Cross-Fadings of Racialisation and Migratisation: The Postcolonial Turn in Western European Gender and Migration Studies

Alyosxa Tudor

Centre for Gender Studies, SOAS University of London, UK

at53@soas.ac.uk

Dr Alyosxa Tudor is a Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in Gender Studies at the Centre for Gender Studies at SOAS, University of London. Their work connects trans and queer feminist approaches with transnational feminism and postcolonial studies. Tudor's main research interest lies in analysing (knowledge productions on) migrations, diasporas and borders in relation to critiques of Eurocentrism and to processes of gendering and racialisation. Tudor has published on these topics with *Feminist Review* and *Lambda Nordica* and is the author of the monograph *from [al'manja] with love*. Their second monograph *Ascriptions of Migration* is forthcoming with Palgrave in the series 'Thinking Gender in Transnational Times'. In the past, Tudor was a LSE Fellow in Transnational Gender Studies, a Senior Teaching Fellow at the Centre for Gender Studies, SOAS, and a Visiting Fellow at GEXcel, Centre of Gender Excellence at Linkoping University/Sweden.

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Looking at feminist and anti-racist approaches situated in or focused on Western Europe, especially Germany, this article investigates how racism and migration can be theorised in relation to each other in critical knowledge production. Rather than being an article 'about Germany', my intervention understands the German context as an exemplary place for deconstructing Europe and its gendered, racialised and sexualised premises. I argue that a 'postcolonial turn' has begun to emerge in Western European gender and migration studies and is questioning easy assumptions about the connections between racism and migration. Discussing examples from academic knowledge production and media debates, I suggest to think of migratisation (the ascription of migration) as performative practice that repeatedly re-stages a sending-off to an elsewhere and works in close interaction with racialisation. In particular, drawing on postcolonial approaches, I carve out the interconnection of racialisation and migratisation with class and gender. I argue that equating racialisation with migratisation carries the risk of whitening understandings of migration and/or reinforcing already whitened understandings of nation and Europeanness. To make discrimination 'accessible' to critical knowledge production, I engage in an epistemological discussion of the potentials and challenges of differentiating analytical categorisations. With this, this article engages with ascriptions, exclusions and abjectifications and attempts to formulate precise conceptualisations for the ever shifting forms of resistance we urgently need in transnational feminist activism and knowledge production.

Keywords: postcolonial Europe; racism; migration; postcolonial Germany; migratism; transnational feminist epistemology

This article investigates how racism and migration can be theorised in relation to each other in feminist and anti-racist knowledge production situated in or focused on Western Europe, especially Germany. Rather than being an article 'about Germany', my

intervention understands the German context as an exemplary place for investigating and deconstructing processes of defining postcolonial Europe (Bhambra 2009) and its racialised, gendered, sexualised and nationalised premises. Elsewhere, I have suggested the term 'migratism' (Tudor 2014, 2017a) for theorising the power relation that ascribes migration to certain bodies and establishes non-migration as the norm of intelligible national and European belonging. Building on this intervention, I argue for a complex feminist analysis of the interconnection of racism and migration that focuses on the differences, overlaps, contradictions and ambivalences of migratising and racialising strategies. Most importantly, my discussion of feminist approaches on racism and/or migration situated in Western Europe aims to illuminate how the missing differentiation between racism and migratism positions Europeans of colour as abjects to discourses on migration, nation and – paradoxically – racism (Tudor 2017a). Furthermore, equating racialisation with migratisation (the ascription of migration) carries the risk of whitening understandings of migration and/or reinforcing already whitened understandings of nation and Europeanness.

Drawing on postcolonial approaches, I analyse academic knowledge productions and media representations to carve out the interconnection of racialisation and migratisation with class and gender. To make discrimination 'accessible' to critical knowledge production, I engage in an epistemological discussion of the potentials and challenges of differentiating analytical categorisations. Thus, offering this differentiation between racialisation and migratisation, between racism and migratism, is intended to intervene productively in a field already concerned with intersections of power relations, yet struggling to make sense of how to characterise the different discriminations that are experienced in a mobile and global world.

Differentiations of Racialisation and Migratisation

'Migratisation', the term I suggest here, foregrounds the *ascription* of migration to certain bodies, and the *construction* of certain people as 'at home' (see also Ahmed 2000) while others are constructed as migrants. I argue that migratisation intersects in specific ways with racialisation but is not the same phenomenon. The relationship of racialisation and migratisation depends on national peculiarities, context-specific moments and interactions with other power relations, like classism, sexism and queer/transphobia etc. In order to underline that a politicised concept like migratisation can be useful for feminist theory and activism, one that deals with the ascription of migration as distinct from racialisation, and focuses on their complex overlaps and contradictions, I invite you to read with me a set of examples in which power relations can be analysed differently when thinking about the interplay of racialisation and migratisation.

