

**6TH ANNUAL
ACGS CONFERENCE**
UNIVERSITY
OF AMSTERDAM
THE NETHERLANDS
17-18 OCTOBER
2019

RACIAL ORDERS RACIST BORDERS

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

KEYNOTES:

GARGI BHATTACHARYYA - UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON, UK
BARNOR HESSE - NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, EVANSTON, US
DAVID LLOYD - UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, RIVERSIDE, US

ORGANISERS: ACGS AND COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH CENTER 'DYNAMICS OF SECURITY'
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Racial Orders, Racist Borders is the sixth annual conference of the Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies, organized in cooperation with the collaborative research center Dynamics of Security at the Universities of Giessen and Marburg, Germany. The conference brings together papers that examine how forms, discourses, and practices of racism have materialized in various institutional contexts.

The Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies (ACGS) was established at the University of Amsterdam in 2012, as part of the Cultural Transformations and Globalisation Research Priority Area. The Research Priority Areas represent the best the University of Amsterdam has to offer in terms of research in the field of the humanities.

ACGS focuses on the profound and lasting ways in which globalisation is transforming our world. From new patterns of migration and diaspora, to new trends in city and nation-building, to new techno-informational networks of communication and knowledge, the world is in rapid flux.

While the socioeconomic dimensions of globalisation have been widely studied, less attention has been paid to its cultural dimensions. And yet, the need to identify and understand how globalisation is effecting cultural change—spanning from Asia to Europe and from Africa to the Americas—is central to any effort to form a comprehensive picture of our contemporary world. ACGS responds directly to this need and, in the process, provides a strong humanities perspective that is frequently lacking in existing academic and public debates.

The researchers brought together by ACGS have a longstanding tradition of analysing discourses and representations of the nation state, European citizenship, migrants, minorities, new media, and other related issues that are undergoing rapid and dramatic change as a result of globalisation. ACGS researchers build on their shared research momentum and knowledge to generate new ways of understanding and explaining the relationship between globalisation and cultural transformation.

The collaborative research center Dynamics of Security was established in Germany in 2014 at the Justus-Liebig University Giessen, the Philipps

University Marburg, and the Marburg-based Herder Institute for Historical Research on East Central Europe. This interdisciplinary research center brings scholars from the fields of history, political theory, media studies, conflict studies, art history, gender studies, and legal studies together to analyse critically the consequences of problematizing societal phenomena such as migration, minorities, religion, state formation, finance, urban planning, and health through the lens of security. While the research center builds conceptually on securitization theories and critical security studies, it aims at advancing current debates through the examination of practices, technologies and discourses of security from a historical perspective.

The research center Dynamics of Security is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and annually offers guest scholarships for a period of three to six months to scholars interested in critical research about narratives of crisis, conflict and security.

The international conference “Racial Orders, Racist Borders” is the outcome of the productive and inspiring collaboration between critical scholars of culture, society, media, race and security at the Universities of Amsterdam, Giessen, Southern California and Southern Maine.

We are very happy to welcome you in Amsterdam!

ORGANISING COMMITTEE

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Around the world, racist discourses, attitudes, and practices have moved from the fringes into the mainstream, putting core democratic values under pressure. Familiar racial orders have resurfaced and reinforced racist borders, both metaphorical and material. The various contributions to the sixth annual conference of the [Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies](#) (ACGS) examine how forms, discourses and practices of racism have materialized in various institutional contexts.

Organized in cooperation with the collaborative research center [Dynamics of Security at the Universities of Giessen and Marburg, Germany](#), the conference's main conceptual focus is on the institutional dimensions of racism. How and by whom has racism been 'mainstreamed' in different countries and regions around the globe? What kinds of discourses, techniques, strategies, and tactics have been mobilized to mainstream racism? And how does this take shape in diverse institutional settings, including politics, education, international institutions, the media, cultural foundations, the police, and the legal system?

In the wake of unrestrained, state-led xenophobia and populist nationalism, the function of race as a building block of culture, education, finance, nationalism, and democracy can no longer be dissolved into ethnicity, nationalism, and religion. Thus, the function of race cannot be hidden behind modernity, the Enlightenment, multiculturalism or civilization, deferred to the histories of 'other' places and 'other' peoples, or relegated to a past that was ostensibly erased with the end of the Holocaust, colonialism, and the birth of modern institutions such as the European Union and the United Nations. The various contributions to the conference employ a full range of research tools and approaches to take stock of how race and racism have continued to underscore state histories and institutions, as well as everyday practices, habits, gestures, affects, languages, aesthetics, and representations alike.

CONFERENCE VENUES

Registration, the opening address, and all keynote lectures take place in the University Theatre. Panels take place at various locations, which are listed below. See the programming of the Panel Sessions for the exact locations. The full addresses of the locations of the panels are the following:

A: [University Theatre](#): Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16-18, 1012 CP Amsterdam

B: [Vondelzaal, Singel University Library \(UB\)](#): Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam

C: [Rooms VA 0.03 & VA 0.04, Allard Pierson Museum](#): Oude Turfmarkt 127, 1012 GC Amsterdam

D: [Regentenkamer & Nina van Leerzaal, Bijzondere Collecties](#): Oude Turfmarkt 129, 1012 GC Amsterdam

E: [BG1 Room 0.04](#): Turfdragsterpad 9, 1012 XT Amsterdam

F: [OMHP Room D 0.09](#): Oudemanshuispoort, 1012 CN Amsterdam

FOOD AND DRINKS

Tea and coffee will be served during breaks in the foyer of the University Theatre. On both conference days, lunch will be provided to all registered speakers from 13:00 till 14:30 at the Museumcafé at the Bijzondere Collecties. The conference dinner for registered speakers will take place on Thursday at 19:00 at restaurant Oriental City.

G: [Museumcafé](#): Bijzondere Collecties, Oude Turfmarkt 129, 1012 GC Amsterdam

H: [Oriental City](#): Oudezijds Voorburgwal 177-179, 1012 EV Amsterdam



Find the interactive map containing all locations [here](#)

TRANSPORTATION

To get from Amsterdam Schiphol Airport to the conference venue in the historical centre of Amsterdam:

Go to the train station located in the arrival hall of Schiphol Airport. Here, you can buy an OV-chip card from the yellow machines or the counter NS service point at Schiphol. Before you can travel, you need to load credit onto the card. You can do this at a counter or device at the Schiphol station. Be aware that not every device accepts credit cards.

Find more information on OV-chip cards here:

<https://www.ov-chipkaart.nl/everything-abouttravelling/different-types-of-passenger/tourists.htm>

Take the train to Amsterdam Central Station from one of the underground platforms at Schiphol airport.

From Amsterdam Central Station, take **metro** Line 52 in the direction of Station Zuid and get off at the first stop called 'Rokin' (2 min.). From there it is a 4 minutes' walk to the conference venue.

From Amsterdam Central Station, you can also **walk**: it is a 20 minutes' walk (1.5 km) from Amsterdam Central Station to the main conference venue (University Theatre) at Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16-18. Take Damrak directly opposite the main entrance of the railway station at the centre's side, cross Dam square to continue your way on Rokin. Turn left at the Nieuwe Doelenstraat.

You can also take one of the following **trams** (5 min, 2 stops):

- Tram 4 towards Amstel Station
- Trams 14 towards Flevopark
- Tram 24 towards VU Medisch Centrum

Get off at stop 'Rokin' and walk 4 minutes to the University Theatre.

TAXIS

To get around Amsterdam by taxi, you can phone for a taxi or go to a taxi rank (an area marked off on a street where taxis wait for their fares). Taxis often wait near larger hotels in the city. There are also several iOS and Android apps for ordering taxis in Amsterdam, such as [TaxiCentrale Amsterdam](#) (T: +31 (0) 20 7777777). Please note that taxis are very expensive in Amsterdam, in particular from the airport to the centre (going by train and subway is also quicker!).

CYCLING

Amsterdam is a bicycle-friendly city. Central Station, Leidseplein and Dam Square are major rental hubs. Day rates average € 10. Bikes are sturdy, and locks are included. Equipment for children and other add-ons are also available. Most companies offer guided tours as well as recommended route maps for trips in and outside of Amsterdam. We recommend [MacBike](#) and [Green Budget Bikes](#).

TIMETABLE

DAY 1 THURSDAY 17 OCTOBER 2019

- 09:00-09:15 **Registration** & coffee and tea
University Theatre, Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16-18, Amsterdam
- 09:15-09:30 **Opening address:** Jeroen de Kloet (Director of ACGS, University of Amsterdam) and Huub van Baar (Justus-Liebig University Giessen & University of Amsterdam). University Theatre
- 09:30-10:30 **Keynote lecture:** “Mutations of Racial Capitalism”
Gargi Bhattacharyya, University of East London, UK
Chair: Huub van Baar, Justus-Liebig University Giessen & University of Amsterdam. University Theatre
- 10:30-11:00 Coffee and tea, University Theatre
- 11:00-13:00 **Panels 1-5**
Parallel panels, session I (see below for program & venues)
- 13:00-14:30 **Lunch**
Museumcafé Bijzondere Collecties – Oude Turfmarkt 129
- 14:30-16:30 **Panels 6-9**
Parallel panels, session II (see below for program & venues)
- 16:30-17:00 Coffee and tea, University Theatre
- 17:00-18:00 **Keynote lecture:** “Denouement of Raceocracy”
Barnor Hesse (Northwestern University, Evanston, US)
Chair: Dušan Bjelić, University of Southern Maine, US
University Theatre
- 19:00 **Conference dinner** - Restaurant Oriental City

- 09:30-10:30 **Keynote lecture: “The Racial Thing”**
David Lloyd, University of California, Riverside, US
Chair: Anikó Imre, University of Southern California, US
University Theatre
- 10:30-11:00 Coffee and tea
University Theatre
- 11:00-13:00 **Panels 10-14**
Parallel panels, session III (see below for program & venues)
- 13:00-14:30 **Lunch**
Museumcafé Bijzondere Collecties – Oude Turfmarkt 129
- 14:30-16:30 **Panels 15-17**
Parallel panels, session IV (see below for program & venues)
- 16:30-17:00 Coffee and tea
University Theatre
- 17:00-18:00 **Closing Remarks and Discussion**
University Theatre

PROGRAM PANEL SESSIONS

THURSDAY 17 OCTOBER, 11:00 - 13:00

PANEL 1: MANIFESTATIONS AND CONTESTATIONS OF WHITENESS

Location: University Theatre – Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16-18

Chair: Ina Kerner, University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany

Raluca Bejan (St. Thomas University, Fredericton, Canada). 'Whiteness in Question'

Anirban Mukhopadhyay (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, US). 'Hidden Discourses of "Whiteness": "Incredible India" Campaign and the Construction of Racialized Representations'

Khorshid Khodabakhshreshad (Georg-August University Göttingen, Germany). 'Whiteness in the Field of Refugees Support Work in Germany'

Shanshan Lan (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). 'The Shifting Meanings of Whiteness in China'

PANEL 2: RACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Location: Nina van Leerzaal, Bijzondere Collecties – Oude Turfmarkt 129

Chair: Regina Kreide, Justus-Liebig University Giessen, Germany

Márton Rövid (Central European University, Budapest, Hungary). 'From Addressing Anti-Gypsyism to Remediating Racial Injustice'

Anne McNevin, (The New School for Social Research, New York US). 'Citizenship and Statelessness between Black Lives and Struggles for Border Justice'

Shahin Nasiri (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). 'The Idealised Subject of Freedom and the Refugee'

PANEL 3: RACE, ART AND ACTIVISM

Location: BG1, Room 0.04 – Turfdraagsterpad 9

Chair: Jeroen de Kloet, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Anika Shah (University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh - ULAB). 'Of Violent Delights and Violent Ends: A Postcolonial Reading of the Posthuman Condition in Westworld'

Minna Seikkula (The Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations and Nationalism – CEREN- Finland). 'Antiracist Conceptions of Racism: Activists' Understandings from the "Individual" to the "Institutional"'

Marwan Kraidy (University of Pennsylvania, US). 'Fire as a Privileged Medium in the Construction of Racial Orders'

Hannah Tavares (University of Hawaii, Manoa, US). 'Ontological Insecurities'

PANEL 4: RACE, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Location: Vondelzaal, University Library – Singel 425

Chair: Amade M'charek, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Floris de Krijger (Leiden University & Utrecht University, Netherlands). 'Rating the Uber Driver Legible: On Emotional Labor, Race and Decoloniality'

Katrin Kremmler (Humboldt University Berlin, Germany). 'Eurasian Magyars': Current Entanglements of Natural Science with Neo-Nationalist Geopolitics and Identity Politics in Hungary

Davina Bhandar (Athabasca University & Simon Fraser University US). 'Demarcating Status through Border *Techné*: Site of Neoliberal Crisis'

Marco van de Vinne (Utrecht University, Netherlands), and **Gerwin van Schie** (Utrecht University, Netherlands). 'Race/Ethnicity and Algorithmic Classification in Dutch Law: Making a Case for Accountability as Legal Principle'

PANEL 5: RACE AND MEDIA REPRESENTATION

Location: OMHP D0.09 – Oudemanhuispoort 4-6

Chair: Danelle van Zyl-Hermann, University of Basel, Switzerland

Adebayo Sakiru (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa). 'The Black Soul is (Still) a White Man's Artifact? Post-Coloniality, Post-Fanonism and the Tenacity of Race(ism) in Igoni Barrett's Blackass'

Michael Shapiro (University of Hawai'i, Manoa, US), and **Sam Okoth Opondo**, (Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, US). 'Border Dramas: The Movement of African Sporting Bodies'

Jaap Kooijman (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). 'Before The Day Beyoncé Turned Black: Colorblindness and Unapologetic Blackness in US American Pop Culture'

Arnoud Arps (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). 'Patchwork Memories and Ambivalent Positions: On the Condition of Being Chinese in Indonesia in Blind Pig Who Wants to Fly'

THURSDAY 17 OCTOBER, 14H30 – 16H30

PANEL 6: NEGOTIATING RACISM IN CULTURE, SOCIETY AND TRANSNATIONAL FRAMEWORKS

Location: University Theatre – Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16-18

Chair: Jaap Kooijman, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Daria Krivonos (University of Helsinki, Finland). "'Contiguous Others", Whiteness and Europe: Young Russian-speakers' Negotiations of Racial Terrains in Helsinki'

Derek Pardue (Aarhus University, Denmark). 'Necropolitics and Hopescapes in Brazil's Current Racial Order'

Patricia Schor (Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands). 'Bordering the Black Body: The Blackface Debate in the Netherlands'

PANEL 7: RACE AND RELIGION

Location: Vondelzaal, University Library – Singel 425

Chair: Ioana Vrăbiescu, University of Warwick, UK

Mariska Jung (Vrije Universiteit Brussels, Belgium). 'Cruel Controversies: (Dis)entangling Race, Religion and Religious Slaughter in Europe'

Elisa Fiore (Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands). 'Gendered Islamophobia and Urban Regeneration: The Material-Aesthetic Dimension of Fear in Rome's "Banglatown" and Amsterdam's Indische Buurt'

Revital Madar (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel). 'Exceptional Violence and Ordinary Racialization in Hebron's 2016 Shooting Incident'

Nishant Upadhyay (University of Colorado, Boulder, US). 'Hindu Right Diaspora and Racial/Settler Border Makings in the US'

PANEL 8: RACE, MIGRATION, LABOUR AND TECHNOLOGIES OF BORDERING

Location: OMHP D0.09 – Oudemanhuispoort 4-6

Chair: Danelle van Zyl-Hermann, University of Basel, Switzerland

Angéla Kóczé t.b.c. (Central European University Budapest, Hungary). 'Gendered and Racialized Social Insecurity of Roma in East Central Europe'

Prithiraj Borah (Indian Institute of Technology Bombay, Maharashtra, India). 'Tea Plantations as Racial Space: Understanding the "Other" in Assam, India'

Ildikó Plájás (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). 'Knowing Risk in Practice: Technologies of Vision in Everyday Border Control and the Absent Presence of Race'

Cecilia Vergnano (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). 'Beyond the 'Crisis': New Racial Order at Internal EU Borders?'

PANEL 9: RACISM IN HISTORICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

Location: Room VA 0.03, Allard Pierson Museum – Oude Turfmarkt 127

Chair: Dušan Bjelić, University of Southern Maine, US

Maria Fragkou t.b.c (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece). ‘The Duplicity of Racism’s Shadow: European Society, Nazism and the Jewish Other’

Laura Tittel (Justus-Liebig University Giessen, Germany). ‘On the Dialectics of Social and Racial Categories: “Gypsies” in Police Work and Political Theory’

Michiel Bot (Tilburg University, Netherlands). ‘Refugee Politics and Race in Arendt’s Origins of Totalitarianism’

Heba Youssef t.b.c (University of Brighton, UK). ‘Colonial Diplomacy: International Committees on Palestine and Racial Structures’

FRIDAY 18 OCTOBER, 11:00-13:00

PANEL 10: RACIAL IRREGULARIZATION AND ILLEGALIZATION

Location: University Theatre – Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16-18

Chair: Ana Ivasiuc, Justus-Liebig University Giessen, Germany

Harika Dauth (Max Planck Inst. for Social Anthropology, Halle (Saale), Germany). ‘The Racialization of “Poverty Immigrants” in Germany’

Aino Korvensyrjä (Migration justice campaigner, Berlin & Helsinki, Finland). ‘Policing the “Deportation Gap” in Southern German Asylum Camps: Enforcing Racial Order and Security’

Leila Faghfour Azar (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). ‘Illegal Migrants: Nation-State and the Construction of Debased Legality’

Elena Zambelli (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands). ‘Perceptions of the Law in People’s Everyday Experiences of Racisms: A Protection Paradox?’

