lemkin, a legal theorist of Polish Jewish descent, who first coined the term “genocide” defined it as “the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group.” In 1944, he added to this the notion of cultural genocide or cultural cleansing as a component of genocide as a whole. More recently, Robert Bevan’s book *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War* and Tim Slade’s 2016 documentary based on it argue that war is never only about killing people and conquering territories; it is also about the destruction of memory and cultural heritage.<sup>3</sup> Any attempt at genocide against an ethnic group is invariably integrated with the destruction of cultural artifacts—which becomes a necessary part of the destruction as a whole. Since the formation of UNESCO in the aftermath of WWII there has been a call for an additional international treaty that would handle the prosecutions of the nations or groups involved in the destruction of architectural monuments.



Fig. 42

BP or not BP?, *Performance 59, Act III*: “We refuse to leave the British Museum after our mass action, and 40 performers stay overnight to create a durational artwork called ‘Monument,’ made from plaster casts of the bodies of participants. We succeed in occupying the museum all night, and then our artwork remains in the museum for all of the following day, for museum visitors to view. 8th–9th February 2020.”

2 We first presented and tested this concept of a Museum of Care at the Chaos Community Congress in Leipzig in 2019, in which Lena Fritsch, one of the editors of this volume, also took part. She invited us to contribute to this book.

3 Robert Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

All of this is entirely true and appropriate, but the concern for cultural monuments has sometimes had the perverse effect of overshadowing the destruction of human beings. Reading media reports about the conflict in Syria, particularly from mainstream Western media, one might be forgiven for being left with the impression that the most horrifyingly violent events performed by ISIS were not even their mass killing and torture of civilians, but their destruction of art and historical artifacts: objects that were—unlike the relatively unremarkable pain and suffering of the people of that region—considered to be a matter of concern for humanity as a whole.

No one in their right mind supports the blowing up of ancient Greek temples, but it's hard to refrain from pointing out here that iconoclasm has a literal meaning—the Protestant Reformation, for example, involved the conscious destruction of many old and aesthetically valuable objects, in much the same way as did the 1936 anarchist revolution in Spain. Not just genocide—revolutions, too, invariably involve a challenge to the sacred, which often takes physical form. Russian avant-garde artist and art theorist Kazimir Malevich called for the destruction of museums,<sup>4</sup> and the French Revolution, above all, changed the criteria for assessing what was considered valuable cultural heritage and what was not. In a sense, the whole idea of cultural heritage, the necessity of protection, collection, and archiving of cultural artifacts that define us as humans, as well as the very concept of museums as we know it, emerged from the French Revolution—just as we might say the iconoclastic spirit of contemporary art was born out of the Protestant Reformation.

## On the Role of the Artist

If moments of social upheaval always involve a reevaluation of what art is, and of the role of the artist, then surely we are in such a moment now. Today, we face changes that literally threaten to destroy humanity. We are no longer facing just a financial crisis or even a crisis of capitalism but the real prospect of the end of civilization as we know it. If our definitions of art and the role of the artist are about to change in a correspondingly dramatic way, might it now finally be possible to reconsider the fundamentally gendered way that the art world is constructed, and even do something about it? One reason art has remained a competitive game, despite all its past revolutions, has been that it is conceived as a form of production. What if it were conceived as a form of care? What if we conceived of all forms of value in such terms: to see the transformation of art as part of a more general process of replacing patriarchal society with a society of caregivers, in a world tilting toward total disaster? This would create art with what it deserves, not just as product and production but as a method to create and re-create life, society, and culture that serves meaningful freedom.