In his reflections on racism and nation in France, Etienne Balibar makes the interesting clarification that "not *all* foreigners and *not only* foreigners" are seen as migrants in hegemonic discourse (Balibar in Balibar and Wallerstein 1991, 221; emphasis E.B.). With this statement, he helps us to move beyond thinking of migration as a purely descriptive category by reframing it as an ascription that produces hierarchies, one that can construct people as migrants even if they do not have a migration history. However, he uses national categories alongside racialising ones: "A Portuguese, for example, will be more of an 'immigrant' than a Spaniard (in Paris), though less than an Arab or a Black; a Briton or a German certainly will not be an 'immigrant' [...]" (ibid.). Thus, Balibar states that in a French context a "Portuguese" person would more likely be ascribed with migration than for example a "German" person would, while "an Arab or a Black" person would definitely be seen as a migrant

(ibid.). In a similar vein, Annita Kalpaka and Nora Räthzel (1990) claim that in the German context "Englishmen [Engländer], Americans and Swedes" do not experience the same resentments as "Africans, Turks, Spaniards, Greeks" (Kalpaka/Räthzel 1990, 12).

Using my concept of migratisation, both approaches can be understood as making the point that 'becoming a migrant' in Western Europe relies on hierarchical ascriptions of migration – one is not born, but rather becomes a migrant (excuse my reference to de Beauvoir) through being repeatedly treated as one. However, neither approach reflects on questions of what role racialisation plays and how it works ambivalently to migratise specific national subjects when they cross borders. It is certainly true that in Western Europe, people read as i.e. Greeks and Portuguese are seen as migrants. However, as I want to point out, one can only claim that "Americans", "Swedes" (Kalpaka/Räthzel) and "Britons" (Balibar) are not ascribed with migration in Germany or France if one assumes that they are homogenously white. Asian Americans, Black Swedes and British Indian people, for example, would in a dominant gaze not be seen as non-migrants qua their European/Western nationality, they would instead be ascribed with migration from non-Western, extra-European countries/continents. Western/European nations in both approaches are implicitly constructed as white, while for example "Blacks and Arabs" (Balibar) remain in the role of eternal migrants who can never be at home in Europe. Thinking about racism in Europe *only* in terms of migration and national belonging, then, has the effect of racially homogenising Western/European nations as white and excluding Europeans of colour (who may or may not have a migration history) not only from discourses of "nation as well as migration," as El-Tayeb (2011, xxxv) puts it, but as I also want to stress, from (academic and activist) understandings of racism. Therefore, it is important for critical

analyses to carve out the interplay of racialisation and migratisation. My proposal to think about 'migratisation' rather than about 'migrants' helps us to understand, on the one hand, that the ascription of being a migrant does not necessarily need an actual migration or border crossing, and on the other, that white privilege can manifest in supra-national border crossings that are precisely not seen as migrations.

Moreover, as Balibar (1991, 221) points out, privileged border crossings that are not considered migrations are often accompanied with class privilege. Thus, for a French context, Balibar ponders: "a Spanish worker and, a fortiori, a Moroccan worker will be 'immigrants', but a Spanish capitalist, or even indeed an Algerian capitalist, will not be" (ibid.). Bringing these thoughts together with Kalpaka/Räthzel's statement, that "Africans, Turks, Spaniards, Greeks" (1990, 12) are discriminated against in a German context – a discrimination the authors claim should be called racism and not xenophobia – I wonder if Kalpaka and Räthzel, even if not addressing class as directly as Balibar does, refer to class+migration as a distinguishing dimension for racism. They mention "Africans" (a term that is problematically used alongside nationalising terms) and "Turks, Spaniards, Greeks" in the same breath. The last three groups predominantly migrated to Germany during the 1950-1970s wave of legalised labour migration to West Germany, which is tied to a specific configuration of class and geopolitical hierarchies. Important however to understanding the intersecting racialised and classed politics of West Germany's labour migration programmes is the fact that, as Karen Schönwälder (2001, 2004) points out in her extensive historical work, this push for intra-European foreign recruitment was motivated by a conflation of Europeanness with whiteness. At the time, Turkey was seen as part of Europe (2004, 251) and there were coordinated – but unofficially and secretly conducted – efforts in operation on many levels of the West German administration to prevent the entry of Europeans of colour as workers

