

Intersectional alliances: Migration and the deconstruction of norms

Introduction

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In recent decades, there has been an increased focus on the topics of migration, gender and sexuality in the social sciences and in politics (Hartmann et al. 2017). In Europe, where migration movements and transnational mobility are significantly changing the social fabric, the question of affiliations and identities is being discussed with particular urgency against the backdrop of these developments (Küppers/Hirschfeld 2019). In this context, new forms of resistance and engagement have developed that challenge both old power structures and traditional notions of gender and sexuality. Post-migrant alliances play a central role in this context (Foroutan et al. 2018; Sianos/Karakayalı 2014; Römhild 2017; Yildiz/Rotter 2022; Donlic/Yildiz 2023), as do feminist movements in particular, which are initiated and supported by migrant women* and queer people. These movements advocate for a fundamental transformation of social structures and demand a more inclusive understanding of identity and belonging that breaks through racist, sexist and heteronormative norms.

Addressing the question of how emotions - especially intersectional engagement (Mertlitsch et al. 2024) - can be used as a driver for social and political change is an important element of post-migrant alliances. It becomes a tool for exposing hegemonic power structures and resisting deep-rooted injustices. The intersectional stance challenged by personal and collective experiences of discrimination, exclusion and violence enables those affected to raise their voices and question the status quo. In post-migrant alliances,

this emotion is understood not only as an expression of protest, but also as a creative impulse that opens up new perspectives on community, solidarity and social justice.

This anthology brings together a series of contributions that deal with the topics of migration, gender and sexuality from various disciplinary and methodological perspectives. The contributions shed light on both historical and current phenomena and focus on the intertwining of power, identity and political action. They illustrate from different perspectives that migration processes should not only be seen as a movement of people, but also as upheavals of norms and values that have a lasting impact on society.

A recurring theme in the contributions is the analysis of intersectional power relations. The overlapping and mutual reinforcement of forms of discrimination in relation to gender, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, social status and social disability is of central importance, especially for migration research. Discrimination and injustice cannot be viewed in isolation, but are always effective as complex networks of social, political and economic mechanisms. The post-migrant narratives dealt with in this book penetrate the complex entanglements and outline alternative ways of living together.

The feminist and queer perspective on migration and belonging opens up new approaches to negotiating issues of power and marginalization. Although migration is often presented as a challenge to national identities and social cohesion, the texts presented here show that migrant and queer experiences offer valuable insights into social justice and inclusion. The contributions deal with the question of how post-migrant alliances can actively contribute to the creation of a more just society. An interesting question is the extent to which feminist and queer actors are changing the discourse on migration and belonging through their demands for equality and recognition.

The contributions collected here present a multi-layered picture of migration and identity that overcomes simple dichotomies of „us“ and „others“. The texts presented invite us to understand migration as a dynamic process that constantly generates new possibilities for self-determination, solidarity and community. The feminist impulses acting as a catalyst are not only seen as a reaction to existing injustices, but also as a productive force that can contribute to creating the foundations of a fairer and more inclusive society.

In this sense, the book presents a critical examination of the challenges and opportunities that migration and post-migrant alliances bring with them in a globalized world. It shows how queer movements react to political

and social realities and how they develop new visions for a more just world through their strategies of resistance. The contributions combine theoretical reflection with empirical analysis and thus open up a broad spectrum of perspectives that offer new insights into the complex relationships between migration and gender.

The following abstracts provide an overview of the specific topics and issues addressed in the individual contributions. They illustrate the diversity of post-migrant alliances and the importance of intersectional analyses for the deconstruction of power relations.

Azadeh Kian

Iranian women's struggle for freedom and equality

The murder of Jina Mahsa Amini, a young Iranian Kurdish woman arrested in Tehran by the „morality police“ for „improperly wearing“ the veil and beaten to death on 16 September 2022, provoked major demonstrations of anger against the Islamic regime and political Islam in power since 1979. However, Iranian women's partaking in protest activities goes back to the beginning of the Twentieth century. This paper concentrates on the period under the Islamic regime (1979-) that has been a prelude to the ongoing women's revolution against political Islam. It distinguishes six periods in the life of the Islamic regime in Iran, its policies on women, and the mobilization of women: the Revolutionary period, the period of Reconstruction, the Reformist period, the Radical populist period, the Moderate conservative period, and the period of Iranian-style Talibanization. Despite harsh repression of their protest activities, women continue their struggle for freedom, gender equality, democracy and social justice.

Tamar Shatberashvili

Situation queer migration: displacement and a sense of belonging in Georgian queer migrants

This article explores the experiences of Georgian queer migrants negotiating displacement and a sense of belonging in-between home and host countries. It departs from feminist International Relations and problematizes dominant narratives around concepts and institutional practices of statehood, citizenship and identity that contribute to the exclusion of Georgian

queer citizens. The empirical case study of ten Georgian queer migrants, I interviewed, builds on discourse analysis, and narrates stories of (un)seen identities and experiences across borders. Building on notions of movement, attachment, displacement, belonging and ‚home‘, the core of my dissertation finds refuge in double consciousness and mestiza consciousness. The research aims at contributing to the existing literature and encourages a more nuanced investigation of an understudied topic of queer migration from Georgia, as part of Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union (FSU).

