

Routledge Research in Race and Ethnicity

RACISM AND RACIAL SURVEILLANCE

MODERNITY MATTERS

Edited by

Sheila Khan, Nazir Ahmed Can and Helena Machado

Translated by Ana Monteiro



Racism and Racial Surveillance

Based on the premise that the project of Western Modernity is a structuring element of our societies, *Racism and Racial Surveillance* explores in detail its legacies of coloniality and racialisation that interfere in a subtle and perverse way in the current social, cultural and political systems.

Guided by an interdisciplinary methodology, the various contributions privilege historical contexts of colonial formation and offer a thorough and intersectional analysis on the spectres of coloniality in the upsurge of racism, surveillance and criminalisation, as well as the presence of the phantom of the race in spaces of knowledge production such as that of the artistic field, forensic genetics and criminal identification.

Drawing on multi-case studies, the book then proffers key concepts and historical background that will be of interest to researchers, students and professionals in a broad range of areas of social sciences and humanities research, including fields such as criminology and policing, science and technology studies, arts studies, literary studies, race and ethnic studies and, finally, memory studies.

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Modernity Matters

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Sheila Khan, Nazir Ahmed Can
and Helena Machado

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Preface

How does the past define the present? How has Western modernity, as a philosophical, economic and political project built out of Europe, forged meanings and hierarchies that continue to be operative today? What challenges arise, for academic communities and society in general, given the realisation that the logic of domination, marginalisation and social differentiation are the result of historically laminated processes? These are the questions that guide the book we have before us. Although the reader should not foster the empty hope of finding straightforward answers to these questions here, the gesture of defining them as the driving force behind this book produces a certain perspective of the matter in hand: the critical analysis of the mechanisms of production and reproduction of racism, racialisation and racial surveillance. A perspective that, in my opinion, is based on three elements.

The first of these elements tells us that research on racism – on its assumptions and contents, on its explicit emergence or its silent reproduction – lacks intersecting perspectives that go beyond disciplinary self-sufficiency. In this respect, the book proposes a series of nine chapters, which, when read in their entirety, establish a kaleidoscope of problems and perspectives, derived from a transdisciplinary view, which urges us to think of racism as a complex and multifaceted reality. To perceive it in this way forces us to adopt an intersectional stance, which addresses the articulations of the notion of race with the notions of class and gender, and their embodiments located in time and space. At first glance, the two parts that make up this *Racism and Racial Surveillance. Modernity Matters* – the former focused on matters of culture, identity and memory, the latter on issues of racism, technology, genetics and criminalisation – may cause some awkwardness to those less prone to healthy disciplinary disorder. But this is precisely one of the assets of this work.

As to the second element, this book maintains that the analysis of racism, racialisation dynamics and the logic of surveillance, control and criminalisation of racialised subjects must take into account the founding place of Western modernity in the construction of contemporary worlds. Indeed, the

violence, transits and (in)visibilities that modernity has structured, impacting large territories and societies in effective, though different ways, still constitute an inescapable backdrop for the structuring of social relations and the maintenance of subjugation modes based on the imagination of a “non-Western other.” The simultaneous compression and expansion of the world, which will be historically operated, will outline what Boaventura de Sousa Santos classifies as “abyssal lines,” defining a “dichotomy between appropriation/violence,” and which would continue to be reproduced today, by means of a boundary “that divides the human from the subhuman in such a way that human principles don’t become compromised by inhuman practices” and of varied ways of “return of the colonial” to the old metropolitan societies.¹

Pursuing an interpretive line that dialogues with this idea, Sheila Khan, Nazir Ahmed Can and Helena Machado make clear in the introduction that colonialism is a legacy of modernity that “has never finished and has a performative role not yet sufficiently theorised and analysed in the academic world.” In fact, the outcome of colonialism, as a political reality, has rocked and toppled – at least momentarily – the geopolitical and socio-economic foundations that sustained much of the dynamic that existed until the mid-20th century. The anti-colonial struggle was a watershed moment, reprogramming the horizons of liberation and decisively influencing the processes of understanding that world, which, from the second half of the last century onwards, would rise from the ashes produced by the political end of colonialism. But it is also true that, in many respects, the hierarchies drawn up during the colonial period have remained functional, contributing to the determination of specific social formations, to the reconfigured upholding of forms of racialisation, subjugation and violence and to the persistent (re)constitution of social imaginaries still marked by colonial topics. In fact, in many ways, colonialism is a corpse that is still breathing.

