CHRISTINE HENTSCHEL,
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»EXPOSURE«

VERLETZLICHKEIT UND DAS POLITISCHE IN ZEITEN RADIKALER UNGEWISSHEIT

Aus:

»Exposure« bezeichnet das Moment des Ausgesetzt-Seins oder Sich-Aussetzens – ob gegenüber der Gewalt eines Naturereignisses, eines Terroranschlags oder dem wertenden Blick der Anderen. Wenn Verletzlichkeit eine Grundbedingung des Lebens ist, dann fragt das Konzept der »Exposure« danach, wie sich diese Verletzlichkeit in konkreten Situationen und Begegnungen zeigt, wie sie spürbar, fassbar und artikulierbar wird – und nicht zuletzt: wie sie produktiv gewendet werden kann. Im Prisma von »Exposure« untersuchen die Beiträger*innen des Bandes, wie sich das Politische in Zeiten radikaler Ungewissheit artikulieren kann – und wie es sich tatsächlich artikuliert. Mit Beiträgen u.a. von AbdouMaliq Simone, Frank Adloff sowie Christine Hentschel und Susanne Krasmann.

Christine Hentschel ist Professorin für Kriminologie, insbes. Sicherheit und Resilienz am Fachbereich Sozialwissenschaften der Universität Hamburg. Sie forscht zu Ideologien und Mobilisierungsformen der »neuen Rechten«, zu Affekt und Öffentlichkeit, Situational Awareness im urbanen Raum sowie dem Zusammenhang von Klimakrise und Unsicherheit.

Susanne Krasmann ist Professorin für Soziologie in der Kriminologischen Sozialforschung der Universität Hamburg. Ihre Forschungsschwerpunkte sind Dispositive der Sicherheit, das Recht und sein Wissen, Kulturerbe und Kollektivitäten, die Zukunft der Algorithmen sowie poststrukturalistische Perspektiven (Gouvernementalität und Affekt).

Inhalt

Geleit

Christine Hentschel und Susanne Krasmann

Was bedeutet es, die politische Gegenwart durch Momente der Exposure zu betrachten? Wie muss man dabei Ungewissheit, Verletzbarkeit und Kollektivität neu denken? »To expose« bezeichnet eine Vielzahl von Vorgängen oder Zuständen: etwas ausstellen, freilegen oder sichtbar machen, aber auch jemanden oder etwas entblößen, enttarnen, und enthüllen. »To expose« heißt sich selbst oder jemanden auszusetzen, zu gefährden, zu belasten, aber auch sich buchstäblich zu ent-setzen.

Die Autor*innen des Bandes spüren solchen Formationen von Exposure in verschiedensten Bereichen gesellschaftspolitischer Gegenwart nach: den materiellen und politischen Bedingungen des Ausgesetztseins in der Antizipation eines Erdbebens oder der Szene der Geburt (Griessl, Rohwetter), der Exposure gegenüber einem »da draußen«, dessen Konstellation sich jedem Versuch, es zu (be-)greifen entzieht, oder gegenüber der Klimakatastrophe (Simone, Hammermann, Adloff). Ein zentraler Aspekt liegt dabei in den affektiven Verwobenheiten — der Irritation, der Trauer, der Wut oder Häme, aber auch dem Staunen sowie der Erfahrung von Gemeinschaft und ihrer Gegenspieler*innen oder imaginierten Feinde, die sich besonders dramatisch in Akten von rechtem Terror oder dem Tod von Geflüchteten zeigen (Hentschel und Krasmann, Böttger, Ebenau, Wimmer, Strukelj). Exposure untersuchen wir dabei als produktives Moment, das sich etwa im politischen Protest in seinen verschiedenen Bedeutungen artikuliert: das Wahrnehmen und Anprangern eines Ausgesetzt-Seins gegenüber patriarchaler, kolonialer oder anderweitig diskriminierender Gewalt, die Inkaufnahme der eigenen Verletzbarkeit im Akt des Demonstrierens oder Blockierens und der Versuch, sich von diesen strukturellen Unterdrückungen zu befreien (Charger und Eisold, Gropper, Pietzko und Vögele). Exposure ist selbst auch eine Methodologie, kuratorische Strategie für die Auseinandersetzung mit einer zerrütteten Geschichte (Majaca und Bago). Alle Beiträge — von den theoretischen und empi-

rischen Essays bis hin zu den Interviews und Reflexionen mit Aktivist*innen und Kurator*innen — zeichnen Exposures als ethisch herausfordernde Momente: Exposures fordern Entscheidungen ein, die getroffen werden müssen, auch wenn nicht klar ist, was uns bevorsteht, und oft nicht einmal, was überhaupt »der Fall ist«. Deshalb rufen Exposures eine Ethik hervor – Ethik weniger im Sinne einer abstrakten Moral als vielmehr einer Praxis, die immer auch mit Emotionen, Irritationen, Spekulationen und neuen Grenzziehungen und Kategorisierungen verbunden ist. Es geht mit anderen Worten um die konkreten Mechanismen, in denen »being exposed« bestimmte Formen des »being in-common« hervorbringt, die indes ihrerseits instabil und prekär bleiben.

Die Essays dieses Bandes sind aus einer intensiven zweijährigen Zusammenarbeit mit Stipendiat*innen der Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes während eines vierteiligen gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Kollegs zwischen September 2017 und März 2019 entstanden. Die interdisziplinäre Gruppe junger Wissenschaftler*innen aus der Soziologie, Kulturwissenschaft, Philosophie, Genderstudies, Theaterwissenschaft, Politische Theorie, Anthropologie (und später auch der Kriminologie) erarbeitete sich zunächst gemeinsame Lesarten theoretischer Konzepte wie Affekt, Verletzbarkeit und das Politische etwa bei Berlant, Butler und Rancière, um sich schließlich mit konkreten Gegenwartsthemen auseinanderzusetzen, in denen sich Akte der Exposure als besonders relevant erweisen.

Unser Dank gilt zuerst den Teilnehmer*innen des Exposure Kollegs, deren Enthusiasmus und kritische Lektüre unseres Konzepts von Exposure uns motivierte, dieses Veröffentlichungsprojekt zu realisieren. Ein großer Dank richtet sich außerdem an die Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes für ihre großzügige finanzielle Unterstützung des Buchprojektes und der selbstorganisierten Schreibwerkstätten nach Ablauf der Kollegphasen. Danken möchten wir unseren Kollegen AbdouMaliq Simone und Frank Adloff, die mit ihren theoretischen Essays sich zu einem späteren Moment auf das Exposure-Projekt eingelassen haben. Laura Hille danken wir für das Lektorat der Texte und Chris Hammermann für die Feinarbeit am finalen Manuskript.

