

Do you remember the Gastarbeiter, the figure of the migrant worker that moved throughout the world of late industrial modernity? Created to temporarily fill gaps in the capitalist system of post-WWII Europe, it was also symptomatic of Europe's economic and political ruptures. Well before the advent of global neoliberal capitalism, the Gastarbeiter already highlighted these inner contradictions, which have culminated in the dramatic political expression of the so-called "migrant crisis" today. The Gastarbeiter is more than a historical witness who reveals the hidden genealogy of today's crisis. Its story can also open the prospect of a new, different future.

They'll Never Walk Alone
The Life and Afterlife of Gastarbeiters

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**THEY'LL NEVER WALK
ALONE**

Boris Buden, Lina Dokuzović (eds.)

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The Life and Afterlife of Gastarbeiters

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They'll Never Walk Alone

Introduction

Boris Buden, Lina Dokuzović

Why do we still talk about *Gastarbeiters*, the men and women from the poor countries of Southern Europe and Northern Africa, who moved to the wealthy countries of Northern / Western Europe for work during the decades following the Second World War? Not only was the guest worker a short-lived figure of a relatively limited period of post-war economic recovery that already ended in 1973 with the oil crisis, but the general historical framework of this figure – however socially marginalized and politically invisible – still had a clearly defined position and function in its time. This has fallen apart in the meantime – along with the old world of industrial modernity. The *Gastarbeiter* was predominantly based on the Fordist mode of production, and it had its own historically specific forms of political subjectification from mass movements – ranging from revolutionary motivations with the goal of overthrowing the capitalist order altogether to those mobilizing around counter-revolutionary or fascist agendas – to the traditional bourgeois parties, well-embedded in the system of parliamentary democracy and the rule of law.

In geopolitical terms, this context began to develop as an order in the seventeenth century after the Peace Treaty of Westphalia: a network of sovereign nation-states that each encompassed their own national

economy, relatively homogeneous and transparent society, an allegedly unique culture, history, and, in most cases, a standardized national language. Each of these states consisted of similar political, economic, juridical, and educational institutions, including, in the most advanced of them, institutions of social welfare. Ultimately, the world of late industrial modernity was characterized by its own historically particular forms of political and economic migration – the figure of the “guest worker” being among them as a rather prominent one – at least for a while in post-World War II Europe. This world has disappeared, however, and with it the *Gastarbeiter*.

John Berger describes this transformation in a book on migrant workers in Europe he co-authored with photographer Jean Mohr in 1975. In the preface to the new edition, published thirty-five years later, he explicitly addresses the change that has turned migration into an essentially global phenomenon:

The world political structure has been transformed as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the global economic order, known as neoliberalism – or, more accurately, economic fascism. The power of trade unions and the power of national governments have both been diminished. Factories now are becoming as migratory as workers. It has become as simple to build a factory where labour is cheap as to import cheap labour. The poor have become poorer. The present concentration of global economic power is unprecedented. Its agents are

the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organisation.¹

The contrast to the old world of industrial modernity cannot be more striking. In the structure of economic and power relations that characterize the order of global capitalism and shape its migratory processes, there is clearly no longer a place for the *Gastarbeiter*. So, why then, are we insisting on remembering such a marginal and ephemeral figure of a bygone past today? There is one good reason for it, which seems at first glance to have nothing to do with the past. Rather it is a phenomenon of the present that the general public as well as the political elites in Europe opportunistically call the “migrant crisis.” Although the history of Europe, especially the more recent history following the collapse of the communist regimes in the “East,” cannot be told without taking into consideration processes of migration, both to and within Europe, which have consistently intensified in recent decades, the European public needed the shock of the summer of 2015 – the sight of migrant masses pouring into Europe in a seemingly unstoppable flow, the pictures of actual men, women, and children in bare desperation as opposed to abstract numbers from statistical data – to become fully aware of its new reality of which migration has become an undeniable part.

It was only a matter of time then before the issue of migration fully manifested its political impact on present-day Europe. In the manner of a return of the repressed, which suddenly reveals all of the pathology of

¹ John Berger, Jean Mohr, *A Seventh Man. A Book of Images and Words about the Experience of Migrant Workers in Europe*, (London, New York: Verso, 2010), 7.

one's constant denial of reality, the migrants, now seen as a "problem" and the cause of a "crisis," suddenly reappeared at the very center of European politics, throwing its long-existing power relations and predictable decision-making into unprecedented turmoil. It suffices to briefly look around: the "problem" of migration has become the hottest topic of the current elections in EU democracies. It has not only challenged the forces of the European status quo – the countless times that democratically legitimized bourgeois parties, however politically weakened and ideologically emptied, still managed to guarantee the stability and relative prosperity of the old continent for decades – these traditional political forces, being ever more openly confronted by growing right-wing and neo-fascist movements, are rapidly losing popular support today. Moreover, the very survival of the European Union is now at stake. Its final fate, as it is claimed, will be decided by migration, or more precisely, by the ability of the ruling political elites to urgently resolve what they call "the migrant crisis." Yet, behind the cheap populist formula of saving democracy by saving Europe from migrants, lurks the failure of a much larger dimension: the inability of the ruling elites to cope with the true crisis, the historical deadlock of neoliberal globalization, which is what is actually demolishing the European dream of democracy today.

It is within this much broader historical context that migration as a "crisis" and a "problem" has taken center stage in European democratic politics. At stake is a vague and profoundly anxious awareness of an epochal closure. The simple truisms of old politics, in which the general ideological strategy was directly translated into everyday political practice, facilitating decisions "with

no alternative,” no longer work today. Easiness and certainty of policy-making is now replaced with doubt and confusion. The whole ideological edifice of the old order now seems to be crumbling. Radical ideological and political turns that would have, until recently, been unthinkable take place before our eyes today: an open rejection of the “cult of selfish individualism,” the disbelief “in untrammelled free markets,” the call for regulation, which is “necessary for the proper ordering of any economy,” the promise to “enhance worker’s rights and protections” or the advocacy for an “economy that works for everyone” are no longer claims and demands of a marginal left-wing critique of the neoliberal political mainstream, both conservative and social-democratic – we now find them in the 2017 Conservative election manifesto.² The Tories in the United Kingdom – the political force that claims the historic turn to neoliberalism – is openly dropping ideological Thatcherism today, which it shared with Labour for decades. But do they know what to claim instead now? They do not. And this gives them no reason to panic as long as there is the so-called migrant “crisis” that they are now promising to manage. Crisis management has become the politics of the last resort for the failing ruling elites of today. It can reassure them of their historical legitimation and help them regain the popular support they have been rapidly losing since the begin of this century. As long as they no longer know where to lead their societies, they can still offer to protect them. Yet the move from mobilizing

² Andy Beckett, “How Britain Fell out of Love with the Free Market,” *The Guardian*, 4 Aug 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/aug/04/how-britain-fell-out-of-love-with-the-free-market>

hope to inciting fear is a risky and dangerous one. It might end, like it once tragically did, in fascism, defined by some as the “crisis management of capitalism.”

The experience of resistance, however, also learns its own historical lessons when the stakes become so high that politics should no longer be left to political elites. This especially applies to the real problem that shakes the foundation of western democracy today, which is not migration itself, but rather its ruthless politicization from above. That is, in regard to the ruling political elites that desperately struggle to safeguard their power, a politicization that the frightened liberal-democratic publics perceive as a populist mobilization of the masses. If there is, nevertheless, some strategy for their dealing with the “problem of migration,” it relies on being presented as something temporary that, in the manner of a sudden shock, has struck Europe and the West from the outside. Whether intentional or not, this strategy achieves two major effects.

Firstly, it shifts the focus of public attention to the question of security, or more precisely, to the task of strengthening border control. While promising to stop the influx of migrants at the state borders, the political elites easily gain popular support for increasing the use of legal violence in solving political problems. Their true intent is, however, not to prevent immigration, since European economies cannot survive without migrant labor. What they, in fact, achieve is rather a more efficient differential inclusion of the migrant labor force, whereby “more efficient” increasingly comes to simply mean more violent. There is, of course, nothing new in the perception that capitalism needs violence in order to survive its crises. The belief, however, that this violence

can be relocated to and contained at the outer borders of society is what makes today's post-liberal condition extremely dangerous. It is only a matter of time until the barbed wire erected along the borders, which separate Europe and the so-called "West" from the "rest of the world," start to cut into the flesh of Western societies, tearing them apart into mutually hostile parts that will start to maul each other sooner or later.

The second effect of the elite's populist politicization of migration concerns the *dehistoricization* of the "problem." In presenting current mass movements of migrants as a sudden and temporary challenge for the otherwise normally functioning liberal-democratic order, this policy has huge ideological advantages. It suppresses awareness of immigration as a structural precondition of this very normality, creating the illusion of a pre-existing harmony in which capitalist societies lived before hundreds of thousands of migrants and refugees suddenly amassed at the borders of their nation-states. Only a "migration issue," which abruptly appears *ex nihilo* of the chaos, can now be presented as "the mother of all political problems," as one leading German politician recently claimed.³

A general dehistoricization of the "migrant issue" today has become the tacit ideological precondition for its populist politicization. This may sound like a paradox, but what has essentially facilitated the implementation of this populist strategy was precisely the cultural depoliticization of history. Above all, it concerns the

³ German Interior Minister Horst Seehofer in an interview for *Rheinische Post*, 6 Sept 2018. <https://www.dw.com/en/migration-mother-of-all-political-problems-says-german-interior-minister-horst-seehofer/a-45378092>

various forms of cultural memory, in what Pierre Nora calls “the age of commemoration,” which have replaced history as a discipline of humanistic knowledge.⁴ This shift from history to memory was accompanied by a new interest and respect for the past – real or imaginary – that was closely connected to a sense of belonging, collective memory, and identity. Nora even calls this new age, which he sees emerging in the wake of 1989, as an age of passionate, fetishistic memorialism, in which people have begun to frenetically stockpile everything they believe may eventually testify to what they are. It is within this conceptual and historical context that the past of migration in Europe has been remembered more than ever before. And so too were the *Gastarbeiters* raised from the dead by new and powerful memory culture, which brought them to museums and exhibition halls, to the pages and websites of cultural journals or into the discourses developed in academic conferences and intellectual panel discussions. Many aspects of their lives were discussed and shown, from the economic logic of their historical emergence and the social effects of their presence in the “host” countries to the spoons with which they ate their cheap stews or the shoes they wore and the letters they wrote to their loved ones in their home countries. However, what such memory-driven cultural formats and theoretical reflections have never managed to organize is a moment in which the re-awakened figure of the *Gastarbeiter* could politically encounter the migrant of today in a simple meeting in the street. In other words, the cultural memory along with

⁴ Pierre Nora, “Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory,” *Eurozine*, 19 Apr 2002, <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2002-04-19-nora-en.html>

the discourses it generates can never make up for the historicization of the actual social reality that takes place in the act of political solidarity.

Those who cannot historicize the conditions in which they live will never be able to politicize them. However, such a historicization today cannot follow any single master narrative. It cannot bypass economic, political, and social affinities and differences between the old and new forms of migration, nor can it ignore cultural and linguistic aspects of such encounters between the past and present. In short, it must recognize and give voice to the genuine heterogeneity of any attempts at looking back into the past that are led by an emancipatory interest.

Certainly, this book alone will not be able to accomplish this task either. Yet what it can still do is to modestly remind us that any meaningful attempt at re-awakening the memories of *Gastarbeiters* must follow the imperative to historicize the current experience of migration and its dangerous political appropriations. It, thus, aims to reveal a hidden genealogy of domination, exploitation, and manipulation as well as the struggle for justice and emancipation that underlies today's "migrant crises."

The following articles will thereby explore *Gastarbeiters* from different angles in order to show a multifaceted view of their relevance to both the past and present. The articles draw from the publications and events organized by the eipcp within the project *They Were, Those People, a Kind of Solution*. They are in both English and German, prioritizing the original language version of each given paper. All articles, with the exception of the last one – "They'll Never Walk Alone: A

Discursive Experiment” – are available online in three languages: German, English, and a third language that represents the author’s preference in terms of its most relevant audience (Slovenian, Serbian, Arabic, Georgian, Bosnian, Mandarin Chinese, Turkish, Croatian). The links to the other language versions are identified in the first footnote of each text. The book is also separated in three chapters that correspond to some of our key focal points. These focal points also provided a framework for structuring the web-journals and conference panels in an attempt to develop all of the discursive elements as a kind of continual dialogue.

Seeing it as imperative to outline a complex history of the figure of the *Gastarbeiter*, whilst linking it to conditions of contemporary migration in order to find both common ground as well as differences, the first chapter approaches the task of mapping some of the transformations that have taken place in recent decades in the landscape of migration in Europe. This was primarily motivated by the interrogation of the question *why talk about Gastarbeiters today?* However, this chapter not only looks at the relevance of discussing *Gastarbeiters* today, it examines the problematic appropriations and instrumentalization of the *Gastarbeiter* as a historical figure in contemporary right-wing politics. Analyzing these issues and helping to draw a timeline from the time of the *Gastarbeiter* to the present-day, chapter one, “An Avant-Garde Figure or a Role Model? The Relevance of *Gastarbeiters* Today,” consists of articles by Monika Mokre, who maps out the intersections and differences between *Gastarbeiters*, irregular migrants, and refugees; Manuela Bojadžijev, who maps out transformations in the treatment of migrants, their access to

the labor market, and the farce of integration in Germany in recent decades; Jana Dolečki, who critically analyzes integration in Austria as well and how official Austrian policies have linked to recent cultural projects on *Gastarbeiters*, Serhat Karakayalı, who presents cases of migrant strikes in the Ford company and housing conflicts in Germany; and an interview between Davor Konjikušić and Sandro Mezzadra, which outlines recent transformations in the filtration structures of border and migration regimes in Europe.

In the second chapter, “Marginalized and Invisible Experiences – Women *Gastarbeiters* and Queer Flight,” it was important for us to break away from the all too common representation of the *Gastarbeiter* as a strong male industrial worker in order to make visible the marginalized positions within guest work, which were further marginalized by many recent representations of them. Even the German term *Gastarbeiter* is a male form. However, in an attempt to destabilize this term, the various differentiations between “labor migration,” “economic migration,” “guest work,” and “Gastarbeit” became clear. These differentiations are also a topic that is discussed in numerous articles throughout the book. However, in an attempt to inscribe an alternative history into the existing narrative, we carefully and critically use the term *Gastarbeiter* whilst emphasizing that this is a misconstrued misnomer. Although nearly a third of the guest work force was comprised of women – and many factories preferred woman as they were thought to have “smaller, more delicate hands” for assembly – and approximately half of today’s migrants are women, these stories have somehow remained largely forgotten for a number of reasons that are sometimes evident but

often simply ignorant. The articles by Katja Kobolt and Margareta Kern outline a history of women's work within the *Gastarbeiter* system. Furthermore, they link their own artistic historical research to contemporary cultural exhibition projects to show the importance of telling these invisible stories.

Moreover, if the topic of women workers, which constituted such a massive portion of guest workers, has been made so invisible, then it becomes clear that the challenge of addressing how other forms of marginalization or discrimination can have a voice and a place in such narratives is also imperative in order to not only challenge and unsettle stereotypes and historical imaginaries, but also to bridge these gaps and create new processes of mapping that traverse the time of the original *Gastarbeiters* and the complex forms of migration and their governance today. Therefore, in an attempt to reconstruct a mapping of queer experiences, Amir Hodžić outlines the legal restrictions and framework which would have pushed many queer individuals to hide their identities as guest workers, but which also could have provided new opportunities for individuals to leave their home countries in order to pursue different and more open lives. He, thus, expands these frameworks by focusing on the concrete migratory practices of queer people that took place during the Yugoslav Wars and the emergence of the European Union, and how individuals have had to adapt to these transformations and multiple levels of discrimination and marginalization in these different localities. Ana Hoffner's analysis, on the other hand, employs queer theory to question the roles of the "guest" and "host" in processes of labor-based migration in order to question potential forms of emancipation from a critical queer perspective.

The third chapter, “Rethinking ‘Guests’ and ‘Workers’ in Post-Fordist Forms of Labor Mobility,” joins the histories and experiences of the first two chapters together for a closer focus on contemporary transformations in advanced capitalist economies. Keti Chukrov’s article, which expands on the question of the relationship between the “guest” and “host” in labor migration, steers her critique to a critical analysis of cognitive capitalism and questions of emancipation in today’s political landscape. Lina Dokuzović outlines transformations in the European landscape of a knowledge-based economy in order to show to these changes have influenced border and migration regimes today, ultimately drawing links between forms of labor filtration during the *Gastarbeiter* era and those taking place today, showing a growing segregation of forms of movement. Jon Solomon takes a deeper look at how universities themselves are changing according to the imperatives of neoliberalism and how this links to questions of space and spatial divisions. Stefan Nowotny breaks down the terminology of “guest,” “worker,” and even “work” to critically examine the wage-labor relation as well as forms of dividing and labeling different forms of migrants today.

These various perspectives are an attempt to fill in critical gaps in narratives on guest work in order to address both the marginalized individuals who were excluded or had a marginal position in discussions on *Gastarbeiter*s as well as more recent migrants that don’t fit into *Gastarbeiter* storylines, but who are nevertheless being regulated by the appropriated and instrumentalized misrepresentations of their stories. Therefore, during the conference “They’ll Never Walk Alone: Remembering *Gastarbeiter*s in the Neoliberal Age,” at

Depot in Vienna from October 6–7th, 2017, we tried to bring people from different generations and experiences of migration together to share knowledges from their lived experiences, and to thus also break away from the classical academic conference format. This multilingual experiment brought several interesting points to light. This book, therefore, concludes with a transcription of that discussion and the hope that by making these narratives visible through connecting to them and trying to create a dialogue for questioning and challenging the reasons for these invisibilities and multiple marginalizations that we can understand the complex and manifold shifts that have developed in migration regimes in recent years.

**An Avant-Garde Figure or a Role Model?
The Relevance of Gastarbeiters Today**

On the Intersections of Globalized Capitalism and National Polities: Gastarbeiters, Refugees, Irregular Migrants⁵

Monika Mokre

When talking about migrants and refugees we immediately encounter problems of definition. In sociology, anybody moving from one country to another is a migrant. A rather old – as well as old-fashioned – theory of migration defines “push and pull factors” of migration (Lee 1966). Flight here would form a specific type of migration, namely “forced migration,” or, to put it in the terms of Everett S. Lee’s theory, a form of migration mainly or exclusively triggered by push-factors.

According to the legal situation in most countries of the global North, however, a refugee has the right to find protection in another country on the grounds of having a “well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion” (Geneva Convention). The rights of most migrants to immigrate, in contrast, depend on their utility for the target country – above all, the need for their work capacity.⁶ Thus, the reasons for the right to stay lie in the needs of the refugee in the case of asylum and in the needs of the receiving country in the case of labor migration.

⁵ This paper is also available in German and Arabic here: <https://transversal.at/transversal/0718/mokre/en>

⁶ There are exceptions to this rule, above all family reunification, which can be a form of migration that is a right of migrants, due to Art. 8, Declaration of Human Rights.

This is what the law states, and it does not always or necessarily mirror societal reality, but it constructs it nevertheless, subsequently working against the intentions of the law in some cases. We shall get back to that, though. During the last few years, it has become quite obvious how politics interprets laws according to its own aims. Generally, one can state that the right to asylum forms a problem for (potential) receiving countries. At the same time, until recently, it has not been openly challenged. Rather than denying refugees protection, nation-states have tried to keep them out of their territories. Legal provisions hindering asylum applications in an embassy in the country of origin are probably one of the most effective means to that end, but also the EU Dublin Regulation, which stipulates that in most cases the first EU country that a refugee enters is responsible for asylum procedures, works very well for EU countries without an outer EU border.

Furthermore, the EU has recently faced different crises. First, the economic crisis, which, among other things, has made it impossible to send refugees back to Greece according to the Dublin system. And then the so-called refugee crisis, which, in fact, was as foreseeable as the economic crisis. So one could speculate that EU governments intentionally overlooked all previous signs, and, in fact, planned their chaotic and ineffective reactions to the high influx of refugees. The message in the first half of 2015 was: It cannot be done. We would like to follow the Geneva Convention – but it is beyond our means.

Then came August 2015, with images of refugees stuck in Hungary (which were in fact not much different than images of refugees in other parts of the world

that had been around for many years), 71 dead refugees in a truck in eastern Austria (a number of deaths not really worth mentioning when this takes place in the Mediterranean) and Angela Merkel's statement, "we can make it." And the climate changed – for about two months – but still. Why ever did this happen? Refugees were welcomed, people were helping, every self-respecting German or Austrian had at least one refugee protegee...

Then things changed again, supposedly due to the terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015 – but they were not carried out by refugees. Then there were the sexual attacks on New Year's Eve in Cologne – but sexual harassment is not really unusual. According to police investigations, no refugees from the largest national refugee groups in Germany participated in these activities – and, in any case, welcome culture had found its end well before New Year's Eve.

So, one could also put that the other way round: Some reasons had to be found – and could always be found – to bring welcome culture to an end. Or, one could argue in an even more paranoid way that, in fact, welcome culture and its failures were part of a plan to end the right to asylum in the EU.

This is a conspiracy theory – and not even a good one – but whatever the reasons for that, at the end of the day, the outcome of welcome culture has consisted of heavy restrictions on asylum in the EU. However, we should also not downplay another outcome, namely the thousand or so people who received asylum or subsidiary protection during the short summer of migration.⁷

⁷<http://transversal.at/blog/Autonomy-of-Migration-After-its-Summer>

For quite some time now, though, welcome culture has been a kind of four-letter-word (similar to *Gutmensch*/do-gooder) and it is more or less generally agreed upon that realistic refugee politics are necessary.

However, what does *realistic* mean? Probably, it means *Realpolitik*, i.e. “politics based on practical and material factors rather than on theoretical or ethical objectives,” according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary,⁸ as well as “policy based on power rather than on ideals,” according to dictionary.com.⁹ What does *Realpolitik* mean then in the 21st century with regard to migration?

National Political Orders and Globalized Capitalism

Realpolitik as a form for describing political activities, as well as the theory of realism in International Relations, focuses on power as the main driver of politics. Realism is, furthermore, based on the assumption that states are still the most important actors in international politics. This may or may not be true – but it seems safe to assume that states in the Global North are understood by their representatives as the most important actors in international politics and that these representatives think that they can politically act with some autonomy.

Most states are officially organized as national democracies. Ideally, in a national democracy, the national population, national territory and national political order are congruent. As it goes with ideals, this is rarely the case in real, existing nation-states. However, this is the myth

⁸ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/realpolitik>

⁹ <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/realpolitik>

on which national democracies are constructed – and it is a very important and effective myth which includes a whole lot of well-known elements such as national genealogies, national culture, national interest, etc. In any case, the construction of the common nation forms the basis of a collective identity/loyalty/solidarity, which is a necessary presupposition of democracy – note: the *national* part is not a necessary presupposition but the *collective* part is. Without an understanding of cohesion, citizens will not be prepared to grant their co-citizens “equaliberty” (Balibar 2010), and, as we all know, collective identities or group solidarity are not only defined by inclusion, but also, and maybe even more importantly, by exclusion. By saying who belongs to a group, we also say who does not belong. In the case of nation-states, thus, those who are not national citizens or maybe also those who have not been national citizens their whole lives – whose parents were not national citizens, etc. – do not belong. The nation is, thus, not only a political demarcation but also a multi-layered myth.

In order to be autonomous, a state also needs a strong and functioning economy, the so-called national economy. However, the modern nation-state has always been intertwined with the economic system of capitalism, which is continuously striving for expansion. Nowadays, large parts of this economic system work globally. Thus, the global free movement of goods and services, and, to a degree, also the workforce, is paramount for global economic players, thereby bringing them partly into contradiction with the interests of nation-states. On the other hand, nation-states of the Global North also profit from global economic exchange as, e.g., consumers in these states can buy cheap products produced in the Global South.

Migration is generally caused and structured by the needs and activities of transnational economy. This was obvious in the case of the *Gastarbeiter* / guest worker. A lack of labor in specific parts of Western European economies could be compensated by importing this labor. As is generally known, the beginning of the system of guest workers was, rather naively, based on the idea that such an import of labor was possible without any further reverberations or changes: The labor force would be imported as long as needed and would be sent back when no longer necessary. The first guest workers had consistent plans for their lives: They would stay just long enough to earn money for a good life at home. Thus, the political and economic systems, as well as the individuals involved, reduced these individuals to their economic function as a labor force. However, when both sides of this trade realized that this mechanical view was short-sighted – that, in the words of Max Frisch (1967, 100), *a labor force was called for but human beings arrived* – the exclusionary part of national identity became of impact. Guest workers became a problem for so-called cultural reasons – depending on the concept of culture applied, because they had a foreign culture or were regarded as having no culture at all.

Economically, this exclusion is ambiguous. On the one hand, absolute exclusion of foreigners from a national territory, i.e. the impossibility of migration, is detrimental. On the other hand, in political reality, in Realpolitik, this absolute exclusion has never been possible or intended. And the relative exclusion of foreigners from political and social rights, as well as from integration into society, creates a hyper-exploitable work force, and reduces problems of

unemployment as this work force can be sent away if no longer employed or employable.

Nowadays, we find a similar and even exacerbated situation for *Sans Papiers* or irregular migrants – in everyday language: “illegal migrants.” As opposed to guest workers, they have never been called for, they simply should not be there. Although this structural assessment does not hold true for all irregular migrants, as there are many reasons for people to become “illegalized” – negative asylum decisions, loss of residency due to job loss or divorce, visa overstay, etc. – individuals who were called for at one time can also become irregular later.

Irregular migrants are not only a – very diversified – sociological group; they are also often a scapegoat. They incorporate everything problematic with regards to migration. They cannot be counted, cannot be controlled – as a group, that is. Individually, they are controlled all the time. Not only do they *do* what they must not do (e.g. work), they *are* and must not *be*. When every migrant is a disturbance of the national order, the *Sans Papiers* incorporates this disturbance, s/he is the migrant *par excellence* (Cf. Sayad 2015, p. 42). At the same time, s/he is just as hyper-exploitable – or even more so – as/ than the guest worker.

But what about refugees? With their individual as well as universal right to protection? As mentioned, for quite some time, this right has officially remained untouched, but this is an exclusive right of refugees. Thus, a generalized doubt in the rights to the status of refugees has become part and parcel of legal procedures and public discourses in the EU. This can be observed on a collective level with more and more countries officially being declared “safe countries,” e.g., rather recently,

Afghanistan. Not only are these assessments doubtful to say the least, asylum is, moreover, an individual right and reasons for asylum have to be assessed individually: Many countries are relatively safe for some people but not safe for other ones, e.g. sexual minorities. (Afghanistan is not safe for anybody – thus, the German embassy in Kabul has been closed for an unlimited period of time since May 31st, 2017, and Austria has issued a travel warning on the highest possible level for its citizens – but Germany as well as Austria keep deporting people back to Afghanistan.)

On the individual level, asylum procedures mostly consist of raising doubt on the “well-founded fear of persecution” of the asylum applicant. Sometimes, judgments on asylum applications rather read like a form of literary critique than a legal decision: When talking about torture, the applicant did not show enough emotion. Or too much so that it did not seem authentic. Or s/he could not describe those who persecuted/tortured him/her well, killed their family, etc. S/he could not prove that there were really political reasons for that. Or, maybe, it was just a family feud, which does not count as a reason for flight. And, maybe, s/he could have gone to another part of the country, so that there was no need to come to Europe. Or s/he just had economic reasons (such as fear of starvation), which makes the refugee a migrant without the right to stay (Cf. Mokre 2015).

It makes economic and political sense to keep refugees out of Europe. Somebody with the same labor and social rights as a citizen does not create extra profits and could even burden the public budget. It also makes sense to keep asylum applicants for a long time in this situation. Admittedly, during this time, the state has to

provide for them – but it does so in an extremely and ever more limited way. And while the residency of the asylum applicant is legal, employment is usually not legal or is only in a very limited way – which brings us back to the possibility or probability of hyper-exploitation on the illegalized labor market.

Universalism as Exclusion

What about universal human rights? After all, Realpolitik is never only Realpolitik. Politics needs some kind of moral underpinning and some kind of a vision of a society that it is striving for, e.g. the illusion of the heritage of enlightenment and democratic revolutions. Obviously, with regard to the individuals concerned, these universal rights are toothless. Since Hannah Arendt, we have known that the most elementary human right would be the right to have rights, i.e. a political right to fight for one's rights, including those rights not granted until now. It is precisely this right which is withheld from non-citizens (Arendt 1968/1951, p. 177).

On the other hand, human rights and democracy are of paramount importance for Europe. Assumedly, Europe invented them and practices them – as opposed to other countries and as opposed to many migrants not respecting, e.g. equal rights of women and sexual minorities or even contesting the state monopoly on the use of force. Universal human rights, one could argue, warrant the superiority of European (or Western or Northern) culture.

Becoming Visible

This is a dilemma – universal human rights are needed as a cultural marker, but politically and economically counter-productive when actually implemented. However, this is not a new dilemma. After all, the wealth of the enlightened states of the Global North has been based for a long time on the more or less unlimited exploitation of colonialism and post-colonialism, i.e., on the fact that the universal rights of enlightenment did not apply in other parts of the world. The secret of this strategy is the invisibility of infringements of human rights, which can be reached rather easily if these infringements take place in parts of the world far away from here. In these cases, it can even be productively combined with a specific form of visibility, e.g. of human rights violations of the regimes of post-colonial states once again proving the superiority of “our” political culture. In this way, all kinds of violence can be legitimated, including, of course, war.

Invisibility becomes more difficult, though, when those without human rights become part of the population. Still, it is not impossible to make people invisible in spite of their physical presence – guest workers who are only a work force and not human beings, *Sans Papiers* who can be ignored – as, legally spoken, they are not here – or asylum seekers hidden in camps. Furthermore, nowadays, the EU seems to fall back on the colonial way of producing invisibility, by keeping refugees away or bringing them away: By outsourcing asylum procedures and camps for asylum seekers to states such as Libya – not really internationally renowned for its perfect rule of law – and by deporting (or organizing

the “voluntary return” of) refugees to “safe countries,” such as Afghanistan or Nigeria.

During the short summer of migration in 2015, refugees became visible – as individuals and as a collective – with experiences, needs, and hopes. This was important. At the same time, it was not enough. Refugees became visible as victims, as people needing and deserving “our” help, not as rights holders. Probably, it was also this form of representation which made it easier to end welcome culture. If asylum and support are granted due to deservingness, they will not be granted when asylum seekers behave problematically and are, thus, no longer deserving.

But even this form of visibility could have been a start for a fight for political rights – as political rights can only be fought for by visible people – but this fight does not need visibility as victims and receivers of charity, but visibility as activists defending their rights and demanding more rights. Therefore, for several years now, refugee movements in Europe have strived for visibility (and audibility). In public spaces. Using their bodies. For occupations. For passive and active resistance. For hunger strikes.

These are eminent political acts. These are acts enabling further political acts, showing and embodying the right to political rights beyond the nation-state and the right to free movement beyond the requirements of capitalism.

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Humanitarianism Destroys Politicality
An Interview with Sandro Mezzadra by Davor
Konjikušić¹⁰

Sandro Mezzadra, Professor of Political Theory at the University of Bologna and adjunct researcher at the Institute for Culture and Society of the University of Western Sydney, was recently a guest speaker at the public discussion entitled, “Remember Gastarbeiters! – So That You don’t Forget the Reality in which You Live,” in Nova Gallery, Zagreb. On this occasion, we spoke with professor Mezzadra about his last book, which he co-authored with Brett Neilson, “Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor” (2013).

DK: Can you explain your concept of the global multiplication of labor?

SM: I must immediately emphasize that I developed the concept of the multiplication of labor together with my colleague Brett Neilson. With this concept we try to identify the characteristics that define labor in contemporary capitalism. It is important to say that the concept of the multiplication of labor is closely connected to the more commonly known concept of the division of labor, and can thus be understood as its supplement. This represents the reality in which labor colonizes our lives while simultaneously undergoing a general heterogenization. Perhaps this kind of reality should be set in contrast to the economic policy that

10 This paper is also available in German and Croatian here: <https://transversal.at/transversal/1017/mezzadra-konjikusic/en>

we usually call Fordism or mass industrialization, which is characterized by the hegemony of what is usually considered the standard in labor regulation, better known as the forming of “free” wage labor. Of course, not every worker had such a contract during Fordism, but the entire labor market was organized around that standard. Today we are faced with the explosion of that same standard, even in regard to the legal regulation of contract labor through various multiplied and heterogeneous methods that are regulated by that standard. It is important for us to focus on the contradictions between the processes of colonizing labor and life through labor, the powerful processes of the diversification of labor, and the ways in which those processes are experienced. This has all radically changed the very framework of exploitation today.

DK: How do these transformations concretely influence our everyday experiences?

SM: The ideal of long-term employment has become endangered by recent developments of capitalism under the precarization and flexibilization of labor. Working subjects’ experiences are becoming increasingly characterized by the fragmentation of employment relations. It is all connected to the processes of colonizing life through labor. The intensification of labor means that people work more and more, whereas the diversification occurs in both a legal sense and in the sense of different working activities. The flexibilization of labor law, and particularly the explosion of contractual arrangements corresponding to the decline of collective bargaining, is particularly relevant from a legal perspective.

DK: What is the difference between the old figure of the migrant worker, the so-called *Gastarbeiter*, typical of industrial societies, and the figure of the contemporary migrant worker in the time of global modernity? What are the employment relations like today, even though we deal with advanced capitalism in both cases?

SM: It is an extremely important question. In order to understand past migrations, we have to focus on the figure of the guest worker, or *Gastarbeiter*, which is a familiar concept for people in this part of Europe. The *Gastarbeiter's* experience was connected to massive processes of industrialization, which resulted in establishing Fordism in countries such as West Germany, Austria, and even Italy. We also had the experience of belated industrialization up to the late 1950s in Italy. This kind of experience is characterized by great internal migrations from South to North. There is no massive industrialization without migration. One of the obvious examples is the industrialization in the United States, which led to dramatic transatlantic migrations at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. If we look at all of these historical instances, we can very easily see that specific experiences of migration are connected to the processes of organizing the entire labor market around "free" wage labor. The experience of Italian, Spanish, and Yugoslav *Gastarbeiters* after World War II consisted of the arrival and combining of an additional workforce to the existing workforce in Western countries. Many of these workers were not directly employed in factories, but most of them were, and that was the standard which shaped the whole experience of migration in that specific historical moment. Now,

however, all this has changed completely, because the experience of contemporary migration is based in the socio-economic environment, which has completely been defined by the flexibilization of the economy and of society. Today it is impossible to define a standard figure of a migrant worker, which could replace the figure of the *Gastarbeiter* of the 1950s and 1960s. The contemporary migrant experience is defined by different types of labor. Today we have workers in construction, agriculture, the service sector, street vendors, household workers, etc., and that makes an important difference.

Furthermore, the image of the *Gastarbeiter* was constructed upon the experience of industrial male workers, notwithstanding the fact that a large number of them were female. The invisibilization of female migration in the age of guest workers is an important topic in and of itself. Today it is impossible to deny the relevance of the female experience of migration against the backdrop of powerful processes of the feminization of migration, which also contribute to the diversification of migrant labor. We can see that in the example of babysitters or housekeepers, which are jobs mostly done by female migrant workers. At stake in the feminization of migration is something more than the mere fact that almost 50% of migrants in today's world are women (ILO 2010). Even more relevant are the conflict-ridden and tense processes of crisis and transformation of gender relations and the sexual division of labor that lie behind this huge increase of women's participation in migratory movements. At the same time it is important to emphasize that the "feminization" of migration is associated with dramatic transformations of care and service labor, which have given centrality

to tasks and skills historically constructed as typically “feminine.” If we analyze the means of recruiting workers, we can see important and dramatic differences. *Gastarbeiter* were recruited by factory’s headquarters, whereas today government offices are the ones that recruit workers – occasionally, targetedly, and for a certain period of time. Migrations are controlled in order to recruit the exact number of migrant workers needed. The spread of points-based systems for the recruitment and management of migrant labor, sectoral and temporal recruitment programs, and the growing roles of a panoply of workers and agencies are all part of a migration management spurred by the dream of a “just-in-time” and “to-the point” migration. This kind of control is clearly a fantasy, but it spurs the evolution of migrations regarding temporary migration, circular migration, seasonal migration, sectoral migration... These are the consequences of the ways the authorities are controlled which shape the contemporary map of migrations and politics in many parts of the world.

DK: The British newspaper *The Economist* has recently published a map which shows that the number of walls, fences, and barbed wires at borders will soon surpass the number of fortified and militarized borders during the Cold War. What does that mean in terms of migration, labor, and exploitation?

SM: It is impossible to negate that in Europe, but also in other parts of the world, there is a strong desire for erecting walls. This is a defensive and reactive attempt at controlling migration. However, I think there is a contradiction between multiplying walls and the rationality

of neoliberal capitalism. It is extremely interesting to reflect upon these contradictions. The walls stop the turbulent and autonomous forms of migration and they can create preconditions for its management. This kind of reaction to the challenges of migration is telling regarding the general crisis of the European Union, which needs mobility yet its mobility system is completely paralyzed at the same time. My impression is that we are faced with the crisis of a border regime that strives towards combining methods for both blocking and facilitating mobility.

DK: Have you ever wondered why Germany took in the largest number of migrants compared to other countries, such as France, Austria or Great Britain, which apply a rather restrictive policy towards migrants?

SM: It is not easy to respond to this question, as I believe there are a few reasons for these decisions by German Prime Minister Angela Merkel. One of the reasons is definitely the need for the reaffirmation of German “moral” leadership in Europe, especially after the Greek crisis. These reasons are also related to internal political motivations and dynamics. But I am also convinced that one of the reasons is also that Merkel, and a large part of the German political establishment, are aware that there is a problem with the European mobility system. Therefore, they see this as an opportunity for testing new forms of migrant integration in a country whose economy depends on migration. Wolfgang Schäuble stated that several times in the last few months.

DK: Could we then say that this is about Germany getting a cheap new workforce?

SM: It is a simplification, but it could be put that way. There is an attempt at experimenting with jobs offered by entrepreneurs who employ people dependent on welfare. These jobs are only paid one euro per hour. For migrants, the pay is even lower: 80 cents per hour. It is absolutely clear to me that this is an attempt to deepen the diversification of the labor and workforce market. We should also analyze the situation in other countries such as Great Britain, where there is an extremely large amount of migration from Eastern Europe, and consequently no longer a need for migrant workers currently.

DK: It is interesting that you refuse to look at migrants solely as victims, and that you perceive migration as a social movement. Departing from these assumptions, is it possible to configure their political subjectification in a time when migrants are most frequently depicted as victims and migrations as a humanitarian problem?

SM: Of course, that is one of the crucial questions. Let us start from the humanitarian approach to migration management, which actually presents a deep depoliticization of migration. The “critique of the humanitarian reason,” to quote the title of a book by Didier Fassin, is an important task for anybody engaged in critical migration studies in the present. Today, we are confronted with humanitarianism, which is becoming increasingly connected to the process of the militarization of borders – as many critical analyses of what is going on in the Mediterranean demonstrate. I am not trying to criticize humanitarianism in a simple way, because it is a complex problem. The humanitarian

regime of migration control conveys contradictions and opens spaces that migrants can use for negotiating and crossing borders. Migration in itself is a social movement with objective political implications, which means that we have to perceive migrations through the subjectivity of migrants and their subjective behavior. This is extremely important if we want to inform a different way of how migrants view themselves, a view that does not merely reduce them to victims of the system, which is, as it is well known, at the very core of humanitarianism. Migrations are a social movement in an objective sense, which does not mean that migrants are themselves necessarily political subjects. This also does not mean that migrants are subversive subjects, but it does mean that their experiences and performances contain a whole set of contradictions. Their movement and struggles very often politicize these contradictions. A migrant is not a political subject of radical transformation *per se*, but s/he is in a way constituted through that set of contradictions, which s/he controls through subjective tensions. This creates the politicality of migrations. In many places in Europe, migrants are also engaged in great examples of struggles. One of the important questions is how to connect these movements and struggles with other movements and struggles in order to create a wider coalition for more radical democratization.