Finally, the third element reflected in this book, although not entirely explicitly, is its political dimension. In a context in which the expansion of spaces of resistance and anti-racist denunciation have emerged all over the world, and with renewed vigour in the wake of the Black Lives Matter movement, discrimination and oppression of racialised subjects have also increased, with the widespread growth of the far-right – from the outset, within Europe – often capitalising on an objectively racist common sense, based on deeply-rooted national mythologies and exclusive citizenship-type ideals. On the other hand, and as we are shown in the second part of this book, the omission of the notion of “race” as a category in the field of genetic technologies does not necessarily lead to the omission of racism and racialisation. On the contrary, this avoidance can be an active part of processes of marginalisation, criminalisation and objectification of vulnerable groups and communities.

In a thought-provoking book recently published, Michael Rothberg proposes the notion of the “implicated subject” as a way of dealing with painful pasts that have defined historical injustices and whose strength is perpetuated in the present.² Unlike victims and perpetrators with a direct and experience-based relationship with these pasts, “implicated subjects” are those that contribute, inherit or benefit from domination regimes, but do not originate or control them. In this regard, colonial legacies – including racism, in its varying forms – constitute a past-present that collectively urges us to problematise this sedimented and naturalised history. In other words, understanding how racism was built, how it keeps itself alive and how it manifests itself, publicly or silently, is an ethical and political duty of crucial importance. This book makes an important contribution towards this task being accomplished.

Miguel Cardina

Notes

- 1 Santos, Boaventura de Sousa (2007), “Beyond Abyssal Thinking: From Global Lines to Ecologies of Knowledges,” *Review*, XXX, 1, 45–89.
- 2 Rothberg, Michael (2019), *The Implicated Subject. Beyond Victims and Perpetrators*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.



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Part I



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Introduction

*Sheila Khan, Nazir Ahmed Can and
Helena Machado*

This book is based on the premise that the project of Western modernity, in its aspects of colonialism and of racial domination and subjugation, extends into today's societies. Defending this claim and conviction requires thorough investigation able to encompass the various dimensions and the density associated with the creation, maintenance and continued existence of modernity beyond its moment of creation, which is commonly situated by Western thought in the 18th century, the century of Enlightenment. Without detailed research into what Western modernity was and the characteristics of the devices that enabled the global expansion of its principles, it proves fruitless to understand, contextualise and reveal today the mechanisms of racism, racialisation and racial surveillance, principles that guide our work as editors and that of the authors of the various texts collected here. We believe that one of the great dangers facing current social, historical, economic and philosophical thinking about the various phenomena of violence and inequality that haunt our societies is, on the one hand, historical indolence with regard to the interference of the past in divisive issues of the present, from the refugee crisis to the "threats" of terrorism or manipulation of the masses through communication technologies;¹ and, on the other hand, the reckless perception of historical legacies anchored to the emergence and survival of the logics of coloniality, imperialism and human racialisation, without which the project of Western modernity would be a jaded and unworkable endeavour.

To leave this cartography of thinking, aspiring to be solid and capable of providing sensitive interpretations of the debate around racism, xenophobia, populism, ethno-racial criminalisation and the surveillance of certain social groups, condemns the possibility of serious and balanced reflection to historical inconsistency. In particular, we need sensitive concepts for the examination of the devices of modernity: domination, exploitation, violence and racial differentiation, which cannot be regarded as the remnants and rags of a distant era. On the contrary, under the guise of a technocratic, technological, scientific, rational and ideological language, the modernity

worldview, conquered and constructed in the past tense, inhabits, breathes and infiltrates our current human grammar (El-Enany, 2020; Gilroy, 1987; Lowe, 2015; Melson, 2012).

