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Our joint intervention explores Queer People of Colour (QPoC) positionalities as a valuable lens through which to rethink the racial and colonial imaginaries of subjects and space in Europe. It brings together race, gender, class, colonialism and sexuality, inseparably, in a shared analytic. We address multiple erasures: of genders, sexualities and race from discussions of space; of QPoC in Europe from discussions of European subjects, race and space; and from US-centric QPoC studies. Europeans are generally presumed to be homogeneously white, while racialized subjects are generally presumed to be uniformly straight and cis. Rarely is space understood as a formation that is co-constituted through sexualities with other relations of power. Our intervention radically rethinks urban environments in their relation to race, subjects and agencies. It also puts QPoC in Europe on the map.

We recognize that the categories ‘queer’ and ‘of colour’ are contingent, contested and unfinished. They tend to reinforce US-centricity and to erase differences within and across gender and sexually non-conforming, racialized and colonized collectivities across the Global North and the South. The term ‘people of colour’ often travels to Europe in ways that keep Europe white and the US hegemonic, and dismiss local antiracist and anti-imperialist struggles as inauthentic and derivative. Similarly, ‘queer’ often circulates in ways that universalize white colonial genders and sexualities, while erasing all others, including the working-class dykes of colour in the U.S. described by Gloria Anzaldúa (1991, 2007), for whom *queer* was an important alternative to homonormative identifiers (Bacchetta, 2002; Bacchetta, Falquet and Alarcon, 2012). The assimilation of ‘queer’ (and often ‘queer of colour’) into white-dominated academic formations in Europe has done nothing to contest how racialized people are inscribed as deficient, inferior and disentitled to life chances on account of their failed masculinities, femininities and heterosexualities (El-Tayeb, 2003; Haritaworn, 2005). Instead, it unproblematically coincides with the increased criminalization, pathologization, displacement, and/or spatial confinement of racialized populations.

This project hopes to show that despite these indisputable problems, both ‘queer’ and ‘people of colour’ can and should be mobilized to describe the radical interventions of QPoC into a European landscape from which they remain violently excluded. We acknowledge that identities and allegiances are multilayered and shifting, but at this point in history, the

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category of 'QPoC' allows European QPoC activists, and allows us as scholars coming out of this context, to trace connections that are more complex than dominant U.S. and Eurocentric narratives imply, while also exploring the specifics of the European situation. This is a situation that affects the whole continent: the intersection of race, gender and sexuality that reliably produces white Europe as the center of progress, civilization and democracy since the days of the Enlightenment, continues to shape national as well as transnational structures (Fabian, 1983). However, we initially focus our intervention on Northwest Europe. This is in part due to the nature of our earlier work, which is located within this region. Today much attention is given to the violence and murderous aspects of the refugee situation in southern and eastern Europe. However, long before this horrifying situation caught the media's attention, daily incidents of violence against PoC, most often Black, Roma or Muslim, were the largely ignored not-so-new normal in these and other parts of Europe.

QPoC and space

Today, racial and colonial violence is often legitimized in the name of protecting lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) spaces from dangerous and degenerate hateful others. An increasing body of writing highlights how current modes of power and control give rise to gender and sexual normativities that interpellate white and racialized populations unevenly. These 'murderous inclusions' have been conceptualized through various frameworks, including queer necropolitics (Haritaworn et al., 2014; Shaksari, 2014), homonationalism (Puar, 2007), gay imperialism (Haritaworn et al., 2008), homotransnationalism (Bacchetta and Haritaworn, 2011), queer of colour critique (El-Tayeb, 2003, 2011) and affect (Kuntsman, 2009). While much of this work has examined queer and other investments in the 'war on terror', the 'proper' genders and sexualities (now including transgenders and homosexualities) that this conjuncture enables are also situated in a *longue durée* of anti-Black racism and settler colonialism (Agathangelou 2013; Ferguson, 2004; Ferguson and Hong, 2011; Henderson and Johnson, 2005; Maikey, 2012; Reddy, 2011; Thobani, 2014).

Implicitly or explicitly, these writings have dealt with various scales, including the nation, 'Europe' and the 'west'. Our intervention adds to this a more sustained focus on space, which highlights the scale of the city as a crucial site of power and resistance. It reconsiders notions of urban space that currently dominate in the Global North through the vantage point of QPoC art, activism and other practices. As some critical cultural geographers have pointed out, scholarship in the Global North often assumes a three-fold conceptualization of space: abstract space; relative space; and space as a production (Gregory, 2000). In brief, abstract space presumes space as a given and is associated with essentialist thought. It is the presupposed space of colonial encounters and the drawing of borders. In turn, relative space, a structuralist notion, signals space in relation to subjects. Relative space remains a problematic conception insofar as it again imagines space in essentialized terms as a pre-existing entity, even if now positioned relationally vis-à-vis subjects. In contrast, the poststructuralist notion of space as a production, as proposed by Lefebvre and elaborated by others, rethinks space as a construction that has no inherent existence (Gilmore, 2002; Lefebvre, 1974; Massey, 1994; McKittrick, 2006).

