1 Creating Europe from the Margins

Introduction

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Europe as a space of contestation became clearly evident during the two first decades of the new millennium. The economic crisis drew attention to Europe's internal differentiation, while the so-called 'refugee crisis' of 2015–2016 made racism and securitization of Europe's external borders strikingly prominent. The Covid-19 pandemic that started in 2020 raised new questions in regard to Europe's external and internal borders, as well as the continued racist structural inequalities existing inside and outside of Europe. The invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation in February 2022 has put the spotlight on Europe's contested territorial borders in the East and the tensions regarding NATO politics, Europe and Russia, (re)creating hierarchies of Western European democracies and Eastern totalitarianism. The strong support for Ukrainian refugees, who are mostly White,[1] Christian and seen as European, also exposes the racism inherent in humanitarian actions where not everybody matters in the same way and where some lives are more grievable than others (Butler 2009; Parekh 2022). The EU exhibits attempts to monopolize Europe, with the process of becoming an EU member often referred to as "Europeanization" (Boatcă 2021, 391). EU-funded museums slip effortlessly between reference to the EU and to 'Europe' (Loftsdóttir 2022, 120), thus reflecting the EU's claim over Europe as a label.

This book asks how the idea of Europe can be explored by focusing on Europe's margin. While recent discussions of migration and Europe and of Fortress Europe seem to assume the concept of Europe as coherent and clearly demarcated, Europe's history shows ambiguity, with a lack of clear delimitations. The book inquires critically into the relations and tensions in the Global South/Global North divide and the internal differentiation within Europe itself (Southern, Eastern, Northern Europe) and across and within the different nation-states, keeping into account Etienne Balibar's (2003) notion that instead of borders being eliminated, there exist multiplications of 'internal borders' within Europe. How do different geopolitical hierarchies intersect with racialized subject positions of diverse people living in Europe, while also cutting across classifications of gender, class, sexuality, religion and nationality? What kinds of hierarchies are at play in being and becoming European and how do they engage with a racialized logic of the past and present? Who qualifies as belonging to and in Europe, or as a "proper European" (Dzenovska 2018), and why? What can be envisioned as a cosmopolitan Europe

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where margins are not erased but represent differences within Europe that are worth maintaining and respecting (Amin 2012; Baban 2016; Bhambra 2009; Ponzanesi 2018)? How do the margins of Europe engage with ideas of the borderland that is seen as separating Europe from other spaces, and what do margins mean in a space that is increasingly digitalized?

The book approaches these questions from critical theories of race and inequalities. The book positions margins and centres as open to negotiation and contestation, characterized by ambiguity rather than being self-evident (Fur 2006, 494; Loftsdóttir 2019). It stresses that an analysis of Europe's margins can generate a deeper understanding of 'Europe' as a discursive and affective space, while emphasizing Europe as being always ambivalent as a project and idea (Ponzanesi 2016; Ponzanesi and Blaagaard 2011). We recognize the crucial role of mobility and transnational connections, where national boundaries have been negotiated and renegotiated throughout history and people have formed various attachments regardless of boundaries (Salazar and Smart 2011), while the continued salience of the nation-state in the twenty-first century has to be recognized as well (Brubaker 2004; Loftsdóttir, Smith, and Hipfl 2018). The book seeks to gain a deeper understanding of different processes shaping the conceptions and lived experiences of Europe, bringing together a focus on geopolitical dimensions between and across the space of Europe by focusing on both hierarchies within Europe and how – as stressed by postcolonial and decolonial scholars – Europe is understood through its interrelations with other parts of the world. An understanding of these issues necessarily requires acknowledgement of Europe's entanglements with the colonial past and the postcolonial present.

The contributors in this volume address these questions through diverse and often intersecting disciplinary approaches, including anthropology, cultural studies, European studies, postcolonial and decolonial theory, gender studies, memory studies, post-socialist theory, cinema, media studies and critical race theory. This diversity is reflected in the different methodological approaches and traditions evident in the chapters; with methods including fieldwork, (auto-)ethnography, discourse-based analysis of texts, images, screen culture and social media and analysis of various historical sources. This allows for diverse engagements and understandings concerning historical structures, institutional frameworks, and supranational organizations, while comprehending how these wider structures and historical processes are experienced and resisted by different people.

This introduction is divided into four overlapping parts. The first part highlights the need to position Europe from a critical perspective, where we draw attention to Europe's racist and colonial past. The second part explains our understanding of what constitutes margins, furthermore drawing attention to the fortification of Europe's 'borderland.' The third part shows how margins can be contextualized in relation to hierarchies within Europe. Finally, we give insights into the different affects involved in creating boundaries and borders between different kinds of Europeans, where some areas of Europe are marked as marginal and others as the centre.

Understanding Europe and Coloniality

Postcolonial and decolonial insights have long demonstrated that Europe is a contested space, which needs to be approached critically and analytically (Ponzanesi and Colpani 2016). Within critical scholarship, the idea of Europe as *the* starting point of history and as a source of desirable modernity has been deconstructed (Bhambra 2011, 2016; Ponzanesi and Blaagaard 2012), as well as the notion that European identities were somehow shaped in isolation from Europe's imperial and colonial project (Gilroy 1993; Mignolo 2011). The idea of modernity itself cannot really be disentangled from this history of racism and violence (Mignolo 2011). Analytically, the acknowledgement of this past is indispensable and requires an ongoing sensitivity to the re-emergence and re-articulation of imperial and colonial discourses.