How and which aspects of Western modernity have implications for our reality are the issues that question us and that, therefore, summon us to a moral, critical and joint commitment towards the importance of embracing research from the perspective of an archaeology of knowledge, and of dissecting the current logics of racism, racialisation (Medeiros, 2020) and racial surveillance (Browne, 2015; Marshall, 2019). This departure point entrenched in our book demands, from us, a gaze that manifests itself not only from a Western geopolitical perspective, but one that impels us to expand our range of study into other realities with different human experiences, which allow us to grasp the analytical richness of other contexts, of other historical, cultural and political dynamics and maturities.

Modernity matters

Understanding how the breadth of modernity is integral to our societies also challenges us to interweave histories, narratives, dimensions and phenomena that reveal, in their fullness, the fact that colonialism never finished and that it has a performative role not yet sufficiently theorised and analysed in the academic world (Sa'di, 2012). The persistence of the legacy of modernity can be seen in the continuation of systemic racism and in the increasingly covert nature of racial discourse and practices, which is revealed so much in the avoidance of direct racial terminology, in the development of a racial political agenda that sidesteps direct racial references, in the subtle nature of most mechanisms of reproducing racial privilege and in the reconfiguration of some racial practices of the past (Shain, 2020).

It is within this awareness of the perpetuation of the legacies of the European empire and its multiple forms of colonialism that we have established a dialogue between different reflective approaches and schools of thought and different cultural and historical situations. Guided by a transdisciplinary methodology and an intersectional perspective in which the concepts of race, gender, class, culture, politics, art, identity and technology converge and enrich each other, this book seeks to understand the complexity and scope of the project of modernity. The narrative of the Western modernity project ushered in one of the most auspicious and glorious times of emancipation, expansion, economic growth and cultural development in the European context. However, together with an era celebrated as unique and original in its guiding principles, it also conceived one of the darkest machines of power and violence that served as tools that originated the slave trade, slavery and the illegitimate appropriation of territories, expropriating, expelling and punishing anything opposing the magnitude proposed

and engineered by that narrative. The humus of modernity is the conception of major contradictions and attacks on human dignity, on respect for cultural diversity and on equality in the sharing of both material and symbolic goods. We are not alone in being aware of this nature of oppositions, dichotomies and the back and forth that the project of modern man carries into the global world. Authors such as Albert Memi, Frantz Fanon, W.E.B. Dubois, Aimé Césaire, Hannah Arendt, Edward Said, Walter Mignolo, Ann Laura Stoler, Lisa Lowe, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Cedric Robinson, Jordi A. Byrd, Simon Gikandi, Paul Gilroy and Nadine El-Enany, among others, are resounding in their insistence on the argument that the genealogy of Western modernity is entirely complicit in the genealogy of a grammar of racial differentiation, racialisation and racism. Accordingly, in order to conquer and grow, it was imperative to colonise, appropriate, subjugate, surveil (Fanon, 2008) and, if possible, eliminate (Wolfe, 2006).² It is in this context that colonialism and imperialism emerge as mechanisms that care for, protect and reinforce the pillars underpinning Western modernity. As guardians of modernity, colonialism and imperialism, they symbolise and assume the power of colonising mother countries in conquered and plundered lands (Galeano, 2017). For Walter Mignolo, this is a fundamental characteristic in better dissecting the necessary compatibility between the modern and the colonial. According to his thesis, “if coloniality is constitutive of modernity, in the sense that there cannot be modernity without coloniality, then the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality are also two sides of the same coin” (Mignolo, 2007, 464). Boaventura de Sousa Santos will highlight this duality, designating it as abyssal lines, detailing the concept of modernity in the following terms:

Modern abyssal thinking stands out for its ability to produce and radicalise distinctions. Modern Western thinking still operates along abyssal lines that divide the human world from the sub-human, in such a way that principles of humanity are not undermined by inhumane practices. The colonies represent a model of radical exclusion that remains in modern Western thinking and practices today, just as it did in the colonial cycle. Today, as then, the creation and – at the same time – the negation of the other side of the line are an integral part of hegemonic principles and practices (Santos, 2007, 3–10).