Hamburg, Dezember 2019

Die Autor*innen

Christine Hentschel ist Professorin für Kriminologie, insbes. Sicherheit und Resilienz am Fachbereich Sozialwissenschaften der Universität Hamburg. Sie forscht gegenwärtig zu Ideologien und Mobilisierungsformen der ›neuen Rechten‹, zu Affekt und Öffentlichkeit, situational awareness im urbanen Raum sowie zu Klimakrise und sozialem Kollaps. Mit *acts of exposure* entwirft sie zusammen mit Susanne Krasmann eine Perspektive für die Analyse öffentlich einschneidender Momente und ihrer affektiven Kraft.

Susanne Krasmann ist Professorin für Soziologie am Fachbereich Sozialwissenschaften der Universität Hamburg. Ihre Forschungsinteressen sind: Dispositive der Sicherheit; das Recht und sein Wissen; die Architektur der Menschheit; die Zukunft der Algorithmen. Zusammen mit Christine Hentschel entwickelt sie den Begriff der Exposure als eine Form des Ausgesetztseins, aber auch des Sich-Zeigens, aus dem ein Moment des Politischen hervorgeht.

Lukas Griessl studierte zuletzt Philosophy of the Social Sciences an der London School of Economics and Political Science und interessiert sich vor allem für soziologische Theorien des Nichtwissens und statistische Praktiken der Rationalisierung von Ungewissheit. Sein Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit der politischen Dimension eines antizipierten Erdbebens in Istanbul und verweist auf ein Verständnis von Exposure als Antizipation und Enthüllung.

Max Gropper promoviert am Lehrstuhl für Kultur- und Religionssoziologie der Universität Bayreuth zu Alltagsinteraktionen gehörloser und hörender Menschen. Sein fachlicher Schwerpunkt liegt im Bereich wissenssoziologischer Theorien und den Methoden qualitativer Sozialforschung. Die Analyse der »Deaf President Now«-Bewegung 1988 in Washington D. C. zeigt einen

Akt der Exposure, in dem eine marginalisierte Gruppe sich selbst öffentlich sichtbar macht und dadurch unterdrückende Strukturen innerhalb der Gesellschaft offenlegt sowie diese infrage stellt.

Antonia Majaca is currently developing an artistic research project »The Incomputable« at the Graz University of Technology. Since 2018 she has worked as a theory tutor at the Dutch Art Institute. She is the founder of »Feminist Takes«, a long-term project that consideres the relation between the non-Western avant-garde art and cinema and feminist praxis. At the HKW – Haus der Kulturen der Welt, she recently co-curated *Parapolitics – Cultural Freedom and the Cold War*.

Ivana Bago is an independent scholar, writer, and curator, currently based in Zagreb, after defending her doctoral dissertation in 2018 at Duke University. Her writings on contemporary art, including conceptual art, exhibition history, performance, feminism, (post)Yugoslav art, and post-1989 art historiographies, have appeared in publications ranging from academic journals to exhibition catalogues and art magazines such as *Artforum*. She is currently working on a book project titled *Yugoslav Aesthetics: Monuments to History's Bare Bones.*

Julian Pietzko hat Politik- und Kulturwissenschaften in Leipzig und Madrid sowie Gesellschaftstheorie an der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena studiert. Er interessiert sich vor allem für politische Soziologie und Philosophie, Kritische Theorie und soziale Bewegungen. Sein (zusammen mit Hannah Vögele) verfasster Beitrag wirft einen Blick auf Exposure als widerständige Praxis im internationalen Frauen*streik.

Hannah Vögele hat während dieses Buchprojektes ihren Master in Politischer Theorie in Oxford beendet, ihr kritisches Denken in Gender Studies an der Humboldt Universität vertieft und eine Promotion im Graduiertenkolleg Minor Cosmopolitanisms in Berlin und Potsdam begonnen. Sie interessiert sich besonders für queerfeministisch-marxistische Theorie und Praxis und lernt dazu viel von politischem Aktivismus, wie beim feministischen Streik. Von diesem spezifischen Zusammenwirken von materialistischer feministischer Theorie und Praxis ist auch ihr gemeinsamer Beitrag *Striking Exposure* mit Julian Pietzko inspiriert. Zusammen mit Jandra Böttger interviewt sie Anto-

nia Majaca und Ivana Bago zu kuratorischen und ästhetischen Strategien im Umgang mit Kontexten politischer Unsicherheit.

Jasilyn Charger ist Lakota Oyate Aktivistin, Change Maker und Wasserschützerin vom Cheyenne River Reservat in South Dakota, USA. Sie gründete den International Indigenous Youth Council sowie das 7th Defender's Project und kämpft seit 2015 für die Rechte indigener Jugendlicher.

Lisa Eisold studiert Transkulturelle Studien an der Universität Bremen und beschäftigt sich besonders mit Postcolonial, Indigenous und Queer Studies. Im Interview untersuchen Jasilyn Charger und Lisa Eisold gemeinsam die Dynamik zwischen einem Ausgesetzt-Sein gegenüber Gewalt und einem Sich-Freimachen von kolonialen Ordnungen und decken die zentrale Bedeutung von Perspektive und Alltagserfahrungen für die Wahrnehmung eines Ereignisses als *Exposure* auf.

Tanja Strukelj studiert Soziologie an der Goethe-Universität in Frankfurt am Main. Sie interessiert sich für Themen der sozialen Ungleichheit, Emotionsforschung und Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung. Daneben begeistert sie sich für phänomenologische Denkansätzen und Wissenssoziologie. In ihrem Beitrag erinnert sie an den 2015 auf seiner Flucht im Mittelmeer ertrunkenen Aylan Kurdi und versucht mithilfe von phänomenologischen Reflexionen, die zeitlichen und affektiven Dimensionen dieses Ereignisses in den Blick zu bekommen.

Antonia Rohwetter hat im Ruhrgebiet Philosophie und in Gießen Angewandte Theaterwissenschaft studiert. Neben ihrer kuratorischen Arbeit im Kontext der performativen Künste studiert sie derzeit Gender Studies in Berlin. Sie interessiert sich für Formen genre-überschreitender Wissensproduktion – so auch in ihrem Text »Birth and Shit«, der sich auto-theoretisch der Szene der Geburt widmet, um die materiellen Bedingungen des körperlichen Ausgesetztseins zu befragen.

Christian Hammermann studiert Internationale Kriminologie an der Universität Hamburg. Er interessiert sich für Kritische Theorie, gesellschaftliche Naturverhältnisse und Autoritarismus/Rechtsextremismus. In seinem Beitrag beschäftigt er sich am Beispiel der US-amerikanischen Alt-Right und

der Trumpregierung mit der Frage, wie sich im Anthropozän Erfahrungen des Ausgesetztseins und Praxen des Aussetzens miteinander verbinden.

