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Explaining Black Activists' Views on Movement Successes in Germany

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In this paper I build up on a conceptualization of movement successes centred around Black activists' experiences in Germany (Ajayi/Adam forthcoming). My article seeks to explain why Black activists have a broader understanding of movement successes than what is traditionally conceptualized within social movement scholarship. The latter largely assesses 'successes' based on movements' abilities to influence mainstream institutions (political institutions, debates, etc.). Contrastingly, Black activists largely measure 'success' from a trans-generational community centred perspective around individual-to-collective self-survival and empowerment, and movement maintenance. To what extent do the views on successes resonate with varying concepts of Black liberation? To what extent does a 'Black cultural archive' (Amponsah 2022) of Black experiences in the global Afrodiaspora across time and space shape views on success? And what role do contextual factors play? To fully comprehend Black activists' views on movement successes, I draw from the field of Black studies wherein different strands of Black political thought-practice point towards different views on the objectives of Black mobilisations. Informed by Black feminist scholarship, I regroup the rich variance of Black thought-practice concerning the objectives of Black mobilisations into three groups: Black liberalism, Black nationalism and Black radicalism. Whereas the objectives of mobilisations as imagined in Black liberalism (equality within the system via reforms) and in Black radicalism (the overthrow of Western imperial- capitalist structures) received much attention in the social movement literature, the third strand - Black nationalism (uniting Black people and people of African descent) - has not. In this paper, I argue for a re-centering of Black studies, adapted to a European context, in the study of social movements. This 'creolization of theory' (Lionnet/Shih 2011) will foster a better understanding of the consequences of Black and other mobilisations, and contribute to a context-specific AfroEuropean Black studies field, notably Black politics in Europe

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Rethinking race and blackness in Europe from an Afro-diasporic cultural framework.

Emma-Lee Amponsah

This paper delves into the evolving discussions surrounding race and blackness in Belgium, and by extension in Europe. As a researcher who is personally connected to the demographic under study, I explore the concept of blackness from an interior space of meaning, a Black subjectivity, from which I examine how Black identities have been marginalized and overlooked in Belgium and Europe. I argue that Eurocentric discourses of identity and belonging, widely embraced by scholars of migration in Europe, perpetuate mechanisms of othering, which reinforced the notion of a homogenous and white Europe. To counter these discourses, I propose an Afro-diasporic cultural framework, which I distinguish from mainstream diaspora discourse. Share some of the ontological and epistemological foundations of my PhD research on the media practices and cultural mobilizations of Black people in Belgium, I root this framework in an Africological approach to Black cultural identity and community.

Countering the popular critique that Black identities are increasingly shaped by African American discourses of race and exclusion, I emphasize the global nature of blackness as a transgenerational and transcontinental phenomenon. This perspective recognizes the historical factors that shape contemporary social dynamics and highlights the shared experiences of Black people across cultures and continents, including in Europe. Pan-African ideologies play a vital role in this framework, fostering a sense of kinship and alliance among individuals of Black African descent, even if these communities are strategically constructed and largely symbolic. My approach speaks to ‘relational ontologies of being’ and ‘marginalized forms of knowledges’, as well as to ‘Racisms across locations and histories’. It challenges prevailing ideologies of purism and authenticity and provides insight into the exclusionary practices faced by Black people in Europe. An Afro-diasporic cultural framework offers critical insights into Black cultural identity and community formation and affirms Black people’s efforts of contest anti-Black racism, reclaiming narratives of identity and belonging with eye for plurality, hence emphasizing the need for inclusivity and recognition of diverse experiences and identities within blackness and Black communities.

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Complex Harms of Migration Externalisation: EU policy ‘creep’ processes into domestic counterterrorism at the Turkey-Iran border

Karolina Augustova, Ethem Ilibiz and Helena Farrand-Carrapico

This article examines the overlap between European Union migration controls and internal counter-terror measures in the Kurdish populated region at the Turkey-Iran border. It highlights, in particular, the development of an ‘externalisation creep’ in the context of this overlap, whereby externalisation initiatives intersect with pre-existing security dynamics at the border and co-produce harms to diverse (migrant and non-migrant) populations. We discuss how the EU’s external measures aimed at people classed as ‘irregular migrants and smugglers’ creep into local internal border security, leading to the prioritisation, on the ground, of measures against people broadly associated with supporting ‘terrorism’. This development has resulted in the expansion of borderwork, which is associated with unexpected border control outcomes beyond those originally intended by the EU. The article draws upon an ethnographic data collection at the Turkey-Iran border, a geographical area that has seldom featured in EU-supported border controls studies. Our analysis seeks to contribute to the academic literature on externalisation by moving away from an EU-centric perspective, and instead focusing on border governance dynamics that are situated in the local histories and domestic sites of conflict, as understood by the border crossing survivors. This approach allows us to foreground how EU migration externalisation co-opts domestic practices in the context of borders with pre-existing forms of insecurity, and targets migrants as well as residents.