Rojava might seem a surprising choice to some as a place to create a museum according to these principles, since most people in the West would perceive it as a very traditional Middle Eastern society in this respect. It's true that there is a very high birth rate, so most women on local councils are likely to be mothers and grandmothers—that is, women who practice care on a daily basis. Since Kurdish society (like many societies in which capitalist individualism has not taken foot) is historically based on sharing, particularly day-to-day tasks with extended family and neighbors, even those without children of their own are likely to be involved in caregiving of some kind, and to see care as a value. Therefore, the quota for women in Rojava's councils ensures a change in perspective—from what had become traditional and very patriarchal forms of organization to one oriented toward what had been traditionally the concerns of women. Perhaps the fact that Rojava is at war and surrounded by enemies on all sides, set to annihilate them and everything they stand for, creates a certain unity. Competition of all sorts, between men, between women, between religious and ethnic groups, has been mostly set aside, and this has been used as an opportunity to cement and institutionalize cooperation, direct democracy, and women's liberation. What is often perceived as a unique, even spontaneous uprising is in fact the product of decades of organizing, most of which had to be carried out underground—organizing based on the assumption that people had to be educated in preparation for a moment like 2011, when the Syrian regime, facing uprisings everywhere, could be effectively forced out of the region. Since the early 1980s, the architect of the Kurdish liberation movement, Abdullah Ocalan made sure that every household their movement was able to organize in Northern Syria was in turn treated as a revolutionary academy, with particular emphasis on the development of women's solidarity and mutual care to create the foundations of a moral-political society. As a result, Mesopotamia, the very birthplace of patriarchy, became for decades the center of a largely covert movement in which Kurdish women and their comrades worked to understand what women's liberation would mean, and at the same time, put those understandings into practice. And then, after 2011, they began to do the same openly, on a broader societal level, setting out to provide an example, inspiration, and hope for the world.

Rojava's societal changes come together with radical changes in the mechanisms of cultural reproduction. Participants in the Rojava Film Commune<sup>5</sup> say that when they first visited the West, they were constantly asked questions they found completely irrelevant. Western artists wanted to know how they financed the production and organized the distribution of their films. At first, they did not even understand these questions, thinking that they were so rooted in specific

4 Kazimir Malevich, "О музеи," *Искусство коммуны*, no. 13 (1919), accessed May 20, 2020, <http://www.k-malevich.ru/works/tom1/index31.html>.

5 For films of the Rojava Film Commune see: <https://www.visibleproject.org/blog/project/rojava-film-academy-derbesy-rojava-syria/>

Western conditions that they could be applied to the rest of the world. “In Rojava, we are simply doing what we think is right, and the people around us are helping in the same way as we help anyone else with their work,” the Syrian filmmaker Sevinaz Evdike told us.<sup>6</sup> In other words, the very ideas of what an artist is and how art is organized necessarily change under revolutionary social conditions.

## On the Concept of Care

The Italian artist and polymath Leonardo da Vinci painted the *Mona Lisa* once; and then, in the centuries after, people have written about it, argued about it, researched it, made jokes about it and jigsaw puzzles out of it, used it in their own artworks, loved it, and taken care of it. All this involved an enormous amount of work. Without that work, the *Mona Lisa* would never have been so important to humanity, and might have shared the same fate as innumerable other works of art—many perhaps just as potentially enchanting—that were either lost or physically destroyed, and never heard of again. As a painting, the *Mona Lisa* does not itself contain any inherent magical powers; what we call “the *Mona Lisa*” is not simply a work by Leonardo, but a combination of efforts of innumerable people in every part of the world and many different historical epochs. There are many ways to conceptualize this labor, but it seems to us it is best seen as a form of caring labor. Like most forms of caring labor, it is performed disproportionately by women. We know that the overwhelming majority of those recognized as artists in the world today are male, but the overwhelming majority of those who take care of art—the teachers, guides, art researchers, art historians, museum workers, artist’s wives, and muses (whatever shape or form that takes)—not to mention exhibition visitors—are women.

If art is so crucial for humanity, can we create a space for new art that would be very radically different? So, a revolutionary act would be the following: we would like to call it the space of care. By this we don’t mean just a new style of art, or artworks whose recognized producers have different names or identities, but an art that would be able to reorganize existing power structures by prioritizing the values of care and maintenance over production, extraction, and patriarchal order. Indeed, it would be an art focusing on being the expressions of a moral-political society, recognizing that such a society is not possible without radical democracy and women’s liberation.