But we are acutely attentive to other potential modalities of thinking space, especially in its relation to other temporalities and relations of power. We ask what happens when we treat QPoC as geographic subjects whose cognitive maps might advance 'alternative geographic formulations' that can 'incite new, or different, and perhaps not just, more just,

geographic stories' (McKittrick, 2006: xix). We also address the disturbance QPoC represent to the dominant temporality of the nation. In hegemonic discourses, nation-time is conceptualized within a framework of past-present-future, which reflects the Enlightenment logic of a historical linear movement towards 'civilization' and in which the white West and in particular Europe invariably is positioned at the center of progress and the Global South as eternally lagging behind (Fabian, 1983). Racialized populations are thus positioned within a spatial and temporal paradox – they are permanently frozen in the moment of arrival, as eternal migrants – and the further away the actual moment/movement of migration, the stronger the paradox, i.e. the dislocation in space and time. In creating translocal, rhizomatic and often ephemeral networks, QPoC defy this logic of time and place, opening up the potential of alternative subject and temporal-spatial formations.

The pathologization of racialized immobility contrasts with the celebration of queer mobility (El-Tayeb, 2012). Our intervention revisits a queer space debate that has often reinscribed this contradiction (Haritaworn, 2015). Much work remains to be done to account for the racialized absent presences that have haunted writings on queer space from the beginning (e.g. Castells, 1983; Rubin, 1984). Indeed, early scripts of vulnerable yet enterprising gays and lesbians who settle inner city areas that have been run down by people of colour, whose degenerative failure to cultivate their surroundings contrasts with the creative proclivities of white gay cis-men in particular, prefigure neoliberal and securitizing frameworks of hate crime and queer gentrification and naturalize a colonial-capitalist logic of territory (see Coulthard, 2014). More recently, these contradictions have found expression in the 'creative city' model, where queers with race and class privileges are hailed as 'pioneers' who break into areas hitherto considered ungentrifiable (Florida, 2002). Contemporary writings from the nexus of urban, critical race and gender studies have problematized the figure of the queer gentrifier (El-Tayeb, 2012; Hanhardt, 2013; Manalansan, 2005). Writers highlight the effects of gentrification and policing on low-income trans and QPoC, who are displaced alongside other poor, racialized and colonized bodies. A well-documented example for this are the Christopher Street piers in New York that have been redeveloped into spaces for middle-class (straight and gay) residence and consumption (FIERCE, 2008).

Meanwhile, critical considerations of queer space often focus on the assimilationist effects of the neoliberal city. Adding a spatial angle to the gay assimilation debate, writers have linked the homogenization of queer identities in these spaces to gentrification, or the homogenization of inner city spaces (e.g. Bell and Binnie, 2004; Doan and Higgins, 2011; Schulman, 2012). While some queer critics of the neoliberal city explore the formation of gay neighbourhoods, which are appropriated alongside other branded and themed quarters by neoliberal, global and entrepreneurial cities competing over tourists and investors, others highlight the promises that 'mixed' (multiracial and multisexual) areas hold for queer bodies whose transgressive expressions are not palatable to cosmopolitan consumption.

Our project builds on existing queer critiques of homonormativity and the neoliberal city but goes beyond a binary of 'assimilated gays' vs. 'transgressive queers' that is not grounded in an analysis of racism and colonialism. Indeed, QPoC activists in Europe have identified the problem as whiteness rather than as political distinctions between LGBT, queer and trans, or left and right. Many of these interventions, as described next, have employed a distinctly spatial analysis.

As early as 1989, groups like the Amsterdam QPoC collective *Strange Fruit* used performances, dance parties, poetry and their own radio show to address issues ranging from HIV prevention for communities of colour to immigration law and deportations,

racial profiling, transphobia in queer communities, and racism among white progressive organizations. In addition to creating their own spaces, the activists focused their interventions on sites where QPoC convened, but rarely felt at home, such as white-dominated gay clubs and ethnic festivals like the Bejmerfeest, Amsterdam's largest celebration of Caribbean culture. They thereby successfully challenged hetero- as well as homonormative models of place and identity (El-Tayeb, 2011, 2012).