Such a perspective is especially urgent in the beginning of the third decade of the twenty-first century, with open expressions of racist rhetoric and White supremacist agendas (Belew and Gutiérrez 2021), which are often intermixed with reanimation of simplistic historical understanding (Loftsdóttir 2020; Taş 2022). This simplistic understanding was reflected in discussions of the crisis of multiculturalism in the early twenty-first century and of refugees and asylum seekers a decade later. Underlying them is an approach to Europe as an unhistorical mass, where nation and territory were seen as converging naturally, suspended within time and space and only recently interrupted by mobilities of 'outside' populations. The twenty-first century importantly also saw the rise of various proactive social movements such as Black Lives Matter, which while starting in the US has inspired those seeking social justice in Europe (Beaman 2021).

The issue is not – and never has been – only to excavate the history of colonialism, but to understand its "after-affects" as shaping power in different ways and structuring wider society (Ponzanesi and Colpani 2016). Intersecting "crisis-talk" in the twenty-first century clearly showed the salience of past formations in shaping the present (Loftsdóttir, Smith, and Hipfl 2018), with the "politics of time," as phrased by Hakkı Taş (2022), being essential for current populist parties. Part of the narrative of populist groups, both in Europe and the US, has been the call to reclaim a glorious imaginary past, which serves as a crucial force for mobilization through restorative nostalgia (Taş 2022). Former president Trump's claim of "Making America great *again*" is one example, Turkish president Erdoğan defining contemporary Turks as descendants of the magnificent Ottomans is another (Taş 2022). Facilitating this mobilization are the social and economic conditions, where many precarious populations in the Global North – both racialized migrants, citizens and White supporters of populists' agenda – experience a sense of "cancellation" of their imagined future of modernity and affluence (Loftsdóttir 2019). Again, it is necessary to understand how colonialism and racism as part of the present are evoked in relation to the Covid-19 pandemic, with research already showing intensified racism toward certain groups, and the way that this racism has affected racialized populations differently, in conjunction with class inequalities in a neoliberal economy (Elias et al. 2021; Encinosa 2021).

EU emphasis on increased mobility has actively celebrated cosmopolitanism and diversity, while the fortification of Europe's borders has continued aggressively with migrant populations largely projected as a threat to Europe (Baban 2016; Balibar and Collins 2003; Bhambra and Narayan 2017; M'charek, Schramm, and Skinner 2014). The "gendered racialized labour" in Europe is based on the differentiation between migrant men, perceived as a sexual threat, and migrant women, who are seen as victims needing to be integrated so that they can be put to work to satisfy the increasing demand for care and reproductive labour, where legal frameworks make their work cheap and hyper-exploitable (Holzberg, Madörin and Pfeifer (2021, 1490). Sophia Siddiqui (2021) shows how in the era of increasingly restrictive reproductive rights, not only racialized migrants but also LGBTQ+ people are construed as threatening the future of the nation, through an advocation of ideas of White replacement or in the case of LGBTQ+ people as the 'enemy within', corrupting young people and children (see also Lewicki this volume). The obsession with border protection has recalled Europe's colonial history and evoked the sense of Europe as "under siege" (Hage 2016). The framing of migrants and asylum seekers as a potential danger facilitates a state of exception where it is seen as justified to revert to "violent and repressive measures to manage and externalize migration" (Davitti 2019, 1176). A common feature of the various discussions in domains – whether the portrayal of all asylum seekers, refugees and migrants as potential criminals or interventions that restrict their mobility, and even sympathetic interventions that seek to assist – is that people's movements to one place or another are made unnatural and suspicious.

We approach migration differently in this book, seeing it as part of what constitutes Europe in the past and present. We argue that one way to analyse the idea of Europe and its "long legacies and unresolved contradictions of colonialism" (De Genova and Tazzioli 2021, 6) is precisely to look at different mobilities (see Fortier 2006). The body of the 'foreigner' has become embodied as Europe's borders, where "the European subject becomes the hollow referent, a kind of blind spot that needs the other for his/ her/its self-definition" (Ponzanesi and Blaagaard 2011, 3). This fortification of Europe's external borders through the Schengen Agreement has emphasized classifications of people into desirable and undesirable populations, criminalizing all who seek refuge within Europe, while using racialized distinctions between who are welcome and who are not (Fox, Moroşanu, and Szilassy 2012; M'charek, Schramm, and Skinner 2014). This recalls M'charek, Schramm and Skinner's (2014) discussion of race's "absent presence" where it is excluded from discourse, while actively working under the surface (462). Ideas about race have, as they remind us, historically "always been linked to questions of population management and control" (M'charek, Schramm, and Skinner 2014, 464).

These unresolved contradictions of imperialism and colonialism surface in various circumstances, such as when a new law was passed in Spain in 2015, offering citizenship to descendants of those expelled from Spanish kingdoms in the fifteenth century. Maribel Casas-Cortes and Sebastian Cobarrubias Baglietto (this volume) show that the law still effectively leaves out the expulsion of Muslims and people who converted from Islam to Christianity. These groups are defined as invaders,

ignoring the rich cultural history of interconnections and coexistence of different groups, and more generally the history of Muslims in Europe. The law thus, as Casas-Cortes and Baglietto point out, "acts as a racializing tool in marking who can and cannot be a part of the Spanish, and thereby European, community," furthermore drawing attention to hierarchies of deservingness when asking who can belong to Europe.