To return to Rojava: outsiders are often startled by the compassionate attitude of YPG (People’s Protection Units) and YPJ (Women’s Protection Units) members toward wives of ISIS members and their children. YPG/YPJ soldiers often gave them food and blankets, despite receiving only insults and threats in return. Why do the soldiers spend their resources on these women? One of Rojava’s

famous slogans is “Women, Life, Freedom.” This means more than how to treat all women, but how to treat life itself: the values that form the foundation of the treatment of the very women who assisted the very people who tried to destroy you. Freedom, liberty, is not something that you can take and keep for yourself. Freedom exists between people in human relations. You free yourself by freeing others, taking care of them, giving them life, for as long as possible and as best you are able to, and this reflects a general approach to life that is much more important than the identity or moral status of any particular object toward which that care is directed. The idea of soldiers as caregivers might seem extraordinary to begin with, but it makes perfect sense in terms of the philosophy underlying the YPG and YPJ as organizations. They are protection units and believe it is fundamentally wrong to undertake offensive operations. (This orientation has in fact caused them trouble in the past with other rebel groups, who accuse them of not going on the offensive against the Syrian government.) This stems from a general philosophy of defense: any living thing, any social arrangement, must necessarily, as part of its conditions of existence, have some means of self-defense in the same way as a rose has thorns. Defense, unlike aggressive warfare, is ultimately a form of self-care. It only makes sense, then, that the women who have left home to join the YPJ, when asked what they’d like to do if the war ends, almost invariably speak of becoming teachers or doctors, or otherwise join one of the caring professions, as they see such work as a continuation of, rather than a break from, what they are doing while bearing arms.

## On Practicalities

We wouldn’t want to be doctrinaire; there is no one model for such a museum. But let us take a few of the principles we have in mind and explore what their ramifications might be. Can we create a Museum of Care in war-torn Rojava? In some ways it would be easier than creating a more traditional sort of museum, which would require a great deal of money, expertise, and security. First of all, we do not need to move material objects around. Most contemporary art is about producing impressions and experiences rather than existing as an object itself. Second, it would involve moving away from branding—since in so much contemporary art, the actual value of an artwork is seen as lying neither in the material object nor in one’s impressions or experience of it, but in the name of the specific artist or collective that created it. For many years, contemporary art has actively aimed to shape the social life of its audience by employing video, projections, instructions, or almost any other means imaginable, and constantly

6 Alla Mitrofanova, Sevinaz Evdike, and Nika Dubrovsky, “Искусство как Забота” [Art as Care], *Крапива*, April 13, 2020, <https://>

[vtoraya.krapiva.org/iskusstvo-kak-zabota-13-04-2020](https://vtoraya.krapiva.org/iskusstvo-kak-zabota-13-04-2020) (our translation).



trying to imagine new ones that were previously unimaginable. In the process, it has become ever more immaterial. This immateriality makes it far easier to create such a museum, or hold international exhibitions, and generally reduces the cost of sharing art to something approaching zero (if the branding is also eliminated). In the Museum of Care, any objects, material or otherwise, would have significance primarily insofar as they can be used in organizing or preserving valuable life experiences that for whatever reason can influence public life now or in the future or initiate some sort of social codes that might rewrite it.<sup>7</sup>

The arts in Rojava today are as young and new as the transformation of Rojava itself. Most of it is practiced collectively, including dancing, singing, and theater (followed by a session of friendly criticism after each show, which tends to lead to vivid discussions). It favors genres that are not just accessible to all but easily replicable, in which anyone could find some way to participate. Rojava's graffiti, on the one hand, maintains a strictly recognizable iconography—it

Fig. 43  
David Graeber and Nika Dubrovsky, *Future City: A Visual Assembly*, 2020



tends to employ three colors (red, yellow, and green)—and on the other hand, acting on the principle of near anonymity, it has been taken up by autonomous artists and activists all over the world and can be easily used by whoever is creating it. Graffiti in support of the Rojava revolution can be found on the streets of Bratislava and Berlin, on the walls of university campuses in Bologna, under busy bridges in London, and so on.