In Paris in 1999, the *Groupe du 6 novembre: lesbiennes issues du colonialisme, de l'esclavage et de l'immigration* (6 November Group: Lesbians Born from/out of Colonialism, Slavery and Immigration) was formed expressly to create alternative spaces for lesbians of colour, to construct their own analysis of multiple simultaneous relations of power, to promote lesbian of colour expression of all sorts (in art, media, demonstrations, etc.), but also calculated silence when useful, and to directly resist – and sometimes to ignore and work around and despite – racism, colonialism and white supremacist nationalism within feminist and LGBTQ movements in France (Bacchetta, 2009). That work is continued and expanded today by the autonomous group *Lesbiennes of Color*, and intensified and taken in multiple other directions by the new coalition of feminists and queers of African descent called *MWASI Collectif Afro-Féministe* and by the broad queer of colour coalition called *AssiègeEs*.

In Berlin in 2010, queers of colour dialogued with Judith Butler about the state of queer politics in Berlin. In a widely circulated speech, Butler subsequently declined the Pride civil courage award due to the organization's 'complicity with anti-Muslim racism'. In their – largely ignored – statement about Butler's refusal, queer of colour organization SUSPECT (2010) provided an early spatial analysis of homonationalism and gay imperialism that specifically linked these processes to queer gentrification.

In London in 2011, queer Muslim organizations Safra and Imaan mobilized against the East End Gay Pride, a pinkwashing event organized by the neofascist English Defense League, which frequently marches on areas racialized as Muslim (Decolonize Queer, 2011; Imaan, 2011; Safra Project, 2011). The march's stated goal was to protest homophobic posters that were attributed to 'Islamists' in a fertile media campaign but later revealed to be EDL authored, and that marked the area as dangerous, homophobic, and in need of queer reclamation. While for many queer observers the march was problematic due to its far-right taint, its spatial/racial project in fact transcended political differences: after the original organizers cancelled following the scandal, the march was put back on under similar signs by left-wing organizers.

That the problem is less one of political distinction than of white supremacy was also brought home by organizers in Berlin in 2013. Three years after Butler had called out the mainstream Pride, the authors of the *Khalass!!! We're vex!* manifesto offered a similar spatial analysis of the alternative Pride, which prides itself in its antiracist and antifascist politics. Importantly, the anonymous authors, whose identities as 'queer_trans*_inter*_Black_Muslim*_Arab_Rromni*_ja_mixedrace_Mizrahi_Refugee_Native_Kurdish_Armenian' open up QPoC formations as shot through with difference and privilege, argued that the race and class-privileged queers who paint the inner city as queerphobic also often act as its gentrifiers:

You consider yourself and your bourgeois squats to be "pioneers" and you don't even realize how colonial your language is, you do not see the civilizing mission you are part of and that you prepare the ground for other white settlers to come. [...] Stop investing money into anti-homophobia projects in [the Berlin inner city] that target us, the "dangerous brown mass", and start dealing with homo-, and transphobia within the white society. (*Khalass!!! We're vex!*)

In the same year, the French group Inter-LGBT proposed a poster to advertise the 2011 annual Gay Pride March that used nationalist and racist symbolism and contained the words 'I vote', thereby making queers in France who are not citizens, and specifically postcolonial immigrants, invisible. In response, the group *Lesbiennes of colour* (LOCs), founded in 2009 in Paris to 'decolonize' feminist and lesbian movements, issued a statement directly calling out Inter-LGBT for its racism and right-wing politics (LOCs, 2011; Bacchetta, 2012). These interventions, while foregrounding queers of colour as geographical subjects onto a local that is often inscribed as white, are often translocal and transnational. For example, both the Berlin and London pride scandals were followed by QPoC solidarity statements from other countries (LOCs 2010, SUSPECT, 2010).

We understand translocal as a conceptual framework that recognizes QPoC's complex relationship to space (as well as time), shaped by intersecting power vectors around race, class, religion, sexuality, gender, colonialism and nation. As is characteristic for Europeans of colour in general, QPoC allegiances both exceed the nation state and are grounded in local formations (the city, the neighborhood etc.). This multiscale negotiation of belonging is, however, centrally shaped by the experience of *not* belonging. QPoC do not find structures to inhabit but have to create or reappropriate them. The experience of always being out of place – in nation, community, family, club or classroom – produces locally grounded spacemaking as a necessary strategy of survival; be it in temporarily occupying and claiming hostile or indifferent spaces or through excavating a local genealogy of QPoC activism that continues to be excluded from the archives, even those devoted to reclaiming suppressed histories (El-Tayeb, 2011, 2012).