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The Role of Love, Families and Kinship in Border Justice Contestations

Nerges Azizi

I examine the role of families and kin in seeking accountability for their loved ones in the context of border violence between Greece and Turkey. Border violence involves a significant but neglected dimension, which is tearing families and kin apart, destroying their bonds and a temporary or permanent loss of ties. I start by highlighting the ways in which the legal system fails to redress the violence of the state and only offers a restrictive idiom of personhood, formal equality and exclusionary humanity. In the absence of state protection, family members transform into a crucial unit seeking for truth, accountability, and justice. Highlighting the ways in which families and kin hold on to one another subverts to a certain extent approaches of resistance that underline the agency of the fully formed, single and autonomous human. Against the individual who freely chooses to form political commitments, being attentive to the role of love, family and kinship stresses ties and relational duties amongst humans. Thereby, the prevalent and to a certain extent drawn out liberal lexicon of resistance and agency can be challenged. Although acknowledging the fact that a lot of people also flee the lack of protection and support or even harm that they encounter through their families, it is notably families, kin and loved ones are often the unit which is tracing the movement, itineraries and fates of their loved ones when they disappear across borderscapes. My argument underscores in what sense the search for relatives and loved ones allows for a different sense of humanity to come to light than that afforded by legal personhood. By rethinking the role of disruption and loss in the context of state violence, I contextualise border contestations in a broader frame of the coloniality of the migration regime.

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Methodologies at the ‘Margins’ of Europe

Gemma Bird

The way we do research can and does affect how we think about, engage with, and explore approaches to worldmaking and marginality. Approaches to research play a roll in what we recognise and witness and how we influence and construct the worlds we engage with. They also play a roll in whose voices get heard, platformed, silenced and marginalised. This is especially the case in the context of research focused on bordering and displacement.

In this paper I ask whether we can explore alternative forms of worldmaking that take place in spaces and places of marginality, and which refocus attention on the ways that stories are told, theorised and shared. This is a methods-based intervention reflecting on 6 years research at the ‘margins’ of the European Union, working on questions of displacement and bordering in Greece. Drawing on these experiences, I explore how my own approach to thinking about the questions we ask and the methods we use to ask them have changed over time.

Based on these reflections I argue for a research approach grounded in activist scholarship focused on long term interventions best understood as ‘patchwork ethnography’ (Günel et al, 2020) focussed on relationship building, reflexivity and politically driven research. I draw on vignettes and research diaries to explore the relationship between activism, world making and marginality and challenge the roll of research as being only to document. Instead, I argue for an approach focused on advocacy that explores and problematises the existence of liminal and marginal spaces and asks what we can learn by engaging deeply and subjectively within them.

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“You know how it is”: North-African Migrant life-worlds in Paris

Soukaina Chakkour

North-African migrant communities in Paris have ingenious and inferred ways to speak about themselves and situate themselves within the densely denotive postcolonial fabric of the city. This situatedness is often correlated not exclusively to the French society and state, but also to other migrant communities. This interpretationally between North-African migrant communities is characterized by mysterious and covert understandings of timespace in France as migrants. Collectively, this mystery is amplified as the connections in inners are then relegated to also links and ties that go beyond their categorization as “migrants”.

This paper seeks to unravel some of the meanings, devices and repertoires that North-African migrant communities deploy vis-à-vis other North-African communities; as opposed to the comparative spectrum that always situate migrants as having relationalities with the host countries, their institutions and their members - only. The paper primary focuses on the positionalities and (dis)associations that are deployed by Egyptian communities in Paris in order to unmask independent and animated life-worlds of migration. In doing so, the paper attempts to bring to light the autonomous generated forms of life-worlds of migration.

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To bee or not to bee: Towards a European ‘canon of the insects’ in Dimitra Kolliakou’s Primer of Insects

Evgenia Dourou

Departing from theories on the mediality of cultural memory and the mnemonic approach on intertextuality, this paper proposes a reading of Dimitra Kolliakou’s *Primer of Insects* as a literary encyclopaedia of Europe; meaning not only a fictional text that deploys the poetics of an encyclopaedia, but which also rests upon a compilation of literary texts and styles. Additionally, *Primer of Insects* entails a profound reflection on processes of canonisation in the European context and proposes an alternative, non-hierarchical and non-normative ‘canon of the insects’, which we understand as a contribution to Dipesh Chakrabarty’s project of ‘Provincializing Europe’. Kolliakou’s book introduces through the insects’ theme non-canonical texts into the European canon, and at the same rewrites canonical texts from an ecological perspective. Since the natural world knows neither national nor cultural borders, Kolliakou’s decision to structure the book on the basis of insects allows us to think differently about European literatures; European literatures, the text seems to imply, cannot be thought without non-European ones. As a result, *Primer of Insects* exposes the provinciality of the European canon, globalizes it, and eventually suggests its renewal through insects and for the sake of insects; its renewal from and for the margins. Our reading focuses on the short story ‘Ξ’ of the primer. ‘Ξ’ dwells upon an ecological rewriting of canonical ancient Greek texts, such as *The Histories* of Herodotus and *The Persians* of Aeschylus. Xerxes’ hubris is being brought into the context of the ecological crisis, so that the primer’s preoccupation with the past is being enriched by a vision of a future Europe that is shaped by environmental ethics.