Johannes Ebenau studiert Internationale Kriminologie an der Universität Hamburg. Er interessiert sich insbesondere für Rechtsextremismus, Sicherheitspolitik und politische Transformation. Sein Beitrag setzt sich mit den affektiv-kommunikativen Strategien im sogenannten Infokrieg der extremen Rechten auseinander. Kennzeichnend ist sowohl das Bloßstellen identifizierter Feinde, v.a. in den Sozialen Medien, als auch das gezielte Verbergen eigener Motive und Ansichten zu Gunsten einer öffentlichkeitswirksamen Selbstpräsentation.

Jandra Böttger studiert Kunstwissenschaft, Philosophie und Szenografie an der Hochschule für Gestaltung Karlsruhe. Sie arbeitet an den Schnittstellen von politischer Theorie und Ästhetik, und ist als Kunstvermittlerin und Kuratorin tätig ist. In ihrem Beitrag untersucht sie die ästhetische Dimension von Exposure, indem sie das Konzept mit dem Affekt des Staunens – einer traditionell ästhetischen Kategorie, aber auch »die erste Leidenschaft« (Descartes) – ins Verhältnis setzt. Eine terminologische Untersuchung nimmt die grammatikalische Offenheit des Begriffs und die damit verbundenen politischen Konsequenzen in den Blick. Mit Hannah Voegele hat sie die beiden KuratorInnen Antonia Majaca und Ivana Bago zu ihrem Ausstellungsprojekt *Exposures* (Bosnien und Herzegowina, 2009) interviewt.

AbdouMaliq Simone is Senior Professorial Fellow at the Urban Institute, University of Sheffield, Honorary Professor of Urbanism at the African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town, and Research Associate, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity. He has long been engaged as researcher, activist, NGO worker, and consultant across Africa and Southeast Asia. Exposure in his essay is an orientation of urban residents to an »out there«, a mode of spatial composition freed from the constraints of human invention and assessment, that potentiates the promise that what currently exists is fundamentally incomplete, merely the compelling surface of the intersection of things that cannot be grasped from a predominant view.

Lino Wimmer studiert Politikwissenschaft, Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaften an der Universität Leipzig. Er interessiert sich für Ideologiekritik und widerständige Subjektivität, sowie für Affekte in Philosophie und poli-

tischer Theorie. Sein Beitrag stellt die dekonstruktive Operation vor, die der italienische Philosoph Roberto Esposito am modernen Gemeinschaftsbegriff durchführt, und versucht, eine Identifikationen unterbrechende, „ent-setzende" Gemeinschaftserfahrung als eine bestimmte Form des *Acts of Exposure* auszuweisen.

Frank Adloff ist Professor für Soziologie (insbes. Dynamiken und Regulierung von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft) an der Universität Hamburg. Seine Forschungsinteressen liegen in den Bereichen Konvivialität, Zivilgesellschaft, Theorie der Gabe sowie Nachhaltigkeit und sozial-ökologische Transformation. In seinem Beitrag betrachtet er das derzeitige Massenaussterben von Arten und den Klimawandel als eine Form von Exposure, die ein neues Natur-Gesellschafts-Verhältnis erfordert. Er plädiert für eine affektive Gabenbeziehung gegenüber der belebten Natur.

Acts of Exposure and their Affective Publics

Christine Hentschel and Susanne Krasmann

Introduction: affective publics, exposure and vulnerability

"Public spheres are affect worlds," Lauren Berlant (2011: 226) holds, "worlds to which people are bound [...] by affective projections of a constantly negotiated common interestedness". How can we read such changing forms of togetherness, or apartness, as they unfold in public spheres? What we call "acts of exposure" are critical moments in which something decisive happens, moments when the fragility of social and political life becomes particularly felt and articulated. Exposures are moments of radical openness, of uncertainty and vulnerability, and as such, we argue, a crucial starting point for deciphering social relatedness.[1]

Political power and resistance, it seems, increasingly articulate themselves in terms of exposure. Dramatic acts of whistleblowing expose state and corporate practices that were meant to stay in the shadows, such as tax evasion, mass surveillance, or torture. Such acts of *exposing something or someone* also entail an act of *exposing oneself*: the risk of being ridiculed, of not being believed, the risk of violence, of ending up in prison or worse. Here, exposure becomes a mode of "truth telling" (Foucault 2014; Walters 2014): exposing the practices of others inevitably comes at the price of revealing who one is and what one is ready to do. This dual exposure dynamic plays out in a wide range of cases, from lone wolf whistleblowers like Edward Snowden, to the many protagonists of the #metoo movement. Exposing oneself also has a less dramatic and more permanent conjuncture: the manifold opportunities

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1   The authors would like to thank Yishai Blank, Martin Coward, Phil Carney, AbdouMaliq Simone and Stefan Höhne and the Exposure Kolleg group for their comments on (much) earlier versions of this article. Our special thanks goes to Antonia Rohwetter, Hannah Vögele and Jandra Böttger for their critical reading of the pre-final manuscript and Stefano Mazzilli-Daechsel for his proof-reading.

and expectations to showcase oneself, to make statements via certain brands and lifestyles, points to a new contemporary subjectivity of (voluntary) self-exposure. Moreover, there is a strong tendency in all political camps to *accuse powerful others of exposing 'us'* through their inaction: the survivors of mass shootings in the US accuse their government of accepting their victimization by not opting for stricter gun laws, while the climate strike movements accuse politicians of "stealing the future" from the younger generation by not acting adequately in the face of the climate crisis. Accusations are often made public by acts of self-exposure in which the vulnerability that is at stake is publicly performed, such as die-ins at Black Lives Matter demonstrations or the lock-ons in the actions of "extinction rebellion". Finally, *traumatic events,* from hurricanes to terrorist attacks, are *moments of exposure*, with the power to change laws or modes of relating to each other in affective communities of mourning. In such rituals, or forms of "representation", individual feelings and horrors may be transformed into a "collective experience", where social connections are being renovated or reconfigured (Hutchison 2016: 270).

Exposure is a state, or a moment, of being unprotected, unsheltered and undefended (OED).[2] Acts of exposure are cast as "moments of truth", and they are moments in which vulnerability becomes actualized. To be sure, vulnerability is ever present as a precariousness of life that is "always in the hands of the other" (Butler 2010:14). In that sense, vulnerability does not need a critical situation to *be*; it is a condition of social life. Yet, it never *shows* itself in a pure shape, but only as a concrete matter. Moments of exposure offer a glimpse of vulnerability when it literally surfaces and becomes palpable and tangible, but also staged. These moments assume a particular publicness: suddenly, an uncomfortable or unexpected truth comes to the fore, ready to be perceived and to be touched – or to "touch" us.