from the European partner nations (2001, 247f, 269; 2004, 250). While Kalpaka and Räthzel seem to suggest that 'migration+class discrimination' substitutes racialisation, and that the discrimination against workers from Southern Europe should subsequently be called racism rather than 'only' xenophopbia, it becomes clear through Schönwälder's study that racism in West Germany has historically meant efforts to restrict labour migration to only white Europeans. Like most stories, this one is not absolute. Most labour migrants came to West Germany from Turkey, but one could dispute the claim that Turkey has ever been considered a 'true' part of Europe by other European nations and therefore state that Turkish migrants are not considered as white in Western Europe. We can certainly speak of an ambivalent construction of Turkey in European discourses (see Küçük 2009). However, as ambivalent the Western German official migration politics might have been regarding the geopolitical borders of Europe, Schönwälder's findings make clear that German authorities had an explicit concept of Europeanness as whiteness, stating for example that Germans would expect a 'white worker' when hiring a Portuguese (Schönwälder 2001, 269).

In a UK context, recent debates on Brexit serve as a reminder of the importance of avoiding the conflation of nationality with race. Framing UK based anti-Polish or anti-Romanian rhetoric as 'racism' against people ascribed as migrants from Romania or Poland falls into this very trap and avoids confronting how Black, Arab, and Asian Eastern Europeans who migrate to Western Europe are not ascribed with Eastern Europeanness but with *extra*-European migration. As Michelle Wright and Fatima El-Tayeb show, hegemonic understandings of Europe construct Black Europeans as *non*-Europeans. El-Tayeb (2011, xvii) argues that racism in Europe is characterised through an "externalization of racialized populations", and Wright (2004, 191) similarly asserts

that, in the German context, Black Germans are constructed as "Africans, or Others-from-without".

This is not to say that delineations between European nations do not play an important role for defining a distinctive national identity. In the next section's discussion on German nation building, and through recent debates on British nationalism in the wake of Brexit, nationalist constructions that rely on delineations from other European nations become evident. Indeed, this specific construction of European nation states is rooted in an internal European hierarchy that is secured by chauvinist nationalisms. However, this does not mean that any resentment based on the ascription of different European nationalities is 'racism' in an analytical sense. As Manuela Boatcă (2013) explains, during modernist nation building processes 'multiple Europes' emerge with 'heroic Europe' as the self-declared core and Southern/Eastern/South-Eastern Europes as its peripheries. This internal hierarchy and competition does not only create tensions, it also stabilises 'Europe' and affirms its shared and divisive racist projects. While Maria Todorova speaks of a "racial ambiguity" of Eastern Europe (2009, 19), both she and Boatcă agree that dominant perceptions construct Eastern Europeans as "on this side of the fundamental opposition: white versus colored" (Todorova 2009, 19) which means as "(predominantly) Christian and white" (Boatcă 2013, 6). Therefore, in order to understand how whiteness functions in this context, it is necessary to situate the complex history of Eastern and Southern Europe(anness) through their relation to each other and to Europe's dominant core (ibid.). Relying on theorists like Boatcă, my approach focuses on the shared investment in whiteness of Western and Eastern European nations. With this it is an explicit intervention in knowledge productions that construct Eastern Europeans as a homogenous category which is automatically external to white privilege. Elsewhere for

example, I discuss the migratisation of white Romanians in Western Europe through hegemonic ascriptions of backwardness and their counter-attempts to delineate themselves in racist and heterosexist ways from Roma and to define Romanianness as 'proper white Europeanness' (Tudor 2017b). However, my intervention does not deny internal hierarchisations between European nations that can be traced back to Enlightenment (see Boatcă 2013, Wolff 1994), nor does it claim, white Eastern Europeans are not discriminated against in a Western context.