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Not Living Up To Its Name: The EU's Race Equality Directive and the Codified Silencing of Racism

Nozizwe Dube

The adoption of the Race Equality Directive (RED)¹ in 2000 was heralded as a groundbreaking development for EU equality law in various respects. Of all EU equality directives, this instrument has the widest material scope as it prohibits discrimination in different key social areas such as employment, education, housing, and access to goods and services. However, more than two decades later, the RED's impact has proven to not be as revolutionary as envisaged. The instrument is couched in ambivalence as it posits the prohibition of racial discrimination, yet omits defining race in an effort to reject theories attempting to determine the existence of separate human races. Despite its name, the RED also excludes differential treatment based on nationality and the legal status of third-country nationality. Consequently, victims of intersectional discrimination which can be co-constituted of characteristics such as nationality, race and ethnicity cannot rely on the RED's protection. Additionally, the case law of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) in the context of the RED conflates race with ethnicity, thereby eroding the instrument's potential to live up to its name.

This paper argues that the RED entrenches and represents a continuation, and not the end, of empire and the denial of racism. To this end, the paper discusses the RED in its legal-historical context and divulges how it has contributed to the codified silencing of racism in the EU. Lastly, CJEU case law analysis illustrates how the RED marginalizes and renders victims of intersectional discrimination invisible within the EU.

¹ Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin 2000 (OJ L 180) 301

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**(Un)Archiving Marginalized Knowledges: The Intersectional Black
European Studies Project as a Transformative Archive**

Fatima El-Tayeb

This talk offers the notion of queer diasporic spacetime as an alternative to the hegemonic logic of an evolutionary spatio-temporality tied to European colonial modernity. Centering the role of archives in producing both dominant and counternarratives, I trace a multinodular network of marginalized knowledges that together form a transformative archive, making visible temporalities of resistance that cannot be contained within the hegemonic logic of linear (colonial) time. I suggest that the Intersectional Black European Studies Project with its grounding in this queer diasporic activism offers a different view from and of Europe's margins.

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To Be Heard in a Ukrainian Court: Sensory Aspect of Perception of The Rule of Law

Alina Hrub

A concept of the rule of law is widely spread within and beyond the European continent. A lot of countries with transitional justice enacted this principle on a constitutional level next to recognition of an implementation of democracy and human rights. Yet how is its existence realised by common people who approach a court along with other actors of the procedure?

When it comes to guaranteeing the right to be heard as a part of the access to justice, it's necessary to understand what it actually means and how it is experienced from an anthropological perspective.

In this paper I explore an understanding of the right to be heard from a sensory and doctrinal perspective. Indeed, procedural legislation in Ukraine guarantees such components of the aforementioned right as submitting statements and motions, providing explanations to the court, presenting arguments, opinions on issues arising during the trial, and objections to statements, motions, arguments, and opinions of other persons. How can the stated procedural actions be actually heard but not only listened to and how could the norms of the law operate with this sense to make the rule of law into a lived social reality? This paper will also shed light on the paradoxes and contradictions of “being heard” within conditions and legal structures part of transitional justice frames.

With exploring the hearing from sensory, anthropology and legal perspectives I intend to design a methodological basis for my ethnographical journey in Ukrainian courts. Mentioned research will constitute a contribution in developing an actual implementation of the rule of law into the Ukrainian legal system.

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“Alienation”: Indispensability of an Old (Eurocentric?) Concept?

Mikko Immanen

For the past forty years, moral philosophy has limited its scope to violations of justice, that is, of individual autonomy and fair distribution of goods. In doing so, it has deliberately kept at bay its age-old concern with the “good life.” The rationale behind this choice has been the assumption that while one can criticize injustices from universal perspective, the question of how one should live one’s life ought to be left for individuals to decide. Related to this shift has been the disappearance from moral philosophy of the concept of alienation, the roots of which go back to Rousseau and which still in the 1970s functioned as a keyword to discontents of modernity. Since then, however, the concept has been charged with patronizing moralism and parochial Eurocentrism that fit poorly in modern pluralistic societies.

Recent years, however, have witnessed a renaissance of the concept of alienation. Acceleration of pace of life, increase of societal insecurity, and the climate crisis have convinced many of the insufficiency of moral philosophy’s “ethical abstinence.” As legitimate as the latter’s focus on political and economic injustices is, widespread feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, and indifference—classical hallmarks of alienation—remain outside its purview. Such feelings, defenders of the concept of alienation argue, cannot be reduced to questions of justice but need to be understood in their own terms as indicators of “damaged life” (Adorno). But how to avoid the moralistic and Eurocentric baggage that haunts the concept?