Exposures may be intended or unintended, they may be caused by natural forces or technological failures, or the outcome of a carefully planned plot. In their vehemence they are what we may call "productive": they incite social connection and are at the core of social and political life. Sometimes this connectivity is at the very heart of the act of exposure itself, like in the #metoo or the climate movement, and sometimes it is a more indirect effect

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2   More even, in parts of psychology, exposure is seen as a necessary condition for social connectivity: In order to connect at all, we have to allow ourselves to be seen, really seen, educational scientist Brené Brown (2012) states in her writings on the "power of vulnerability". We have to expose ourselves and "dare greatly".

of a brutal event, as in the aftermath of a terrorist attack, where what 'we' have in common is painfully being reworked.

Take the terrorist attack in Paris on November 13, 2015, that left 130 people dead and more than 300 injured when targeting cafes, restaurants, the national stadium and the Bataclan theatre: the collectivity that was hit, strictly speaking, did not pre-exist the act. Rather, it articulated and constituted itself through the act: as a collectivity that is addressed and that sees itself addressed. Gradually, the slogan "Je suis en terrasse" spread across social media. This slogan, that along with "Je suis Paris" echoed the "Je suis Charlie Hebdo"-proclamation of solidarity after the attacks against the Paris offices of the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in January 2015, may be read as an attempt to regain courage and a sign of resilience (Browning 2018) at a time when terrorism seems to become "a fact of life" in European cities.[3] But it can also be read as the formation of an interpretation that came to prevail, namely, that the Islamist attacks had hit the core of Western identity, as has been said: "our lifestyle"; and that 'we' are not going to let this be taken away from 'us'. In the reaction to the initial act, one can see how people understand and constitute themselves as a 'we'. Our analysis of acts of exposure is interested in these moments of affective involvement and forms of connection that materialize at such thresholds of exposure.

Following public moments of exposure and their aftermaths allows us to sketch what vulnerability and relatedness mean in their interwovenness, and how this becomes enacted affectively and publicly: where people reach out to others and search for reasons, where they try hard to make sense of a traumatic event, and where attachments may become unstable. In moments of exposure we can notice how an 'ethics of exposure' emerges: an uneasy deciphering of what *is* that provokes a decision on what *should* be, a decision that cannot fully rely on familiar values and habits of reasoning (see Burgess 2011: 4). The horrible massacre committed by a white supremacist in two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, in 2019 constitutes an extreme act of exposure with reverberations for the making of an affective public that we will ponder on throughout our text. In the following section we re-assemble this

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3   Brinbaum, Michael: Europe may face a grim future with terrorism as a fact of life, *Washington Post*, 24 December 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/-after-berlin-market-attack-europe-faces-grim-future-with-terrorism-as-fact-of-life/2016/12/23/6f2f6536-c84c-11e6-acda-59924caa2450_story.html?noredirect=-on&utm_term=.9e7ab6cfb56b.

act as a global and collective atrocity growing out of a rightwing forcefield. We then reflect more conceptually on the interwovenness of vulnerability and exposure through the notion of ethics. Attending to these modes of being in-common necessitates an analytical tool, which we introduce in the next subsection. "Acts of exposure" are our proposition for reading a landscape of radical uncertainty where singular yet connected "acts" create powerful effects and alter the possibilities and perceptions of social and political relatedness. In the end, we consider the modes of being divided and being in-common in vulnerability that such a horrible act has brought to the fore, and into being.

The (global) making of a mass shooting

On March 15, 2019, a white nationalist gunman committed a massacre during Friday prayer in the Al Noor Mosque and the Linwood Islamic Center in Christchurch, New Zealand, killing 51 worshippers, many of them refugees. While the attacker committed the concrete act of killing 'alone', people around the world 'took part': Indeed, the gunman had announced his act on the rightwing forum 8chan/pol with a link to a 75 page manifesto and a livestream, after having posted pictures of the murder weapon days before the shooting (Evans 2019a). Over a time period of seventeen minutes he filmed his massacre with a head-mounted camera and livestreamed it to Facebook.

After being alerted by the New Zealand Police, Facebook removed the video and hashed it so that visually similar videos could be detected and automatically deleted. But the video continued to be spread through countless edited versions that users all over the world uploaded to social media with modifications that made it difficult for the Facebook software to recognize the video. In the first 24 hours after the shooting Facebook deleted over 1.5 million videos of the attack.[4] Thousands of edited versions, also on twitter and youtube, kept surfacing only minutes after the act and kept circulating, prolonging and spreading the horrid act.[5] Three hours after the attack New Zealand's po-

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4   Christchurch shootings: Erdogan criticised for showing NZ video, *BBC News*, 18 March 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-47609814.

5   Aisslinger, Moritz et al.: Hier gibt es nichts zu sehen, *Die Zeit*, 20 March 2019, https://www.zeit.de/2019/13/attentaeter-christchurch-rechter-terror-online-video.

lice sent out a tweet which "strongly urges" "that the link not be shared"[6] and blocked the social network 8chan/pol for New Zealand IP addresses.

The gunman, an Australian national by the name of Brenton Tarrant, did not leave any doubt that his act was part of a well established "ecosystem of rightwing terror" (Evans 2019b). His manifesto was filled with narratives of "white genocide" and "the great replacement" and sprinkled with racist memes; he claimed to have found in Breivik a "true inspiration"; his rifle was painted with the symbol of "the 14s" – which became quickly recognized as a reference to the "fourteen words" written by jailed neo Nazi David Lane;[7] and the "soundtrack" accompanying his 17 minutes of filmed rampage includes the song "Remove Kebab", a Serb nationalist song that celebrates the mastermind of the genocide against Bosnian Muslims, Radovan Karadzic. His audience understood and acknowledged his effort. Investigative journalist Robert Evans described the initial responses on 8chan/pol to the shooter's announcement before the killing as "excitement". As the shooter began to kill people, the general sentiment turned into "riotous glee". Subsequently, people "began pouring through his manifesto to look for the in-jokes he had left" for that community, and then the speculations began on who "would carry out the next attack".[8]

The act was not only global in the sense of participation beyond the local scene and in the way in which the mass murderer addressed audiences all over the world (by recounting his visits to French war cemeteries and the sense of grief and rage that they infused in him; by calling Angela Merkel "the mother of all things anti-white and anti-germanic" and Sadiq Khan the "pakistani muslim invader now sit[ting] as representative of the people of London"[9]). It was also global in the way it was interpreted and visualized by commentators and politicians. Even though New Zealand is far removed geographically and politically from the conflicts of most of the world, the act was soon identified

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6   Griffin, Andrew: New Zealand Attack Video spreads across Twitter, YouTube and Reddit despite Pleas from Police not to share it, *The Independent*, 15 March 2019, https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/news/new-zealand-attack-video-shooting-mosque-christchurch-reddit-youtube-twitter-a8824131.html.