Bringing together the insights from my readings of these examples, I argue that neither 'migration' alone or 'migration+class discrimination' nor 'migration-from-Europe's-peripheries' can be seen as replacing racialisation in the functioning of Western European racisms. Rather, for complex analyses, one must study (the shifting) meanings of racialisation, whiteness and hegemonic understandings of Europeanness and investigate their interplay with migratisation. After complicating the proposition that 'migration+class discrimination' equals racialisation, let me go back to Balibar's quote and focus on the question of what role class privilege plays for racialising and migratising readings. It is interesting that he claims that class privilege can do away with the ascription of migration definitely in the case of the Spanish border crosser (who is assumed to be white in Balibar's account) and possibly even in the case of the "Algerian capitalist" (1991, 221). Here, Balibar seems to suggest that class privilege has the power to undo discrimination based on the ascription of migration. The implicitly white Spanish border crosser, and even the (implicitly non-white?) Algerian border crosser with class privilege, are not seen as migrants in his view but as privileged subjects of a supra-national elite. Once again, I want to re-visit Balibar's claim by integrating an analysis of racialisation into his work. Could a Black or Arab Spaniard in France or Germany really overcome the ascription of migration through class privilege

in the way Balibar suggests? Would class privilege so straightforwardly mediate racist ascriptions of migration to non-white subjects? Moreover, are Black and brown border-crossers from the Global South who inhabit class privilege really not subject to the discrimination Europeans of colour or non-class privileged Black and brown migrants experience? Is racism only something that the poor are subjected to, or, indeed, is the ascription of migration something that only the poor experience?

Applying the concepts I have suggested in this article, it follows that the interconnection of 'race+class+migration(+gender)' is not as straight forward as Balibar suggests. Lata Mani's elaborations on 'race+class+migration+gender' (Frankenberg/Mani 1993) are compatible with my analysis, as seen through the two incidents she shares in a theoretical reflection on postcolonialism and politics of location in a US context (ibid., 296f). Having grown up in Mumbai, India, Mani migrated to the UK and then to the US holding a US PhD, she describes two attempts to enter her academic workplace in the US after closing hours without her keys on hand. The first time, a white male academic colleague is unable to read her profession and class position as a fellow academic and subsequently questions her right to enter the building. "Race appears to have overriden class" (ibid.), she sums up. The second time, she is let in without any challenge by a non-white female cleaner, who Mani ascertains as having read her as belonging to the academic institution due to Mani's class privileged appearance (books/clothes) (ibid). This account suggests that the interconnection of class with migratisation and racialisation is complex and the readability of class can become fragile in light of a hegemonic gaze that sees class privilege and non-whiteness/migratisation (from the Global South) as mutually exclusive.

Gender, of course, also plays a role. In Mani's narrative, the gendering of the protagonists makes specific readings possible, not in an isolated form (it is not because the first person is a generic man and the second person is a generic woman that they read Mani like they do), but gender in its racialised and classed dimensions. I will discuss this with the help of a few more examples. There are countless incidents in which it becomes clear that, mediated through a dominant gaze, racialisation and class privilege are very often mutually exclusive (from Oprah Winfrey being told in a boutique she could not afford a handbag, to Henry Louis Gates being mistaken for a burglar when trying to enter his own house). Racialisation, gender and the restricting of space very often goes together in these examples: it is about access and belonging, as we have seen in Mani's narrative, and about automatised dominant reading practices.

In 2016, the BBC reported that the MP Dawn Butler was mistaken for a cleaner in Westminster by a fellow MP and was told there were different lifts for the cleaning staff (http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-35685169 [04/07/2017]). Another incident was discussed by German journalist Kübra Gümüsay, who reported in a 2012 newspaper article on racism in German higher education that a student wearing a hijab was addressed as a cleaner by her white male professor when she entered the classroom and was told that the cleaner's room was at the end of the corridor (Gümüsay 2012). Racialising, migratisatising and classed readings are gendered. Incidents in which Black, brown or Muslim women are being mistaken for cleaners not only reveal the logic of dominant imagination of bodies and spaces (see Puwar 2004), but also the material aspects of racism, migratism, classism and sexism. As feminist scholars have pointed out, jobs in the domestic, cleaning and caretaking sector are highly gendered, racialised and migratised (Lutz 2002, Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2010). Consequently, many migratised and racialised women are forced to work in the cleaning and caretaking

industry under mostly precarious conditions, while education and professional fields that provide class mobility are heavily policed in gendered, racialised and migratised terms in Western Europe. This also means that there is a hegemonic cognitive connection that equates Muslim, migratised, Black and brown women with cleaners, resp. ascribes them with non-belonging in institutions like the parliament or universities, and fixates them conceptually and materially in precarious jobs or simply 'elsewhere'. This being sent elsewhere is one of the intersectional dimensions of what I mean when I speak of migratisation as performative and its interconnection to racialisation. Ascriptions and (mis)readings of classed belonging are not absolute and are certainly not the only important aspect of class. Classism, migratism, racism and sexism have material effects on lives and living conditions, operating in overlapping and complex ways. It becomes clear that racialisation and migratisation have a complex relationship with gender and class and that 'class+migration' alone is not nuanced enough to explain racialisation, the ascription of migration to certain bodies or the functioning of racism in Europe.