This paper explores one recent attempt to rehabilitate, and indeed democratize, the concept of alienation. According to Rahel Jaeggi, this is possible if one no longer understands alienation as a violation of certain allegedly essential features of “human nature,” but more formally as an incapacity to establish meaningful relationship to oneself, other people, and the world at large.

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Reading Against the Grain: Racialising Sexual Deviance in the Queer Archive

Abeera Khan

How do we untether queer subjectivity, indeed queer of color and queer diasporic politics, from the possessive modality of the sexual rights-bearing subject? This paper explores this provocation through a queer diasporic reading of a passing instance of gay, anti-fascist, anti-racist solidarity in the British queer archive. I analyse a piece of ephemera found in the Bishopsgate Archive in London: a 1978 flyer for a public meeting by the London Gay Activists Alliance and the Bradford Asian Youth Group to “DEFEND FRANK KELLY AND SHAUKAT ALI” and “END POLICE HARASSMENT OF BLACKS AND GAYS” against the imprisonment of Kelly and the deportation of Ali for “gross indecency” and “buggery”. While the flyer seemingly fails to recognise a simultaneously Black and Gay subject (“OF BLACKS AND GAYS”), I read the flyer as enacting an abolitionist demand rooted in relational solidarities (“END POLICE HARASSMENT”). Forgoing an excavationist project that searches for echoes of queer Muslim identity politics in Britain's past, I instead propose that the archive of queer and anti-racist mobilisations be read in ways that attends to the unlikely and covert collisions between queer and Muslim, and more broadly, between sexuality and race. Finally, I turn my attention to the diasporic racialised subject, Shaukat Ali, and analyse my own affective attachments to Ali and the flyer. I ask: How do I salvage Shaukat Ali as more than a passing mention in another's queer history without assembling him as a figure to allay queer (of colour) attachments and desires.

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Refugee knowledges and the emergence of refugee studies. The work of Louise W. Holborn

Magdalena Kmak

In this presentation I will discuss the largely forgotten work of Louise W. Holborn, an early feminist, and a political refugee from Nazi Germany, later a professor of political science at the Connecticut College for Women and author among others of *Refugees, A Problem of Our Time: The Office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees* (1974). I will focus in particular on Holborn's expertise in the topic of refugee protection and her contribution to the emergence of the discipline of refugee studies. As my preliminary analysis of Holborn papers shows she has considered learning from experience as crucial for this endeavour and drew critical parallels between her own experience and the issues faced by international refugees. She became a pioneer of refugee studies who focused extensively on the legal and factual position of refugees under the League of Nations and the UN as well as in the USA. Holborn's reflections, her research activities, and publications, show that the knowledges produced through the experience of mobility and movement have meaning for how the system of migration management, including law, is constructed, structured, and understood. Taking the case of Holborn as a case study, this paper analyses the role of the experience of exile and displacement in production of scientific knowledge.

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A universal matter – the restless journey of materialism beyond Europe

Ville Louekari

My paper challenges a narrative about the movement of thought from the geographical centre to its margins. This narrative emphasizes how European philosophy was at times conserved outside Europe: Arabic scholars for example held on to Greek thought in Middle Ages. The movement of thought in this story is seen as necessary in fraught situations.

This narrative has often ignored the more constant movement of thought between the centre and its margins, how for example Averroës remained influential in the following centuries. That is why rather than seeing the movement from the centre to the margins as an occasional means for thought's survival, I see the movement as essential for development of thought. Radical thought always risks being subsumed and blunted, and it is only the constant movement that keeps it alive.

I demonstrate the necessity of movement for thought by looking at how a materialist interpretation of Aristotelian metaphysics found its way to Arabic philosophy and was reinvigorated there. This materialism was born yet again in the Renaissance. Here I refer to Ernst Bloch's *Avicenna and the Aristotelian left* (1963). In the book, Bloch traces a materialist tradition that crosses cultural, religious, and geographical borders.

Today, the 'material turn' in social sciences and the humanities echoes this lineage of thought. The Arabic-European tradition not only questions the novelty of 'new materialism' but also adds to it a cross-cultural foundation.

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Shaping platformised social life: the centrality of the ‘marginalized’ worker input on labour platforms

Olivia Maury

Today, increasing numbers of gig workers are migrants whose working conditions are shaped by algorithmic management and migration governance. Platforms are not neutral actors but embody a politics and as intermediaries they control the “rules of the game” (Srnicsek 2017). For example, racialisation has been demonstrated to be a central organising principle of platform capitalism facilitated by worker (mis)classification and algorithmic management (Gebrial 2022; Van Doorn 2017). A central feature of platform capitalism is the dynamic of socially, legally and algorithmically partitioning workers and reconnecting them in ways that feed capital, hence articulating platform capitalism as based on the control of who can relate and under what terms (Maury, forthcoming).