PANEL 11: RACE AND POLICY

Location: Nina van Leerzaal, Bijzondere Collecties – Oude Turfmarkt 129

Chair: Esther Peeren, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Sidney Harris and **Aya Waller-Bey** (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, US). 'Colorblind Admissions: Black Student Self-Narration in US University Admissions Processes'

Ting-Fai Yu (Monash University, Malaysia). 'Queer Migration in the Sinophone Sphere: Malaysian Chinese Gay Men's Educational Migration to Taiwan'

Astrid van Weyenberg (Leiden University & Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society -LUCAS- Netherlands). 'Sharing Heritage, Sharing Values? Heritage and Race in European Cultural Projects'

Alexandra Oanca (University of Leuven, Belgium & University of Hull, UK) 'Bordering Europe through Heritage: Border Politics, Migration and Heritage-Making in the Cities of Ceuta and Melilla'

PANEL 12: RACISM, RACIALIZATION AND MIGRATION

Location: Regentenkamer, Bijzondere Collecties – Oude Turfmarkt 129

Chair: Cecilia Vergnano, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Ioana Vrăbiescu (University of Warwick, UK). 'Suspect Mobile Subject: Institutionalizing Racism through the Politics and Practices of Policing and Deporting Roma Ethnic from France'

Isabel Meier (Space and Political Agency Research Group - SPARG - Finland). 'Asylum Activist Communities in London and Berlin'

Ferit Güven (Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, US). 'The Rise of Neo-Fascism And Disciplinary Power'

Charalampos Tsavdaroglou (University of Amsterdam), and **Maria Kaika** (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). 'The Far-Right's or the Refugees' Right to the City: Racist Enclosures vs. Transnational Commoning Practices in Thessaloniki'

PANEL 13: RACE AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Location: Room VA 0.03, Allard Pierson Museum – Oude Turfmarkt 127

Chair: Thomas Poell, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Priyadarshini Gupta, (O.P. Jindal Global University, India), and **Ahmed Aljaberi** (North Dakota State University, US). ‘Western Radicalism after 9/11 in American Cyber Space: Spencer’s Jihad Watch and Pipes’ danielpipes.org as “justified” Neo-Orientalist Discourses’

Kuan-Chun Chen (University of Tübingen, Germany). ‘Imagining Gay Asian Men on Social Media: Anti-Sinologism, Anti-Asianism and Cyber Racism on Dating Apps’

Nuket Elpeze Ergeç (Cukurova University, Adana, Turkey). ‘Global Feminism and Local Movements’

Mervi Pantti (University of Helsinki, Finland) and **Matti Nelimarkka** (University of Helsinki, Finland). ‘The R-word: Discursive Struggle over the Meaning of Racism’

PANEL 14: POST-SOCIALIST RACISM

Location: Room VA 0.04, Allard Pierson Museum – Oude Turfmarkt 127

Chair: James Mark, University of Exeter, UK

Catherine Baker (University of Hull, UK). ‘Guardians of the Frontier: Post-Yugoslav “antemurale” Myths and Global Racialised Islamophobia’

Eszter Zimanyi (University of Southern California, US). ‘Producing Crisis and Protecting Whiteness in Hungary: A Case Study in Anti-Migrant Propaganda’

Anikó Imre, (University of Southern California, US). ‘“We Are All Basically Black”: From All-White to Color-Blind Nations’

Dušan Bjelić (University of Maine, Portland, US). ‘“Keep Europe Pristine & White, As *mine* god Intended”: Protest Racism of Petra László’

PANEL 15: THE POLITICS OF RACE IN STATE INSTITUTIONS

Location: University Theatre – Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16-18

Chair: Alexandra Oanca, University of Leuven, Belgium / University of Hull, UK

Akanksha Metha (Goldsmiths, University of London), and **Ethiraj Gabriel Dattatreyan** (Goldsmiths, University of London UK). ‘Complaint as Problem and Solution: Lessons from the Goldsmiths Anti- Racist Occupation (2019)’

Anouk de Koning (Leiden University, Netherlands). ‘Generic Youth Care and the Elusive Presence of Race in Amsterdam’

Arjun Shankar (Colgate University, Hamilton, US). ‘The Brown Savior Industrial Complex: Interrogating India’s Help Economy’

Dandara Jesuine Souza (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France). ‘Brazilian Constitutionalism and Imaginary Institution of Racial Citizenship’

PANEL 16: RACE IN RURAL IMAGINATIONS

Location: Regentenkamer, Bijzondere Collecties – Oude Turfmarkt 129

Chair: Lelia Tavakoli Farsooni, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Anke Bosma (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). ‘“Colorful Enough to See Coming from Afar”’: The Racialized Distribution of Visibility in the Rural Chronotopes of *Jij bent van mij*’

Esther Peeren (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). ‘The Curious Case of the Midsomer Murders Race Row, or How Not To Undo the English Countryside’s Construction as a Space of Whiteness’

Tjalling Valdés Olmos (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). ‘Afterlives of the Pastoral: Colonial Hauntings, Racist Realities and Im/Possible Imaginations of the US Rural South in Queen Sugar’

Maarten Zwiers (University of Groningen, Netherlands). ‘Deep South Dystopias: Whiteness and Masculinity in Southern Political Culture’

PANEL 17: RACE AND BORDER POLITICS

Location: Room VA 0.03, Allard Pierson Museum – Oude Turfmarkt 127

Chair: Anne McNevin, The New School for Social Research, New York US

Silvana Carotenuto (University of Naples 'L'Orientale', Italy). 'European Necropolitics and the Cosmo-po/ethics of Unconditional Hospitality'

Ana Ivasiuc (Justus-Liebig University Giessen, Germany). 'The Moral (B)orders of Race: Policing in Racial Capitalism'

Vigneswaran Darshan (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands). 'Black Racism and the Making of the Modern Immigration Regime'

Sarah Kunz (University of Bristol, UK). 'Racism and Migration Studies: Methodological Nationalism, the Ethnic Lens of Analysis and the Spectre of Race'

GARGI BHATTACHARYYA, 'MUTATIONS OF RACIAL CAPITALISM'

ABSTRACT

In our turbulent times, techniques of racial capitalism are employed by a variety of actors, but with competing aims. The machineries of state racism are deployed within regimes of racial capitalism as an attempt to defend and consolidate existing privileges which are under attack. Bordering and carcerality represent this tendency, showing an adaptation of longstanding racialised disciplines in the face of the global competition for resources and ascendancy brought about by climate catastrophe. Against this, the transformations of profit-seeking machineries - platforms and indebtedness - may inhabit existing racialised terrains but need not defend existing racialised inequalities. This leads not to a post-racial era but to an openness about how racialised differentiation of economic actors (workers, giggers, franchise-holders, consumers, followers and all) may play out. For those carrying the weight of longstanding racist subordination, this unsettling of existing racialised formations may appear as a possibility, an opening, an alternative. To understand how people are placed and place themselves within shifting formations of racial capitalism, both of these tendencies must be mapped. Of course, the outcome is not decided and may differ across locations and populations. This session offers some initial thoughts on the mutations of racial capitalism in our time and the implications of these emerging formations for movements seeking solidarity and justice.

BIO

Gargi Bhattacharyya is Professor of Sociology at the Centre for Migration, Refugees and Belonging, University of East London. She has widely written on issues of racism, sexuality, global culture, austerity and the 'War on Terror'. Her most recent book is *Rethinking Racial Capitalism: Questions of Reproduction and Survival* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2018). She is also the author of *Crisis, Austerity and Everyday Life: Living in a Time of Diminishing Expectations* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), *Dangerous Brown Men: Exploiting*

Sex, Violence and Feminism in the War on Terror (Zed Books, 2008), *Traffick: The Illicit Movement of People and Things* (Pluto, 2005), *Sexuality and Society: An Introduction* (Routledge, 2002), the co-author of *Go Home? The Politics of Immigration Controversies* (Manchester UP, 2017) and *Race and Power: Global Racism in the Twenty First Century* (Routledge, 2001), and the editor of *Ethnicities and Values in a Changing World* (Ashgate, 2009).

BARNOR HESSE, 'DENOUEMENT OF RACEOCRACY'

ABSTRACT

My talk will discuss the meaning of the relation between white sovereignty and western democracy. It will do this in order to argue two things: First, that the post-colonial incorporation of populations racially marked as non-white into the white demos, redefined liberal democracy as raceocracy. Second that contemporary forms of racially authoritarian populisms in the US & Europe, highlight the crisis of democracy as the crisis of raceocracy.

BIO

Barnor Hesse teaches in the Department of African American Studies, Northwestern University (Evanston, US). He researches in the areas of critical race theory and Black Political Thought. He is the co-editor of 'After #Ferguson, After #Baltimore: The Challenge of Black Death and Black Life for Black Political Thought' (Special issue of *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 2017) and the author of *Raceocracy: White Sovereignty, Black Life Politics* (Duke University Press, forthcoming).

DAVID LLOYD, 'THE RACIAL THING'

ABSTRACT

In this paper, I seek to bring together two different lines of critique of the constitutive system of representation of modernity, one that I have described in *Under Representation* (2019) as an aesthetic and a racial regime. In that regime, aesthetic philosophy regulates a distribution of the human that differentiates the ethical subjects of judgement from the pathological or

unfree subjects that occupy the threshold of human development. On the one hand, the radical late modernism of Samuel Beckett [*Beckett's Thing*, 2016] dismantles the aesthetics of representation by fundamentally critiquing the subject-object relation that subtended it and by elaborating a vision of the human as thing that corresponds to the global reifications of late or neoliberal capitalism. On the other, aesthetic theory continues to mark time on the boundary between its post-modernist critique of representation and the racialized subaltern spaces that are constituted by their exteriority to representation. In dialogue with a black radical tradition of thinking about human thingliness, instantiated particularly in the work of Fred Moten and Denise da Silva, this paper will read the opening passages on sense certainty in Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* along with his infamous passages on Africa in the *Philosophy of History* in an attempt to think against the grain of the relegation of the racialized human to exteriority to history and therefore to "spirit". Rather than seeking remedy for racial injustice in terms of inclusion or diversity, it will seek to think the possibilities of justice in relation to the unsubsumed racial thing that is the resistant by-product of philosophical representation and of universal exchange.

BIO

David Lloyd, Distinguished Professor of English at the University of California, Riverside, has worked primarily on Irish culture and on postcolonial and cultural theory and teaches courses on Irish literature, poetry and poetics, and postcolonial and settler colonial cultural studies. He is the author of *Nationalism and Minor Literature* (University of California Press, 1987); *Anomalous States* (The Lilliput Press, 1993); *Ireland After History* (Cork University Press, 1999) and *Irish Times: Temporalities of Irish Modernity* (Field Day, 2008). His recent books in that field are *Irish Culture and Colonial Modernity: The Transformation of Oral Space* (Cambridge University Press, 2011) and *Beckett's Thing: Theatre and Painting* (Edinburgh University Press, 2016). *Under Representation: The Racial Regime of Aesthetics* (Fordham University Press, 2019) collects his essays on race and aesthetics. He is currently working on a book on law, poetry and violence that will include essays on W.B. Yeats, César Vallejo, Aimé Césaire, Paul Celan, and others. He has co-published several other books, including *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse* (Oxford University Press, 1991 with Abdul JanMohamed),

Culture and the State, (Routledge, 1997, with Paul Thomas); *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital* (Duke University Press, 1997, with Lisa Lowe), and *The Black and Green Atlantic: Cross-Currents of the African and Irish Diasporas* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, with Peter D. O'Neill). He is also a poet and playwright: his *Arc & Sill: Poems 1979-2009* was published by Shearsman Books in the UK and New Writers' Press, Dublin, 2012, and his play, *The Press*, has had staged readings in Dublin, Los Angeles, Manila, and premiered at Liverpool Hope University in 2010.

RALUCA BEJAN, 'WHITENESS IN QUESTION'

ABSTRACT

Since 1988, when Peggy McIntosh introduced the 'white privilege' terminology within the academic jargon, the universal taxonomy of 'whiteness' has secured an ontological residence within everyday vocabularies. The white privilege rhetoric has for long surpassed the academe and is currently applied across a variety of cultural, social and political domains. Entries on white privilege can be spotted on Wikipedia, a whiteness definition within Oxford Dictionary, while several daily analyses continually surface on the subject, from BuzzFeeds to the New York Times. Yet the assumption that whiteness is always the same (i.e., European, biologically marked by skin colour and privileged) in every social circumstance, and universally traversing national communities of value, is highly problematic, since interpretations of categorical markers (i.e., race, gender, class) that ground experiences of privilege and oppression depend on particular geo-political/national referential frames.

In comparing and contrasting the inclusionary and exclusionary logic determining aspects of societal marginalization for two populations, skilled migrants to Canada, and Romanian and Bulgarian migrants to United Kingdom (UK), this conceptual paper demonstrates that: a universal taxonomy of whiteness as explanatory for outcomes of inclusion and exclusion does not hold within transnational contexts; and that current understandings of ontological whiteness are constructed on a false epistemological presumption of equivalence that synonymizes colonialism with Europeanness, Europeanness with whiteness, and whiteness with colonialism. What is epistemologically understood of whiteness and Eurocentrism, was created through North American postcolonial scholarly interpretations, which lumped together all European geographical nations as one and the same in defining a totalized cultural and political construction of the term. Nevertheless,

inclusionary-exclusionary processes are context specific, dependently varying on particular societies, particular communities of (national) values, and particular fields of knowledge production. It is conceptually problematic to apply an analogous logic to realities outside the North-American geographical, spatial, temporal and historical sphere, and to categorically define migrants whose habitus formation does not fit the boxed-in labels shaped by American historical realities

BIO

Raluca Bejan is an Assistant Professor at St. Thomas University in Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, where she teaches social policy and community organizing. She has a PhD and a MSW from University of Toronto, and a BA in Political Sciences from the Lucian Blaga University, Faculty of Law, Romania. Raluca held two visiting academic appointments at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford, UK, in 2016 and 2018. Raluca regularly writes for rabble.ca (Ottawa, ON) and she previously contributed opinion pieces to TelesurTV (Caracas, Venezuela), Verfassungsblog | On Matters Constitutional (Berlin, Germany) and LeftEast/CriticAtac (Bucharest, Romania)

ANIRBAN MUKHOPADHYAY, 'HIDDEN DISCOURSES OF "WHITENESS": "INCREDIBLE INDIA" CAMPAIGN AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF RACIALIZED REPRESENTATIONS'.

ABSTRACT

In 2002 the government of India launched the "Incredible India" campaign to attract and promote tourism in India. Over the years this advertising campaign has produced and continue to produce several "displays" of the nation through both the print and visual media. In this paper, I am analyzing the videos posted on the official "Incredible India" YouTube channel to question the visual discourses of representation in these videos. What do these videos tell us about the racialized nature of the construction of an imagined national space? Which bodies are implicitly or explicitly desirable in the visual spaces of these videos? I argue, that on one hand these "incredible" displays often fetishize the nation through hyperbolic signifiers of its iconic landmarks and at

the same time the visual displays are marked for a “white” Western audience. This whiteness manifests often through placing white bodies as distinctive markers in the visual logic of these videos. The spaces of “incredible” India then become a continuous simulacrum to attract and (re) produce whiteness; to represent India as a desirable space for whiteness through carefully curated representational choices on display. On the other hand, the racialized desire for white bodies also marks the imagined spaces in these videos as anti-Black. I use critical discourse analysis, theoretical lenses from critical visual studies and postcolonial theory to explore how the line between spectacle and display of the nation often engender a liminal space in which the tensions of gender, race, and visibility is played out and how the representations in these videos follow a neoliberal logic of commodifying the “nation”.

BIO

Anirban is a Ph.D. student in Communications and Media at the Institute of Communications Research at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. He is interested in the history of communication/media technologies; media and space, race and media, infrastructures of media, media policies and critical information studies. He is intrigued by how the media affect cultural changes in the public sphere, build cultural citizenship and (re)produce frameworks of everyday life.

KHORSHID KHODABAKHSHRESHAD, ‘WHITENESS IN THE FIELD OF REFUGEES SUPPORT WORK IN GERMANY’.

ABSTRACT

Which racism and othering processes are taking place in the field of refugees support work after summer 2015? (How) do these othering processes change / develop in a powerstructured field with different actors and corpuses of knowledge, like state institutions, welcome initiatives and antiracism groups? In my PhD research project titled New boom of refugees support work. Between Welcome Culture and Refugees Welcome. An ethnographic and genealogical investigation I investigate the shifts in the power / knowledge constellations around the concepts of Welcome Culture and Refugees Welcome in Germany with a critical view on racism.

In this Conference, I would like to focus on my fieldwork in connection with Orientalism and Eurocentrism (see Said and Chakrabarty) and show how the white-German "helpers" with their "helpfulness" in the self-image (consciously or unconsciously) construct themselves as complete and without fundamental deficiencies while viewing asylum seekers as helpless, needy and weak "others". In the analysis of their self- and foreign images (with both left-wing and non-political self-conceptions) in the context of their own auxiliary activities, I therefore focus on Othering processes from a post-colonial perspective.

I examine the collective white "we" of the norm and the associated privileges and power structures, through whose unquestioned acceptance and reproduction refugees as "others" are excluded from this norm, and thus from the privileges. Accordingly, the question is to what extent these white German actors, especially as "helpers", do/ do not reflect on their whiteness and their privileges associated with their own dominance culture.

BIO

Since 2015 Khorshid Khodabakhshreshad is a PhD student at the Institute for Cultural Anthropology / European Ethnology of the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. She is writing her thesis at the supervision of Prof. Dr. Sabine Hess, titled New boom of refugee support. Between Welcome Culture and Refugees Welcome. An ethnographic and genealogical investigation. Since 2017 she has been a member of the doctoral program "Migrationsgesellschaftliche Grenzformationen" (Oldenburg, Göttingen, Osnabrück). In 2014 she completed her master's degree at the Department of Iranian Studies in Göttingen with a focus on gender studies and offered courses there until 2018. In 2015 she was awarded the prize for scientific work in the field of Gender Studies from the Faculties of Social Sciences and of Philosophy at the Georg-August University Göttingen for her master's thesis, published under the title "Representation of Gender Relations in Iranian Primary School Books".

SHANSHAN LAN, 'THE SHIFTING MEANINGS OF WHITENESS IN CHINA'

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the multiple and shifting constructions of whiteness in China as a result of the rapid diversification of white migrants in the country and the changing power balances between China and the West. Existing literature on white westerners in Asia mainly focuses on transnational elites. The rising number of middle- and lower-stratum of white migrants in China deserves special attention due to substantial tensions and discrepancies in their experiences of racial privilege, economic insecurity, and legal vulnerability. With China's accession to the WTO in 2001 and the rapid growth of Chinese economy, the images of white foreigners became more diverse in popular media. From transnational elites to small business owners, from part-time English teachers to undocumented models and dancers, differences based on class, nationality, gender, and legal status among multiple groups of white migrants highlight the fragmented nature of whiteness as a collective identity in China. On April 1, 2017, China launched a new visa point system that ranks foreigners in three categories: A) top talent, B) professional talent, C) unskilled workers. The goal was encouraging the top, controlling the middle and limiting the bottom. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in Beijing, this paper examines how changing state immigration policies impact the daily life experiences of multiple groups of white migrants. Specifically, I am interested in how multiple versions of whiteness are imagined, contested, and performed through everyday encounters between white migrants and multiple groups of institutional and social actors in China.

BIO

Shanshan Lan is Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam. Her research interests are: transnational migration, race and immigration policy, trans-border trade activities and networks, urban China, African diaspora in China, global Chinese diaspora, class and social stratification in contemporary Chinese society. She is the author of *Diaspora and Class Consciousness: Chinese Migrant Workers in Multiracial Chicago*

(Routledge 2012) and Mapping the New African Diaspora in China: Race and the Cultural Politics of Belonging (Routledge 2017).

MÁRTON RÖVID, FROM ADDRESSING ANTI-GYPSYISM TO
REMEDYING RACIAL INJUSTICE

ABSTRACT

The growing literature on racial justice in the field of normative political theory usually tracks the legacy of colonialism and imperialism, white settlement and African slavery, that systematically privileges ‘whites’ globally, and that needs to be ‘repaired’. The moral grounding and forms of reparations are highly debated not only in academia but in countless political fora. However, both academic and political debates have largely taken place in post-colonial contexts and ignored the enduring forms of injustice Romani peoples face.

The paper assesses the relevance of normative debates around racial justice for the case of Roma in four steps. First, the paper reviews the literature on racial justice and its three most common frameworks: recognition, reparations, and reconciliation. Second, the emerging discourse of racial justice for Roma is illustrated with three examples from Germany, Sweden, and Romania. Third, some puzzles and dilemmas of such claims are studied. Finally, lessons are drawn from the case of Romani claims for theories of racial justice, recognition, reparations, and reconciliations.

BIO

Márton Rövid is an activist-scholar, a dedicated teacher, and an experienced policy analyst. He holds PhD of political science from Central European University (CEU). Currently he is a Post-Doctoral Fellow at Department of Economics and Business at CEU, and a teacher at the Jesuit Roma College in Hungary. His most recent publication is “Roma and the Politics of Double Discourse in Contemporary Europe” (with Angéla Kóczé, *Identities*, Vol 24. N 6. 2017). Between 2012 and 2015, as a research and advocacy officer of the Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat, he coordinated the monitoring of Roma policies in 16 countries. His research interests include: theories of

cosmopolitan democracy, global civil society, transnational social movements, racialization in post-communist contexts.

ANNE MCNEVIN, 'CITIZENSHIP AND STATELESSNESS BETWEEN BLACK LIVES AND STRUGGLES FOR BORDER JUSTICE.'

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the racialized production of the refugee in parallel with the displacement of African Americans from the promise of full citizenship. It asks how struggles for border justice and struggles for black liberation are intersecting in ways that produce common critiques and strategies of resistance. Empirically, the paper examines connections between the Movement for Black Lives and anti-deportation activism in the United States, specifically in relation to an abolitionist imagination. I argue that these connections destabilize the line between citizen and migrant as starting points for social movement practice. I theorize this move as an incipient form of statelessness. In doing so, I explore the idea that statelessness might hold a set of possibilities beyond the forms of abandonment and rightlessness theorized by Arendt. An alternative notion of statelessness need not imply the absence of the state, nor the denial of citizenship, but rather the suspension of the state's monopoly power over political imaginations and forms of life. The paper contends that this sense of statelessness is one of the stakes in thinking together border and anti-racist struggles.

BIO

Anne McNevin is Associate Professor of Politics at The New School. She is author of *Contesting Citizenship: Irregular Migrants and New Frontiers of the Political* and co-editor of the journal *Citizenship Studies*. Her recent publications focus on asylum, migration, hospitality and governmentality in the Indonesian context and her current research examines the intersection of contemporary struggles around borders, anti-racism and coloniality.

ABSTRACT

As with terms such as 'human rights', 'democracy', and 'equality', the notion of 'freedom' has an emblematic character with highly normative overtones. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948) considers freedom both as a universal right and one of its founding principles. After the official abolition of slavery, recognition of equal rights of women, one might argue that freedom is -at least formally- a universal entitlement belonging to every human being. Yet, once we turn the arrow of our analytical apparatus to the perspective of the refugee, we realise immediately that this thesis is untenable.