With the aim of lending consistency to this observation, and although it is not our intention to review the extensive literature already produced on this subject, it is important to emphasise, by way of example, the mindset of Lisa Lowe, who, in her work *The Intimacy of Four Continents*, notes the following:

This genealogy also traces the manners in which the liberal affirmations of individualism, civility, mobility, and free enterprise simultaneously innovate new means and forms of subjugation, administration and

governance. The genealogy of modern liberalism is thus also a genealogy of modern race; racial differences and distinctions designate the boundaries and endure as remainders attesting to the violence of liberal universality.

(Lowe, 2015, 3–7)

The study of this narrative of modernity as emancipating and developmental in nature, demonstrates in co-existence other attributes less worthy of its principles and how those are inexorably maintained and calibrated to preserve its nomenclature and longevity. Without violence, domination and the hierarchisation of the “Other,” the clauses of expansion, exploitation and economic growth in Western colonising mother countries could not have been activated and validated. In this sense, as Nelson Maldonado-Torres points out, the lights of Western modernity carry with them the shadows of a heinous and mournful disrespect of thousands and thousands of other human beings who were stripped of their sense of being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007) and the awareness of the right to their humanity. The archaeology of modernity brings with it the emergence of an ambitious and thirsty source of epistemological and ontological control of the “Other,” assuming the act of violence and force as logics protected from any questioning and review. The logic of elimination is, thus, presented as the aqueduct over which flows the whole spring of dispossession, banishment and denial of human and moral rights – the characteristic attributes of the expansionist projects of the Western world.³ In fact, the legacy of modernity is the archive of repeated legitimisation processes of racial hierarchisation, of colonial surveillance over men, women and children, who were denied the right to cultural autonomy and civic emancipation.

Race, racialisation and racial surveillance

Flowing through a logic marked by the interest of territorial domination, driven by a heroic discourse of self-justification and anchored, in practice, in human atrocities and human rights violations, the narrative of Western modernity caustically elevates the creation of race. Modernity cultural and political constructs race as another essential element for human demarcation and hierarchisation, performing race through new semantics and language based on the humanity versus sub-humanity binomial, therefore the understanding of the racial dimension and of the process of racialisation and surveillance of the “Other” is of unquestionable importance for a triangular articulation and survival of modern thought: at the top, Western modernity, as macro-structure; in the middle, the logic of coloniality and imperialism; and, at its base, racial classification designed as the ground for the durability of conquered territories and people. The logic of racialisation is the right and effective key for the strengthening of colonised spaces,

slavery and forced labour, but also the armour of a praxis and ideology that modern European thought instrumentalised so as to eternalise, without moral remnants, the experience of colonial and imperialist expansion in the world. Each in their own way, but always without measure or modesty, the various European empires made use of this logic to reap the benefits and advantages that fuelled the hegemony and wealth of their colonising mother countries. The experiences of this modern colonisation and imperialism that the texts analyse here represent various living repositories and testimonies of the force, magnitude and impact that the abyssal experience of modernity has left as a legacy in our present time. Indeed, this force was not only territorial, it was also tentacular, feeling its way into other dimensions such as gender,⁴ ethnic groups, caste, religion, social class, sexuality, law and the enforcement of these laws through measures of control and surveillance. As Ann Laura Stoler points out, to understand the archive of modernity is to immerse our thinking into a fine-tuned engine, pumped for power, in which the law and logic of domination and elimination were fuelled to serve one single purpose: to dominate, demoralise and strip the racialised “Other” trapped into the category of sub-human:

[W]hat constitutes the archive, what form it takes, and what systems of classification and epistemology signals at specific times are (and reflect) critical features of colonial politics and power. The archive was the supreme technology of the late nineteenth-century imperial state, a repository of codified beliefs that clustered (and bore witness to) connections between secrecy, the law, and power.