However, labour platforms do not exist without the ones performing the services intermediated via the platform, without the users of the platform nor without the data extracted through it. Drawing on ethnography, participatory research and interviews with migrants undertaking gigs via location-dependent platforms (cleaning, food delivery) in Helsinki, I examine how knowledge about social life in a platformised world emanating from those embodying marginalized knowledge in comparison to the branded and idealized imaginary of digital futures can be understood, and indeed, recentered as counter-knowledge for building alternative futures.

In conclusion, the paper suggests that platform companies are often given false credit for innovative functions enabled and accomplished by migrant gig workers, whose accumulated knowledge of how to navigate in an institutional fog constituted by technologies, algorithms, border regimes – themselves deeply shaped by asymmetrical relations of power and knowledge – are extracted as surplus value in platform capitalism. Finding alternative ways of knowing from the margins of platformised social life can help us also rethink its extractive logics predicated on hierarchical and exploitative difference production.

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**Not research but re-search. Individual and collective self-reflections to
imagine spaces of care and healing in the ‘Europes’ university.**

Cesar E. Merlín Escorza.

Working as a PhD candidate for a university in the Netherlands, being a brown immigrant from the so-called global South; experiencing the privilege of heteronormative masculinity, while questioning it and working to transform it; doing research with(in) shelter organizations where people categorized as migrants and refugees resist the state’s sovereignty to exclude them... These and other intersections shape my standpoint today. And while I try to finish my dissertation and begin to face the uncertainty of unemployment, changes in my residence status and the pains of long distance relationships, the need to *corazonar* (reasoning with the heart) grows strong. This is not a conference paper. This is my intention, to activate a conversation to discuss the need that people existing in similar and different intersections have for listening, accompanying and caring for each other. As an invitation to join the conversation, I will present the process of individual and collective self-reflection that is helping me/us imagine a political transformation of the ways we perform academically and educationally at the university in the ‘Europes in margins’. The question driving our self-reflections is: how do we imagine we can transform the university, as workplace and aula, in order to create and sustain spaces where we can care for each other and help us heal our manifold wounds? The answers to this question, as the process(es) to obtain them, are right now taking the form of an audio-zine, this, will also be presented. The epistemological tools I use to answer such question depart from Gloria Anzaldúa’s border thinking (1987) and Patricio Guerrero Arias’ *corazonar* (2010). The audio-zine, as an unfinished project, represents our methodological attempt to disrupt the norm of academic knowledge production, challenging the dominant written forms, the referencing system and the journal/academic publication industry.

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Colonialism as shared history? Reframing Colonial Heritage, Contesting Coloniality in Brussels

Alexandra Oancă

While much attention has been devoted to the Holocaust, Nazism, fascism and socialism in European memory and remembrance politics, colonialism and colonial heritage remain far more likely to be disremembered and forgotten. However, ‘politics’ and ‘academia’ meet once again. Emboldened by new approaches in history and by sanitized and depoliticized versions of ‘entangled histories’ approaches, there have been some recent troubling attempts to reframe colonialism as ‘shared history’ within European foreign policy and cultural diplomacy initiatives. What is really shared in the ‘shared history’ narratives? While these are mostly depoliticized narratives that downplay power relations, responsibility and guilt, their presence in policy debates highlights the plurality of ‘Europes’ in margins and fosters the reach of alternative practices, intellectual traditions, and ways of knowing, particularly of conversations on colonial heritage and on racialized geopolitics in Brussels, the capital of EU/rope and of Leopold II. It also emboldened the expansion of alternative coalitions that contest dominant cultural institutions, and that promote racial justice and the knowledge of migrants and people of color within Europe. In this presentation, I aim to unpack the relationships of power characterizing the turn towards ‘colonialism as shared history’, the relations between officially sanctioned discourses and counter-hegemonic practices, and the ambivalent ways in which Eurocrats and policy-makers make sense of colonialism and inter-imperiality within ongoing projects of Europeanization.

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Seeing with Refugees: Refugee Countervisuality at the European Union's Border Watch in Lesvos

Berfin Nur Osso and Henk van Houtumb

In this article we explore refugees' digital rights-making struggles against border assemblages using information and communication technologies (ICTs), focusing on the Closed Controlled Access Centre in Greek Lesvos Island. In doing so, we juxtapose the confrontational uses of ICTs by the European Union (EU) and Greek authorities to create 'spaces of watching' for a securitised vision of Europe and by refugees to enact 'spaces of seeing (or of appearance)' to confront this vision with their own practices and narratives. Using the inside information (images and contents) recounted by refugees trapped in Lesvos through the social media campaign 'Now You See Me Moria,' we dissect how refugees challenge care, control, and surveillance practices enforced by Greece, on behalf of the EU. Faced with these practices, refugees engage in scattered, subtle, and clandestine ways of resistance in cyberspace where they attempt to reach an audience across state borders. While secretly documenting their border experiences and their everyday life in Moria, refugees also make visible the atrocities they encounter in Lesvos and seek recognition for their struggles. We intend to bring in migration-border research a rather neglected element of rights making: the audience and its capacity to mobilise with refugees by seeing refugees' struggles with/against border watch through their visual narratives.