In this paper, the figure of refugee will be introduced as an anomaly to the citizen-oriented discourse of freedom, which is framed in the nation-state paradigm. Within this paradigm, the (national) citizen is regarded as the idealised subject of freedom, whereas the refugee is considered as an anomalous political phenomenon that jeopardises the unity of nation, state, and territory. In spite of apparent universalisation of the idea of freedom, the categorisation of this political signifier is determined by the principles of "nativity" (ethnicity) and "territoriality". This claim will be substantiated through an analysis of the legal mechanisms of naturalisation and repatriation.

The exponential growth of refugee population across the globe has transformed this anomaly into an all-encompassing crisis on both practical and theoretical level. This paper examines in what way the condition of refugeehood unsettles and disrupts the mythical nexus of nation, state, and territory; a fundamental premise that underlies the modern logic of freedom. The figure of refugee allows us to rethink the notion of freedom from the perspective of those who are juridicopolitically excluded from the realm of freedom, yet capable of experiencing, exercising, defining and designating it in their own way

BIO

I am a PhD-Researcher in Political Philosophy at the Department of Philosophy, University of Amsterdam (UvA). My areas of interest include phenomenology, ontology, philosophical anthropology, theories of freedom, political philosophy, critical theory, democratic theory, migration and citizenship. My current research project concerns a phenomenological inquiry into the notion of 'freedom', examined from the perspective of refugees. Before joining UvA, I studied Political Theory (LSE), Philosophy (Leiden) and Aerospace Engineering (Delft).

ANIKA SHAH, 'OF VIOLENT DELIGHTS AND VIOLENT ENDS: A
POSTCOLONIAL READING OF THE POSTHUMAN CONDITION IN
WESTWORLD'

ABSTRACT

The notion of the posthuman – an entity existing beyond the state of being human – is not a new one in popular culture. Science-fiction films have been generous in portraying the posthuman condition, and so have several television series. *Westworld* (Jonathan Nolan and Lisa Joy, 2016–) is one such series. It portrays a world where there are theme-based amusement parks that are created for high-paying human “guests” and are inhabited by android “hosts”. The “guests” are allowed and even encouraged to indulge their fantasies without the fear of retaliation whereas the “hosts” are programmed to not harm the humans. The aim of this paper is to look at this television series from a postcolonial perspective. There are several postcolonial undertones that can be found in *Westworld*. Even though the series does not directly address race, it does address the existence of a power relation between humans and androids – the humans dominate, exploit, and enslave the androids, and the androids attempt to resist; the humans homogenize and dehumanize the androids in a process of “othering” them, and the androids gradually rebel. The tension between the humans and the posthumans build upon the struggle to gain agency and autonomy of identity, intellect, consciousness, memory, and body. There is also ambivalence, and the persistent presence of trauma and guilt in between. Through an interdisciplinary point of view, the paper intends to explore further and investigate to what extent the concept of the posthuman contains postcolonial ideas and thoughts in *Westworld*.

BIO

Anika Shah is a Lecturer at the Department of English and Humanities in the University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh (ULAB). She is also a bilingual writer and

translator, and takes an interest in literature, music, film, art, and bits and pieces of popular culture.

MINNA SEIKKULA, 'ANTIRACIST CONCEPTIONS OF RACISM: ACTIVISTS' UNDERSTANDINGS FROM THE 'INDIVIDUAL' TO THE 'INSTITUTIONAL''

ABSTRACT

How racism is mobilized as a critical term? Which forms of racism contemporary antiracist practices aim to address? What conditions antiracist practices ability observe and address institutional forms of racism?

Academic work on racism has repeatedly addressed the disparity in different ways of conceiving racism, and a repeated critique has been that the term is too often connected to individual, psychological or marginal phenomena, which overlooks the dimensions of structural and institutional. In popular discussions, narrowing down the definition of racism has been a discursive strategy by those labelled as 'racists', in particular. Yet, what is meant with term varies also among those who seek to confront, eradicate and/or ameliorate racism. Further, it remains an open question, to what extent understandings of racism that draw, for instance, from scholarly work emphasizing racism's connection to race as a signifier of colonial difference, inform popular antiracism.

The paper investigates how 'racism' is constructed in antiracist discussions. The paper explores ways in which Finland-based antiracist activists evoke 'racism' as a critical term and formulate the scope of their antiracism. The paper identifies three distinct frames of defining racism that guide antiracist discussions and practice. The analysis pays particular attention to how contexts are constructed in the distinct frames, and how the different conceptions of racism (don't) connect it to institutional practices (e.g. governing migration, bordering) and structures exceeding the frame of the nation-state like the European border regime. The analysis is based on empirical data of 37 semi-structured interviews with 47 antiracists active in varying initiatives in Finland.

BIO

Minna Seikkula is finalizing her PhD research on distinct forms of antiracist activism and organizing. In addition to her interest in Critical Race and Whiteness Studies, her research interests relate to Critical Migration Studies, Postcolonial and Decolonial critique and Feminist theorization on Intersectionality. She has previously published on antiracism, racialization, whiteness, and citizenship.

MARWAN KRAIDY, 'FIRE AS A PRIVILEGED MEDIUM IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF RACIAL ORDERS'

ABSTRACT

Drawn from an ongoing book project comparing the meaning making and identity construction practices of radical violent Islamists (e.g. "Islamic State") based in the Middle East and White supremacists (e.g. the Ku Klux Klan) based in the United States, this paper focuses on fire as a privileged medium—figurative, metaphorical, mythical, and literal—for the construction of racial orders grounded in an extremist Manichean worldview pitting the in-group against the rest of the world.

Fire is prevalent in the symbolic universe of both Islamist and White-supremacist extremists. Drawing on a mixture of religious scriptures, mythological tales, and elemental communication, both groups use fire in uncannily equivalent techniques of racialization. Fire operates first as a divine instrument of reward and punishment, inspired by the parallel roles the flame plays in the Quran and the Bible, where it ultimately serves to distinguish believers from unbelievers. Fire also operates as a symbolic elemental device that connects nature and cosmology, making a tautological argument that naturalizes human instrumentalizations of fire. But most importantly, fire serves as an instrument that delineates the boundaries of extremist identities into a virtuous Self to be celebrated and a vicious Other to be annihilated.

Through a systematic close reading—textual, visual, and historical—of primary sources, and supported by an interdisciplinary literature that encompasses Sara Ahmed, Gaston Bachelard, Gilles Deleuze, and Brian Massumi among others, I will argue that religious purity for Islamic extremists fulfills the same

core role that racial purity executes for White supremacists, and that fire helps bring extremist racial ideas into materiality. Focusing primarily on key scenes on D.W. Griffiths's *Birth of a Nation*, itself based on a book celebrating the Ku Klux Klan, and Islamic State's foundational film *Flames of War: Fighting Has Just Begun*, in addition to other examples, I will show how a reactionary reading of U.S. and Islamic history respectively and the use of fire as a symbolic apparatus to support that reading in both cases, effectively create uncannily equivalent racialized orders.

I conclude that the trans-historical persistence of fire as a fulcrum of racialized forms, discourses and practices of antagonistic and extreme identities is couched in what Michael Marder called *pyropolitics*, a revanchist, anti-Enlightenment politics that privileges fire's destructive heat over its constructive light privileged by the Enlightenment, and inflames debates about identity and immigration worldwide.

BIO

Marwan M. Kraidy is the Anthony Shadid Chair in Global Media, Politics and Culture and Founding Director of the Center for Advanced Research in Global Communication, at the University of Pennsylvania. The recipient of Andrew Carnegie, Guggenheim, NEH, ACLS, Woodrow Wilson and NIAS fellowships, Kraidy has published 130+ essays and 13 books, notably *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization* (Temple UP, 2005), *Reality Television and Arab Politics* (Cambridge UP, 2010), which won three leading prizes, and *The Naked Blogger of Cairo: Creative Insurgency in the Arab World* (Harvard UP 2016), which won three major awards. He tweets @MKraidy.

HANNAH TAVARES, 'ONTOLOGICAL INSECURITIES'

ABSTRACT

Taking Claire Denis's *High Life*, Amanda Kernell's *Sami Blood*, and *Lovecidal* by Trinh T. Minh-ha the author draws from the approaches taken by these postcolonial artists to address some of the most troubling tendencies of contemporary societies: surveillance, militarism, economic austerity, and the perils of belonging. The author shows the pedagogical significance of their work for challenging the "securitizing aspects of identity stability" (Cash &

Kinnvall, 2017) expressed in contemporary claims of autochthony (Geschiera, 2009).

BIO

Hannah M. Tavares is Associate Professor in the Department of Educational Foundations at the University of Hawaii at Manoa and Affiliate Faculty in the Graduate Certificate Program in International Cultural Studies, USA

FLORIS DE KRIJGER, 'RATING THE UBER DRIVER LEGIBLE - ON EMOTIONAL LABOR, RACE AND DECOLONIAL THINKING'

ABSTRACT

In the “gig” economy, user-generated performance ratings have become an essential management tool for controlling the workforce. In recent years, more and more empirical research shows that these rating systems tend to disadvantage non-white bodies disproportionately. By taking Uber’s rating design as a case study, this paper argues that user-generated performance ratings do not just “transmit” the racial biases of society – as is conventionally argued – but, in fact, create the precondition for racial division to emerge and reaffirm itself. Building on black Marxist and decolonial thinking, I claim that ratings tend to deactivate genuine interpersonal relations between “drivers” and “riders” and activate ones that feed capital, thereby conditioning how both groups can relate to each other and determining what these relations mean. Moreover, this paper shows that the idea of rating is migratory, as it builds upon painful histories of colonial suppression and governmentality. Just as in colonial times, Uber exercises power through the act of rating, thereby recreating (neo)colonial subjects that become “legible” in terms of capital. Echoing Mignolo’s plea to “delink” from “modernity/coloniality”, to decolonize Uber’s rating system and the act of rating more generally means to abandon it in its totality. Only if we delink, new modes of organizing can come to the foreground in which encounters between strangers can be facilitated outside a capitalist mode of production and without the “help” of ratings.

BIO

Floris de Krijger is a research master student of Colonial and Global History (Leiden University) and Organizational Science (Utrecht University). He received a BA in Language and Cultural studies (cum laude) as well as a BSc in Organizational Science (cum laude) from Utrecht University and completed additional coursework at UC Berkeley (USA) and the Central European University (Hungary). Floris specializes in the anthropology of contemporary

capitalism and is currently finishing a project on the platform-based food delivery sector in Amsterdam. In his research, insights from both Marxist and Post/Decolonial theory figure prominently, as he argues that we need both to understand how present processes of accumulation work and are tied up in inequalities pertaining to gender and ‘race’.

KATRIN KREMMLER, “EURASIAN MAGYARS”: CURRENT ENTANGLEMENTS OF NATURAL SCIENCE WITH NEO-NATIONALIST GEOPOLITICS AND IDENTITY POLITICS IN HUNGARY’

ABSTRACT

Hungarian Neo-nationalism has been well studied, but a central element remains off the radar of critical research: The current entanglements of natural science with neo-nationalist geopolitics and identity politics.

My empirical investigation starts at an annual cultural festival drawing 200,000 visitors (kurultaj.hu), initiated in 2008 by the Far Right and sponsored by the Orbán government since 2010. The festival reflects and readapts interwar ideas about race, ethnicity, and nation. It links the naturalized ethnic spatial unit – the “Carpathian basin” – to an essentially “Eurasian” Turkic identity and geopolitical space as its westernmost point. In the last decade, the event has become the vehicle for mainstreaming the concepts and narratives of the Far Right within popular culture in Hungary. The Orbán government uses it as the central platform and backdrop for cultural diplomatic meetings with the Turkic partners of its new „Eastern Opening“ policy.

Central components are scientific exhibitions and displays of “ancestor”-crania and facial reconstructions, and lectures on population genetics and archaeogenetics, archaeoanthropology, archaeology, and ethnography, provided by state institutions: The Hungarian Museum of Natural History, regional museums, researchers of Szeged University and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

My analysis shows that a historic race discourse is at work here, in a well-established “national” physical anthropology tradition since the 1920s, adapting interwar German racial science taxonomies and 1960s Soviet ethnogenesis anthropology, which informs the framings of current DNA-

research as well. This happens behind a language barrier, disconnected from discussions of race in the English- and German-speaking worlds.

Racial taxonomies are perceived as unproblematic in this context; “magyar ethnogenesis” is told as a story of human variation and human diversity, prehistoric migration, and racial mixing, not via racial purity. Ethnonational belonging is constructed on the basis of minimal genetic Asian traces in today’s diverse population, and a discourse of 1100 years of historical statehood. Conceptualizing the Self thus racialized generates new modes of racist exclusion of internal and external Others on the basis of their “different” genetic and cultural ancestry.

BIO

Katrin Kremmler is currently working in her PhD project “Eurasian Magyars: Postcolonial Perspectives on Hungarian Neo-nationalism,” Institute for European Ethnology, Humboldt University Berlin. 1st supervisor Prof. Regina Römhild, 2nd supervisor Prof. Margit Feischmidt (Budapest/Pécs). She has been awarded the Scholarship Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle, Germany.

DAVINA BHANDAR, ‘DEMARCATING STATUS THROUGH BORDER TECHNÉ: SITE OF NEOLIBERAL CRISIS’

ABSTRACT

How do we engage in a future literacy of the social that can challenge the urgent nature in which the tenuous relationship between citizen and state is being held? What publics are left for us to defend? What dreams are being conjured through the contemporary border rhetoric in political discourse? Theories of the border imagine the geo-political sites of borders as simultaneously shifting, static, performed, dispossessed, colonized, militarized, strategic, logistic, absent, invisible, and highly visible. More recently however, the border has become a site of refusal. The border, whether resisted, invented, demanded, contained or proliferated, is a central site of contemporary political and social crisis. This paper calls forward the

possibility of how accounts for refusing the border, could contribute to a newly imagined social.

As the call for borders grows stronger south of the Canadian/ US border, and the effect of leaky borders are growing in the Canadian-US context, what is emerging are sets of conversations that do not fully account for the refusal of the border, forms of technology and adaptation that are creating and producing particular subjectivities. I explore the function of the border as a central site in which status is demarcated. Border technologies including multiple forms of data surveillance, its widening legal and social apparatus, and its portability marks the many ways that the border is itself a technology of status production. I pose the question: how does the border produce differentiation in status (political, epidermal, ontological) and to what end? If the border is viewed as a machine or apparatus, one that can be made portable, dislocated from geospatial specificity, but all the while marking and bounding territory, how does the border see and what is render visible by the border?

BIO

Davina Bhandar is on faculty at the Centre for Social Science at Athabasca University and is an adjunct professor in the School for Communication at Simon Fraser University. She has published in the areas of border securitization, migration, citizenship studies and critical race theory. Her work is focused on the relational understanding of borders, acts of land dispossession and migration.

MARCO VAN DE VINNE AND GERWIN VAN SCHIE, 'RACE/ETHNICITY AND ALGORITHMIC CLASSIFICATION IN DUTCH LAW: MAKING A CASE FOR ACCOUNTABILITY AS LEGAL PRINCIPLE'

In order to detect fraudulent use of social benefits, Dutch public authorities are composing risk profiles under the pretenses of cost reduction and efficiency. In today's datafied society (Schäfer & van Es 2017), creating such risk profiles is often carried out via algorithmic applications that largely function as blackboxes, i.e. their workings and decisions remain opaque and untraceable. Such decision-making systems operate on the basis of a large

number of variables such as income, age and “ethnicity”. In our understanding of “ethnicity” we follow Yanow et al. (2016) in acknowledging the racial connotations in the classificatory system in use in the Netherlands by referring to this category as “race-ethnic”. Formerly, classification had to adhere to specific legal principles that aim to balance public interests: proportionality, subsidiarity and legitimacy (Bovens et al. 2016).

This paper takes the hypothetical situation in which SyRI (System Risk Indication), a risk profiling system used by the Dutch government that aims to carry out risk analysis in order to detect citizens that are likely to misuse social benefits, appropriates race-ethnic categories in the production of risk profiles. We use this situation to assess whether or not the legal principles concerning race-ethnic categorization are still tenable in the case of algorithmic profiling.

First, we will critically engage with the use of algorithms in governance. Second, we will look at the legal framework and how the aforementioned legal principles are treated in the context of race-ethnic classification. Third, we will look at existing Dutch case law that deals with classification. Finally, we will suggest the addition of “accountability” as a legal principle in the case of the assessment of algorithmic governance, because we believe that the current legal framework will not sufficiently guard citizens from algorithmic discrimination based on race-ethnic categories.

BIO MARCO VAN DE VINNE

Marco van de Vinne is a Dutch law student who finished his LLB at the Utrecht University in 2018. His interests lie in the domain of intellectual property and information law, specifically in algorithmic adaptation by public authorities. Currently, he functions as an intern at the Datafied Society Research Platform of Utrecht University where he researches this topic.

BIO GERWIN VAN SCHIE

Gerwin van Schie is a PhD candidate Gender Studies at Utrecht University in the NWO-financed project ‘The Datafication of Race and Ethnicity in the Netherlands’. This study investigates how the Dutch state classifies its inhabitants on the basis of their origin and how this information is datafied by CBS (Statistics Netherlands). It will also examine which systems are devised

based on this data, how these systems are used by third parties, and how this may encourage data-driven discrimination.

ADEBAYO SAKIRU, 'THE BLACK SOUL IS (STILL) A WHITE MAN'S ARTIFACT? POST COLONIALITY, POST-FANONISM AND THE TENACITY OF RACE(ISM) IN IGONI BARRETT'S BLACKASS'

ABSTRACT

What happens when a black man wakes up one morning to discover that he has mysteriously turned white? What happens to this whiteness in a typical post-colonial setting where the sight of a white person is almost a rarity, except for transitory expatriates (never immigrants)? In this paper, I examine the complexity of postcolonial manifestations of race, alongside class, colonialism and nationality in Igoni Barrett's *Blackass*. I adopt a (post)Fanonian approach in investigating how the novel depicts the psychopolitics of race in the aftermath of the empire. I analyse the ways in which the novel draws attention to white supremacy as a global phenomenon not only restricted to the conceptual west or settler colonies but also in settings where the colonisers are no longer present. This feeds into the critique of neo-liberal democracy which, apparently, is still heavily yoked in the whims and caprices of racialism.

BIO

I am Adebayo Sakiru, a doctoral fellow in the Department of African Literature, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. My PhD project is titled 'A Grievous Past in a Grieving Present: Dynamics of Trauma and Memory in Postcolonial African Narratives'.

MICHAEL SHAPIRO, 'BORDER DRAMAS: THE MOVEMENT OF AFRICAN SPORTING BODIES'

ABSTRACT

The Netflix series, "The Break" (2016), which takes place in the Belgium town of Heiderfeld begins with the discovery of the dead body of a 19 year- old

soccer player from Africa, initially assumed to be a suicide. As the series progresses and a newly arrived police detective and former resident, Yoann Peeters (Yoann Blanc) takes over the murder investigation, a more complex picture emerges. Along with the local aspect of the drama in which various grievances and tensions among the residents come into focus is the revelation of a global network of crime organizations that gamble on the games and seek to control the outcomes by recruiting and exploiting young African footballers. In the following exploration, we show how the crime drama involving the murder of the young African athlete, Driss Assani (Jeremy Zagba), is a fictional realization of a larger global drama associated with the flow of African and other aspirational footballers that belong to a shadow world behind a sports world, part of a world of precarious migration.

BIO MICHAEL J. SHAPIRO

Michael J. Shapiro is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Hawai'i, Manoa. Among his recent publications are *Politics and Time: Documenting the Event* (Polity, 2016), *Deforming American Political Thought*, 2nd edition (Routledge, 2016), *The Political Sublime* (Duke University Press, 2018), and *Punctuations: How the Arts Think the Political* (Duke University Press, 2019).