At the same time, these situated strategies of resistance are sustained through translocal alliances and shifting coalitions. Building on the decentering of the nation in transnational feminist scholarship, 'translocal' shifts the focus to the concrete conditions under which coalitional politics are created among groups whose relationship to state and nation is fraught. The local, and in particular the city, emerge as central concepts not because we privilege urban spaces but because patterns of postcolonial and labour migration render cities sites of a critical mass of racialized bodies (El-Tayeb, 2011).

Urban spaces, including the 'outer cities', are thus sites of both containment and transformative placemaking. How can city-space be reconceptualized from the vantage point of QPoC? What would it mean to take QPoC seriously as geographic subjects? In the remainder of this intervention, we map some possible thematics that we invite our allies, siblings and comrades to address.

(De)generating spaces

What do inner city areas such as Kreuzberg and Neukölln in Berlin, St. Georg or Wilhelmsburg in Hamburg, the Bejlmmer or Slotervaart in Amsterdam, Grønland in Oslo, the East End in London and the *banlieues* in Paris have in common? Each has long been constructed as a 'degenerate' space where racialized populations are concentrated (see Razack, 2002). Each, further, has been declared dangerous for queers. In the inner cities, which are sites of queer gentrification, this has found expression in moral panics over 'queerphobic' populations, which not incidentally include those who are most vulnerable to displacement through rising rents, policing and welfare cut-backs. In Paris, both queer and straight opinion makers have proliferated white supremacist discourses that directly claim that populations of colour in the *banlieues* are more queerphobic than white populations who live elsewhere (Bacchetta, Forthcoming; Bouteldja, 2013). In the meantime, in January 2014 the movement against gay marriage in France drew 140,000

(mainly white) people into a demonstration, which was accompanied by a sharp rise in violence against queers.

As illustrated by the QPoC interventions introduced above, these panics have crossed the lines of queer and straight, and left and right. In Berlin, calls to ‘reclaim’ areas of queer settlement from homophobes and transphobes have been uttered in both the queer left and the gay right (see Haritaworn, 2009, 2015, Snorton and Haritaworn, 2013). This challenges dichotomies between transgressive ‘queer’ and assimilated ‘homonormative’ spaces and populations. Indeed, queer and left scenes have been important sites where consent is manufactured for the criminalization of people of colour, this time as perpetrators of *hate* crime.

While racialized and colonized spaces have long been labelled degenerate, dangerous, dangerous, unsafe and in need of policing (Amos and Parmar, 1984; Fanon, 1963; Razack, 2002), this is for the first time happening by or on behalf of queers with race and class privileges who are newly emerging as innocent victims deserving of protection (Bacchetta and Haritaworn, 2011; El-Tayeb, 2012). This raises questions that are not currently addressed in discussions of urban justice and queer space, including how queer space is racialized, how queer ascendancies are spatialized, and how racialized bodies of all genders and sexualities are affected by gentrification (Haritaworn, 2015).

Our intervention shifts the lens to consider how queer subjects with race and class privileges are increasingly constructed as innocent victims who deserve protection in areas undergoing gentrification, touristification, and racialized displacement and dispossession, and how these processes go hand in hand with a new onslaught of representations of racialized bodies and spaces as dangerous, and new techniques of policing by or on behalf of (white) queers (Bacchetta and Haritaworn, 2011; El-Tayeb, 2012; Haritaworn, 2015). Questions that remain to be addressed include the following: What is the link between queer regenerations and the degenerating spaces that surround them? How are queer subjects with race and class privileges interpellated as first-wave gentrifiers, in formerly degenerate areas whose increasingly ‘mixed’ status cannot be understood outside of processes of (queer) gentrification and touristification on the one hand, and racialized displacement and dispossession on the other? What queerphobic and queerphilic logics are at play in the continued pathologization of the banlieues and the inner cities (Bacchetta, 2012)? What methods of racism and colonialism are naturalized for consent in the process? What forms of policing – by both state, market, and community – occur in the name of protecting queer lives, and how do they affect queer and trans people of colour, for whom queer territorialization may mean a shrinkage rather than an expansion of safe and healthy environments within which to live, work and play?