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Léopold Sédar Senghor's Critique of Europe and Négritude as Humanism

Panu-Matti Pöykkö

The Senegalese thinker, poet, and politician, Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906–2001) who with Aimé Césaire (1913–2008) developed the important notion of Négritude, remains one of the most important figures of postcolonial thought. In his philosophical and political thought, Senghor engages in a constant and deep reflection on and problematization of the relation between Black African and European continents of thought. This paper offers a reading of this complicated relation. Despite his severe critique of the tradition of Western thought, Senghor does not emphasize and develop the idea of Négritude to the detriment of the former. His critique of the West is not meant only to reveal its inherent imperialistic tendency, but also its ontological myopia and insufficiency. Négritude is not solely a political and cultural notion, but an ontological category. (see Senghor 1997, *Liberté* 3, 90–101.) Négritude, as Senghor famously claims, is the gathering of Black African values manifest in the history and the artistic and philosophico-religious expressions of an ancient culture. These expressions also point to what Senghor takes to be essential to human existence as such. European thought's myopic emphasis on calculative rationality must be criticized and corrected by bringing into view another form of rationality characterized by a deep immediate, embodied and complicated connection with reality, thus far neglected as irrational and impure by the Western European tradition. In addition to being a celebration of Black African culture, history, and value and a strong criticism of colonial thought, Senghor articulates an account of the sense of being human in which two continents of thought meet without subsuming on another, learning from one another. Négritude is a humanism through which one can bring into view both the myopia of Europe and its possibilities.

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(Un)Making Balkan - Motives and ideology behind the ethnic Cleansing of Balkan Muslims

Rigels Lenja

Up until 1829, in much of Crimea, southern Ukraine, the Caucasus, Anatolia, and the Balkans from the Adriatic in the west to the Black Sea in the east, Muslims constituted either the majority or a significant minority. Due to the geographical scope, this article only focuses on the Balkans. Currently, the only remaining area populated by Muslims consists of Albania, Kosovo, a portion of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a portion of North Macedonia. In my article, I will examine the role of religion in ethnic cleansing and ethnic violence in the Balkans. My article will highlight the critical moments of using religion at the expense of violence which prompted the modern state in the Balkans to expel or massacre the Muslims considering them foreigners or even invaders. Even though the majority of them shared the same language, ethnicity, customs, and traditions as Christians. What did the respective leaders of the Balkan countries intend to accomplish through ethnic cleansing? Reasons can be considered as pursuing their irredentism, homogenizing their respective societies, fabricating an enemy in order to create unionism among the rest of the population, or pragmatism. Throughout the period, a series of ethnic violence took place in the region, which was followed by an exodus of the population. However, the massive scale of ethnic cleansing attained disproportionate proportions, especially during the three key moments of 1875-1878 (Great Eastern Crisis), 1912-1924 (Balkan Wars of 1911 and 1912, First World War, Turkish-Greek War and 1990-1995 (War of Yugoslav Succession). Although the timeframe spans 110 years, the aims and the strategy employed remain coherent. Ethnic cleansing based on religious differences was not a Balkan invention, but I will elaborate on the underlying motives behind these decisions. Muslims had been compelled to emigrate from present-day southern Serbia, southern Bulgaria, part of Bosnia, and part of Greece.

My paper attempts to address three main questions:

1. What were the ideology and motivations of the massive displacement of the local Muslim population?
2. What were the Balkan state's intentions in employing religion as the main vehicle of ethnic Homogenisation?
3. Although Europe changed course following the Second World War, why did ethnic cleansing reoccur in the 1990s in the so-called Yugoslav Wars of Succession?

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Taking back control after Brexit: Contingent borders, ontological anxieties

Ben Rosher

In this paper I consider the experiences of European Economic Area (EEA) migrants in Northern Ireland following the United Kingdom's post-Brexit attempts to 'take back control' of its borders.

EEA nationals living in the Irish border region – now the sole place where the UK and EU physically meet – have felt acutely the reality of the UK's struggles to control the border. Traditional spatial-territorial bordering tactics such as walls, fences, and check points, as well as the ability to monitor and control people who cross the border through professional immigration officials, are no longer feasible in light of commitments by the UK and EU to maintain an invisible and frictionless border on the island of Ireland. Instead, the post-Brexit *rebordering* of Northern Ireland is manifesting as a series of practices that implicate ordinary citizens in role of *citizen border guard*, conducting border and immigration checks which permeate everyday life in the region.