BIO SAM OKOTH OPONDO

Associate Professor of Political Science and Africana Studies, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, US

JAAP KOOIJMAN, 'BEFORE THE DAY BEYONCÉ TURNED BLACK: COLORBLINDNESS AND UNAPOLOGETIC BLACKNESS IN US AMERICAN POP CULTURE'

ABSTRACT

One week after Beyoncé's "unapologetic Black" Super Bowl performance of "Formation" and the launch of her audiovisual album *Lemonade*, the television comedy show *Saturday Night Live* presented the sketch "The Day Beyoncé Turned Black" (13 February 2016). The three and-a-half-minute mock

trailer of a horror movie works as satire, as it addresses how the “unapologetic Black” Beyoncé breaks with the common practice of “colorblindness” in US American pop culture, particularly for Black superstars who transgress the industry’s racially defined genre categories, such as soul and hip-hop. As Nicole Fleetwood writes about Beyoncé’s predecessor Diana Ross, she and her producers “were able to incorporate certain racial markers of difference into her image and persona while simultaneously cultivating her as an exemplar of cultural assimilation, luxury capitalism, and mainstream acceptability” (57). Similarly, Inna Arzumanova has argued that the pre-“Formation” Beyoncé had “to invoke an otherness, and to then—urgently—make that otherness palatable, legible, and, of course, commercially portable” (422). When met with criticism about their transgression of these racially defined genre categories, Black superstars often would fall back upon colorblindness as counterargument. “I don’t think in terms of race ... it’s people—not this race or that race,” Diana Ross told *Ebony* magazine in 1981 (Massaquoi 1981: 44–6), while Beyoncé told *Vogue* in 2009: “I’m universal ... no one’s paying attention to what race I am. I’ve kind of proven myself. I’m past that” (quoted in Cashmore 2010: 144). In this paper, building on Fleetwood’s *On Racial Icons*, I will discuss specific moments in the careers of Diana Ross, Whitney Houston, and Beyoncé when the negotiation between “otherness” and colorblindness become explicit, including Jamaica Kincaid’s 1976 *Village Voice* article on Diana Ross as “The Last of the Black White Girls” and Al Sharpton’s 1989 boycott campaign of Whitney “Whitey” Houston.

BIO

Jaap Kooijman is Associate Professor in Media Studies and American Studies at the University of Amsterdam and the author of *Fabricating the Absolute Fake: America in Contemporary Pop Culture* (AUP 2013). His articles on black superstardom—Diana Ross, Michael Jackson, Tina Turner, Whitney Houston, and Beyoncé—have been published in journals such as *The Velvet Light Trap*, *Celebrity Studies*, *[in]Transition*, and *Popular Music and Society*, as well as edited book collections such as *Popular Music and Film* (Wallflower 2003), *Performance and Popular Music* (Ashgate 2006), and *Revisiting Star Studies* (Edinburgh UP 2017).

ARNOUD ARPS, 'PATCHWORK MEMORIES AND AMBIVALENT POSITIONS: ON THE CONDITION OF BEING CHINESE IN INDONESIA IN BLIND PIG WHO WANTS TO FLY'

ABSTRACT

"The kaleidoscopic history of Chinese-Indonesians is one of seamless hybridity.s" is the opening line of a Jakarta Post article by Stanley Widiyanto. Their societal position, however, is rather ambivalent. Writing about the plight of Chinese-Indonesians, Widiyanto remarks that there is still a long way to go to purge Indonesia from its social ills. The matter of Chinese-Indonesian identity harks back to colonial times when the Dutch made legal categorisations based on ethnicity and echoes into modern times exemplified by discussions on what ethnicities are excluded within the meaning and use of the word pribumi (native Indonesians) by the in 2017 inaugurated governor of Jakarta Anies Baswedan. Discussing with his friends, Indonesian film director Edwin decided to make a film which focused on this Chinese-Indonesian identity, addressing the question: what is the condition of being Chinese in Indonesia? Himself being an Indonesian of Chinese descent, Edwin cinematically negotiated memories of what this meant. This resulted in the 2008 film *Babi Buta Yang Ingin Terbang* (Blind Pig Who Wants To Fly), an ensemble film with a fragmented, mosaic structure. The narrative structure of the film distinguishes itself by its fragmentation, repetition, time jumps, slow tempo and surreal scenes. The film is an example of a memory text (Kuhn, 2010), as it addresses the historical and contemporary struggle of Chinese minorities in Indonesia through this highly distinctive organisation of time. This paper argues that the mosaic structure of the film symbolises the historically ambivalent position of Chinese-Indonesians. As a memory text, the film shows events from a paradigm of memories in a seemingly random order and puts causality in an ancillary position within the mode of narration. In doing so, *Blind Pig Who Wants To Fly* creates patchwork memories of what it means to be Chinese in Indonesia.

BIO

Arnoud Arps is a PhD candidate at the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis and the department of Media Studies at the University of Amsterdam. He held

visiting positions at the Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne and the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies [KITLV]. His research focuses on media within the fields of memory studies, postcolonialism and travel studies with the Dutch East Indies and Indonesia as his research topics. His PhD-project investigates how cultural memories of the violence during the Indonesian War of Independence are produced, constructed and consumed through contemporary Indonesian popular culture.

PANEL 6: NEGOTIATING RACISM IN CULTURE, SOCIETY AND TRANSNATIONAL FRAMEWORKS

DARIA KRIVONOS, ‘CONTIGUOUS OTHERS’, WHITENESS AND EUROPE: YOUNG RUSSIAN-SPEAKERS’ NEGOTIATIONS OF RACIAL TERRAINS IN HELSINKI’

ABSTRACT

While critical race theory has importantly analysed the constitution of Europeanness within the logic of race, Europe and the West often remain constructed and perceived a homogenous entity constituting itself vis-à-vis non-Europeans. Drawing on multi-sited ethnography of young post-Soviet migrants’ lives in Helsinki, Finland, I trace a hierarchically graded constructions of Europeanness and whiteness. Having become failed subjects that have to be assisted on their way to full-fledged Europeanness, East Europeans – along with other marginalised subjects - have been singled out as the ‘main racists’ as opposed to West Europeans as holders of true humanity and tolerance. In this presentation, I analyse the position of young post-Soviet migrants in Finland as ‘contiguous others’, that is, those taking an ambivalent position in relation to whiteness and Europeanness. I analyse the persistence of whiteness and Europeanness in their claims to belonging to the ‘West’ after migration in conditions of their own racialised and misrecognised position. On the one hand, I demonstrate how Russian-speakers’ perceptions of their place in the global racial formation are constructed through the legacies of racial colonial projects that define the meaning of Europeanness itself. By aligning themselves with these legacies, they distance themselves from Others that they recognise as non-white and thus positioned as lower in the global racial hierarchies. On the other hand, their everyday lives are dominated by the anxieties of revealing themselves as (audibly) visible and not-fully-white, and their tactics to pass as ‘white Finns’. In particular, I analyse how whiteness is mediated through gender and young Russian-speaking women’s efforts to distance from sexualised images of Russian femininity. These findings draw attention to the hierarchically graded production of the European space and

the role of ‘contiguous others’ in mediating the construction of ‘Europe proper’ and whiteness.

BIO

Daria Krivonos is a doctoral candidate in Sociology in the University of Helsinki, whose work analyses young post-Soviet migrants’ lives in Helsinki, Finland from the perspective of borders, racialisation, whiteness and labour. Daria has conducted ethnographic research in integration and language courses in Helsinki, and did ethnography of young unemployed migrant’s encounters with labour activation in Helsinki. Her findings have been published in the *Sociological Review*, *Current Sociology*, and *Sociology*.

DEREK PARDUE, NECROPOLITICS AND HOPESCAPES IN BRAZIL’S CURRENT RACIAL ORDER

ABSTRACT

As geographers accumulate more empirical work across the globe, it has become clear that not only is emotion crucial in understanding space but also, in a more political stance, that spaces (“the city”, neighborhoods, corners, buildings, etc.), and more specifically the division between spaces, are not naturally given or inevitable. Social agency, human interest and the violence expressions of racism, xenophobia, sexism and homophobia are inflections of space. Yet, they can be undone. Redone. Recast.

On March 14, 2018 Marielle Franco, a popular, elected politician and grassroots activist for neighborhood rights, was murdered most probably by ultra, right-wing militias in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Marielle was a bisexual Afro-Brazilian, who grew up and later represented a large favela in Rio. Her death and subsequent martyrdom reveal a complex racial order in contemporary Brazil, which propagates both horrific violence against black, poor men and women and has given an impulse to new cultural production around black hope. Through an interpretation of the boom in expressive culture around Marielle, including poetry, visual art and social media, I hope to illuminate contemporary contours of blackness in a city of historical African presence, grand speculative wealth and increasing precarity. In an experimental mix of

analysis and fiction, I suggest new potential ways to interpret and represent the current milieu in the blackest country in the Americas.

BIO

Derek Pardue is an Associate Professor of Brazilian Studies inside the Global Studies Department at Aarhus University in Denmark. His research has focused on issues of South-South migration, urbanism and identity politics throughout the Black Atlantic, specifically the Luso-African world of Brazil, Portugal and Cape Verde. His latest book, *Cape Verde Let's Go: Creole Rappers and Citizenship in Portugal* was published by University of Illinois Press in 2015. This talk comes from a project supported by a fellowship at Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg (HWK), in which he developed a manuscript of ethnographic fiction about contemporary black visibility via African migration in São Paulo, Brazil. More details on Professor Pardue's academic activities can be found here: www.au.dk/en/dpardue@cas

PATRICIA SCHOR, BORDERING THE BLACK BODY: THE BLACKFACE DEBATE IN THE NETHERLANDS

ABSTRACT

The Black subject is the constitutive outside to Dutch nationality, historically existing as a violent erasure and through a forceful containment—as object, as property. The year of 2013—the 150th anniversary of the formal abolition of slavery in Suriname and the Dutch Antilles—saw, nevertheless, the emergence of Black people and voices in the mainstream public debate. The heated controversy turned around *Zwarte Piet*, an anti-Black racial stereotype overwhelmingly present in Dutch public culture.

This article will point to distinctive features of racism in the Netherlands, which will support the analysis of the 2013 events. 2013 deserves attention for it marks the moment when the discussion of *Zwarte Piet* turned effectively into the most important and mediatised topic of public debate, which involved the Dutch political (and legal) authorities. This analysis will reveal the mechanisms through which the political and media establishment racially framed this controversy.

The paper details the workings of racism in the very racism debate. My aim is to reveal how systems of discipline inherited from the Dutch empire constrain racialised and sexualised persons in the contemporary Netherlands. I will argue that this confinement establishes the positionality of the Black body, both desired and feared, as a body within an enclave, a bordered body.

This analysis focuses on the Netherlands while placing Dutch racism in the context of contemporary neo-liberal racisms in Western Europe harboured in denial, titled by David Goldberg as European postraciality. This concept articulates with Fatima El-Tayeb's characterisation of European racelessness, as forceful disavowal of racism in a continent haunted by the ghost of race. This paper will trace this haunting.

BIO

Dr. Patricia Schor teaches at Amsterdam University College. She received her PhD from Utrecht University on the afterlife of colonialism in Portuguese postcolonial literature and theory. In her dissertation she critically analysed the imagination of Portuguese colonialism as a benevolent encounter with "the African" (racialised other). Dr. Schor's recent publications address the Dutch biopolitical colonial regime, gendered anti-Black racism and colonial heritages across the Atlantic. Her newest (co-authored) article is "White Order, Corporate Capital and Control of Mobility in the Netherlands," in the 2018 edited collection *Smash the Pillars: Decoloniality and the Imaginary of Color in the Dutch Kingdom*.

MARISKA JUNG, 'CRUEL CONTROVERSIES: (DIS)ENTANGLING RACE, RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS SLAUGHTER IN EUROPE'

ABSTRACT

The conceptualisation of cultural racism has been widely discussed by postcolonial, decolonial and critical race scholars, with authors such as Tariq Modood demonstrating that this 'new racism' avoids using the word race whilst at the same time continues to discriminate against non-white communities on the basis of their perceived and essentialised culture. This culture is deemed incompatible with so called Western culture. Queer and feminist scholars argued for understanding race, gender and sexuality as fundamentally interconnected and evidenced how discourses on women's and gay rights may function to racialize migrants and essentialise Muslim culture in particular. However, the ways in which animal ethics figures in cultural racism have received little academic attention, despite the fact that Europe witnessed the incremental politicization of religious slaughter according to Islamic and Jewish rites. Since the turn of the millennium various countries illegalized this practice, such as Austria (2004), Latvia (2009), Slovenia (2012), Denmark (2014), Greece (2017), and Belgium (2019). In more European countries still is this practice heavily debated.

My paper addresses the intersections of race, religion and animal ethics. I study political debates on religious slaughter in Belgium in the period 2000-2018, in order to grasp how the treatment of animals by ethno-religious minorities figures in the construction of racialised differences. I argue that, next to women's and queer bodies, animal bodies have become a site of political struggle over the imagined national community. As such, in debates on religious slaughter a particular conception of animal ethics is presented as characteristic for a nation's civilizational status against which the ethno-religious Other can be pitted. By closely examining political debates on religious slaughter this paper sheds new light on the rarely acknowledged yet crucial role animal ethics play in racialisation processes taking place in today's Europe.

BIO

Mariska Jung works as a doctoral researcher at the Vrije Universiteit Brussels (Belgium) on her project 'Postcolonial Europe and its Animal Other: On Race, Gender and Species'. This work reflects on the (dis)entanglements of race, religion, secularism, gender and human-animal relations in European politics. Previously she researched the geopolitics of queer asylum and the ways in which social movements perform the territorial and sexual border. She is affiliated to RHEA, Centre for Research on Gender, Diversity and Intersectionality in Brussels and the Race, Religion, Secularism research network. She graduated from the University of Amsterdam and SOAS University of London and holds a BA in Philosophy (cum laude), a BSc in Interdisciplinary Social Sciences (cum laude) and a MSc in Migration Mobility and Development Studies (cum laude).

ELISA FIORE, 'GENDERED ISLAMOPHOBIA AND URBAN REGENERATION: THE MATERIAL-AESTHETIC DIMENSION OF FEAR IN ROME'S 'BANGLATOWN' AND AMSTERDAM'S INDISCHE BUURT'

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the role that gendered islamophobia plays in the regeneration of two gentrifying "multicultural" neighbourhoods in Amsterdam and Rome. The data gathered during my fieldwork hints to the interrelation existing between the sizeable presence of Muslim immigrant residents in these areas, the subsequent perceived masculinisation of public space, and finally the neighbourhoods' racialisation as dark and sexually-threatening spaces for white and/or non-Muslim women. Such portrayals of Muslim space read gendered spatial practices as racial practices through a process of gendered racialisation that turns the fear of the Muslim other into a fear of place, with public space serving as an enabling technology for the racialisation of groups.

This paper explores the lesser-known material-aesthetic dimension of gendered islamophobia, i.e. the coding of Muslim immigrants' gendered spatial practices as both a general sensory nuisance and a specific safety threat for white and/or non-Muslim women. By shedding light on the

inextricability of aesthetic aversion and the gendered fear of sexual assault, I will map the unequal distribution of fear and the subsequent regulation of bodies in the public space of the two neighbourhoods. The paper concludes that the convergence of dominant discourses of gendered safety and race-thinking in the two neighbourhoods normalises social exclusion and makes it acceptable under the innocent guise of urban decorum.

BIO

Elisa Fiore is a third-year PhD candidate at the institute of Historical, Literary and Cultural Studies at Radboud University Nijmegen, and a lecturer at the Centre for the Arts in Society at Leiden University. Her research areas lie at the intersection of feminist posthumanism, sensory studies, urban studies, and memory studies. She has worked as a personal assistant of prof. Rosi Braidotti at the Centre for the Humanities at Utrecht University. Before that, she received her research Master degree in Gender and Ethnicity, also from Utrecht University.

REVITAL MADAR, EXCEPTIONAL VIOLENCE AND ORDINARY RACIALIZATION IN HEBRON'S 2016 SHOOTING INCIDENT

ABSTRACT

Video footage of an Israeli soldier shooting a suspected Palestinian assailant lying wounded on the ground on March 24, 2016, sparked international condemnation. Following two legal proceedings, the soldier was convicted of manslaughter and was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. Court documents reveal that the defense's attempt to claim selective enforcement was blocked by the prosecution and the court, citing 'lack of resemblance' and security reasons. Why was that line of defense rejected, and what could this rejection uncover regarding the link between repudiated state violence and racialization in Israel?

Acts of repudiated violence constitute violence perpetrated by state agents yet disowned, dissociated and denounced by the state as illegal. Read as an act of repudiated violence, this paper asks to question the narrative of the 'exceptionality' of the 2016 shooting incident in Hebron. Deprived of the

privilege to decide on life and death (Foucault, 1978), the Israeli sovereign must divorce acts of repudiated violence from their conditions of possibility, i.e., the ordinary racialization of Palestinians in Israel and routinized state violence rendering their life disposable and their murder unpunishable.

Close readings of court verdicts depict the defense's tepid attempts to claim selective enforcement, and the response by the prosecution and the court to establish a reading of this event as exceptional. These two conflicting responses reveal the convoluted relation of Israel to violence it commits against Palestinians. In light of the court's overlooking and ignoring of the ordinary racialization permeating every aspect of the 2016 Hebron shooting incident and the insistence on the exceptionality of this act of violence - supposedly without precedent - we are confronted with a very telling process of self-deception and self-absolution, one that allows us to scrutinize how the Israeli state frames, justifies and excuses its violence.

BIO

Revital Madar is a PhD candidate at the cultural studies program at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her current research introduces the concept of repudiated violence to the study of sovereign violence. The first chapter from her Ph.D., "'Do You Know what an Arab Bystander is?': The Kafr Qasim Trial as a Sovereign Failure," was published in the edited volume *The Conflict – Sociological, Historical and Geographical Aspects*. An additional article by her, "Deathmurder From the Language of Humanity to the Question of Who Can Be Murdered," will be published this June in the anthology, "Sartre, Jews and the Other."

NISHANT UPADHYAY, 'HINDU RIGHT DIASPORA AND RACIAL/SETTLER BORDER MAKINGS IN THE US'

ABSTRACT

Abstract: This paper explores the rise of right-wing Hindu Indian diaspora in the US and maps its racial/settler formations. In the recent years, right-wing Hindus (Hindutva forces) have been organizing at multiple fronts in the US, this includes but not limited to: support of Trump and his racist border policies

targeting Muslim and undocumented peoples, mobilization for erasing references to caste and religion based violences in India in California's K-12 textbooks, and establishing Indic Studies across universities in the US. These examples illustrate how the Hindu right is making based on the intersections of race/caste/indigeneity/religion not only in India but in the US as well. Further, they demonstrate the growing convergences between white Christian, Zionist, and Hindu fascisms globally. Exploring these examples, this paper argues for the urgent need to understand the intersections of white supremacy, settler colonialism, Islamophobia, and brahminical caste supremacy in the making of the Hindu Indian diasporas in North America and elsewhere. Within Hindu diasporic contexts, caste hegemony is ever present, and akin to caste structures in India, structurally invisibilized. While socio-cultural and economic processes in the diaspora have changed caste formations they have not eroded them. For instance, in terms of cultural, social, and spiritual practices, caste is everywhere in the diaspora. Further, the growing assertions of the Hindu right in the US is the marker of these caste structures. Therefore, the paper argues that it is imperative to ground anti-casteist analysis in understanding Indian diasporas and the intersections of caste supremacy with global racial and colonial processes.

BIO

Nishant will be starting as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of Colorado Boulder in Fall 2019. Previously they have taught in Women's and Gender Studies at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth and Northern Arizona University. Their manuscript, *Indians on Indian Lands*, studies the formation of dominant caste Hindu Indian diasporas in North America and diasporic complicities in processes of settler colonialism, antiblackness, and brahminical supremacy.

PANEL 8: RACE, MIGRATION, LABOUR AND TECHNOLOGIES OF BORDERING

ANGÉLA KÓCZÉ, 'GENDERED AND RACIALIZED SOCIAL INSECURITY OF ROMA IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE'

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the relationship between the restructured welfare state in post-1989 East Central Europe, the increase of poverty, and their impact on the Roma at the intersection of class, race and gender. The paper intervenes in debates about long-term poverty among Roma and about how it has become manifest in materialized social structures and gendered, racialized and class-based discourses about the welfare state during the transition from a state socialist to the current 'embedded neoliberal' welfare state. Kóczé cross-fertilizes two strands of scholarship—Gender and Romani Studies—to interrogate the vulnerable position of particularly Romani women.