Anita Rotter

Postmigrant alliances from a gender perspective. Feminist anger as a catalyst within postmigrant alliances

Historical migration research forced the creation of a dual mindset between migrants and non-migrants. It created a powerful migration dispositive that extends to the present day. This power-knowledge complex, which negotiates migration as deficient, was politically appropriated, among other things. Feminist migrants* who organize themselves in post-migrant alliances react to the politically „normalized“ and raise objections. Collectively, they deconstruct hegemonic relations of order. At the same time, ideas are formulated that contribute to shaping post-migrant living realities. Feminist rage is proposed as a central emotion and an effective means of bringing about socio-political change. Examples from music and literature illustrate the productive power of anger within the associations.

Paul Scheibelhofer

Women and children first?. The suppression of male vulnerabilities in the context of flight

The suffering of male refugees is rarely the focus of public debate and humanitarian aid. This article examines the discursive and institutional reasons for this neglect of male vulnerabilities in the refugee context. Research findings are presented that highlight the vulnerabilities and experiences of injury that affect refugee men. The article argues that these vulnerabilities are obscured by two processes in particular: Dominant discourses attribute dangerousness to refugee men and deny their need for help. Furthermore, at an institutional level, it is shown that the establishment of neoliberal hu-

manitarianism in refugee aid has led to the consolidation of a feminized understanding of vulnerability. The article concludes with a plea to overcome these contexts of concealment. However, as will be shown, this raises new questions of problematic definitions that must be taken into account when addressing male vulnerabilities in the refugee context.

Christel Balthes-Löhr, Jasmin Donlic, Nina Held
Challenges and support for LGBTQIA+ refugees in Luxembourg and in the DACH countries

According to the UNHCR, 101.3 million people were displaced in 2022, and the trend is rising sharply. Wars, climate change and all the resulting consequences are driving more and more people out of their homes. However, people are also fleeing for fear of persecution due to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. This article is about the comparative illumination of specific measures for TINA people seeking asylum and protection in German-speaking countries, as well as the question on which theoretical assumptions these measures are based. Positive experiences as well as urgent requirements for politics, civil society, science and research are illustrated and discussed on the basis of an innovative theoretical framework, the figure of the continuum.

Anett Schmitz
Between protection and vulnerability. On the precarious everyday realities of LGBTQI people in refugee shelters

This article sheds light on the complex tension between protection and vulnerability to which LGBTQI refugees are exposed in shelters due to their gender identity. Using an ethnographic approach, the article provides insights into the precarious everyday realities of this group of people and discusses the ambivalent role of existing protection concepts such as minimum standards and protection against violence in refugee shelters, which on the one hand offer protection for those affected, but can also perpetuate vulnerabilities on the other. From a critical perspective, the analysis shows how institutional and structural framework conditions and norms of the German asylum system contribute to the „production of vulnerability“ and determine

whether a life needs protection or is not worthy of recognition and protection. This is outlined using a case study as an example.

Urmila Goel

The Absent. Exploring non-heteronormative desire

This paper explores the absence of non-heteronormative desire in narratives of and about migrants in Germany. Using the example of migrant nurses from India and their families it discusses examples of non-heteronormative desire within this migrant group, which can be found, if one mistrusts the heteronormative surface. The paper offers theoretical deliberations, why these desires are kept in the opaque, methodological thoughts about how they can be accessed and epistemological considerations why this is both important and needs to be done very cautiously.

Florian Cristóbal Klenk, Theresa Kulick, Olga Zitzelsberger

Intersections of heteronormativity and racism.

Approaches to the school field

The question of how intersections of heteronormativity and racism become effective in the school setting has not yet been sufficiently investigated in German-language educational research with regard to LGBTIQ* lifestyles. Theoretical and empirical studies from gender-reflective racism and racism-critical gender research point to the high relevance of the intertwining of gender and migration relations, but view these predominantly from a bisexual and heterosexual perspective. In contrast, the article presents historical, theoretical and empirical findings that point to a close interweaving of both orders of difference and emphasize queerness as a genuine component of intersectional, feminist and migrant movement history. With regard to the interaction of heteronormativity and racism in schools, current empirical studies and difference-reflective perspectives are presented that attempt to break up the mutual reinforcement of heteronormativity and racism.

Blake Shedd, Alice Pechriggl, Caroline von Korff, Cristina Beretta, Heidi Siller
University as ‚privileged space‘ for being queer? Perspectives from different migration backgrounds

This article is dedicated to reflections and discussions on queerness/being queer, or being defined as queer, and mobility in a (conditionally) privileged context. Here, the university and academic mobility or migration are discussed as a ‚privileged context‘. Social characteristics and categories are considered that can play a role in the interaction of queer and mobility in this context. This leads to repeated negotiations with queerness, belonging, privilege, discrimination and vulnerability and how these can manifest themselves in different areas. In a concluding reflection, the theoretical explanations are related to experiences. An intersectional perspective is inherent in the article.

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