Geopolitical Margins and Borders

This book stresses Europe's margins, while not conceptually fixing margins or centres; it sees these concepts as open to negotiations, historically contested and shifting. Thinking critically through concepts of margins and centres can, in our view, also provide conceptual tools to understand better the meanings of 'Europe.' In line with other scholars, we see margins as constantly "dislodged and recreated" (Fur 2006, 494–95), where margins are not an explanation in themselves, but relational, fuzzy and historically grounded. Tsing (1994) refers to margins as "the edges of discursive stability, where contradictory discourses overlap, or where discrepant kinds of meaning-making converge" (279). Geographically, what are conceived today as borders or margins – and delimitated as such – have clearly in many cases been the opposite historically. In regard to the outer limits of Europe, the Mediterranean has, for example, become emblematic of the separation between Europe and those seeking to 'invade' the continent, while historically, in the grand narrative of so-called European civilization, the Mediterranean constitutes a centre rather than a margin (see Sorge this volume). The work of Sorge (2018) and De Cesari (2017), for example, draws attention to the Mediterranean as more aptly seen as a space of links and flux, the sea historically having provided connections between spaces rather than separation (see also Cassano 2012; Chambers 2008). Balibar signals the major developments that were already taking place at the borders of Europe in 2016 (Kyiv, Damascus, Lampedusa), affecting the identity and destiny of the European project as a result of globalization and because demarcations are now impossible to establish by administrative or juridical means (Balibar 2016). It is clear that postcolonial entanglements conjoin with the post-socialist reality – intersecting with the so-called migrant crisis, as well as with islamophobia. Revisiting the notion of postcolonialism to address these new crises in Europe, Balibar rethinks the role of postcolonial Europe outside the simple antithesis of Eurocentrism and anti-Eurocentrism, calling for a political and ethical reorientation of the European project, something that was prophetic given the political reality today and the Ukrainian crisis. This unstableness of the outer limits of Europe is, furthermore, reflected in Europe itself as "rich in distinctions" (Loftsdóttir, Smith, and Hipfl 2018).

Catherine Baker and Michael Howcroft (this volume) illustrate how cultural events can become occasions to recreate and reimagine a community's identity. Hull, an economically precarious city (after the decline of its fishing industry in the 1960s) on the margins of the UK, is also known for its high 'Leave' vote in the Brexit referendum. It was awarded the UK City of Culture in 2017 and used this to re-evaluate its outsider status and to restore civic and LGBTQ+ pride. One example

of the creation of 'affective atmospheres' of pride and senses of belonging is the use of one of Hull's cultural symbols, an image showing an upturned seabird with the words 'A Dead Bod' ('bod' meaning bird in Hull accents) that was painted in the 1960s on a dockside shed and later saved from demolition and installed in a café-bar in the city. This symbol, connoting Hull's decline and regeneration, was used later in an exhibition about LGBTQ+ histories in Hull, as a pin-badge with the image in rainbow colours, including the words 'Gay Bod.' For Baker and Howcroft, this pin-badge expresses two marginalities simultaneously – Hull's cultural and socioeconomic marginality and LGBTQ+ communities' sexual marginality within cisheteronormative society – while the morphing of the Dead Bod to Gay Bod also indicates that the themes of pride and 'coming out' are of key relevance in both cases.

We stress as well the need to acknowledge the nation's continued salience as a site of attachment and political organization, while not reifying it. Scholars have importantly criticized methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002), but an emphasis on transnational and supranational connections does not necessarily replace an attachment to the nation (De Cesari 2017, 18). Anxieties in response to Europe's multiple crises strongly prioritized the nation, its prosperity and future (Loftsdóttir, Smith, and Hipfl 2018). So while people's lives are inherently transnational, the nation continues to be a source of rights and focal point of exclusion, imagination and desires (see Casas-Cortes and Cobarrubias Baglietto in this volume). However, as stressed by Boatcă (2017), nation-states are not units that can be understood as "operating on their own" but constitute a component of wider structures of inequalities and hierarchies (see Lewicki in this volume). The same is the case with geopolitical designations of the axes East-West and South-North that have to be seen as relational and historical concepts. The idea of margins can thus only be understood within a larger framework, where margins are constituted by certain discursive and political imaginations and practices. Milica Trakilović's (this volume) discussion of post-Yugoslavia draws clear attention to the fluidity of the configuration of Europe and particular states within Europe. Her discussion shows how the figure of the 'refugee' and the spatio-place of former Yugoslavia challenge European discourses of belonging.

We also recognize the multiple uses of margins as a position that can be claimed for different purposes. Marginality and positionality as being at the 'border' constitute a source of creativity and critical thinking. Starting from the perspective of migration and movement is an epistemic shift that focuses on the practices, conflicts, tensions, multiplicities and potentials of what is usually marginalized, an approach also called "border as method" (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013), "border thinking" (Mignolo and Tlostanova 2006; Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert, and Koobak 2016), "postmigrant research" (Römhild 2017), or the "critical standpoint of migration" (De Genova and Tazzioli 2021). Such approaches attempt to capture how marginal positionality creates a different kind of logic than dominant Eurocentrism, and to think differently. The aim is to change the terms of the conversation, not simply the content (Escobar 2007, 205). Thinking "with/through the border," as Trakilović (this volume) demonstrates, is a way of intervening and embracing

the contradictions in the idea of Europe. In doing so, Trakilović traces some of the symbolic borders that constitute the European 'myth' (binary configurations such as refugee versus citizen and East versus West). Additionally, the chapter explores the critical potential of displacement and peripherality by considering how existing at and within the borders of multiple spaces, histories and communities demands articulation and narration that might challenge hegemonic discourses of nationhood and belonging, arguing that these narratives perform opacity by way of fragmentation, repetition and non-linearity.

Geopolitical power relations – between margins and centre – are also evident in the production of academic knowledge. Scholars from the 'South' have importantly demonstrated hierarchies within academia (Comaroff and Comaroff 2015; Escobar 2007; Harrison 2016), with a long-standing criticism of knowledge production where Euro-American intellectual centres theorize about their 'Others' (Huggan 2001, 5). The predominance of the English language in academia can operate to push aside other imperial histories (Ponzanesi and Blaagaard 2011; Ponzanesi and Leurs 2014), the language use consequently both recreating a particular hierarchy within Europe, where the use of English is normalized, and silencing or marginalizing the colonial past of non-anglophone countries. Here again, margins can constitute a site of resistance, fostering radical perspectives (see discussion in Huggan 2001, 20).