This paper explores the impact of these practices on the lives of EEA nationals in the region, drawing on vernacular methodologies and interviews conducted with EEA nationals and citizens' rights groups in Northern Ireland to understand how the casualisation of border controls via the EU Settlement Scheme is being experienced in practice.

I place critical border studies in conversation with ontological security studies to develop a conceptual understanding of a contingent border – one in which how, where, when, and with what outcomes the border is made manifest depends on the knowledge, training, and dispositions of citizen border guards, and which may loom large in EEA nationals' lives at any time. To this end, the paper illustrates the tensions between the marginalised knowledges of life in the border region of EEA nationals and the marginalising knowledges of citizen border guards, and the uncertainties and anxieties that arise as a result.

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Postcolonial relationality and the case of Yugoslavia

Behar Sadriu

Postcolonial thinking is making headways into mainstream political science thinking and enriching our discussions of theory and practise. While the focus has been primarily on analysing relationships between ‘core’ states in the global North and those in the South, a new wave of scholarship has emerged that applies postcolonial concepts to comprehend relations within Europe. However, there is a tendency in this scholarship towards overlooking the marginalization of Islam and Muslims in the Balkans. We first highlight and then attempt to remedy this by introducing readers to Hasan Kaleshi, an overlooked but remarkable social scientist from the heydays of Yugoslavia in the 1950s and 1960s. Paradoxically, we argue, the marginalization of Islam and Muslims reinforces coloniality among postcolonial Eastern European scholarship, resulting in a tripartite dynamic (inclusion, indifference, and exclusion). Through an excavation of Kaleshi’s scholarly pursuits both in Yugoslavia and outside of it, we aim to cast postcolonialism beyond a critique of hegemonic order, but rather as an exercise in appraising the role that Islam and Muslims play in constituting Europe.

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Infanticide and European identity between denial and guilt

Hansalbin Sältenberg

Engaging with psychosocial studies and critical theory, this paper takes its starting point in the death of 72 migrants, many of whom were children, off the Italian coast in late February 2023 to explore “infanticide” as a defining feature of European late modernity. Theoretically, the paper is inspired by psychoanalyst Pierre Bayard’s notion of the ubiquity of hatred against children, and psychoanalyst Melanie Klein’s concepts of the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions, which are combined with the works of antiracist and queer/trans scholars to explore hatred against racialised and trans children at a societal level. Through the exploration of recent cases of migrant death and threats against trans children in Europe, the paper shows how contemporary Europe can be understood to oscillate between hatred against and the murder of (some) children, and at other occasions opens up for mourning these deaths and creating bonds of solidarity beyond racism and transphobia.

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Birth Rates and the Cleansing of Impure Blood: Shaping the “Muslim Question” in the Balkans

Dino Suhonic

This presentation investigates the history and ideology behind Balkan’s Muslim Question, starting from the fall of the Ottoman Empire up to the Bosnian Genocide in the 1990s. It also examines how Bosnia and Kosovo have become prominent symbols in white nationalist thinking that propagates the idea that Islam is a threat to white, Christian Europe. Furthermore, this presentation highlights the systemic character of anti-Islam and anti-Muslim hatred that have been present throughout Balkan’s history and how they have been centred around replacement conspiracy theories and birth rates. This presentation explores how Muslims in the Balkans have fallen into racialized hierarchies of Europeanness, whiteness, and civilization. The fear of replacement has been a critical catalyst for Balkan’s Muslim Question, imagining that the native, non-Muslim Slavic population is replaced by an alien, Muslim one. The presentation concludes that the expulsion of Muslims in the Balkans serves as a model for white supremacy and a foundation of nationalist ideologies operating worldwide.

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‘A strange reflection’: the Sámi and racial time in the Finnish national histories

Miika Tervonen

In this talk, I deal with 19–20th century Finnish historians’ discourses through which the Sámi were turned from a problematic ‘close other’ into a racialized proxy for (fragile) notions of Finnish Europeanness. Finland has historically been situated in an in-between space between colonized and colonizer, on the ambivalent borderline of Eurocentric racial categorizations. Crucial impulse for 19th century Finnish nation-builders was thus not only to construct an idea of a homogeneous national ‘us’, but to situate it positively within an evolutionary temporal matrix which Charles W Mills has called the racialized time map of white modernity.

The Sámi have been one of the key Others of European racial thinking from 18th century onwards, seen as Europe’s last savages and exhibited in first ‘human zoos’. Against this backdrop of racializing curiosity, the Sámi presented a dilemma for early Finnish nationalists. Their linguistic and cultural proximity threatened to strengthen portrayals of the Finn’s as ‘Mongolians’. At the same time, narratives of subjugation and colonization of the Sámi seemed to situate the Finns ostensibly on the ‘better’ side of the hierarchical divide between civilized nations and savages.