(2002, 87)

Control and surveillance were the measures assumed by colonial and imperial powers (Cole, 2000) to enclose in the space of sub-humanity all those who served through their enslaved labour-force the goals of sovereignty and domination, the modern logic of colonial expansion. In *Black Skin and White Masks*, Frantz Fanon portrays in detail how the gaze of the white man – “the white gaze” – reigned over the lives of those whom modernity had stripped of their sense of mobility, civility and humanity. Simone Browne picks up Fanon’s thought by showing in her book, *Dark Matters, on the Surveillance of Blackness*, the closed devices that mark the enslaved body, monitored and conditioned by an idea of possession and power when she says,

[T]ake, for example, Fanon’s often cited “Look, the negro!” passage in *Black Skin, White Masks* on the experience of epidermization, where the white gaze fixes him as an object among objects, and he says, “the white gaze, the only valid one, is already dissecting me.”

(Browne, 2015, 7)

The history of empires was simultaneously a vast legacy of violence and an unbridled string of crimes against humanity. As several authors point out, “[T]he history of empire, is the history of crime and violence. Empires are, criminally speaking, criminal organisations” (Iadicola apud Kakel, 2019, 5). Techno-colonial legacies endure and are imported through other much more refined tools and measures – such as border control (Amelung and Machado, 2019); transnational genetic-database-sharing protocols (Machado and Granja, 2020; Machado, Granja and Amelung, 2020; Queirós, 2019) and the use of surveillance cameras, drones and Big Data in criminal investigations (Ferguson, 2019; Neiva, 2020) – which make abundantly clear the survival and longevity of the current logics of racialisation, criminalisation and racial surveillance (M’charek, 2020; Skinner, 2018). Equally regrettable is this uncompromised judgement when witnessing the inevitability of a past of modernity that is not extinct, but by other ways and conspicuities, remains present, austere and racialising. With regard to this last observation, what we read in the book *(B)ordering Britain* is worrying, as Nadine El-Enany is peremptory in asserting the following:

It is spurred on by a widespread and concerted refusal to understand contemporary British politics in the context of Britain’s colonial history. The failure to connect the presence of many racialised people in Britain to the destruction and dispossession of British colonialism is as profound as it is pervasive. Britain is a young nation-state, but an old imperial power. The task of bordering Britain is an ongoing and centuries-old process. Britain’s borders, articulated and policed via immigration laws, maintain the global racial order established by colonialism, whereby colonised peoples are dispossessed of land and resources. They also maintain Britain as a racially and colonially configured space in which the racialised poor are subject to the operation of internal borders and are disproportionately vulnerable to street and state racial terror.⁵ Britain is thus not only bordered, but also racially ordered, through the operation of immigration control.

(El-Enany, 2020, 1–3)

Above all else, logics that pervade times and contexts through the maintenance of an abyssal vision of the world, which we witness with the increase of racial crimes, and with demonstrations of exacerbated populism and xenophobia directed towards certain social groups still perceived as racialised bodies and human dangers in the space of not only European contemporaneity, but a contemporaneity in which the gaze of the white man still assumes a primacy and sovereignty *vis-à-vis* the “Other.” If anything contradictory and restless can be found in the prefixes of “post”-colonialism and “post”-imperialism, it is clearly this constant predisposition to mark bodies by their colour, national origin, gender, culture and identity, ignoring

in this demarcation any awareness and responsibility of the historical legacies that racialised bodies carry.

Bringing home the debate on racism and racial surveillance

The various chapters that make up this book are all committed to this awareness of the legacies of modernity in the treatment of the subjects analysed. Accordingly, different reflections and analyses detail the relevance of modern colonial historicity as well as the temporal, social, political and cultural durability of the logics of racialisation and racial surveillance in today's societies. The precedence given to an intersectional vision is a characteristic that stands out in each text without, however, interfering with the authorial originality that is inherent to it. Confirming its transdisciplinary vocation and its intersectional dimension, the book is divided into two working moments. The first, which we refer to as "Arts, Race, Identity and Memory," is dedicated to reflecting on how the cultural, artistic, identity and memory dimensions are spaces that critically dissect the survival of Western modernity and its logics of racialisation and racial surveillance.