BIO

Angéla Kóczé is Assistant Professor of Romani Studies and Academic Director of the Roma Graduate Preparation Program at the Central European University, Hungary. Her research focuses on the intersections between gender, ethnicity, and class, as well as the social and legal inequalities faced by the Roma in various European countries

PRITHIRAJ BORAH, TEA PLANTATIONS AS RACIAL SPACE: UNDERSTANDING THE 'OTHER' IN ASSAM, INDIA

ABSTRACT

Tea plantation labourers were migrated during the indentured voyages in colonial Assam. British tea planters identified Chotanagpur region as an ideal labour catchment area for the tea plantations in Assam. This vast region spanning parts of contemporary Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, and West Bengal was the homeland of the adivasi labourers. In post-colonial Assam, the

adivasis are categorised as the 'racial others', through the political and ideological mobilisation among the 'Assamese' linguistic community. This paper will scrutinise how the tea plantations of Assam maintains hierarchical racial order, which keeps the working class population inside the plantations over 150 years. This paper will examine the material differences within the garden 'racial space'. It will look into the material differentiation within the garden space between the bungalow and the labour lines and the relationship between racialised inscriptions of minis (female plantation labourers) associated with the processes of garden work.

The adivasis in Assam profiled racially because of their skin tone, which does not fit the dominant upper caste 'Assamese' imaginary. This paper will also include ethnography done on the adivasi student leaders who are countering the narratives of racial xenophobia in Assam. This paper will try to ask a few questions- how the tea plantations are categorised as racial space in Assam? What are the everyday experiences of the adivasi labourers inside the tea plantations? How the Assamese elite and middle class is reinforcing racial prejudices towards the adivasi working class? How are the adivasis bodies only categorised as the discipline and working bodies in Assam? What are the contemporary counter-narratives of the adivasi politics in resisting the racial prejudices?

BIO

Prithiraj Borah is a PhD scholar in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences of Indian Institute of Technology Bombay (Maharashtra, India). His area of interest includes sociology of labour and industry, social history, social movements, political mobilization, anthropology of race and subaltern studies. He has presented at various conferences such as International Conference on "Commemorating the Ending of Indentureship" at Mauritius University (Mauritius 2017), International Conference on North-East India on the theme, "Reframing India's North-East: People, Power and Perspectives" by Sikkim Central University (India 2016), International conference on "Materiality and Visuality in North East India" organised by Jamia Millia Islamia (India 2019), International conference on "Humour and the Performance of Power in South Asia: Anxiety, Laughter and Politics in Unstable Times" by co-organized by the International Centre for Ethnic Studies in Colombo and the Department of Sociology, South Asian University (Colombo 2019). He has worked at South

Asian Consortium for Interdisciplinary Water Resource Studies, under the project of peri urban water security (Gurgaon) on “Caste and Water”.

ILDIKÓ PLÁJÁS, KNOWING RISK IN PRACTICE: TECHNOLOGIES OF VISION IN EVERYDAY BORDER CONTROL AND THE ABSENT PRESENCE OF RACE

ABSTRACT

Being at the core of securitization efforts, the knowing of (and acting upon) risk is regarded as the cornerstone of border management. This paper examines what is risk made to be in everyday practices of border control in Europe and how do border police agents get to know it. Drawing on fieldwork conducted in September 2017 at the Romanian–Hungarian border, an inter-EU Schengen border, I look at how the Romanian border police uses various ‘technologies of vision’ in their daily practices of border surveillance and passport control to know risk. While European borders and governing mobilities are increasingly technologized, in this paper I shift the focus to the mundane practices of bordering and ordering Europe. I argue for the persistence of analogue techniques of the body, paper and pen, hands and vernacular attention in an era of big data and sophisticated surveillance technologies. This paper also proposes to think beyond the realm of the visual and think about other sense such as tactility, sound, smell and different devices as trained techniques of the body. By looking at the mundane practices of border management I also ask what kind of circulations are safeguarded and which ones are stopped?

BIO

Ildikó Plájás, University of Amsterdam, RaceFaceID Research Project

ABSTRACT

The unprecedented figures of migrations towards Europe from the Global South between 2015 and 2017 were framed by media and experts under the acritical definition of European 'refugee crisis' (or 'migrant crisis'). However, the focus on the external challenge represented by the increase of asylum seekers' arrivals had the effect of deflecting an internal European governance crisis. Indeed, disputes between member states, followed by a series of cascading reintroductions of border controls at the internal EU borders, threatened the ontological, axiological and normative bases of the Schengen agreement that elevated the free movement (both on EU and non-EU citizens) to a fundamental right on the condition of a mutual trust principle among member states.

The end of the 'crisis' made clear its internal, rather than external, character: in spite of a significant curbing in the number of arrivals from the end of 2017, internal border control, and formal and informal practices of asylum seekers' push-backs by border police, still persist nowadays. What kind of Europe is the so-called refugee crisis revealing? Based on a seven-month ethnographic fieldwork at the Austrian/Italian and French/Italian borders, the paper provides a materialist insight taking into account the interplay between different interests at the border: increasing border security industry (visible at the French/Italian border) and market needs of free movement of goods (as evident in the Austrian/Italian case). I argue that the Schengen's fragile, shaky principle of 'free movement', together with fundamental human rights, have been subordinated to securitarian and free-market demands. The maintenance of EU's political project of integration has been possible through the unofficial adoption of racial profiling techniques by border police officers at the internal EU borders (among other factors), thus reaffirming the privilege of EU citizens with Caucasian somatic characteristics at expenses of asylum seekers' rights.

BIO

Cecilia Vergnano is a Social Anthropologist from the University of Barcelona, with a PhD dissertation on housing access of ethnified migrant families, labelled as Roma, in the city of Turin (Italy). She is currently a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Research Fellow at the Amsterdam Institute for Social Sciences Research (AISSR) of the University of Amsterdam, with a research project about the social and political impacts of push-backs of asylum seekers' at internal EU borders. Her research interests are migrations and borders, urban anthropology, racialization processes, territorial stigmatization, forced evictions, housing and segregation.

MARIA FRAGKOU, 'THE DUPLICITY OF RACISM'S SHADOW:
EUROPEAN SOCIETY, NAZISM AND THE JEWISH OTHER'

ABSTRACT

During the Second World War, the Nazi government published many texts of antisemitic propaganda. These texts were inextricably bound up in racialized discourse and racist expression of the Third Reich. Racist practices from Nazi state that foster they are the central theme of this study. The paper explores and analyse the texts of newspaper Das Neue Europa and their further political, intellectual, cultural, and social trajectories. By presenting some largely unexplored features of Jew's lives under German occupation in Greece, this study considers larger questions about the complex connections between racism and antisemitism, based on the texts of Das Neue Europa analyses the rising antisemitism in society of the town of Thessaloniki. In the spirit of these facts, this paper seeks to foster an interdisciplinary conversation broaching a larger number of underexplored issues that begin only after the moment of occupation –the excess of antisemitic argument about Jewish danger, collaboration, the promises of nationalist utopias, the pernicious nature of antisemitic demagoguery, the popular support: 'expel the Jews!', the envision of a chilling dystopia of the city without Jews, the expression of citizens of 'utopia' celebrate the departure of the city's Jewish population in 1943 and in many cases, aggressive thinking, that are given shape by the expression of public discourse of the fertile ground of racism dystopia.

BIO

PhD Candidate in Contemporary History, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.
Thesis title: "Political, diplomatic circumstances. Rescue and survival strategies in the Holocaust (Shoah)", 2019.

LAURA TITTEL, 'ON THE DIALECTICS OF SOCIAL AND RACIAL CATEGORIES: 'GYPSIES' IN POLICE WORK AND POLITICAL THEORY'

ABSTRACT

Several studies have examined the term “gypsy” in the context of police work from a historical perspective (Lucassen 1996; Willems 1997). They suggest that in the police context the concept of “gypsy” mainly was used to normalize a bourgeois culture and regulate nomadism/sedentariness by creating a counter-image. Moreover, they highlight that up until the 1920s the concept of “gypsy” in police work generally referred to a social status and was mostly concerned with illegitimate mobility (cf. Patrut 2014, p. 18). Other authors, e.g. the sociologist Wulf D. Hund see the “transformation of the term Gypsy from a social into a racial category” (Hund 2011, p. 83) already in the middle of the 18th century. In this paper, I want to challenge the idea that social and racial categories are strictly separable and transformed from one to the other. Therefore, I will investigate into the dialectical interwovenness of both categories.

In order to sharpen the concepts from a Political Theory perspective, I will take a closer look at Kant’s statements on “gypsies” in the context of his subject and race theories as well as at Marx’s treatment of vagabondage as a social issue, arising with the beginning of manufacturing. Building on that, I will analyze the institutionalization of racism against “gypsies” in police work over time, looking at legislative texts, the documented work of the criminal police as well as phenotypical descriptions and police photography in the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century in Germany. The paper will compare both perspectives – the usage of the concept “gypsy” in the history of ideas and the social reality of police work – in order to provide some insight on the nexus of social and racial categories that can also be found in nowadays discussions on “poverty immigration” and alike.

BIO

Laura Soréna Tittel studied Politics, History, and Law (B.A.) at the University of Osnabrueck and Political Theory (M.A.) at Goethe-University Frankfurt, TU Darmstadt, and Virginia Tech. Since March 2018, she works as a research

assistant at the chair of Political Theory and History of Ideas at Justus-Liebig-University Giessen. She is part of the research team in the subproject “Between Minority Protection and Securitization: Roma Minority Formation in Modern European History” at the Collaborative Research Centre/Transregio 138 “Dynamics of Security”. In her PhD-project, she works on a political theory of antigypsyism examining the relationship between securitization, “racial” conceptualizations, and imagination.

MICHIEL BOT, ‘REFUGEE POLITICS AND RACE IN ARENDT’S ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM’

ABSTRACT

Since the 1990s, scholars of refugee rights and refugee politics have often returned to Hannah Arendt’s notion of a “right to have rights.” However, what has received insufficient attention is that Arendt’s analysis of the predicament of refugees and her notion of a “right to have rights” appear at the end of the second part of *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, “Imperialism,” which develops a single argument about the relation between law, politics, nation, and race across the globe from the “Scramble for Africa” of the 1880s to Arendt’s present. I demonstrate in this paper that reading Arendt’s arguments on the predicament of refugees and on the right to have rights together with her arguments on race is a useful way to approach the connections between refugee politics and race in the present.

My starting point will be a critique of Arendt’s comparison of the predicament of refugees to the “condition of savages,” in the often-cited final sentence of “Imperialism.” I argue that if we follow Arendt’s analysis of the predicament of refugees as a condition of exclusion from political participation produced by post-imperialist nation-states, imagining a refugee politics that is not a contradiction in terms requires a critique of Arendt’s oppositions: citizen/barbarian, civilized/savage, European/African, territorial/nomadic, and politics/nature. Arendt’s opposition of politics to “the dark background of mere givenness” needs to be critiqued when this “dark” “background,” and the ways in which it is opposed to the realm of politics, are not “merely given,” but have themselves been produced by humans, which requires a consideration of the history of colonial and post-colonial relations and of the

production of racial categories and racist violence. Thinking through the refugee politics enacted by those forced to live under the conditions of “savages” requires, then, not only situating this politics within the history of imperialism and post-colonialism, and considering the connections between the political production of refugees and the political production of race. It also suggests that an effective refugee politics must prominently include a politics of anti-racism.

BIO

I have been an assistant professor of law and humanities at Tilburg University, Department of Public Law and Governance, since 2016. After completing my PhD in Comparative Literature from New York University in 2013, I was a postdoctoral fellow at Bard College from 2013-2015, where I taught political and critical theory, and a visiting assistant professor of literature and society at Al-Quds Bard University in Palestine.

HEBA YOUSSEF, ‘COLONIAL DIPLOMACY: INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEES ON PALESTINE AND RACIAL STRUCTURES’

ABSTRACT

In our Committee of eleven were men of subtle Oriental minds from Persia and India, and men with the traditional Anglo-Saxon sense of restraint from Canada and Australia. We had the precise Dutch the careful Slavs, the temperamental Latin Americans. The character of our thinking was influenced by the type of men we were and the environments we reflected. (Jorge Garcia-Granados, *The Birth of Israel: The Drama As I Saw It*, 1948, p. 16)

The United Nations and the ‘great powers’ of the first half of the 20th century set up around 20 committees after the WWII to investigate the issue of Palestine. One of these committees was the eleven-member United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP 1947); members of UNSCOP were assigned to investigate the situation on the ground in Palestine and report back to the UN (as well as their governments). This paper will focus on the positions of members of UNSCOP entrusted with deciding the affairs of Palestine and their perspectives and motivations for recommending the

partition of Palestine. The paper will show that notions of racial hierarchy were at the forefront of the minds of diplomats who undertook the investigations and issued the recommendations.

This paper will explore how UNSCOP members' positions converged with the positions of colonialism and the concomitant discourse of racial and cultural hierarchies that have dominated and outlived the era of colonialism. For example, Jorge Garcia-Granados, representing Guatemala, viewed both the Palestinians, the European Jewish settlers, and the UNSCOP members themselves as merely reflecting their 'racial temperaments'. His perspective is a reminder of the colonial taxonomies of *Homo Americanus*, *Homo Asiaticus*, *Homo Europaeus* and *Homo Afer* (Garcia-Granados 1948, p. 16). The paper will consider the perception of the nation-state as constantly engaged in a process of realigning subjectivities to coincide with its ethno-territorial borders and the perceived shared past of its imagined nation.

BIO

Heba Youssef is senior lecturer in Politics at the School of Applied Social Science, University of Brighton, UK.

HARIKA DAUTH, 'THE RACIALIZATION OF 'POVERTY IMMIGRANTS' IN GERMANY'

ABSTRACT

In a time when economic rationality can easily dominate over social relations, this sort of logic also (re-)shapes the idea of race and racism. The question at stake is whether the notion of race can become an economic category itself.

For my paper, I am going to unfold the EU's internal racial (b)orders in regard to discourses and practices aimed at Roma in Germany's institutional context where they are perceived and treated less as EU citizens than as 'poverty immigrants'. The paper harks back on the fieldwork I conducted in Germany for my dissertation project between 2014 and 2017.

Disclosing the institutional dimension of Roma's racialization in Germany my paper discusses narratives, exercises of discretion and everyday practices of securitization of various local state authorities and their cooperating networks. It aims to shed light on how 'actors of governmental unease' contribute, actively produce and normalize the irregularization of Roma which have resulted in the EU citizens disabled access to health care, ex officio de-registration, evictions led by 'task forces', and eventually to the de-recognition of their freedom of movement.

In today's late modern consumption driven economy, race gets evermore associated with an 'economic deficiency' where the other is, often morally, constituted as unproductive. I am going to demonstrate how the racialization of Roma in Germany takes shape within an neo-liberal ethic where EU-citizens are constituted as 'unwilling to work' while at the same time are becoming human capital.

To sum up, my paper aims to disclose how the irregularization of 'Roma migrants' become institutionally normalized in the XXI century in Germany resulting in processes of racialization that have been modified by the allegedly 'color-blind' neo-liberal project.

BIO

My name is Harika Dauth, I am a PhD student at Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle (Saale). I studied Social Anthropology, Religious Science and Journalism at Leipzig University and Yeditepe University in Istanbul. My master thesis discussed social and economic relations between Roma and Kurdish communities in a neighbourhood of Istanbul whose inhabitants were targeted by an urban renewal program. Since 2014, I am working on my doctoral thesis focusing on the European migration and border regime's construction of a 'Roma problem' and simultaneously on the embodied experiences of (il)legalized mobilities of people who European migration regime actors perceive as 'Roma'. I am currently teaching "Feminist Anthropology" at Leipzig University.

AINO KORVENSYRJÄ, 'POLICING THE 'DEPORTATION GAP' IN SOUTHERN GERMAN ASYLUM CAMPS: ENFORCING RACIAL ORDER AND SECURITY'

ABSTRACT

In 2018 massive police raids to large southern German asylum reception facilities stirred the ongoing debates on deportations of failed asylum seekers into outright moral panics. The raids targeted mainly black male (West) African asylum seekers and spread as a repeatable formula across the states of Bavaria but also Baden Württemberg. Arrests were followed by criminal investigations, trials and (federal) law and policy proposals. The paper looks at how the racial figure of the "criminal" asylum seeker was constructed, reproduced and mobilized around the raids and what were the consequences to the residents living in the reception centres. If the image of the "criminal" asylum seeker, a West African male handcuffed and walked by law enforcement officers, can be read as a sort of 'self-portrait' or visualization of state power – in the ensuing debates often called Rechtsstaat (rule of law) – this 'border spectacle' (De Genova, 2013) must be analytically connected to the relations of legal domination or legal violence (Menjívar & Abrego 2012) in which it is embedded, and which exclude the targeted populations from the most fundamental rights, such as due process rights or

right to liberty and security. The paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork with camp residents and in legal support campaigns.

BIO

Korvensyrjä is a PhD candidate (Sociology) and migration justice campaigner based in Berlin and Helsinki. Her ongoing doctoral research looks at how pending deportation is lived as a legal status by West African asylum seekers in Germany. Together with West African activists residing in Germany, she publishes the blog Culture of Deportation (cultureofdeportation.org), documenting state violence in the German asylum system and in the EU border regime. She is involved in trial monitoring and campaigns against racist police violence in Germany. Affiliations: Department of Social Research, University of Helsinki; Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations and Nationalism, Swedish School of Social Science; kritnet Germany.

LEILA FAGHFOURI AZAR, 'ILLEGAL MIGRANTS: NATION-STATE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF DEBASED LEGALITY'

ABSTRACT

Since the inception of migration regulations on national and supranational levels, illegal migration has been a serious object of legal and political concern. The whole regulatory regime of migration, state-centered legal frameworks and the agenda-setting social and political forces, have always seen the illegal migrant as an 'anomaly'. Such an anomaly, in the mainstream legal and political theory, is basically considered to be positioned outside the nation-state's juridical order. Prominent theories of deportation regime and borderland regime introduce the illegal migrant either as a 'deportee' or 'bordersubject', who is excluded from the legal domain of the nation-state.

In this paper, I claim these theories are insufficient since they merely focus on the exclusionary force of the nation-states' established legal orders to explain the phenomenon of migrant illegality. Relying on the landmark rulings of the European Court of Human Rights, I argue illegal migrants are not simply excluded from the domain of the legal order, but rather, they are carefully constructed as 'quasi-legal' subjects. Such quasi-legal subjects are abandoned

in a newly emerged zone of legality which is neither completely excluded from the juridical domain of the nation-state nor included. This is a zone which could be best understood as a 'legally debased domain' that operates not merely to deprive illegal migrants of their fundamental rights, but beyond that, upholds legal possibilities of abuse, violence and exploitation.

BIO

Leila Faghfour Azar is a PhD Researcher in Philosophy of Law at the Paul Scholten Centre for Jurisprudence, University of Amsterdam. Her PhD project is a legal-philosophical inquiry into the phenomenon of alien illegality under the European regime of human rights protection. Leila received an LLB in Jurisprudence from University of Tehran and an LLM in International Human Rights Law from National University of Iran. She received her second master's degree in Philosophy of Law from Leiden University. Leila also did a one-year postgraduate level coursework on socio-legal theory at the University of Oxford, Centre for Socio-Legal Studies

ELENA ZAMBELLI, 'PERCEPTIONS OF THE LAW IN PEOPLE'S EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES OF RACISMS: A PROTECTION PARADOX?'

ABSTRACT

How do people experiencing racial harassment and/or discrimination perceive existing systems of legal protection and remedy? What do their experiences of approaching concerned institutions or abstaining therefrom tell us about state's capacity to persecute and punish racist acts, including its own? In my presentation I will approach these questions drawing from my ongoing multisited ethnographic research project on 'mixed' couple's everyday experiences of the law, which I'm undertaking in three European countries (Italy, Netherlands, UK). I will focus in particular on qualitative interviews and field notes collected in England where, notwithstanding its sophisticated race relations framework, there persist considerable hindrances to bringing perpetrators of hate crimes in front of the law. Against the background of the social tensions inter alia engendered by increasing social inequalities and the still unresolved brexiting, I will show how people I met and interviewed spoke of racism as a covert, encompassing affective field which remains elusive to

tackle for it appears to lack the doer/s behind its deeds. In conclusion I will foreground the seeming paradox whereby the current race relations framework and apparatus set up to protect people from racial discrimination and harassment might unintentionally and perversely contribute to perpetuating institutional and everyday forms of racism.

BIO

Dr Elena Zambelli is a postdoctoral researcher at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. She currently works on a multi-sited ethnographic research exploring 'mixed' couples' everyday experiences of the law in contemporary Europe, as part of the ERC-funded 'EUROMIX' project. She has a PhD in Gender Studies (SOAS) which she obtained with a dissertation exploring the ways in which sexuality, pleasure and work interrogate each other and differently impinge on women's subjectification and agency according to class and 'race'. Her research interests include the anthropology of gender and sexuality, the sociology of work and the body, critical race theory and migration studies.