Can we make a cooperative museum of contemporary art, where there will be no physical objects, whose exhibits will consist of the ideas and care of the people interested in them, for whom they are important? And then, of course, the main question arises: What kind of art do people need? What will happen if artists and their works are evaluated not by curators and administrators of art institutions, but by people who can or cannot use it? To imagine what an exhibition in a Museum of Care might look like, consider a recent action in the British Museum involving almost 1,500 people. The organizers were demanding the museum break its financial ties with BP, an oil company responsible for countless ecological tragedies, which was effectively art-washing itself by placing its logo on the facade of what is considered to be one of the most prominent cathedrals of human culture, protector of the very kinds of eternal treasures that would be pillaged or destroyed by a group like ISIS. The action contained many elements, from occupation of the museum to the use of elaborate props (i.e., a Trojan horse), but we would like to point out one particular moment, when fifty occupiers made white plaster casts from their own body parts—arms, feet, and so on—in the museum, and then left them in the middle of the grand foyer surrounded by barriers as if they were an officially approved installation. Since BP was at the time sponsoring an exhibition about ancient Troy, the pieces could easily have been either ancient artifacts or the work of any number of contemporary artists. (We could name names, but this is precisely what we are trying not to do here.) In fact, they were actual casts of the actual bodies of human beings declaring that they may well, in a few years, be dead as a result of BP's activities. In other words, it was itself an act of art, of self-defense, and of care, all at once.

Earlier, we cited the example of Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa* precisely because the *Mona Lisa* to some extent is no longer a work of art, but a kind of cultural meme, a reference, actively and repeatedly used not only within the art world but by advertising, media, and popular culture more generally. While any mention of the names of contemporary artists or their artworks will unavoidably bring us back to the bad infinity of reproducing hierarchies of names and

7 The idea of a museum with no objects, or one that itself does not exist as a physical object has important precedents: Françoise Vergès envisioned a museum without objects, the *Maison des civilisations et de l'unité*

réunionnais (MCUR) in the French postcolony of Réunion Island. Ayreen Anastas and Rene Gabri envisioned the Communist Museum of Palestine as a museum without objects.

objects, which in itself is a problem rather than a solution. The museum, that invention of the French Revolution, arose as a form of self-representation for newborn nation-states. The first museums assigned a specific role to the artist as an individual creator, embodying the freedom of creativity inaccessible to workers, whose lives are supposed to be anonymous and lacking creativity.

Our Museum of Care is in this sense a self-conscious post-national and post-productionist project—another reason why Rojava seems such an appropriate place for it. This is actually something widely misunderstood about the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria, of which Rojava is now a part, as well as the Kurdish liberation movement more generally, including the PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party) in Turkey. The democratic-confederalist project they've embraced is not separatist; they are not trying to create a new nation-state and national identity at all, but rather see themselves as trying to overcome the logics of the nation-state and of capitalism, simultaneously.

Nowadays, in the time of pandemic and mass quarantine, new, experimental ways of connecting people through cultural production are emerging throughout the world: networks for mutual aid and online activism, as well as collective literary initiatives and online knowledge-sharing meetings, are developing across countries and languages.

We are looking for forms of production and distribution of art that could meet the following criteria: First, they must be collective. By this we mean that the major task of the organizers is to provide a stage not for some author's self-expression or personal commentary, but a collective participatory space. This is why we highlight the action in the British Museum, because it made possible the inclusion of thousands of people in a collective effort to reorganize a public space. Secondly, a focus on care necessarily means overcoming the division between creator and assistants—that is, between the act of creation and the process of maintaining the work of art. Again, this is a key quality of the BP/British Museum action, as its purpose was to break the relationship between oil companies and state museums. In other words, the action must continue in one form or another until its goal is achieved. Thirdly, art is only a form of care if it is radically politicized and embedded in society, which can also be seen in this example.

Acts like this are easily replicable anywhere in the world. By writing this, we realize that our text is trying to jump out of the traditional and safe space of the theoretical to become a road map for practical actions that we—or any reader of this text—could try to implement. It's understood that these are just initial ideas, only one direction to be considered. We invite everyone to participate and share their thoughts, or merely start implementing something similar, in their own way.

## Literature

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## Image Credits

### Caring Curatorial Practice in Digital Times Sophie Lingg

Fig. 1  
Sophia Süßmilch's 2019 Facebook post that caused a shitstorm. Screenshot, 2020. Courtesy of Sophia Süßmilch.

### Caretaking as (Is) Curating Nataša Petrešin-Bachelez

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Saddie Choua, *Lamb Chops Should Not Be Overcooked*, 2019, installation view, Waning Moon Crescent Phase, "Contour Biennale 9: Coltan as Cotton," Mechelen. Photo: Lavinia Wouters.