7   We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children (Evans 2019a).

8   Evans, Robert: How the Christchurch terrorist used 8chan to connect and joke with neo-Nazis, *ABC Australia*, 25 March 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=44KEmbJelT8.

9   Tarrant, Brenton: The great replacement. Towards a new society we march ever forwards, published online at *8chan*, 15 March 2019.

as the latest instance of a global lineage of rightwing acts of killing: Anders Breivik's attacks in Oslo and Utøya in July 2011, who killed 77 people, many of them school kids, and injuring hundreds more; Dylon Roof's attack in an Episcopalian Church in Charleston in June 2015 killing 9 people, all of them African American; and Robert Bower's attack in a synagogue in Pittsburgh in October 2018 during shabat morning service, killing 11 people, all of them Jewish.

As the framing of the event was global, so were the reactions. In Turkey, Erdogan condemned the killing as "the latest example of rising racism and Islamophobia" and used snippets of the video-footage during a campaign rally and cited excerpts from the gunman's manifesto to argue that Turkish Muslims are also under threat.[10] Many representatives, including of Jordan, Egypt, Pakistan, Germany, France and the UN called the atrocity an act of terrorism, while the US president neither mentioned the victims' Muslims identities nor used a category of political violence when tweeting that "49 innocent people have so senselessly died."[11] Prominent voices in the European far right quickly argued that the killing had nothing to do with their ideology (despite the very use of the same concepts). The rightwing thinker Renaud Camus, who coined the notion "le grand remplacement", reasoned in an interview that what most resembled the shooter's act were the terrorist (i.e. Islamist) attacks that France had been experiencing over the past five years.[12] By linking the massacre that targeted Muslims to Islamist attacks, the Christchurch victims, in a cynical inversion, were made "the *carriers* of terror [... and] the ground of terror's possibility globally" (Sharpe 2016: 15).[13]

There was also a different kind of reaction. In one of her first responses to the killing, New Zealand Prime Minister Ardern announced that gun laws would be restricted. In the ceremony for the victims on March 22, 2019, she

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10   Turkey's Recep Tayyip Erdogan uses New Zealand attack video at campaign rally, *Deutsche Welle*, 18 March 2019, https://www.dw.com/en/turkeys-recep-tayyip-erdogan-uses-new-zealand-attack-video-at-campaign-rally/a-47959569.

11   The world reacts to New Zealand mosque attacks, *Al Jazeera*, 15 March 2019, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/03/world-reacts-zealand-mosque-attacks-190315061839640.html.

12   Christchurch: «Je ne vois pas pourquoi je l'aurais inspiré», réagit Renaud Camus, *Le Parisien*, 15 March 2019, http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/christchurch-je-ne-vois-pas-pourquoi-je-l-aurais-inspire-reagit-renaud-camus-15-03-2019-8032662.php#xtor=AD-1481423553.

13   In her *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* Christina Sharpe makes this argument by referring to the social experience of Black people.

wore a headscarf and quoted a hadith of the prophet Mohammed: "The believers in their mutual kindness, compassion and sympathy are just like one body. When any part of the body suffers, the whole body feels pain. New Zealand mourns with you. We are one."[14]

Ethics of being in-common

Moments of exposure are concrete and intense. In a moment of exposure, "ethics 'happens'" (Burgess 2011: 4), not as applied morals or values but as an effort of making sense within uncertainty and dealing with loose ends. Exposures emerge from – and fuel – uncertainty and insecurity. When exposed, or when witnessing the exposure of others, people may be forced to take a position before being able to read the public reaction at large, or despite sensing that this will be received as an unwelcome provocation. The concrete ethics of exposure lies precisely in such attempts to reach out to others, to name feelings or to make commitments, without knowing how they 'fit' into what 'we are'.

In this sense, we understand ethics, with Brian Massumi, as the ways in which we "inhabit uncertainty, together" (2002a: 9; see 2002b: 255). It is in such moments of uncertainty that ethics *happens* between us: modalities of distance, difference, or distinction are assembled in new ways. This "between us", Martin Coward (2012: 469) reminds us, should not be imagined as a gap to be bridged between people and things but as a condition of being "always already related". If moments of exposure tell us something about the vulnerability felt and the ethics emerging out of situations of uncertainty, this is not to be understood as a negative ethics, an ethics based on vulnerability as the corporeal or psychic disposition to be wounded and destroyed. Instead, being exposed is a situation where people can become aware of their relatedness, seeing themselves impelled or motivated to reach out, and sometimes risking their freedom or even their lives to defend fellow citizens and stand up against repressive regimes.

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14   New Zealand's Ardern quotes Prophet Muhammad's hadith in solidarity with Christchurch victims, *Daily Sabah*, 22 March 2019, https://www.dailysabah.com/asia/2019/03/22/new-zealands-ardern-quotes-prophet-muhammads-hadith-in-solidarity-with-christchurch-victims.

Moments of exposure involve an opening, a "space for maneuvering", for contestation, detachment, "strange alliances" or yet unknown collaboration (Simone 2019: 35, 2013: 244; 2018: 25f). A future mode of being in-common might already be there, though it is still ungraspable (Massumi 2002b). How it materializes depends on the various paths taken and shaped in the aftermath of experiences of exposure. Exposure touches on and may re-articulate 'our' modes of being in-common.

Thinking in terms of exposure and their ethics of being in-common (Coward 2012) moves us beyond an understanding of community as built up by the values people share or a common nationality that is imagined (Anderson 1999). Beyond the rather homogenizing and ethnicizing notions of "identity" and "hegemony", acts of exposure lead us to emerging forms of being in-common and to the multiple and ambivalent processes that feed into "belonging" (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2011). At the same time, exposures may point us to people's enduring attachments and appeals to nationalist or fundamentalist ideals, for example, when Turkey's President Erdogan exploits the Christchurch massacre for his own interests, claiming that "[a]ll Muslims, our country, our nation and myself are targeted". Others remind us of the Islamophobic and racist discourses that paved the way for such horrific attacks and expose the hypocrisy of many Western politicians who expressed sympathy for the victims while supporting policies that contribute to the social and political exclusion of Muslims and refugees.[15] While certain infrastructures of communication, rightwing networks and modes of operation preexisted and enabled the act, and were partly reinforced by it, new "affective communities"[16] were also 'finding' each other in the aftermath of Christchurch, for example, as communities of solidarity with the victims and communities built on shared vulnerability.

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15   Knipp, Kersten: Muslime debattieren Reaktionen auf Christchurch-Attentat, *Deutsche Welle*, 19 March 2019, https://www.dw.com/de/muslime-debattieren-reaktionen-auf-christchurch-attentat/a-47967310.