SIDNEY HARRIS AND AYA WALLER-BEY, 'COLORBLIND ADMISSIONS: BLACK STUDENT SELF-NARRATION IN US UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS PROCESSES'

ABSTRACT

Race-based admissions policies such as affirmative action remain highly controversial and unclear within the United States. As educational opportunity and achievement continue to racially and socioeconomically stratify within the nation, color-blind or race-neutral policies have been adopted as the preferred institutional solution. Consequently, it is amid current social stratification, policy ambiguity and cultural contestation that U.S. institutions of higher education persist in their attempts to evaluate, recruit, and retain black students under color-blind policy. As institutions grapple with the paradoxical nature of higher education admissions policy norms, Black students are left in the cross-fire. Disproportionately underrepresented on college campuses Black students remain hyper-visible within institutional rhetoric and marketing. Thus, we consider how Black students choose to deploy, or not deploy, cultural narratives and tropes within their self-narration within the admission process and how university officials understand, response, and reward particular types of narrations. Taking a theoretical approach, we examine the role of color-blind admissions policies and the role they play in constraining the selfnarration of Black students in the university admissions process.

BIO SIDNEY HARRIS

Sidney Harris is a third-year sociology doctoral student and National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellow at the University of Michigan—Ann Arbor. Her research investigates the cultural politics of black/white interracial intimacy, partnership, and family formation, both historically and contemporarily within the U.S. Specifically, she works to interrogate racially hegemonic notions of the American family and nation along the black/white racial binary within the U.S.

BIO AYA WALLER-BEY

Aya Waller-Bey is a second-year sociology doctoral student at the University of Michigan—Ann Arbor. Her current research interests include the sociology of higher education—postsecondary access, student and campus activism, tokenism, affirmative action, and identity narration of Black students on predominantly white campuses.

TING-FAI YU, 'QUEER MIGRATION IN THE SINOPHONE SPHERE: MALAYSIAN CHINESE GAY MEN'S EDUCATIONAL MIGRATION TO TAIWAN'

ABSTRACT

Going overseas for higher education has long been an upward mobility strategy of students from the 60 independent Chinese high schools in Malaysia, due to their qualifications not being recognised for entry into local public universities which have historically privileged the Malay racial majority. Contrary to the educational migration patterns in most parts of the world, the majority of Chinese school students would attend universities in Taiwan rather than established destinations for foreign students such as Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States. Since the early colonial era, independent Chinese high schools have been a highly politicised site of ideological contestation in Malaysia, especially at times of major political transitions and institutional changes. In the eyes of many Malaysian Chinese students, Taiwan is not simply an affordable option of higher education; rather, it is also perceived as a centre of socially progressive Chinese culture.

Based on my new project that uses ethnographic methods to engage with former, current and future Malaysian Chinese students in Taiwan and People's Republic of China, this paper presents a case study of Malaysian Chinese gay men's experiences and aspirations as queer subjects in Taiwan, aka Asia's gay capital. By foregrounding the distinctiveness of Malaysian Chinese educational migration to the Chinese-speaking world, it specifically addresses the questions of how this transnational cultural practice reconfigures their Chinese and queer identifications and how this ethnic-sexual reconfiguration might contribute to the discourses of queer Sinophone studies.

BIO

Ting-Fai Yu is an anthropologist working in Asian, cultural and queer studies. Currently, he is a Lecturer in the School of Arts and Social Sciences at Monash University Malaysia. He received his PhD in gender studies (anthropology) from the Chinese University of Hong Kong and was a Fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden University. His work has appeared in the *Journal of Homosexuality*, *Gender, Place and Culture*, and *China Perspectives*.

ASTRID VAN WEYENBERG, 'SHARING HERITAGE, SHARING VALUES? HERITAGE AND RACE IN EUROPEAN CULTURAL PROJECTS'

ABSTRACT

To compete with the upsurge of right-wing nationalism and Eurosceptic populism across Europe, European institutions have launched various cultural projects to anchor "Europe" in (new) shared narratives. The political potential of heritage is increasingly recognized in such projects, resulting in the "Europeanization" of heritage (Calligaro 2014). The most recent illustration of this is the 2018 Year of European Cultural Heritage, promoted with the slogan "Sharing Heritage, Sharing Values." Only through "cherishing our cultural heritage," the website of the European Commission explains, "we can discover our diversity and start an inter-cultural conversation about what we have in common."

In this paper, I wish to critically review the prominent place of "heritage" in European projects. I do so from a postcolonial perspective, because such a perspective is crucial to understand contemporary conceptualisations of Europe and Europe's place in a globalizing world (El-Tayeb 2008; Bhambra 2016; Jensen, Suárez-Krabbe, Groes and Pecic 2017; Ponzanesi and Blaagaard 2018). I discuss the implications of drawing on cultural heritage to promote and reinforce a sense of a shared "Europeanness"; in other words, of connecting heritage to identity and to citizenship. Here, I build on the scholarship of Macdonald (2003) and Delanty (2017), who investigate the relation between heritage and European identity, and of Lähdesmäki (2016), who focuses on European heritage as a form of discursive and performative

power. I then zoom in on the prominent place of diversity and multiculturalism in European heritage discourse, which I read in light of the intersecting genealogies of heritage and race (Hall 2000; Littler 2008). I seek to find out in what ways the complicated shared history of heritage and race informs contemporary European heritage practices as well.

BIO

Dr. Astrid Van Weyenberg is Assistant Professor in Cultural Analysis at Leiden University and a member of the Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society (LUCAS). She is the author of *The Politics of Adaptation: Contemporary African Drama and Greek Tragedy* (Brill, 2013). She is also co-editor of the volume *Peripheral Visions in the Globalizing Present* (Brill, 2016) and of a special issue *Narrating "Europe": A Contested Imagined Community* (*Politique Européenne*, Forthcoming). Van Weyenberg's current work is on constructions of Europe as a narrative in European cultural projects and art.

ALEXANDRA OANCA, 'BORDERING EUROPE THROUGH HERITAGE: BORDER POLITICS, MIGRATION AND HERITAGE- MAKING IN THE CITIES OF CEUTA AND MELILLA'

ABSTRACT

As official territories of Spain, Ceuta and Melilla – the two Spanish enclaves in Northern Africa – form the only direct land borders between the EU and Africa. Both the EU and Spain perform 'bordering' practices at their outer confines and in their relations with neighboring Mediterranean countries. Ceuta and Melilla are par excellence 'EU-limboscapes' (Ferrer-Gallardo and Albet-Mas 2013): the Southern Mediterranean is a border spectacle of migration, with fences of barbed wires and migrant detention centers proliferating. Both of these Northern Africa enclaves are part of 'postcolonial sovereignty games' between Spain and Morocco (Adler-Nissen and Gad 2013). The interplay between sovereignty contestations over these border cities and migration security concerns is at the crux of current developments in Ceuta and Melilla, and at the crux of current relations between Spain, Morocco and the EU. In tandem with the construction of border fences and stringent visa regimes to control the influx of its 'others', heritage-making processes and the

valorization of 'European heritage' inscribe these contested territories as European. Not just barbed wires but also the valorization of European colonial heritage over Moroccan and Arab heritage contribute to the institutionalization of racism within the EU's stringent border regimes and within the urban transformations of these enclaves. While analyzing the actors and practices animating these processes, I will argue that the re/valorization of European heritage and architecture in the Northern Africa enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla are reinforcing racial orders and are legitimizing the attempts to defend and reinforce the racist borders of 'Fortress Europe.'

BIO

Alexandra Oancă, PhD is a Postdoctoral Researcher in the Amsterdam School of Historical Studies at the University of Amsterdam, working in a Horizon 2020 project looking at 'European Colonial Heritage in Entangled Cities' (ECHOES). Alexandra's research for ECHOES is focused on the way the colonial past is articulated in the EU's cultural and foreign policies. Before joining UvA, Alexandra worked as a Global Teaching Fellow in Sociology and Social Anthropology in the Department of Human and Social Sciences at Universidade do Vale do Taquari in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. Alexandra holds a PhD and MA in Sociology and Social Anthropology from the Central European University, and a BA in Sociology from the University of Bucharest.

IOANA VRĂBIEȘCU, 'SUSPECT MOBILE SUBJECT:
INSTITUTIONALIZING RACISM THROUGH THE POLITICS AND
PRACTICES OF POLICING AND DEPORTING ROMA ETHNICS FROM
FRANCE'

ABSTRACT

France has been deploying strategies directed at containing and forcing the mobility of Romanians, often detaining and deporting them. The French authorities ground their actions against EU citizens by conceiving them “a real, existing and serious threat to the vital interest of society” or by charging them for “rights abuses” straining the welfare state. A police bilateral agreement helps Romanian and French agents on the ground to identify, localise and police poor mobile citizens from Romania. This targeted enforcement and racial profiling notably against Roma ethnics is a prime example of state practices towards racialized and criminalised category of deportees.

In this paper, I aim to show the ways in which France manages migration by intertwined practices of illegalizing (irregularizing) EU citizens through bureaucratic exclusion, and operating foreign police agents to help the criminalization of poor mobile subjects. Based on securitization of mobility, a process in which people are considered criminals due to their lack of residential status, France enforces laws, politics and implement practices targeting for identification, detention and deportation EU citizens of Roma ethnicity.

This paper builds on research conducted between 2016-2017 in the Paris region among high-ranked and street-level bureaucrats, police officers, NGOs and private agents, administrative and judicial courts personnel, and with people who were submitted to deportation procedures. Documenting and analysing the bureaucratic exclusion coupled with bilateral police collaboration between France and Romania, the paper investigates the ways in which police surveillance, control and detention is used as a tool against undesirable EU citizens, mostly Romanians of Roma background.

BIO

Ioana Vrăbiescu is currently an Independent Researcher. Previously, she worked as an experienced researcher in the H2020 project RELOCAL: Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development, was a Postdoctoral Researcher in the ERC project SOLIDERE: The Social Life of State Deportation Regimes at the University of Amsterdam, a Roma Initiative Office Fellow at the Open Society Institute (OSI) and a visiting scholar at the University Autònoma of Barcelona in Spain. She holds a PhD in Political Science and has the academic background in gender studies and international relations.

ISABEL MEIER, 'ASYLUM ACTIVIST COMMUNITIES IN LONDON AND BERLIN'

ABSTRACT

This paper comes out of my long-term activist involvement in asylum activist communities in London and Berlin and is an urgent and timely analysis of the emotional impact of contemporary border practices. It describes asylum seekers daily journeys through endless spaces of discomfort and depletion what I want to conceptualise as affective border violence. Stories about different public and private spaces such as the post office, gay clubbing and Berlin's asylum camp spaces will illustrate how bordering works through setting up a system of endless discomfort and depletion, in which asylum seekers encounter and feel borders everywhere. The feelings of shame, discomfort and fear, constantly being disciplined and not being able to physically sustain their bodies are part of a constant process of bordering. It is affective border violence, I argue, that creates precarious subjectivities in the current bordering regime. The empirical elements of this paper include personal reflections, participatory work within and outside of asylum activist groups in London and Berlin, in-depth conversations and friendships with people registered as asylum seekers. Attending to the multiple affective precarity of asylum as an unnoticed form of violence is not only important in order to understand how these everyday waves of state violence are lived and experienced but also how they are, and can be, politically negotiated and challenged

BIO

Isabel is a political sociologist whose research interests are broadly centred around migration, asylum, bordering, urban life, community, with a particular focus on collaborative ethnographic methods. She holds a PhD from the University of East London where she was a recipient of the Excellence Scholarship. Drawing on her own experience as activist in the UK and Germany, her PhD thesis brought together scholarship on activism, bordering and asylum, and affect and emotion to explore how asylum seekers negotiate political possibilities and affective bordering practices. In May 2019, Isabel began a new role as postdoctoral researcher at Tampere University on the emotional politics of bordering and racism.

FERIT GÜVEN, 'THE RISE OF NEO-FASCISM AND DISCIPLINARY POWER'

The most significant trait of contemporary neo-fascism is the proliferation of racist discourses. The main complaint of anti-fascist discourses, on the other hand, is the fact that racism has moved into the mainstream. They warn that democratic values are under attack by such openly racist discourses. Yet such complaints try to fight against racism with the long-standing problematic attitude towards racist discourses, namely the deployment of disciplinary power, i.e., disciplining political subjects such that racism is kept out of the mainstream and at the margins. It is imagined that democracy will be protected against racism by such disciplinary strategies.

The first part of this paper is an explanation of how Foucault's notion of disciplinary power can explain anti-fascist discourses in the 21st Century. In the 1970's Foucault developed his notion of disciplinary power (Discipline and Punish) in conjunction with that of bio-power (History of Sexuality Vol.1). In the lecture notes around the same time Foucault clearly explains the interdependence of these two "types" of power. My interpretation of these texts will show how the rise of modern power is inextricably linked with a specific kind of racism. I will explain how Foucault's texts allow us to understand the configuration of modern political discourses around racialism if not plain racism

The second part of the paper will explain how democracy, democratic discourse, and democratic subjects are the products of disciplinary processes. Foucault's texts also help us to understand the relationship between modern disciplinary power and democratization of the political discourse. Consequently, the opposition between democracy and neo-fascist racism is a false one. Far from being against democracy, contemporary fascism is the direct consequence of the democratization of political sphere. In other words, democracy just like neo-fascism is the product of disciplinary power. I argue that leftist discourses that fail to understand the structure of contemporary democracy will never be able to produce a truly emancipatory project.

BIO

Ferit Güven is a Professor of Philosophy at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, USA. He is the author of two books: *Madness and Death in Philosophy* (SUNY, 2005) and *Decolonizing Democracy: Intersections of Philosophy and Postcolonial Theory* (Lexington, 2015). He teaches and publishes on Continental Philosophy, Postcolonial Theory, Film Theory and Peace Studies. Currently, he is working on another book project on the philosophy and postcolonial theory.

CHARALAMPOS TSAVDAROGLOU AND MARIA KAIKA, 'THE FAR-RIGHT'S OR THE REFUGEES' RIGHT TO THE CITY: RACIST ENCLOSURES VS. TRANSNATIONAL COMMONING PRACTICES IN THESSALONIKI'

ABSTRACT

Since March 2016 Greek-Macedonian borders were sealed, and following the European Union - Turkey agreement, some thousands of refugees were trapped in Greece. In the case of Thessaloniki refugees are settled in 13 State-run camps that are overcrowded abandoned factories and old military bases on the outskirts of the city and gradually became ghettoized. However, in many cases the refugees themselves self-organize, enact the production of collective common spaces, occupy abandoned buildings in the city core, and claim spatial justice, visibility and the right to the city.

At the same time, after the Prespes treaty between the Greek and Macedonian governments, a political conflict is emerged over the name of North Macedonia State. Especially in the case of Thessaloniki, that is the capital of Greek Macedonian region, this conflict has crucial socio-spatial expressions, practices and materialities with mass nationalistic demonstrations and direct actions. The protesters do not only claim the “ownership” of Macedonian name but also the far-right to the city is accompanied by xenophobic rhetoric and violent attacks against refugees, squats and refugee solidarity centers, and even preventing refugee children of going to schools.

In this context this paper, which is based on participant observation, spatial analysis and ethnographic research, is inspired by the Lefebvrian “right to the city” which embodies the several human rights and challenges the notion of the citizen. Moreover, following the recent spatial approaches on “commons” and “enclosures”, this paper aims to reimagine the right to the city examining the dialectic between racist spaces of nationalistic protests and how refugees produce new transnational common spaces.

BIO CHARALAMPOS TSAVDAROGLOU

Charalampos Tsavdaroglou is a Marie Curie Fellow - Postdoctoral researcher in University of Amsterdam’s (UvA), Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences. His research is on “The Refugees’ Right To Housing: State Policies and Housing Commons in Istanbul, Athens and Belgrade”. Charalampos holds a PhD in Urban and Regional Planning, from School of Architecture, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (Greece) and his thesis title is “Commons and Enclosures: Dialectic Approach of Space”. Over the years, he researched on different aspects of spatial issues such as migration, land grabbing, the right to the city, common space, urban social movements.

BIO MARIA KAIKA

Maria Kaika is Professor in Urban, Regional and Environmental Planning at the University of Amsterdam’s (UvA) Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences. She holds a PhD (DPhil) in Urban Geography from Oxford University, and an MA in Architecture and Planning from the National Technical University of Athens. Since 2010, she has been the co-editor in chief of the International

Journal of Urban and Regional Research and sits on the Editorial Board of European Urban and Regional Studies and Human Geography. Her work has received funding from national and international research councils and organisations (including the British Academy, and EU Framework and Marie Curie programmes). Her research focuses on three interrelated themes: urban political ecology, cities and crisis, and urban radical imaginaries.

PRIYADARSHINI GUPTA AND AHMED ALJABERI, 'WESTERN
RADICALISM AFTER 9/11 IN AMERICANCYBER SPACE: SPENCER'S
JIHAD WATCH AND PIPES' DANIELPIPES.ORG AS 'JUSTIFIED' NEO-
ORIENTALIST DISCOURSES'

ABSTRACT

While describing Neo-Orientalism, scholars, Ali Behdad and Juliet A. Williams in "On NeoOrientalism, Today" and Asef Bayat in "Neo Orientalism—The Futures We Want" concur that historicizing regressive cultural practices in the Middle East remains salient in the narrative of Neo-Orientalism. Nonetheless, what remains undiscussed are the ways in which western digital spaces aggrandize a misleading rhetoric of western trauma and victimization inflicted by Muslim immigrants living in western society. Robert Spencer and Daniel Pipes in their websites Jihad Watch and danielpipes.org spread the Neo-Orientalist "truth" that the myth of moderate Islam is hurting western identity and justify Islamophobic sentiments by preaching right-wing western radical ideologies in digital spaces. Spencer and Pipes perpetuate Neo-Orientalism by advocating political extremism as an indefensible right against the Muslim other and manufacture Neo-Imperial knowledge that encourage white nationalism in the United States.

In this paper we argue that reducing Islam to puritanical Wahhabism is the primary modus operandi for the "justification" of western cultural self-preservation in digital platforms. The paper will explore the ways in which these websites use intelligible hatred to create a version of original Islam (read non-xenophobic hence pro-West) and revolutionary Islam (read: antiWest hence militant to humanity) that argues for the restoration of Western hegemony. It discusses Spencer and Pipes use of epistemic violence by misconstruing the Quran as well as intentionally excluding voices from Muslims when orchestrating "real" stories about the "true" nature of Islam. Building on Edward Said's idea of Orientalism and Mohammad Samiei's discussion of Neo-Orientalism, the paper will extend and therefore introduce novel ways to understand the Neo-Orientalist discourse by analysing news

reports, stories, and audience comments to the stories that perpetuate racialized Islam.

BIO PRIYADARSHINI GUPTA

Dr. Priyadarshini Gupta is an Assistant Professor of English at O.P. Jindal Global University in India. Her key interest lies in the relation between Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Postcolonial theory in the Post-9/11 novel. She holds a Ph.D. from Ohio University in the United States.

BIO AHMED ALJABERI

Ahmed Aljaberi is a Graduate teaching assistant and a Ph.D. student in English Rhetoric, Writing, and Culture at North Dakota State University. He has two MA degrees, one in English language and linguistics from Al-Qadisiyah university in Iraq, and the second in English literature and culture from the University of Amsterdam. He is currently teaching Writing in the Technical Professions for upper division students. His scholarly interests include Rhetoric and Composition, Sociolinguistics, Postcolonial and Transnational Studies, Critical Race Theory, and Cultural Studies.

KUAN-CHUN CHEN, 'IMAGINING GAY ASIAN MEN ON SOCIAL MEDIA: ANTI-SINOLOGISM, ANTI-ASIANISM AND CYBER RACISM ON DATING APPS'

ABSTRACT

Since their advent in the late 2000s and early 2010s, social media, more specifically gay men targeting dating Apps on devices with GPS, have enabled gay men to meet other gay men based on locations. This paper treats these Apps as sites of racism and is concerned about cyber racism, particularly against Asian men and/or Chinese-looking/speaking men. Over the years, occurrences of cyber racism have been frequently reported (@GrindrRacism; Truong; Wheeler). To what extent do personal preferences remain personal preferences? To what degree can people enjoy their freedom of speech? How and why do some LGBTQ+ members (re)produce sexual violence and white supremacy (Bacchetta et al 10)?