Margins are intrinsically linked with border-making, constituting literally the areas closest to borders that seek to delimit one object/discursive formation and separate it from another. Border-related practices to mark off 'Europe' from the rest of the world have grown rapidly since the new millennium, as captured by Ruben Andersson's (2014) term the "illegality industry," referring to various sectors that aim to analyse, detect and control migrants, with whole industries surrounding the management of illegalized migrants (121). The intensification of control, so-called "everyday bordering" (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy 2019) where individuals have to prove the legitimacy of their status or their right to services, "has disproportionately affected the most marginalized and least protected members of society" (Cassidy 2019, 101). Countries in the South and East of Europe are geographically on the edges of the Schengen area, which makes them the entry points for people seeking to enter that area without the necessary documentation. Thus, these countries carry the heaviest load of fulfilling the Dublin Regulation where other European countries can deport people seeking international protection to the Southern margins (see for example Loftsdóttir in this volume). Border control becomes a question of management, governmentality and most of all of containment, rejecting the principle of the autonomy of migration, a movement which proposes 'no borders' as a solution to protracted forms of human rights and refugee laws violation which impede freedom of movement through enduring encroachments in the forms of illegal *refoulement*, encampment and criminalization (De Genova and Peutz 2010; De Genova and Tazzioli 2021; Mezzadra and Neilson 2013). The themes of migration, borders and border control have been increasingly incorporated not only in documentaries (see Nico Carpentier and Vaia Doudaki on the borders of Turkey, this volume), but also in popular reality TV formats and franchises,

potentially reproducing state-sanctioned discourses on border enforcement, as Lennart Soberon and Kevin Smets (this volume) illustrate.

The notion of the digital border as an assemblage and an infrastructure brings us to reflect not only on the materiality of borders, geography and demarcation lines, through space and technology, but also on their symbolic construction, through mediatization and narrativization (Chouliaraki and Georgiou 2022; Dijstelbloem 2021; Scheel 2019). Digital borders as an assemblage of material and symbolic constructions constitute violent operations, and perpetrations of inequality, as borders and digital borders continue to mark 'migrants from the Global South' as space invaders, disrupting the illusory idea of national homogeneity and cohesion (Appadurai 2006; Puwar 2004).

The European external border, therefore, has become digital as well, with increased fortification through digital security and surveillance through the coordination of projects such as Frontex, Eurosur and Eurodac.[2] In this way the border is not only displaced from clear territorial lines, becoming externalized and digitalized, but also invisibilized, and reactivated through many intangible forms of monitoring, sorting and classification. Biometric sorting and algorithmic classifications (Amoore 2021; Magnet 2011; Pugliese 2010) are part of the recent trend towards digital innovation and data practices in the humanitarian field that use refugees as a laboratory for the implantation of new data practices. While biometrics is not something new, the acceleration of its utilization as part of the technological convergence that amplifies the risks associated with each constituent technology of the biometric assemblage is a new phenomenon. In the logic of securitization and technosolutionism, biometric technologies are increasingly used as a way through which Europe and its nation-states control their borders and ensure security. Biometrics makes refugees legible and controllable, but also anonymized and quantified into abstract data. There are various concerns around this datafication turn (Leurs and Shepherd 2017), such as 'function creep,' 'data breaches' and 'data fraud.' In the name of technological innovation, followed by the hype around biometric technology, refugees are being used as a testing ground for data practices, placing those refugees in jeopardy because of errors and illicit use. The sweeping scale of biometric registrations therefore deserves serious scrutiny in order to avoid what Madianou has called in other contexts "technocolonialism" (Madianou 2019a, 2019b).

However, we should see this newly defined digital border not just as a top-down form of control and governmentality, with infrastructures of quantification and dehumanization, never just strictly digital or controlling, but also as an opportunity to subvert and rethink the line of the border and to rethink the margin, by detecting forms of autonomy, agency and subjectification. As stressed earlier, it is important to read borders and margins also as contact zones of resistance and resilience, where alternative modalities of belonging and participation are articulated, with or against the mediatic approach that continues to represent refugees as outside of the space of Europe, not fully human or fully citizens. Internet applications, as a response to securitized borders, make it possible to sustain new forms of diaspora and networks, which operate within and beyond Europe, making issues of

ethnicity, nationality, race and class not obsolete but transformed. Therefore, this should be understood not only as a form of governmentality but also as a reality of conviviality, solidarity and cosmopolitanism through everyday practices and mundane interactions (Ponzanesi 2020; Ponzanesi and Leurs 2014, 2022).

Minchilli and Ponzanesi (this volume) focus on disrupting the myth of Europe by analysing the relationship between digital media practices and migration from the geographical and discursive Southern margins of Europe. This view from the South helps to disentangle and visualize unequal power relations articulated between the centre and its peripheries, challenging universalizing theories in favour of situated and localized approaches. The chapter turns the map upside down, showing what a Southern look can offer to the canon of digital migration studies, both theoretically and empirically.

Europe as a Diverse and Hierarchical Space

As this book stresses, borders are not only constituted through Europe's relationship with the 'outside' world. A quick glance at Europe's history reveals the various intersecting boundaries, borders and hierarchies within the space of Europe that exist alongside Europe's external borders, where new hierarchies of geopolitical differences interplay with older ones, along with being closely integrated with ideas of Europe's racialized Others. Here, importantly, Western/Northern Europe constitutes *the* unmarked category, 'the' Europe, while other parts require special naming. As phrased by Manuela Boatcă (2017), "[t]he label of 'Europe' always includes both Western Europe and its white populations" (471). As Catherine Baker (2018) similarly points out, ideas of specific parts of Europe are inherently based on depictions of this normalized part of Europe as civilized, modern, rational and cosmopolitan (760–61).