DK: How do you see the future of contemporary migrants in Europe, especially regarding their relation to the local workforce? In what ways will they be integrated into the labor market?

SM: This is an extremely complicated question. Today's

situation does not make me an optimist. I think that we have to realistically analyze the European situation, which is characterized by the rise of old and new right-wing forces. They intensively work on closing down their societies by spreading fear, which is justified by the fear of terrorism. In this kind of situation, it is objectively very difficult and complicated to achieve migrant integration. There is a risk for integration to become a framework for unilateral processes of inevitable migrant adaptation, which supposes a loss of the values of the societies that integrate them. In this kind of situation, I believe there is a possibility for a further entrenchment of social hierarchies, and migrants might consequently have to pay a high price. That is why it is important for us to fight for the construction of a social and political space in which migrant movements and struggles can join other movements and struggles. In Europe, there is an urgent need for forming a democratic movement, a movement whose most important long-term task will be a radical critique of capitalism.

Migration und Integration. Zur Genealogie des zentralen Dispositivs in der Migrationsgesellschaft¹¹

Manuela Bojadžijev

Es gehört zu einem der Effekte von Migrationsbewegungen, Konfliktfelder auf dem Terrain des „national-sozialen Staats“ (Balibar) zu eröffnen und zu etablieren.¹² Die Konfliktfelder, die die Migration der 1960er und 1970er Jahre nach Westdeutschland geprägt haben, möchte ich in drei große Felder unterteilen. Sie haben zu massiven gesellschaftlichen und politischen Transformationen beigetragen: Erstens, die Praktiken der Einwanderung müssen selbst als politische Praxis interpretiert werden, insofern sie eine Autonomie gegenüber den staatlichen Migrationspolitiken entfaltet haben. Der Beitrag der Migrantinnen und Migranten zu den Arbeitskämpfen hat, zweitens, grundlegend zur Krise der fordistischen Gesellschaftsform beigetragen und öffnete, drittens, die enge Perspektive der Betriebskämpfe hin zu sämtlichen Lebensverhältnissen der Migration,

11 This paper is also available in English and Croatian here: <https://transversal.at/transversal/0718/bojadzijev/de>

12 Der Beitrag basiert auf den Überlegungen und Untersuchungen aus dem 2012 in zweiter Auflage (Erstauflage: 2008) erschienenen Buch der Autorin „Die windige Internationale. Rassismus und Kämpfe der Migration“ (Münster). Darin wurde neben einer Herausarbeitung der historischen Formen und Praktiken migrantischer Selbstorganisation in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland versucht theoretisch herauszuarbeiten, wie Rassismus historischen Konjunkturen (vgl. Demirovic/Bojadžijev 2002) unterliegt, die maßgeblich mit dem Widerstand gegen Rassismus zusammenhängen.

hin zu Alltag und Reproduktion, zu Sprache und Kultur und nicht zuletzt hin zu den Wohnverhältnissen, die neben der Fabrik den entscheidenden Kristallisationspunkt migrantischer Kämpfe bildeten. Weitgehend unbekannt blieben die vielfältigen Praktiken, die sie im Laufe der Zeit entwickelten: Migrantinnen und Migranten ergänzten in wilden Streiks die Forderungen nach höheren Löhnen um allgemeine Fragen der Arbeitsorganisation; sie machten die miserablen Wohnverhältnisse in Baracken und die Vorenthaltung ihres privaten Lebens in Wohnheimen zum Thema; von ihnen gingen die ersten Hausbesetzungen und Mietstreiks aus; sie legten die Arbeit wegen des unzumutbaren und überkauften Essens in den Kantinen nieder; mit der Losung „1 Mark mehr für alle“ machten sie lineare Lohnforderungen zur Basis für die Überwindung von Spaltungen innerhalb der Betriebe; sie gründeten Zentren, in denen sie Veranstaltungen zur Gesundheits- und Rechtsberatung organisierten; sie kämpften gegen die Reduktion des Kindergelds; sie wandten sich gegen Zuzugssperren in einigen Gebieten der Bundesrepublik; sie unterliefen den Anwerbestopp durch undokumentierte Einwanderung und legten die Familienzusammenführung großzügig aus; sie organisierten Bleiberechtskämpfe und setzten temporäre Legalisierungen durch; sie brachten die Benachteiligung ihrer Kinder bei der Bildung und die hohe Arbeitslosigkeit unter migrantischen Jugendlichen zur Sprache und nicht zuletzt widersetzten sie sich den rassistischen Anfeindungen, in dem sie in vielen dieser Kämpfe die institutionelle Grenze zwischen „Deutschen“ und „Ausländern“ in Frage stellten und das Gemeinsame in den Auseinandersetzungen fanden und erfanden. In diesen Auseinandersetzungen eröffnete sich zugleich eine neue

Ausgangslage für ihre politische Organisierung, denn sie behaupteten immer wieder die Freiheit der politischen Betätigung, die durch das Streik- wie das Ausländerrecht eingeschränkt ist.

In mehrfacher Hinsicht bedeutet das Jahr 1973 einen Einschnitt für diese hier im Zeitraffer zusammengefassten Kämpfe der Migration¹³ und für die sozialen und politischen Verhältnisse der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Einwanderung erwies sich trotz Anwerbeverträgen als schwer regulierbar, der migrantische Massenarbeiter hatte rassistische Unterdrückung und Ausbeutung in Arbeits- und Wohnkämpfen in Frage gestellt. Nun erfolgte die Rekuperation. Mit dem Konzept der Rekuperation (ähnlich dem Begriff der „aneignende Enteignung“ von Raoul Vaneigem, 1963, oder dem von Sandro Mezzadra und Brett Neilson, 2013, jüngst ausgearbeiteten Begriff des „differentiellen Einschlusses“) geht es darum, Prozesse zu bestimmen, in denen subversive Praxis für die Modernisierung bestehender Verhältnisse funktionalisiert wird und schließlich nur als affirmierendes Moment erhalten bleibt. Gegenüber dem Begriff der Kooptation erlaubt das Konzept der Rekuperation Umriss eines, in diesem Fall, selbstorganisierten Prozesses der Migrantinnen und Migranten auch noch in den Veränderungen zu fassen, die das Paradigma der Integration restrukturieren und konsolidieren. Rekuperative Praxen stehen repressiven nicht entgegen. Einerseits handelt es

13 Den Begriff der „Kämpfe der Migration“ habe ich der Arbeit Mogniss Abdallahs (vgl. etwa 2002) entlehnt. Er macht die Traditionen und Schwierigkeiten in den Selbstorganisationen der Migrantinnen und Migranten (jenseits von Gewerkschaften, politischen Organisationen und Parteien) in Frankreich zum Hauptgesichtspunkt seiner Arbeit.

sich bei der Rekuperation um eine umgeformte Einschließung subversiver, selbstorganisierter Praxis, andererseits bringt sie neue Grenzziehungen von „Aufnahme und Ausschluss“ (Vaneigem, 1963, 142), Integration und repressiver Praxis hervor. Dies geschah nun an verschiedenen Fronten: Die Grenzen wurden mit dem Anwerbestopp in den bisherigen Modi geschlossen und das Migrationsregime wurde neu strukturiert, Arbeitsprozesse wurden reorganisiert und der Arbeitsmarkt auf neue Weise segmentiert. Die Forderungen in den migrantischen Kämpfen um bessere Bildungsmöglichkeiten und Wohnverhältnisse, die Selbstorganisierungen in Fragen von Recht und Gesundheit sollten im staatlichen Imperativ der Integration zum Stillstand gebracht werden; der rassistische Diskurs, hatte er bis etwa Mitte/Ende der 1960er Jahre vorwiegend exotisierende und paternalistische Züge angenommen, drückte sich nach und nach aggressiv, ausschließend und in Migrantengruppen hierarchisierenden Statements aus.

Einwanderung und Bürgerschaft

Die Einwanderung der Migrantinnen und Migranten hatte Fakten geschaffen, die es notwendig machten, ihren Rechtsstatus zu korrigieren. Die Debatten drehten sich zunächst um Kosten und Nutzen der Arbeitsmigration. Schon während der Rezession von 1966/67 begann eine Diskussion darüber, ob die langfristigen sozialen Kosten der Arbeitsmigration den unmittelbaren privatwirtschaftlichen Nutzeffekt für die Unternehmen nicht übertrafen. Zwischen 1968 und 1973 stieg die Zahl der Zugewanderten von 1,014 auf 2,595 Millionen an. Die Infrastrukturkosten der Migration gerieten im-

mer mehr in den Vordergrund; befürchtet wurde, dass es zu sozialen Unruhen kommen könnte (vgl. Herbert 2001: 235). Für das Jahr 1973, also für jenes Jahr, in dem es die meisten von Migrantinnen und Migranten initiierten und mitgetragenen Arbeitskämpfe gab, lässt sich zeigen, wie die Debatten um die angeblich zu große Anzahl an Ausländerinnen und Ausländern in Deutschland, und die Behauptung, dass damit die Infrastrukturprobleme Deutschlands zusammenhingen (zu wenig Kindergarten- und Schulplätze, Wohnungen) zum „Aktionsprogramm Ausländerbeschäftigung“ führen. Das Aktionsprogramm erschwerte eine Beschäftigung von „ausländischen Arbeitnehmern“ für die Unternehmen, indem die Vermittlungsgebühr erhöht wurde. Unter dem Deckmantel der Hilfeleistung für Zugewanderte und deren „angemessener Eingliederung“ sollte die erhöhte Vermittlungsgebühr für die Förderung von sprachlichen und beruflichen Bildungsmaßnahmen genutzt werden. Außerdem sollten die von den Unternehmen bereitzustellenden Unterkünfte strenger überprüft werden. Das „Aktionsprogramm Ausländerbeschäftigung“ sah zudem einen Kampf gegen „illegale Beschäftigung“ vor und der Zuzug in so genannte überlastete Siedlungsgebiete – nach der damaligen Definition Stadtviertel mit einem „hohen Ausländeranteil“ – sollte nach bundeseinheitlichen Vorgaben von der „Aufnahmefähigkeit der sozialen Infrastruktur“ abhängig gemacht werden. „Ausländerbeschäftigung“, so die Grundannahme des Aktionsprogramms, sei für das Entstehen gesellschaftlicher Konflikte verantwortlich.

Die Arbeitslosenrate des Jahres 1973 lag zwar unter der von 1955, dem Jahr des ersten Anwerbeabkommens, und die meisten Unternehmen vermeldeten auch in den

folgenden Jahren weiterhin Bedarf an ausländischen Arbeitskräften. Aber trotz allem Druck, den die Arbeitgeber auf die Behörden und Ministerien ausübten, wurde am 23. November 1973 der vom Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB) initiierte Anwerbestopp verhängt. Die Regierung legitimierte den Anwerbestopp als politische und ökonomische Notwendigkeit zur Verhinderung möglicher konjunktureller Einbrüche in der Zukunft. Bis Mitte der 1970er Jahre versuchte die Bundesregierung zunächst durch eine Reihe juristischer Maßnahmen Arbeitsmigrantinnen und -migranten zur Rückkehr in ihre Herkunftsländer zu bewegen oder gar zu nötigen. Eine Serie neuer Auflagen bei der Aufenthaltsgewährung führte zur Verdrängung einer großen Zahl von einst Zugewanderten aus der Bundesrepublik und zielte zudem auf die Abschottung gegenüber den Migrationsbewegungen.

Neben einem auf höchstens drei Monate Aufenthalt befristeten Touristenvisum oder einem Antrag auf Asyl, war nun der Zuzug auf der Grundlage des Gesetzes zur Familienzusammenführung die einzige legale Möglichkeit, nach dem Anwerbestopp in die Bundesrepublik einzureisen, was Migrantinnen und Migranten großzügig auszulegen versuchten. Eine Reihe von staatlichen Praktiken sollte dieser Praxis entgegenwirken: Diskriminierungen etwa in der schulischen Erziehung, im Wohnungssektor, beim Kindergeld oder im Bereich der medizinischen Versorgung, die in den Kämpfen der Migration zur Sprache gebracht worden waren, verschlechterten die Bedingungen und Anreize der Familienzusammenführung. Mit allen erdenklichen Mitteln wurde versucht, einen dauerhaften Aufenthalt von Ausländerinnen und Ausländern zu verhindern. Ausweisung von

Migrantinnen und Migranten, die in Betriebs- oder Wohnkämpfen aktiv gewesen waren, war übliche Praxis. Darüber hinaus sollte die „Entlastung des Arbeitsmarkts“ durch eine Reihe von Instrumentarien ermöglicht werden. In Fällen, wo das Inländerprimat Geltung hatte, verlängerten Behörden die Arbeitserlaubnis nicht. Lief das Arbeitslosengeld aus, wurde die Aufenthaltserlaubnis entzogen und die Ausweisung bei Annahme von Sozialhilfe war sowieso Regel (außer bei EWG-Bürgerinnen und Bürgern).

Rechtlich war durch den Anwerbestopp und die repressiven Maßnahmen zur Verhinderung des dauerhaften Aufenthalts der „Gastarbeiter“ abgeschafft. In der Folge etablierte sich auch diskursiv – etwa in den Debatten des Bundestages – eine neue Kategorie, nämlich die des „Ausländers“ (vgl. Morgenstern 2002: 252ff.). Der größte Teil jener, die länger als fünf Jahre in der Bundesrepublik waren, erhielten mit einer Veränderung der Allgemeinen Verwaltungsvorschriften vom Oktober 1978 eine längerfristige Aufenthaltserlaubnis, die ihren Status weniger prekär gestaltete. Im gleichen Jahr änderte sich auch die Arbeitserlaubnisverordnung, sodass Ausländerinnen und Ausländer nach achtjährigem Aufenthalt eine unbefristete Arbeitserlaubnis erhielten. Mit dieser Rekuperation, die einige der Zugewanderten zu „Ausländern“ machte, andere zur Rückkehr in die Herkunftsländer nötigte oder in die Illegalität zwang, wurde rechtlich ein ausschließender Einschluss installiert. Darüber hinaus kam es bis Ende der 1970er Jahre zur weiteren Klassifizierung und Hierarchisierung von Ausländerinnen und Ausländern, die nicht nur durch die Länge und den Status des Aufenthalts, durch den Abschluss einer Schul- oder Ausbildung in der Bundesrepublik

oder durch Deutschkenntnisse differenzierte. Auch Kategorien konturierten sich deutlicher, wie etwa EG-Staatsbürger, „Illegale“ und „Flüchtlinge“, wobei letztere immer stärker in den Vordergrund der gesetzlichen Restriktionspraxen traten.

Die Rekuperation der Kämpfe der Migration fand in hohem Maße durch Versuche der Abschottung der Grenzen statt. Dies war nur möglich, weil anders als etwa in den Kämpfen des Feminismus, Zugewanderte als „Ausländer“ nicht Teil der national strukturierten Gesellschaft sind und somit die staatliche Disposition eine solche repressive Form annehmen konnte. Der Versuch, die national homogene Integrität der Gesellschaft aufrechtzuerhalten, musste sich aber den Herausforderungen durch die Kämpfe der Migration und der faktischen Einwanderungssituation stellen. Die sich neu hierarchisierenden Bürgerrechte sortierten die politische Zugehörigkeit und trugen zugleich die Spuren der Kämpfe der Migration und der Aneignung von Rechten in sich. Mit der Einwanderung und in den sozialen Auseinandersetzungen erzwangen Zugewanderte eine Transformation des politischen Systems und stellten durch ihre soziale Praxis die formale Institution und Beschränkung der Bürgerrechte infrage.

Die rechtliche Reorganisation hatte für Zugewanderte besondere Konsequenzen. Es ging für sie nun auch darum, den Aufenthalt unter den neuen rechtlichen bzw. entrechteten Bedingungen auch in ökonomischer Sicht anders zu sichern. Der rechtlich prekäre Status der migrantischen Arbeitskräfte korrelierte mit ihrer sozialen und ökonomischen Position. Die migrantischen Arbeiterinnen und Arbeiter waren de facto qua Prekariisierung zu einem festen Bestandteil des Arbeitsmarktes

geworden. Ein großer Teil bildete das untere Segment der industriellen Arbeiterklasse und verfügte obendrein nicht über die gleichen und vollen Bürgerrechte. Der Status „Ausländer“ und die damit verbundenen neuen Bürgerrechte untermauerten rechtlich, politisch wie ideologisch den weiterhin temporär begrenzten bzw. jederzeit begrenzbaren Charakter des Aufenthalts. Dieses neu instituierte Verhältnis von Inrechtsetzung und Entrechtung regulierte eine neu konstituierte, ethnisierte Klasse. Repression und Integrationsforderungen dienten zur Kontrolle dieser Klasse. Zugleich war es möglich, nicht nur die internationale, sondern auch die sektorale Mobilität innerhalb der Produktion zu begrenzen. Das hatte Effekte auf die Zusammensetzung der Arbeiterklasse und die Haushaltsstrukturen. Veränderungen im Produktionsprozess, wie etwa die Automatisierung und Informatisierung des Produktionsprozesses, strukturelle Erwerbslosigkeit, langfristige Prekarität, illegale Beschäftigung, Zwang zur Mobilität und Teilzeitarbeit etc. charakterisierten die Transformation ebenso wie die Krise der Institutionen des Wohlfahrtsstaats und der Familie, die zentrale Bedeutung für die Reproduktion der Arbeitskraft hatten. Arbeitslosigkeit, die Migrantinnen und Migranten durchschnittlich stärker betraf, so sie nicht in die Herkunftsländer „exportiert“ werden konnten, rief ökonomische Unternehmungen auf den Plan. Um den Aufenthalt trotz Entlassungen zu sichern, machten sich im Verlauf der 1970er Jahre viele Zugewanderte selbstständig, gründeten Gewerbe wie Änderungsschneidereien, Lebensmittelgeschäfte, Export/Import-Läden, betrieben Handel, eröffneten Buchläden, Restaurants und Cafés. Die neue Selbstständigkeit verknüpfte für einen Teil der Migrantinnen und Migranten

den Willen, in der Bundesrepublik zu bleiben, mit der Hoffnung, ökonomisch erfolgreich zu sein und auf diese Weise den Diskriminierungen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt zu entkommen. Für einen anderen Teil stellte sie die Möglichkeit dar, der Arbeitslosigkeit auszuweichen und auch noch Familienmitglieder und Freunde in die teilweise informellen Arbeitsverhältnisse einzubinden. So entstand zugleich eine migrantische Infrastruktur, die die Ebene des Alltags und der alltäglichen Praktiken einschloss. In diesem Zusammenhang erweiterten sich die in der Migration ausgebildeten sozialen Netzwerke und Solidaritätszusammenhänge. Diese Netzwerke unterstützten unter anderem jenen Teil der Einwanderung, der in die Illegalität verdrängt wurde – was sowohl jene, die ohne Papiere eingereist waren, wie jene, die ihren Aufenthaltsstatus verloren hatten, betreffen konnte. Die in die Illegalität verdrängten verdingten sich mehrheitlich auf Baustellen, in der Landwirtschaft, im Dienstleistungsbereich, d. h. im Gaststättengewerbe, in der Hausarbeit oder in der Gebäudereinigung.

Imperativ der Integration

Zur Voraussetzung der Erteilung einer Aufenthaltserlaubnis an Familienangehörige und zu ihrer Verlängerung im Rahmen der Regelung des Familiennachzugs erhöhte die damalige sozialliberale Regierung die vorgeschriebene Quadratmeterzahl pro Ausländer im öffentlichen Wohnungssektor auf 12 m². Auch für Zugewanderte, die Wohnungen auf dem privaten Wohnungsmarkt gemietet hatten, galt der Nachweis einer solchen „ordnungsgemäßen und zureichenden Wohnung“ (vgl. Morgenstern 2002: 250). Von 1975 bis 1977 wurde diese

Verordnung mit der bereits erwähnten Zuzugsquote für Migrantinnen und Migranten in „überlasteten Siedlungsgebieten“, auch „Ballungsgebiete“ genannt, kombiniert (vgl. Samp 1978: 4). Bereits im September 1972 hatte ein ressortübergreifendes Planungsteam der Stadt Berlin ein Modell für die Ausländerpolitik unter dem Titel „Eingliederung der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familien“ erarbeitet. Vorgesehen war ein „bedarfsorientiertes Integrationsmodell“, das den Bedarf auf dem Arbeitsmarkt zunächst durch deutsche und erst dann durch ausländische Arbeitskräfte gedeckt sehen wollte, letztere sollten unter „Erhaltung (...) der allgemeinen Sicherheit und Ordnung“ eingegliedert werden.

Wohlfahrtsverbände, Kommunen, Gewerkschaften und Kirchen unterstützten Integrationspolitiken, und übten öffentlich Druck auf Parteien aus, administrative Konsequenzen aus der – wie es nun hieß – „faktischen Einwanderungssituation“ zu ziehen. Zeitgleich gab es massive Bestrebungen seitens verschiedener staatlicher und zivilgesellschaftlicher Akteure, das Postulat aufrecht zu erhalten, dass Deutschland kein Einwanderungsland ist. Einerseits ging es darum, Einwanderung auf keinen Fall zu institutionalisieren, andererseits wurden mit der Forderung nach Anerkennung der „faktischen Einwanderung“ auch die Forderungen nach politischen Maßnahmen zur Integration der Eingewanderten stärker. Diese Positionen artikulierten sich im öffentlichen Diskurs in den Parolen von „Eingliederung ja“ und „Einwanderung nein“. „Eingliederung auf Zeit“ lautete schließlich die breit geteilte Formel, die es zuließ, die Option auf eine Rückkehr in die Herkunftsländer beizubehalten und zeitgleich die zur Sicherung des „sozialen Friedens“ als notwendig erachteten

Integrationsmaßnahmen zu legitimieren. Da die Ära der „Gastarbeiterbeschäftigung“ verabschiedet worden war, stellte „Integration“ den gesellschaftlichen Kompromiss dar, der politisch zwischen ökonomischen Interessen, die weiterhin auf die Beschäftigung von „ausländischen Arbeitnehmern“ drangen, und nationalistischen Tendenzen, die jede weitere Einwanderung verhindern wollten, geschmiedet werden konnte. Aufrechtzuerhalten war mit diesem Kompromiss die Behauptung, Deutschland sei kein Einwanderungsland und könne auch nie eines werden.

Integration wird Ende der 1970er Jahre zum Imperativ. Die soziale, nicht rechtliche Integration stellt sich als Fortschritt, Emanzipationsakt, als Gewährung eines Rechts dar. Zugleich suggeriert die Annahme einer so genannten kulturellen oder nationalen Identität der Migrantinnen und Migranten, ihre Integration bleibe immer oberflächlich und unvollständig. Der Erhalt der kulturellen Identität in Kombination mit der Vorenthaltung von Rechten deutet zumindest an, dass ihnen letztlich das Bleiberecht verweigert werden sollte und ihre Rückkehr perspektivisch anzuvisieren ist, was die Formel „Integration auf Zeit“ letztlich bedeutet. Der Begriff „Ausländer“ markiert zudem, dass es sich um einen Bevölkerungsteil handelt, der zwar in Deutschland lebt, aber nicht Teil der deutschen Gesellschaft ist. Die Vorstellung der kulturellen Identität, die sich in diesen Aussagen bereits artikuliert, findet später im Konzept des Multikulturalismus seine Ausarbeitung.

Integration bezeichnete im Kontext der ausländerpolitischen Maßnahmen der 1970er Jahre eine Rekuperation der Widerstandspraktiken und Kämpfe der Migrantinnen und Migranten. Selbstverständlich lässt sich der

Imperativ der Integration nicht schematisch als funktionale Politik, als schlichte „Antwort“ des Staates auf die migrantischen Forderungen und sozialen Auseinandersetzungen verstehen. Es lassen sich aber zahlreiche Hinweise dafür zusammentragen, dass in den Zugewanderten tatsächlich zunehmend eine politische und soziale Gefahr gesehen wurde. Es galt, diese entweder zu integrieren und zu befrieden oder sie auszuweisen. Integration und Abschottung sowie Ausschließung sind so zu den tragenden Pfeilern der Ausländerpolitik ausgebaut worden. Beide Aspekte – Integration und Abschottung – wurden in Form einer Drohung verknüpft: Integration könne nur gewährleistet werden, wenn der Anwerbestopp aufrechterhalten bliebe, denn Deutschland könne „einen weiteren Zustrom ausländischer Arbeitnehmer nicht verkraften“, so Albrecht Hasinger bei der Beratung zu den „Zukunftschancen der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer“ im Bundestag am 14. Juni 1978 (zit. Morgenstern 2002: 257). Trotz der genannten Veränderungen im Migrationsregime und aller Maßnahmen der Abschottung und Verdrängung verringerte sich während der 1970er Jahre die Zahl der Zugewanderten insgesamt jedoch keineswegs, sondern erhöhte sich. Von 1973 bis 1979 blieb die Zahl der ausländischen Wohnbevölkerung stabil und nahm ab 1979 zu, so dass 1980 offiziell eine Million mehr Ausländerinnen und Ausländer in Deutschland lebten als noch 1972, also vor dem Anwerbestopp (Fathi 1996: 28). Bei diesen Zahlen muss außerdem beachtet werden, dass Personen ohne Papiere darin nicht berücksichtigt sind. In dieser Hinsicht sind letztlich alle staatlichen Abschottungsbemühungen fehlgeschlagen. Die in der Migration aufgebauten sozialen Netze waren offenbar in der Lage, weitere Einwanderung zu organisieren.

Dispositiv der Integration

Wie aber können wir uns die Rekuperation durch den Imperativ der Integration vorstellen, wenn es sich nicht um eine schematisch verstandene „Antwort“ handelt? Benannten Migrantinnen und Migranten in ihren Kämpfen die Ausschlussmechanismen ihrer Kinder aus dem nationalen Schulsystem, so tauchte dies als Maßnahme zur Prävention möglicher zukünftiger „Konflikttherde“ im Integrationsförderungskatalog wieder auf. Diesmal aber umgekehrt zur Artikulation in den Kämpfen der Migration: Es geht nicht mehr um ein Recht auf Bildung, sondern um die Pflicht der sogenannten zweiten Generation, sich sprachlich, kulturell und „staatsbürgerlich“ für ein unbefristetes Aufenthaltsrecht zu qualifizieren. Kämpften Zugewanderte in den Mietstreiks um angemessene Wohnverhältnisse, tauchte dies in der administrativen Verordnung, ein Wohnraum von mindestens 12 m² pro Person müsse zur Gewährung einer Aufenthaltserlaubnis gewährleistet werden, repressiv und restriktiv wieder auf. Forderten Migrantinnen und Migranten eine soziale Infrastruktur zur Artikulation und Repräsentation ihrer „Bedürfnisse“, schlägt sich dies in den 1970er Jahren in der institutionalisierten Form der „Ausländerpädagogik“ nieder, die „Ausländer“ als neues Klientel funktionalisiert.

Integration als Dispositiv verstanden ermöglicht es uns, in der theoretischen Anlage und folglich der Analyse drei Dimensionen zu verbinden, die diesen Begriff Michel Foucaults für eine Machtanalytik tauglich machen, um ein Netz zwischen Kräften, Praktiken, Diskursen, Macht und Wissen zu bezeichnen (vgl. Foucault 1999). Das Dispositiv der Integration desartikuliert die

kollektiven Ansprüche, verschiebt sie hin zu individuellen Anpassungsleistungen der Migrantinnen und Migranten und reduziert sie auf Infrastrukturprobleme, denen am besten mit Rückkehrförderung beizukommen sei. Vor allem aber ist die Forderung nach gleichen Rechten aller im Dispositiv der Integration vollständig absorbiert. Auf die Fragen, die sich in den Kämpfen artikuliert haben, gibt das Dispositiv durch deren Reinterpretation entgegengesetzte Antworten und übersetzt die Forderung nach Kollektivrechten in individuell zu erbringende Leistungen. Die Bevölkerung erscheint auf dubiose Weise neu homogenisiert, Rechte und Pflichten scheinen neu verteilt. Dennoch bauen sich Asymmetrien erneut auf. Die ungleichen sozialen Positionen der verschiedenen „Partner“ korrespondieren mit dem Grad, nach dem ihnen politische und soziale Rechte vorenthalten bleiben. Das Recht, zumal es im Begriff der Integration vermittelt ist, kann so zwar niemals vollständig suspendiert sein, bleibt aber unrealisiert und daher seine Suspension ständig virulent. Die Einbettung in den nationalen Rahmen administrativer und zivilgesellschaftlicher Maßnahmen hat zu einer Stillstellung dieser Konjunktur autonomer Kämpfe der Migration beigetragen. Ausschließung und Integration drängten den möglichen Widerstand in den Hintergrund. In der Kompromissformel der Integration hat sich die in den Fabriken thematisierte Spaltung der Arbeiterklasse längst zu institutionalisieren begonnen. Die langsame Entstehung des staatlichen Integrationsdispositivs seit dem Beginn der 1970er Jahre trennt die Migrantinnen und Migranten vom historischen Prozess der Migration. Zugleich kann es als Versuch gedeutet werden, die Geschichte und Erinnerung jener Arbeitergeneration zu zerstören,

die antirassistische Forderungen erhob und Erfahrungen im Kontext zahlreicher sozialer Auseinandersetzungen gemacht hatte. Die Kämpfe der Migration konnten niemals vollständig stillgelegt werden. Sie sollten fortan und in einem neuen Anlauf andere Wege finden, den Restriktionen der Einwanderungsgesetze und Aufenthaltsbedingungen, der Reorganisation des Produktionsprozesses und den rassistischen Diskriminierungen im Alltag zu begegnen. Ihre Geschichte, so weitgehend unbekannt wie sie bis heute geblieben ist, kann als Bestandteil der heutigen Situation gelten, sie gehört bereits zu unserer Erfahrung.

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**Lotta Continua in Frankfurt,
Türken-Terror in Köln
Migrantische Kämpfe in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik¹⁴**

Serhat Karakayalı

Zwischen einer Praxis, die darin besteht „die Geschichte zu schreiben“ und der, „Geschichten zu erzählen“, besteht ein Unterschied, den manche als einen Epochenbruch ansehen würden. Die Vorstellung eines linearen, fortschreitenden Verlaufs von Geschichte, samt Finalität und großem Subjekt, ist im Zusammenhang mit den Debatten um die Postmoderne vielfach diskutiert worden. Für den Kontext der Geschichte der Kämpfe der MigrantInnen in Deutschland spielen jene Fragen nur eine untergeordnete Rolle. Entscheidend für den Unterschied, um den es hier geht, ist der politische Kontext und die damit verbundenen Fragen von Subjektivität und politischer Identität. Die Entdeckung und Wiederentdeckung jener Kämpfe war Teil des Konstitutionsprozesses des antirassistischen Netzwerks *kanak attak* und hatte darin eine praktische und eine theoretische Dimension. Praktisch war es notwendig, sich in eine Tradition stellen und aus der Geschichte ihrer Erfolge und Niederlagen lernen zu können. Notwendig war eine solche Traditionslinie zudem auch, um das Bild der MigrantInnen allein als Objekte von Rassismus zu dekonstruieren. Auf

14 Der Text ist ein Sample aus „Across Bockenheimer Landstraße“ (diskus 2/00, siehe: <http://www.copyriot.com/diskus>) und „Sechs bis acht Kommunisten, getarnt in Monteursmänteln“ (<http://www.kanak-attak.de>). Er ist auch erhältlich auf Englisch und Türkisch: <https://transversal.at/transversal/1017/karakayal/de>

theoretischer Ebene ging es um eine Historisierung, die zeigen sollte, dass der Rassismus in der Geschichte nicht immer die gleichen Gruppen auf die gleiche Weise unterwirft und damit auch die Niederlagen und Erfolge von antirassistischen Kämpfen den Rassismus immer wieder verändern. Rassismus sollte so als ein soziales Verhältnis fassbar werden, in dem die Kämpfe im Mittelpunkt stehen und nicht die durch den Rassismus produzierten Identitäten (vgl. Bojadžijev 2002 und 2003).

Für die Arbeit von *kanak attack* hat sich dieser Zugang als sehr fruchtbar erwiesen: Die gegenwärtig stattfindenden Veränderungen des Migrationsregimes oder die Änderungen bezüglich des Staatsbürgerschaftsrechts konnten so in ihren historischen Verbindungen gesehen werden. Aus dieser Perspektive etwa entwickelte *kanak attack* die Kritik am Begriff der Integration, der im Angesicht der historischen Kämpfe als nichts anderes erscheinen muss, als die Forderung nach individueller Anpassung, ein bloßes Versprechen, das verdeckt, dass die meisten MigrantInnen in der Bundesrepublik entrechtet leben und dass sie, historisch gesehen, schon immer gegen diese Entrechtung gekämpft haben.

Zwei der sicherlich berühmtesten Beispiele aus der nahezu unbekanntenen Geschichte migrantischer Kämpfe sollen verdeutlichen, wie die angesprochenen historischen Verbindungslinien zum aktuellen Migrationsregime gezogen werden können.

Frankfurter Häuserkampf

Im Herbst 1970 hatten StudentInnen, Familien aus Obdachlosensiedlungen und ausländische ArbeiterInnen in der Eppsteiner Straße 47 im Frankfurter Stadtteil

Westend vermutlich zum ersten Mal im Nachkriegsdeutschland ein leer stehendes Haus besetzt, die Häuser in der Liebigstraße 20 und Corneliusstraße 24 folgten einen Monat später. Das unmittelbare Echo auf die Besetzungen war sehr positiv, sowohl in lokalen Medien (außer in der *FAZ*), überregionalen Fernsehsendungen, als auch bei AnwohnerInnen und schließlich sogar bei Teilen der regierenden SPD. Diese sah in den Besetzungen zunächst ein zwar illegales, aber dennoch legitimes Mittel, auf die miserablen Verhältnisse auf dem Wohnungsmarkt aufmerksam zu machen.

Die Hausbesetzungen waren aus Sicht der StudentInnen zunächst Selbsthilfeaktionen, deren Berechtigung darin bestand, „endlich aus der Isolation von Frau Wirtins muffigen Mansardenkammern oder der Gängelei repressiver Elternhäuser zu entfliehen“ (zit. nach Stracke 1980: 100). Diskriminierungen bei der Zimmersuche, astronomisch hohe Mietpreise, die Weigerung, in winzige Studentenwohnheimzimmer zu ziehen oder die Lösung in der Gründung einer Kleinfamilie zu suchen, waren die Ausgangspunkte. Daran anschließend entwickelte die Bewegung eine weitreichende Kritik an der fordistischen Lebensweise: „Man merkt den Wohnungen an, daß sie gebaut wurden, um Geld zu scheffeln, und nicht, damit Menschen sich drin wohl fühlen können. Die Wohnungen sind so gebaut, daß man gerade darin Fernsehen und dann Schlafen kann, um am nächsten Tag wieder fit für die Arbeit zu sein“ (Flugblatt „Wir bleiben drin“, Häuserrat/AStA 1973).

Auf dem Wohnungsmarkt am meisten diskriminiert waren freilich die ArbeitsmigrantInnen. Seit den ersten Anwerbeabkommen Mitte der Fünfziger wurden sie zumeist in so genannten Gastarbeiterunterkünften

untergebracht, die von den Arbeitgebern bereitgestellt werden sollten. Die Unternehmen ließen aus Kostengründen Barackensiedlungen am unteren Ende der vorgesehenen Standards errichten: eine „Bettstelle“, ein Schrank, eine Sitzgelegenheit und eine Toilette für 15 ArbeiterInnen. An diesen Bedingungen scheint sich im Übrigen nicht viel geändert zu haben, betrachtet man heutige Flüchtlingsunterkünfte: Zur Zimmerausstattung gehören ein Bett, ein Stuhl pro Person; Kochplatte, Tisch und Schrank müssen sich drei Personen teilen (vgl. Kühne/Rüßler 2000: 151).

Diejenigen, die ihre Familie nach Deutschland holen oder einfach den schäbigen Lebensbedingungen im Wohnheim entkommen wollten, mussten feststellen, dass der freie Wohnungsmarkt ihnen nicht viel anzubieten hatte. AusländerInnen wohnten in Gebieten, in denen nach den herrschenden Planungsmaximen gar keine Wohnungen sein sollten, in extremen Emissionszonen oder in sanierungsbedürftigen Wohngegenden. Frankfurter ArbeitsmigrantInnen wohnten Anfang der Siebziger, so sie nicht in werkseigenen Wohnheimen oder -lagern untergebracht waren, zu zwei Dritteln in Altbauwohnungen, die sich in sehr schlechtem Zustand befanden oder in Ein-Zimmer-Appartements, deren Mieten Deutschen zu hoch waren, von den ArbeitsmigrantInnen aber wegen der größeren Wohnungsnot akzeptiert werden mussten (vgl. Borris 1973). Bei weniger als einem Drittel der in Frankfurt lebenden MigrantInnen entsprach die Ausstattung den vergleichbaren deutschen Durchschnittswohnungen, die meisten zahlten dennoch Mieten, wie sie für moderne Luxuswohnungen üblich waren. Mit Wohngeld unterstützt wurden gerade drei Prozent der nicht-deutschen

MieterInnen und Sozialwohnungen erhielten 1971 ganze 60 Antragsteller, obwohl der größte Teil Anspruch darauf gehabt hätte.

Den wohnungssuchenden MigrantInnen kam vor diesem Hintergrund eine besondere Funktion bei der Umstrukturierung des Westends zu. Von ihnen konnten hohe Mieten verlangt werden, obwohl sie in Abbruchhäusern wohnten, an denen nicht einmal minimalste Reparaturen vorgenommen wurden. So konnten die Gebäude bis zum geplanten Abbruch hochprofitabel zwischenvermietet werden. Manchen MieterInnen wurden etwa 1971 bis zu 900 DM für winzige, verwanzte Löcher abgenommen. Gleichzeitig konnte den MigrantInnen die Verantwortung für den schlechten Zustand der Häuser zugeschoben werden. So hat die Bürgerinitiative *Aktionsgemeinschaft Westend e.V.* (AGW), die selbst umfangreiche Daten über hohe Mieten und Überbelegung in den migrantisch bewohnten Häusern sammelte, die MigrantInnen aufgefordert, „Lärm zu vermeiden und keine Abfälle neben die Mülltonnen zu werfen“ etc. Letztlich ging es darum, eine behördliche Genehmigung für den Abbruch zu erhalten und so konnte es den Immobilienhändlern recht sein, wenn es so aussah, als wären es die MigrantInnen, die den Verfall der Häuser verursachen würden.

Wie richtig die Immobilienkaufleute mit ihrer Annahme lagen, dass sie die MigrantInnen nicht einmal als Rechtssubjekte behandeln müssten, zeigt ein Beispiel aus dem Jahr 1972: Der Besitzer eines Wohnhauses, ein Herr Gertler „hatte bereits einen Teil der Fenster zer schlagen, um das Haus unbewohnbar zu machen. Zuvor hatte er türkische und jugoslawische Arbeiter, die im zweiten Stock wohnten, vertrieben, indem er sie samt

Mobiliar auf Lastwagen verladen und gegen ihren Willen abtransportieren ließ. Sie würden ‚in Lager außerhalb Frankfurts‘ gebracht, erklärte Gertler. Zu empörten Anwohnern sagte er: ‚Was ich mit meinen Mietern mache, ist meine Sache.‘ (FAZ vom 29. August 1972) Die daraufhin alarmierte Polizei leitete keine Untersuchungen ein. Weniger spektakulär war die Gepflogenheit mancher HausbesitzerInnen, einfach die Wohnungen der MieterInnen zu betreten. Ein italienischer Mieter erzählt über seinen Hausbesitzer:

Er ging in die Küche und guckte in die Töpfe, um zu sehen, was wir kochen. Wie oft hat er gesagt: [...] guck mal hier, ihr eßt sehr gut und verbraucht viel Strom und Gas. Ihr konsumiert zu viel, sagte er immer. [...] Anklopfen? Nein, dann fing er an rumzugehen von einem Zimmer zum anderen, ins Bad in die Toilette. [...] Das erste Mal habe ich mir gedacht, vielleicht ist das hier so. Das zweite mal habe ich gesagt: RAUS! („Hausbesetzer erzählen“, in: Häuserrat 1974: 120)

Die EigentümerInnen der Wohnungen konnten auf die Zusammenarbeit mit den städtischen Behörden und der Polizei vertrauen, nicht aber darauf, dass sich die MigrantInnen nicht wehren würden. Nachdem bereits einige italienische Familien an den ersten Besetzungen im Herbst 1970 teilgenommen hatten, entstand im Sommer 1971 eine neue Form des Häuserkampfes: der Mietstreik. Einige italienische AktivistInnen von der *Unione Inquilini* (Mieterunion) hatten wochenlang Ausländerquartiere im Westend besucht, um mit den

BewohnerInnen über deren Wohnsituation zu diskutieren. Den Anfang machten die BewohnerInnen des Hauses in der Ulmenstraße 20. Auf einer Pressekonferenz erklärten sie den Mietstreik, nur noch 10 Prozent des Lohnes sollte für die Miete ausgegeben werden. Doch ließ sich der Mietstreik zunächst nicht ausweiten.