To answer these questions, it is necessary to make visible the connections between aesthetics and ethics of the body, the colonial discourse, and the role of nation-states. While “[h]umans share the vast majority (99.9%) of [their] DNA” and “race does not accurately represent the patterns of human biological diversity” (AAPA), the aesthetics of racism still persists (Tate and Fink). These racist practices, along with raciality, are embodiment of Othering based on skin colors and are “produced not in isolation but rather in connection with other contextual relations of power” (Bacchetta et al 9). This paper evokes Louis Althusser’s notion of interpellation and makes the connection between nation-states and racism. The imagination of a Chinese-looking/speaking gay man on dating Apps involves the complicity of at least the colonial discourse and the notion of a nation-state. This paper argues that the rise of China also plays a role in the (re)surgence of anti-Asianism and Anti-Sinologism on dating Apps.

BIO

Kuan-Chun Chen comes from Taiwan and received his B.A. in English from National Chengchi University, Taipei. He is currently working on his M.A. in English Literatures and Cultures in Tübingen, with a focus on postcolonial studies and Global South Studies. His award-winning linguistic project in 2017 addresses the issue of endangered local languages and the predicament of language policy in Taiwan.

NUKET ELPEZE ERGEÇ, ‘GLOBAL FEMINISM AND LOCAL MOVEMENTS’

ABSTRACT

The hashtag #sendeanlat (#tellyourstory) is one of these social media protests that follows the global trend in online feminist movements in Turkey. Using initially a hashtag on Twitter to voice issues surrounding rape culture and sexism, #sendeanlat fits with the rest of the global examples. #sendeanlat movement started to be shared after the murder of a woman who's a college student. Then to came #bendeNevin (#metooNevin) movement. This was related to a devout woman who's killed her husband because of the rape. Through which women told their narratives of sexual harassment appeared as

the outpouring of how patriarchal regime discourse permeated all of our life practices. This movement emerged from the intersection of global feminist thought. This movement, in which all differences are eliminated, exhibits a unifying structure. Facilities offered by the global media are an area of intersection of the global feminist movement can be experienced. Especially during the period when the right-wing populist is felt, there is more need for feminism. Can Turkey to participate in global feminist movement? What are the obstacles of the global feminist movement in Turkey? Is a major obstacle to this moment the fragmentation of the feminist movement in Turkey or is not the woman aware of gender inequality? Or is this both of them? This presentation will while answering these questions, the obstacles in the participation of women/feminist movements in alternative global movements will be explained with critical discourse analysis within the scope of the hashtag #sendeanlat (#tellyourstory).

BIO

Prof. Nuket Elpeze Ergec, Cukurova University, Turkey, nergec@cu.edu.tr

I have a Ph.D. in the field of Communication Sciences; I currently work at Radio, Television and Cinema Department at Cukurova University's Faculty of Communication in Turkey, Adana. My teaching and research interests cover topics on Communication Studies and especially themes such as gender studies, women's agency, and on media violence. In the project to be women in Turkey, I evaluate the women presence and identity in Turkey. My main field of interest is the content of mass communication and online media discourse, women and violence.

MERVI PANTTI AND MATTI NELIMARKKA, 'THE R-WORD: DISCURSIVE STRUGGLE OVER THE MEANING OF RACISM'

ABSTRACT

Discursive struggles over the concept of racism are extended under the intensive communication conditions of digital media culture. Understandings of racism are produced and circulated in contemporary networked media forms, contributing new opportunities to both extend and challenge racializing

discourses, images and frameworks. This study investigates how the concept of racism is used in Finland's largest online discussion forum Suomi24 by employing computational and qualitative text analysis techniques. The data were selected from all Suomi24 posts between 2011 and 2018 which contained the word 'racism' in its stemmed Finnish forms. In particular, this paper pays attention to how the notion of racism is strategically diluted and obscured on the discussion forum. We are drawing on Miri Song's (2014) idea about the increasing ambiguity of the concept of racism in public discussions, shaped by the formats and accelerated pace of communication in social media. For Song, the consequences of this conceptual ambiguity are serious, as the idea of racism is extracted from a system of power and historical basis. This paper highlights the socio-political and communicative context in which this discursive struggle occurs. Discourses about racism are not necessarily similar between European societies with different histories of racism and colonialism; therefore, studying these differences is crucial to understanding and challenging local expressions of racism (Salem and Thompson 2016). The findings show that through claims of reverse racism and through the active production of neologisms the notion of racism is hijacked by nationalist, anti-immigration voices in order to dismiss its relation to racialization.

BIO MERVI PANTTI

Dr. Mervi Pantti is Associate Professor in Media and Communication Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki. Her research is concerned with the emotional dimension of mediated communication, crisis and disaster reporting and humanitarian communication. She has published extensively in international journals and edited books. She is co-editor of *Amateur Images and Global News* (Intellect, 2011), co-author of *Disasters and the Media* (with Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Simon Cottle, Peter Lang, 2012) and editor of *Media and The Ukraine Crisis: Hybrid Media Practices and Narratives of Conflict* (Peter Lang, 2016). Her current research projects examine racism and public communications in the hybrid media environment (Academy of Finland) and vulnerability contexts of the forcibly displaced people (EU Horizon 2020).

CATHERINE BAKER, 'GUARDIANS OF THE FRONTIER: POST-YUGOSLAV 'ANTEMURALE' MYTHS AND GLOBAL RACIALISED ISLAMOPHOBIA'

ABSTRACT

Since 2015, when south-east Europe became a new site in the geography of the transnational refugee crisis because more than 800,000 refugees from the Middle East, Asia and Africa arrived in Greece and travelled towards EU and Schengen borders along the 'Balkan route', the post-Yugoslav position in geopolitical imaginations of European security has been one in which states are expected to put their structural position as EU 'border guards' into practice, turning back refugees from onward travel and leaving much of their welfare to NGOs and volunteers. Just as historical mythologies of nations standing 'at the bulwark of Europe' to defend a continent supposedly defined by Christian values against invasion from the East were able to be harnessed before and during the Yugoslav wars as rationales for ethno-political polarisation and violence, and indeed (as scholars like Sabina Mihelj have shown) were already being projected on to the task of securing EU borders against undocumented migrants at the turn of the 1990s/2000s, today they have become available for mapping on to the contemporary politics of racialised Islamophobia. The new configurations of national identity this process creates has allowed populists in the political and digital spheres to mobilise ideas of national historical destiny in defence of 'Europe' (and what critical race theory describes as the structural whiteness to which 'Europe' is imagined to be home) against the terroristic, cultural and sexual threats they project on to Islam. Yet the imaginative continuum between the post-Yugoslav region and global racialised Islamophobia is two-way, as shown by how the Yugoslav wars and historic warfare against the Ottoman Empire in south-east Europe have become symbolic points of reference for perpetrators and supporters of white nationalist terrorism – a phenomenon which should prompt re-examination of the widespread idea that the Yugoslav wars' dynamics were exceptional to 'the Balkans'.

BIO

Dr Catherine Baker is Senior Lecturer in 20th Century History at the University of Hull and a specialist in the contemporary cultural politics of war and nationalism, especially in the post-Yugoslav region. Her books include *Sounds of the Borderland: Popular Music, War and Nationalism in Croatia since 1991* (2010), an edited volume on *Gender in 20th Century Eastern Europe and the USSR* (2017) and, most recently, *Race and the Yugoslav Region: Postsocialist, Post-Conflict, Postcolonial?* (2018), while her articles have appeared in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *Slavic Review*, *European Journal of International Relations* and elsewhere.

ESZTER ZIMANYI, 'PRODUCING CRISIS AND PROTECTING WHITENESS IN HUNGARY: A CASE STUDY IN ANTI-MIGRANT PROPAGANDA'

ABSTRACT

In recent years, the Hungarian government has spent billions in taxpayer money on extensive media campaigns that stoke the public's fear of migrants and refugees. Despite the low numbers of foreigners living in Hungary, daily news broadcasts often lead with stories about "illegal migrants" causing chaos in Europe, framing migrants and refugees as ongoing threats to Hungary's safety and sovereignty. Similarly, extensive anti-migrant and anti-EU billboard campaigns reconfigure the experience of moving through public space, making the "migrant crisis" visually inescapable. In this paper, I examine how the Hungarian government produces this "crisis" through print and broadcast media, re-shaping material, spatial, and psychic realities within Hungary's borders in the process. The Hungarian government's anti-migrant and anti-EU media campaigns appropriate documentary images primarily from external contexts to frame Hungary as a nation under threat by both supra-European and non-European forces. The campaigns deploy anti-colonial and anti-terror discourses to simultaneously disavow the European Union as an imperial power impinging on weaker countries' sovereignties, while also framing Hungary as the "true defender" of "Europe" against "Muslim terrorists." While Hungary's public criticism of the European Union speaks to Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes's recent argument that Eastern European nations are no longer willing to engage in a colonial mimicry of western European liberal

values, its embrace of militaristic border securitization remains very much in line with US and EU interests. As such, these campaigns ultimately reify Hungary's role as a warden of Europe's borders and cohere a Hungarian nativism around the protection of white supremacy. Although Hungary's anti-migrant and anti-EU media campaigns ostensibly argue for the necessity of Hungary's independence from foreign influences, Hungary's campaign strategies are in fact formed through transnational collaborations with international political consultants. Hungary provides a compelling case study through which to trace the transnational web of significations deployed within far-right, populist, anti-migrant media, and illustrates how such media strategically constructs nationalistic collective memories in service of global white supremacy.

BIO

Eszter Zimanyi is a PhD Candidate and Annenberg Fellow in Cinema and Media Studies at the University of Southern California. Her work has been published in *Transnational Cinemas*, *Media Fields Journal*, *Docalogue*, *Jadaliyya*, *Spectator* and *Enclave Review*. Her research interests include migration, diaspora, and refugee studies, global and transnational media, postcolonial and postsocialist studies, documentary, and digital media.

ANIKO IMRE, "WE ARE ALL BASICALLY BLACK." FROM ALL-WHITE TO COLOR-BLIND NATIONS

ABSTRACT

We tend to think of the populist nationalisms that drive xenophobia and racism against migration in Eastern and Southern Europe as something that primarily targets lower-class, rural, white populations whose economic resentment is easily redirected toward scapegoating racial others. In this presentation, I investigate how the blatantly racist, anti-migrant propaganda one encounters in state media in the countries concerned is supplemented and supported by intellectual discourses of color-blindness. My main case study is the Hungarian State Opera's recent, controversial insistence on producing *Porgy and Bess*, replacing the African-American setting of the opera with a refugee camp and staging the performance with an all-white cast,

violating the Gerschwin estate's stipulation for only-black performers. The Opera's director widely argued that estate's rule was absurd and discriminatory in a country that "does not keep record of skin color"; and he proceeded to make cast members to sign a declaration that they identified as people of color. I place the phenomenon of erasing race in high-profile cultural environments in the context of the international circulation of postracist discourses, and place it in a historical view, comparing it with earlier arguments for the transparency of whiteness in all-white cultures, as well as with the intersecting politics of postfeminism in the region.

BIO

Anikó Imre is a Professor of Cinematic Arts in the Division of Cinema and Media Studies. She has published, taught and lectured widely on media globalization, television, (post)socialism, gender and sexuality, race and postcoloniality. She is the author of *TV Socialism* (Duke UP, 2016) and *Identity Games: Globalization and the Transformation of Post-Communist Media Cultures* (MIT Press, 2009), editor of *East European Cinemas* (AFI Film Readers, Routledge, 2005) and *The Blackwell Companion to East European Cinemas* (2012), and co-editor of *Transnational Feminism in Film and Media* (Palgrave, 2007), *Popular Television in the New Europe* (Routledge, 2012)

DUŠAN I. BJELIĆ, "KEEP EUROPE PRISTINE & WHITE, AS MINE GOD INTENDED': PROTEST RACISM OF PETRA LÁSZLÓ'

ABSTRACT

Petra László is the infamous Hungarian camerawoman who was captured on video kicking Syrian refugees fleeing from the Hungarian police on the Hungarian-Serbian border at the peak of Europe's so-called "refugee crisis" during the summer of 2015. This paper provides a detail analysis of her action as a manifestation of the erupting East European hyper-whiteness disguised as post-socialist nationalism; this analysis further examines her action as a paradox of protest—a racist protest against the refugees for which neocolonial racist wars had caused forced migration. This analysis also critically examines her action as the locus of the intersection between local "gender wars" and the global wars on terror and as an instance of "endo-

colonial segregation.” In László’s background, I conclude, loom two alleged “invasions” in two different yet related registers: “Muslim” in the populist register and “postcolonial” in the academic register. Both are symptoms of Europe’s deficit of colonial memory.

BIO

Dušan I. Bjelić is Professor of Sociology at the University of Maine, Portland, USA. His areas of interest are Balkan Studies and race. His books include, *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation*, co-edited with Obrad Savić (The MIT Press 2002); *Galileo's Pendulum: Science, Sexuality and the Body-Instrument Link* (SUNY Press 2003); *Normalizing the Balkans: Geopolitics of Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis* (Ashgate 2011; Routledge 2016); *Intoxication, Modernity, and Colonialism: Freud's Industrial Unconscious, Benjamin's Hashish Mimesis* (Palgrave 2017); (ed.) *Balkans at the Time of Neoliberal Catastrophe* (Routledge 2019).

AKANKSHA MEHTA, COMPLAINT AS PROBLEM AND SOLUTION:
LESSONS FROM THE GOLDSMITHS ANTI- RACIST OCCUPATION
(2019)

ABSTRACT

In March 2019, undergraduate students of color occupied a key building on campus to protest institutional racism. The building, Deptford Town Hall, houses members of the Senior Management Team (SMT) and is adorned with statues of slave traders and colonizers. Calling themselves Goldsmiths Anti-Racism Action (GARA), the occupiers wrote a twelve-point manifesto that detailed what the institution had to do to change its exclusionary White institutional culture, curriculum, and pedagogy. The manifesto also addressed the need for the university to address other ongoing and intersecting struggles, such as the ‘in-house’ campaigns of the cleaners, security, and reception staff. As we write this abstract, the occupation is on its 65th day. Students have held teach-ins, invited guest speakers, and created study and safe spaces in the occupied building as they negotiate with Goldsmiths SMT on the demands in the manifesto. This paper looks closely at the curious position that core members of the occupation inhabit. On the one hand, as they take the institution and its staff to task for racist policy and practice, they become, as Sara Ahmed (2012) writes regarding diversity work in higher education, a problem for the institution to manage. Ahmed (2012) argues that once someone is identified as a problem, channels of communication are constricted and the very issues that are raised as complaint are often amplified. Yet, what Ahmed doesn’t discuss here and what the Goldsmiths occupation demonstrates is that when the complaint is brought publicly by students who don’t (and can’t) formally occupy the institutional role of the diversity worker, individuals thought of as a problem are also simultaneously depended upon to be the solution. Using the public record of engagement between core members of the occupation and Senior Management staff we examine this doubling of problem and solution. We address how this doubling shapes ongoing conversations on ‘decolonizing’ higher education in Euro-

Western worlds and the kinds of wearing fatigue its labor generates in those who are pushed to occupy the front lines of these struggles.

BIO AKANKSHA MEHTA

Dr. Akanksha Mehta is a Lecturer in Gender, Sexuality, and Culture Studies at the Department of Media, Communications and Cultural Studies and the co-director of the Centre for Feminist Research at Goldsmiths, University of London.

BIO ETHIRAJ GABRIEL DATTATREYAN

Dr. Ethiraj Gabriel Dattatreyan is a Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology and co-director of the Centre for Visual Anthropology at Goldsmiths, University of London.

ANOUK DE KONING, 'GENERIC YOUTH CARE AND THE ELUSIVE PRESENCE OF RACE IN AMSTERDAM'

ABSTRACT

In the Netherlands, decades-long public debates about the alleged trouble with others 'with migrant backgrounds' have recently been contested by contrary political interventions that point to the dogged persistence of racial orders and hierarchies. This paper examines how, in this heated moment, 'difference' and 'diversity' figure in the everyday work of professionals of Amsterdam's Parent and Child Teams with a client population that consists in part of families who are poor, and many of whom have migrant backgrounds. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork with two Teams in Amsterdam North in 2017-2018, I demonstrate that Parent and Child Team professionals embraced a professional politics that worked against culturalized and racialized framings of non-white Dutch parents. Yet, the intricacies of working with a diverse population was hardly discussed, and few professionals questioned their ability to provide support to families with different ethnoracial and socioeconomic backgrounds. Their professional practices left little space for disagreement or an acknowledgement of racialized aspects of their

encounters with clients. Their practices thereby worked to reproduce race as an elusive, fleeting, but haunting dimension of welfare provision.

BIO

Anouk de Koning is associate professor at the department of Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology. She leads the research project *Reproducing Europe: Migrant Parenting and Everyday Citizenship*, which is funded by a ERC Starting Grant (2015-2020). This multi-sited anthropological study studies the negotiation of 'everyday citizenship' in Europe today by examining encounters between migrant parents and the state in Paris, Milan and Amsterdam.

ARJUN SHANKAR, 'THE BROWN SAVIOR INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX: INTERROGATING INDIA'S HELP ECONOMY'

ABSTRACT

In this paper, I will historicize and theorize a phenomenon I term the “brown savior industrial complex”. What I want to argue is that contemporary discourses on development – who should do the developing and who is to be developed – are re-framing earlier versions of West/East racialized power relations which undergirded development work. Over the past thirty years, as postcolonial nation-states have sought to develop themselves – infrastructurally, economically, and pedagogically – new classes of subjects, typically upper middleclass, cosmopolitan, and/or transnational have taken on the work of developing Others within these postcolonial contexts. Part of this shift was in response to the many critiques of white/Western led development and humanitarian interventions which has done little but reinforce racial hierarchies while allowing white/Western subjects to feel good about helping the helpless brown and black Other even as exploitative economic relations continued to exacerbate social inequities within and across these national contexts; what has been termed “the white savior industrial complex”. As a result, the brown subject, especially those who had exposure to multiple national contexts, was seen as the more appropriate purveyor of development. Specifically, I will focus, in this paper on the Indian transnational subject, whose position at the nexus of Western (neo)liberal ideals, ethno-

nationalist longings, and caste privileges have made them the ideal “brown” subjects to develop Others. Drawing from Fanon’s postcolonial critiques, I will show how these subjects trope on historically-situated development values, using civilizational, nativist, primitivizing and Othering logics that have resulted in emerging processes of racialization.

BIO

Arjun Shankar is a Visiting Assistant Professor at Colgate University in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. His work brings together theories in globalization and development, critical race, media ethnography, and value and affect theory. In his current book project, *How Development Feels*, Arjun interrogates the help economy in post-liberalization India, along with the racial, casteist, gendered, and digital ideologies embedded in such interventions. Arjun's research has been published in *American Anthropologist*, *Visual Anthropology Review*, and *Visual Communication Journal*. Finally, he is currently co-editing *Curiosity Studies* (w/ Perry Zurn, University of Minnesota Press, 2020) a manuscript to build the interdisciplinary field of curiosity studies.

DANDARA JESUINE SOUZA, ‘BRAZILIAN CONSTITUTIONALISM AND IMAGINARY INSTITUTION OF RACIAL CITIZENSHIP’

ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the ways in which the current political project of the Brazilian government breaks with the conception of citizenship proposed by the Constitution of 1988, returning to a pre-democratization era conception that binds citizenship to whiteness.

A first part draws on the experience of the Brazilian Constituent Assembly of 1985- 1987 to demonstrate its historic reconfiguration of citizenship beyond the idea of an already achieved *democracia racial* (racial democracy). Racial domination was put into question through a new, democratic citizenship no longer constitutively attached to a hegemonic and white civic imaginary, as the meeting minutes of the Constituent Assembly’s “Sucommission on Blacks, Indigenous Populations, Disabled People and Minorities” and archival material

demonstrate. The paper particularly insists on the key intervention by Black feminist intellectual and activist Lélia Gonzalez.

A second part then briefly traces the repercussions this opening of citizenship had in institutional policies, such as the Lei Caó, outlawing racist acts of discrimination, the institutional mechanisms of recognition for quilombo communities, as well as the law on affirmative action quotas in higher education. In a final part, the paper advances the hypothesis that the recent experience of the Bolsonaro government can best be understood as a reactionary attack against this partial unsettling of “white citizenship” (Joel Olson) in the Brazilian context: reconfiguring racial order through an attack on the institutional mechanisms of the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 and through a return to a racial imaginary that predates the democratization era.

BIO

Dandara Jesuine Souza do Espirito Santo is a graduate student in Political Science at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris, France, writing her M.A. thesis on the reconfiguration of racial order during the 1980s Democratization process of Brazil. Before her graduate studies, she obtained a B.A. in International Relations at the Pontifical University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC Rio), spending one year as a visiting student at Sciences Po Paris. She has previously presented on the work of Carolina Maria de Jesus at the 2018 Global Hungers Conference at the University of Oxford.