I distinguish two discursive patterns in Finnish national histories through which the Sámi were contained or turned into useful Others: 1) racial-temporal differentiation, in which racial boundary-drawing was accompanied by chronological marginalization or museumization of the Sámi; and 2) strategic inclusion, in which instrumental references to kinship were used to legitimize Finnish colonial and expansive endeavours. I argue that Historians’ work not only reflected racial contemporary theorizing, but was partly in its avant garde; and that while references to ‘race’ have mostly disappeared, discourses on the Sámi have had a long-lasting role also in Postwar Finnish narratives of whiteness and modernity.

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Refugee History of United Europe: To Remember or to Forget?

Reetta Toivanen

Research has shown that the idea of a unified European history leaves many inequalities and atrocities outside the narrative of unity. Like any story, the idea of Europe required a violent forgetting and even repression of certain memories, life stories, and experiences. The forgotten memories are sometimes only smothered, and smothered memories tend to resurface to find expression in new forms. The fact is that memories are as important to the process of European construction as anything that has had to and must be forgotten. This presentation offers a first insight into research on family histories of Sudeten Germans who were expelled from the Czech Republic to Germany after World War II. In East-Germany (Soviet zone), their grievances and home sickness was silenced immediately; everyone was supposed to be the same socialist. In West-Germany they were initially treated as refugees, but at the latest with the Cultural Revolution of 1968 their demands for or even the memory of their lost homeland were silenced. I am studying the second and third generations in several places using ethnographic research methods to understand what the silence meant in the family history and their understanding of Europe as a continent of flight. I will pursue the question of whether the silence on the refugee past can explain why minority rights are still a serious stumbling block for European politics today

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When ‘The Centre’ meets ‘The Margins’: the EU’s management of ‘irregular migration flows’ in Ethiopia

Floris van Doorn

Ever since the coming and going of migrant crises at Europe’s borders, the EU and its member states have sought to control ‘irregular’ migration flows. Yet whereas initiatives to stymie large inflows of migrants at Europe’s outer borders continue to attract widespread attention, the EU’s own efforts to manage the root causes of ‘irregular migration’ in Europe’s frontiers remain underexplored. One example of how the EU, aiming to tackle ‘the drivers of irregular migration’ from Africa, has tried to contain Europe’s African borderlands can be found in the shape of the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa.

The aim of this paper is to examine the workings of the EUTFa from the view of one of its main target countries: Ethiopia. Building upon both recent field research in Addis Ababa and archival research in Sweden, I will survey the consonances and dissonances between ‘the margins’ and ‘the centre’ as regards to EU-funded migration management efforts. Focusing on concepts such as ‘root causes’, ‘crisis’, ‘irregularity’, and ‘control’, the goal is to not only look at current mitigation practices but to also link them to a broader historical and spatial context. Doing so will not only tell us more about the EU’s migration policies towards the African continent as such but will also help us better understand the imperial backdrop from which they have emerged.

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The European Rights of Nature Tribunal: A Counter-Hegemonic Invitation to Knowing, Doing, Being Otherwise

Katri Vihma

This paper engages in dialogue with the multiple ways of knowing and being within the European Rights of Nature Tribunal ‘in Defense of Aquatic Ecosystems’, organised during the spring of 2021. It is a part of the International Rights of Nature Tribunal, a transformative grassroots initiative that challenges current global environmental politics and law by putting Nature in the centre of all decision-making. Acknowledging the ontological implications of doing and writing research (Querejazu 2016; McDowall & Ramos 2017; Blaser 2010), I perform glimpses of the polyphony within the European Tribunal, aspiring to make these ways of knowing and being slightly ‘realer’ (Law 2004). The paper is a part of a (more) reciprocal and (more) nonhierarchical knowledge creation process with the Tribunal’s protagonists, inspired by nonextractivist methodologies (Santos 2018) and political ontology (Blaser 2009; 2010; 2013; 2014). I argue that, in the European context, this regional Rights of Nature Tribunal practices epistemic (Mignolo 2009) and ontological (Burman 2016) disobedience, for example by narrating Indigenous People’s cosmovisions as a desirable way(s) of relating to Nature. As a part of this disobedience, it uses the Eurocentric (if you will) tribunal method in a counter-hegemonic (Santos 2018) manner. For instance, the Tribunal enacts Nature as an active political actor and thus challenges the dominant onto-epistemic boundaries of politics (see de la Cadena 2010). At the same time, some of the ways of knowing and being embodied in it (seem to) – curiously, but perhaps not surprisingly – reproduce the hegemonic, objectifying relationship(s) with Nature. Nevertheless, I suggest that, by addressing some of the oppressive structures underpinning our modern/colonial (Quijano 2007) ‘one-world world’ (Law 2011), the European Rights of Nature Tribunal takes part in the struggles for global social justice (Santos 2014) and thus promotes, in its own way(s), the pluriverse, ‘a world where many worlds fit’.