The term 'Eastern European' refers to these non-normative parts of Europe (Boatcă 2017) which are regularly seen as not fully European (Buchowski 2006). Similarly, 'the Balkans' have been projected as a space of backwardness (Baker 2018; Bakić-Hayden 1995; Todorova 2009). For many in Central Europe, the hope was that EU membership would position these countries more firmly as a part of Europe, making it appear possible to reclaim a rightful position that was perceived as having been disturbed during the Soviet era (Pavlovaite 2003, 244). The so-called refugee crisis[3] brought into sharp focus how the reference to 'European values' works as a civilizing mission also within Europe, with Eastern Europeans often portrayed as 'failing' European subjects who lack compassion and empathy toward refugees (Dzenovska 2016). Discourse on LGBTQ+ rights has framed 'Europe' and 'Russia' as oppositional poles, often by emphasizing the moral superiority of Western Europe (Baker 2017, 2019). Paweł Lewicki's (this volume) discussion of 'LGBT-free zones' in Poland shows the reaffirmation of imperialistic and racist notions of nationhood. Lewicki positions these Polish narratives of LGBT-free zones as local expressions of more globally circulating narratives that, in addition to being homophobic and heterosexist, are also deeply conservative and based on White supremacy.

The intensification of the war in Ukraine in 2022 foregrounds Ukraine as a “quintessential borderland” (Sonevytsky 2019, 4 quoted in Mayerchyk and Plakhotnik 2021, 126), being positioned historically by Russian imperialism as its ‘little’ province, and by Western imperialism as a not fully modernized periphery of Europe (Mayerchyk and Plakhotnik 2021, 126). In the war, Ukraine positions itself and is positioned by Europe and the West in general as defending democracy and Western values against Russia, while Putin claims to defend traditional Russian family values against a morally corrupt West. Such a simplified East-West binary obscures on the one hand the fact that the current formation of Ukraine has historically neither been fully part of Europe nor of Russia; rather it has been influenced by and divided up among such diverse empires as Austria-Hungary, Russia and the Ottoman Sultanate (Tlostanova in Suchland 2014). On the other hand, this binary obscures Ukraine’s internal differentiation, manifest in the Maidan revolution of 2013/2014, between those seen as Europe-oriented citizens, deserving dignity, and those labelled as backward and not yet emancipated people from Eastern and Southern Ukraine who were “stuck in Soviet past” and are deprived of dignity (Mayerchyk and Plakhotnik 2021, 124).

Southern parts of Europe similarly have been portrayed as not fully European or as deficient in some sense. The hierarchies of ‘North’ and ‘South,’ so often used in relation to Europe’s borderlands, can thus be seen as reproduced within Europe itself, where, as phrased by Franco Cassano (2012), “the South’s only possibility for redemption is to become North” (xxvii), with a long standing perception of the South as backward, characterized by misery and superstition. Cassano emphasizes “North-West” as “speaking for and representing the South” (Cassano 2012, xxvii). This idea of Southern Europe as ‘deficient’ in some sense has included the racialization of Southern European people, as mixed with African populations and associated negatively with them (Persánch 2018). During the economic crash and its aftermath, relatively concealed divisions between ‘proper’ European subjects and ‘failed’ subjects were brought more clearly to the surface, with Greece within wider European discourses often addressed extensively as the source of the crisis, and people living in Greece routinely described as corrupt, lazy and unable to control themselves (Bickes, Otten, and Weymann 2014; Knight 2013). Irregular migrants and asylum seekers arriving in Italy do not always perceive Italy as the promised land but desire to go further North to the ‘real’ Europe (Muehlebach 2018; Loftsdóttir 2022). This can be clearly seen in the narratives of migrants in Sicily, in Antonio Sorge’s nuanced analysis (this volume), whose proximity to North Africa’s coast makes it a transit point between the African continent and Europe, while Sicilians themselves have long been targets of Orientalism by other European subjects. Migrants experience the island’s liminal position, comparing it positively with their home regions, but simultaneously as recognizing its economic precarity and thus designating it as not being Europe.

This also ties in with the view from the South as argued in the chapter by Minchilli and Ponzanesi (this volume), which takes into account the specificities of Southern European countries, countering a form of intellectual imbalance which erases intra-European differences and relations of power in its theoretical articulations. Hence the importance of engaging with ethnographic work from the South

but also with the work of Southern European scholars, whose theoretical productions are aimed at answering the question of "who speaks for whom, both in defining a history, a space, a language, a literature, and the subsequent articulation of a critical agenda?" (Chambers and Curti 2008, 387).

The EU's forging of the rights of European citizens often resembles a civilizing mission, where Northern or Western Europeans' universal 'truths' are brought to the less developed Southern or Eastern European subjects (Graham 2009). The interactions of EU officials reveal these rankings within the space of Europe, where old hierarchies are reproduced on the lines of East-West and South-North (Lewicki 2016). Here again, the socialist history of Eastern Europe is often projected as halting its development, where people from Eastern Europe need to be "trained" as "proper" European subjects (Szakács 2013). The hierarchies of Europe as a geopolitical space are even more marked when taking into account the various 'other' Europes located on different continents, the reflections of Europe's colonial conquests. These overseas territories are, as Boatcă (2021) has shown, displayed on official EU maps as a cut-out that is pasted awkwardly on the margins of these maps while glossing over *why* they are parts of Europe (395). These 'forgotten Europes' (Boatcă 2021, 399) thus rest uneasy with the celebration of the EU's Europe (see also Loftsdóttir 2022, 122). Focusing on Caribbean Europe as one of the "outermost" regions of the EU, Corinna Di Stefano, Fabio Santos and Manuela Boatcă (this volume) illustrate how this region with its strong historical and migration-related interconnections with Europe is full of inequalities when it comes to health and health mobilities. Caribbean Europe, itself at the bottom of the stratification within multiple and unequal Europes, can offer live-saving medical therapies and treatments for patients who lack adequate healthcare in their countries of origin, as is the case for Dominican cancer patients in Guadeloupe and Brazilian and Haitian HIV patients in Guyane. However, people whose bodies are weakened and marginalized face enormous difficulties and hindrances in crossing Caribbean EU borders, which puts them in structural states of exception which are perpetually reproduced.