Im Februar des nächsten Jahres dann deuteten die Aktionen der BewohnerInnen der Eschersheimer Landstraße 220 eine Wende an. Sie hatten schon früh erfolglose Versuche unternommen, ihre Situation über Gerichte oder das Amt für Wohnungswesen zu verbessern und waren zu der Einsicht gelangt, dass „ein Hausstreik keine Kraft hat, daß es notwendig ist, Verbündete zu suchen“ (Häuserat 1974: 111). Es wurden Flugblätter verfasst, eine Demonstration mit über 1000 TeilnehmerInnen veranstaltet und in den Häusern textete man nicht nur für Transparente, sondern auch für Mietstreiklieder, die in den türkischen und italienischen Radiosendungen täglich gespielt wurden.

Diesem Beispiel folgten ab Februar 1972 zahlreiche andere migrantische Hausgemeinschaften. Bis Ende dieses Jahres befanden sich Dutzende von Häusern im Mietstreik – an die 1500 MigrantInnen. Dieses migrantische Engagement findet sich in allen späteren Häuserkampfbewegungen, etwa Anfang der Achtziger, nicht mehr. Von den ersten Aktionen unterschied sich diese Welle von Streiks dadurch, dass die BewohnerInnen der verschiedenen Häuser begonnen hatten, miteinander zu diskutieren und gemeinsam vorzugehen. Der Streik entwickelte sich durch die Erfahrung, dass alle zum Objekt einer übergreifenden konzertierten Aktion gemacht werden sollten, vom reinen Mietstreik zum politischen Streik. Dominierte anfangs die nackte Not, die vorher

schon viele Familien zum ganz privaten Mietstreik mehr oder weniger gezwungen hatte, waren nun mehr und mehr die Amtsgerichte, die Polizei und der Magistrat die gemeinsamen Gegner. Der Mietstreik entwickelte sich zu einer Kritik an den Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen in Deutschland. Wollte die erste italienische Familie, die das Haus in der Eppsteiner Straße mitbesetzt hatte, nicht nur den hohen Mieten, sondern auch dem Rassismus der Nachbarn entkommen, richteten sich die Forderungen mittlerweile auch gegen die Akkordarbeit, die Wohnheime oder das Fehlen von Kindergärten für die MigrantInnenkinder.

Tatsächlich kam es zur gleichen Zeit zu Streiks von ArbeitsmigrantInnen bei VDM in Frankfurt und bei Opel Rüsselsheim, wo diese die deutsche Betriebsversammlung unter der vom *Revolutionären Kampf* ausgegebenen Parole „Eine Mark für alle!“ stürmten. Auf der ersten MigrantInnen-Demonstration der Bundesrepublik 1972 im Frankfurter Westend fanden sich so neben Transparenten gegen die Vermieter auch welche gegen die „Bosse“. Mit der Parole *Fiat-Opel-Autobianchi dei padroni siamo stanchi!* (Von den Fiat-Opel-Autobianchi Bossen haben wir die Schnauze voll!) thematisierten sie auch die kapitalistische Indienstnahme der Migration. Sowohl im Betrieb als auch im Quartier war die Solidarität der Deutschen aber nicht sonderlich groß. Abgesehen von den Betriebsarbeit leistenden Linken und der HausbesetzerInnenbewegung waren die Beziehungen zur Mehrheitsgesellschaft von Rassismus geprägt, angesichts ihrer Wohnsituation hatte man allenfalls Mitleid mit den „armen Gastarbeitern“.

Die Mietstreikenden wurden ab 1973 mit mehr als 140 Prozessen überzogen, die der Bewegung schließlich

auch ein Ende bereiteten. Trotz der Unterstützung der „Genossenanwälte“ und der Spontis vom Häuserrat waren die Hausgemeinschaften mit diesem Angriff überfordert, sie verloren mehr als neunzig Prozent der Verhandlungen und waren nicht mehr in der Lage, eine neue Offensive zu starten.

Trotz eines „kulturrevolutionären“ Effekts der Aktionen innerhalb der MigrantInnen-Communities (Politisierung des Reproduktionsbereichs, Infragestellen der Geschlechterverhältnisse, Eroberung des öffentlichen Raums, Kollektivierung) waren bestimmte z. B. nationalistische Borniertheiten mit verantwortlich für die spätere desolante Situation. Dabei handelte es sich nicht bloß um die Banalität, dass diejenigen Häuser besonders gut organisiert waren, die eine relativ homogene Nationalitätenstruktur aufwiesen und deshalb keine internen Sprachprobleme hatten. So gab es Konflikte um Freundschaften zwischen TürkInnen und ItalienerInnen und eine unausgesprochene Hierarchie, an deren Spitze die „politischsten“ Communities standen.

Fordstreik in Köln

Der vielleicht bekannteste unter den unbekanntem migrantischen Kämpfen in der Bundesrepublik war der sogenannte Türkenstreik in den Ford-Werken in Köln-Niehl im August 1973. Sein Auslöser war die fristlose Entlassung von 300 türkischen ArbeiterInnen, die ihren vierwöchigen Jahresurlaub eigenmächtig verlängert hatten.

Auf einer Betriebsversammlung eine Woche vor Beginn des Streiks erklärten sich die türkischen ArbeiterInnen solidarisch mit den Entlassenen, während die

Mehrheit der deutschen KollegInnen die Entlassungen und Disziplinarverfahren zum Teil applaudierend befürwortete. Den Deutschen, die als Vorarbeiter, Fertigmacher oder Meister vor allem vorgesetzte Funktionen im Betrieb innehatten, erschienen die Entlassungen gerechtfertigt: Sie selbst waren immer pünktlich gewesen, sollte das nicht auch für die anderen gelten? Zum anderen hatten sie wenig Verständnis für die Situation der türkischen KollegInnen, die von den vier Wochen Werksurlaub schon allein zehn Tage mit der An- bzw. Abreise verbringen mussten, wodurch ihnen nicht mal drei Wochen Urlaub blieb. Dennoch waren zu Beginn auch deutsche KollegInnen an dem Streik beteiligt, wenn auch zögerlich.

Als klar wird, dass die durch die Entlassungen entstehende Mehrarbeit auf die Verbliebenen umverteilt werden sollte, wächst der Unmut unter den ArbeiterInnen. Viele fluchen laut vor sich hin, die Stimmung ist gereizt, aber die Arbeit geht weiter. Bis ein Türke mit dem Ruf „Kollegen, wie lange sollen wir uns das gefallen lassen?!“ die Barriere durchbricht. Innerhalb weniger Minuten streikt die gesamte Endmontage-Halle. Im Laufe des Tages zieht ein Demonstrationszug durch das ganze Werk. Am Abend dieses 24. August 1973 versammeln sich einige Tausend auf dem Werksgelände, zu diesem Zeitpunkt standen drei Forderungen im Zentrum: Zurücknahme der Entlassungen, eine Mark mehr pro Stunde für alle und die Herabsetzung der Bandgeschwindigkeit. In den nächsten zwei Tagen weitet sich der Streik innerhalb der Ford-Werke aus. Eine Gruppe deutscher Linker namens *Kölner Fordarbeiter* verteilt in Wohnheimen und im Betrieb Flugblätter, auf denen weitere Forderungen aufgestellt werden, u.a. die Verlängerung des bezahlten Urlaubs auf sechs Wochen.

Gleichzeitig führt der Betriebsrat Verhandlungen mit der Geschäftsleitung. Am Montag, dem 27. August 1973, kommt es zur Wende im Streik, denn es zeichnet sich ab, dass die Verhandlungen zu keinem Ergebnis führen und der Betriebsrat von der Mehrheit der ArbeiterInnen ohnehin nicht mehr als legitime Vertretung akzeptiert wird.

In den Medien war bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt von einer zwar illegalen, aber verständlichen Arbeitsniederlegung gesprochen worden. Zentral war dabei offenbar, dass sich bisher auch deutsche KollegInnen dem Streik angeschlossen hatten. Die *Frankfurter Rundschau* berichtete am 27. August 1973 noch, die Geschäftsleitung schlieÙe nicht aus, dass „auch deutsche Arbeiter die Forderung ihrer türkischen Kollegen unterstützen“ und der *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* berichtet am selben Tag über die „Bemühungen des Bundeskanzlers, die Forderungen der Metallarbeiter in geregelte Bahnen zu lenken“. Nachdem auf einer Versammlung eine unabhängige Streikleitung gewählt worden war, hatten Geschäftsleitung und Betriebsrat offenbar ihre Strategie geändert. Während des Wochenendes wurden die ArbeiterInnen der Spätschicht über Radio, Fernsehen und sogar in Durchsagen in den Straßenbahnen aufgefordert, nicht zur Arbeit zu erscheinen. Die Geschäftsleitung wollte den Streik durch Reduzierung des Streikpersonals beenden. Denn es wurde entgegen der deutschen Gewerkschaftstradition nicht von „zu Hause aus“ gestreikt. Die Türken, einige Italiener und nur noch wenige Deutsche übernachteten im Polsterlager des Ford-Werkes und organisierten den Streik von hier aus.

Danach aber setzte eine Politik der Spaltung ein. Gewerkschaft und Betriebsrat organisierten eigene

Demonstrationen und konnten die Mehrheit der deutschen KollegInnen für sich gewinnen. Am Mittwoch, dem 29. August 1973, standen von den Deutschen nur noch Lehrlinge und jüngere Aushilfsarbeiter auf der Seite der Streikenden. Die radikale Haltung der ArbeiterInnen, hieß es nun, sei durch „fremde Kräfte“ geschürt. Die *BILD*-Zeitung flüsterte von „6-8 Kommunisten, die sich getarnt in Monteursmänteln in das kilometerweite Werksgelände eingeschlichen haben“ (29. August 1973). Auch der Betriebsratsvorsitzende Lück erklärte im *Express*, „der ehemalige Radikalen-Tummelplatz Universität sei vielerorts in die Betriebe verlagert“ worden. Überschriften wie „Türken-Terror bei Ford“ und „Übernehmen die Gastarbeiter die Macht?“ dokumentieren, wie der Arbeitskampf in eine Art Krieg der Mentalitäten umgedeutet wurde. Plötzlich ging es nicht mehr um Lohnforderungen, Entlassungen und Arbeitsbedingungen, sondern um die Ausländer, die das deutsche Tarifsystem nicht richtig verstehen würden.

Die Geschäftsleitung beendete schließlich nach knapp einer Woche den Streik gewaltsam, indem unter dem Schutz einer „Gegendemonstration“ von so genannten Arbeitswilligen in Meisterkitteln Polizeikräfte auf das Werksgelände eindrangten und damit begannen, „Rädelsführer“, d.h. die Streikleitung, zu verhaften. Unter den Verhafteten war auch Baha Targün, den die Türken als Ersten in das Streikkomitee gewählt hatten. Er wurde später ausgewiesen, seine Spur verliert sich in der Türkei. Über 100 türkische Arbeiter wurden fristlos entlassen, etwa 600 kündigten auf Druck des Arbeitgebers „freiwillig“. Es ist kein Fall bekannt geworden, in dem der Betriebsrat gegen eine Entlassung Einspruch eingelegt hätte.

Der Streik war letztlich an der Spaltung in Deutsche und Ausländer gescheitert. Werksleitung, Betriebsrat und Medien hatten es nach und nach geschafft, die ohnehin schon strukturell unterschiedlichen Interessen ideologisch zu verfestigen. Die deutschen Arbeiter hatten die besseren Jobs und verdienten mehr, warum sollten sie also streiken? Den Streikenden wiederum war es nicht gelungen, diese Logik zu durchbrechen. Vielleicht wäre es gelungen, die Spaltung zu überwinden, wenn man sie nicht bloß als ideologische Verblendung betrachtet hätte. Denn der Rassismus war vielmehr materiell fundiert, d.h., in der bundesdeutschen Ökonomie wurde mit den Kanaken die Segmentierung des Arbeitsmarkts rassistisch strukturiert.

Für die Linken damals war die Spaltung so etwas wie ein konspirativer Trick der herrschenden Klasse. Natürlich waren die kanakischen Arbeiter in einer besonderen Lage, aber das wurde eben als eine Art Zufall gesehen. Die Arbeiterklasse war doch seit jeher eigentlich international. Von Rassismus, geschweige denn strukturellem, wusste man nicht viel. Die meisten dieser linken Gruppen wie KPD, KPD/ML oder KBW waren an dem Streik gar nicht beteiligt, und lieferten nur jede Menge Flugblätter, manchmal aber auch Zigaretten und Essen. Innerhalb des Ford-Werks hatte die *Gruppe Arbeiterkampf* am meisten mit den türkischen Kollegen zusammengearbeitet und den Streik mitgetragen. Der gemeinsame Kampf war mehr als nur eine Erfahrung. Für die betrieblich orientierte Sponti-Linke in Westdeutschland waren die Kanaken eine Art Avantgarde.

Juristische, politische und ökonomische Kämpfe

Die Arbeitskämpfe bei Ford in Köln 1973, bei Opel in Rüsselsheim zur gleichen Zeit, und auch der Kampf im Westend wie die vielen, kaum dokumentierten Revolten in Gastarbeiterlagern (vgl. von Oswald/Schmidt 1999) sind letztlich gescheitert. Den längeren Atem hatten anscheinend diejenigen, die Geschäfte machen wollten und diejenigen, die ihnen im Namen des Volkes dabei halfen. Wenn etwa aufgrund des Mietstreiks nach und nach Schwierigkeiten entstanden – in Gestalt von Gerichtsverhandlungen, dem Abstellen von Strom und Wasser oder Schlägertrupps der Vermieter – schien es überdies, als habe sich durch die politische Aktion die Situation eigentlich nur verschlechtert. Die Ursachen für die Niederlage auch nur annähernd erschöpfend zu klären, ist heute kaum möglich. Ein wesentlicher Punkt scheint jedoch darin bestanden zu haben, dass es häufig nicht gelang, langfristige Perspektive und auf den Nägeln brennende Alltagsprobleme miteinander zu vermitteln.

Ohne eine Parallele zu ziehen, ist doch mit den damaligen Kämpfen eine Verbindung von rechtlichen, politischen und ökonomischen Kämpfen entscheidend geworden, an die es heute anzuknüpfen gilt. Was damals für die Bundesrepublik zum ersten Mal auf die Tagesordnung gesetzt wurde, war, den Kampf gegen aufenthaltsrechtliche Praxen mit dem Kampf gegen die Repression im Wohnheim und dem Akkord in der Fabrik zu koppeln. Damit wurde ein Antirassismus möglich, der, indem er die rassistische Überdeterminierung von Ausbeutungsverhältnissen thematisiert, seine Grundlage nicht mehr im Humanismus hat. Dieser neuen Form

von Antirassismus geht es weder identitätspolitisch um Anerkennung wie im Multikulturalismus oder um das abstrakte humanistische Menschsein, noch um eine Selbstdefinition ausschließlich als Opfer. Es geht vielmehr um eine Auseinandersetzung mit der rassistischen Segmentierung von Arbeits- und Wohnungsmarkt sowie der institutionellen Diskriminierung mit Blick auf eine materielle Fundierung antirassistischer Politik. Anstatt an das gute Gewissen der deutschen Öffentlichkeit zu appellieren, müssen soziale und ökonomische Bündnisse geschlossen werden. Anstatt die selbst rassistische Trennung in Deutsche und AusländerInnen zu zementieren, müssen nicht-identitäre Kriterien für antirassistische Politik erfunden werden. Dies ist in der Mietstreikbewegung wie auch im Fordstreik und den vielen anderen migrantischen Kämpfen in der Bundesrepublik ansatzweise gelungen, weshalb es sich lohnt, auch den verlorenen Schlachten nachzugehen.

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“Home, Foreign Home” - Commemorating the 50-Year Anniversary of the Signing of the Agreement on Labor Migration between Austria and Yugoslavia¹⁵

Jana Dolečki

The 50-year anniversary of the signing of the Agreement on labor force recruitment from former Yugoslavia for temporary work in Austria has been commemorated through numerous manifestations, exhibitions, conferences, and other events organized by both state and independent initiatives. This all took place within the overwhelming atmosphere of the 2016 Austrian presidential election, which was marked by scandals and obscure, never-before-seen double extensions. The issue, to which Austria does not officially assign any concrete official significance other than on such specific dates, is thus more or less left to socially conscious Austrian migration initiatives as well as their predominantly academically affiliated sympathizers.¹⁶ This year, however, this historical event has taken on greater referential value, which has, in a sense, been able to rip it from its historical context and inscribe it

15 This is a revised version of the article published in Croatian (translated by Tijana Gojić Topolnik) on kulturpunkt.hr on January 16, 2017, within the project “Blurred Images of the Future,” co-funded by the Fund for Promoting Pluralism and Diversity of Electronic Media: <http://www.kulturpunkt.hr/content/dome-strani-dome>. It is also available in Croatian and German here: <https://transversal.at/transversal/1017/dolecki/en>

16 <http://www.kulturpunkt.hr/content/cuvanje-i-stvaranje-nove-povijesti-austrije>

into the contemporary reality of both the mentioned political turmoil and the acute migration crisis – be it in an explicit or openly suppressed way. Throughout the year, *gastarbeiters* have thus mostly been referred to in official public discourse on migrants as a model of *successful integration*. “It is very important that the second and third generations of migrants from former Yugoslavia are integrated well in Austrian society. The example of people from former Yugoslavia shows that integration can succeed, but that it also takes a lot of time, even more than one generation,”¹⁷ claimed Sebastian Kurz, Austrian Federal Minister for Europe, Integration, and Foreign Affairs. He forgot to mention, however, what the precise criteria for good and bad integration was. The reasoning is in the timing. At the very moment that the minister suggested regulating the migrant crisis along the Australian model and threatened to punish school pupils’ “unwillingness to integrate” (*Integrationsunwilligkeit*) with a fine of 1,000 euros, Yugoslav migrants were drawn out of the dusty closet of Austria’s social welfare wonders and celebrated as a great success of national politics – usurped from all angles as a social experiment right in the middle of the election year and the controversial migration policies. Each of the larger and more established political parties (with the exception of the radical right-wing FPÖ, whose non-participation needs no explanation), and every state office or agency with “integration,” “minority” or both in its acronym, organized their own celebration of the anniversary of the Agreement with a predictable lineup – a series of official speeches,

¹⁷ <http://www.kosmo.at/ajnhajtclub-offiziell-eroeffnet/>

minority-themed entertainment programs, and an array of buffets featuring Balkan specialties.

Glorifying the success of the Austrian integration model, which has been developing for several generations (migration is still ranked by numbers in the official discourse, i.e. “first generation,” “second generation,” etc., as if a grandfathers’ or grandmothers’ surname was more important than someone having lived in Austria for decades), the official modes of commemorating the anniversary have completely ignored the fact that the multi-generational integration and transformation of temporary workers into permanent ones was based on state directives and documents whose practical implementation precisely prioritized their temporariness. In other words, the government did not project or plan for guest workers to remain. It took place in spite of it. The very text of the 1966 Agreement is evidence of this. The text is based on similar contractual documents that the Federal Republic of Austria drafted with Spain (1962) and Turkey (1964), which emerged from projections of strong post-war economic growth and the pressure of requiring facilitators for that growth. Along with the regulating mechanisms for the systematic employment of Yugoslav workers in Austria (Austrian employers had to announce job vacancies to the Yugoslav Employment Bureau, through which workers could then apply for certain jobs, to which, after a compulsory health check, they would travel at the employer’s expense) and the regulations regarding the rights of Yugoslav workers to benefit from having equal status in relation to their Austrian colleagues, the basic driving force behind the Agreement was the rotational work plan – the additional labor force was, in the full sense of the word,

conceived as a *guest* labor force. They were predominantly employed *in waves*, limited by short-term contracts. The importance of the notion of temporariness in the temporary work was further confirmed by the first major economic crisis in Austria (1975–1984), when more than a third of the total number of Yugoslav workers were sent back to their domicile country as a technical surplus.

However, that system of temporary work – conceived, approved, and normalized – already began to collapse after just a few years in practice; but from *within* and in spite of official regulations. Many of the seasonal workers decided to stay. They thus switched jobs in order to get around the right to one-off employment and brought their families over, expanding the possibilities of their stay. At the same time, many Austrian employers started extending contracts of their own accord in order to avoid training another new wave of workers. It is precisely this diversity of the very process of transforming guests into full-fledged, active subjects of the Austrian state, of “them” into “us,” that was entirely missing from the state-initiated anniversary celebrations of the 1966 Agreement – which only subverted its historical conditionality (that was imposed top-down) and its completely predictable forms of representation on rare occasion.

Along with the suitable festivities organized by the official bodies (most of which were not public in character), the few events that did not fall under the aforementioned programming schemes were most commonly held in municipal cultural institutions, such as museums, galleries, cinemas, within the programs of independent cultural centers, or in spaces influenced by

temporary guest work like abandoned factory facilities, for example. Regardless of the structure of support for the programs themselves (state, city, political party or independent patronage), the remaining models of representation on the highly complex topic of labor migration that we have seen this year, could, given the character of the material itself, be reduced to two forms. The first deals with displaying the socio-political context, i.e. the mechanisms of controlling and managing migrant labor “from above” (questioning and presenting the administrative conditions, relations of control and management, political decisions, and so on). These were only critically examined on a minimal level by any of the programs analyzed and visited. They were instead merely presented symbolically as some kind of starting point.

The second form of representational material has overwhelmingly prevailed. It refers to the model of representation “from below,” the reduction of the phenomenon to a basic common denominator, characterized by the personal testimonies of pioneering guest workers. Those kinds of display items of individual archival material, whether in material or living form, have comprised the largest part of commemorative exhibitions and manifestations in Austria thus far (e.g. the exhibition “Under a Foreign Sky,” opened in September, in the Vienna Ethnographic Museum or the traveling exhibition “We Have Come to Stay” in Linz). This also includes segments of other projects on the same topic (a segment of the project *Langer Weg der Gastarbajt* (The Long Journey of Guest Work) dedicated to the topos of Yugoslav migration in Vienna’s 16th and 17th districts and the organization of the Viennese independent initiative *Platform*). Although at first glance it seems

praiseworthy to give visibility to and empower the individual actors of these stories, who have, until now, remained largely submerged in the concept of *gastarbeit*. The predominant reliance on the representation of the phenomenon through its particular examples, and without any theoretical interpretation, can likely bring the risk of missing the point of the whole concept.

Regarding labor itself, the vast majority of the statements given by workers with very demanding manual jobs that are used in such projects are hardly present in any context as critical contributions to understanding that highly-qualified jobs in Austria were mostly intended for the domicile population. Testimonies thereby remain minimally critical of the host country and its official policies, and are thus all too easily reduced to the level of individual cases. Similarly, in the spirit of such dominant discourse – which tells the story of the *gastarbeiters* as a story with a happy end – official annual programs have primarily presented positive examples of people who have become “full members of Austrian society” with nothing more than their committed, hard work. This principle of “montage” of the model of success is more apparent when the state becomes more present in supporting the program – critical considerations of, for instance, highly uncertain housing and living conditions, linguistic barriers, difficult structural progress or the exposure to general social discrimination are generally suppressed or explained away as results of the “unpreparedness of the system,” or they are referred to as being temporary or individual cases. However, some programs, mostly those self-organized in nature, such as the aforementioned *Langer Weg der Gastarbeit*, have attempted to avoid such one-dimensionality

through a careful selection of interlocutors. This was the case when first generation *gastarbeiters*, who were included in the tour of Viennese districts marked by the lives and work of temporary workers, stood out from the prevailing presentational models by exposing even the negative aspects of life at the boundaries of temporariness and uncertainty.

The first bigger event dedicated to *gastarbeiters* from former Yugoslavia, in which the organizers tried to intertwine both models of representation in order to achieve a more all-inclusive definition of the topic, took place this April in Vienna as a manifestation, entitled “... because I could not imagine Vienna without our Yugoslav friends...” (a quote taken from Mayor of Vienna, Helmut Zilk’s, address at the opening of the sports games of the Yugoslav Workers’ Clubs in 1989). This event, organized by the University of Innsbruck, the independent platform for minorities *Initiative Minderheiten*, and the association *Archiv der Migration*, consisted of an exhibition and a mini conference which took place in the former club *Jugoslaven*, the umbrella association of Yugoslav Workers’ Clubs in Vienna, and the *Filmcasino* (the archival materials that show Tito’s photos flaunted in a space which serves as one of Vienna’s most important art cinemas today seems almost surreal). The theoretical framework laid out in the first part of the event corresponded perfectly with the second part of the event, in which leading functionaries of former Yugoslav workers’ clubs presented their testimonies as living witnesses and facilitators of particular political agendas, in a lively panel discussion – their testimonies about how these clubs were established and run (there were even twenty such clubs at one point in Vienna) very clearly

revealed the mechanisms behind the official relations between their home country and Austria and the methods behind them. That event was rounded off by screening several documentary films on *gastarbeiters* (by Krsto Papić, Želimir Žilnik, Goran Rebić), which opened the question of not only how Yugoslav cinema approached this phenomenon, but how it “used it” to present a sort of critique of its own system.

The third, nearly bastardized, model of representation presents the topic of labor migration through contemporary art production. Despite lacking contextual, theoretical, and historical references, that model still has some advantages regarding an actualization of its critical potential, because it reflects a phenomenon of the past through the relevance of the personal socio-political context of the artist.

Along with numerous individual art projects presented through various programs,¹⁸ the *Ajnbajtclub* exhibition at Freiraum Q21 – which collected both international artists as well as artists from former Yugoslavia working more or less “temporarily” in Austria – was the clearest and certainly the most representative example of an artistic approach on the topic of *gastarbeiters*. Even though the anniversary was once again the main reference point for the curatorial concept in this case, the setting itself surpassed the specific narrative of Yugoslav workers at some points, bringing the topic of guest and temporary work into the broader current

18 E.g. the performance “Greetings!” (*Pozdrav*) by Marko Marković (which was a part of *Langer Weg der Gastarbajt*), the premiere of Đorđe Čengi's film *Unten*, or the video by the artist duo *Doplgenger* at the Krems Museum.

socio-economic context.¹⁹ However, what was missing in the exhibition was an activation of the political potential of the exhibited content by shifting the topic to the reality of the present-day political situation in Austria which is clearly marked by the migrant crisis – not one of the displayed works scratched the surface of the correlations between those working conditions and today’s “economic” migration or how the state tries to deal with it.

Nevertheless, however conceptually and substantively withdrawn it may have been, the political potential of the exhibition existed to some degree, although only through a few “external” facts that marked it. Firstly, the exhibition was negotiated and produced under the auspices of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Integration, headed by Minister Kurz, which certainly had an effect on the concept of the exhibition. The second external “scandal” related to the exhibition concerns Tanja Ostojic’s withdrawal of her work from the original exhibition.²⁰ Regardless of the nature and range of the event itself, this still revealed an interesting symptom, more precisely the question of censorship or of the existence of “designated guidelines” in not only that exhibition but also in similar art projects financed by the state which question Austria’s “holy cows.”

19 E.g. the work of Addie Wagenknecht, “Optimization of Parenthood, Part 2,” where a robotic arm reacts to each child’s cry by swinging a cradle, thus invoking the issue of working parents absent from home and their children, then and now.

20 The withdrawal of Ostojic’s work from the original exhibition and her public statement on the systematic censorship of her planned work, should have critically addressed the position of the BCS language within the framework of public cultural institutions (<https://art-leaks.org/2016/06/09/censorship-of-tanja-ostojics-art-project-at-the-q21-exhibition-space-in-mq-vienna-austria>).

Furthermore, as both the mentioned artist and the curator of the exhibition, Bogomir Doring, share a geographically common migrant background, the issue of different approaches to the idea of integration and its political actualization became more complex, albeit outside the space of public discussion. Although a public critical examination of these contextual problems was completely absent (aside from the somewhat sidelined public statements by Ostojić and Viennese artist and activist Aleksandar Nikolić²¹), the more informed Austrian and broader public could see not only the mechanisms of imposing control over cultural and artistic production, but also a clear position that shows how the topic of the *gastarbeiter* and its public representation still require official control. In other words, we can surmise that the persistence of the narrative about Yugoslav labor migration as an example of “successful integration” may still lie in the fact that the dominant political system generally does not allow any dissent from such a narrative.

What became visible through these various examples is the fact that the majority of the manifestations, which honored historical processes of labor migration in various ways over the last year, have not yet made an articulated deconstruction of how official discourse attempts to relegate the notion of *gastarbeiter* to the past or how it interprets the positive outcomes of its “destiny.” Likewise, and perhaps more importantly, none of the mentioned programs have placed the historical phenomenon of the guest work force into a direct correlation with the present moment, thus failing to activate its broader

21 <http://www.seecult.org/vest/tanja-ostojic-cenzura-u-becu>

political and social significance in relation to the current migratory flows that have had a decisive impact on Austria over the last few years.

Even though there has been an analysis of the relationship between the phenomenon of *gastarbeiters* and current migratory movements in the media and in the public to some degree, this has mostly been done with the aim of distinguishing and separating between them. The focus on differentiation most commonly lies in the initial motivations of the migrants themselves, so that one generally compares the initial positions of these groups of guest workers (ranging from the desire for economic prosperity to the necessity for preserving bare life). By placing *gastarbeit* in a sort of direct comparison with the newly-titled “economic migration,” official narratives can thereby link a large portion of the current migrant flows to economic prefixes, thus limiting their mobility as well as their stay in Austria to market conditions. Therefore, it is clarified in several places, without any awareness of its blatant “economic racism,” that there was a time when the Austrian market generated the demand for a new work force. Whereas today, that same market, due to processes of globalization and automation, simply no longer offers jobs in the service sector, traditionally intended for guests workers. An additional distinction is mentioned in the conditions and requirements that Austria has imposed on newcomers both then and now – the ease of obtaining work permits as part of the historical “from-train-to-job” employment system is thus compared to the current, almost Kafkaesque mechanisms for acquiring the right to work, which now includes a certain command of the German language, the attendance of “integration” courses, the transferral of diplomas and licenses, and so on.

There is no need to further emphasize how much these and similar differential inferences blur the view on much more important issues, such as those that question systemic mechanisms or the global political and economic contexts that have led to such drastic changes in the regulation of the work conditions for incoming workers. In the official narrative of the Austrian state, *gastarbeiter*s are regarded as an example of the success of a state system and its integration processes. However, the same chance of gaining equal status when it comes to the “social welfare” within that same state is not given to current job seekers in Austria. Although the reasons should certainly be sought in the aforementioned trends in the global market as well as in prevalent ideological currents, one may get the impression that these reasons are still be related to the specific historical experience of Austria itself and its systematic reaction to it. In other words, if the phenomenon of the *gastarbeiter* is perceived as a model of successful labor migration on an official level, why should that change now? If social diversity is one of the most prominent achievements of modern Austria and it is presented as such by the state itself, why does this trend of “enriching” Austria’s social landscape through the arrival of others not simply continue today?

Instead of having the state learn from historical facts by adapting its mechanisms of control and permeability, migrants themselves should – regardless of the particular historical moment that defines them – learn the most from these experiences. And it is in exactly this direction that an emancipatory approach to presenting and producing cultural material which deals with the phenomenon of a guest work force should go. The publication and presentation of the personal historical

narratives which deviate from the official *happy-end* storyline of historical labor migration have hardly been inscribed into the official annals of either the host or the home country thus far, and is therefore extremely important, especially in light of the fact that such programs can not only best communicate with a broader audience, but also with an audience of migrants themselves, who can recognize themselves in such experiences, and thus concretely build affiliations or maybe even veer away from that notion altogether.

The “*gastarbeiter* audience,” if it can even be referred to this way, is a very heterogeneous community with a specific set of variegated experiences, which generally lacks its own form of autonomous political articulation. By not questioning the guest work force and its inscribed position as a fixed and generalized event, we not only open up possibilities for official manipulation, but on a much more concrete level, this also makes the generation of forms of political potential and articulated engagement possible – both in direct relation to the current state system as well as in all the aforementioned contemporary socio-political problems in which this phenomenon is reflected.

**Marginalized and Invisible Experiences - Women
Gastarbeiters and Queer Flight**

**How to Speak Precarious Histories from a
Precarious Position?
From Guests to GUESTures²²**

Margareta Kern

Even though multiple generations of migrants lived through every major event in the history of West Germany, from the Grand Coalition and the 1968 student protests to the kidnappings by the Red Army Faction and the fall of the Berlin Wall...with a few key exceptions, what is immediately striking about the historiography of the postwar period is the curious absence of guest workers (Rita Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 2007).

Among the migrant workers in Europe there are probably two million women. Some work in factories; many work in domestic service. To write of their experience adequately would require a book in itself. We hope this will be done. Ours is limited to the experience of the male migrant worker (John Berger and Jean Mohr, *A Seventh Man*, 1975).

The following text examines, reflects, and shares processes of research and production I conducted during

²² This paper is also available with additional images in Croatian and German here: <https://transversal.at/transversal/1017/kern/en>

the development of *GUESTures*, a long-term art project on and with “guest worker” women who came from Yugoslavia to work in large electronics factories in West Berlin in the late 1960s.

PART 1 [RE-SEARCH]



My grandparents – grandmother, Marija, is in the middle, arms crossed, grandfather, Vinko, to her left – are seen roasting a pig in a muddy field. Behind them, a tall tower pierces the image, making it look as if two photographs are superimposed on top of one another, like two worlds that are sewn together but we cannot see the seams. The flat muddy land stands as an emptiness that has placed itself between the two images, like two worlds.

My grandfather arrived in 1969 to work as a metal worker at the Georg Grube automobile factory in a small village called Willroth in an area of West Germany called Westerwald. He was soon followed by my grandmother, who initially worked as a childminder, then in a soup factory, and finally as a waitress at a local *Gasthaus* catering to the truck drivers who would take breaks on the motorway that passed the village.

Four years before my grandfather arrived to Westerwald, the entire local mining industry was shut down after 400 years of continuous mining in the area. The car factory where he worked was built on the same land as the closed mine during the boom of West Germany's "economic miracle" (*Wirtschaftswunder*). A local notice board informed us that it was the last operating mine in the region and "was closed due to the depression in the 1960s."

I arrived in Berlin at the tail end of winter in 2009, with the whole city covered in snow. I landed at Schönefeld Airport, and as soon as I left the plane the sharpness of the air enveloped me and I couldn't shake it off until the end of the two-month stay as an artist-in-residence. My studio was in a street that would have been sliced by the Wall 20 years ago. Now, there is a long temporary board at the end of the street that announces a more permanent memorial for the Berlin Wall. Next to it is a make-shift show home, advertising new flats being built in the "Neue Bauhaus" style. It felt appropriate to start my (re)search in a city that constructs its memory with the same intensity as its many construction sites are building stylish new flats.

I arranged to meet the historian Dr. Monika Mattes in Kreuzberg. She told me that in the late 1960s the majority of workers in large electronic and telecommunication factories in West Berlin were women – for example, in the Siemens factory, 67% of workers were female guest workers. I am surprised to hear this as it clashes with the masculinist image of a worker, in particular in the electronics and telecommunications industry, but especially with the image of a male migrant worker that still dominates the official narratives and collective imaginary of the era. I later read the text Monika co-authored with Esra Erdem in which they describe how the arrival of female guest workers from outside Germany was precipitated by the specific gender policies of the German government at the time. German policies did not consider it desirable to make up for the gap in the labor force by mobilizing non-working housewives and mothers for full-time jobs in the low-wage industrial sectors. This view was coupled with a belief that working outside the home would threaten women's ability to have and care for children. At the same time, it was difficult to fill vacancies in the textile, clothing, food, electronic, and hospitality industries posted through the employment service with unemployed German women.

The advantages of migrant women over German women were their young age, the health-based selection and the fact that they were willing to work full time. Most were assigned to work shifts, to do piecework and to work on assembly lines ... in jobs that took a toll on their health, and which German women refused to work at [sic] (Erdem and Mattes 2003:168).

The politics of the time were also embedded in the language: labor migrants were called *Gastarbeiter* in German, meaning “guest worker,” linguistically framing the temporary nature of their status in Germany, whilst also avoiding the connotations of “*Fremdarbeiter*” (alien worker), which Nazis used for forced labor (Chin 2007:52). The officials in Yugoslavia termed it “*radnik na privremenom radu u inozemstvu/inostranstvu*” (worker who is temporarily working abroad), also stressing the temporary character of the emigration (Novinščak 2008:131). However, the German word *Gastarbeiter* never really got translated into colloquial language, instead it remained and became *Gastarbajter*.

I visited the Landesarchiv Berlin next in search of photographs (proofs), whereupon I am faced with photographs showing rows of women, some in the white lab-like coats, working in factories, faces down, focused on their task. I am reminded of Brecht’s words:

The situation has become so complicated because the simple ‘reproduction of reality’ says less than ever about that reality. A photograph of the Krupp works or AEG reveals almost nothing about these institutions. Reality as such has slipped into the domain of the functional. The reification of human relations, the factory, for example, no longer reveals those relations. Therefore something has actually to be constructed, something artificial, something set up (Benjamin, 1931:24).

In the right hand corner of one of the photographs' archival cards, the following is written:

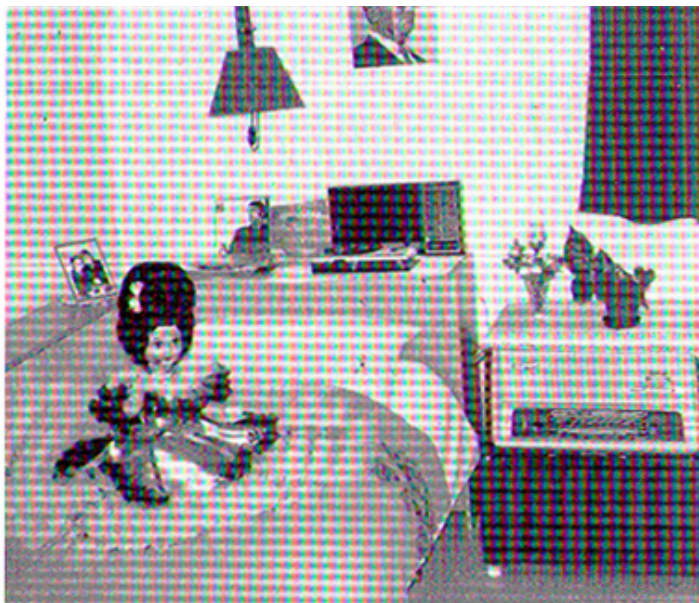
Verweisungen / Bemerkungen: 10 Arb Ausländische Arbeitnehmer. Fotograf: I. Lommatzsch. Date: 5.10.1974.

What is it that I am looking for, in any case?



Soon afterwards, I met Bosiljka Schedlich, founder and director of the Southeast European Cultural Center in Berlin (in 1991), who, in 1987, put together the first ever exhibition of photographs and testimonies of guest worker women, entitled *Der Weg: Jugoslawische Frauen in Berlin* (The Journey: Yugoslav Women in Berlin). The exhibition took place in Künstlerhaus Bethanien in Berlin to coincide with the 750-year anniversary of Berlin, and subsequently toured across Germany and Yugoslavia.