The concept of migratism – which sees migratisation as the ascription of migration to certain bodies, and migratism itself as a power relation that defines 'the normal' of Western national entities and its 'belonging' subjects – is intended to help theorise tacit understandings of belonging to or exclusion from gendered, sexualised, white European nations. In the two examples of Black and Muslim women being mistaken for cleaners, it becomes clear that being sent 'elsewhere' is a performative migratising repetition of displacement within a racist logic of Europe as white. It is not necessarily related to actual border crossings, nor does it happen only once. The cleaner's room – one example of the 'elsewhere' migratised people are sent to or being imagined as having come from – is gendered, and so are institutions like the parliament

and universities. Nirmal Puwar aptly uses the term "space invaders" (2004: 1) to refer to the "arrival of women and racialised minorities in spaces from which they have been historically or conceptually excluded". Therefore, I suggest that studying migratism as a power relation includes analysing the codification of a taken-for-granted 'elsewhere' as constitutive of the 'here'. The codification of an 'elsewhere' is referenced in questions such as 'Where are you from?', or 'Don't you want to live back home again?' (Kilomba 2008), which are posed to migrants but are very often also used to migratise Europeans of colour who may or may not have migrated. The construction and the reference to an 'elsewhere' is phantasmatic and follows a diagnosis based on visual or hearing perceptions. In Western Europe, the migratisation of Black people, Muslims and People of Colour is a fundamental strategy in racist discourses and, at the same time, it is a strategy of the continuous reconstruction of Europeanness as whiteness (El-Tayeb 1999). It is not (only) a matter of the dimensions of geographical distance – it is about the phantasmatic ascription of distance. If we think of migratisation as performative practice that repeatedly re-stages this sending-off to an elsewhere, it becomes clear that crossing national borders is not the only relevant dimension of the ascription of migration.

The Postcolonial Turn

In the next section, I will focus on tracking some of the historic roots of Western European ideas of gender, nation and racialisation, in order to make the case that racialisation needs to be taken into consideration when analysing the ascription of migration. Gender, nation and racialisation are connected to space (geographical and conceptual) and with this codify understandings of migration. Therefore, this section wants to achieve an analysis of racism that is embedded in postcolonial feminist

knowledge production. I will use the German case as a transnational example of Western European nation building and its gendered and racialised premises. Germany's history of racism and migration has transnational overlaps with other European contexts but is also constituted by specific national implementations of racisms, colonial legacies and genocides (like the genocide of the Herero and Nama in Western Africa between 1904-1907 and the genocides of Europe's Jewish and Roma Populations in the 1930-40s). Given this history of various racisms, some of which are acknowledged in hegemonic discourse, some of which are less remembered or denied, and different post-war migration regimes in West and East Germany, critical knowledge production on racism and migration in Germany has had several – often contradictory – foci.

Critical migration studies and gender studies approaches on migration, not only in Germany but also in a broader European context, have had the tendency to forget about postcolonial racism and racialisation and instead promoted an understanding of migration that was disconnected from postcolonial analysis. Moreover, in academic discourse and public media debates in the German context, 'racism' for a long time has only been used as a term to refer to the racist anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany (Messerschmidt 2008; 2010). Nevertheless, attempts to try to make sense of various forms of racism can be found, for example, in knowledge production on the continuities and differences between German colonialism and the Holocaust (Messerschmidt 2010). Visual artist and media theorist Hito Steyerl sees in the Nazi politics of extermination 'echoes of colonial biopolitics' (2003, 43). Astrid Messerschmidt (2010) further advocates for a critical differentiation of colonial racism and anti-Semitism and criticises a powerful discourse in which racism (equated with anti-Semitism) is relocated in Germany's past. It creates, as Messerschmidt insists, the all too easy idea of today's Germany as 'free of racism': racial ideas of Germanness are seen as belonging

to a closed epoch of the past and today's Germany as beyond racism, a fantasy which is justified with the so-called denazification (ibid., 53). Messerschmidt points out that this discursive strategy not only places anti-Semitism in the past by pretending German anti-Semitism is not relevant anymore, but it also simultaneously denies the mere existence and relevance of colonial racism (ibid., 52).