Focusing on the relations between literary writing and empire, Nazir Ahmed Can and Rita Chaves analyse some of the ways in which the notion of race, the engine of Western expansion in the world (still ongoing), is projected in works published in different contexts. In a first moment, they observe how a certain idea of race brings together three European narratives separated by more than a hundred years: *Heart of Darkness* (1902) by Joseph Conrad, *Zambeziána – Scenas da vida colonial* [*Zambezián – Scenes of Colonial Life*] (1927) by Emílio de San Bruno and *A última viúva de África* (2017) by Carlos Vale Ferraz. They then examine the literary project of Angolan Ruy Duarte de Carvalho, who, between the final decades of the 20th century and the first few of the 21st century, resizes the debate. In these two tempos, they identify the process that reflects the permanence of a worldview that hierarchises human beings by skin colour, which they call "the schism of race," and its counterpoint, produced on African soil, which they call the "seism of the other."

Márcio Seligmann shows us how the history of Afro-Brazilian Black art is inhabited by all sorts of violence, often read as "achievements of civilization." In this history, science, academia and the entire cultural field are presented as a structuring part of the colonial system. This reality, according to the author, takes on particularly astounding proportions in a country where, like no other in Latin America, politicians nostalgic for slavery and torture assume positions of power through the legitimacy of voting. After shining a light on the ethical, aesthetic and institutional contours of contemporary Black art in Brazil, he examines the production of two artists, Rosana Paulino and Aline Mota, to confirm the strength of this production.

Through the analysis of their works and installations, he defends the idea that this production can only be called “Afro-Brazilian art” if the term “Brazilian” serves as a means to situate the context of the diaspora and not to impose national limits of colonial vocation.

Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva addresses a series of elements making up the social process of Western bourgeois modernity and the place of Black resistance in this dynamic that spans centuries. In the first section, he analyses the construction and consequences of the experiences of counter-hegemonic Black subjects, who are part of processes of insubordination in the 19th century and in anti-colonial movements in the 20th century. The author then examines the notions of postcolonial and postcolonialism, within which historically subordinated subjects vie for a place of meaning and prominence. Finally, placing the reflection in contemporary Brazil, he offers data on the issue of Black modernity and the circulation of ideas that characterises it. In the final section, prioritising the notion of intersectionality, he reflects on the relationship between social memory and Black modernity to unveil how experiences of Black insubordination have been established in recent decades.

Júlio César Machado de Paula provides a reflection on how the intention of the Cape Verdean authors responsible for the publication of the magazine *Claridade* (Manuel Lopes, Baltasar Lopes and Jorge Barbosa) was, on the one hand, the literary emancipation of the archipelago in relation to the Portuguese literary system; but, on the other hand, and at various times, the intention was also to reproduce ideological values similar to the colonial policy of António de Oliveira Salazar. To validate this hypothesis, he highlights the presence of the work of the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in this process and, in particular, his role as a thinker and advocate of a supposed positive differential of the Portuguese colonial model. The ties between the concepts of “miscegenation,” worked by Freyre and appropriated as the political foundation of the Portuguese *Estado Novo*, and “creolity,” adopted by the authors of *Claridade* as a central element of Cape Verdean cultural education, will give the measure of this paradox formed almost a century ago.

For Valérie Magdelaine-Andrianjafitrimo, modernity is rarely defined as a project and, as such, is usually seen less as a question than as an observation. Favouring some Francophone literary contexts in the Indian Ocean, the author examines how some writers position themselves *vis-à-vis* notions of modernity, universalism, racialisation and the colonality of power, highlighting, in certain works, what she defines as an “ambiguous decolonial desire.” In the process, she also emphasises the various critical traditions that address the literary phenomenon of the region, the impasses of “hybrid” aesthetics usually celebrated by them, despite the fact that these aesthetics paradoxically intersect colonial and postcolonial imageries, the silences that are still felt about the place of the “Black man” in Indo-Oceanic societies

and the forms of resistance that have been produced throughout recent decades by local literary agents.