Until recently, the exhibition panels were stored in the vaults of the museums of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, and I haven't had a chance to see them until this year (2017), when both Bosiljka and I took part in an exhibition curated by WHW at Galerija Nova, Zagreb.²³



The two photographs above are from Bosiljka's exhibition catalogue, which she told me were taken in the workers' dorm in Flotten Strasse,²⁴ where Bosiljka arrived as a guest worker to Berlin in 1968:

23 <http://www.whw.hr/galerija-nova/izlozba-one-su-bile-kakvo-takvo-rjesenje.html>

24 <http://guestworkerberlin.blogspot.com/2009/03/short-history-of-flotten-strasse.html>

The beds we slept in were hospital beds. When the factory production (towards the end of the Second World War) stopped, this became a hospital. We kept seeing little, old people with wispy white hair in the basement, who were afraid of us, and locked their doors when they saw us. They were German refugees who fled the Russians, and our language probably sounded similar to them.

Bosiljka speaks in a clear voice. Her words paint vivid images in my mind. She continues:

I came by train to Zagreb and I don't remember that journey. They put us up in a hotel in Zagreb. The next day we flew out and I remember that in the airplane I suddenly looked out of the window and saw cirrus clouds... white, they were so beautiful, like snowflakes and I thought 'God how I wish to lay down onto that cotton. Nothing would ever hurt me.' I had the feeling that I had no skin on me. Saying good bye was so hard.

That week I got a phone call from Ana. She heard about my project from the announcement the priest made in her local church (I had to become creative with my research). We met in her flat and Ana told me about her upbringing, her life in Berlin, and showed me her letters.

SISAK 18 July, 1968

Dear Ana,

We've received your long awaited and longed for letter in which you tell us that you have arrived safely to Germany. We're all well. In your letter you say that it's cold over there, so when you receive money, buy a coat or a two-piece suit, but not a spongy one. Ana, you left on Friday and Viktor followed right after you on Saturday.

Ana, you know very well how sorry we are that you're gone, but what can we do when it's got to be this way. Mileva always talks about you and asks when you'll send a transistor radio and a baby doll, and we always lie to her and tell her that you'll come for New Year's.

Ana, pay attention to what your uncle is writing and be a good and respectable girl as you were here with us, because now that you are in a foreign country you should also be good, as that'll be respected by any decent man.

Ana, you can always come back to stay with us and our door is always open to you as it is you who has raised Mileva. I'm writing to you as if you were my child and my eyes are now filling with tears.

Ana, look after yourself now and learn the language, I think that you will adjust well because you are good. Ask about what you don't know,

because as the old proverb says ‘the one who asks does not lose her way,’ and now receive lots of warm regards from your uncle and Mileva and everyone else who was asking about you.

We are sending you a picture of your Mileva.

(Child’s handwriting) Ana, buy a baby and a transistor.

Love, Mileva.²⁵

Soon afterwards, I met Jana, Gordana, Marija, Vinka, Jela, Smilja, and Zlata. There are many common threads that tie their stories together, regarding the manner in which their migration was bureaucratically organized: They applied for work with their local employment bureaus who worked together with the German Federal Office for Labor Recruitment and Unemployment Insurance, who in turn worked together with the companies that placed a request for workers. Each person had to undergo a medical examination. The candidates that passed medical examinations were offered work, whereas the others were turned down. The jobs offered to successful candidates could be based in any part of Germany. The contracts were usually for twelve months during which time the labor recruits “could not change positions or leave an unpleasant employment situation without the risk of losing their work permit” (Chin 2007:39). German companies also paid for the workers’

²⁵ Translated from Croatian by Margareta Kern.

travels to Germany under the conditions that an early termination of their contract meant that employees were liable to cover the costs of their travel incurred by the company. In some cases, this meant that guest workers had to remain in jobs they were not necessarily happy with or in conditions of pay and accommodation that were not of an agreeable standard.

Several of the women I interviewed said that they did not have much money when they began their employment, because they were not paid well, and that made the possibility of changing jobs or going back home increasingly difficult as they could not afford to pay back the travel fares. Upon arriving in Germany, the guest workers were mostly accommodated in dorms provided by their employers, who deducted the costs from the workers' salaries. They shared rooms with up to seven other women sometimes, most of whom they met for the first time during their shared journeys to Berlin. Most were in their early 20s. Others like Gordana were not yet 18. Gordana recounted the difficulties she experienced when she started out in Germany, as it was her first time away from home. Other women shared their experiences of disorientation and insecurity about their new lives, finding solace in the knowledge that their stay was only temporary and that they would soon be returning home.

PART 2 [RE-ENACTMENT]

I worked at Telefunken for thirteen years. Then we got sacked. Maybe we would not have been sacked, but in 1981, when Tito died, we all walked out of the factory

together, because there was a live relay of his funeral in Belgrade. We knew about it that day, because they came from the Yugoslav consulate to the front of the factory and told us that it would be nice if we could go and watch the funeral on television, but our company Telefunken wouldn't allow it, because we were working. There was always a German person on the conveyer belt with us. Now I work on my own, but before I always had somebody next to me on the conveyer belt. That's why they wouldn't let us go. But we went anyway. Some went and some didn't have the courage to leave. I left... not only me, many of us went, but the next day we came to work, and they wouldn't let us go straight to our work stations. Instead they called us in to see the boss.

Excerpt from an interview with Gordana, reenacted in the video GUESTures. Please note that Tito died in 1980. The above text is a translation of Gordana's exact words in Croatian.

In 2010, I took part in two exhibitions where I had the chance to test out different forms and strategies of display, which shaped how I further developed my work: the exhibition "Over the Counter: The Phenomena of Post-socialist Economy in Contemporary Art," curated by Eszter Lázár and Zsolt Petrányi for Kunsthalle Budapest, and the exhibition "Izloženost/Exposures" in Banja Luka (my hometown) curated by Antonia Majača and

Ivana Bago, at the invitation of *Protok*, a local art organization. The latter exhibition poignantly and somewhat uncomfortably was located in the premises of a disused part of the Čajavec television factory (my late uncle used to work there), which was facing closure itself. For both exhibitions, I displayed a selection of testimonies and personal letters as well as immigration documents from the guest worker women I had met alongside a collection of photographs from their albums. I presented the material in a form that echoed strategies of archiving such as using filing folders, acetate transparencies, and 35mm slides, which needed to be placed on the overhead projector or inside a handheld slide holder in order to view them. The installation display asked the exhibition *guests* to do some *work* in order to access the content, de-centering an impetus for a coherent and linear narrative and foregrounding personal storytelling as a valid form of *history from below*. By presenting fragments of research this way, my intention was to not reproduce the institutionalizing impulse of an archive as an “authoritative and monolithic power, with its homogenising instrumental desires” (Edwards 2001:10) but instead offer a gesture towards a counter-archive; towards a fracture and fragility of the frame – of photograph/image, but also larger institutional frames, including those of the nation-state.

These “work stations” were also a focal point in creating spaces for *collective readings of the archive*, in which the visitors as well as local migrant groups were invited to engage with the material and also to contribute their own stories. This way the “archive” is always moving, always in a state of change and migration. During the *Izloženost/Exposures* exhibition, the first collective reading

took place, with each person taking turns in picking up a transparency and reading guest workers' testimonies aloud to the others – a deep sense of intimacy was felt in the room, while we each took turns in giving our voices to the words on the page, re-enacting another person's words, becoming them for a moment, embodying their journey. One of the guest worker women, Zora, whom I met earlier that year in Berlin, happened to be visiting Banja Luka, so I invited her to join us. Those present asked Zora questions about her experiences of migration, and what started as a mediation of the guest worker stories through the material held in the archive, soon became a more direct mediation of a personal lived memory in that present moment. *Collective reading* workshops became an intrinsic part of the *GUESTures* project – in its latest iteration during the exhibition at Kullukcu Galerie in Munich²⁶ in 2013 (in collaboration with Katja Kobolt and Natalie Bayer) – it expanded to include local migrant groups who would contribute their stories to the “archive.” However, during that first event I began to sense that the project was not finished and that I wanted to create a space for further experimentation with the questions and notions of historical truth and authority; voice and testimony in its relationship to fiction and documentary.

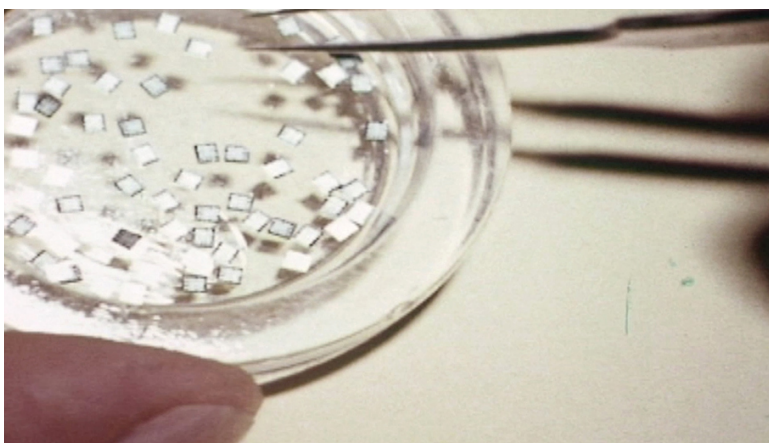
Back in London, I joined a group called Implicated Theatre,²⁷ where we learn, devise, and use Theatre of the Oppressed techniques and methods developed

26 <http://guestworkerberlin.blogspot.co.uk/2013/11/guestures-exhibition-at-kullukcu.html>

27 <http://www.serpentinegallery.org.uk/learn/language-and-power/implicated-theatre-0>

by Augusto Boal, Brazilian radical theater director.²⁸ I also became interested in the method of “reenactment,” which is often used in live reconstructions of historic events, often of a military nature by amateur enthusiasts. Contrary to the grandness of these large events, I was drawn to the intimate, mimetic potential of reenactment as used in verbatim theater, often to re-stage marginalized stories or public enquiries such as in the plays I saw at the time, *Tactical Questioning: Scenes from the Baba Mousa Inquiry* by Nicholas Kent and *London Road* by Alecky Blythe. Clio Barnard’s film *The Arbor* was highly influential. It used actors to lip sync the voices of real people. Each of these works questioned documentary’s aspiration to collapse the distance between reality and representation while simultaneously not losing the political urgency or veracity of the document. The verbatim method offered a way of working with the material, whereby its inconsistencies, its “truth” is not ironed out and the messiness of remembering is not erased, while Theatre of the Oppressed opened up political questions of where power is located and how to subvert it.

²⁸ Boal proposed the term “spect-actor,” dissolving and reconstituting boundaries and roles between the spectator and the actor, whereby audience(s) becomes an active and an implicated participant in the play.



Still from *GUESTures* | *GOSTIkulacije*, double-channel HD video with archival footage, 33 minutes, 2011.

The video *GUESTures* (or *GOSTIkulacije*) is a double-screen video, although it doesn't start its life as such. It starts with a reenactment of edited transcripts of interviews I conducted with Bosiljka, Jana, and Gordana; or rather it starts with me meeting actress Adna Sablych and giving her the sound recordings. Like me, Adna comes from Bosnia-Herzegovina, and like me, she also arrived in 1992, fleeing the war. Our own histories as migrants, as women, as artists, are present in the video, sometimes in an obvious way – for example, in the conversation with Jana, I speak of my own migration to the UK – but more so in subtle ways. It is there in the way Adna inhabits *gestus* in a Brechtian sense, the way she “embodies the attitude” of the characters or in the silences which punctuate her speech. Our histories and stories merge and although there are certain historical specificities to the stories the guest worker



women recount, I see *GUESTures* as a video (and a performance) that is about the present. It is about recalling the nowness of the crises not of migration, but of empathy and of political structures that can deny human dignity on a daily basis to such a degree as to produce the so-called “migrant crises.”

GUESTures is, after all, a made up word – bastardized, occupied, holding a stranger, a guest in its midst, and holding a gesture towards a possibility of a counter-archive, counter-histories, and counter/new languages.

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How to Speak Precarious Histories from a Precarious Position?
Form(s) of Knowledge. Nothing Is Given...²⁹

Katja Kobolt

Migration is ‘a complex texture [...] continuously produced and reproduced as a part of socialization, which we ultimately want to transform’ (Labor Migration, 2014:21).³⁰

The guest worker/*Gastarbeiter/gastarbajter* – a figure which supposedly belongs to the European past – is a figure that stands in the forefront of all (im)possible backgrounds: labor, legislation, societal, economic, personal, historic, geopolitical. The discontinued temporariness of the work/life conditions of guest workers, immediately connoted by the term’s construction through the “guest” and his/her “work,” has often served as a backdrop for sketching out this figure, for constructing subjectivities that are supposedly more defined by their externality than by agency.

“Migration has, like no other social phenomenon, been shaped by images, patterns of interpretation, and political categorizations that have been publicly produced and circulated,” emphasized the editors of the catalog of Crossing Munich (2007–2009), presenting contributions on migration from the fields of art, science,

²⁹ This paper is also available in Slovenian and German here:
<https://transversal.at/transversal/1017/kobolt/en>

³⁰ Translated from German by Katja Kobolt.

and activism (Bayer/Engl/Hess/Moser 2009:89).³¹ Not even a decade later, as ever-intensifying global inequality and wars – with different and by no means exclusively military means – have caused millions to become “refugees,” we can now witness once again how visual denotations and connotations of migration perpetuated in the mass media intersect with social, legal, and political conceptions which influence and restrict subjectivities.

Migration is indeed a “*conditio humana* and a generator of social change” (Hess 2015:51), but as it takes place and is rendered within a nation-state setting, migration has served as one of the central vehicles for power (division): dividing between those belonging to the “national body” and having representational power (e.g. through institutions of representative democracy) and those not belonging to the nation, who do not have the possibility to articulate their own voices publicly: taxation yes, but no (political) representation. It is the welfare state that has served as the primary representational framework for imagining the historical figure of the guest worker, primarily through the so-called Recruitment Agreements that emerged in the mid-1950s.

On the one hand, these Agreements orchestrated labor migration in “Marshall Europe” to some extent. On the other, Recruitment Agreements were more of a reaction to the reality of labor migration that had already been taking place on a large scale in spite of actual recruitment mechanisms. By signing the Recruitment Agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1968, Socialist Yugoslavia attempted to more closely regulate labor migration as well as military servicemen.

³¹ Translated from German by Katja Kobolt.

Yugoslavia also endeavored to assure more social rights to its citizens working abroad, to temporally solve unemployment problems within the modernization process – especially regarding people from non-industrialized regions. However, it also hoped to profit from remittances while finding ways of strengthening ties with Western markets and economies (Ivanović 2016).

The figure of the *gastarbajter* seems to often be taken as a transparent and given one, and has evidently been the subject of various truth regimes (Foucault 2001), often (and repeatedly) stripping people who have migrated of their agency. The catalog of the 2016 exhibition *Jugo moja jugo* (Yuga My Yuga) at the Museum of Yugoslav History in Belgrade, which presented artifacts, archival material, media clippings, and testimonies regarding labor migration from Socialist Yugoslavia, outlined that:

A Gastarbeiter is first and foremost, someone who went to work abroad in the 1960s and at the beginning of 1970s, with the intention to earn as much money in the shortest period of time in order to be able to solve some existential issues in his home country. Foreign workers didn't go to learn the language, make families, or start a completely new life out there – they had the intention to return. Therefore, they kept a very close contact with the homeland, feeling primarily as citizens of Yugoslavia and not of the country to which they went to. Later migrations, i.e. the people who left Yugoslavia in the 1990s, cannot in any case be called Gastarbeiter (Ivanović 2016:1).

Gastarbeiters have consequently not only actively contributed to developing the economies of their host countries, they have also been – especially in the contexts of Germany and Austria – devastated by the genocidal Nazi regime and war, which is also significant in a sociodemographic sense.³² *Gastarbeiters*, their children, and their contemporary counterparts comprise the core of contemporary postmigrant societies.³³ Class, ethnicity, race, nationality, gender,³⁴ as well as other positive attributes that intersect within the living body of a *gastarbeiter*, now retired, paved the way for millions to embody a new labor mobility:³⁵ professionals

32 During the Nazi regime huge masses of the population living in Germany and Austria were murdered or emigrated due to persecution based on ethnic, political or sexual discrimination. On the other hand, both countries also lost a significant portion of the male population on fronts during WWII or due to its repercussions (camps for war prisoners, etc.).

33 While the German moniker *Gastarbeiter* acknowledged the alleged temporariness of migration, the notion of “postmigrant” points to the fact that migration could and in many instances is, an irreversible phenomenon – for migrant subjects as well as for the societies of their origin and the “adopting” countries that people migrate to. The term “postmigrant society” (*Postmigrantische Gesellschaft*) is a term promoted within German-speaking critical migration studies and has also been largely adopted by the state, i.e. predominantly educational and cultural agencies like the *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*. The term attempts to underline that society is a dynamic and changeable phenomenon and that migration (should be) an agent of change (Foroutan 2015).

34 “Woman is the nigger of the world” is from a song by Yoko Ono and John Lennon from the year 1972, which Jelena Vesić interpreted in her talk on epistemological and representational violence, *Cordially Meeting the Other*, at Haus der Kunst, Munich, June 2017.

35 Mobility, especially labor mobility within the EU, has, on the one hand, been promoted by EU treaties as “free movement of workers” in the foundational Treaty of Rome (1957), policies (Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union; Directive 2004/38/EC on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move

and non-professionals with temporary (sometimes even permanent) work, many (small-scale) entrepreneurs, and a string of contemporary terms denoting people who migrated (for work). Most of the terms represent the “working” base of people who (should) move because of / for work: foreign or migrant workers (*ausländische, migrantische Arbeitskräfte*) or expats, for example. In reference to the mobility of these “workers,” however, we see a number of adjectives that primarily denote foreignness, such as *Ausländer*in* (foreigner), *ausländische*r Mitbürger*in* (foreign [co-]citizens), or *Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund*, the latter of which points to the migrant history of people themselves or that of their families or their multilingual background – like the term “NDH” (*nicht deutsche Herkunftssprache* / non-German mother tongue). The term “NDH students” is officially used in German educational policy and bureaucracy, apparently in order for the students and the schools they attend to be able to apply for financial and personnel support based on the German proficiency of the students. Even the term *Mehrheimische*, meaning “having more home(s)/lands,” which has been promoted by some critical migration researchers with the aim of creating a positive reinterpretation of migrants’ “hybridity,” still points to people’s “otherness”

and reside freely within the territory of the Member States; Regulations (EU No 492/2011 on freedom of movement for workers within the Union) and programs, like the European Social Fund, EU Program for Employment and Social Innovation, etc. (Toplak 2017). On the other hand, the EU has taken huge endeavors (legal, political, structural, financial, architectural, repressive, and above all, military) to restrict inflow the and mobility of citizens from “third countries” or non-EU countries (Toplak 2017, Bifo Berardi 2017, Vidović 2017, among others).

in the end – whilst in Germany they comprise a fifth or even two-thirds of the respective population in some conurbations or some cities regarding children under five years of age.³⁶

But who were and how were *gastarbeiters* “made” and in what way does their labor migration relate to contemporary (labor) migration? What and how could we learn from *gastarbeiters* about contemporary paths of migration (paths which the author of the following text has also walked) as well as about post-neoliberal postmigration (European) societies? And what are the answers to these questions if we look to and work with art? How should this search for possible answers within art production look in the first place? These are some of the questions that have comprise one axis of and for the curatorial and art education platform, which formed on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the recruitment agreement between socialist Yugoslavia and West Germany, entitled *no stop non stop* (2016–2018).³⁷

« ... »

no stop non stop developed from a feminist friendship, which also spurred *GUESTures*, a publication of the art-research-archival project with Yugoslav women guest workers by Margareta Kern and its Munich

³⁶ Figures from the Federal Statistics Office: <https://www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/zahlen-und-fakten/soziale-situation-in-deutschland/150599/migrationshintergrund-iii>

³⁷ An initial collaboration by Katja Kobolt through Balkanet e.V. and Lothringer13 Halle (Munich), Suza Husse/District Berlin (Berlin) and Teja Reba/City of Women (Ljubljana) 2016–2018.

presentation, an edition of the *Living Archive*.³⁸ Margareta Kern's project and feminist curatorial methods, which I have been researching and working with practically and theoretically – with the City of Women Festival Ljubljana, the curatorial collective Red Min(e)d and beyond – have also led to my critically and productively working on and with art production against the backdrop of a public commemoration of the so-called German *gastarbeiter* Agreement.

38 Red Min(e)d initiated with the Living Archive (LA) editions (2011–2015) as a platform engaged in (re-)defining curatorial and art exhibition (material) practices through a feminist work methodology. The LA edition in Zagreb (REDacting Trans-Yugoslav Feminisms conference, 2011) focused on political relations between feminism, contemporary art, and the (post-)Yugoslav space. The LA edition in Ljubljana (Alkatraz and Kapelica Gallery / Red Dawns Festival, 2012) was motivated by feminist strategies for creating and processing an archive of contemporary art as a living knowledge that affects the politics of everyday life. The LA edition in Sarajevo (public space, 2012) was contextualized by the politics of commons as a basis for forms of social re/production. The LA edition in Vienna (Open Systems and VBKÖ, 2012) critically approached the relation between center and periphery, putting into question the colonizing scope of the universalistic/particular binary oppositions that continually perpetuate the concept of othering. The Belgrade edition took place as the 54th October salon / No One Belongs Here More Than You (2013) and challenged visual and discursive methodologies of researching, re-thinking, and presenting the subject of (non-)human nature and forms of (social/political) imagination. The Munich edition of GUESTures took place as a continuation of the LA project (Balkanet e.V., Galerie Kullukcu & Gregorian, 2013). Following the impetus of the Living Archive, which co-created its own community like a polis or like a true space between people who organize themselves for acting and speaking together on art commons and political freedom, Red Min(e)d moved towards a new practice in 2017: the symposium. The symposium appears here through its primary meaning of off or semi-public space, where people gather to eat, drink, dance, and talk or simply spend time together around specific or everyday life topics. The difference this time is that the symposium is for everyone. <http://redmined.org/>

GUESTures, which created a unique stage for oral herstories by women *gastarbeiter*s from socialist Yugoslavia, who came to West Germany in the course of the Recruitment Agreement – organized in a public/state-private/industry kind of way to work in telecommunications factories – shared methods and structures with the *Living Archive*. *GUESTures* juxtaposes archival, documentary material with video art through different “(non-) working stations,” where the public is encouraged to actively intervene into the archive: to select material and put it on display (via overhead or slide projectors), thus making the archive come “alive.” There is another “living” dimension to *GUESTures*, which functions as an interface with the public, on the one hand, and which transforms the art installation, a “dead” archive, into an event of lived knowledge, on the other. Within and from the project, Margareta Kern organizes collective readings, where the public can select material from the archive and read it out loud. For the *GUESTures* edition in Munich, we further developed that format by underlining the participatory aspects of the readings and merging it with a situative community curating, where new entries into the archive were generated, and thereby also the potentialities of knowledge within the archive/art work. The gathering with Munich-based migrant women of different generations and backgrounds was an event of encounters, joint-readings from the archive, and a discussion about history and the contemporaneity of lived migration. The gathering has deliberately only been documented through written testimonies that became part of the archive – a selection of which went into the publication *GUESTures* – for which the women engaged in the reading were also paid, because the

archive that consists of their migration (her)stories and everyday postmigrational experiences is still traveling in different forms to various contexts as an artwork by the artist Margareta Kern.³⁹

When compared to the testimonies of the older generation of women guest workers in the *GUESTures* archive, the paradigmatic shift in production and also governmentality becomes visible in the testimonies of women who migrated to Germany more recently, who joined the public readings. This was visible in the withdrawal of the production line, in which workers' work-life choreography was orchestrated even beyond the production line itself by collectively organized means (such as collectively organized travels, accommodation, canteens, etc.), which appear violent in today's culture of individualism, because they provide the same standards for everyone. This was also seen in the descent of national collectively organized working bodies (unions) in/by which *gastarbeiter*s were often not represented, despite some fruits of their struggle for labor rights also spilling over to them. This is also present in the emphasis on flexible, self-employed worker entrepreneurs and is increasingly manifested in technologies as the internalized governmentality of "today's post-neoliberal unfolding of authoritarian capitalism" (TJ Demos, 2017), in which the externalization (of costs) of reproduction and care work have been borne by the workers – often migrant care workers, especially women. The latter form of migration is bundled and interconnected through class, gender, sex, ethnicity, geopolitical origin,

39 Projects and publications web page: <http://guestworkerberlin.blogspot.de/>

and race and happens quasi beyond a regulated public framework. However, no regulation is also a kind of a regulation. “Old” Europe needs “new” Europeans and “others.” The migration of the latter in particular, the so-called “aliens” (to expose the brutality of the Schengen Agreement through its vocabulary), are pushed into illegality and thereby regulated in ways which Achille Mbembe (2003) and Marina Gržinić (2008) concisely describe as *necropolitics*.

Through its original material, *GUESTures* tells the story of a seemingly perfectly orchestrated migration, which was organized by two sovereign states that developed economic ties among which the *gastarbeiter* agreement was a part – following some of those sources, this was done instead of war reparations, which West Germany didn’t want to pay to Yugoslavia. In this sense, the states were “agents” or mediators between the workers and industry, who took “care” of the smooth issuance of documents, the organization of medical checks (only the youngest and healthiest could go), etc. Subsequently, the industry took over the management of workers: travel, dormitory accommodation, and food (for which the amount was debited directly from workers’ wages). Gordana, one of the guest worker voices in the *GUESTures* video, reports how after the death of Yugoslav President Tito, Yugoslav officials sent a request for workers in Germany to “attend” the president’s funeral via television broadcast. However, the factory forbade the workers from stopping their work. Some of the workers, caught in the conflict of their civil duty towards their home country and the logic of capital, decided to stop working and attended the television broadcast of the funeral and were consequently fired.

Stop. Was one of the aims of the *gastarbeiter* agreement

not to assure more social rights to citizens working abroad? This, and the question of how labor migration intersected with gender becomes even more complicated when we shift from *GUESTures* to analyzing another work on *gastarbajters*: the vampire novel, *Ljudi sa četiri prsta* (*People with Four Fingers*), which Miodrag Bulatović researched in Germany in 1974 and published a year later, and for which he won the literary award *NIN*. Bulatović's intense magical realist narrative takes us on a fare dodge from a rail station in a Yugoslav metropole to Germany and back. The main male character is Marković (renamed "Mark" by his compatriot slave keeper in Germany), raised in post-war poverty, as the son of a single mother. Marković's father was a military trumpeter, who played with the Nazi-collaborating army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. His father escaped to post-war West Germany, and this put a strain on the family's precarious condition.

Homeland, I no longer need your name.
Homeland, let's settle, you and me: take everything you gave me, first of all my name, which I give back to you, so you can liberate me of your destiny and of your darkness! For, homeland, I am against you, because you are immense and heartless, and I am insignificant and destitute, damaging you from within, you great, red apple! Homeland, my curse, you apple, let the worm leave you, and you grow and get bigger, become the greatest and most beautiful among the apples... (*Ljudi sa četiri prsta*, 1976:7).⁴⁰

40 Translation by Katja Kobolt.

Young Marković, the son of a war collaborator, decides very spontaneously to go with a friend to Germany in an overcrowded train, as do many other people. The friend quickly disappears during the journey, and Marković is thrown into a brutal whirlwind of exploitation, slavery, violence, crime, sadism (reflecting among other things the genealogy of the “Yugomafia” operating in the Benelux, francophone as well as German-speaking countries, which is based on networks of Alain Delon’s former bodyguard, Stevan “Stevica” Marković), obsessions with the past, vengeance, and assassination attempts against Yugoslav institutions in Germany (reflecting assassinations by the Yugoslav secret service in the nationally organized diaspora, who Yugoslavia viewed as terrorists). He is also swallowed up by initially dystopian visions of his (socialist) homeland, which turn more and more positive, even utopian, through his precarious experiences in the West (mainly reproduced by Marković’s compatriots).

What we learn from the novel regarding *gastarbajter* migration is that it was massive. It was mainly from Eastern Europe. It was spontaneous and self-organized. It was precarious and its morphology was built on a legacy of forced labor. State-organized institutions even added to the precariousness as in the case of asylum seeker camps, which functioned as self-organized social recruitment centers for forced labor – often both criminal and utilizing slavery respectively. Entitling someone the right to waged labor or restricting the right to it is an obvious speech act. Slavery is thus also a performative act that acts as a parasite on the performance of legal speech. In addition, as the agents of exploitation in the novel are mainly Marković’s compatriots, a stage for

subjectivation in the novel seems to not be essentialized, at least not by ethnicity or nationality, but is rather depicted as structural: one is not born an exploiter, slave, or criminal. One becomes one.

In *GUESTures*, the home country – socialist Yugoslavia – recruited, organized, and sent women *gastarbajterice* to work for German corporations, where the state's agency was largely suspended. However, in *People with Four Fingers* we almost exclusively encounter male *gastarbajters*, who resemble brutally contemporary migrants, both male and female. National welfare states seem to play a minor role in their migration apart from adding to their precariousness due to restrictive administration, refusing in large part to organize their documents and status. Even in the novel's second part from 1977, *Peti prst. O onima koji nisu ušli u roman Ljudi sa četiri prsta. Putopis. (The Fifth Finger. On the Ones that Did Not Make it into the Novel People with Four Fingers: A Travelogue)*, which is a kind of a posteriori research lead towards the previous novel, we hardly find any women figures/informants. As displayed in both works, *GUESTures* and *People with Four Fingers*, *gastarbajter* migration was evidently also governed in gendered terms: women and men migrated differently, which has to do with gender constructions in both countries: in Socialist Yugoslavia, young women and their families obviously preferred organized methods of labor migration to more spontaneous ways, on the one hand, while German telecommunications and electronic industries in particular preferred female workers, on the other. Whereas they shared (degrees of) exposure to exploitation in neoliberal terms following their migrations, it seems indeed that *gastarbajters* embodied what Louis Althusser called

an *overdetermination*: “because when you believe that you have understood the pillars of ‘determination,’ you don’t know where exactly you are in reality, in front of reality, it can be that you are over-reality or under-reality. You should go up, beyond, or under” (Althusser, 1980). In order to be able to learn from the *gastarbajter*, we should first acknowledge their overdetermination, their being in front of reality, ahead of time. We should also acknowledge that their histories and herstories are not given. We need to mainly perform research with/ from them and beyond the legal archives and official *histoire* that has stubbornly ignored their past, contemporaneity, and future. And we should pay attention to the representational framework as forms of knowledge (can) become knowledge itself.

Therefore, *no stop non stop* aims to create a space with artists and publics for encounters of evacuated his- and herstories which are rendered invisible or overwritten. It thereby works towards creating counter-public(s) with a rupturing potential.⁴¹ Discourse always has its materiality. The materiality could be the somatic/physical/psychological/economic experience of a migrant in

41 In the last decade, various interdisciplinary research and artistic projects have worked actively against the continuing absence of need for a new narrative (Bojadžijev 2008), which would not repeatedly objectify and marginalize the “ones having more home(s) land” (Yildiz 2009), but are rather told and co-written by the “speechless” (Rancière 2007): Kanak Attack (1998–), Projekt Migration (Cologne, 2002–2006), Xenopolis (Munich, 2005), Crossing Munich (Munich, 2007–2009), Wienwoche (2012–), Langer weg der Gastarbajt (Vienna, 2016), Decolonize Munich (Munich, 2013), Ajnhajtclub (Vienna, 2016), They Were, Those People, a Kind of Solution (2016–2018), as well as the Berliner Institut für empirische Integrations- und Migrationsforschung at the Humboldt University in Berlin, the Research Center for Migration & Globalization at the University of Innsbruck, etc.

a collective (situation) still defined by (mono-)national supremacy stretching from not (wanting to) understand(ing) (and not laughing) at jokes or proverbs from other “cultural” contexts to obvious intersectionality of ethnicity, race, and reproduction of social classes – respectively palpable in wage gaps and living situations, to name just two examples.⁴² However, if we seek a materiality emancipated from the given narrative frameworks of historical experience or “under-over-determinations,” we should not suppress the inter-relational space that art practice can open if not squeezed into representational “determinations” (like exhibition, for example) by hypostatizing art into “accumulated knowledge about art” and “consumption capital” (Sholette, 2016:58). By “turning away from the realm of the exclusively visual and towards creative practices focused on organizational structures, communicative networks and economies of giving and dissemination,” we work towards a counter-public sphere (Sholette, 2016:60). Art practice and curating, if acknowledged as spaces of production and not mere representations of knowledge, are not only struggles for visibility but an event of an inter-relational space, which is (hopefully) uncanny and slippery enough not to be completely caught in processes of valorization and commodification.

42 On the intersectionality of migration and class, there is some basic information and figures from the German Federal Statistics Office on so-called “migrant background” in relation to income or real-estate ownership, from which it becomes clear that “migrant background” statically means earning less and living in smaller apartments whilst paying more for them.

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Migrationshintergrund/Tabellen/MigrationshintergrundNettoeinkommen.html>

<http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/kurzdossiers/205190/die-postmigrantische-gesellschaft>

“I don’t tell everything, questions arise and do not get answered. Not everything is visible in a film. An incompleteness remains. I actually like that quite a lot” (Bilir-Meier, 2015:3,5).

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Fragments of Queer Mobility⁴³

Amir Hodžić

This text contributes to the mapping of migration processes and experiences of queer individuals by employing examples from Croatia and the post-Yugoslav region of recent decades. It aims to bespeak lesser exposed narratives within the larger body of work on migratory movements and regimes, and the politics regulating them. To that end, I will utilize outputs from the research that I have done for the project “Good Luck! Migration Today. Vienna, Belgrade, Zagreb, Istanbul” (2007–2010, Initiative Minderheiten),⁴⁴ which also included queer and activist perspectives within the migration discourse that was analyzed. I will also use selected points from articles and interviews produced by Gabrijela Ivanov (2014–2015, voxfeminae.net) that focus on (e)migration experiences of queer activists from the post-Yugoslav region.

The social and political reality of that area is, to varying degrees in regards to a particular country and time period, characterized by patriarchal orders, nationalism

43 This paper is also available in German and Croatian here: <https://transversal.at/transversal/1017/hodzic/en>

44 This text uses some modified parts from two published articles: Hodžić, A. (2010). “Waitressing Is an Awful Job When You’re Gay in a Straight Bar: Queer Migration in Croatia.” In Bakondy, V. et al. (eds.) *Good Luck! Migration Today: Vienna, Belgrade, Zagreb, Istanbul*: pp. 422–429. Vienna: Initiative Minderheiten; Hodžić, A. (2010). “Queer Migration in & out of Croatia: Waitressing Is an Awful Job When You’re Gay in a Straight Bar.” *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 28(2): 271–278.

and xenophobia, homophobia, and heterosexism, the strong influence of churches, political repression, and a lack of implementation of laws. Nevertheless, it is a space in which gradual but significant steps have been taken in the last 25 years for ensuring rights and improving the living conditions of its LGBTIQ population – again with different success rates for each of the regional states. The accomplished changes were the result of the intensive lobbying and advocacy of civil society actors as well as the states’ responses to the requirements of the accession processes to European Union institutions and associations. Whereas those processes have advanced the rights of LGBTIQ persons, at least at the nominal level of adopted laws and regulations, the actual homophobia-in-the-field was often used in the construction of narratives of those regional countries as being backwards and barbaric versus the “developed” and “progressive” western societies of EU states, of course omitting the facts of homophobic instances also present in that “civilized world.”

Although the achievements of the LGBTIQ movements in the regional countries differ in regards to the existing level of legal protection and rights, they share the same roots of feminist, lesbian, and gay organizing during the 1980s in Yugoslavia, and trans-regional peace and anti-war activism and solidarity in the 1990s. After the historical international conference “Comrade Woman. Women’s Question: A New Approach?” that took place in Belgrade in 1978, women’s and feminist groups started to organize during the early 1980s in Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Belgrade. The first gay and lesbian groups in Yugoslavia were founded in Ljubljana as sections of the Student Cultural Center: the gay section Magnus in

1984⁴⁵ and ŠKUC-LL in 1987. The lesbian section LL was part of a feminist group Lilith, which organized the first Yugoslav feminist meeting in Ljubljana in 1987. That event was instrumental for further feminist lesbian organizing during the next three years in Ljubljana (ŠKUC-LL), Zagreb (Lila Initiative), and Belgrade (a lesbian section of the feminist group Women and Society, and a gay and lesbian group Arkadija). But parallel to those beginnings of lesbian and gay organizing, the state of Yugoslavia began its process of disintegration.

During the 1990s, feminists in Zagreb and Belgrade were deeply involved in anti-war activism through public protests and campaigns, direct work, support, and help provided to women survivors of war and violence. After the end of the wars of the Yugoslav succession, new lesbian organizations formed in Belgrade (Labris, 1995) and Zagreb (Kontra, 1997). However, before that, in 1992, the same year that the Republic of Croatia was internationally recognized, LIGMA – Lesbian and Gay Men Action, the first Croatian gay and lesbian organization, was established in Zagreb with the support of the Transnational Radical Party. LIGMA was led by Amir Hanušić and Andreja Špehar, the first two Croatian activists that were publicly out, and also the ones who, because of instances of societal homophobia and state repression, were forced or decided to leave their home countries. Špehar emigrated to Sweden, and Hanušić, after numerous verbal assaults, harassment by police, and a physical attack on him and his home, left for Canada where he was granted asylum in 1998.

45 Already in 1984, Magnus organized the first edition of the Ljubljana Gay and Lesbian Film Festival, which claims to be the oldest gay and lesbian film festival in Europe.

In the 2000s, trans-regional communication and collaboration between LGBTIQ activists started to develop around Pride marches and queer festivals. The extremely violent attack on people gathering for the first Belgrade Pride in 2001 directly propelled the organization of the first Pride march in Zagreb the following year, with some of the organizers bearing the experience of the Belgrade attempt. In 2003, the Southeastern European Queer (SEEQ) Network was created connecting LGBTIQ activists and organizations from the former Yugoslav republics. The intention to shape the space of queer solidarity and exchange outside states' imposed national borders was clearly visible in the flyers announcing that the first Queer Belgrade festival⁴⁶ held in 2004 would take place at the imaginary location of "Belgrade, Queeroslavia."⁴⁷ The efforts taken to enhance activist connections in the post-Yugoslav space were also manifested in the 2006 Southeastern European Pride held in Zagreb. For those coming from more hostile and homophobic areas, participation in a public LGBTIQ event in some other country has been a way to express their identities without creating too much discomfort and fear of being outed. Organized by the members of the SEEQ Network and named "The Internationale Pride," that event aimed to encourage the organization of Prides in other states. Since then, besides Croatia and Slovenia, Pride marches have also taken place in Serbia

46 Queer Belgrade Festivals were organized in the period from 2004–2008 by Queer Beograd Collective, a radical queer group that was employing various activist forms and approaches to politically engage in the topic of intersecting oppressions of patriarchy, sexism, homophobia, nationalism, racism, capitalism, and militarism.

47 Queeroslavia (Queer + Yugoslavia) is a creative hint to a "post-Yugoslav longing for queer transnational citizenship."

(in 2010 and again from 2014) and Montenegro (from 2013). The most recent example of regional cooperation and exchange is Trans Network Balkan, formed in 2014 as a platform for promoting trans rights and giving support to local trans groups and individuals “in the Balkan region.”

Besides pointing to those cases of regional mobility and networking of queer individuals and groups in the post-Yugoslav region, the research I have conducted ten years ago also documented four narratives embodying internal queer migration experiences in Croatia. Those are the tales of moving from home environments of small towns and the countryside to the capital, to Zagreb, to “a place, which gives you a feeling of freedom, security and anonymity.” Although the collected testimonies differ in terms of personal motives and reasons to migrate (violence, education and work prospects, intimate partnership), all of them are underlined by the impossibility of fully living and expressing their identities back home. Another aspect that marks those queer migration experiences, as well as all other migrant realities, concerns the issue of ensuring a livelihood and its complex links to migration processes. In this case, for all interviewees, involvement in social networks within the capital’s LGBTIQ community was perceived as instrumental in securing accommodation and work in their new environment. However, for some of them, in their plans and visions of transnational migration, Zagreb was also viewed as “a temporary sanctuary” on their way to London, Berlin or San Francisco. Taken together, these experiences illustrate the normative “gay migration narrative”/“urban coming-out story,” which integrates journeys, regarding both geography and identity: leaving

“a suffocating, closed atmosphere” and coming(-out) to a city, to “a new home, with a new family,” to “be what one really is.”