16   We use the notion of "affective community" to point to forms of connectivity that emerge or sustain themselves around the emotional reaction to a disruptive event. Emma Hutchison (2016: 11) associates affective communities closely to trauma: "it is precisely because trauma seems to suspend reality, imposing a moment of uncertainty and reflection, that individuals seek to regain control and strengthen community ties."

Acts of exposure

Our analytical device – acts of exposure – may allow us to attend to some of these more complex modes of being in-common. Inspired by George Marcus' (1995: 90) technique of following and staying within the movement of a particular group, thing, plot, or metaphor, our approach consists of following *acts of exposure*. We see acts of exposure characterized by seven features:

First, acts of exposures are *acts*. They are not steady practices, but singular. Like Engin Isin's acts of citizenship, acts of exposure are "rupture[s] or beginnings" and they may "create new sites of contestation, belonging, identification and struggle" (Isin 2009: 379, 371). Yet, in contrast to acts of citizenship that are "purposive" and inspired by certain individual or collective motives (Isin 2009: 378, 381), acts of exposure may transpire without a clear objective or purpose, for example, when a hurricane hits. We read them in their effects – effects that might even be created by a natural disaster or a conglomerate of chaotic human agencies – and we read social and political scripts that we call racism, nationalism, or solidarity into them. To the extent that acts of exposure are disruptions of the ordinary, they may tease out an awareness of the very structures of the ordinary and affect our common sense. Acts of exposure are incidents that break through the threshold of public concern, as the massacre in the mosques of Christchurch did with its horrendous death toll and the shocking involvement of a global audience.

Secondly, acts of exposure happen on *surfaces of contact* (Coward 2012: 479) that are the concrete infrastructures, fabrics and technologies connecting us. Surfaces of contact are surfaces of touch. Where people come together, they are vulnerable, they can be touched. Acts of exposure intervene there. Not only do acts of exposure build on certain infrastructures of togetherness, they may also shake and alter them forever. They may unravel established connections and generate different visions, as in Edward Snowden's 2013 revelations of the hitherto unknown scale of mass surveillance by the US and the UK intelligence services and their allies – even if all that has changed in the end is that now *we know* and have to encrypt our messages and files (Snowden 2019). Furthermore, acts of exposure have the ability to overcome, or reinforce, settled habits of proximity and distance. The platform 8chan/pol was a powerful enabling condition for the making and re-making of hateful acts, of which Christchurch, the Poway synagogue shooting and the El Paso Walmart shooting were only several sad points of escalation. Evans called the platform a "24 hours a day [...] neonazi rally where every now and then someone will leave in

order to commit a violent attack". The platform is all about encouraging each other to engage in "real-life effortposting".[17]

Surfaces of contact are also visual. As Craig Calhoun observes, our sense as citizens, "how we are in the world, who else is in the world, how we fit into the world" is first and foremost (audio-)visual.[18] Hence, our being and being together with others in the world is shaped by face-to-face encounters as well as by media images or common knowledge of spatial divisions and social distributions that traverse different scales: what is at stake is publicly visible, or sensible. The public sphere does not necessarily rely on physical access so much as on sensory access (see Adut 2012: 243). We get a sense of the political dimension of the terrorist act when we see the frightening images of the massacre or the public reactions, but also when we connect the dots and begin to realize that there is a growing chain of white nationalist attacks that are claiming Black, Jewish, and Muslim lives (or those of political opponents). Mediated images may become symbols, but "the particularities of contemporary forms, expressions, and experiences of citizenship" (Telesca 2013: 339) cannot be grasped by seeing these images as mere collective or hegemonic forms of representation. Often, images are themselves surfaces on which manifold notions of empathy, solidarity, disgust, or hatred are being formed: the Prime Minister in a headscarf, the killer posing with his weapon, family members grieving.

An interesting element regarding the visuality of the Christchurch massacre is what Evans calls the "gamification of terror" (2019b: 6). When Brenton Tarrant livestreamed his act of killing from a helmet camera he "made the shooting look almost exactly like a First Person Shooter video game" (ibid: 8). Common references in the discussions following the massacre lauded Tarrant's high body count and expressed the desire to "'beat his high score'" (ibid.) – praise that was not extended to the 19 year old who, weeks later,

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17   Evans, Robert: How the Christchurch terrorist used 8chan to connect and joke with neo-Nazis, *ABC Australia* 25 March 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=44KEmbJelT8. In the wake of the El Paso shooting in August 2019, various tech companies cancelled their services to 8chan, effectively shutting down the site for a short time until it resurfaced on an obscure web platform also used by Islamic State supporters. See Cox, Joseph: 8chan Forced to Move to Obscure Dark Web Service, in *Motherboard* 6 August 2019, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/wjwe34/8chan-forced-to-move-to-obscure-dark-web-service?utm_source=vicetwitterus.

18   Calhoun, Craig: What is Visual Citizenship, at the *Visual Citizenship Conference at NYU's Institute for Public Knowledge* 2010, https://vimeo.com/25369048.

"only" killed one woman and injured 3 others during prayer in a synagogue in California. He too had announced his intention on 8chan/pol, but the community seemed disappointed. An anonymous poster complained "No livestream? Lame as fuck. Don't mass shooters know they need to up their game now? Tarrant has changed the optics level." And one adds: "I wont lie, this is a let down after Tarrant's crusade. Nowadays I hear shooting and I expect 20+" (see Evans 2019b). Here, "scoring" and offering a particular "optics level" with "live" elements are measured as performances in a game world or movie. Recognition is reserved for cruel performances that are well produced.

Thirdly, acts of exposure *defy containment*; no-one can ever fully claim control over that which has passed the threshold of public visibility (Roitman 2004). Once they have appeared at the surface, acts of exposure might enter unexpected or unwanted circuits of diffusion or circulation that disconnect them from their previous state of being. Exposure is also about actively taking risks and putting something at stake. It may involve offering a part of oneself to others as a gift: a gesture, a helping hand, a claim, or even one's life – and risking that it might well be captured, evaluated, misunderstood, rejected or even ignored. A gift, in Marcel Mauss' (1966) theory, is not only given and received (even if not received in the way it has been given); it also initiates a mode of connectivity. It is an act of offering something or of exposing oneself since it is not clear how, when and whether there will be a response. In a similar way, acts of exposure rely on and are indeed characterized by their reception, circulation and (expectations of) the reactions they elicit. A heartbreaking detail during the Christchurch atrocity was revealed on the footage and went viral: a Muslim worshipper, one of the first people to be killed greeted the attacker with "Hello brother", just moments before he was shot dead. Under the hashtag #Hellobrother people reflected on the ethics of this: the tragedy, the peacefulness: "We will continue to say #Hellobrother for a better world and solidarity", someone commented on twitter. And, "It starts with a hello spark, wrapped with a hello to all humanity". There is a sense to these statements that says: 'you will not earn our hate, no matter how hard you try', a way of escaping the logic of the killer, of refusing to feed a politics of enmity.