The Nordic countries are in the Northern part of Europe but while not being unmarked Europe, they have had a special status, portrayed as exemplary, in particular in relation to welfare and equality (Jensen and Loftsdóttir 2022, 82; Keskinen et al. 2009). Sweden has played a particularly prominent role here, often standing in for the Nordic countries as a whole (Marklund 2017), which obscures how different the welfare policies of the different states are and hides their internal power relationships (Jensen and Loftsdóttir 2022). The Nordic countries as a whole have been consistently represented as sites of 'Whiteness' and democracy (Loftsdóttir 2019). Loftsdóttir's (this volume) focus on nation branding in Iceland shows the association of Whiteness with particular areas of Europe, but also the malleability of these categories. The extremely successful nation branding campaign benefitted from Iceland's association with Whiteness, furthermore, recycling older colonial tropes of exoticness – that could be safely applied to Iceland, due to its status as part of a 'White' fantasy at Europe's margins. This branding of Iceland has been further facilitated by persistent notions of Nordic exceptionalism that have partly revolved around the idea that the Nordic countries are not part of colonial history, and thus somehow safely removed from the history of racism (Keskinen

et al. 2009; Loftsdóttir and Jensen 2012). Such narratives of colonial exceptionalism within Europe – i.e. the separation of national histories from colonial history – can also be seen as strategically claiming a position at the margins as a way to purify the state from the stain of past colonial violence (Jensen and Loftsdóttir 2022). However, nation-states and subjects of various states that experience themselves as on the margins of Europe often more explicitly and openly attempt to 'prove' membership of the community of Europeans by seeking to identify with a colonial past or aspiring to be part of it, in order to claim their place as 'real' or proper Europeans (Baker 2018; Dzenovska 2013; Loftsdóttir 2019).

As indicated earlier, friction surrounding migration has also not been limited to migration 'into' Europe, as mobility from particular geopolitical spaces to other parts within Europe has been contested as well. The enlargement of the EU in 2004 and 2007 clearly reflected this, with harsh debates across Europe about a potential "flow" of migrants and "cheap" labour from the new member countries (Oso 2020, 2573). Similarly, in the aftermath of the economic crisis starting in 2008, narratives emphasizing in particular the South-North dynamic were evoked repeatedly (Knight 2013). The EU's enlargement to encompass Eastern Europe led to a massive movement of people from East to West, which was partly due to economic inequality between these parts of Europe (Dzenovska 2013). In Southern Europe, there have similarly been massive migration movements, for example after the economic crash, especially of young people who seek a new political future and are mobilized by intense economic precarity in the Southern part of Europe (Glorius and Domínguez-Mujica 2017; Oso 2020). As Theodoros Rakopoulos (2019) points out, the austerity measures after the economic crash of 2008 may have had a sense of newness to inhabitants of Northern Europe, but they were painfully familiar to those living in the East where economic hardship has been ongoing for a long time.

However, these hierarchies are malleable and fluid, as seen by Italy's election as the Economist's country of the year in 2021, partly due to its high vaccination rate (The Economist 2021), while Spain has been praised as the "vaccination champion" of Europe's "big nations" (France 24 2021). The reproduction of the geopolitical designations of South/North and West/East also assigns most agency to the North and West of Europe. Fradejas-Garcia, Lubbers and Molina (this volume) draw attention to migration between different margins of Europe, which is often neglected by scholars. The opening of the wider European labour market to Romanian subjects in 2007 meant that previously illegalized Romanians became able to move freely within Europe. Romanian enclaves in Spain are characterized by solidarity and strong networking between South and East Europe. These migrants benefit from the European integration from which they were previously excluded. However, this exposes the hierarchies of migration, with African migrants in the same area being targets of deportation and racism in spite of living in Spain for years.

Europes as Affective Space

We understand Europe also as an 'affective space' by considering how multiple Europes as well as various configurations of 'us' and 'them' surface as effects of