One of these research tracks followed developments in the life of Daniel, a young queer scholar and activist from Zadar, from 2007–2010. More precisely, it focused on his relationship with Paul from Klagenfurt, and on the border regimes and settlement policies affecting their relationship. It is a relationship between two gay men who belong to different nations, and, at that time, it was a relationship between an EU citizen and a “third country national.” They met in 2007 in Croatia, where Paul came as an Erasmus exchange program student. For Daniel it was the first time he lived an openly gay life, and that motivated him to continue the relationship. After Paul finished his semester and returned home, Daniel started to travel frequently to visit his partner in Austria.

In order to keep the relationship going, Daniel and Paul encountered multiple, exclusive legal barriers regulating movement, residence, and access to the labor market within Schengen’s perimeter. On one of his journeys to Austria via Slovenia, in the summer of 2008, Daniel was informed by the Slovenian border police that he was close to the limit of ninety days, the maximum allowed to non-EU citizens to reside within Schengen’s limits every six months. Nevertheless, Daniel came up with an elusive strategy for overcoming that regulation, made possible due to the pre-Schengen bilateral agreements between Croatia and bordering EU countries Slovenia, Italy, and Hungary, which allows Croatian citizens to enter those

states with only their personal identity card.⁴⁸ However, travelling to another EU state via Slovenia, Italy or Hungary, still required a passport, and if a person was caught in some other EU country without a valid passport it would be considered “illegal entry.” On his travel from Zadar to Klagenfurt via Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Villach, Daniel’s method was the following:

I combine it this way: when I notice that the three month limit is approaching – usually the border police warns me – then I don’t touch my passport for the next three months, and instead enter Slovenia with my ID card and lie that I am going to Ljubljana for some reason, whatever I come up with. And then after three months, I use my passport again and I rotate them like that. I’ve done that at least five times so far. Here I have to point out that as a Croatian citizen I have the privilege to cheat that way.

Besides having Croatian citizenship, Daniel is also very conscious of his privilege of having fair skin:

Klagenfurt is a fascist town and I’m positive that if I were Black, I would have already been ID’ed and disclosed a couple of times, but I’m white and that’s saved me. So I was

⁴⁸In 2007, it was agreed that the provision would continue to be applied as the exception from Schengen rules. An interim solution was found that to enter these three neighboring states with a valid Croatian ID, it must be accompanied by an additional single-use entry and exit card stamped at the border.

never ID'ed by the police. And how many weren't that lucky? I realize that there's a strong correlation between state borders and borders between sexual identities, as in the end there's the same operating logic of exclusion and the fear of the Other serving as markers of superiority – white, heterosexual, class.

Faced with obstacles in securing material conditions for their relationship in Austria (residence and work permits for Daniel), they both successfully applied to study programs in Slovenia in 2009. That ensured their living together, and Daniel, based on his student status, obtained a Slovenian residence permit valid for one year – and equally important – had the possibility to work through the student service.

When the Law on registered same-sex couples came into force in Austria in January 2010, they began to consider that option, although it goes against their personal and political beliefs that “marriage (or legal union) is a natural and the only ‘act and symbol of love’ among today’s multiple intimate relationships, which ensures some important rights.” It became an option because of Daniel’s “immigrant” status and their shared precarious student/worker class conditions, both being shaped and framed by “the issues of borders and migration in global capitalistic economy and its regulation of labor, capital, and people.” However, in the process of registering their partnership, Daniel and Paul have encountered the same difficulties as bi-national heterosexual couples. The procedure requires, among many other things, for a “third country national” to submit a request from their

country of origin, and for the Austrian partner to prove a minimum monthly income of 1,100 euro and a rental contract/apartment ownership. In addition, a residence permit does not guarantee a work permit, for which a separate application is needed, which also points to how hard it can be to both accomplish migration goals and to safeguard a livelihood.

At the end of 2010, they were still uncertain if and how they would have been able to meet those requirements. Still, as I continued my communication with Daniel after the project ended, it turned out that in November 2011 they got married in Austria, but gained their rights through the EU Family Reunification Directive, made possible because they had the same address during their studies in Ljubljana, and because Paul, as an EU citizen, exercised his mobility rights while studying and living with his partner in another EU country. Thereby they bypassed the requirements of Austrian legal procedure, and, after registering, Daniel was granted a 5-year visa with both residence and work permission. The whole process was facilitated by consultations and information provided to Daniel and Paul by *Ehe ohne Grenzen*.⁴⁹

Apart from the pull factors of more tolerant countries that offer legal protection and recognition for LGBTIQ individuals, the causes behind the migration processes of many queer individuals from the post-Yugoslav region are strongly influenced by push factors: the high-level of homophobia, discrimination, and violence experienced

⁴⁹ A civil society organization working towards equal rights for bi-national couples in Austria, *Ehe ohne Grenzen* (marriage without borders) was founded in 2006, in response to the Aliens Law Package, which sets a very restrictive immigrant residency and work permit system that massively affects bi-national couples in Austria.

in their domicile states. That is especially relevant in the cases of activists, who were often the first media-exposed LGBTIQ persons, and those who organized the first public LGBTIQ events. In almost all instances, except for the first Ljubljana Pride in 2001, those pioneering efforts were the targets of brutal and violent attacks as physical manifestations of widespread social homophobia and transphobia in the region: Belgrade Pride in 2001 and again in 2010; Zagreb Pride in 2002; the Queer Sarajevo Festival in 2008; Split Pride in 2011; Budva Pride, and Podgorica Pride in 2013.

The most recent example of activist emigration prompted by violence and threats, continuous negative media exposure, and a lack of state protection concerns Boban Stojanović, a long-time activist and co-organizer of Belgrade Pride. In January 2017, Stojanović reported on Facebook that he and his partner were granted asylum in Canada, based on 23 unresolved cases of violence in Serbia. Six years earlier, in 2011, Majda Puača, another prominent queer activist from Serbia, was granted asylum in the USA on the basis of her sexual orientation and political opinion, and because her health and life were endangered in Serbia. As a public relations person for the Belgrade Prides of 2009 (forbidden by the state for “security reasons”) and 2010 (with violent riots all over the city), Puača was extremely exposed in the media, which resulted in numerous incidents of public harassment, and rape and death threats: “there are fascists who threaten and follow you at every step ... they called me ‘the head dyke’ in the street ... my address and phone number were publicized in their forums ... at the market, in the store, at the gym, I was always their target.”

Those feelings of fear and everyday insecurity echo in the deliberations of two other queer activists who (e) migrated from the post-Yugoslav region to the USA. Svetlana Đurković, one of the organizers of the 2008 Queer Sarajevo Festival,⁵⁰ which was violently interrupted at its opening with death threats sent to the organizers, recalls “a life without using public transportation, a life with minimal mobility... we had a blanket on the window at the new office.” Jay Poštić, a long-time Zagreb Pride activist, remembers that “years after those Prides, I would feel shaken every time someone yelled in the streets. I would not take public transportation. It was preventative, but also a real fear. People were beaten at that time, there were death threats over the phone to people around me.” Contacting the police in many cases did not help, as Puača describes how she reported threats received on Facebook from clearly identifiable persons, and the police simply suggested turning off a specific Facebook account option; or as Đurković comments: “When you live in the state where everything is a conspiracy, then you do not even completely trust the police.”

Apart from attacks and harassment, and a lack of state protection, burnout was also an important factor in those queer activist emigrations. In their narratives they describe feelings of senselessness, depression, nausea, exhaustion, loss, guilt, and betrayal that lead to a lack of productivity and creativity, insomnia, health problems, nervous breakdowns, and even post-traumatic stress

50 The Queer Sarajevo Festival was organized by the Association Q (active from 2004–2010), the first civil society organization in Bosnia and Hercegovina focused on the promotion and protection of the rights of LGBTIQ people.

disorder. While coping with burnout, they learned that there is a strong need for “periods of rest and recharging,” the need “to balance activist engagement and private/personal life,” the need “to learn to live my own life and to do things that I like, to hike, to make fruit jams.” To recover and to start to prioritize one’s own life over activism, it was necessary to move to some other place, to a place “where no one knows you,” to a place “where no one leers at you when you and your girlfriend kiss and hold hands, where no one stares at you in public transportation and wonders if you are male or female,” as voiced by Mima Simić, a longstanding queer activist commenting on her own decision to leave, realizing that she is “more beneficial to herself by living in Berlin than to Croatian activism by living in Zagreb.”

For Puača, Đurković and Poštić, integration processes in the USA have included solidarity and help from local queer communities for securing accommodation and work, the same networks of support identified in the narratives of internal queer migrants in Croatia. Securing a livelihood, an inseparable but often difficult part of every migrant’s journey, is facilitated by belonging to the community of marginalized identities, the one that also lies in the background of decisions to migrate, whether because of its non-existence in the place of origin (small towns and rural environments), or because of fighting for its right (in the case of LGBTIQ activists).

In the process of applying for asylum, Puača was represented by Immigration Equality,⁵¹ an organization providing free legal services and policy advocacy on

⁵¹ Since 1994, Immigration Equality has been providing advice and legal services to LGBTIQ and HIV-positive immigrants seeking asylum in the USA.

behalf of LGBTIQ immigrants, and the organization where she has finally found regular employment after three and a half years of living in New York with temporary, low-paying jobs, and no health insurance. Puača's first-hand experiences at the margins of the career-orientated, credit rating-based capitalist system, evoked consideration of some aspects of the social and political heritage of the Yugoslav system:

It has to be like that if you want to survive here. There is no retirement fund, no free health insurance, no free education – things we are used to. As different as our system was, and as impractical as it sometimes was, there was something to it [...] The way we were brought up in that socialism made us instructed towards each other. You will help, and there will be someone there when you need it. Here, individuality is imposed by capitalism from the very beginning.

The stories of displacement of queer individuals from the post-Yugoslav region presented in this text sketch out aspects of migratory movements and experiences that are often overlooked and undocumented in the mainstream discourse on migration. In addition, those experiences of queer mobility carry the potential for retrospectively disrupting the heteronormativity of the old Gastarbeiter migration narrative, not least considering that homosexuality was criminalized in Yugoslavia from 1959–1977. The economic realities of “earning-for-a-living” play a strong role in the collected queer migrants’ testimonies sketched out here: the issues of

the employment opportunities of Zagreb's LGBTIQ civil society and profit sectors for young queer internal migrants in Croatia; Daniel's oscillating statuses of a postgraduate student, a "third-country faggot," and an unemployed immigrant worker; as well as a Serbian radical queer activist's close encounters with the requirements of the advanced capitalist economic system that come along with the granted permission to live in the USA. Those all point to the commonality of a material basis to any kind of resettlement, as well as to the problems and challenges of migration and integration processes in the relation to the existing forms of labor organization and economic inequalities.

The Time in Time of Hospitality⁵²

Ana Hoffner

For many years now, the stories of Austrian and German guest workers have been forgotten. There has been little to no discourse reflecting on the history of imported labor. Since at least the early 1990s, even the term *gastarbeiter_in* has seemed outdated. Many efforts among activists, cultural workers and artists have been undertaken to replace it with the term migrant. This happened primarily as an act of self-empowerment, questioning an assigned identity stemming from Cold War labor contracts that hid the various racist implications. Speaking of migrants and not of *gastarbeiter_in* signaled a certain form of critique of official state politics that regulated labor and migration and the mainstream view of the guest workers as unwelcome intruders from elsewhere, who had to be accepted as only a cheap labor force.

Currently, however, we are facing increased interest for all those who left Eastern European countries during the 1960s and 1970s to become *gastarbeiter_in* – interest, driven first and foremost, by conservative or even right-wing politicians. In the following, I want to depart from the assumption that this newly established relation to a forgotten, unwanted past identity can only be understood as an instrumentalization of the guest worker as a figure for politics that do not regard the actual guest workers themselves (or the context of their working

⁵² This paper is also available in Serbian and German here: <https://transversal.at/transversal/0718/hoffner/en>

conditions), but, instead focus in fact on the so-called current “crisis” of migration.⁵³ In those narratives, guest workers only appear as well-integrated members of their host societies. They are in fact no longer guests but have gained the right to feel at home in the former West showing that this is also possible for present-day migrants and refugees. However, it is not only conservative and right-wing politicians who cover up prevailing racism in this regard. There is also a strong desire to create political bondage between these earlier movements and the present-day flows of migration for activists, artists, migrants and refugees themselves. Therefore, my proposal here would be to rethink the structural relations between guest and host_ess and the implications of hospitality in both for writing histories of guest workers and present-day migrants and refugees. I would also like to propose hospitality as a fundamental basis for the readings and contestations of the linear narratives dominating the various histories related to guest/worker/migrant/refugee that we assume or even actively produce.

Guest workers themselves have been surrounded by negativity since their arrival in their new work surroundings: huge symbolic and legal exclusions were made in order to push them to the margins of societies.⁵⁴ Yet it

53 This exploitation of one historical subjectivity for actual politics was brought up and analyzed by Jana Dolečki in her text “Home, Foreign Home.” Dolečki focuses on the connections between older migration movements, like the ones from the 1960s, and more recent ones through the emerging cultural politics of exhibition-making. See Dolečki’s article in the previous issue of transversal: <https://transversal.at/transversal/1017/dolecki/en>

54 See also Ljubomir Bratić, “Rassismus und migrantischer Antirassismus in Österreich,” in *Landschaften der Tat: Vermessung, Transformationen und Ambivalenzen des Antirassismus in Europa*, ed. Ljubomir Bratić (Wien: sozaktiv 2002).

is still the situation of increasing inhospitality or conditional hospitality – as Derrida calls the traditional, dominant model of hospitality – that thematizes the politics of hospitality as a mode of resistance again.⁵⁵ Furthermore, in my point of view, a rearticulation of hospitality is necessary in (capitalist) societies based on global divisions of labor, because hospitality is exactly what enables current (labor) positions of guests and host_esses through internal and temporal logics. Therefore, I will not simply reject the appropriation of someone else's history, or the creation of a narrative about labor and migration, but I will try to find a different (temporal) model of hospitality that may allow one to listen to voices which appear very distant.

In his text, “The Temporality of Hospitality,” instead of searching for alternative non-linear narratives of hospitality, literary theorist Ralf Simon writes about hospitality as an important principle of narrative itself.⁵⁶ For Simon, hospitality constitutes the “primal scene of narrative.”⁵⁷ This understanding allows Simon to analyze the appearance of the guest through a scenic component. We can imagine the encounter between guest and host_ess within a very specific structural scenario following a certain dramaturgy. The story begins when the guest arrives.⁵⁸ She knocks on the door. The hostess opens the

55 Jaques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*. Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jaques Derrida to Respond, (California: Stanford University Press, 2000).

56 Ralf Simon, “The Temporality of Hospitality,” in *Critical Time in Modern German Literature and Culture*, ed. Dirk Göttsche (Bern: Peter Lang Verlag, 2016), 165–182.

57 *Ibid.*, 165.

58 Unfortunately the English language does not allow for a gendered distinction of the term “guest,” therefore, I’m forced to speak of the

door. The guest is invited in. She enters the space. She brings a gift, and that is: she tells a story. In the end, the guest leaves. Simon develops these elements in order to be able to define the positions of guest and host_ess along the most important question that evolves around hospitality: How long should a guest stay? On the one hand, a guest must not be turned away, but if she stays too long, she will be integrated, assimilated and she will no longer be a guest, but part of the community of the host_ess. Simon claims that the guest must remain a stranger, otherwise she stops being a guest and becomes something else⁵⁹ – I would add with or without various positive or negative implications that this situation produces. The real boundary of the space of the guest is, therefore, time, since she is situated within the paradox of time – not staying and not leaving.

Simon puts a particular importance on the story told by the guest. The story can be understood as the guest's very biography, which enters the stage of hospitality in one way or another when the guest appears. The story has the function of a gift. It fulfills the expectation of the host_ess to be entertained, and for the guest to deliver, because she was welcomed. So the guest and the host_ess sit down to talk and to listen. The narrative is doubled when the story within the story begins. This is when the setting of hospitality described as a script thus far stops in time and we enter a different temporality, that of the guest as narrator.

The question “how long should a guest stay?” transforms into the question: how long can the host_ess

guest in the only available form.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

listen and allow time for the guest? The length of time is always negotiable. Time is given, time is taken, but in the concept of hospitality I describe here, time is not exchangeable. It cannot be paid back as it is beyond the economy of debt and equality. For Ralf Simon, the temporality of hospitality corresponds with the temporality of reading; as we take time to read, we are given back the gift of a story. “Hospitality offers a model to think about literature itself: literature is a guest in language.”⁶⁰ In the same way, we can think of art and culture as guests in reality, as it requires taking time for their reception, recognition, and understanding. The question of how long a guest can stay is the question of how much time we take to read, to look, to reflect the linearity of our lives through stories we are told and images we are shown by someone else.

Furthermore, Simon asks more questions about this time in time and its relation to narrative.⁶¹ Guest and host_ess inhabit two different temporal models for Simon: the time of the host_ess progresses on a linear timeline. According to the host_ess, she is in the given moment when the guest appears – this moment has a past and a future. The past changes according to the point where the host_ess stands. However, the time of the guest is an interruption in the progress of time. Her story is the time out-of-joint, time without its outer measurement. It is the time of a stable past that is collected and preserved (and presented) as memory.

What is very important to include in the “*primal scene of narrative*” is the component of reciprocal

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 173.

insecurity. It is described very well by Derrida's notion of "hostipitality" – hostility and hospitality belong together.⁶² The primal scene of narrative is only a seemingly safe space. In fact, it is highly ambivalent for both sides, an encounter of two strangers with an uncertain outcome. Everything can happen within the scenario of hospitality – guest and host_ess can start fighting and hate each other, and maybe it turns out to be impossible to begin an exchange of mutual agreement. The scene does not necessarily provide a positive outcome. It includes risk and uncertainty, but as Simon claims, the structural situation is "completely necessary as a stable temporal anchor."⁶³ The time of the host is "fundamentally uncertain and open ended" – if linearity is never interrupted, there will never be time for reflection and a possible change of the course towards the future.⁶⁴ Linear time depends on its interruption as much as the time in time of the guest can only unfold itself within the framework of linearity and progress. Both stories stabilize each other, when they are allowed to co-exist. We need to secure ourselves in a relationally stable past, so we lend an ear to the guest's narrative or devote our time to the offerings of literature.⁶⁵ This has broader political implications, because it is only when the host_ess does not reject the narrative, which brings risk and an uncertain outcome, and remains open to the entrance of someone else's story, a hospitable society can exist. "We accept an experience of time that does not aim at any

62 Jaques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

63 Simon, *Temporality of Hospitality*, 174.

64 *Ibid.*

65 *Ibid.*

symmetrical exchange based on equivalence but instead implies aneconomic time-wasting, generous expenditure, and listening to each other.”⁶⁶

**“Wir haben ein Recht auf Arbeit.” “I AM A
MAN.” “Lezbijka na prezydenta.”
We Have a Right to Work. I Am a Man. Lesbian
for President.**

These are some of the slogans written onto protest banners and carried by contemporary artist, Sharon Hayes, in her action “In the Near Future” (2005–2009). “Wir haben ein Recht auf Arbeit” is a slogan from a union’s protest in Vienna in the 1960s. “I AM A MAN” is a slogan from the Memphis sanitation strike that took place in 1968. “Lezbijka na prezydenta” is from a recent demonstration for LGBTIQ rights in Warsaw. Hayes selected and staged slogans from past political protests several times in public space. For a certain period of time, and for a few days in a row, she stood alone in the streets of different cities. “In the Near Future” took place in London, New York, Vienna, Warsaw and Brussels until now, but it is an open and ongoing investigation that could be repeated again in other cities.

I’m interested in this work, because it negotiates hospitality as a site of protest precisely through a non-linear narrative and a carefully scripted scenario. Hayes appears unexpectedly, unannounced in public space, and thereby creates her own audience. She is the uninvited guest in public space, just like any protester. Like a political protest formed in front of an actual government structure,

⁶⁶Ibid., 177.

forcing political representatives to listen, Hayes transforms an unidentified public into an audience. If the public allows itself to read and listen to Hayes' story, it becomes her host. But there are several elements which do not correspond to political protest as we know it.

The one-person-demonstration is the first part of the work: it takes place without public announcement and can only be experienced by those who accidentally share time and space with the artist. The second part, or what Hayes calls the "not-event" of "In the Near Future" is an installation of photographic documents from the performance, projected by multiple slide projectors.⁶⁷ The images not only give insight into the artist's intervention into public space, it is in fact the photographs which invoke memories of political protests that have entered collective memory and create the non-linear narrative of the performance retrospectively. In both parts, the importance of reading and listening is paramount, but also the way that Hayes deals with questions of raising one's voice and making demands.

In the live action, Hayes decided not to use her own voice in repeating slogans acoustically but to make the voices of others appear in a different way. Carrying the protest banners without shouting out loud, as is often done in demonstrations, gave those events a mute but more effective reappearance. All actions were carried out in the original locations where the same historical protests took place. However, the slogans and the locations did not correspond, and they do not correspond in the photographs either. Hayes herself emphasizes that this

67 Sharon Hayes, "The Not-Event," in *Art Journal*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (Fall 2011), 45–46.

work is not a performance in a theatrical sense, as it refuses any kind of spectacularity.⁶⁸ The action is decidedly undemonstrative. “Blank, dazed, and affectless, she appears as a living relic of and a witness to an outmoded and endangered form of public dissent,” writes Helena Rickitt.⁶⁹ Hayes is not only an uninvited guest, she even comes too late, she “follows the politics of action like a shadow.”⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Hayes’s body is on display and is checked in relation to the message she is carrying. Is this the body of a worker who is on strike? Or is this the lesbian who fights for her rights? Does the body correspond to the identity we have in mind when we see protesters in the street? In most cases, Hayes challenges the social conventions that state that only those who inhabit a particular identity can fight for it.

When I saw this work for the first time, I was highly irritated. I felt as if someone had invaded my personal space and had stolen something from it, and then went on stealing from others. It took me a while to become aware that my irritation was a very identitarian claim regarding the writing of history which I would not have made regarding something else: that a certain protest culture, bound to a local language, belongs to those who have both, the same culture and language. Hayes’s work made me angry, because of its claim for a broader, maybe even universal culture of protest. I later realized that Hayes stood there in solidarity with the (to her) unknown protagonists of past struggles, like a black

68 Julia Bryan-Wilson, “We Have a Future: An Interview with Sharon Hayes,” in *Grey Room*, No. 37 (Fall, 2009), 85.

69 Helena Reckitt, “To Make Time Appear,” in *Art Journal*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (Fall 2011), 58–63.

70 *Ibid.*, 181.

man who worked under immiserating conditions in the 1960s. Who is the rightful owner of these and other historical events? Who can claim belonging or having a right to own a particular history?

I came across the non-identitarian relation to other people's histories for the first time in Eastern Europe in the early 2000s. The emergence of Pride and queer festivals made many local groups in Eastern European countries refer to Stonewall, the famous protest for LGBTIQ rights that took place in New York in 1968. It didn't matter that the US context was completely different back then, that there were more than 30 years between then and now. What emerged in these contextualizations of queer history was a transhistorical community. Queerness was something beyond nation, race, class and ability, like in the ACT-Up demonstrations of the early 1990s, when direct action in the middle of the AIDS crisis provoked a wide range of solidarities. Where is the figure of the protester positioned today? Or maybe where would we like it to be if we consider hospitality being the place where protest emerges, and protest being a major component of social struggles, such as the struggles for the right to move, work, and love?

Instead of a mass demonstration in Hayes's performance, only one person is visible, the performer herself. Hayes's appearance evokes not only associations to demonstrators but also to people we classify as having mental disorders because of particular behaviors that do not fit in the movement of public space. This displacement from social reality is, however, necessary to fully understand Hayes's intervention. Hayes is neither placed within the temporal flow of public space, nor outside of it. She is truly a guest in time, someone who appears

and has a story to tell within the temporal framework of past, present, and future. In her actions, she is beside the surrounding space, beside the temporal linearity that defines social, economic or political doing in public space, but maybe one can also say beside herself.

Being beside oneself is an important figure of thought in philosophy and queer theory. Queer theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick writes about the productivity of being beside something, because “there’s nothing very dualistic about it.”⁷¹ Judith Butler describes being beside oneself as living in “sexual passion, emotional grief or political rage.”⁷² The act of a political demonstration happens when we are beside ourselves, and take the risk to expose ourselves with our bodies and voices. This is a moment when particular rights are demanded. But the action “In the Near Future” is only a quote of this demand.⁷³ It emphasizes what Butler states, that the very legal framework of rights “fails to do justice to passion, and grief and rage, all of which tear us from ourselves, bind us to others, transport us, undo us, and implicate us in lives that are not our own, sometimes fatally, irreversibly.”⁷⁴ The person we see in Hayes’s action reminds us of situations in which we were involved in passion, grief and politics, but it insists that potentially everyone could be standing there, being a guest in time, asking to be heard. The encounter of the guest (the protester)

71 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003), 8.

72 Judith Butler, “Beside Oneself: On the Limits of Sexual Autonomy,” in *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 20.

73 Patrick Greaney, *Quotational Practices: Repeating the Future in Contemporary Art* (University of Minnesota. Press, 2014).

74 Butler, *Beside Oneself*, 20.

and the host (the public) is not a question of property, self-sovereignty or identity. It appears as something we potentially share and have in common. “In the Near Future” reflects back on individuals as past or present protesters by creating proximity between the slogans but also between the cities that host the event. In her article, “New York, Beside Oneself,” Johanna Burton uses the term “beside” in relation to Sharon Hayes’s work to contextualize the state of being of the city of New York.⁷⁵ I would argue that all spaces in which Hayes’s action took place appear to be beside themselves: Vienna, Warsaw, and New York share their potential of loving, grieving and being in political rage – in a queerly familiar way.

Hayes makes claims that often appear to be timeless, universal and exchangeable but not assignable to the present. She interrupts the temporality of usual protest communication, although having invoked it, and leads us to the temporality of her own narrative. The most interesting part regarding the temporality of Hayes’s action happens in front of the installation of “In the Near Future,” when the loneliness of the protesting subject becomes even more evident. We see Hayes protesting alone in several images and in different geographical places. However, in contrast to the live action, we can see all protests, spaces, and slogans at the same time. So the timeless demands appear as if they belonged together, as if they shared a common history, but this point of

75 Johanna Burton, “New York, Beside Itself,” in: *Mixed Use, Manhattan: Photography and Related Practices, 1970s to the Present*, eds. Lynne Cooke, Douglas Crimp and Kristin Poor (Madrid/Cambridge Mass.: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, MIT Press 2010).

view is only made retrospectively, as it was impossible for individual audiences to see how they could belong together. The images of someone protesting in the past can only be fully recognized now, and not in the moment of their appearance. The fleeting, projected images appear and disappear creating a narration, but without a clear beginning or end. They compose a highly utopian past, which suggests that we might have had a history of common, universal demands, and they remind us that, sadly, we do not own this history, but are mostly separated through identity, language, and culture. The newly created photographs give us impressions of a non-existing past, without fulfilling the spectator's expectations of seeing a known historical image. These protests have not taken place. The projected images open a time in time that allows us to reflect back on the history of labor struggles and protest culture and our very position within it. In fact, the installation does not allow the viewers to fully identify their personal sense of temporal and historical belonging.

As a viewer of projected images of Hayes's performative event, one is confronted with the inability to recreate historical linearity with one's own belonging in the present. It is not possible to reside in a safe subject position of a stable history and identity. One has to face the questions Hayes is posing: How did we protest in the past? How can I protest alone? How do I relate to universal claims? How do I protest in solidarity with others? In these questions lies an opening, a possibility for something yet to come: narratives to happen in the near future. Only if we acknowledge the narratives of guest workers – but also present-day migrants and refugees – as such fragmented accounts, which fail to appear in a

coherent historical image, can we understand the legacy of their particular lives and stories. Each one will bring a gift that needs to be listened to, but altogether they won't produce the stability of identity that right-wing official politics wants to evoke, especially not as a role model for nation-state economic productivity. Rather, the narratives of the former gastarbeiter_in already challenge us as a public and will continue to do so again and again in order to answer their question: how much time do we want to give to the time-in-time they bring in?

**Rethinking “Guests” and “Workers” in
Post-Fordist Forms of Labor Mobility**

From Guest Workers to Guest Consumers: A Disposable Labor Force in the Age of Cognitive Capitalism⁷⁶

Lina Dokuzović

The time of the *gastarbeiter* was one of a Europe during a peak of industrial capitalism, whilst also being at the brink of its decline. Soon afterwards, in the early 1970s, economic crises and transformations in capitalism itself, which helped to salvage those economies in crisis, eliminated the need for a surplus industrial labor force. Standing at the crossroads of their elimination and a whole panoply of transformations in European immigration policy, while being mobile, flexible, and having to adapt to the shifting needs of employers and the economy, *gastarbeiter*s ironically provided a model for the type of workers needed later in a Postfordist economy. Furthermore, while the *gastarbeiter* is a figure of the past, it has been instrumentalized by recent government policies to criticize, manipulate, and shape migration today. In more ways than one, the figure of the *gastarbeiter* can help us to understand what is taking place with the so-called current “crisis” of migration in Europe. The following will thus attempt to do a brief mapping of where and how the figure of the *gastarbeiter* has transformed and where we may be able to find some of its traces in the current European political landscape, in which we see a radical segregation of movement.

⁷⁶ This paper is also available in Turkish and German here: <https://transversal.at/transversal/0718/dokuzovic/en>

During the 1970s, major transformations were taking place, such as the digital revolution, an increased globalization of capital, an oil/resource crisis and its subsequent developing economic crises, and an emphasis on immaterial labor as a path out of economic crisis and away from material and resource limits, which began to creep into European economic policy. This emphasis on immaterial labor/production, among other reasons such as workers' protests, led to the formation of a Postfordist capitalism, and ultimately to a cognitive capitalism. Referring to it as a "third phase" of capitalism, in which the first is mercantile and the second industrial capitalism (Moulier-Boutang 2011, p. 50), Moulier-Boutang compares cognitive capitalism to the productivity of pollination in a beehive, rather than the production of honey alone (Ibid., p. 188). In other words, the networked knowledge produced in advanced capitalist economies today is considered to produce far more immaterial value than its material counterparts.

Knowledge has, thus, played a major role in European economies to this day – so much so that Europe has been aiming "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth," according to the Lisbon Strategy, an economic action plan of the EU.⁷⁷ This aim of this plan is twofold. On the one hand, knowledge provides an immaterial, unlimited source of value for a knowledge-based economy with infinite, unexpected forms of productivity. On the other hand, the reduction of material production is viewed as providing one of the key resolutions to a plethora of crises

⁷⁷http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm

in Europe today. From the perspective of sustainability policy, a knowledge-based economy is expected to help environment crisis, resource limits, climate change and pollution, economic productivity, and various other social issues through developing social cohesion (e.g. European Commission 2010). In other words, knowledge and its immeasurable potential for value production is regarded as a panacea to crisis in present-day Europe.

In order to capture this value, various mechanisms have been implemented. These have placed an emphasis on the institutions recognized as producing knowledge – universities, research facilities, etc. – as well as agendas for harnessing the potential of lifelong, or “cradle-to-grave” learning. This wave of reforms and initiatives has formed what policy-makers are referring to as a “new Renaissance” in Europe (European Commission 2009, p. 8). In order to try and capture potential knowledge-based value in all spaces at all times, these reforms have been implemented on both intensive and extensive levels.⁷⁸ I refer to the institutional transformations – those visible effects of restructuring departments, implementing and raising tuition fees, reducing access to resources, limiting study times, cutting “unnecessary” courses or departments, and so on – as intensive transformations. These have been driven primarily by the Lisbon Strategy, Bologna Process (a wave of reforms from 1999–2010 in institutions of higher education), Ljubljana Process (a wave of reforms focusing on research), and a variety of programs under the umbrella

⁷⁸I borrow these terms from Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson, who describe spatial and temporal transformations of recent decades through “extensive” and “intensive” axes respectively (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013, p. 68).

of lifelong learning initiatives. However, these very reform packages have led to extensive transformations.

In other words, the Bologna Process had the ultimate goal of creating the European Higher Education Area. The Ljubljana Process has developed the European Research Area. And the initiatives for lifelong learning have been structuring a “European area of lifelong learning” (Commission of the European Communities 2001). These various “areas” indicate supranational spaces in which maximal mobility is promoted to knowledge producers within their borders. These spaces also benefit from the brain drain resulting from incoming migrants. Similar supranational knowledge-based areas have been developing in other regions, for instance, Latin America, the Middle East-North-Africa region, or Australia-Asia Pacific, among other large nations such as Russia. However, Europe has developed the most aggressive approach, aiming to remain at the forefront of knowledge economy development. The following will outline how these extensive transformations have created a scenario in which education has become inextricably linked to the topic of migration in Europe today.

Differential Inclusion

Mobility is regarded as a multiplier of the productivity and value of knowledge production.⁷⁹ The overlapping supranational knowledge-based areas in Europe have thereby contributed to establishing an “Innovation Union” in which freely moving knowledge should be the

⁷⁹ See, e.g. European Commission (2010).

cornerstone for sustainable growth (European Commission 2010, p. 3). Comprised of various mobility programs for students, teachers, and researchers, this is supported by the four freedoms of the EU: the free movement of goods, services, capital, and people. There have even been various aims at trying to make knowledge the official fifth freedom of the EU (Potočnik 2007), but due to the intensive transformations that have created commodified and standardized units of knowledge – primarily within university programs – this new category is unnecessary, as knowledge/education can now fall under the rubric of goods, services, and capital. The remaining category of people is tricky, however, when it comes to the question of which people are included within this claim. These extensive transformations, while invisible on many levels, are the most visible in their consequences on the lives of knowledge-based migrants. Furthermore, it is within the discrepancies in the movement of people where the divisions between desirable and undesirable movement becomes clear.

Participation in such mobility programs is filtered through mechanisms of differential inclusion.⁸⁰ While the supranational knowledge-based areas above may partially extend beyond the borders of the EU,⁸¹ the overall governance architecture of the EU, the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), oversees and filters access to these programs and areas. Established as a Lisbon Strategy apparatus, the OMC implements soft law, fiscal discipline, and coercive competition among EU

80 I borrow the term differential inclusion from Mezzadra and Neilson (2013, esp. pp. 157–166).

81 For a detailed breakdown of which nations are included in which ways in these areas, see: Dokuzović & Freudmann (2010).

Member States. Therefore, each Member State can implement slightly differing versions of regulations, according to their needs, while adhering to the general approach. In recent years, many Member States have implemented regulations which indicate a shift towards knowledge-based indicators in filtering the movement and entry of people into the EU. Just like in the time of the *gastarbeiter*, filtration mechanisms exist today which focus on the needs of the market. The key difference, I will argue, is the shift from regarding workers in industrial capitalism as import commodities (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013, p. 102) to regarding knowledge-based migrants in cognitive capitalism as export commodities. Recent models for filtering migrant labor power have, in contrast to previous models, been based on “just-in-time” and “to-the-point” migration (Ibid. p. 138). One of the methods encompassed therein is points-based migration.

Neilson describes how the Australian government profiles migrants with the skillset necessary to fulfill economic needs, which has in turn substantially supported its knowledge-based economy (Neilson 2009, p. 49). This works in close concert with educational institutions and programs, thus positioning them as “default migration agencies” (Ibid.). As points-based systems interrogate each applicant according to the needs of the market, with a focus on their education and knowledge-based skills, Mezzadra and Neilson assert that these structures are pivotal to supporting the development of cognitive capitalism (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013, p. 139). Neilson elaborates this, stating that “The situation is one in which education becomes the pretence for migration. There is a blurring of the

categories of student and migrant. But the categories of student and worker also blur (in a sense other than the one in which studying can be identified as work)” (Neilson 2009, p. 50).

The UK has implemented a points-based system. Austrian Chancellor Sebastian Kurz has stated that he would like to implement a system based on the “Australian model,” a very cruel version of a points-based system. Donald Trump has also recently (2017) instated the RAISE Act, a bill that introduced a points-based system for immigration, which aims, on the one hand, to cut immigration in half, and, on the other hand, to reduce the immigrants entering the US to those who meet the needs of the economy by placing an emphasis on their level of education.⁸² Furthermore, due to the OMC, it is rather likely that additional EU Member States will be coerced into following in the footsteps of the best-practice examples of states that have implemented points-based systems, such as the UK.

The UK’s points-based system is based on a five-tier visa system. Tiers 1 and 2 focus on “high-value migrants” with “exceptional talent” and “skilled workers” with an emphasis on fulfilling economic needs. Tier 4 focuses on students and is education-oriented. However, Tier 3 is “designed for low-skilled workers filling specific temporary labour shortages.” This caught my attention, because while it seems that the movement of people today has been segregated into high-skilled cognitive workers and a mass of *sans papiers*, refugees, and precarious migrants, this led me to believe that perhaps the type of industrial work/ers remnant of the *gastarbeiter*

82 <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/354>

tradition may still exist in one of the tiers of the points-based system, and that this problematic system may actually provide some possibilities for a diverse work force after all. However, after reading on, the Tier 3 visa is described with the following statement: “The Government has so far never allocated any visas under this scheme. Unfortunately, this means that you cannot apply for the Tier 3 visa scheme.”⁸³ It seems that despite the smoke and mirrors, what we see in the EU today is the transformation of the *gastarbeiter* guest labor force under Postfordist conditions with the consequences of increasing the class gap in migrant labor.

One of the key factors in profiting from temporary knowledge-based migrants, and a pivotal element in defining the shift from identifying migrants as import commodities to export commodities, is the development of so-called knowledge exports. Knowledge exports stand at the juncture between intensive and extensive transformations. Different countries have different approaches and definitions of knowledge exports, with Canada, for instance, defining them as “the provision of educational products and services overseas [...] including distance education, twinning programs, offshore campuses, joint degrees, and franchised courses and programs” (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada 2007, p. 1). Australia takes a somewhat less vague approach and simply describes them, stating that “In essence, export income from education services is the sum of income to the Australian economy generated from international students studying

⁸³ <http://workpermit.com/immigration/united-kingdom/uk-five-tier-points-based-immigration-system>

onshore in Australia” (Australian government 2008, n. pag.). In other words, migrant students are export commodities in and of themselves by bringing money in through tuition and other fees – which are typically much much higher for foreign students – and leaving after their temporary stay. The financial profits from migrant students is so great that in Australia knowledge exports became the “third largest export industry on 2006–07 figures, behind coal and iron ore (\$21.9 billion and \$15.5 billion respectively), and the largest services export industry exceeding tourism (\$11.5 billion)” (Ibid.). Therefore, recruitment centers for Australian universities are increasingly expanding abroad. These recruitment centers echo the recruitment centers for guest labor of the 1960s and early 1970s, and have an interesting position in clarifying the blurring between students, migrants, and laborers in cognitive capitalism today.

By targeting foreign students, Neilson claims that Australia has created a “structural dependence” on knowledge exports in order to supplement public disinvestment in education (Neilson 2009, p. 49). In other words, a crisis of the welfare state has been remedied through displacing the financial responsibility to the most vulnerable individuals contributing to the knowledge-based economy. Ben Rosenzweig refers to these migrant students as “guest consumers,” clarifying that “The imperatives which generated these programs were not to find people who can be made to work, not to find hyper-exploitable labor, but rather people who can be made to pay” (Rosenzweig 2010, n. pag.). In the context of cognitive capitalism, being made to pay can take place on multiple levels – brain drain, tuition, visa fees,

etc. However, on the simple level of tuition fees, much like their non-migrant counterparts, students become increasingly buried under debt, unable to finish their degrees, with a whole new market developing around hedge fund managers investing in that very student debt (Dokuzović 2016, pp. 55–56). Furthermore, differentiating migrants as “skilled” and “unskilled” can help to support racist stereotypes surrounding “good” and “bad” migrants.