Fourthly, although they are singular events, acts of exposure rarely stand alone. On the contrary, through their publicness, they are perceivable as a *landscape of acts* – acts that influence, imitate and resonate with each other, and are comparable in their targets, their methods, in their suddenness, and their horror and, as such, are connected to each other in public discourse.

The Christchurch Mosque Shooting has been placed in a landscape of other massacres: of white men attacking Blacks, Muslims, or Jews in their places of worship; of "lone wolfs and their digital packs"[19] who orchestrate their attacks for broader consumption, of white supremacists who leave manifestos as addendums of their act. Many times, they have also more generally been characterized as extremists who kill innocent people in crowded places in the name of some political goal – hence the comparison to Islamist terrorist attacks. And not only are singular acts of exposure situated in landscapes of other acts, they also make the contours of such landscapes more visible: the Christchurch massacre made the contours of this landscape of rightwing terror more clearly appear to a global public eye than ever before.

Fifthly, in that sense, we must see acts of exposure in a larger *force field* in which they manifest their potential: they are publicly apprehended, take on meaning, instigate re-actions, become matters of concern. To be sure, acts must be powerful, sudden or shocking, but this alone is rarely enough to have them produce an effect in a broader public. The public sphere must be 'receptive' to it – which is how we get a sense of decisive moments: through public reactions to a deeply unsettling situation. "Force fields" are dynamic territories; they are "causal ecologies", as Eyal Weizman (2014: 27) calls them, but these causes are "non-linear, diffused, simultaneous, and involve multiple agencies and feedback loops". Some causes remain opaque if they are searched for in a linear line of reasoning. The massacre in the mosques of Christchurch grows out of and stirred up a growing global force field infused with racist, Islamophobic and rigthwing positions that are often publicly articulated by prominent politicians.

Sixthly, acts of exposure speed up, intensify, create versions of themselves, as they emerge at, or sometimes break through, the surface, and may be evoked again and again. They *spiral up* into the future.[20] A horrid line of

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19 Musharbash, Yassin/Stark, Holger: Der einsame Wolf und sein digitales Rudel, *Die Zeit*, 23 March 2019, https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2019-03/tarrant-und-die-rechtsextreme-szene/komplettansicht.

20 We borrow the notion of "spiraling" from AbdouMaliq Simone's (2015) explorations of the Haitian Spiralists, a literary movement that emerged in the 1960s during the dictatorship of Francois Duvalier. Its three principle writers Frankétienne, Jean-Claude Fignolé, and René Philoctète created an "aesthetic philosophy" using the spiral as metaphor and tool, with the protagonists of their stories often being "caught up in a whirlwind, a funnel cloud that spirals from bad to worse." (See also: Insularity & In-

imitators followed in the footsteps of the Christchurch Mosque Shooter, continuing the line of "inspirational terrorism" (Evans 2019a). Only ten days after Christchurch, the Islamic Center of Escondido in California was set on fire; graffiti at the scene referenced Tarrant. On April 27, a young man opened fire in the Poway Synagogue in California and killed one woman and injured 3 others during prayer, he too shared a manifesto, citing the Christchurch shooter as his inspiration: he included a link to his own manifesto and to a livestream, which did not work. On July 22, the anniversary of the Breivik attacks, an Eritrean man was shot in Wächtersbach, Germany, out of racist motives. On July 28, at the Gilroy Garlic Festival in the US, a man shot 3 people dead, injured 13 after having posted a fascist book on Instragram. On August 3, a gunman killed 22 people, amongst them 8 Mexicans, in a Walmart store in El Paso, Texas. In the manifesto he posted on 8chan, he referenced Tarrant and directly echoed Trump's rhetoric when claiming that the attack was in response to the "Hispanic invasion of Texas."[21] Only 13 hours later a young man opened fire in a popular nightlife district in Dayton, Ohio, killing 10. And on August 10, a man attacked the Al-Noor Islamic Centre at the outskirts of Oslo; he referenced the Christchurch, El Paso and the Poway shooters. On October 9, a man in Halle, Germany, attempted to commit a massacre during a Yom Kippur celebration at a synagogue. Footage from his helmet-mounted camera showed him planting explosives by a locked wooden door, explosives which ultimately failed to detonate. After botching his initial plan, he proceeded to kill a woman passing by and a customer in a nearby Turkish kebab shop. He streamed his act live on the platform Twitch, where, speaking in English, he denies the Holocaust and refers to the Christchurch shooter. He also uploaded a hateful manifesto online.[22] Given this history of connected rightwing events in 2019, the spiral is already well on its way and showing no sign of slowing down.

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ternationalism: An Interview with Kaiama L. Glover, *The Public Archive: Black History in Dark Times*, 04 June 2013, http://thepublicarchive.com/?p=3881).

21   Manifesto quoted in Valencia García, Louie Dean: How The El Paso Terrorist's Manifesto Echoes Trump's Rhetoric, *Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right*, August 13 2019, https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2019/08/13/how-the-el-paso-terrorists-manifesto-echoes-trumps-rhetoric/.

22   Schuetze, Christopher F/Eddy, Melissa: Only a locked door stopped a massacre at a German Synagogue, *The New York Times*, 10 March 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/10/world/europe/germany-synagogue-attack.html.

Finally, acts of exposure have a specific *temporality*: the very act often does not last longer than a moment, but the reactions that follow develop their own timespan and speed. The act itself continues in some kind of afterlife in endless visual and narrative repetitions or allusions, in truncated or mocked versions, until it stops having any disruptive power and is written over by more timely acts. At some point, the force field is no longer affected by the initial act. When materials are exposed to the environment, writes William Walters (2014: 294), they "become weathered": worn, faded, washed out by the wind, rain and sunlight. Acts of exposure themselves fade away and dissolve after some time. In photography, the notion of exposure refers to the timespan of the shot: the longer the sensitized surface is exposed to light, the more bright *and* blurry the picture. More light does not mean we see things more clearly. In a similar vein, talking extensively about an act does not necessarily lead us to a better understanding of what happened and why. If acts of exposure bring about radical uncertainty and intensity in the very moment, these may be transformed into more certainty (we understand what happened) and less intensity (we "measure" our responses and "calm down"). The sense of being unsettled, however, endures, and the uncanny underlying threat that there will be more horrors remains.