Basing his examination on various authors and works of a literary and critical nature, Paulo de Medeiros looks into how the debate around issues of race and racism is balanced between political and historical contexts that at times promote their absence but, at others, imply a return to a thinking that is deeply committed to the more underground roots and dynamics of racial and racialising logics. In the body of his reflection, the works analysed help in exercising a memory duty about contemporary human experiences and that, as the author notes, recognising the intense damage wrought by racism and other causes of the profound inequality that limits all of our potential to be human and free – and extolling the capacity for literature to help us in the never-ending process of becoming and belonging – is certainly not a new theory of World Literature, but could, or should, be one of its main tasks.

The second part of the book embraces the subjects of racism, technology and crime. Reflecting on the incorporation of genetic technologies in criminal identification, this section provides an analysis of the bio-objectification of human beings, criminalisation and racial surveillance, which are still hostages of processes of coloniality and racialisation, even if under another guise and different semantics. The debate on the silent interference of race, racism and racialisation is deconstructed under various angles of analysis based on specific case studies in which sophisticated genetic technologies are adopted to infer population groups in order to identify suspects of crimes. In these practices, constructed and performed under the alleged neutrality of science, any direct reference to “race” is omitted. At the same time, in a varyingly veiled or overt way, racial assumptions are perpetuated and “scientific evidence” is produced to sustain practices of police surveillance systemically moulded by purposes of criminalisation and surveillance of certain racial groups and more dispossessed and vulnerable communities.

The text by Sheila Khan and Helena Machado explores the concept of postcolonial racial surveillance to deconstruct the rhetorical and operational devices of genetics and map out modes of biopolitics that connect science with the imposition of state power in its meshes of social classification and discriminatory exclusion. In strange times, in which “truth seems to be in the genes,” the authors analyse the ways in which Western science develops techno-scientific apparatus fixated on the quest for knowledge of biological individuality. At the same time, logics are unleashed that consolidate imperial and colonial legacies, whereby the search for “individuality” is interconnected, in a complex and intertwined way, with the “collective.” These relationships, interpenetrations and connections between the “individual” and the “collective” denote, in a particularly illustrative way, a form of technological control based on the knowledge of biological individuality and on the interweaving of suspicion and cultures of objectivity. These flows

between the individual and the collective have profound implications for the reinforcement of discriminatory logics and the marginalisation and surveillance of certain social groups in the light of the tension of the colonial past in postcolonial European time and space.

The following texts, by Nina Amelung and Filipa Queirós, exemplify how concretely racism and scientific and police practices, respectively, go hand in hand. Both authors use the case of the highly controversial technology of forensic DNA phenotyping (FDP) technologies. FDP brings together a series of technologies geared towards inferring externally visible characteristics from DNA traces found at crime scenes, which would then ostensibly provide investigative leads in the criminal investigation based on the inference of externally visible human traits, such as eye, hair and skin colour, as well as biological age and, potentially, biogeographic ancestry.

Nina Amelung studies the profound social, ethical and political implications of the use of FDP in Germany, a nation whose collective memory regarding genetics is still influenced by memories of its Nazi past and of how science was used in racialising genetics and the eugenics movement. Germany's past has contributed to a strong sense of privacy regarding genetics and a general suspicion about state players accessing sensitive genetic information. Germany, therefore, offers a politico-cultural context in which various stakeholders have a deep-seated awareness of the risks of racial discrimination, and where diverse safeguards are urgently needed to achieve acceptable and accountable technologies. Controversies remain due to unease concerning racialised legacies, and fears of aggravating racial bias in an effort to fix it. The author argues that, quite clearly from Germany's history of race science and eugenics, particularly in the 20th century, to the criminalisation of migrants after the 2015 summer of migration in the 21st century, various discriminatory systems in different eras have produced and reproduced social divisions and inequalities, producing wider ecologies for the politics of belonging and non-belonging.