Segregated Movement

In a recent G20 Insights paper on forced migration, the authors discuss the large influx of migrants and refugees in recent years and the importance of refugees gaining access to the job market for establishing their independence (Kadkoy et al. 2017). The authors claim, however, that “[a]ccess to the labour market [...] is the most politically charged, and therefore the most debated sphere of socio-economic integration for refugee populations” (Ibid. p. 1). With claims of “displacing” the local workforce, refugees are blamed for fueling negative sentiments towards them, and, therefore, “lead to the deterioration of social cohesion [...] especially under adverse economic conditions” (Ibid. p. 2). Remember, a knowledge-based economy should, among other things, support social cohesion – a major focus of EU policy today, according to the Lisbon Treaty – so claiming that refugees deteriorate this in a policy paper places them as diametrically opposed to knowledge-based mobility initiatives. As a proposal to this dilemma, the authors suggest that:

The G20 should step in to mobilize the private sector in developing sustainable solutions for the global refugee crisis and endorse the establishment of Made by Refugees Special Economic Zones (MBR Zones) in refugee hosting countries. These would generate new jobs for both, refugees and locals. Here, MBR Zones are envisioned as multi-country, public-private partnership projects that involve host country governments, partner country governments, multinational companies, local firms as well as international donor agencies (Ibid. p. 4).

In other words, they suggest a path for integration in which those regarded as “unintegratable” should be quasi quarantined. Let us remember that Special Economic Zones refer to enclaves in which there is a suspension of local national laws in order for global corporations to have absolute freedom of production on foreign land. Traditionally, this exemplary model of neocolonial expropriation has led to the unregulated exploitation of laborers – most commonly in India and China, where Special Economic Zones are most prevalent. Placing refugee and migrant labor in Special Economic Zones, inhibiting them from integration as well as blaming them for destroying social cohesion in their host countries, would not least place “unskilled” migrants in a permanent state of exception.

As the needs of the economy rely on more specialized labor, the division between workers only grows. Mezzadra and Neilson correctly describe migrant workers today as “occupy[ing] different universes of migration”

(Mezzadra & Neilson 2013, p. 137). In order to elucidate just how extreme divisions can become when relying on knowledge-based criteria, let's look at an example from India. On the one hand, we see one of the fastest growing economies in the world with extreme wealth and a strong emphasis on research and development and knowledge-based economic growth at one end of the spectrum. However, at the other end of the spectrum, we see people for which the emphasis on knowledge-based meritocracy does not necessarily only filter their access to visas, it filters their access to basic rights and amenities. In 2011, I spoke with villagers in the town of Singrauli, the so-called "energy capital of India," one of the most profitable and fastest growing areas in the country, who told me about how their displaced and adivasi (tribal) populations were only granted access to electricity and water after proving they were literate or had an education. The higher the level of education, the greater their access to "public" amenities (Dokuzović 2016, pp. 172–173). Let us also remember that one of the main motivators for Paulo Freire's radical pedagogical practices was to grant voting rights to the illiterate, who were denied the right to vote in Brazil (Kahn & Kellner 2007, p. 435).

The irony – aside from the general horror – of this situation lies in the fact that in a knowledge-based economy, workers are regarded as producing profit even during times of unemployment. Referring back to Moulrier-Boutang's definition of cognitive capitalism from the beginning of this article: "There is work and activity everywhere, especially because the activity of the unemployed person, who has a rich and pollinating life [...] is directly producing wealth" (Moulrier-Boutang 2011,

p. 165). This is supported in the European Commission report on lifelong learning, which states that: “Investment in human capital is important at all points in the economic cycle; i.e. skills, gaps, and shortages can certainly co-exist with unemployment” (Council of the European Communities 2000 cited in Kendall et al. 2002, p. 11).

In Europe today, migration is punishable by law, while, at the same time, we are also seeing an expansive amount of knowledge-based mobility programs that are supported by law. However, in the past, the figure of the *gastarbeiter* was able to bridge and contradict current discrepancies in forms of movement by occupying the spaces where their temporary labor was required as well as the temporal conditions and spaces from which they came simultaneously, whereas many contemporary migrants stand out of time and place, in a perpetual in-betweenness, precariousness, and state of exception.

From the time of the *gastarbeiter*, migrant labor was regulated according to economic need, crisis, and a reserve labor force: more need, more migrants; more crisis, fewer migrants; “too many” migrants and their very existence is called a crisis in and of itself in order to limit their numbers. This logic of balancing the reserve vs. the surplus has remained to this day, but now the conditions of economic crisis and the transformations of advanced capitalism – predominantly developed to handle a crisis that began unfolding in its current form in the 1970s – have changed, and the strategies for filtering migration according to the demands of today’s knowledge-based economies have radically transformed as well, shifting an understanding of human beings from imports to exports along variable axes of economic need. We see a

segregation so radical that it's sweeping its undesirable consequences to the peripheries – in some cases, this includes Made by Refugee Special Economic Zones at the peripheries of cities, and, in some cases, it means relegating industrial production to “developing” countries in the peripheries of Europe. Whereas migrant labor from the peripheries was exploited under *gastarbeiter* agreements, it ensured certain rights to workers, it remained visible and on the surface, and helped to shape the cityscapes of host countries for years to come, as opposed to the increasingly illegalized, invisibilized, and displaced forms of exploited migrant labor today.

Several years ago, from ca. 2008–2011, Europe saw a wave of university protests against many of the transformations outlined above.⁸⁴ Most of the protest actions, occupations, and demands focused on the intensive transformations caused by the Bologna Process, which concluded in 2010. This had the consequence of appealing to the majority of the students and focused less on the problems migrant students were and still are faced with. With the increasing number of migrants coming to Europe from abroad, issues concerning the relations between knowledge production and migration will gain more and more importance in coming years. Therefore, the time is advancing in which we need to revitalize a struggle that identifies that the needs of the few are the needs of the many

84 Knowledge-based struggles – both university occupations and protests as well as struggles for access to education and rights based in knowledge – have been taking place around the world long before these protests as well as in their aftermath. However, they reached a peak when translocal spaces were able to unite in solidarity in a larger struggle that transgressed borders. For more information on this topic see (particularly part II of): Dokuzović (2016).

and that these issues are inextricably linked and will not go away any time soon just because government policies are sloppily attempting to sweep them into the peripheries.

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The Freedom of the Translator in the Age of Precarious Mobility: The Humanities, Area Studies, and Logistics⁸⁵

Jon Solomon

Border Performance: Area Studies and the Humanities in the Neoliberal University

In the following discussion, I will avail myself of a critique of the Area Studies to illustrate the general problematic of mobility and migrancy in the Humanities. In the early phases of Area Studies – prior to the 1980s – virtually no or only a few indigenous scholars or students were present in the classrooms for Area Studies courses at U.S. and other Western universities. An area and its inhabitants were distant objects with which area experts assumed no or little personal relations. Most often the very few students from the object area, who happened to be present there, were treated largely as “native informants.” Today, a sizable portion, or sometimes the majority, of such a class consists of students from the object area or who are ethnically related to it. How can we understand these changes in relation to geopolitical changes and the challenges of global population management? In view of the anticipated end of the old disciplinary formation of Area Studies, what are their purposes still worth preserving? How should we transform Area Studies so as to rejuvenate the intellectual

⁸⁵ This paper is also available in German and Chinese here: <https://transversal.at/transversal/0718/solomon/en>

productivity and critical relevance of the Humanities to current global situations? Or should we abolish the Humanities and replace them with an entirely new disciplinary formation?

As a prelude to this discussion, I would like the reader to bear in mind the inherently social aspect of knowledge production in the Area Studies. Unlike in the normative sciences, where objects of study can be of a theoretical or general nature, the objects proper to the Area Studies are thought to be an intrinsic part of the communities to which they belong. Yet, in the same way that capital names a social relation abstracted from labor power, the social relations organized by knowledge production in the Area Studies are also subject to a form of abstraction. This is not the time to theorize the passageways between these two forms of abstraction; in lieu of that discussion, what I would like to bring attention to here is the way in which a certain element of performativity plays a prominent role in suturing the two together.

In the neoliberal university, where performance in general has become the object of elaborate surveillance and self-surveillance technologies (Falter 2015), a special kind of performance has been delegated to those fields like Area Studies for which the inherently social aspect of knowledge production is always visible. Intellectual workers in these fields acquire accreditation and garner career rewards while observing linguistico-cultural borders, institutionalized as disciplinary fields. In other words, they are engaged in the task of border performance. While the borders of the various “area” fields are as often as not called into question by the work of scholars in these fields, the borders continue to play a

constitutive role in the formation of subjectivity and the desire-to-know. Crucially, they are also one of the founding gestures of the division of labor within the modern university. What then is the relation between the division of labor and the disciplinary divisions of the humanistic sciences?

It is a truism to say that the role of teaching faculty in the neoliberal university is to mediate between capital and labor. Anecdotally speaking, my personal experience bears out in a general way the truth of this statement. As a privileged member of that paltry 2% of foreign faculty members hired at the professorial level to teach a foreign language curriculum in France (Jaillet 2009, 180), yet with extensive experience in what are called “applied language” programs normally reserved for lower-ranked colleagues (a “privilege” reserved for my migrant status), I have been tasked specifically with language and culture’s role in support of economic activity. The most representative figure for the sort of mediation between capital and labor that I am expected to perform could be derived from the tourism industry. Given the importance of the tourism industry to both France and China, this derivation is not surprising. In 2016, the two countries were the first and fourth-ranked global destinations in an industry that contributes roughly the same share of global GDP (9.1%) as the global education and global communications industries, second only to education in terms of global direct employment (with 8.7% in 2011; cf. WTTC 2012). In that regard, my job is very much analogous to, if not simply a direct extension of, that of workers in the tourism industry (Schedel 2015), who are rewarded for embodying and performing in an attractive, “authentic” way, linguistico-cultural

borders, if not the implicit equivalence between language and people that is a staple of post-Romantic geopolitical organization.

Needless to say, many Humanities workers who do not view their work in this way continually inspire us with a tirelessly developed repertoire of accomplished methodologies and creative pedagogies that emphasize cross-border or trans-border phenomenon. What interests me here is rather the persistence of the infrastructural aspects of the Humanities' "operating environment" that impose specific types of performativity on workers despite the methodological and pedagogical content. If research shows that "mobile faculty are often motivated by attractive employment opportunities or a sense of duty or desire to contribute to a 'larger agenda' that they believe in" (Rumbley & De Wit 2017, 8), my case is no exception. By the same token, I am also not the only one to discover that my institutional task is inextricably implicated in sustaining and reproducing the very conditions whose critique and hopes of transformation launched me onto this professional path and migratory trajectory in the first place.

The chief reasons for this conundrum are, I submit, affective as much as epistemological. This sociality is comprised of two aspects: the first, patriarchy and discipline, concerns a general institutional condition of the Humanities; the second, the sociality of translation, is concentrated in (yet not exclusive to) those disciplines of humanistic knowledge focused on geographically- or anthropologically-defined areas – what have been called in North America since the 1950s, Area Studies.

In the neoliberal university, those facets of border performance in the pedagogical situation that intersect

with elements of institutional patriarchy in the disciplinary situation mutually reinforce each other. Gayatri Spivak was probably the first to have discovered and theorized this relation at the dawn of the neoliberal era:

When Derrida makes a critique of the discipline of philosophy the structural unconscious is seen as oedipalized. This is, I think, because the history of disciplines in the West is the history of oedipalization as such. [...] A patriarchy, however, works according to the love-hate rules of the oedipal scene which it has spent its energy proclaiming to be the correct structural explanation of all human relations. [...] In allowing the psychoanalytic argument to sweep from the irreducible structural unconscious in intentionality as such to the oedipal functioning of the disciplinary tradition, Derrida performs a critique of the disinterest that is supposed to inform all academic discussions as well as the history of ideas (Spivak 1980, 35–36).

Is it possible to speak, as Spivak does here, of a “history of disciplines in the West”? One can imagine, in preparation for an answer to this question, the enormous amount of historiographical work needed to chart out the meanings, histories, and transformation of disciplines of knowledge outside the West. One could also imagine, in lieu of that kind of work, proceeding on the assumption that such work is possible, sufficient, and valid. Upon closer examination, however, we discover that the relation between the two terms, disciplines and

the West, is not as simple as we might have hoped. The notion of history at stake is problematized by the fact that the difference marked by the West is integral to the construction of the disciplines. This is what the existence and historical genealogy of Area Studies tells us. Based on this evidence, we must admit that the West cannot be understood simply in cartographical terms, but must be understood as a trope that organizes or orients social practice – in this case the practice of knowledge production – according to a binary code of difference (what Stuart Hall famously called “the West and the Rest”). In other words, the West has a certain performative valence that is inscribed into the production of knowledge, making it a social practice.

In spite of Spivak’s somewhat careless phrasing that seems to encourage a notion of civilizational difference, her observations point to the relation, irreducibly both historical and structural, between performativity and the arealized, disciplinary organization of the modern Humanities. Unable to unpack here the elaborate critique undertaken by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in *Anti-Oedipus* (1972), of imperialism, the state, and disciplinary knowledge signaled by the term “oedipalization,” I tentatively understand it in the otherwise Derridean context evoked by Spivak quite simply as a form of dramatic staging – specifically the staging of the ontological and metaphysical work surreptitiously required to make the areal basis for the disciplinary divisions of humanistic knowledge instituted in the wake of colonial-imperial modernity seem natural and given. This is the work of focalizing ethnocentrism, logocentrism, and phonocentrism into a single unitary stack, grounded and naturalized in the form of the normative area.

The template for this area is not simply “the West,” but rather the performative link between knowledge production and population management. Hence, the relation between “the West” and the disciplines, or rather the divisions between disciplines, cannot be understood in terms of reflection, correlation, mimesis, or anamnesis, but must rather be conceived in terms of a performativity that instantiates borders of a linguistic nature the contingency of which is immediately forgotten. In that sense, “the West” operates somewhat like what Carl Jung called *lethologica*. It is like a word on the “tip of your tongue” that can neither be remembered nor fully forgotten. Yet this is a word, like all words, whose nationality is indeterminate.⁸⁶ In that sense, it is a specifically heterolingual form of *lethologica* whose heterolingual quality is nevertheless repressed.⁸⁷

Area is a concept that names not territory but the apparatus in which subjects are produced. The comprehensive relation between knowledge production and geopolitical region or area, mediated by the repressed historical contingency of the bi-polar structure of colonial-imperial modernity, constitutes together what I call the apparatus of area. The Kantian formulation of the relation between the universal and the particular, historically situated at the center of learned reflection

86 “[W]ords are indeterminate as to their nationality. At the level of the smallest units, for instance, a word is indeterminate with respect to what language unity it belongs to.” Sakai 2011.

87 Patriarchy, in the form of “mobility gatekeepers” (Cairns et. al. 2017, 4), plays, I suspect, an important role in the mechanism of forgetting essential to the apparatus of area; in lieu of a full exploration, the important point to retain for now is that patriarchal disciplinary gatekeepers are subjects that arise in relation necessarily to an area.

on the organization and role of the Humanities (Weber 1985, 15), is not just a philosophical problem. It is also a problematic put into action in the disciplinary and social organization of the Humanities as a whole in their supposed correspondence to the World. It is thus a performative act. The most characteristic form taken by this performative act throughout the colonial-imperial modernity is the gesture of qualifying everything from individual scholars to schools of thought with a geocultural appellation: a Chinese philosopher; Western theory. These appellations, invariably nations and civilizations, are both the result of the history of colonialism and imperialism as well as the index for measuring the value and positionality inherent in social relations on a global scale. The amphibological quality of areas, caught between the production of subjectivity and the capture of labor for the extraction of wealth and the accumulation of surplus value, is a defining characteristic of modernity. In Marx, it goes under the name of primitive accumulation (Walker 2019). One of the reasons why primitive accumulation has become the object of renewed theoretical interest today is because of the way in which it enables researchers to pinpoint a crucial intersection between the commodification of labor and the abstraction of anthropological difference. The name for that intersection is the production of subjectivity.

The apparatus of area is a crucible for the production of subjects. The subjects produced by this apparatus are coded by various forms of anthropological difference – a term that I use to designate a dual continuum that runs from the relation between homo sapiens and other species (typified by the animal/machine dichotomy) on the one hand to the relations among different human

communities (typified by the comparative framework of internationalism and civilizational difference) on the other. Hence, one's status as an academic worker concerns not simply the borders of the nation-state and the panoply of social differences regulated and represented by it, but also the borders of the humanistic disciplines – and I mean all disciplines, not just those that are concerned with foreign areas or specific regions. Here, we are reminded of Samuel Weber's observation about the development of disciplinary autonomy within the historical trajectory of the modern Humanities:

The university, divided into more or less isolated, self-contained departments, was the embodiment of that kind of limited universality that characterized the cognitive model of professionalism. It instituted areas of training and research, which, once established, could increasingly ignore the founding limits and limitations of the individual disciplines. Indeed, the very notion of academic 'seriousness' came increasingly to exclude reflection on the relation of one 'field' to another, and concomitantly, reflection upon the historical process by which individual disciplines established their boundaries (Weber 1987, 32).

In France, this chuckleheaded "seriousness" is accorded the status of institutional writ nowhere more clearly than in the Area Studies, making them an excellent point of departure for thinking about the areal basis of the Humanities in general.

Section 15 of the Conseil National Universitaire (CNU, “national university council”), the national administrative body that oversees career governance for faculty in Far Eastern and Near Eastern Area Studies, explicitly excludes on its official webpage work that does not “take into account local documentation in the local language” (Section 15 2018). It would be foolish, however, to place the blame for this founding exclusion, an institutionally-legitimized kind of “racism without races” (Balibar 2007), solely upon Area Studies. The doubling of the local into an identity not just between language and people but also more crucially between epistemological objects and social relations concerns the Humanities as a whole. It concerns, in other words, the distribution of the heterogeneous through an apparatus of area and anthropological difference. The main function of this foundational opposition upheld by state writ is to displace what is essentially a question of social praxis to the representational field of spatialized difference. Section 15, like the handful of other Humanities sections in the CNU all based on areal difference, is precisely the institutional locus where the Humanities impose a cartographical meaning upon otherwise unbounded social practices, and announce a convergence between the epistemological and the social in the control of norms governing population, mobility, and migration. The controls over career mobility, the core task exercised by the CNU, constitute effective leverage over other, more immaterial aspects of mobility. They institute a connection between the construction of the desire-to-know and the control over social mobility. The fact that the founding exclusion operates in the mode of an invitation to deictic common sense (“the local”) only underscores the

extent to which the notion of area is ultimately a densely theoretical concept. The effects of Area Studies, which consist precisely in suturing place and thought together in a naturalized amphibological construction (for which “Western theory” provides the essential template even when it is most ostensibly rejected), are infinitely more theoretical than philosophy itself. Philosophy, even in its function of “generalized translation” (Derrida 2004, 65), could only dream of actually producing those kinds of effects. (Hence a great deal of Derrida’s work was focused on the problem of fictionality at the heart of iterability that opens up the possibility of metaphysics in general).

From this very schematic discussion, we can draw a simple conclusion: Area Studies have been formed on the basis of a founding exclusion expressed through two elements that should, according to the ethical demands of the apparatus of area, never be brought into communication with each other: the first is the essentially comparative framework at the heart of the international world born out of the colonial-imperial modernity, and the second is the element of the common or the transnational that precedes the framework of comparison (and which is invariably effaced by it). The Area Studies can be conceived as a kind of logistical device designed to interdict inquiry into the conditions that might make legible the notion of a specifically regional, yet somehow ostensibly universal, theoretical production that is both epistemologically objective and yet socially performative at the same time. The Area Studies, in other words, contribute to the proliferation of the amphibological quality that we have identified as a generative feature of knowledge production in the colonial-imperial modernity.

The commonsense exclusion that is the founding gesture of Section 15 in France – and of the areal basis of the Humanities around the world in general – is bound up, as Samuel Weber reminds us, with a repression of the historical conditions that gave rise to the organizational matrix of the disciplinary divisions of humanistic knowledge on the one hand and the geopolitical divisions that constitute an inter-national model on the other. The bi-polar legacy of the colonial-imperial modernity – the split into the West and the Rest as well as the split into empirical and general or normative social sciences – constitutes both the history of disciplinary difference articulated to the geocultural imaginary of a postcolonial world and the repression of those differences in a framework of internationality. For the apparatus of area, the interaction between these two heterogeneous types of cross-border mobility function in essentially analogous and mutually-constitutive ways. David Johnson and Scott Michaelsen undoubtedly had something similar in view when they observed, in a volume aptly titled *Border Theory*, that “all of the disciplines and their histories must be brought to bear on the problem of the borderlands if the theorizing of it is not to be blind to the role of nationalist and capitalist ‘structure’ and ‘order’ in dominating and disciplining the border” (Johnson & Michaelsen 1997, 2). Borders, whether they pertain to disciplines of knowledge or disciplines of population management, are compositional processes that express movement through time, rather than spatialized stasis. Hence the notion of “all the disciplines” really points not to the idea of comprehensiveness but to contingency against structure. This element of contingency points to a fundamental indeterminacy and even

instability in the areal basis of the Humanities, requiring incessant “re-performance” to sustain itself. As the *lethologica* that we noted above gives rise to compulsive repetition, the figure of the Humanities worker morphs into the image of an amateur philatelist who holds a day job in the tourism industry.

The Humanities Invested in/by Logistics

In an initial phase, the theme of the guest worker can be understood in a positivistic sense as referring to the identity of a certain form of labor within a specific market. In terms of the industry of higher education, the guest worker would be only the most easily recognized figure of “academic mobility” in general. It goes without saying that such mobility cannot be understood without reference to the market conditions that structure and regulate it. Among the disparate processes involved in that process, nothing is more emblematic than higher education’s re-configuration, under the auspices of the WTO, into a part of the vast constellation of industries collectively known as the service industries. While finance, information technology and telecommunications, management, retail, and logistics are the earliest primary movers behind the institutionalization of the service industries, the category has expanded to include tourism, law, entertainment, security, healthcare, and education, etc. Many of these sectors represent practices and resources that might have been until recently considered national public goods; today, we might also recognize in them a figure of the common that comes before, and goes beyond, the historically-specific construction of the nation-state.

Within this context, the situation of academic labor reproduces an opposition internal to the attempts, within the juridical frameworks that govern service industries globally or regionally through free trade agreements, to distinguish different, hierarchical forms of labor. Dr. Jane Kelsey, one of the leading critics of the proliferation of so-called free trade agreements such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), the Trade in Services Agreement (TiSA), the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), CETA, etc., summarizes the distinction in terms of regulatory regimes: “Rich countries want to define the movement of elite workers as a ‘trade’ issue but treat the international mobility of any other kinds of workers as an immigration issue” (Kelsey 2017, 30). The regulatory regime affects labor by determining organization of the market, turning the distinction between migrancy and mobility into a political issue for the institutions of the modern nation-state. For the growing crop of globalized universities (invariably based on global English), arrangements akin to those for inter-corporate transferees and guarantees for contractual service providers (both of which are integral to FTAs such as TiSA) could provide important tools for managing global labor mobility under the guise of the trade/immigration dichotomy.

While migrant labor within universities today is often subjected to vastly differential treatment depending on which side of the immigration/trade dichotomy one falls, let us also not forget that academic labor itself reproduces this distinction internally. This point is somewhat counter-intuitive and requires explanation. First, let’s start by looking at what Dr. Kelsey has to

say about the position of labor overall in the context of the impending Trade in Services Agreement (TiSA), a transnational free trade agreement designed to create a global operating environment advantageous to the service industries: “Labour is rarely visible, except as a commodity, a mode of delivery, or a ‘barrier to trade’” (Kelsey 2017, 26). The invisibility of labor would not seem, at first glance, to have much to do with academic labor, especially since the 1990s, when it progressively becomes the object of incessant evaluation concerning precisely the indicators of visible performance. Yet when we begin to think of academic labor in general in relation to translation, the picture changes rapidly, and unseen connections appear. The much-needed attention brought to the “invisibility of the translator” during the 1990s (before the algorithmic governance that has been behind a second revolution in Logistics after the container) by Lawrence Venuti is barely the tip of the iceberg when it comes to an account of the relation between Translation and Logistics. Logistics is the name that summarizes the moments when labor in the service industries, described by Kelsey, becomes otherwise “visible”: i.e., in the “mode of delivery” of commodities, or commodified resources and services, in cross-border geography.

We should not be surprised to discover that labor in the Humanities today increasingly conforms to a logistical model. After all, that is effectively what the notion of education as a service industry implies. It is more unsettling, however, to realize that Logistics has come to represent, in a very real sense, the core mission of knowledge production in the Humanities. The primary source of that anxiety relates to the well-entrenched

notion that the Humanities are concerned above all with hermeneutics in a general sense as the quest for meaning. It is only with the advent of Communication Studies freed from the early cybernetic model of information transfer that this hermeneutical principle was thrown irrevocably into question – notably in Tiziana Terranova's *Network Culture* (2006), which explains how the infrastructural demands of establishing a channel take priority over the meanings transmitted therein. Trans-medial relationality holds that the relationships that give rise to entities, and not the supposed autonomy of the entities themselves, are the starting point for any analysis of meaning (Mechoulan 2003, 11).

The advantage of a logistical model of the Humanities lies primarily in its ability to profitably manage the performativity of borders. Capital's fundamental interest derives from the conflicting impetus to subject, on the one hand, social relations to a homogeneous measure of value, and to retain, on the other hand, a panoply of material and immaterial forms of social segmentation that index the differential value of labor commodities from which can be extracted surplus value and upon which flourish unequal regimes of accumulation. Logistics is the science of simultaneously managing these conflicting goals through the index of efficiency as an absolute value in itself. The index of efficiency is thoroughly performative. Workers are submitted to incessantly repeated performance evaluations. This type of management philosophy, based on the self-referentiality of value, conveniently provides the Humanities with a way seemingly to escape from or avoid the crisis of valorization due to the multiplicity of standards and the collapse of time as the measure of work that has come to

characterize a post-Fordist, globalized economy. It also further occults the paradoxical form of historicity and its forgetting that we saw crystallized in the disciplinary divisions of the Humanities.

Referentiality is not just a concern of hermeneutic value to the Area Studies, but is finally a key infrastructural obsession related to finance and the process of capitalist valorization (Solomon 2017). Throughout the early founding of the Area Studies in North America during the Cold War, the Area Studies were haunted by the ideal of perfect self-referentiality that took the form of hermetic enclosure – researchers in these fields could choose to be simply indifferent not only to knowledge outside of their discipline-area as well as the forms of knowledge production within their area of specialization that were not deemed authentically native (such as discussions of Hegel in Chinese), but also of the ways in which cultural knowledge in their area of specialization was related to finance, extraction, logistics, and military power on an international scale. Today, however, that dream of a perfect self-referentiality that would serve as an alibi for capitalist accumulation has been displaced from Area Studies to Logistics, increasingly indistinguishable from each other.

For the project of a politically-engaged Humanities, Logistics provides a template for understanding how the apparatus of area functions as a device for regulating subjectivity across multiple domains of knowledge production, financialization/audit culture, and global population management. One of the first lessons that the logistical perspective imparts concerns the performative aspect of borders. The logistics of borders concerns not just their deployment, surveillance, control, negotiation,

and use for capital accumulation, but also the repression of their historicity. Hence the need to constantly re-perform the border in a disciplined fashion. The logistics of borders, in other words, is a comprehensive, performative apparatus for dealing with what Samuel Weber has identified as “the ambivalence of demarcation” (Weber 1985, 15) at the heart of the multi-layered, bi-polar organization of the Humanities.

In terms of the foundational distinction between reason and culture that lies at the heart of competing philosophies about the mission of the modern university (Clark 2002; Readings 1997), the recategorization of higher education under the rubric of a service industry emblemizes a definitive transformation of that opposition. It is as if the opposition had been short-circuited by a compulsive identification of the two. The “general idea of the university as a site of cultural legislation” which “served to underwrite a vague and expressly anti-theoretical notion of [national cultural identity] as a kind of ‘meta-subject,’” has been collapsed into the “ideal of the autonomy of rational enquiry, which in practice becomes the ideal of the autonomy of a discipline” (Clark 2002, 96–97). Henceforth, the Humanities become a site of border performance essentially appended to the tourism industry as a figure of global labor management. The historical trajectories and concomitant repression of history paradoxically seen in disciplinary divisions are a crucial point of articulation for any attempt to free both the Humanities and migrant labor from the sort of subjectivation typified by the becoming-service industry of the Humanities. Hence, we should begin by heeding Brett Neilson’s call to account not just for the “philological and hermeneutic concerns”

of “traveling theory,” but also for the “infrastructural conditions of transport, communication, memory, or economy” (Neilson 2014, 132–133) that articulate the production of subjectivity to production as an economic activity. Among those infrastructural conditions, the form of performativity peculiar to disciplinary divisions or borders in their relation to the geopolitical divisions play a crucial role in establishing a paradoxical repression of history in the midst of an overtly historicizing construction.

Translation

In relation to the Humanities, nothing suggests itself as an institutional, linguistic, and corporeal practice of demarcation as strongly as translation. As Brett Neilson argues in a pathbreaking essay from 2014 on the relation between logistics and translation, if logistics might be understood broadly as the “technical operation” of globalization-for-capitalist-ends, then translation is the corresponding “social practice” that coopts various modalities, from establishing the protocols of “cultural interoperability” to redefining the role of human labor as a supplement to algorithmic processes, to that same rationality of ends.

The relation between the production of knowledge and the geopolitical organization of global populations through the apparatus of area, or again, the relation between the disciplinary divisions in the Humanities and other salient divisions in a world organized through the trope of internationality (such as the division of labor and the division of nationality concretized in the state), demands renewed attention to the labor of translation.

In an important book brimming with innovative concepts, Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson stress that the labor of translation is deeply important to border struggles (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013, 271). The labor of translation is intimately connected to the notion of migrant labor associated with the figure of the guest worker, yet for that very reason, it could easily be assumed that such labor occupies a peripheral position within the Humanities as a whole, which are still predominantly organized on a national basis (i.e., the distinction between national and foreign language continues to play the dominant organizing role, in terms, variously, of language, labor, disciplinary division, etc). On the contrary, I would like to argue, with and beyond Mezzadra and Neilson's correct assertion that, "area studies played a crucial role in a new production of the world" (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013, 42), for understanding the way in which the translation typical of Area Studies characterizes the work of the Humanities as a whole, not just the disciplines concerned with overtly "foreign" languages and areas. The labor of translation occupies a central, albeit un- or under-acknowledged, role in humanistic knowledge production, and hence, the subjectivity of the researcher-as-translator, or the unrecognized quality of a "guest worker" shared by all academic labor, is an issue of utmost importance for understanding the political link to population management and other forms of governmental technologies.

The critical review of recent theories of political economy and language undertaken by Kenneth McGill offers a useful point of reference for expanding the theory of translation labor. The one point that is particularly germane to our discussion here concerns the

notion, principally advanced by Swiss researchers Alexandre Duchêne and Monica Heller, of the commodification of language. McGill argues against Duchêne and Heller that language ought to be viewed as an economic resource rather than an object of commodification. The problem that we have with McGill's analysis begins with the very first line of his definition of the commodity and the term's presumed irrelevance for understanding the relation between language and political economy: "A commodity is an item of exchange, ..." (emphasis added). If McGill does not see the connection with language, that is probably because he is working under the assumptions of what might be called the Jakobsonian Principle of National Linguistic Normativity (named here after the way in which Naoki Sakai and Jacques Derrida have both explained Roman Jakobson's famous 1953 text about translation), namely the notion that translation is a secondary or exceptional instance of linguistic utterance, hence cannot tell us anything about linguistic norms. So even though language in the guise of translation most certainly is an "item of exchange" (that is part of what we call the modern regime of translation), this aspect of exchange can be excluded from consideration, such is McGill's implicit reasoning, because of translation's essential irrelevance to exploring language's relation to other domains and practices. McGill continues: "... particularly when this exchange occurs under the conditions provided for by a capitalist economy, one which involves the use of money as a universal equivalent, the investment of capital in means of production and the exploitation of paid labor" (McGill 2013, 196; emphasis in the original). Translation, as it is configured in the modern regime of translation,

unquestionably includes the entirety of those elements identified by McGill. It makes language an item of exchange, and in so doing presupposes a universal equivalence (based on a vague notion of referentiality combined with humanity's specific difference from other species); meanwhile the labor of translation, often invisible, is widely de-valORIZED. The implications of this configuration have become even more visible in today's knowledge economy. The investment of capital in linguistic, communicative capacity is exactly what Paolo Virno refers to in his observation that language under postfordism has become a part of the production of the means of production (Virno 2004, 61).

Yet the debate over whether language should be viewed as a commodity or as a resource (or, as McGill also considers, as, variously, an instrument, a social distinction, or an ideology) is not much more than a scholastic detail until we consider language's role in the production of subjectivity. Hence, it is time to recognize that debates about transdisciplinarity⁸⁸ cannot be content to confine themselves to relations among disciplines, but must be extended to include the problematic conjunction where the epistemological and the geopolitical meet. Yet we cannot content ourselves with a correlational mapping between the two levels that does not take into account precisely the performative aspects of their relation. The problem of transdisciplinarity, in other words, has to be considered in relation to the performativity of the apparatus of area and the anthropologically-coded subjects it produces.

⁸⁸ A discussion of transdisciplinarity in relation to Yves Citton's work on the Humanities has been cut due to lack of space (Citton 2010).

This is the approach that is implicitly taken in a fascinating intervention by Myriam Suchet, who bases her foray into the lab of the interdisciplinary on an intrinsic connection to the force of heterolingualism (understood as the identity of translational and linguistic practice in general) versus the abstraction of theory. Translation, always simultaneously a theoretical and a practical enterprise, multiplies its disregard for methodological binarism precisely through its interdisciplinary gesture of engagement with bordering. The interdisciplinary gesture is the gesture of subjectivity par excellence. Suchet explains:

Let's forget a definition of indiscipline, because it's not a question of defining it. THE INDISCIPLINARY INTERESTS ME PRECISELY TO THE EXTENT THAT IT IS A RELATIVELY POOR THEORETICAL NOTION. ITS EFFICACY CANNOT BE MEASURED A PRIORI: IT EXPERIMENTS AND EXPERIENCES (ITSELF), OR JUST TAKES A STAB AT ITSELF, AND COMES TO EXIST IN THE IMPACT (Suchet 2016, 6; capitals in the original).

What is really interesting in Suchet's formulation is the way in which the question of theory is displaced in favor of Logistics. "Efficacy" and "impact" are key terms in the vocabulary of audit culture. The engagement with Logistics continues: "Which is as much to say that it's the friction of thinking or an act that brings forth indiscipline, and not an abstract brain" (Suchet 2016, 6;

emphasis added). Friction is a category of efficiency, a quality without which efficiencies could not be measured. Yet what would be the friction of thinking? In what way could it possibly be analogous to the friction of an act?

The Freedom of the Translator?

Yann Moulier-Boutang's comments a decade-and-a-half ago about the meaning of freedom for labor deserve, in this context, to be dusted off and related anew to the curious situation of translational labor caught in the crucible of the apparatus of area today:

In its most important material dimension, freedom is the unshackled possibility, not so much to refuse all forms of constraint of an economic nature, but to withdraw from a type of work in such and such a place in order to choose another type of work, another activity, other means to make a living, elsewhere but always within the economy of exchange... (Moulier-Boutang 2001, 109).

Here we have a concretization of friction in relation to freedom. "Friction" poetically names the way in which the notion of place becomes instantiated as an economic demand for exchangeability. Two things are clear as pertains to the industry of higher education: 1) the freedom of exit is not only heavily constrained by the essentially national configuration of the industry, it is also subject to constraints from an additional layer of disciplinary divisions that are intrinsically connected to both

the repressed historicity of the modern regime of translation and the division of labor within the Humanities. 2) “The economy of exchange” organized through markets is realized in the Humanities precisely through the historical forms of translation coded by the disciplinary divisions. “The economy of exchange” upon which markets are based is realized in a very particular, and perhaps somewhat unexpected, form in the Humanities. Precisely because it is mediated through the production of knowledge which itself is the enigmatic, analogical double of other acts that constitute “the world,” we might recognize this mediating exchange as translation, in a nod to the apparatus of area, as a general problematic of academic labor in the service of capital within the modern Humanities.

While the reduction of Translation to Logistics is a tendency that has a long history, the transformation of higher education into a service industry has definitively privileged the translation of social value into exchange value, heightening the need to constantly perform borders. In this configuration, the freedom to move “elsewhere” is already registered by the apparatus of area as a form of systemic reinforcement. That is why the West can never be understood simply as a cartographic device: it is always implicated in a paradoxical scheme of logical difference articulated to repressed historical divisions. The historically- and formally-repressed quality of heterolingualism seen in the lethological term, “the West,” becomes a general condition for the accession to voice that Albert Hirschman famously identified as the complementary pole of exit, privileging the former in the valorization of knowledge production. The connection between the discipline of

national language and the discipline of areal specialization converges upon the effacement of translation as a social practice.

Resistance to the normalization of academic voice through the exclusion of exit will have to take both layers and the feedback between them into account. This point reminds us of Suchet's definition of "interpretation": "An interpretation presupposes, first of all, letting someone else speak (*céder la parole*)" (Suchet 2016, 31). The act of interpretation is premised on the possibility of more than one voice. The friction of withdrawal, or exit, from capital's capture of labor leads, in the heterolingual perspective, not to the silence of voice, but rather to the becoming-other of voice (speaking-as-other), both for those workers who "leave" as well as for those who "stay on." "Far from being untranslatable, heterolingualism reveals the function of translation: it's an operation of re-enunciation that consists of speaking as other" (Suchet 2016, 48). The challenge consists in creating the institutional conditions for "speaking as other" that are not based on the border performance typical of the Humanities and instituted specifically in the Area Studies. It is, in other words, a question of freedom.

In translation studies, the freedom of the translator is often contrasted to the importance of norms (Chesterman 2016). Yet if "academic freedom is thus an institutional affair, not solely a matter of individual free speech" (Clark 2002, 94), the institutional aspect of freedom has proved to be a particularly thorny problem for the Area Studies, given the founding exclusions that have prevented any political awareness of the historical trajectory behind the institutional arrangements composing the modern regime of

translation. An account of the historically-specific reasons why the Humanities have not been able to propose an effective alternative to becoming a service industry cannot afford to leave out a critical genealogy of the Area Studies' role as a logistical translation machine carefully situated on the institutional periphery.

Andrew Chesterman's three principles of "emancipatory translation" can helpfully enrich our theorization of academic labor as translational labor. The first, which Chesterman dubs the TIANA Principle, is "opposed to the TINA [There is no alternative] principle beloved of certain economists and politicians" (Chesterman 2016, 191). The A, which stands for "always" in Chesterman's revision of TINA ("there is no alternative" becomes "there is always an alternative"), fortuitously recalls the relation between origin and contraband undermined by iterability. Hence, Chesterman's second principle is, unsurprisingly, the Dialogical Principle inspired by Mikhail Bakhtin. Dialogue indicates the foregrounding of relationality that occurs when origin no longer occupies the position of an ontological given. To this ontology of transindividuation corresponds a politics that might be summarized, minimally, as the demolition of neoliberal Thatcherism, which holds that the individual is the only meaningful unit of analysis and no alternative is possible. Yet the object of demolition unleashed by these first two principles returns surreptitiously in Chesterman's third principle, which I have dubbed the Principle of Individuality. Rather than seeing translation as an act of transductive individuation, Chesterman takes us back, with a discussion of the legal rights and responsibilities of a translator, to the realm of the social contract based on presuppositions that amount to an implicit theory of possessive individualism.

For that reason, we might turn to Moten and Harney's emphasis on the affective principle of hapticality as a substitute for Chesterman's compromised third principle. Not individuality, but hapticality. Hapticality is a form of feeling that is neither individual nor collective, but transductive: "This form of feeling was not collective, not given to decision, not adhering or reattaching to settlement, nation, state, territory or historical story; nor was it repossessed by the group" (Moten & Harney 2013, 98). Hapticality, "the capacity to feel through others, for others to feel through you," is precisely the affective structure of translation. Translation involves speaking as other, without constituting "the other" and the "self" as individuals in the orthonomic series. Herein lies our freedom, the true freedom of translational academic labor. This is not the freedom to feel as one likes (consumerism), nor the freedom to control access for others (gatekeeper professionalism), nor the freedom to remain indifferent (disciplinary specialization and managerialism), but rather the freedom to touch and be touched by the indeterminacy, potentiality, and virtuality of what is common and shared. The freedom to translate, indisciplinarily, is the freedom to struggle for a radical transformation of the apparatus of area and anthropological difference.