If acts of exposure strike public spheres and make a difference for collective and political life, following them is worth the effort. The seven features of such acts may help us understand their potential for analyzing key moments in the making of affective publics. As we have outlined, acts of exposures are singular events, they are ruptures of the ordinary. They happen and are "received" on surfaces of contact, that is, of touch and the visual. Acts of exposure defy containment and control. Even though they are singular acts, they are (perceived as) part of a landscape of acts that they are linked to and compared to. Acts of exposure make sense and grow out of a particular force field in which they intensify, imitate each other, create versions of themselves and spiral into the future. And, they have their specific temporality where things may become clearer and at the same time blurred, and at some point fade away after having left their imprints.

Being divided, being in common in vulnerability

What do acts of exposure teach us about vulnerability and mutual relatedness? In her influential writings on vulnerability, Judith Butler (2010: 25) posits that

"[l]ives are by definition precarious: they can be expunged at will or by accident". Vulnerability is exposure to others, and the unknown, and it is about destruction and injurability, but it is also a question of recognition and belonging. This is what Butler designates as precarity: a politically induced differential exposure to injury and, ultimately, to the destruction of life; conditioned by a divided world in which certain subjects are more vulnerable than others and certain subjects are more grievable, and valuable, than others (see Butler 2004: 30, see also 2010: 25). What is at stake here is recognizability, the social conditions of becoming an intelligible subject. Beyond the threshold of the intelligible, life, according to Butler (1998: 281), is "unlivable", abject, and, as something that remains "radically uninterrogated", not (yet) real. Hence, Butler's notion of precarity takes into account how normative and affective frames that are incorporated into power structures shape our perception of otherness and determine how and whether the vulnerability of others comes to be perceptible (Vögele 2020). The notion of the "lone wolf", for example, tends to sever a terrorist act from its political context and meaning, as the white male that targets particular religious communities or minorities is portrayed as deranged, mentally ill and acting in isolation. 'Islamist acts', by contrast, are presented as a constant threat to the West. While one targeted group, and with it its enemy, is put on the spot, the other is rendered invisible or marginal (Hamm and Spaaij 2017; Miller and Hayward 2019) – a pattern that the public readings of the Christchurch massacre interrupted to some degree.

While we share much of Butler's notion of precariousness, with acts of exposure, we are more interested in the political moments in which vulnerability appears in public spheres in a particularly forceful manner and how it is made "politically operative" in various contexts (Thacker 2013; Evans & Reid 2014).[23] Furthermore, acts of exposure force us to consider how we perceive ourselves as vulnerable subjects and as subjects who relate to each other in a particular manner. It focuses on the productive effects of these exposures, how we reach out to others and realize that we are connected, that we "rely on each other to exist" (Shindo 2015: 26; Nancy 2000: 56-65) – though neither solely in a mundane day to day sense nor in the sense of an already existing 'common

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23   Analogous to the idea of "life itself" (Thacker 2013), this is neither to say that there is a vulnerability as such "that pre-exists or exists outside of politics" or social fabrication nor to negate that there is such a thing as vulnerability. The point rather is that vulnerability, like "life", "is always already political" or social.

ground'. What we are in our singularity or uniqueness hinges upon multiplicity: on alterity that is not simply otherness, nor other people, but a virtual connection and connectedness between multiple entities, which constitutes our selves, our being in the first place. We are, in this sense, only singular (in) plural (Nancy 2000). As anthropologist Dame Anne Salmond reminded the people of New Zealand after the attacks in Christchurch: "In the wake of this terrible tragedy, let's be honest, for once. White supremacy is a part of us, a dark power in the land."[24] If there already existed a community to be called "New Zealand", it is, of course, a heterogeneous and divided community that harbors a history of white domination over indigenous people. Hence, the Maori who danced their haka as a spiritual and powerful performance of solidarity as a reaction to the terror attack, might also have reminded the country of the inner discords in their own history and of a certain "duress" (Stoler 2016: 7): "the hardened, tenacious qualities of colonial effects."

And yet, for good reasons, Prime Minister Ardern maintained after the shooting:

> "For those of you who are watching at home tonight, and questioning how this could have happened here, we – New Zealand – we were not a target because we are a safe harbor for those who hate. We were not chosen for this act of violence because we condone racism, because we are an enclave for extremism. We were chosen for the very fact that we are none of these things. Because we represent diversity, kindness, compassion, a home for those who share our values, refuge for those who need it. […] You may have chosen us – but we utterly reject and condemn you."[25]

The will to destroy reached New Zealand precisely because it represents, and lives, diversity – this is the message conveyed here. Being in-common is not a state and not a homogeneity. It is rarely "nice or cuddly" (Thrift 2004: 58), but rather a form of "throwntogetherness" (Massey 2005: 138). Nonetheless, it is important to reject the force that seeks to destroy that very community

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24   Salmond, Dame Anne: Christchurch shootings: The doctrine of white superiority is alive and well in NZ, *Stuff*, 19 March 2019, https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-shooting/111363583/online-on-talkback-in-taxis-and-at-dinner-tables-the-doctrine-of-white-superiority-is-alive-and-well.

25   Britton, Bianca: New Zealand PM full speech: "This can only be described as a terrorist attack", *CNN*, 15 March 2019, https://edition.cnn.com/2019/03/15/asia/new-zealand-jacinda-ardern-full-statement-intl/index.html.

to constitute that 'we', as Ardern did in her own act of exposure when avowing "we utterly reject and condemn you", and: "we are one." Her intervention reached out explicitly to the Muslim community that had been hurt, engaging the imaginary of a body that "feels pain [...] when any part of the body suffers". It evoked the body of believers: the believers in "their mutual kindness, compassion, and sympathy" and by that rendered *believing in* not as something that divides (as in your god, my god or no god) but that connects. What Arden performed, we might say, was an act of truth-telling (Foucault 2014) that binds the subject, the people of New Zealand, to the truth spoken out and invites a global community of "believers in the mutual kindness" to join in. By evoking this body, New Zealand became a potentially different community.

There is a necessary provisionality, incompleteness and search for orientation in these and related acts of mourning. Each act is, following Lauren Berlant (2016: 404), an "affective scene intense with form-making noise." It is *form-making* because it experiments with metaphors of togetherness using the words of those whose community once again had been severely shaken. Here, *noise* points to a realm of searching and speaking beyond the commonly known, "a sensorium for a potential social world" (Berlant 2011: 231). Noise, writes the musicologist David Novak (2015), is a composition of sounds that seems uninterpretable at first. The Latin roots of the word noise is *nausea*, from the Greek *naus* for ship. Noise has thus something to do with the sickness on high sea, when everything is moving and we lack orientation. In the scene of mourning, we see the search for orientation actively at work, a moment of ethics in action, a sincere gesture of reaching out and evoking the experience of a possible, though still fragile collectivity.

Being in-common is about meeting alterity – alterity to ourselves included – and taking on the ambiguities and the unease that this might entail. Ethics, after all, is about living together, with uncertainty or, in Achille Mbembe's (2015) words, the "ethics of becoming-with-others".

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