Fig. 3  
Bookclub run by Laura Nsengiyumva with Mireille Tsheusi Robert and Eline Mestdagh, 2019. Waning Moon Crescent Phase, "Contour Biennale 9: Coltan as Cotton," Mechelen. Photo: Lavinia Wouters.

### Excavating Care in Print Culture, Biometric Scanning, and Counter-archives Edna Bonhomme, Vanessa Gravenor, and Nina Prader

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"Scan the Difference: Gender, Surveillance, Bodies," 2019, VBKÖ, exhibition view. Photo: Julia Gaisbacher. Courtesy of VBKÖ and Scan the Difference.

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A zoning image of *SimCity*, 1993, Screenshots. Image: Courtesy of Wiki.

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Ven's aunt (Jen) and mother (Stella) working as nurses, Epsom, 1979. Family album photo, courtesy of Ven Paldano.

Fig. 8  
*QTIPoC Narratives Collective Zine*, 2018, cover. Courtesy of Ven Paldano.

Fig. 9  
Anti-deportations by British Airways, community grassroots fly posting, 2018, Photo courtesy of Ven Paldano.

Fig. 10  
The collective participating at Brighton Community Democracy Protest, 2019. Photo taken by a community member, courtesy of Ven Paldano.

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Fig. 11  
Beading as cultural continuance, 2019. Courtesy of the University of Winnipeg.

Fig. 12  
Beading as cultural continuance, 2019. Courtesy of the University of Winnipeg.

Fig. 13  
Métis Kitchen Table Talk, 2020, University of Winnipeg. Courtesy of the University of Winnipeg.

### Moving Plants, Finding Fissures: On Feminist Latencies in Curating Public Art Carlota Mir

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Fig. 15  
Maider López, *Moving Plants*, 2019, Hammarkullen, Gothenburg. 105 live plants in pots mounted on rails. Photo: Ricard Estay. Courtesy of Public Art Agency Sweden.

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The site of Floating, 2019. Photo: Lena Giovanazzi.

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Photo: Žarko Aleksić and Jelena Micić.  
Courtesy of WIENWOCHE and I KNOW  
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**Accessibility at the Intersection of the  
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**COVEN BERLIN**

Fig. 20  
Logo. Courtesy of COVEN BERLIN.

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**Bold Characters: Motherhood and Censorship  
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Courtesy of the artist and 10 Chancery  
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“Gender, Genitor, Genitalia,” 2015, installation  
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Fig. 37  
Mathilde ter Heijne, *Woman to Go*, 2019.  
Postcard from the edition of the exhibition  
“Woman to Go—Presentation and  
Representation of the Personal and  
Impersonal.” Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 38  
Mathilde ter Heijne, *Assembling Past and  
Future*, 2019. Video still. Courtesy of the  
artist.

**Radically Invisible: Decolonial Approaches to  
Embodied Learning and Listening Activism**  
Claudia Lomoschitz

Fig. 39  
Louise Vind Nielsen, *Radikal Unsichtbar*,  
2020. Image: Louise Vind Nielsen.

Fig. 40  
Louise Vind Nielsen, *Radikal Unsichtbar*,  
*ACT 5: Nomenrature*, 2017. Sound research  
at the library of Hamburg's Anthropological  
Museum. Photo: Louise Vind Nielsen. Courtesy  
of the artist.

**On a Museum of Care (in Rojava)**  
Elif Sarican, Nika Dubrovsky, and Elizaveta  
Mhaili

Fig. 41  
Nika Dubrovsky, *Hiwa K “Chicago Boys:  
While We Were Singing, They Were  
Dreaming,” 2010*, 2020. Photo collage.

Fig. 42  
BP or not BP?, *Performance 59, Act III*,  
2020: “We refuse to leave the British  
Museum after our mass action, and 40  
performers stay overnight to create a  
durational artwork called ‘Monument,’  
made from plaster casts of the bodies of  
participants. We succeed in occupying the  
museum all night, and then our artwork  
remains in the museum for all of the  
following day, for museum visitors to view.  
8th–9th February 2020.” Photo: Ron  
Fassbender.

Fig. 43  
David Graeber and Nika Dubrovsky, *Future  
City: A Visual Assembly*, London, 2020.