PANEL 16: RACE IN RURAL IMAGINATIONS

ANKE BOSMA, “‘COLORFUL ENOUGH TO SEE COMING FROM AFAR’:
THE RACIALIZED DISTRIBUTION OF VISIBILITY IN THE RURAL
CHRONOTOPES OF JIJ BENT VAN MIJ’

ABSTRACT

t.b.a

BIO

Anke Bosma is a PhD candidate in the Rural Imaginations project at ASCA. She graduated from the rMA Cultural Analysis at the University of Amsterdam. Her area of interest is (de)colonial theory and -history in the Netherlands, which she partly developed while doing research at the Research Centre for Material Culture.

ESTHER PEEREN, ‘THE CURIOUS CASE OF THE MIDSOMER MURDERS
RACE ROW, OR HOW NOT TO UNDO THE ENGLISH COUNTRYSIDE’S
CONSTRUCTION AS A SPACE OF WHITENESS’

ABSTRACT

This paper considers the way the British rural as a “landscape of post-imperial whiteness” (Knowles 2008), where exclusion from the rural equates exclusion from the nation, is linked to a persistent pastoral or idyllic imagination of, in particular, the English countryside. This imagination is supported and strengthened by popular culture. In 2011, a “race row” erupted around the globally popular rural-set television series *Midsomer Murders*, when its co-creator Brian True-May, in an interview with the *Radio Times*, noted, among other racist and homophobic remarks, that “we just don’t have ethnic minorities involved. Because it wouldn’t be the English village with them.” I examine how this row foregrounded and challenged the idyll’s cementing of the association between rurality, whiteness and Englishness, and how *Midsomer Murders*, despite including more characters with an ethnic

background after True-May stepped down, has kept this association intact (also by distinguishing desirable and undesirable forms of whiteness). The series, I contend, continues to affirm the idea that race does not have relevancy in the countryside (Neal and Agyemon 2006) and that any rural racism that may occur is an expression of a more general hostility to all outsiders (Neal 2002). This plays into the hands of conservative politics and far-right movements, which increasingly recruit in the rural, as a recent episode of *Countryfile* reported. The fact that many viewers lambasted the program for “getting all political again” instead of sticking to its brief as “an actual farming show” underlines the importance of rendering the articulation of the rural as a white space visible as part of a particular, pernicious and persistent rural politics.

BIO

Esther Peeren is Professor of Cultural Analysis and Academic Director of the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis at the University of Amsterdam. She is the leader of the ERC-funded project *Rural Imaginations*. Articles related to the project have appeared in *Landscape Research*, the *Journal of Rural Studies*, the *European Journal of Cultural Studies* and the edited volume *Re-Imagining Rurality*.

TJALLING VALDÉS OLMOS, ‘PASTORAL AFTERLIVES IN QUEEN SUGAR: RURALITY, RACE, AND NORMATIVITY IN THE IMAGINATION OF THE GLOBALIZED US SOUTH’

ABSTRACT

This paper explores how cultural imaginations of southern Louisiana, specifically Natalie Baszile’s novel *Queen Sugar* (2014) and the homonymous US television drama series (OWN, 2016—present), buttress and subvert certain stories, experiences, and affective regimes inherent to the southern pastoral genre. The southern pastoral may be said to function as a particular modality (or racial order) through which certain experiences and realities of US southern rural life within the context of globalization become legible while others are occluded. In the case of *Queen Sugar*, the question of what becomes visible and invisible through the genre of the pastoral is complicated

by its insistent focus on what has normatively been excluded from dominant invocations of the southern pastoral: the experience of black Americans in the US rural. Highlighting the way in which the pastoral as both genre and ideal was central to settler colonialism in the southern US Gulf States--promoting the plantation as an ideal socioeconomic model--this presentation shows the different investments and disinvestments of Queen Sugar in the pastoral as an imagination of the rural that offers the possibility of escape and utopia, framed within the contemporary socioeconomic context of globalized racial capitalism and the carceral state.

BIO

Tjalling Valdés Olmos is a PhD Candidate at the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis (ASCA). His research focuses on the relation between globalization and ongoing forms of colonial, patriarchal, and capitalist world-making that affect the manner in which the US rural is (culturally) imagined and politically mobilized.

MAARTEN ZWIERS, 'DEEP SOUTH DYSTOPIAS: WHITENESS AND MASCULINITY IN SOUTHERN POLITICAL CULTURE'

ABSTRACT

The U.S. South has often been depicted as a rural backwater, completely out of step with modern times, characterized by an antiquated plantation labor system and a gothic political culture. My paper takes a radically different approach to the region. In contrast with the traditional view that the white South was fighting a forlorn rearguard battle to maintain its segregationist (or Jim Crow) system after World War II, I argue that southern segregationists were fully immersed in Cold War modernity and actively sought to secure and advance their white-supremacist way of life through interregional and transnational alliances, making their impact global in nature. On the basis of three case studies, I will explain how agents of the southern racial order exported its racist ideology across regional borders to other parts of the world such as Europe, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Through dystopian

narratives, spokesmen of southern segregation created a sense of crisis that legitimated their racialized agenda. They fused anticommunism, free-market capitalism, and whiteness into a powerful message to maintain white control, both at home and abroad. This message took on added significance within the context of the Cold War and decolonization.

BIO

Maarten Zwiars is Assistant Professor of American Studies and History at the University of Groningen. His main area of expertise is the history and culture of the U.S. South. He is the author of *Senator James Eastland: Mississippi's Jim Crow Democrat* and has published in *Southern Cultures* and the *Southern Quarterly*. His research primarily focuses on rural history and regional identity, often from an interdisciplinary and comparative perspective.

SILVANA CAROTENUTO, 'EUROPEAN NECROPOLITICS AND THE COSMO-PO/ETHICS OF UNCONDITIONAL HOSPITALITY'

ABSTRACT

My intervention reads the contemporary – neoliberal, sovranistic, racist – politics of Fortress Europe according to the concept of 'necropolitics' theorized by the postcolonial critic Achille Mbembe. Specific interest of my intervention is, however, the critical debate that has developed since the 80ies - as the global response to the new and violent forms of appropriation, colonialism, and apartheid of the other-who-arrives – around the notions of 'unconditional hospitality' and 'technological cosmopolitanism' as the ways into the invention of a planetary citizenship, into a new human and post-human 'relationality'.

My references are in Jacques Derrida's *Cosmopolitanism and Of Hospitality*, the texts that have received a series of – direct and/or indirect – theoretical responses. The outcome of this 'dialogue' can be synthesized in the provisional list of– anthropological, discrepant, comparative, stoic/emotional (Nussbaum), patriotic (Appiah), vernacular and feminist, scientific, performative, radical, dissident, global protest, "a philosophy, refuge and destiny" (Heller) – versions of cosmopolitanism. Its latest articulation is given as 'cosmotechnics' by the Chinese-American scholar Yuk Hui, in his critique of occidental interpretations of technology as a new form of colonialism which precludes the confrontation with alternative technical knowledges and different conceptions of the cosmos.

My intervention reads these propositions of 'cosmopolitical relationality' in connection with the deconstructive sentences: "Hospitality is culture itself, and not an ethics among others" (Derrida); "An act of hospitality can only be poetic" (Derrida-Dufourmantelle). Accordingly, my conclusion focuses on some cosmo-po/ethical gestures of creativity that articulate new interpretations of exile, friendship and belonging, impacting on the notions of nation-hood, nation-states and nationalistic identity which fail – still violently attempt – to deal with the conservative unrest of Europe today. 'Cosmo-po/ethics' here

theorizes and practices a transgressive act of hospitality (from trans-gradi: to step across - ex. borders) as much as what welcomes transgression (in the face of insurgent fascism and rampant racism), welcoming the other of language, the other and her language.

BIO

Silvana Carotenuto is Associate Professor of English Literature at the University of Naples “L’Orientale”, Italy, where she directs the Centre for Postcolonial and Gender Studies (Unior). Her latest publications include: S. Carotenuto, F. M. Gabrielli, R. Jambrešić Kirin (eds), *Disrupting Historicity/Reclaiming the future* (Naples, Unior, 2019); “Writing Time: The (Late) Oeuvres of Jacques Derrida and William Kentridge”, *English Academy Review*, vol. 35 (1) (2018); “The Return of the ‘Great Stranger’: Interrogation, Writing and Condivision of Literature”, in *Ritorni Critici* (Roma, Meltemi, 2017). “‘Go Wonder’: Plasticity, Dissemination and (the Mirage of) Revolution” in B. Bhandar and J. Goldeberg-Hiller (eds.), *Plastic Materialities: Politics, Legality, and Metamorphosis in the Work of Catherine Malabou*, Duke University Press, USA (2015); “Passages d’innocence: la différence photographique dans l’oeuvre de Jacques Derrida”, *Etudes Francaises, Toucher des yeux. Nouvelles poétiques de l’ekphrasis*, vol. 51, 2, 2015.

ANA IVASIUC, ‘THE MORAL (B)ORDERS OF RACE: POLICING IN RACIAL CAPITALISM’

ABSTRACT

The Roma in Italy – often mistakenly called nomadi – have consistently been framed as outsiders both to the moral order of the non-Roma, and to modern, capitalist forms of social organization. Their criminalization and othering rests on racial registers constituted not only through tropes of neo-racism aligning culture with backwardness, but also through biologically rooted racist representations of inferiority. While such narratives, in mainstream society, are mostly unthinkable for other groups historically subjected to racism, when it comes to the Roma, racism is found reasonable (van Baar 2014), making Romaphobia – or antigypsyism – ‘the last acceptable form of racism’ (McGarry 2017). So we find that when a police unit is established in 2010 in Rome under

the name ‘Coordinating Operative Unit for Nomads Settlements’ with the task of policing Roma – erroneously referred to in Italy as ‘nomads’ – the explicitly ethnic targeting of repression goes uncontested. Grounding my argument in ethnographic and archival research conducted with this police unit in 2015 and 2016, I will unpack the moralities underlining and legitimizing the racial policing of the Roma in Italy. I argue that institutionalized racist orders rest on moralities that cannot be disentangled from the moral legitimizing structures of capitalism, and that the racial policing that I have observed constructs self-perpetuating racial borders whose underlying moralities need ethnographic and conceptual attention.

BIO

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VIGNESWARAN DARSHAN, ‘BLACK RACISM AND THE MAKING OF THE MODERN IMMIGRATION REGIME’

ABSTRACT

The international migration regime institutionalizes racism at the global scale. This regime differentiates the world’s population into discrete nationalities; assigns them to national territories of residence; and powerfully limits their capacity to move abroad. As such, this regime - in the form of citizenship restrictions, border controls and deportations - has powerfully segregated the world’s population along racial lines. The dominant story of the emergence of this regime follows a narrative that fits neatly within broader narratives of the origins of modern racism, wherein cultural and discursive developments amongst white peoples originating in the Global North give birth to and reanimate forms of oppression and control vis-a-vis persons of colour from the Global South. This narrative underestimates the degree of global collaboration between North and South that underpinned this regime and the manner in which racism between persons of colour - what I call ‘Black Racism’ - promoted the rapid diffusion and institutionalisation of this shared model of migration governance across the globe, particularly during the period of

decolonization. This paper will examine this untold story through an in-depth historical case study of the adoption of the core principles of the modern immigration regime in late colonial Burma c. 1919-49. Using original sources obtained from the National Archives in Yangon, I study how Burman colonial bureaucrats and nationalist politicians learnt about citizenship restrictions, border controls and deportations from ports across the Indian ocean, and how they motivated for the adoption of these controls to address the 'Indian Question' in Burma. I argue that immigration control provided the emerging Burmese elite with a means of cultivating both a racially charged political platform, and executing a racially defined nation-building agenda - to the exclusion of the Indian minority. In doing so, they not only pressed ahead of their metropolitan counterparts in undermining colonial traditions of nonracialism, they also perfected the tools of the modern immigration regime well in advance of the UK Home Office in London. This narrative of the Burmese case fits with many of the standard themes of post-colonial research, questioning the Euro-centric historiography of the state and contemporary international institutions. At the same time, it runs against the grain of the dominant strands of postcolonial literature which commonly equate sub-altern agency with emancipatory or anti-racist agenda. In doing so, it helps us to better understand the rapid expansion and deep institutionalisation of the modern immigration regime, which despite (we may instead suggest: because of) its deeply prejudicial character, is universally supported by political elites and communities, no matter their colour and across the globe.

BIO

Darshan Vigneswaran is the Co-Director of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies and Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam. He edits the journal *European Journal of International Relations*. He is also a Senior Researcher at the African Centre for Migration and Society, WITS University. He currently edits the *European Journal of International Relations*.

SARAH KUNZ, 'RACISM AND MIGRATION STUDIES:
METHODOLOGICAL NATIONALISM, THE ETHNIC LENS OF ANALYSIS
AND THE SPECTRE OF RACE'

ABSTRACT

This paper examines how the racism running through migration debates in North America and Western Europe has materialised in and shaped scholarship on migration. It thereby speaks to calls for theoretical reflexivity within migration studies, especially calls for decolonising the discipline.

While Western public and political debates on migration emerge as fundamentally racialised, scholarship on migration has been critiqued for sidelining racialised power relationships (Erel et al. 2016; Essed & Nimako 2006). Similarly, “[d]espite the material links between colonialism, postcolonialism and migration, social scientists in general have been slow to address this intersection” (Mains et al. 2013, p.132). This paper suggests that rather than sidelining racialised postcolonial power relations, these have come to shape scholarship.

To argue this, the paper revisits three seminal critiques within migration studies – of its ‘methodological nationalism’, ‘ethnicity-centred epistemology’ and ‘sedentary bias’ – with a view to their postcolonial underpinnings and implications. The paper argues that methodological nationalism has notable postcolonial effects, not least the occlusion of imperially moulded historical connections and spatialities. Similarly, the widespread racialisation of the migrant risks being abetted by scholarship’s predominant ‘ethnic lens of analysis’. The ‘sedentary bias’, in turn, has always been more pronounced with regards to some migrations. The paper concludes that in rectifying these biases we need to pay attention to their racialised dimensions. This is key to effectively challenge the racist politics achieved on the intuitional and discursive terrain of migration.

BIO

Sarah Kunz currently works as a Research Associate at the University of Bristol, where she researches social class, gender and work-life balance. She received her PhD in Human Geography from University College London in 2018. Her ESRC-funded research interrogated the postcolonial histories and politics of the migration category ‘expatriate’. For this project, Sarah conducted research in three sites, including management literature, Nairobi and the Expatriate

Archive Centre in The Hague. Sarah received a MSc in Sociology from the LSE and BA in Liberal Arts and Sciences from University College Maastricht.

Jeroen de Kloet is a Professor of Globalisation Studies and Director of the Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies (ACGS) at the University of Amsterdam. He is also affiliated to the Communication University of China. He is the principal investigator of a project funded by the European Grant Council (ERC), titled “From Made in China to Created in China. A Comparative Study of Creative Practice and Production in Contemporary China.” He is the author of *China with a Cut: Globalisation, Urban Youth and Popular Music* (Amsterdam University Press, 2010), *Sonic Multiplicities: Hong Kong Pop and the Global Circulation of Sound and Image* (Intellect, 2013, with Yiu Fai Chow), *Youth Cultures in China* (Cambridge University Press, 2017, with Anthony Fung) and the editor of *Cosmopatriots: On Distant Belongings and Close Encounters* (Rodopi, 2007, with Edwin Jurriens) *Spectacle and the City: Chinese Urbanities in Art and Popular Culture* (Amsterdam University Press, 2013, with Lena Scheen), *Boredom, Shanzhai, Digitization in the Time of Creative China* (Amsterdam University Press, 2019, with Yiu Fai Chow and Lena Scheen).

Huub van Baar is an Assistant Professor of Political Theory at the Justus-Liebig University Giessen, Germany, and a Senior Research Fellow at the Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies (ACGS), University of Amsterdam. He has widely published on the political and cultural representation of Roma minorities in Europe, primarily in the field of intersections of citizenship, security, development and transnational governmentality. His articles have appeared in, among other journals, *Citizenship Studies*, *Antipode*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *City*, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, *Environment and Planning D*, *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, *Third Text*, and *Intersections: East European Journal of Culture and Politics*. He is the author of *The European Roma: Minority Representation, Memory and the Limits of Transnational Governmentality* (F&N, 2011), and the co-editor of *The Roma and Their Struggle for Identity in Contemporary Europe* (Berghahn, 2020, with Angéla Kóczé), *The Securitization of the Roma in Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, with Ana Ivasiuc and Regina Kreide) and *Museutopia: A Photographic Research Project by Ilya Rabinovich* (Alauda Publications, 2012, with Ingrid Commandeur). He is currently finalizing a monograph entitled *The Ambiguity of Protection: Spectacular Security, Politics and the European Roma*.

Anikó Imre is a Professor of Cinematic Arts in the Division of Cinema and Media Studies at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, USA. She has published, taught and lectured widely on media globalization, television, (post)socialism, gender and sexuality, race and postcoloniality. She is the author of *TV Socialism* (Duke University Press, 2016) and *Identity Games: Globalization and the Transformation of Post-Communist Media Cultures* (MIT Press, 2009), editor of *East European Cinemas* (AFI Film Readers, Routledge, 2005) and *The Blackwell Companion to East European Cinemas* (2012), and co-editor of *Transnational Feminism in Film and Media* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2007) and *Popular Television in the New Europe* (Routledge, 2012).

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Regina Kreide is a Professor of Political and Social Theory and the History of Ideas at the Justus-Liebig University Giessen, Germany. She studied Sociology, Political Science and Philosophy at the University of Cologne, Goethe University in Frankfurt and at Columbia University in New York. She is one of the directors of the DFG-funded Collaborative Research Center Dynamics of Security. She has published widely on global justice, human rights, democracy, international law, security and European minorities. Her recent publications include *Habermas Handbook* (co-edited with Hauke Brunkhorst and Cristina Lafont, Columbia University Press, 2017), *Transformation of Democracy: Crisis, Protest, and Legitimation*, (co-edited with Robin Celikates and Tilo Wesche, Rowman & Littlefield, 2015); *The Repressed Democracy* (in German, 2016), *The Securitization of the Roma in Europe* (co-edited with Huub van Baar and Ana Ivasiuc, Palgrave MacMillan, 2019), and *Conceptualizing Power in Dynamics of Securitization: Beyond State and International System* (co-edited with Andreas Langenohl, Nomos, 2019). Her book *Global (In-)Justice?* (in German) will appear in 2019.

Amade M'charek is Professor of Anthropology of Science at the Department of Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. She is the PI of the RaceFaceID project, an ERC-consolidator project on forensic identification and the making of face and race. Although she has also conducted research on medical practices, her focus is mainly on genetic diversity, population genetics and forensic DNA practices. Her interest is in the ir/relevance of race in such practice and the ways in which race is done in them, and in the relation between the individual and the collective. Among her recent publications are *The Human Genome Diversity Project: An ethnography of scientific practice* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), "Fragile Differences, Relational Effects: Stories about the Materiality of Race and Sex" (*European Journal for Women Studies*, 2010); "Beyond Fact or Fiction: On the Materiality of Race in Practice" (*Cultural Anthropology*, 2013), "Race, Time and Folded Objects: the HeLa Error" (*Theory, Culture and Society*, 2014) and "Identifying Dead Migrants: Forensic Care Work and Relational Citizenship" (*Citizenship Studies*, 2019, with Sara Casartelli).

Thomas Poell is Senior Lecturer in New Media & Digital Culture at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. He is Vice-Director of the Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies (ACGS), and core member of the national infrastructural project CLARIAH (NWO) (2015-currently). He has published widely on digital platforms and popular protest in Canada, Egypt, Tunisia, India and China, as well as on the role of these platforms in the reorganization of key economic sectors, including journalism, education and health care. Poell is co-author of *The Platform Society* (Oxford University Press, 2018, with José van Dijck and Martijn de Waal) and the co-editor of *Global Cultures of Contestation* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), *The Sage Handbook of Social Media* (Sage, 2018) and *Social Media Materialities and Protest* (Routledge, 2018).

Victoria Andelsman Alvarez is a Student Assistant at the Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies (ACGS) and a student of the Research Master's in Media Studies at the University of Amsterdam. Her research focuses on gender and digital culture. She also has a degree in Communication from the University of San Andrés, Argentina.