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On the Envy of the Servant and the Benevolence of the Master⁸⁹

Keti Chukhrov

I: Defecation as Revenge

This anecdotal story took place in Vienna in the beginning of 1990s. After the demise of the Soviet Union, several writers from the impoverished former Soviet republic of Georgia were invited for a residency by one of the Austrian cultural foundations to be accommodated in picturesque villas in Vienna. The residency implied not only staying and traveling in Austria, but meeting with Austrian writers and artists, readings, negotiations about translation projects – in short, a collaboration and an attempt to integrate the cultural workers of post-Soviet Georgia into the “European” cultural context. In spite of such a hospitable reception, before leaving his residency, one of the well-known Georgian writers smashed furniture in his residential apartment, tore the curtains down, and defecated on the floor in the apartment.

In the film, “The Green Elephant” (*Zelioniy Slonik*, 1999), by Russian artist and filmmaker Svetlana Baskova,⁹⁰ two officers of the military service are placed

⁸⁹ This paper is also available in Georgian and German here: <https://transversal.at/transversal/0718/chukhrov/en>

⁹⁰ Svetlana Baskova is a Russian artist and film director. “The Green Elephant” – a film made in the genre of trash movie, has never been shown at a cinema or art exhibition, but it nonetheless became folklore and an Internet hit, a true people’s art, distributed at railway and Metro stations. It mirrored the most uncanny features of power

in a detainment cell for certain violations. One is an urban citizen, the other an uneducated villager. The hierarchy is immediately clear: the former is the superior, the latter is the inferior. The rural resident has no means to resist the obvious advantage and dominating position of the urban one. Hence, he tacitly complies with his inferior position and enacts the ceremony of servitude in relation to his superior companion. However, at some point the villager brings his conduct to excessive anomalous friendliness, evolving rather as grotesque impunity. As a result, the villager's carnivalesque servility is experienced as an annoying disturbance by his urban companion. Later, in response to the urban officer's snobbish irritation, the villager defecates while his roommate sleeps, spreads his excrement around, then wakes up his companion and childishly offers him his excrement as a meal on a plate.

One more episode comes from the play "Communion,"⁹¹ which unfolds as the clash of the two characters, the subaltern hired worker, Dia, and the representative of the cultural elite, designer and her employer, Nita. When Nita returns to her apartment after a meeting, she collides with Dia on her way to the toilet.

Nita:

What, were you just in my bathroom?

It's for my use only,

you know you're not allowed in that one,

distribution and primitive accumulation of the post-Soviet 1990s.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QnPUVxYt81M>

91 Keti Chukhrov, "Communion." Trans. K. Platt, M. Bojovic, S. Sandler. In: *Common Knowledge*, Vol 24, 2018 (1): 130–148. Duke University Press.

I didn't expect this from you.
I told you when I hired you.
that toilet's for me and for my guests,
and the one over there for all the workers and you.
We'll have to cut you 20 percent for that.

Dia:
I didn't mean it, I always use the other one,
I swear it was an accident, I just went in without thinking.
And hadn't you decided I'm your friend?

Nita:
What? I see, you've been taking your shits regularly here.
And I asked you so nicely, like a friend would.

Dia:
Nita, I swear, I didn't use it a single time before today,
it was a complete accident that I went in there just now.
Please don't fire me.
Remember? You're baptizing me tomorrow!

Nita (opens the bathroom door):
What a nightmare stink in there,
you couldn't even flush the toilet properly.

Dia:
Hold on, I'll clean up everything,
if there is a spiritual bond between us,
what difference does it make who shits in which toilet?

Nita:
How dare you talk to me like that,
after everything we have done to help you,
ungrateful whore.

Dia:

That's not what I meant,

I was trying to say. . .

Well, just that we are so close in spirit, our hearts are now one,

and so, the body's involved anyway,

isn't it?

Nita:

A spiritual connection is about power above all,

the power of the one with greater spirit, —

who then passes the spirit to you, shares it.

Dia:

No, Nita, I do understand,

I admire you, your spirit,

and your immaculate beauty,

I believe and hope and love,

I wouldn't give you up for anyone.

You said you would be my godmother.

That means I'm yours forever,

Then you're closer to me than my husband or son.

Scream at me as much as you like,

it's the fear of being inside us that screams,

it's not you or I,

it's the cowardly serpent inside,

we have no idea who or what we are,

mundane life invades us, makes it all dreams,

we are not we.

Nita:

Listen, enough, and I think you're taking too long with your work.

Dia:

Don't fire me, please, I beg,

Then when could you baptize me?

I thought I would gain a sister in you,

I love you. . .

Nita:

Right, I forgot about the christening.

That we will definitely do.⁹²

The act of defecation in these three cases becomes the Real that stands behind the hospitality of the superior hosts to reveal the envy and resentment of the inferior guests.

In the last two examples, though, we witness the emergence of unofficial heterotopic sites that conceal a segregation between the protagonists; they contrive fictitious equality between the explicitly unequal social agents: the inferior/the guest, and the superior/the host. These two fictitious heterotopic sites are the prison and the church: the site of punishment where all are equal, and the site of ritualistic communion, where social differences disappear. In this case, the authority of the host and the humility of the guest are disguised by the performance of brotherhood and sisterhood, by kinship.

Interestingly, the informal mode of address between the prisoners – in the organized criminal groups or mafia gangs – is “brother.” In Baskova’s film, the villager

⁹² This excerpt from the play has been translated into English from the original by Norik Badoian.

addresses his urban companion as “bratishka,” diminutive for brother. In “Communion,” too, we hear an appeal for sisterhood, which is a regular form of address in churches and monasteries. A strange potlatch takes place in this case between the superior and the inferior. The superior tempts the inferior by informal conduct and familial care, whereas the inferior provides for the superior the acts of “unofficial” devotion that surpass any social roles and institutions. The inferior, thus, alleviates the superior’s tacit guilt caused by his/her abuse of the servant, and enables the superior to fully experience his/her charitable benevolence.

Yet this informal heterotopia of “love and friendship” has its limits, being a sort of an agreed game. The problems in it arise when the “gamer,” usually the candid inferior, takes the spectacle of the “familial” bond seriously and believes that there are genuine bonds of devotion, faithfulness, dedication, or of equality and love. In that case, the inferior demands literal implementation of what, in the codex of hospitality and kinship, was simply a formal mode of rhetoric (this is what Dia, the protagonist of “The Communion,” does). And when the rhetoric of friendship, which was expected to be a heterotopic relief from instituted civic inequalities, reveals itself as nothing but a formal communicative regime – not less hypocritical than the official civic modes of institutional charity – then the inferior bursts into a rage triggered by the following inner reasoning: “if our friendship was merely a rhetoric and ‘my’ body seems too profane to construct a common body with ‘you,’ if ‘your’ true attitude to ‘me’ is condescension, then ‘I’ will provoke you to reveal what utterly stands behind this promise of friendship – indifference, fear, and contempt.”

Interestingly, parents are almost never repelled by the excrements of their little children. Likewise, siblings don't feel squeamish about it either. It's known from child psychology how often children, even when they are old enough, still crap their pants in order to test their parents' devotion. The logic of such perverse demand is the following: "if you want to prove the genuineness of your love, you can only do it by enduring my shit."

Meanwhile, at the point when the conduct of an inferior libertine reaches such a scatological level, he does not cherish any hope of getting any attention from a friended superior (unlike children who still hope to squeeze out their parents' care through naughty impunity). It is rather meant as an anarchic sacrilege that cannot be reverted to any kind of friendship anymore. Yet it still contains the lexicon of a "spoilt child's" cheeky conduct; as if implying: "aren't we the family members, didn't you say 'my home is your home'; then here I am, complying with your own offer of familial commons."

The conduct of the villager in "The Green Elephant" is precisely such an anarchic libertinage of a "spoilt child" against the indifference of a superior subject for whom this person is completely redundant. Yet we never know whether it is the genuine naivety of a candid barbarian, or the calculated revenge for misrecognition on behalf of an inferior. It is precisely at this moment when the benevolent "master," who tried to maintain this fake site of equality, becomes outraged himself. In Baskova's film, the urban prisoner, fed up by the buffooning of the villager, merely starts to mercilessly beat him. In "Communion," the rage of the servant erupts after the insolent offense by the "benevolent" master, who declared

friendship and equality just a few hours before. Dia, the repair worker, fiercely attacks the hostess, yet she does not do it at all because of an unpaid job, but because the promised friendship happened to be a false ceremony.

Thus, in the unofficial heterotopia of kinship (a quasi-feudal communicative paradigm), the hypocritical civic correctness is surpassed to be compensated by the codex of brotherhood. While the regime of legal civility fails to conceal its hypocrisy in formal lexicons, the informal regime of unofficial intimacy of “genuine friendship” enacts “sincerity,” but is thereby in danger of falling into the trap of crude violence or even a game of sado-masochism. Such sado-masochist transposition is very obvious in Baskova’s “The Green Elephant.” Similarly, when we were staging the play *Communion*,⁹³ we intended the plot to evolve as the struggle for emancipation on behalf of the guest-worker, who would bring the employer-hostess to cathartic self-critique of her hypocrisy and would thus transform her false rhetoric into genuine friendliness. Metanoia in the conduct of the hostess would assert the honesty of the worker as positioned against the false benevolence of her superior employer; but what became evident was a more complicated and malign disposition. Namely, we had to deal with the perverse sado-masochist dialectics inscribed in the intentions of both – the master and the servant. Instead of both agents becoming the potential universal subjects of emancipation, what came to the surface and remained irreversible was the twist of the host’s patronizing care into the sadistic authority, and the subversion of the servant’s concealed envy into the transgressive or scatological conduct.

93 <http://www.mg-lj.si/en/exhibitions/1695/u3-keci-cukrov/>

II: Ataraxia

In fact, Hegel in his short passage on the lord and bondsman dialectics touches upon a very subtle point of how and when the master-servant dependence is sublated. He argues that the overcoming of the lord-and-servant bond happens in stoicism. As we remember from this passage,⁹⁴ the lord is free from actual existence, does not have to do with it, and his consciousness is, therefore, independent. The bondsman, on the contrary, is submerged in producing and forming things – into existence – and hence, his consciousness is reified. The problem of the lord is, however, that while his consciousness is being for itself, is sovereign and universal, he still needs to consume, and hence retains longing for the object world. Thereby, he needs another consciousness that would deal with real things in order to assist him to mediate with reality; the master cannot get access to reality without the labor of the servant. His need in consumption and in the servant's labor confirms that the lord's independence of consciousness is not a true independence. Moreover, what is extremely important to remark is that, as Hegel states, in confining his contact with the world to merely consuming the thing, the master can only annihilate what he longs for and consumes. Only the servant's forming labor activity saves the object from total annihilation. Very important here is that Hegel disputes his own initial allegation that consciousness, for its formation and its generality, should be detached from reality and abstracted. Hegel

94 G.W.F. Hegel. *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Trans. A.V. Miller. Oxford University Press, 1977. IV. The Truth of Self-Certainty. Pp.104–139.

first alleges abstract universality as the main trait of the master's consciousness in order to later overturn his own allegation and show that it is impossible to acquire universal consciousness in complete detachment from the material world; labor is essential in the acquisition of consciousness. But the servile labor of a servant is not enough for that. Meanwhile, the master's contact with the world through the slave's labor is not the proper case of acquiring consciousness either.

This is the reason why Hegel brings forth the Stoicist state of mind. In it, consciousness truly exceeds the master-servant confrontation. A stoic manages to sublimate the split between the bondsman's submergence in the actual existence and the lord's abstracted "I." This happens because the stoicist Subject prefers not to consume at the expense of the servant, and thus rejects the position of a master. He dispenses with the servant, since the truly free consciousness is the one that is free from dependence on someone's labor for consumption, and only in the case of such liberation is the subject capable of thought, capable to uplift the activity and labor of forming to thinking (*Bildung*). Yet, as Hegel emphasizes, despite this act of liberating the consciousness, stoicism does not answer the question of where the true and the virtuous is, but it generates the contentless thinking – it seeks thought in mere reasoning.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ "But here the Notion cuts itself off from the multiplicity of things, and thus has no content in its own self, but one that is given to it. [...] To the question, What is good and true, it again gave for answer the contentless thought: The True and the Good shall consist in reasonableness. But this self-identity of thought is again only the pure form in which nothing is determined." *Ibid.* 200. P.122.

Thought and thinking do not grasp the living world in this case, because despite setting the bondsman free, the stoic does not preserve the bond with the objective world, thus enhancing the split between body and mind to an even greater extent than the feudal master; the master preserved at least a minimal bond with the world at the expense of the servant's labor. As long as the free and enlightened stoic does not need the subjugated labor, all ex-servants are allowed to become free independent citizens to exchange their labor with an ex-master on equal terms. In this figure of a stoic, Hegel in fact gives the model of an enlightened bourgeois Subject, who benevolently declines his lordship, but is nevertheless not able to provide recognition for those who are still inferior.

Being tacitly aware of his own advantage and superiority, the stoicist ex-master provides ceremonial equality for the former servant. In this situation, inequality and inferiority are disguised by the procedures of civility and its legislation. It seems at first sight that this new combination of civic equality and tacit subordination of the inferior packaged as civility derives from the stoic's hegemony in cognition and knowledge (*Bildung*). But much more important in preserving his privilege is the stoic's *ataraxia* (indifferent equanimity) – the condition that guides the stoic in his non-involvement with the world. It is exactly *ataraxia* that keeps the stoic's knowledge (*Bildung*) appropriated for his own self, and hampers him from exerting recognition of all those who do not fit into the cognitive exigencies of *Bildung*. Due to appropriated, non-shared knowledge (*ataraxia*), the stoic maintains his tacit and concealed masterhood. It is here that the mutation of the former feudal master and the enlightened bourgeois Subject takes place.

Thus, even when the former servant is legally acknowledged as a free citizen and works as a wage laborer, s/he does not become the subject of knowledge, judgement, and recognition for the “stoic.” As long as all are equals juridically, it suffices for “the stoic” to exert their civil duty in the rhetoric of solidarity for the inferior, instead of producing any general grounds for conflating the two – the knowledge and the objective world, mind and body, superiority and inferiority. Consequently, it means that those who represent cognitive inferiority are de facto a surplus for the stoicist mind, even despite any juridical equality.

In fact, the stoicist’s ataraxia subsists in the fact that, as Hegel argues, even in its detachment from the objective world, the stoic’s thought is not fully exerting such withdrawal. As Hegel puts it, “This thinking consciousness as determined in the form of abstract freedom is thus only the incomplete negation of otherness. Withdrawn from existence only into itself, it has not there achieved its consummation as absolute negation of that.”⁹⁶ Ataraxia implies such an equanimity and balance; neither a Marxian zeal of involvement with the wordly, nor the full Nietzschean detachment from it.

Does this position not remind us of the role of the contemporary progressive intellectual: an enlightened Subject standing for emancipation, who, having no social continuity with the unprivileged, speaks the languages of progressive citizenship, but has always been remote from any harsh social and cognitive deprivation?

Now let’s look more closely at the consequences of this procedure: the inferior worker is claimed as an equal citizen, an average waged worker. But while the stoicist

⁹⁶ Ibid. (201), p.122.

remains in his realm of privileged cognitive production, the inferior former servant, who is aware of the falseness of this civic rhetoric and who feels to be a surplus in relation to the subject of knowledge, simply self-employs with the neo-master, entering the illusionary heterotopia, a neo-feudal incestual “family,” a common “sincere” body of a community.

In this site of informal heterotopia, the division of labor between the host and the guest is disguised by intimacy and mateship, quite in the vein of medieval courtesy. This quasi-feudal heterotopia of “love” is as well a potential site of sado-masochist coercion, as we mentioned above; but this sado-masochist heterotopia at least saves the servant from feeling one’s redundancy, which is so obvious in the context of the civic emancipatory rhetoric of “a stoicist.”

This explains why the present rupture in populist politics is not between the wealthiest and the most impoverished, but between the enlightened transnational middle class, i.e. the carriers of global knowledge, and the obscure local masses. Moreover, the authoritarian governments and re-feudalized oligarchic clans successfully manage to set the rage of masses on enlightened “stoics,” presenting them as the global rulers despising the rabble. The “people” are thus allowed to be “spoilt” children and apply their “shit” to express their rage against their superiors.

One of the achievements of cognitive capitalism, as it was thought until recently, was its accelerative growth and the access to general intellect for the masses. Everyone remembers Maurizio Lazzarato’s term “capitalism’s communism.” However, the algorithmization and

cybernetic updating of social services and labor, or proliferation of languages of political critique and emancipation – even when claimed as accessible – were unrecognized by masses as the source of their enlightenment and welfare. In other words, diverse resources of enlightenment or of cognitive growth are not only the matter of access, but as well the matter of certain social jargon, which too often remained untranslatable and hence blank for the majority of masses.

When knowledge becomes the main capital and means of production, it is inequality in knowledge that rather causes insult and the mood of non-recognition amongst the unprivileged layers of society. Such a split diagnosed the ataractic self-referentiality and platitude of the discourses of emancipation. This is something that we, the cognitive workers, didn't fully manage to realize. For the impoverished worker, it is easier to identify with the oligarch's financial wealth than with the enlightened progressive intelligentsia, even if it is socially and economically precarious. The unrevealed latent "master" in such a situation is precisely that very stoicist subject claiming emancipation – i.e. cognitive intelligentsia.

Hence, it is no surprise that in almost all post-socialist countries neo-liberal "democratic" governments had been overtaken by national anti-globalist and "anti-neoliberal" conservative oligarchies, which are openly supported not only by former communist organizations (often former communist party remainders), but even by certain grassroots left communities. Openly demonstrating contempt to the global cultural or academic fields, these grassroots leftist anti-globalists often regard conservative leaders, or even the heads of

national oligarchies – Erdogan, Orban, Putin, Trump, Ivanishvili – as the Syriza-type resistance against global financial and cultural bureaucracy. Therefore, only a more sophisticated view of the conservative turn would enable us to see that traditionalism and the restitution of religiosity might not be the case of utter faith or a protection of essential values. The real intention behind cultural traditionalism and regionalization is not a fight against modernity. On the contrary, it is the revolt and envy for not being apt for the enlightened and emancipated techno-contemporaneity and its lexicons.

The ataractic disregard of the cognitively illegible layers of society by progressive intelligentsia created the illusion of two models of capitalism functioning simultaneously – democratic global financial capitalism; and the resource, territorial, and autocratic one, pretending to be anti-capitalist in form, and in fact being capitalist in content. Meanwhile, both modes of capitalism are definitely the two sides of the same coin.

III: The Proletariat as the Subject of Thought and Enlightenment

Who could then be the universal subject of knowledge and consciousness that would be able to connect the abstraction of thought and the concreteness of the formation of things, i.e. the body and the mind? Historically, the Subject that would acquire the consciousness that is both general in its speculative scale, but also concrete in the application of this generality within the objective existence, was the proletariat. It was only the proletariat that was endowed by Marx with the capacity to turn labor into overall generalized knowledge and *Bildung*.

In *The History and Class Consciousness* (1923), Lukacs claims that the proletariat's class consciousness is in fact the production of what consciousness has to be *per se*. Otherwise, the bourgeois consciousness is not yet any consciousness at all. (A similar argument belongs to Andrey Platonov, who wrote that "the soul of the bourgeoisie is desire and sexuality," whereas "the soul of proletariat is consciousness.")⁹⁷

What is striking when watching the documentary materials of the Comintern congress of 1921 is that most of those brilliant communist proponents of proletarian revolution – Lenin, Radek, Trotsky – belonged to the middle class, to the intelligentsia, to the enlightened bourgeoisie. Nonetheless, it was they who initiated an empowerment of the proletariat as the universal subject of history to then institute its after-revolutionary dictatorship. Such a disposition – that middle class, leftist cultural workers construct social continuity with the most disadvantaged working layers of society, and moreover, establish this subjugated subjectivity as the avant-garde of emancipation – would be unimaginable today. Why was it possible then and not now? Should we ascribe it to a historical moment, to the proliferation of grassroots movements then and their lack now? Is the proletariat merely a politically organized working class? Or does this concept bear something more than merely social emancipation?

The proletariat, as we remember, is the class that transcends its servile social condition by acquiring an almost fantastic stance of consciousness, in which it surpasses its own deprivation to conceptually and ontoethically posit a

⁹⁷ Andrey Platonov. "But a Man as one Soul" (*No Odná Dusha u Cheloveka*, 1924). In: Andrey Platonov. *State Resident*. (*Gosudastvenny Zitel*). Moscow: Sovetsky Pisatel, 1988. P. 532.

universal withering away of any deprivation. Meanwhile, in this acquisition of a universality of consciousness, a proletarian is not only the avant-garde of political emancipation, or a historical Subject, but a supreme philosophic Subject. It is worth mentioning in this connection that Marx's eleventh thesis on Feuerbach, which is traditionally interpreted as a dismissal of philosophy in favor of social practice, might acquire a converse meaning. This thesis might be understood, on the contrary, as a totalization of philosophy, as positing the lowest and most disadvantaged social layers in the role of the enlightened, the philosophical – as simply making philosophy a mundane habit of each and all, rather than claiming its expulsion from social and political practice.

It is in this sense that the proletariat is not only the principal subject of deprivation, but also the principal Subject of enlightenment, mind, thought, and knowledge, embodying the most developed stage of consciousness even before the proletariat's nominal skills in education, technologies or productive forces could guarantee such progress. The Comintern revolutionaries, which by origin may have often been from the intelligentsia, or even the gentry, were not merely departing from defending the interests of the oppressed, or even worse, pretending to be oppressed themselves – the aberration that is often the case with today's cognitive precariat; but they posited the oppressed as the supreme Subject of knowledge and thought when generating the conceptual social construct of the proletariat – thus practicing a radical anti-ataraxia.

The Comintern revolutionaries consolidating with the proletariat were those post-stoics who voluntarily dismissed their cognitive hegemony in favor of another, more universal consciousness outlined in the

subjectivity of the deprived laborer. What is thus fantastic in the notion of the proletariat is that it endows the subject of utmost deprivation with the supreme ideational power of mind ahead of any educational, cognitive or institutional amplification of it. This standpoint is enacted before Bildung among the socially deprived could be duly distributed among them, i.e. completely prematurely. Let's imagine that someone is claimed a philosophic Subject before s/he has acquired sufficient productive and institutional means, or simply skills, to confirm this position. Such an act is conditioned not by condescending assistance to integrate the Inferior, but, on the contrary, it would engage the ethics in which it is precisely deprivation that becomes the point of departure for constructing the universal subject of knowledge, thought, and a common good. Such necessity is conditioned by the fact that for Marx only proletarian consciousness by the token of its utmost deprivation could be truly able to mirror the objectivity of being; hence it de facto could represent the most generalized, universal and socialized mode of mind. We have then a supreme subject of mind/knowledge and common good before that subject could provide a proper edification to represent its role. Yet exactly this premature act of empowering and instituting the still immature Subject of enlightenment was the paradoxical task of the October Revolution.

Überlegungen zur Geschichte der „Gastarbeit“⁹⁸

Stefan Nowotny

„Le Gastarbeiter à la française“

Das Kapitel „Gastarbeiter“ aus Gérard Noiriels *Le creuset français*, einem Standardwerk der französischen Migrationsgeschichtsschreibung, entfaltet ein Panorama der Tätigkeitsfelder von Arbeitsmigrant*innen in Frankreich.⁹⁹ Es spricht von flämischen, später polnischen Saisonarbeiter*innen in den ländlichen Gegenden des Nordens, spanischen Weinlesehelfer*innen im Süden, Saisonniers aus dem Piemont, die sich auf Blumen-, Lavendel- und Olivenernte in der Provence spezialisierten, einer wachsenden Zahl von Arbeitskräften ungenannt bleibender Herkunft in Chemieindustrie, Minenbau, Nahrungsmittelverarbeitung und Bauwirtschaft, jüdischen Hutmacher*innen im Pariser Viertel Marais, armenischen Textilarbeiter*innen in an Paris angrenzenden Banlieue-Gemeinden, später jugoslawischen und türkischen Konfektionsarbeiter*innen im Quartier du Sentier, und schließlich dem Bereich der Hausarbeit, die, im Unterschied zu den anderen genannten Bereichen, vor allem von Frauen ausgeübt wurde.

In statistischer Analyse hebt Noiriel drei Konstanten hervor, durch die sich die Bevölkerungsgruppe der

⁹⁸ This paper is also available in English and Croatian here: <https://transversal.at/transversal/0718/nowotny/de>

⁹⁹ Vgl. Gérard Noiriel, *Le creuset français. Histoire de l'immigration, XIXe–XXe siècle*, aktualisierte und um ein Vorwort ergänzte Ausgabe, Paris: Éditions du Seuil 2006 [Erstauf. 1988], S. 137–144.

„Gastarbeiter“ von der etablierten französischen Bevölkerung strukturell unterscheidet: 1) eine generelle, wenngleich nicht in allen Bereichen bestehende Überrepräsentation von männlichen Arbeitskräften; 2) eine Überrepräsentation bestimmter Altersgruppen, nämlich derer, die „am produktivsten“ sind; und 3) eine Überrepräsentation hinsichtlich bestimmter „Pole der verachteten Arbeit“, als die Noiriels a) körperlich besonders anstrengende Arbeiten, b) von zunehmender Automatisierung geprägte Arbeitsfelder sowie c) eben den Bereich der Hausarbeit identifiziert.

Ich werde auf Details der Analyse Noiriels hier nicht weiter eingehen, sondern mich stattdessen dem Umstand zuwenden, dass er in der Tat das deutsche Wort „Gastarbeiter“ als Titel für das betreffende Kapitel wählt, obwohl in diesem an keiner Stelle von Migrationsverhältnissen in deutschsprachigen Ländern die Rede ist. Noiriels erklärt sich nicht über diese Entscheidung. Und auf den ersten Blick mag an ihr vielleicht auch nichts merkwürdig erscheinen, wenn wir beispielsweise im Hinblick auf „le Gastarbeiter à la française“ lesen: „[...] man lädt ihn ein, man wirbt ihn an, man behält ihn, damit er in Tätigkeitsbereichen arbeite, die von den Einheimischen abgelehnt werden“¹⁰⁰ – womit wohlbekannte Aspekte dessen angesprochen sind, was sich auch in den deutschsprachigen Ländern mit der Figur des „Gastarbeiters“ verband.

Merkwürdig ist unterdessen, dass die Verwendung des deutschen Wortes auf das Fehlen eines Namens schließen lässt, der sich im Französischen als Übersetzung von „Gastarbeiter“ eignen würde. Tatsächlich

¹⁰⁰Ebd., S. 140.

scheinen Begriffe wie *travailleur étranger* („ausländischer Arbeiter“) oder *travailleur immigré* („eingewanderter Arbeiter“) nicht zureichend, um die Sache zu benennen, um die es geht, und noch weniger, um die Existenz, das Leben zu benennen, um das es geht. Andererseits wirft ein Ausdruck wie „*travailleur invité*“ – der im Französischen mitunter als wörtliche Übersetzung von „Gastarbeiter“ vorgeschlagen wird, ansonsten aber durchaus ungebräuchlich ist – Fragen auf, die in der oben zitierten Stelle aus Noiriels Buch mit einer gewissen Deutlichkeit anklingen: Wie soll man sich einen „Gast“ vorstellen, dessen zentrale Aufgabe es ist, zu arbeiten? Was bedeutet es, jemanden „einzuladen“, um ihn oder sie auf Tätigkeiten zu verpflichten, die man selbst ablehnt und verachtet?

Im Deutschen mag die Sensibilität gegenüber diesen Fragen der sprachlichen Gewöhnung zum Opfer gefallen sein. Im Französischen wie auch in anderen Sprachen hingegen kann von einer diesbezüglichen sprachlichen Desensibilisierung nicht ausgegangen werden. Das merkwürdige deutsche Wort „Gastarbeiter“ lässt sich daher ins Französische zwar gewissermaßen „übertragen“ (in einem Sinn, den ich hier offenlassen muss), aber nicht durch ein „gleichwertiges“ französisches Wort wiedergeben. Und doch scheint es einen Grund zu geben, es zu verwenden, um „*le Gastarbeiter à la française*“ zu verstehen. Kurz, seine Präsenz in Noiriels Buch zeigt ein Problem an. Aber welches Problem?

Einbeziehung und Abstoßung

Es geht mir hier nicht in erster Linie darum, an die – berechtigte – Kritik des Wortes „Gastarbeiter“ als Euphemismus zu erinnern oder an den Umstand, dass seine Prägung in die späte Nazi-Zeit bzw. den Kontext der Mobilisierung ausländischer Arbeitskräfte seitens einer bis zum Kollaps expandierenden Kriegswirtschaft zurückreicht. So wichtig diese Erinnerung einerseits ist, so sehr bestätigt sie doch andererseits einen bestimmten historisch-politischen Rahmen, in den die Figur des „Gastarbeiters“ gewöhnlich eingeordnet wird. Diesem Rahmen entsprechend handelt es sich bei der Periode der „Gastarbeit“ um einen begrenzten Zeitraum, der sich grob gesprochen zwischen der Mitte der 1950er-Jahre und der durch den Ölpreisschock ausgelösten Wirtschaftskrise 1973 erstreckte, der durch ein „Entwicklungsgefälle“ zwischen nord(west)europäischen und südeuropäischen bzw. zum Teil nordafrikanischen Ländern in den Jahrzehnten nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg geprägt war und in dem zwischen den betreffenden Staaten bilaterale Anwerbeabkommen über den (mehr oder weniger temporären) Transfer von Arbeitskräften abgeschlossen wurden.¹⁰¹ Die geographische Reichweite dieses „Transfers“ geht selbstverständlich, bei unterschiedlichen Bezeichnungen, über den deutschsprachigen Raum weit hinaus. Seine historische Reichweite bleibt in diesem Narrativ jedoch eng umrissen. Und so erscheinen das Unbehagen und die Fragen, die sich an das Wort „Gastarbeiter“ knüpfen, einerseits als

101 Vgl. z. B. Klaus Bade, *Europa in Bewegung. Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, München: Beck 2002 [Erstaufl. 2000], bes. das Kapitel „Arbeitsmigration: ‚Gastarbeiter‘ – Einwanderer – ‚Illegale‘“, S. 314–331.

Besonderheiten insbesondere der deutschen und österreichischen Geschichte, während andererseits die emblematische Assoziation des Wortes mit der Periode des „Wiederaufbaus“ unbefragt bleibt.

Noiriels „Übertragung“ des deutschen Wortes in den Kontext einer französischen Migrationsgeschichtsschreibung beinhaltet indessen nicht nur eine geographische Verschiebung. Sie verschiebt auch den historischen Referenzrahmen der „Gastarbeit“: Eine Vielzahl der eingangs wiedergegebenen Beispiele betreffen das späte 19. oder frühe 20. Jahrhundert, der überblickte Zeitraum erstreckt sich von etwa 1850 bis in die Mitte der 1980er Jahre und Noiriels Analyse konzentriert sich vor dem Hintergrund der Auswertung verfügbarer Zensusdaten auf „drei Momente, die die Kurve als Höhepunkte der ausländischen Präsenz in Frankreich erscheinen lässt: 1891–1901 (erste professionelle Einwanderungsstatistiken), 1931 und 1975.“¹⁰² Diese Ausweitung des historischen Referenzrahmens hat, so scheint mir, ebenfalls mit einem Unbehagen an dem Wort „Gastarbeiter“ zu tun – einem Unbehagen jedoch, das weniger in deutschen als in französischen sprachlichen Sensibilitäten begründet liegt oder vielmehr in den Fragen, die durch die seltsame Figur eines „travailleur invité“ aufgeworfen werden, für die das Französische keinen passenden Namen bereitstellt.

Die weiter oben gestellte Frage ist in diesem Sinne beim Wort zu nehmen: Was bedeutet es, jemanden „einzuladen“, um ihn oder sie auf Tätigkeiten zu verpflichten, die man selbst ablehnt und verachtet? Oder anders: Wie ist ein Modus der Einbindung oder der Einbeziehung zu verstehen, der seine Bedingung in etwas hat, das gleichzeitig

102 G. Noiriels, *Le creuset français*, S. 138.

aus dem eigenen Leben abgespaltet wird? Begriffe wie *travailleur étranger* oder *travailleur immigré* drücken ein Verhältnis der Einbeziehung nicht aus, weil sie bloß die Fremdheit oder andere Herkunft benennen, über die Aktivität der „Einladung“ aber Stillschweigen bewahren. Andererseits drückt noch nicht einmal *„travailleur invité“* die mit der Einladung verbundene Abspaltung deutlich aus, es sei denn dadurch, dass die Einladung eben einem „Arbeiter“ gilt und nicht etwa einem *convive*, mit dem zusammen man lebt oder Leben teilt.

Und das deutsche „Gast“? Ein Gast kann willkommen geheißen werden oder als jemand betrachtet werden, der oder die über eingeschränkte Rechte verfügt, unabhängig davon, ob eine Einladung ausgesprochen wurde oder nicht. Im Falle des „Gastarbeiters“ haben wir es indessen in jedem Fall mit einem „Gast“ zu tun, der eingeladen wurde und sich zugleich auf eingeschränkte Rechte verweisen sieht. Mit anderen Worten, die Figur des „Gastarbeiters“ wird konstituiert durch eine Einschließungsbedingung, die zugleich durch eine Ausschließungsbedingung (oder jedenfalls eine Einschränkung der Einschließung) überlagert wird. Es ist diese Überlagerung von Inklusion und Exklusion – der Einbeziehung von Arbeitskräften, die von bestimmten Rechten ausgeschlossen sind –, der ich in den folgenden Überlegungen nachgehen möchte.

Lohnarbeit und Arbeitsmigration

Um diese Überlagerung zu verstehen, erscheint es mir zunächst unerlässlich, an jenen Prozess zu erinnern, den André Gorz als „Erfindung der Arbeit“ bezeichnet hat.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Vgl. André Gorz, Kritik der ökonomischen Vernunft. Sinnfra-

Arbeit, wie sie in modernen Verhältnissen zusehends erfahren wurde, ist demnach nicht unabhängig von einer tiefgreifenden Umwälzung der Lebensweisen zu verstehen, die zum einen im scharfen Kontrast zur Trennung von Arbeitssphäre (als Sphäre der Notwendigkeit) und öffentlich-politischer Sphäre (als Sphäre der Freiheit) in der europäischen Antike steht. „Arbeiten hieß Sklave der Notwendigkeit sein“¹⁰⁴, schrieb Hannah Arendt (auf deren Analysen sich Gorz zentral stützt) in Bezug auf die griechische Polis, weswegen die Einrichtung der Sklaverei als Konstitutionsbedingung einer Gesellschaft freier männlicher „Bürger“ Arendt zufolge noch nicht einmal der Rechtfertigung bedurfte. In der Moderne hingegen, so Gorz, werde Arbeit nicht nur zu einem Teil der öffentlichen Sphäre, sondern zu einer wesentlichen Vorbedingung sozialer Anerkennung.

Zum anderen, und im unmittelbareren historischen Zusammenhang, geht der Prozess der Durchsetzung moderner Arbeitsregime mit der Auflösung von Wirtschafts-, Produktions- und sozialen Lebensformen einher, wie sie etwa in der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion oder in den Hausindustrien bestanden, solange Orte des sozialen Lebens und Arbeits- bzw. Produktionsorte nicht zusehends voneinander getrennt und den Imperativen der Rationalisierung und Profitmaximierung unterworfen wurden. Gorz' zentrale Referenz in dieser Hinsicht ist Max Webers exemplarische Beschreibung des Wandels der Tätigkeiten von Textilunternehmern

gen am Ende der Arbeitsgesellschaft, übers. v. Otto Kallscheuer, Zürich: Rotpunktverlag 2010 [Orig.: *Métamorphoses du travail, quête du sens*, 1988], S. 39–54.

104 Hannah Arendt, *Vita activa oder Vom tätigen Leben*, München u. Zürich: Piper 1981 [Orig.: *The Human Condition*, 1958], S. 78.

seit Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts, der mit einer Erhöhung unternehmerischer Mobilität, wachsendem Konkurrenzkampf sowie einer tiefgreifenden Transformation der Beziehungen sowohl zu landwirtschaftlichen Produzent*innen (Kontrolle der Produktivität) als auch zu Kund*innen (persönliche Werbung) einherging.¹⁰⁵

Der Gegenstand von Gorz' Analyse ist vertraut: Es handelt sich um die Etablierung eines immer weitere Bereiche durchdringenden Systems der Lohnarbeit, wie es am machtvollsten in der Entwicklung des Industriekapitalismus in Erscheinung trat; oder, mit den Worten Marx', eines vermittels der Lohnarbeit durchgesetzten Regimes der „abstrakten Arbeit“, die „absolut gleichgültig gegen ihre besondere Bestimmtheit, aber jeder Bestimmtheit fähig“¹⁰⁶ ist. Es ist diese Kombination von Unbestimmtheit und endloser Bestimmbarkeit, die charakteristisch ist für das moderne Regime der Arbeit und es zugleich ins Zentrum der Konstitution gesellschaftlicher Verhältnisse rückt. Deshalb ist Arbeit in der Moderne etwas, das „wir ‚haben‘, ‚suchen‘ oder ‚anbieten“ (Gorz), wobei die Bestimmung und Anerkennung von Arbeit nicht länger von der verrichteten Tätigkeit selbst oder ihrer Nützlichkeit abhängt, sondern von der Entlohnung, die für sie in wechselnden Verhältnissen in Aussicht gestellt wird. Und deshalb auch beginnen mit dem modernen Lohnarbeitsverhältnis Produktion und Konsumtion zusehends auseinanderzutreten, indem ihr Zusammenhang von Geld und Warenzirkulation

105 Vgl. Max Weber, Die protestantische Ethik und der „Geist“ des Kapitalismus, Wiesbaden: Springer 2016 [1904/05 bzw. 1920], S. 52 f.

106 Karl Marx, Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie, MEW 42, Berlin: Dietz 1983 [1857/58], S. 218.

bestimmt wird, ohne dass das konkrete soziale Subjekt produziert, was von ihm konsumiert wird, oder konsumiert, was von ihm produziert wird.¹⁰⁷

Bemerkenswert ist indessen, dass sich Gorz' Buch über den Zusammenhang zwischen dieser „Erfindung der Arbeit“ und der Frage der Migration weitgehend ausschweigt. Das ist umso merkwürdiger, als die Etablierung des kapitalistischen Lohnarbeitsregimes nicht unabhängig von einer Vielzahl von Wanderungsprozessen gesehen werden kann, die eng mit der – von Gorz betonten – Auflösung „traditioneller“ Lebens- und Wirtschaftsformen verknüpft waren. Dies hat einerseits mit den Effekten der Kapitalisierung der Landwirtschaft zu tun, die Saskia Sassen folgendermaßen zusammengefasst hat:

Kapitalismus transformiert Land in eine Ware. Denn Land war die Grundlage für nicht-kapitalistische Formen der Subsistenz, seine Kommodifizierung ließ eine Masse an Landbevölkerung ohne Land zurück, der wenig anderes übrig blieb, als Teil der städtischen Arbeitskraftreserve zu werden.¹⁰⁸

Hinzuzufügen bleibt, dass Zuwanderung in die im 19. Jahrhundert entstehenden industriellen Zentren nicht die einzige Form der Arbeitsmigration war, die in diesem Zusammenhang zu nennen ist; es entwickelte sich auch eine Intensivierung von saisonalen Wanderungen

107 Vgl. A. Gorz, Kritik der ökonomischen Vernunft, S. 53 f.

108 Saskia Sassen-Koob, „Towards a Conceptualization of Immigrant Labor“, in: Social Problems, Jg. 29, Nr. 1 (Oktober 1981), S. 65–85, hier: S. 67.

im Bereich der Landarbeit selbst, deren Charakter sich vor dem Hintergrund der Einhegung und Privatisierung von Land und der Entstehung landwirtschaftlicher Großbetriebe zusehends von der Möglichkeit der Subsistenzsicherung hin zur Einbindung in – kurzfristige – Lohnarbeitsverhältnisse verschob.¹⁰⁹ Andererseits entstanden intensivierete Prozesse der Arbeitsmigration aber auch in Verbindung mit der allmählichen Auflösung der Hausindustrien und einer Entwicklung des ländlichen Gewerbes, die durch wachsende Ausdifferenzierung von armen und reichen Regionen, die zunehmende Konzentration der Weiterverarbeitung und Vermarktung von Produkten in Städten und schließlich durch die Dominanz industrieller Produktions- und Verarbeitungszentren geprägt war.