collective feelings and emotional connections (Ahmed 2004; Appadurai 2019b; Hall 2002/2003; Passerini 2014). The hopes, desires and expectations, but also the disappointments and resistances of migrants, refugees and people on the margins are constitutive of various Europes and of feeling European, among other things. The media play a central role in this. There is a long tradition of representing certain Europes as desirable places with the promise of a good life, which makes them an attractive destination for migrants and refugees (Appadurai 1996; Orgad 2012). But there are also initiatives like the one by the Austrian government after the so-called 'migrant crisis' in 2015, which started an advertising campaign in Afghanistan to urge potential migrants not to come to Europe (Reuters 2016), or 'Operation Vaken' in the UK, where posters on London buses called on illegal migrants to leave the country (Wodak 2015). Then there are news media images and narratives of migration, predominantly expressing threatening flows of migrants and asylum seekers, or empathy and humanitarian care for suffering victims (Fassin 2012), and spectacles of the enforcement of the border (De Genova 2013). Such images and narratives rarely leave room for the feelings of migrants and refugees themselves, who still share the same media space (Alinejad and Ponzanesi 2020; Horsti 2023; Loftsdóttir 2022). Recent depictions of migrants from Africa and the Middle East position them either as victims in need of protection and care or as malevolent actors who are threats to European communities (Chouliaraki and Georgiou 2020). These are effects of the affective politics of political groups, and governmental and non-governmental institutions that produce empathy as well as fear. With a 'politics of fear' (Wodak 2015), which mobilizes "fear of change, of globalization, of loss of welfare, of climate change, of changing gender roles … almost anything can be constructed as a threat to 'us,' an imagined homogenous people inside a well-protected territory" (Wodak 2015, 5). Such rhetoric of exclusion and a nativist nationalistic agenda also connects with and reactivates older hierarchical and racialized binaries, and varies across Eastern and Western Europe because of somewhat different pasts. This rhetoric has made right-wing political parties acceptable political forces in many European countries (Wodak 2015). The politics of fear, as illuminated by Ruth Wodak (2015), is a backward-oriented politics that mobilizes against new developments, in part by reclaiming traditional gender roles. The narratives and images of the criminal, threatening, deviating Other evoke and reconnect with old prejudices and produce an 'affective economy' where negative emotions stick to some bodies, for example to the bodies of racialized Others (Ahmed 2004).

Generally, narratives in the traditional mass media and social media that frame some people as 'like us,' and some as less so, shape social imaginaries and legitimize what Chouliaraki and Georgiou (2020, 26) call a "regime of humanitarian securitisation" – "a moral and political regime of power," that combines care for the vulnerable with control of those perceived as a threat. The regime of humanitarian securitization also tracks migrants using digital technologies, which at the same time have become a device for migrants' survival and (self-)representations, and which also create spaces of resistance and solidarity (Chouliaraki and Georgiou 2020; Diminescu 2020; Ponzanesi and Berger 2016). The ambivalence of

digital technologies is also apparent in migrants' transnational connections with relatives and friends, which can provide both emotional support and 'remote control' (Diminescu 2020; Röttger-Rössler 2018).

The technological possibilities of digital media to endlessly circulate and modify images and texts characterize what Adi Kuntsman (2012) calls the "affective fabrics of digital cultures" where emotions intensify structures of feeling and make them shift because one and the same event, image or text can be positioned in opposite ways. Such repositories of feelings on the internet are constitutive of migrants' affective communities, of transnational social spaces and spaces of resistance (Alinejad and Olivieri 2020), and can provide spaces for solidarities and conviviality (Nikunen 2019, 2020). But they can also result in an "affective regime of disbelief" (Kuntsman 2012, 3) and an atmosphere of suspicion that supports migrant control regimes. Populist groups have appropriated emotional responses to actual events such as mass shootings and used them to justify the 'need' to use violence to protect women and European values (Ekman 2018).

The salience of visual media and media practices in constructing Europeanity is demonstrated by Nico Carpentier and Vaia Doudaki (this volume), where they reveal a negotiation of Europeanity in the documentary series *Along the Borders of Turkey*. Carpentier and Doudaki show that Europe is not discussed explicitly in the series, but that is not necessary as Europe is constantly evoked through discussions of its counter-image, i.e. Turkey. Some countries are therefore positioned as naturally European while others are implicitly not European. The intensification of emotions is clearly visible in another visual media product, as shown by Lennart Soberon and Kevin Smets (this volume). The controversial reality TV series *Smuggled* is presented as an experiment to test the UK's borders by following the attempts of eight 'ordinary' British citizens to 'get into' the UK without their passports, with the aim of drawing attention to porous borders. Soberon and Smets point out that while the show does generate empathy for the contestants, it is overshadowed by a security discourse where the message to the viewer is the necessity of the borders and its strict surveillance. Furthermore, the show is not only based on the supposition of Europe as invaded but also emphasizes the superiority of the UK in comparison with other European countries.

The media also have an important role to play when it comes to memory: which memories are celebrated, which ones are occluded, which ones are activated at certain events and in what ways are they expressive of colonial durabilities (Stoler 2016; Trakilović and Proglio 2021)? As, for example, Appadurai (2019a, xii) points out in the case of migrants, the narratives of public memory of their new home country position the migrant "as a person with only one story to tell – the story of abject loss and need." Here, migrants' archives (in electronic media, but also in traditional diasporic media like newspapers) can compensate for the indignity of feeling minor or contemptible, and they can become sites of negotiations of different sets of memories, resulting in new mappings. Following Trakilović and Proglio's (2021, 19) plea, to understand memory not only as a politics but also as a practice "attunes us to the ways in which memory is alive and continually negotiated," thus continuously challenging a singular narrative of Europe. In fact, this is

indicative of belonging simultaneously to different spaces and times, producing alternative cartographies and imaginaries (Buikema 2021, 230).

Scholars have begun demonstrating how feelings feature in the everyday lives of transnational migrants: in their experiences of belonging, intimate relationships, and aspects of how they experience and respond to political and economic realities (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015; Skrbiš 2008). Migrant researchers calling attention to the importance of emotion have highlighted how transnational emotion relies on various forms of media. The development of digital media is situated within a long history of technological developments that have shaped how the condition of migrancy is lived and represented (see for example Chambers 2008; Hipfl 2019). On a global scale, digital communications mediate varied aspects of migrancy, from long-distance calls and personal messaging to remittance transfers and access to information about jobs, immigration procedures and smuggling routes. Platforms mediate the entirety of this wide range of communications (Van Dijck 2013, Van Dijck, Poell, and de Waal 2018). Yet despite the technical uniformity produced by the algorithmically determined options, datafied profiles and advertising-oriented business models of the most prevalently used apps, the diversity of uses of these platforms cannot be fully understood by looking at the platform infrastructure alone. Understanding the emotional impacts of platforms requires in-depth investigation of particular practices, contexts and consequences of media usage in social life. This intrusion of web applications into ever more aspects of people's everyday lives complicates an already diverse array of contemporary migration phenomena and diasporic cultural formations, heightening the need for further investigation of how human emotion is transformed when new technologies mediate transnational social life (Alinejad and Ponzanesi 2020).