Having examined various – often competing – strands of critical knowledge production on racism and migration in Germany and in transnational Gender Studies discussions on Western Europe (Tudor 2014, 2017a), I argue that a 'postcolonial turn' has begun to emerge and is questioning easy assumptions about the connections between racism and migration. With an comprehensive account of the historical processes of constructing Germanness as Whiteness in the context of colonial racism, El-Tayeb (2001) investigates formations of European nationalism and their interconnection to racialisation. She makes clear that the construction of Black Germans as the abjects of German nationality is inseparable from how Germanness has been defined in a European context. As El-Tayeb further argues, in the 19th century, the scramble for colonies became the central topic of European nationalism (2001, 61). Susanne Zantop (1999) points out that in Germany the bourgeoisie constituted itself through colonial phantasies long before Germany held actual colonies. European colonialism reached its climax at the beginning of the 19th century, yet despite Germany's desire to distinguish itself from other European nations, it was only able to become a colonial power in 1884. The ambition for colonies and the sense of lagging behind the other European nations was formative for German nationalisation processes (Eggers 2005, 137ff). But the former lack of colonies does not make the imperial imagination any less strong. On the contrary, the ambitions for colonial domination are compounded from and feed into a severe inferiority complex. Germany's self-image is,

from the beginnings of the national process, based on a 'colonial complex' – a sense of not being acknowledged as a 'properly colonising' European nation.

One of the results of the postcolonial turn in Western European Gender Studies is a shift towards understanding gender as always already racialised. Moreover, this shift allows accounting for European colonialism as not only affecting the colonised spaces and peripheries but also the colonialist centre (Shohat 1992). Coming from this angle, I argue that the nexus of racism and migration cannot be reflected on responsibly without taking into account Europe's colonial past and postcolonial legacy. Therefore, one of the key arguments I propose in this article is that a differentiation of racism and migratism helps avoid the trap of substituting the power relation that ascribes migration with the power relation that ascribes race. With this, I criticise approaches on racism which see migration as the more relevant dimension than racialisation or claim that Europe has its 'own' racisms that do not rely on racialisation. In my view, these approaches produce a problematic European racial exceptionalism in which racialisation very often is considered a construct that 'does not exist' or that has no relevance in Europe (as seen in Bojadžijev 2008, 29; Kerner 2007). As El-Tayeb (2011, xv) puts it, these approaches even consider it 'racist' to analyse racialisation.

While authors such as Paul Gilroy have argued for a post-race epistemology, this intervention is not meant to deny the continued existence of racialisation but to highlight the damage done in and through categories of 'race' that come from colonialism (Gilroy 1998). Rather than assuming 'race' is static, Gilroy argues for anti-racist approaches that connect critical knowledge on historic metaphysics of race with contemporary forms of racialisation that rely on different ways of perceiving bodies and ontologies (ibid.). He calls for anti-racist utopias that see the mere existence of race as a category as problematic (ibid., 843). However, Gilroy makes clear that this does not

deny the importance of racialisation. Rather, questioning race as a category interrogates

how racialisation functions today and how it gets constructed through ambivalent

practices of perception that require analyses which cannot rest in certainty (see Tudor

2017b). In this sense, my differentiation of terms here is an epistemological as well as a

political move, intended to provide us with the necessary tools to understand

racialisation and migratisation as ambivalent and contradictory processes in a globalised

world.

Imported Misogyny?

Building on feminist postcolonial approaches, the argument I want to make here relies

on the idea that the historical processes of the self-assertion as 'European' in the long

19th century are central for today's understandings of gender, nation and racialisation –

and therefore for analysing migration and the construction of who is seen as a 'migrant'

in Western Europe. In many postcolonial approaches, the historicising focus lies on the

colonial epoch of the long 19th century and its perpetuation. With this, nations like

Great Britain and France are centred as colonial agents (Boatcă 2013). This focus makes

sense, too, for a German context whose 19th century colonialism and 20th century

genocide in Africa is, until today, widely de-memorised, despite of relentless efforts of

scholars and activists in recent years to fill this void in the public and academic

consciousness (i.e http://www.no-humboldt21.de/resolution/english/). However,

processes of nationalisation are not cut off from the rest of the world and European

nationalisms and their investment in racialisation function transnationally. Therefore, it

is important to analyse the relationship between different epochs, racialisations and

national specificities. This means that constructions of Europe's racialised Others are

interconnected in complex ways and one could speak of the interdependencies,

simultaneities, contradictions and interconnections of colonial racism, anti-Semitism, anti-Muslim racism and anti-Romaism. With this, it also becomes clear that the Enlightenment is not the starting point of European racism and racist discrimination.