Filipa Queirós explores, via different examples from European jurisdictions, the expectations of scientists regarding phenotype inference technology, seen as one of the most controversial but also most promising weapons of genetics in the identification of suspects. The extent of the controversies raised by this inference technology of visible physical characteristics of human beings is sustained mainly by the fears that geneticists have, in Europe, about explicitly invoking the idea or concept of race. Indeed, in Europe, science has an ambiguous and contradictory relationship with the concept of race (M'charek, 2020) that involves concealing and – in that process of absence – making race more present than ever. By exploring how FDP combines and conflates ideas about human biological differences that are both race and population-based, the author demonstrates how attempts to deconstruct race within science can also, potentially, converge in its reconstruction, (re)creating dynamics of collectivisation of suspicion over specific

population groups. Queirós argues that geneticists' engagement in controversial aspects around the development and application of this technology, created within a logic of race-sorting, reveals hopes of ethical sensitivity towards historical and cultural past experiences associated with the hegemonic use of racially differentiated categories, eugenics and colonialism.

This book aspires to offer readers the opportunity to become familiar with and aware of the richness of human realities that are absent from the mainstream agendas and curriculum of Western research and corresponding patterns of knowledge. In view of this auspicious intention, this collective endeavour proves how fruitful it is to discern and voice the existence of socially invisible and marginalised realities. Finally, this collective book also aims to draw attention to a historical duty of memory and of recognition.

Notes

- 1 In this respect, see the book by Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro (2020), *História(s) do Presente. O Mundo que o Passado nos Deixou*, in which the authors bring together different scholars from the disciplines of history, politics, human rights, sociology of power, psychology and gender studies, to critically assess the intimacy and collusion intertwined between past and present in the debate of the most contemporary issues, such as globalisation; human rights throughout time; the refugee crisis; the political emancipation of several African countries; neo-colonialism; post-colonialism; the interference of communication technologies in matters about terrorism; fake news; the patriarchy and social and gender activism.
- 2 In his work, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" (2006), Peter Wolfe presents an argument that must be highlighted, with regard to the huge importance of settler colonialism in sustaining and controlling territories stolen from the native communities, for example, in North America. In this sense, the author straightforwardly points out:

Settler Colonialism Is Inherently Eliminatory [...]. The logic of elimination not only refers to the summary liquidation of Indigenous people, though it includes that. [...] [I]t erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base [...], settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event. Settler colonialism destroys to replace.

(Wolfe, 2006, 387–388)

- Following this reflection, see also, Goldstein, Alyosha. 2008. "Where the Nation Takes Place: Proprietary Regimes, Anti Statism, and U.S. Settler Colonialism." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 107(4), 833–861.
- 3 In her recent book, "(B)ordering Britain. Race, law, empire" (2020), Nadine El-Enany observes: "Europe's appeal to notions of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* has always coexisted with imperial wars and dispossession. Its founders drew on contradictions that were undemocratic, militaristic, imperialistic, White and Christian-supremacist" (El-Enany, 2020, Chapters 5 and 9).
 - 4 The contribution of studies on the relation between colonialism, race and gender enrich the possibility of seeing the relevance of this intersectionality for the study of the logics of coloniality and racialisation. Here are some such works: Stoler, A. L. 1989. "Rethinking Colonial Categories." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 13(1), 134–161; Stoler, A. L. 1991. "Carnal Knowledge and

Imperial Power.” In *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in a Postmodern Era*, edited by M. di Leonardo, 51–101. Berkeley: University of California Press; Stoler, A. L. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s “History of Sexuality” and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press; Davis, Angela. 1989. *Women, Race, and Class*. New York: Random House; Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1989. “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics.” University of Chicago Legal Forum, 139–167; Collins, Patricia H. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman; Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Anne Russo, Lourdes Torres, eds. 1991; Williams, P. 1992. *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Mohanty, Chandra T. and Alexander, M. Jacqui, eds. 1996. *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*. New York: Routledge.

- 5 On this subject, see: Razack, Sherene H. 2014. “Racial Terror: Torture and Three Teenagers in Prison.” *Borderlands*, 13(1), 1–27.

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