Travels and translation

Movement – of people, ideas, practices, objects – is key to the experience of communities of colour in the Global North. While neoliberal economies fetishize the mobile worker, Eurocentric discourses about migration simultaneously demonize the movement of racialized bodies, justifying constant policing and containment. In Europe, racialized communities are increasingly marked in this way to legitimize their immobilization within prisons and segregated urban spaces. Thus, severe restrictions on mobility go hand in hand with the association of non-whiteness with a hypermobile, uprooted status, which in turn allows for the continuous production of particular groups within the nation as outside(rs). The equation of movement with the polluting of ‘pure’ spaces by outsiders affects QPoC in multiple ways. Their mobility (between cities, nations, normatively straight ethnic and

normatively white queer communities) is often perceived as aimless, excessive, threatening, as poisoning authentic formations or derailing debates away from the 'real issues'. The ways in which QPoC use forced and voluntary (im)mobility, travels and translation in creating community (and) spaces is therefore of key interest to us.

This theme leads to a number of related questions that require dialogue across regional specializations and disciplinary formations: How do QPoC create translocal community through both real and virtual spaces? Who has access to those spaces? How can terms like 'QpoC' create a common ground of identification and communication that is then turned into collective action? How do these collective terms translate into local contexts? Who gets left out in these translocal communities based on translatable identities?

How does movement of racialized bodies disturb Eurocentric notions of historical time and national coherence (e.g. how does the living memory of colonialism embodied by racialized subjects interact with the repressed memory of the colonizer, manifest in the very fabric of metropolitan spaces)? How do colonial technologies of (spatial) control and repression travel from Europe to colonized spaces and back to Europe to police racialized bodies wherever they appear? How do strategies of resistance travel from the former colonies to Europe? We note, for instance, the Spanish *indignados* movement taking inspiration from the so-called Arab Spring or Dutch queers of colour using Surinamese winti practices to form alternative queer communities. How does an embodied understanding of colonialism as a contemporary practice challenge Eurocentric notions of progress, as when QPoC challenge pinkwashing?

Can methodologies/concepts such as intersectionality, queer of colour critique or settler colonialism be translated without reproducing universalist notions? If so, what do these translations enable or disable? Are there alternatives to universalizing concepts through translation? Can translated translocal QpoC formations open up the possibility of alliances without uniformity?

QPoC placemaking

We are interested in the city as a racial, sexual and colonial archive in which some subjects, objects, conduct, events and histories are heavily inscribed and remembered, while others are forgotten, erased or denied altogether. QPoC are either imagined as absent or as newcomers to spaces they have long invested. What are the effects of racialized phenomena such as spatial segregation, white-washing and pinkwashing of urban space on QPoC subjects? What kinds of QPoC agencies are formed in relation to them? What ghostly residues of QPoC presence are left in city-space after dominant and subaltern erasures of multiple temporal-spatialities? We will consider QPoC placemaking as reconceptualizations and resistant reinscriptions of urban space.

Placemaking references concrete strategies of resistance and disturbance that disrupt, however momentarily, the exclusionary coherence of spaces assumed to be white and/or straight. By placemaking we mean the actual reconceptualization and materialized production of space as QPoC place by QPoC subjects. Examples of this include the sustained activism of the QPoC collective Strange Fruit in Amsterdam, the situationist performance art of Berlin-based genderqueer Salon Oriental, the online zines of Misster Raju Rage from Britain, or the QPoC kitchen tables in Paris and Berlin that have become important sites of radical activism in the wake of racism and gentrification, which have, on the one hand, effected a shrinking of environments within which to access resources and life chances and, on the other, an increased demand for orientalized queer spaces that quickly become recolonized for white consumption.

Our examples illustrate how QPoC in Europe have both intervened into white supremacy at multiple scales and shown how neighbourhood, nation, Europe and ‘west’ act as fertile and mutually constitutive terrains for homotransnationalist and gay imperialist imaginaries of race, space and belonging (Bacchetta and Haritaworn, 2011). What modes of making places and worlds, what transformative horizons come into view, if we take QPoC in Europe and elsewhere seriously as geographic subjects? Given the centrality of gender and sexual violence in racist and colonial projects (e.g. Simpson, 2014; NYSHN, 2014), what are the promises of centering gender and sexually non-conforming subjects in the study of racism and colonialism, and what would need to happen in order to home them back into antiracist and anticolonial projects?

The ongoing displacements of various ‘disposable populations’ (Mbembe, 2003) within the Global North and beyond it produce an increasingly refined and brutal global system of control, but they invariably also produce new coalitional politics, in which QPOC often play a central role. We propose QPoC not as the only, but as one in a range of possible modalities that may well open up new ways of looking translocally at space and race, and of resisting racist and colonial control. We invite you to join us in paying attention to – and making discursive and material space for – QPoC art, activism and everyday acts of conviviality and community building in Europe. These acts are massively underappreciated. But they have significant potential to make places, and worlds, beyond the murderous logics of securitization, privatization and territorialization that characterize our current context of racial and colonial capitalism.

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