Present-day racisms have their complex histories. While some scholars identify a rise of a neo-Orientalism since 9/11 that deploys the topos of 'patriarchal Muslim societies', Iman Attia (2013) warns against the idea that anti-Muslim racism is exclusively a post 9/11 phenomenon and instead underlines that there is a centuries long tradition and culture in Europe of constructing Islam as foreign and threatening (Boatcă 2013, Said 1979). In this vein, Ella Shohat (2002) makes clear that the colonisation of the Americas and the expulsion of Muslims and Jews, starting in the early modern age and departing from the Iberian Peninsula, has an ongoing importance and plays a central role for Europe's self-construction through colonialism and religion. Therefore, Avtar Brah's concept of "differential racialisation" (1996, 3, 186) is helpful for understanding the relationship of racisms in Europe, as it advocates for conceptualisations that engage with the idea of interconnected but still differentiable forms of racialisation and racism (ibid., 105).

What does this mean for analysing racisms, gender, sexuality and migration in the recent situation in postcolonial Europe? In latest Western European acrimonious debates on the 'male migrant as sexual perpetrator', for example, as seen in representations of what has been termed the 'Cologne incident', a topos can be carved out that assumes misogyny (and in extended perspectives, homophobia and anti-Semitism) are imported to the West. The term 'Cologne incidents' (in plural as I will explain below) refers to the mass sexual assaults during the 2015/2016 New Year's Eve celebration in Cologne, Germany. 'North African men' were constructed as the perpetrators which led to a legitimisation of mass racial profiling in the following year

(which is in my view the second 'Cologne incident'). A debate on sexual harassment 'emerged' that understands sexism and misogyny as a Muslim/extra-European phenomenon. It is a discursive construction of brown men as Muslim migrants and therefore as both sexual perpetrators and 'not-German' or 'not-European', resulting in calls for stopping (extra-European) immigration to Europe. Those presumed to have migrated from the Middle East or Northern Africa are also constructed through an automatic ascription of 'Islam' (that comes together with a cultural and religious homogenisation of the presumed regions of origin). There is a tendency to displace sexism, misogyny, homophobia and even anti-Semitism to outside of Europe and to ascribe it to brown bodies that are constructed as being not part of Europe, but as eternal migrants (hence 'migratised'). This topos is often used in racist and anti-immigration argumentations and as well in some strands of 'feminism'. One of the attempts to create a counter-narrative was the open letter by #ausnahmslos (*without exceptions*), a campaign by academic and public feminist intellectuals in Germany in which they demand nuanced analyses of the entanglement of sexism and racism: "Against sexualised violence and racism. Always. Anywhere." http://ausnahmslos.org/english [15/02/2017].

However, even if this debate seems to have 'emerged' recently, it is worth questioning the alleged newness of this discourse. Sexualised racial panic has a history in Germany. Tina Campt (2005) analyses historical tendencies of ascriptions of Black/African men as sexual perpetrators in her discussion of the German reaction to the French occupation of the Rhineland after WWI. The Germans launched campaigns against the non-white soldiers of the French 'colonial troops,' a phenomenon she calls "echoes of imagined danger" (2005, 25). Campt points out that Germany saw itself as an "innocent victim of a racial conspiracy", imposed on them by France (ibid., 26). One

can draw a connection here between this perceived 'victimhood' and the German colonial complex identified in the last subsection.

It is this denial of sexism/misogyny/homophobia's constitutive role in Western culture and the perpetual denial of it being a 'domestic' problem that renders resistance 'impossible'. Moreover, this denial is invested in turning feminist and queer rage against the (phantasmatic) outside (see Haritaworn 2012, Razack 2004). Of course, as queer/feminist research has shown, European sexism, racism, heteronormativity has produced the complex product 'gender+sexuality+racialisation+class'. From the late 18th century on, the division between a public and a private sphere took place in European society which can be seen as a new bourgeois order. As Karin Hausen (1976) carves out, the invention of binary 'gender characters' was crucial for this process. However, it is not only the polarised and compulsory complementary relation between white bourgeois women and men that played a formative part in the construction processes of modern European nation states (and with it a fixed class system), but also the colonial order that legitimised Europe's claim to supremacy. Moreover, the late 19th century saw the emergence of constructions and ascriptions of Jewishness. This 'modern' anti-Semitism constructed Jewish identity through body and character features (Dahl 2013, 94). Furthermore, Patricia Hill Collins and El-Tayeb, amongst others, make clear that the European concept of womanhood, and with it gender as a category, is constructed inseparably from racialisation and nationalism (Collins 2002, 196; El-Tayeb 1999, 155). Maria Lugones (2007, 186) shows how "heterosexism" can be seen "as a key part of how gender fuses with race in the operations of colonial power". With this, she underlines that 'gender itself' was introduced as a 'colonial concept' (ibid.). Indeed, gender as a category comes into existence through racialisation and colonial expansion. Therefore, feminist attempts to 'un-gender Europe' – to 'trans' gender, to go beyond