Concluding Remarks

The themes of the chapters in this book intersect in different ways, approaching the subject matter from different angles, demonstrating the shifting meanings of marginality and borders, as well as the hierarchies and different intersecting exclusions from Europe. The book opens with three chapters that demonstrate the intersection of the past and the future in terms of racism and reification of particular identities. Maribel Casas-Cortes and Sebastian Cobarrubias Baglietto critically point out the continued exclusion of Muslims from the space of Europe, in laws set in Spain in 2015 where the goal is to correct the expulsion of non-Christians from Spain 500 years ago. Paweł Lewicki's discussion gives a nuanced understanding of Polish governments' anti-LGBT policies by placing them in a historical and wider European context. Milica Trakilović reminds us that refugees have historically also been within Europe, as well as of the unfixed boundaries within and outside of Europe. The next three chapters reflect the geopolitical margins and some of the border politics within Europe. Antonio Sorge draws attention to how Europe's external borders involve multiple actors, while Claudia Minchilli and Sandra Ponzanesi point towards Europe's margins as a source of critical investigation and reflection, with the aim of reversing the traditional map and perspective for looking and thinking

about Europe. Catherine Baker and Michael Howcroft show intersecting marginalities in the context of the UK, which is usually spoken about more as a centre than a margin. The unstableness of Europe's boundaries is reflected in the subsequent three chapters, as well as some of the hierarchies of belonging within Europe. In their chapter on inequalities and health, Corinna A. Di Stefano, Fabio Santos and Manuela Boatcă draw attention to the Europes that are not geographically part of Europe but are overseas. Kristín Loftsdóttir shows Iceland's privileged position as part of Northern Europe, a place which is still marked and a site of exotic images and extraction. Ignacio Fradejas-García, Miranda J. Lubbers and José Luis Molina decentre the centre by focusing on two marginal geopolitical sites within Europe, Spain and Romania, and the vibrant migration from Romania to Spain. The last two chapters give important insights into how the media are involved in creating, reproducing and contesting European boundaries. Nico Carpentier and Vaia Doudaki explore how Europe is made meaningful in their focus on Turkey, Greece and Cyprus in a Dutch documentary, and how foreign bodies are seen as entering Europe from the margins. Lennart Soberon and Kevin Smets discuss the gamification of migrant experiences in the reality show *Smuggled*, which demonstrates internal hierarchies where both the UK and Europe are evoked.

The chapters in this book explore different conjunctures where processes of bordering, re- and de-racializations, occur across and beyond Europe. They demonstrate the need to look more clearly at the multiple meanings of margins and the different intersecting hierarchies delimitating who are seen as Europeans, as well as the role of mobility in creating such notions, with mobility being intrinsic to Europe. The current emphasis on 'Fortress Europe' facilitated by digital technologies might seem to clearly delimitate Europe but it intersects with geopolitical delimitations of Europe where the various states are not all equally European (see also Leurs and Smets 2018). These intersect, furthermore, with sexuality and citizenship, where LGBT rights are used to delimitate the degree of Europeanness. The Netherlands, for example, denotes LGBT rights as exemplary for Western civilized culture in contrast with the 'backwardness' of Muslims, while in Poland, LGBT people are positioned as the Other with respect to Polish citizenship, Christianity and traditional family rights. Jointly, these chapters draw attention to important questions of belonging and exclusion, but also to the entanglement of different topical issues and to Europe as rich in distinctions while always and already entangled with other parts of the world. Together, they highlight how Europe has been shaped and reshaped through multiple connections.

The perspectives and approaches that we have stressed here are also useful in analysing topical issues that we have not explored much in the book. One such issue that will become increasingly salient in the future is the global climate crisis and the social, economic, demographic, geopolitical and racial dynamics related to it. Already differentiations are being made between the Global South and the Global North, between highly industrialized states responsible for the production of carbon toxicity and the states affected by it. Migration in the future is expected to be shaped by the climate crisis. Furthermore, we can extend the question of responsibility to the South/East versus North/West dynamic, given that the global

North/West often positions itself as the protector of the environment. This issue also intersects with land-grabbing and neoliberal free market dynamics where the right to pollute is sold as a commodity. This will not only result in new forms of vital, existential and material inequalities globally but also in new challenges and potentials for the various Europes.

As we have stressed here, while it is widely known that borders and margins tell stories of exclusion, marginalization and violence, they also offer avenues of care, conviviality and solidarity. The digital border is traversed by fluid and fragile social relationships, relationships that entail both the despair of inhumanity and the promise of a better future. Identity and affectivity have been destabilized and reconfigured through medium-specific technological affordances, which suggests the need for a comparative and postcolonial framework that focuses on diversity in conjunction with aspirations of conviviality.

Notes

1 The concepts White and Black are used in this book to refer to social constructs in line with critical scholarship in regard to racism. Anti-racism mobilization has called for capitalizing of "Black" while it is more disputed if "White" should be capitalized or not (Weeber 2020). For this book, we capitalize both terms while recognizing their ambiguity.
2 For more information about these EU systems of digital frontier control based on shared information on fingerprints, and biometric data, see: Migration and Home Affairs (2021); Migration and Home Affairs (n.d.)
3 For problematization of this term see de Genova, Tazzioli, and Álvarez-Velasco (2016), Khiabany (2016) and Loftdóttir (2022).

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