Ohne den konkreten Formen dieser Migration hier auch nur ansatzweise nachgehen zu können: Entscheidend für unseren Diskussionszusammenhang ist, dass die von Gorz beschriebene „Erfindung der Arbeit“ nicht unabhängig von einer Mobilisierung von Arbeitskräften im buchstäblichen, physischen Sinn verstanden werden kann, die sowohl innerstaatliche als auch zwischenstaatliche Wanderungsbewegungen betraf. Man sollte sich die Einbeziehungsmaschine, die das moderne Arbeitsregime konstituiert, nicht ausschließlich am Leitbild von lokalen Einschließungsmilieus wie den Manufakturen oder industriellen Fabriken vorstellen, sondern von Anfang an auch als Mobilitätsmaschine. Ebenso sind die von Marx beschriebenen Charakteristika „Wechsel der

109 Vgl. Saskia Sassen, *Migranten, Siedler, Flüchtlinge. Von der Massenauswanderung zur Festung Europa*, übers. v. Irmgard Hölscher, Frankfurt/M.: Fischer 32000 [Orig. *Guests and Aliens*, 1999], S. 53–66.

Arbeit, Fluss der Funktion, allseitige Beweglichkeit des Arbeiters“ nicht ausschließlich durch die „Natur der großen Industrie“ bedingt¹¹⁰, sondern kennzeichnen das moderne Lohnarbeitsregime als solches. „Abstrakte Arbeit“ und Migration sind in ihm von Beginn an aufs Engste miteinander verknüpft, auch wenn die Modalitäten dieser Verknüpfung historischen Transformationen unterliegen (und auch wenn es selbstverständlich vormoderne Formen der arbeitsbezogenen Wanderung gab).

Bedingung(en) der Vertraglichkeit

Umso mehr gilt es Gorz' Argument näher zu diskutieren, dass in modernen Verhältnissen, anders als in der Antike, gerade die Arbeit zur Bedingung der Zugehörigkeit zur öffentlichen Sphäre wird. Denn im Hinblick auf die genannten Prozesse der Arbeitsmigration stellt sich die Frage, inwiefern sich die Inklusion in das Lohnarbeitsverhältnis tatsächlich mit einer Inklusion in eine politische Öffentlichkeit verbindet – und zwar insbesondere dann, wenn es sich um staatliche Grenzen überschreitende Migrationsprozesse handelt und sich folglich das Regime der Inklusion in Arbeitsverhältnisse mit staatlich begründeten Regimen der juristisch-politischen Exklusion (bzw. der Einschränkung von Inklusion) überlagert.

Das Wort „Gast“ mag in diesem Zusammenhang zunächst an den (in jüngerer Vergangenheit oft zitierten) „Dritten Definitivartikel“ aus Kants Schrift *Zum ewigen Frieden denken lassen*, der sowohl ein überstaatliches

110 Vgl. Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Band I, MEW 23, Berlin: Dietz 1962 [1867], S. 511.

Weltbürgerrecht als auch dessen zwischenstaatliche Einschränkung formuliert: „Das Weltbürgerrecht soll auf Bedingungen der allgemeinen Hospitalität eingeschränkt sein.“¹¹¹ Allerdings bedeutet „Hospitalität“ für Kant bloß „das Recht eines Fremdlings, seiner Ankunft auf dem Boden eines andern wegen, von diesem nicht feindselig behandelt zu werden“ und wird ausdrücklich von einem Gastrecht unterschieden: „Es ist kein Gastrecht, worauf dieser Anspruch machen kann (wozu ein besonderer wohlthätiger Vertrag erfordert werden würde, ihn auf eine gewisse Zeit zum Hausgenossen zu machen), sondern ein Besuchsrecht, welches allen Menschen zusteht, sich zur Gesellschaft anzubieten [...].“ Vor allem aber: Kant spricht die Frage der Arbeit an keiner Stelle an, weder in seinen Ausführungen zum „Dritten Definitivartikel“ noch auch anderswo in seinem Entwurf Zum ewigen Frieden. Der „wohlthätige Vertrag“, von dem im Zitat die Rede ist, gehört für ihn in den Bereich der Philanthropie und eignet sich somit kaum dazu, auf die Frage der Arbeitsmigration angewandt zu werden. Die eingeschränkte rechtliche Inklusion des „Fremdlings“ begründet sich für Kant aus „[dem Recht] des gemeinschaftlichen Besitzes der Oberfläche der Erde, auf der, als Kugelfläche, [die Menschen] sich nicht ins Unendliche zerstreuen können, sondern endlich sich doch neben einander dulden zu müssen“ – und nicht aus den aktiven Modalitäten eines Inklusionsregimes wie der Lohnarbeit.

Ich erinnere daher daran, dass der Kontrast zwischen der modernen „Erfindung der Arbeit“ und der antiken Trennung von Arbeit und Öffentlichkeit

111 Vgl. Immanuel Kant, Zum ewigen Frieden. Ein philosophischer Entwurf, in: Werke, Band 11, Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp 1977, S. 213–217.

Gorz zufolge mit der Abkehr von der strikten antiken Trennung zwischen einer durch die Öffentlichkeit der Polis konstituierten Sphäre der Freiheit und einer Sphäre der Notwendigkeit zu tun hat, die nicht durch die Kugelfläche der Erde, sondern durch Arbeit bedingt ist. Wie aber, so ist im Gegenzug zu fragen, verbinden sich Notwendigkeit und Freiheit im modernen Lohnarbeitsverhältnis? Ich möchte hier nur einen Aspekt hervorheben, der für unseren Zusammenhang allerdings zentral ist, weil er spezifisch die Frage der rechtlichen Inklusion betrifft: den vertraglichen Charakter der Lohnarbeit, der historisch zugleich einen gewissen Zugang zur öffentlichen Sphäre in Gestalt des öffentlichen Rechts sicherstellt (und andererseits jenen verwehrt, die außerhalb des Lohnarbeitsverhältnisses tätig sind).

Robert Castel hat diese Frage des vertraglichen Charakters der Lohnarbeit ins Zentrum seiner Studie *Die Metamorphosen der sozialen Frage* gestellt und dabei nicht nur ihre Herkunft aus Systemen der Fronarbeit und Vormundschaft betont, sondern auch die Widersprüchlichkeiten der Neuordnung von „Freiheit“ und „Notwendigkeit“ unter den Vorzeichen des Liberalismus und des politisch-juridischen Formalismus der Aufklärung. Der moderne Arbeitsvertrag garantiert zwar formell Freiheit – im Sinne eines freien Zugangs zum (Arbeits-)Markt, auf dem die individuelle Arbeitskraft selbst zur handelbaren Ware wird, sowie der Möglichkeit der Aufkündigung des Vertragsverhältnisses seitens beider Parteien. Doch ist nicht nur der Handel mit der eigenen Arbeitskraft in dem Maße zunehmend der Notwendigkeit unterworfen, wie andere Möglichkeiten der Subsistenzsicherung

schwinden, sondern „die Situation des Lohnarbeiters [bleibt] über lange Zeit mit Prekarität und Unglück konnotiert“¹¹².

Zu Recht stellt Castel die Genese des modernen Arbeitsvertrages in den Zusammenhang einer „liberalen“ Aufklärung, die sich von transzendent begründeten Ordnungen vor allem vermittels zweier gesellschafts-immanenter Legitimationsstrategien zu befreien sucht – das Recht bzw. die Idee der vertraglichen Verfasstheit der Gesellschaft sowie die Rationalität der politischen Ökonomie:

Im Denken der Aufklärer hört die Gesellschaft auf, Ausfluss einer transzendenten Ordnung zu sein, sie trägt das Prinzip ihrer Organisation in sich selbst. Der Markt und der Vertrag sind die Operatoren dieses Übergangs von einer transzendenten Grundlegung zur Immanenz der Gesellschaft. Der Rückgriff auf den Vertrag – die einzig vom Willen der *citoyens* hervorgebrachte Grundlage der Gesellschaftsordnung, der *contrat social* Rousseaus – bedeutet, dass die gesellschaftlichen Subjekte sich selbst als Kollektiv schaffen, anstatt von einem äußeren Willen überragt zu werden, der sie von oben beherrscht. [...] Fast gleichzeitig entdeckt Adam Smith die ausschlaggebende Rolle des Marktes, „des vom Willen

112 Robert Castel, *Die Metamorphosen der sozialen Frage. Eine Chronik der Lohnarbeit*, übers. v. Andreas Pfeuffer, Konstanz: UVK 2000 [Orig. *Les métamorphoses de la question sociale. Une chronique du salariat*, 1995], S. 16.

der Individuen unabhängigen autonomen Prinzips gesellschaftlicher Kohäsion, das durch sein völlig unbewusstes Funktionieren ihre Versammlung bewirkt'.¹¹³

Die Spannung zwischen diesen beiden immanenten Prinzipien gesellschaftlicher Ordnung ist unübersehbar: Während die Idee des vertraglich begründeten Rechts im Falle Rousseaus auf der kollektivbildenden Artikulation individueller Willen beruht (oder, im Falle Kants, immerhin auf der vernunftmäßigen Möglichkeit einer durch das öffentliche Recht garantierten „Einhelligkeit der Politik mit der Moral“, wie sie in den Anhängen von Zum ewigen Frieden behauptet wird), stellt Smith' Markt ein Prinzip überindividueller Ordnung dar, das zwar gesellschaftsimmanent, aber weder an Willensartikulation noch auch an individuelle Vernunftseinsicht gebunden ist. Die „Freiheit“ des Individuums ist bei Smith durch eine „Notwendigkeit“ garantiert, die – als ökonomische Selbstregulierung des Marktes – die Verfolgung des Eigenwohls letztlich zum Motor des Wohls aller macht, ohne dass es eines anderen Prinzips der Verbindung von Individuum und Allgemeinheit bedürfte.

Historisch konkret drückt sich diese Spannung im Regime der Lohnarbeit als Spannung zwischen einer formal-rechtlich garantierten Freiheit und einer ökonomischen Abhängigkeit aus, in welcher der individuell „freie“ Zugang zum Markt nicht nur zum notwendigen Modus der Subsistenzsicherung wird, sondern zugleich den Notwendigkeiten der Marktentwicklung unterworfen ist. Und diese eigentümliche Neuordnung von

¹¹³Ebd., S. 161.

Freiheit und Notwendigkeit, die das moderne Arbeitsregime insgesamt kennzeichnet, erfährt im Falle der Arbeitsmigration – die, wie wir gesehen haben, von den Prozessen der Etablierung der Lohnarbeit nicht unabhängig gesehen werden kann, sondern im Gegenteil durch diese intensiviert wird – eine besondere Modifikation. Denn de facto garantiert das Recht, seiner behaupteten Universalität zum Trotz, nicht allen ihre Freiheit, sondern nur denen, die als politische Subjekte in einem Staat aufgrund ihrer „Zugehörigkeit“ zu diesem anerkannt sind.¹¹⁴

In der Situation der Arbeitsmigrant*innen wird am deutlichsten sichtbar, dass es sich bei der oben beschriebenen Spannung zwischen rechtlichen und ökonomischen Modellen der Universalität nicht um ein theoretisches Begründungsproblem handelt, sondern um die Überlagerung zweier Regime: einem politisch-juridischen Regime, das Recht konstituiert, indem es zugleich von diesem Recht ausschließt oder Einschränkungen der Inklusion in dieses formalisiert, und einem ökonomischen Regime, das „Arbeitskraft“ einzubeziehen und zu mobilisieren sucht, aber zugleich diese Einbindung an die Bedingung der Entwicklungen und Wechselfälle des Marktes knüpft (die „Katastrophen“ der Industrie, von denen Marx gesprochen hat, der „Ölpreisschock“ der 1970er, etc. etc.).

Es ist mir hier nicht möglich, die Auswirkungen dieser Überlagerung im Einzelnen analysieren, die

114 Mit diesem Problem ringt z. B. Kant in seinen Texten zum „Weltbürgerlichkeit“, vor allem in Zum ewigen Frieden. Mit diesem Problem ringt aber auch die Französische Revolution: vgl. Sophie Wahnich, *L'impossible citoyen. L'étranger dans le discours de la Révolution française*, Paris: Albin Michel 1997.

historisch unterschiedliche Formen angenommen haben und daher eine Auseinandersetzung mit einer kaum überschaubaren Vielzahl an Situationen erfordern würden. Ich beschränke mich daher – gestützt auf einen Systematisierungsversuch von Yann Moulier-Boutang – darauf, eine Reihe von „Abweichungen“ anzuführen, in denen sich aufgrund der Überlagerung der genannten Regime (vereinfacht gesagt: des nationalstaatlichen Rechts und der modernen kapitalistischen Ökonomie) die vertragliche Einbindung von Arbeitsmigrant*innen von der durch „Standard“-Arbeitsverträge gewährleisteten Einbindung im Laufe der Zeiten unterschied: anonyme statt individuelle Arbeitsverträge; Einsparung von mit sozialer Absicherung verbundenen Kosten; Beschränkung des Zugangs zum Arbeitsmarkt; drohender Verlust des Aufenthaltsrechts bei Beendigung des Arbeitsverhältnisses; einseitige Einschränkung des Rechts zur Aufkündigung des Arbeitsverhältnisses; Befristung von Arbeitsverträgen nach Maßgabe aufenthaltsrechtlicher Bestimmungen; Diskontinuität von Arbeitsverhältnissen und damit Verlust der mit regulärer Beschäftigung verbundenen Vorteile; und schließlich, am offensichtlichsten, eingeschränkte bürgerliche und politische Rechte.¹¹⁵

Schlussbemerkungen

Ich schließe mit einigen kurzen Bemerkungen:

1. Ich habe die Geschichte des Lohnarbeitsregimes und seiner vertraglichen Verfasstheit hier deshalb in den Vordergrund gestellt, weil sie mit dem, was im Deutschen

115 Yann Moulier-Boutang, *De l'esclavage au salariat. Économie historique du salariat bridé*, Paris: PUF 1998, S. 94–101.

meist unter „Gastarbeit“ verstanden wird, in sehr direkter Verbindung steht, aber zugleich eine Ausweitung der Perspektive erfordert, in der „Gastarbeit“ zum Gegenstand historischer Erinnerung geworden ist. Gegenstände der Erinnerung sind in aller Regel von Vektoren des Vergessens durchkreuzt, weshalb die Auseinandersetzung mit diesen Vektoren oft erforderlich ist, um überhaupt zu erinnern. Die im Deutschen so genannte Periode der „Gastarbeit“ erscheint mir in der hier vorgeschlagenen Perspektive als Periode der rechtlich formalisierten zwischenstaatlichen Regelung (in keineswegs „weltbürgerlicher“ Absicht) der Einbeziehung in das moderne Arbeitsverhältnis, die in einen größeren Zusammenhang zu stellen ist. Das heißt nicht, dass es nicht andere Formen der exkludierenden Einbeziehung gab und gibt, insbesondere in feministischer Perspektive oder mit Blick auf die transatlantische Sklavenwirtschaft.

2. Ebenso notwendig ist aber die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Transformationen der Überlagerung von rechtlichen und ökonomischen Regimen in der jüngeren Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. So hat beispielsweise die EU-Integration neue Konstellationen geschaffen, die einerseits durch eine – vor allem an der Lohnarbeit modellierte – „Freizügigkeit“ innerhalb der Europäischen Union geprägt ist, andererseits aber auch durch eine Verdoppelung des Ausschlusses oder der Einschränkungen der politischen Rechte von Migrant*innen (z. B. durch die verschiedenen Generationen des Dublin-Abkommens). Gleichzeitig haben gerade gegenwärtige kommunikations- und informationsbasierte Ökonomien neue „verachtete“ Arbeitsrealitäten geschaffen, die zum Teil nicht mehr unbedingt physische Mobilität voraussetzen (z. B.

Service Call Centers, Content-Moderation für globale „soziale“ Medien), zum Teil auch mit neuen Migrationsprozessen außerhalb Europas oder des „Westens“ verbunden sind (z. B. Zuwanderung in Fertigungszentren von Hardware in China).

3. Die Unterscheidung von politischen und ökonomischen „Flüchtlingen“, die seit zu langem den öffentlichen Diskurs beherrscht, ist zynisch. Nicht nur unterschlägt sie die Verflechtung von rechtlichen und ökonomischen Regimen, sie höhlt auch bestehendes Recht durch legislative und exekutive Maßnahmen permanent aus, um zugleich auf nationalstaatlich geprägtem Recht als Norm zu bestehen, das mit der Anomalie gegenwärtiger Migrationsprozesse „fertigwerden“ müsse. Anstatt die Frage des Rechts an den gelebten Verhältnissen neu zu orientieren, die nicht zuletzt durch einen globalisierten Kapitalismus mehr denn je bestimmt werden.

They'll Never Walk Alone: A Discursive Experiment¹¹⁶

Edited by Lina Dokuzović

Following the series of talks within the two-day conference “They’ll Never Walk Alone: Remembering Gastarbeiters in the Neoliberal Age,” at Depot in Vienna, we had a closing discussion on October 7th, 2017. The aim of this discussion was to open the space and break away from the format of a classical conference as much as possible in order to integrate perspectives and voices that presented knowledges based on lived experiences and challenges of migration. It was experimental in the sense that it was open to all languages with the people in the space reorganized to be able to translate to one another during the discussion. As there were individuals who only recently arrived in Austria and who were still learning German (or English as well), this was an attempt to increase inclusivity and visibility. It was also important to intervene in the format of a conference, which typically remains in the academic realm, and, which in many cases, does not present itself as an open space for the experiences of migrants. The resulting crossovers and confrontations between the conference speakers and the audience members (many of whom were encouraged and invited to come and to speak/participate despite not

116 The following is a somewhat edited transcript of the recording of that discussion. The only statements omitted were predominantly inside jokes or comments related to the space or objects that no longer made sense in written form or parts that were missing or inaudible in the recording. All authors gave their explicit permission to record and publish this discussion.

expressing interest in the preceding panels) opened up points of discussion and debate which would not have emerged otherwise.

Lina Dokuzović: So, the idea now is to take some time to reflect on the talks from the last two days while opening things up and integrating everybody in a bit of an experiment using different languages, maybe clumping different translational abilities together in the group to try to relate some of these issues discussed in the last two days to more lived experiences.

Ana Hoffner: One thing that came to my mind today was the question of representation, but also the right-wing in relation to Gastarbeiters. In other words, a large part of the Serbian community supports the right-wing today. So it's maybe just a point to consider for not romanticizing the figure of the Gastarbeiter too much.

Stefan Nowotny: I was thinking about that, too, and didn't want to address it explicitly as lots of things would have to be said, and I'm not the most qualified person to speak on that topic, but I did want to address the question of political representation of those people whose histories aren't accounted for. I believe that this question poses itself differently according to political frameworks in which people live. So, for instance, I think that the collusions between the – in fact politically abandoned – working class and the far-right in the UK have a lot to do with a desire for political representation in a situation in which the histories of working class people are not written or accounted for and in which no political parties seem to be available to represent them in a

political sense to defend their rights. It's, of course, contingent on the conditions of these people being British nationals, for instance. So one has to look at different groups and to understand all kinds of situations and how these desires for political representation manifest themselves.

Ivana Marjanović: I work for the Wienwoche festival and this year we dealt with the topic of work, a criticism of wage labor, but also the idea of stopping work under certain conditions. And concerning the topic of guest workers in neoliberal capitalism, I thought about seasonal workers as a guest workforce. It's interesting because we had a project called "Field Research" (Feldforschung), a performance play that was created in close relation to the Sezionieri campaign. The whole thing started with a strike of seasonal workers from Serbia and Romania a couple of years ago in Tirol, and it's been continuing in other parts of Austria. This is also an interesting example of a kind of an importing, but it's also important to know that these people working in the fields are treated as seasonal workers, but many of them have been coming to do this work for many years, even up to 20 years in some cases. Sometimes, instead of 3 months a year, they do it for up to 10 months a year, and are paid 3–4 euros per hour for that work.

Monika Mokre: This is also linked to the issue of asylum seekers, because the only official work that you can do as an asylum seeker is seasonal work. The argument for that was originally that since the procedure is not so long, it makes sense not to commit to long-term work. However, this is absurd because some asylum procedures

go on for years. But this way they are made into an extremely precarious group, which is also reflected in the labor market as they are hyper-exploited. And this is the only “official” way that exists.

Katja Kobolt: I recently heard a very interesting method of using seasonal workers for extracting money. In Germany, every seasonal worker that comes needs to be registered for health insurance. However, when they go back, they are not unregistered. Instead they remain constantly registered in the healthcare system, meaning that the health insurance companies create false statistics about having high numbers of people who are registered and not paying in order to claim fictive debts. This way they can justify questionable decisions and policies, so it's quite an “interesting” mechanism.

Keti Chukrov: Regarding the guest issue and the expansion of the knowledge economy and its distribution, what is the rate of convertibility? In other words, someone's guestship depends on a geopolitics of convertibility or a certain coefficient of skills that is characteristic for certain types of knowledges or certain types of labor, for instance, what rates as a 10 in one place rates as a 3 in another country. How does this convertibility then define the status of a guest? In the Soviet states, for instance, there was no such understanding or notion of a guest. There was, instead, some kind of a preliminary and universal nomadism. And this nomadism was even part-and-parcel of any labor subjectivity, because there was no geopolitics of labor whatsoever, because there was only one space – the space of socialist production and life – and you are a unit of socialist labor.

That's why it's even preferable that you start working as far as possible. So that type of knowledge production, organization of labor, and infrastructure was organized so that everything was convertible. All the knowledges fit together into certain values, like production, efficiency, etc. and that's why the guest worker was not viable there – not only because there was no national state within one ideological construction/superstate, but also because there was a convertibility of many layers of education, labor, and relations of production.

Lina Dokuzović: There have been various agendas and initiatives to try to homogenize different entry-points, so it's especially strong in the European higher educational system, where you can see credit/ECTS points that are very easily convertible between the different systems in the different countries. Also the points-based immigration system is a direct application of this kind of specific criteria, which is defined very statistically. In this case, I think the difference is that the mobility is more of a kind of catalyst or multiplier of this whole complex, statistically and numerically-based mode of categorization, which is very defined in some ways, but also very abstract in others.

Boris Buden: The old contract-based labor migration typical of the early years of Gastarbeiter migration took place in a time when the so-called “Westphalian system” was still the dominant paradigm of geopolitical relations, meaning that nation-states were considered equal to one another within one and the same system, represented in the organization of the United Nations, so that the equality – an abstract equality, of course – was provided

on the level of those contracts. So there was at least that level of political equality between two given states. The states appeared equal within their contracts, but not the workers, of course. However, that was an old world. In today's world, the collapse of the Westphalian order implies new hierarchies and new social restructuring. It also implies new class restructuring of the former juridically ordered space. Looking at knowledge production and the knowledge economy, we can also observe the falling apart of this old commensurability and convertibility. What is taking place now is a new class restructuring within the global industry of knowledge production with a sort of A-level of universities at the upper end of the scale where the elites are educated. It is obvious that in the new hierarchy of global education, the top individuals are all educated in the West, in Western universities. So, for instance, in order to get a job at your own local university, you must first go through a Western institution to be able to compete on the local level.

Lina Dokuzović: It's interesting because a lot of the anti-colonial struggles from several decades ago were using education as a vehicle for social change to come up with a form of self-definition before things would end up in a very different direction. And one of the instruments for suppressing the politicization of universities in this process was the bringing in of expats and all of these people from outside of the country, mainly from the US and from other advanced capitalist countries, to moderate, mediate, manage, and suppress the situation. So it has quite a long tradition from various perspectives.

Boris Buden: Something similar also happens on the level of language as well as theory production regarding the commensurability of different languages and the idea that everything one can say in one language can also be said in any other language, that one can translate between languages that are equal, and that each has the possibility of expressing what you want to say – the idea of universal translatability among languages. This old understanding is also falling apart today. So, translated to the level of linguistic relations – which also imply social relations – we now see one language, English, as the global lingua franca, becoming the language of the reproduction of knowledge as well as the language in which the knowledge of emancipation – that is the theories of emancipation – are reproduced. But the consequence of this development is that other languages and other social-linguistic spaces become increasingly vernacularized and cease to communicate among each other. At stake is a new situation in which the local codes of emancipation can no longer be articulated without first being mediated through the lingua franca. So, to paraphrase Mladen Stilinović: a Marxist who cannot speak English is no Marxist.

Monika Mokre: At the same time, I'd like to return to our discussion from yesterday. While we are all speaking English, which is fine, and shows that we are part of a kind of emancipated elite, people are forced to learn German when they come here. As I was making this point that the nation-state is working together with the transnational economy, there are also some places where the nation-state tries to defend itself against this kind of globalization. I think these examples are part of that, but

it also refers to universities. I agree with the points on a transnational mobile elite, but, at the same time, try entering an Austrian university with a degree from another country. It's basically impossible. The Austrian state, which is very good at this kind of bureaucracy in fact makes convertibility nearly impossible. There are things like ECTS points, but then there are much harsher restrictions for people coming from outside of Europe. It's a kind of national defense mechanism against other nationalities. It's not only a question of maintaining elitism, it's about wanting universities to remain clean.

Lina Dokuzović: Absolutely, that's where this weird system of convertibility fails, and this shows exactly how the nation-state exists in this supranational system as a filtration mechanism. You have, on the one hand, international mobility, ECTS points, and all of these elements, but then you still have the nation to intervene on precisely that level.

Jon Solomon: I've been doing some research on the question of grants, hirings, and academic mobility. If you come into the French system as a foreigner it can be quite difficult. Most of the hirings happen at the level of the assistant professor. And now in France, it's almost impossible to go from an assistant to a full professor. There's also a regional difference in France, where the ones who are hired on a higher professorial level are typically from advanced market countries, whereas the ones who are hired at a lower level will be from less advanced market countries. Then there's also the gender element, where the lower levels are also predominantly female and the higher ones are predominantly male. So

we have all these multiple mappings, and I guess the really interesting thing is to map that against this problem of revernacularization, which is grafted onto a much earlier form of the national university as an institution of translation. This tends to result in a situation in which knowledge can't exist unless it can be expressed in the national language, because whatever has been done outside in a foreign language doesn't really count. So it's a kind of grafting of older forms of nationalized patriarchy onto newer forms of neoliberal differential inclusion.

Lina Dokuzović: Maybe this is a good time to remind people to please also intervene in other languages. Let's try to work with this experiment.

Margareta Bush: Ich wollte das ganze nur mal umdrehen, erstens damit wir auch etwas Deutsch hören, und zweitens damit Sie auch meine Schüler kennenlernen, denn die wollen auch Zugang zur Arbeit, aber nicht von der Universität, sondern von unten her. Und hier ist die Sprache irrsinnig wichtig, und zum Beispiel, während Sie gesprochen haben... Haben Sie etwas verstanden während sie Englisch gesprochen haben?¹¹⁷

Students: Nein.

117 "I'd like to flip this around a bit, so we can hear some German, on the one hand, and so you can meet my students, on the other, because they also want access to work, but not in the university, from the bottom up. Here is where language becomes extremely important, and, for instance, while they were speaking... have any of you understood them while they were speaking English?" [All translations by Lina Dokuzović]

Margareta Bush: Kein Zugang. Also auf welchem Level... die Sprache ist eben der Zugang, und während ihr das Problem von oben sieht, sehen wir es von unten.¹¹⁸

Monika Mokre: So we just performed this point that English is the language of the elite by excluding people through speaking English.

[People speaking, laughing, and comically reorganizing the space to enable easier group translation...]

Monika Mokre: Wollen wir ein bisschen mehr darüber sprechen, was es bedeutet Deutsch zu lernen um Arbeit zu suchen?¹¹⁹

Margareta Bush: [Asking students] Ohne Sprache, was können sie machen und was sind die Schwierigkeiten oder Möglichkeiten?¹²⁰

Naser Bahrami: When I came to Austria, I couldn't speak Deutsch, because I had a lot of trouble with Deutsch. Die deutsche Sprache ist viel schwieriger als Englisch. At that time, when I was going out with other students, they spoke so fast. I was so angry, because I couldn't talk with them. Aber jetzt, seit ich Deutsch lerne, habe ich mehr kontakt mit Leuten und verstehe was sie sagen.¹²¹

118 "No access. So, on which level... language is precisely the point of access. And while you all view this problem from a top-down perspective, we see it from below."

119 "Should we talk some more about what it means to learn German to find a job?"

120 "Without the language, what are you able to do and what are the difficulties or possibilities you encounter?"

121 "German is much more difficult than English. [...] But now,

Monika Mokre: I'll say this in English since he speaks both languages rather well. I think we need a language to communicate, which is important, but I would never oblige – not even ask – somebody to learn German, because I think either you need it or you want to learn another language, but if you manage to get around with English – and many people do – I don't really get the point about having to learn German when you live in a German-speaking country, or whatever other language elsewhere.

Yarden Daher: I speak English, and most of my communication is in English. German was one of my interests, but when I came here I actually stopped having that interest. I mean, I feel forced somehow, politically. And when I feel forced, I stop liking the thing. I would like to feel like it is coming from me again, not from an outer authority or something.

Katja Kobolt: I'm not sure whether this is possible for everyone. It depends on what you do and through which gates you need to go. For instance, if you are an art student, maybe it's possible. But if you are working in a bakery or something it's different. So it's a big decision. At the same time, though, I feel like the purpose of me speaking German in German society is often for drawing a line. I mean, if everyone spoke English, I would be in an equal position to the locals, but even if I master German, I'm still constantly insufficient.

since I've been learning German, I have more contact with people and understand what they are saying.”

Mate Ćosić: Learning German is important on some levels, but you need to motivate people with some real stuff, like giving them work documents or opportunities. Then they have more of a desire to learn. Otherwise, while waiting on their status, they may be deported or they may stay. I've seen that some people have the desire to learn the language, but some also see it as a form of protest not to learn it when they're not presented with anything concrete for their living conditions.

Margareta Bush: We had an interesting discussion before we came here about the term *Gastarbeiter*. My German pupils, who are gathered here today, asked me what it was, because they are not *Gastarbeiters*. They are asylum seekers. There is a big difference. They have very different backgrounds. When you mentioned that there is less work, well, there isn't any work for them if they stay in Vienna. It's a question of documents. But the argument that has been in the media is that even if they are allowed to stay, there isn't enough work for them.

Monika Mokre: We discussed exactly that point a lot in the last two days. Guest workers came here because there was work here. They were not invited to come as people. They were just supposed to work and go back. Refugees, in principle, can stay here if the state lets them stay here, and the state has to take care of them, according to the Geneva Convention. Regarding the question of finding work for people, I would say that if there is not enough work for people here, then we have to find a solution for people here, but their nationality should not matter. This would mean, for instance, that everybody could work less with the same salary because

of our high productivity or something like that. Another idea is that everybody receives a minimum income irrespective of whether they work or not, but the point that is important is that if you take it seriously that refugees have a right to be here, then it means that we have to find a solution together for all of us so that all of us have enough work and enough money.

Petja Dimitrova: There is this whole argument about there being fewer and fewer jobs in the West. At the same time, though, if we look at academic work or knowledge production, it's easy to see that there is unpaid work and production all around us – every day, at night, in the mornings, on holiday, etc. On the other hand, the European labor market is also heavily focused on the service industry. So it's a question of who can fit into which type of job in these sectors. People who do unskilled work can find access to plenty of it with the right access to networks and connections with different people, customers, or clients. So, in many cases, it's not necessarily language that's the key to access. It can also simply be who you know. And not having access to these networks can be a major dividing factor.

Pêdra Costa: On the question of language, it's more complex. In the case of my huge family, I am the only one living outside of the country, and I'm the only one who has had contact with another language. What you have to consider is the question of white supremacy and racism. Also consider the levels of privilege that people in this room have. Being an intellectual lets you learn a language, travel, earn money, have a comfort zone, and a good life. What I've been learning in Europe is that

it doesn't matter what kind of a language you speak... I mean, I can learn German better than a German person, but I will never be given a good position in society in terms of a good job. When I went to Berlin, I went as a tourist, and then stayed for seven years. I went there to ask for help and support from the queer community, and the white queers shut the door in my face. The people who ended up supporting me were from my country, because only they understood my situation. Furthermore, I avoid using Marx, because he didn't talk about colonialism. The whole industrial revolution was only possible because Europe stole our minerals, resources, and enslaved our laborers. So if you want to talk about Marx, you have to talk about this, because all the revolutionary actions, Western feminism, and so on were only possible because many cultures in the world were being exploited.

Kinan Abood: Many of us here, and I've spoken to a few people in this room about similar experiences, struggle to even find an apartment. We either experience racism because of our skin color or our foreign names or our accents. So at the point when you are denied a place to live before you even open your mouth... we should think about asking different questions or about asking these questions differently.

Biographies

Kinan Abood is an activist and studies International Business Administration in Vienna.

Naser Bahrami is a scientist. He worked for the Department of Agriculture in Afghanistan and studied abroad in Japan. He is currently based in Vienna.

Boris Buden is a writer, cultural critic and translator. He studied philosophy in Zagreb and received his PhD in Cultural Theory from Humboldt University, Berlin. In the 1990s he was founder and editor of the magazine and publishing house Arkzin in Zagreb. His essays and articles cover topics related to philosophy, politics, and cultural and art criticism. Among his translations into Croatian are some of the most important works of Sigmund Freud. Buden is author of several books. He lives and works in Berlin.

Margareta Bush is a speech therapist and German and English teacher. Her main interests lie in language development and study skills as well as language learning through drama.

Manuela Bojadžijev is Professor for Globalized Cultures at Leuphana University Lüneburg and the Vice-Director of the Berlin Institute for Empirical Integration and Migration Research.

Keti Chukhrov is a philosopher and Associate Professor in the Department of Cultural Studies at the National

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Mate Ćosić is an activist and social worker based in Vienna. His practice includes organizing events, actions, and publishing activities. He currently works at Mutter-Kind-Haus Frida.

Pêdra Costa is a Brazilian performance artist and anthropologist. Working with queer artists internationally, her work is informed by the aesthetics of post-porn and an investigation of anti-colonial concepts.

Yarden Daher has been based in Austria since 2016. He has participated in multiple cultural, social, political, and creative activities and work, including, most recently, the curating of the new exhibition collection of the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art.

Petja Dimitrova is an artist and activist based in Vienna. Her artistic practice is situated between fine art and political and participatory cultural work. She teaches at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. <http://petjadimitrova.net/>

Jana Dolečki is a journalist, teatrologist, cultural producer, and PhD candidate at the Institute for Theater, Film, and Media in Vienna. She is the co-founder, producer, and active associate of several independent cultural organizations, initiatives, and manifestations in

Vienna (PLATFORMA; Festival of Alternative Choirs; BLOCKFREI), as well as the co-founder of the ŠUŠUR! Literary Festival in Korčula, Croatia.

Lina Dokuzović works at the intersection between visual art and text/knowledge production on the topics of migration; knowledge production and educational policies; mechanisms of appropriation and privatization of structures such as education, culture, the body, and land; and perspectives for translocal solidarity. She is a member of eipcp, and is currently a postdoctoral research fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies South East Europe in Rijeka.

Amir Hodžić holds a BA in Sociology from the University of Zagreb and an MA in Gender and Cultural Studies from the Central European University, Budapest. For the past twenty years, he has been involved in research, education, and activism related to sex/gender equality, sexual and reproductive health and rights, and LGBTIQ issues. He works with and for various local, regional, and international stakeholders. <http://www.policy.hu/hodzic/>

Ana Hoffner is an artist and writer. She* works with-in and about contemporary art, arts-based research and critical theory. She* finished the PhD in Practice Program at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna in 2014. Her book, *The Queerness of Memory*, was published in 2018 by b_books Berlin. She* is currently a recipient of the DOC fellowship of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and works on “Desynchronization: Queer Voices.”

Serhat Karakayalı holds an M.A. in Sociology and a PhD on the “Metamorphosis of Illegality” from the University of Frankfurt. He works on the transformation of welfare states and issues of migration and citizenship. He was a researcher on the project “Transit Migration” at the Department for Cultural Anthropology of the University of Frankfurt. He currently works on Social Movement Unionism in Europe; postfordist Hegemony and Modernism, and Urbanism and Migration in the postcolonial context.

Margareta Kern is a visual artist, lecturer in photography at Falmouth University, and PhD candidate at the University of the Arts London. She is originally from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Working at the intersection of moving image and documentary, her research-led practice explores the relationship between aesthetics and politics, making visible contestations and contradictions involved in its interplay. <http://www.margaretakern.com>

Katja Kobolt (PhD) works at the juncture of art, writing, and teaching. She has (co)conceptualized and (co)produced numerous art events and exhibitions. She has been active in the feminist curatorial platform Red Mined as well as within the Munich art space/collective Lothringer13 Florida and DER FAHRENDE RAUM in Munich.

Davor Konjikušić holds a mag. art. degree in Photography from the Academy of Dramatic Art in Zagreb, where he has also completed his BA in Cinematography. His work uses photography as a primary medium

in articulating his artistic concept, in which he explores the relationships between public and private, intimate, and socio-political. In his artistic practice, he has been combining photography with text, archive, found objects, and video.

Ivana Marjanović works as an art historian, cultural studies researcher, author, curator, and cultural producer in the fields of contemporary culture, arts, and theory. Along with Nataša Mackuljak, she currently works as the artistic direction and management team of the WIENWOCHE festival. http://www.wienwoche.org/en/413/artistic_direction_&_management

Sandro Mezzadra is an Associate Professor of Political Theory at the University of Bologna. He has been research fellow at the Humboldt Universität, Berlin; the Centre for Cultural Research at the University of Western Sydney; the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris; and Duke University. His recent work has centered on the relations between globalization, migration, and citizenship as well as on postcolonial theory and criticism. He is an active participant in the discussion within the tradition of Italian autonomist Marxism and (post)operaismo and one of the founders of the Uninomade network (<http://uninomade.org/>).

Monika Mokre is research fellow at the Institute for Cultural Studies and History of Theatre, Austrian Academy of Sciences. She is the chairwoman of eipcp; board member of FOKUS and Mediacult; deputy chair of the Advisory Panel on Cultural Diversity of the Austrian Commission for UNESCO; lecturer at the Institute for

Cultural Studies and Cultural Management, University of Music and Performing Arts and Webster University Vienna. Her research areas include: European Democracy and the Public Sphere, Cultural Politics and Financing of the Arts, Gender Studies.

Stefan Nowotny is a philosopher, lecturer at Goldsmiths, University of London, and a member of eipcp. He has done research or taught at universities in Belgium (Louvain-la-Neuve), Germany (Lüneburg) and Austria (Klagenfurt) since 2001, alongside various other project involvements and collaborations with both visual and performance artists.

Jon Solomon studied at Cornell University and has lived in East Asia for 25 years, North America for 23, and Western Europe for 2. He holds a permanent position as Professeur des universités at Université Jean Moulin, Lyon, France. His ongoing intellectual project brings the theme of translation into the discussion about biopolitics as a privileged place for understanding and transforming the relations between anthropological difference and capitalist accumulation.

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Struggles for Living Learning
Lina Dokuzović

Lina Dokuzović

**Struggles for Living Learning:
Within Emergent Knowledge
Economies and the Cognitization
of Capital and Movement**

Numerous knowledge-based struggles emerged between 2008–2011 which questioned the changes taking place in universities, on the one hand, and the potentiality of the university as a space for translocally contesting those global transformations, on the other. Through the expansion of those struggles, their contention shifted to how self-education and struggle beyond the university could intervene or create counter-perspectives for change. This book presents the demands, practices, and perspectives developed within those struggles against the backdrop of commodifying transformations in the field of knowledge production – (primarily higher) education, research, and lifelong learning. These examples ultimately debunk major global knowledge-based policy perspectives, primarily those driven by the EU, and their objectives of crisis resolution and sustainable development. As an alternative, this book follows and further develops grassroots practices and perspectives of “living learning” from knowledge-based struggles, presenting socially just and equitable challenges to the transformations in the field of knowledge.

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