gender and to question naturalised ideas of gendering – need to engage in postcolonial analysis. Historical research and contemporary critical analysis show that misogyny, homo/transphobia and anti-Semitism are, of course, 'domestic' problems in Europe. Nevertheless, in public discourse and media led debates, Muslims, who are constructed as eternal migrants, and Black and Brown persons, migrants or not, are seen as committing to the 'wrong' kind of heterosexuality – a sexist, homophobic one (El-Tayeb 2012, 83) and even accused of importing anti-Semitism (Salzmann 2012). Of course, postcolonial queer-feminist interventions and approaches do not deny that these power relations exist in migratised communities – our communities – or outside of Europe. However, the dominant discourse's constant externalisation prevents seeing sexism, misogyny, homo/trans/queerphobia and anti-Semitism as problems that everyone must address as inherent to the nation states, institutions, families and communities they live in. Solely throwing this struggle on migrant, Muslim, Black and brown bodies and the Global South is a migratist and/or racist instrumentalisation.

Conclusion

In this article, I have aimed to discuss how a differentiation of racialisation and migratisation with specific focus on the intersection of both helps us to think in more nuanced ways about nation, Europe and belonging in feminist and gender studies approaches on racism, migration, class and gender. As I have shown, the displacement of people and groups of people to an 'elsewhere' and the spatial-temporal dimension of coming, staying and 'going back' are the hegemonic requirements for conceiving of 'migration'. The migratism conceptualisation helps us to understand that migratisation is constitutive for Western nations and very often works as a strategy of racism. Rather than promoting an exceptionalist approach on European racism, or denying the

importance of racialisation in knowledge production on migration and even racism in Europe, it would be helpful to analyse "new geographies of whiteness", as Anoop Nayak (2007, 750) puts it, in order to make sense of "complex intersections […] in global times" (ibid., 751). Indeed, it is undeniable that racialisation in Europe – like everywhere – is complex and contradictory, and forms of racism, nationalism and migratism overlap, contradict and exist simultaneously. The argument that Europe has its 'own' racisms that don't rely on racialisation forgets that colonial racism and anti-Black-racism are not merely imports but have belonged to Europe since 'Europe' emerged. Racial and religious categorisation systems, misogyny, homophobia and a compulsory gender binary have come into existence through modernist ideas of Europeanness and can therefore not be displaced to an elsewhere. The compulsory gender binary for example – which is one of the presumptions and effects of Western heterosexuality – cannot be addressed as being problematic with a dominant concept of ascribing 'wrong' forms of heterosexuality to migratised Others. The idea that sexism, misogyny and homophobia – or even anti-Semitism – do not exist in the West beyond being imported makes resistance impossible: how can one oppose something that supposedly does not exist?

One of the problems of feminism, and indeed any movement for radical social transformation, is that power relations come in conjunctures, in different and contradictory forms at the same time as they adapt to resistance (see Demirović/Bojadžijev 2002 for an interesting approach on 'conjunctures of racism', from whom I take the term). Therefore, critical knowledge production must engage with the complex and paradoxical task of differentiating power relations and their histories in order to analytically grasp their specificities and, at the same time, be able to think of them as intersectional (Crenshaw 1991) or – a metaphor I prefer – as assemblages (Puar

2007): non-linear excrescences that can only be disentangled analytically by analysing ambivalences, contradictions and blurry cross-fadings. This means, however, that every attempt to define a power relation and its constructed 'object' (like racism/racialisation, migratism/migratisation etc.) will be necessarily simplistic. Yet, differentiations are necessary to be able to define and deconstruct specific oppressions, ascriptions, exclusions and abjectifications and to formulate the precise and ever shifting forms of resistance we urgently need in transnational feminist activism and knowledge production.

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