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Stranger Movements: Working through Racialized and Gendered Mobility in the Canadian Context

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Stranger Movements: Working through racialized and gendered mobility in the Canadian context

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Abstract: Two themes within the area of Refugee Studies are the growing discussions of refugee mobility, and increasing critical discourse analyses of various refugee related texts. This paper brings together these two themes by pointing to the need to undertake critical examination of the racialized and gendered implications of writing about mobility in the context of Refugee Studies. Recent work by Sherene Razack on 'race', space and mobility in the Canadian context, is critiqued through work by Judith Butler and Frantz Fanon in order to show, first, that the body takes on a material being discursively in relation to space; that this embodiment simultaneously produces social space, also racialized and gendered; and finally, that the racialized and gendered body is marked by a lessened ability to move through social space. The implications of this work for Refugee Studies are explored.

Introduction

On the one hand, there is the discourse that pictures the refugee as a faceless and helpless individual in the mass, someone with no home, no identity, no means of survival. On the other hand, the number of studies funded by European governments on the new migrant networks, de-territorial diasporas, etc., indicate that a new policy issue is emerging. Hereby the refugee is seen as an integral part of those networks that escape state sovereignty and thus threaten security and stability (Van Hoyweghen, 2001: 12).

When the homeless, exiled stranger attempts to move beyond the nationalizing discourse of the border, he or she must create his or her precarious and fragile space of habitation outside the parameters of the fissure that presides between inside and outside (Manning, 2003: 73).

Increasingly, it is the discourse of Refugee Studies itself that is under critical examination within that area of academic scholarship. In this growing but still marginal literature, it is not only the official policy documents, media reports, and activist writing, but also related academic work on refugee politics that is subject to critical analysis, as is made evident from the works quoted above. This emerging area of inquiry points to a shift in focus away from empirical studies of transnational migration and refugee politics towards an approach centred around questions of representation and exclusion.

This working paper seeks to build on this fledgling work by exploring the usefulness of recent theoretical work on mobility, 'race' and gender for Refugee Studies. In this paper, an anti-racist feminist approach is used to show how understandings of 'race', gender, and mobility might suggest how the following questions might be addressed: What does it mean to write about or study asylum-seeking politics from a

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Canadian context? How are refugee movements to Canada and within Canada represented or spoken of in particular texts? What does it mean to be a 'refugee'? What theoretical tools are useful in answering these questions? Whose theory is of use? As this suggests, then, the purpose of this paper is not to directly answer these questions, but to develop the tools that lead to their response.

The motivation for the writing of this paper stems from recent work that suggests that bodies of colour, particularly the bodies of women of colour, are marked as less mobile than their white Canadian counterparts. If this argument can be supported, then this clearly points to the need to critically, and perhaps differently, discuss the gendered and racialized aspects of 'asylum-seeking' movements, and especially, the movements of refugee women. What must be clearly stated at the outset of this paper, however, is that I am not solely concerned with what is understood as the material movements of refugee women of colour, but of the ways that these movements are represented within texts. In engaging these ideas in this context, this essay starts to show what becomes visible when attempting a careful textual analysis of academic and non-academic writing on transnational movements in the Canadian context.

The main argument put forth in this paper is that without carefully considering how bodies (and spaces) are constituted through 'race' and gender, we risk reproducing the very oppression that we attempt to destabilize in writing about them. To make this argument, I begin with a critique of recent work by Sherene Razack on the relationship between 'race', space and mobility. It is argued that because Razack allows a sort of ontological existence to both bodies and space, that is, because she suggests that they have a pre-existing and separate being that she understands as material and not symbolic, her analysis is unable to examine, and even further reproduces, the very sexed and racialized constitutions of both spaces and bodies. It is through this discussion that it is shown that through a focus on the constitution of the materiality of both bodies and space, we can differently develop Razack's argument that the racialized and gendered body is less mobile and is constituted within particular space.

The purpose of this critique is to build on Razack's initial methodologies for theorizing and destabilizing relationships of space, embodiment and mobility. Her work is used as an entry point in to these relationships because there is much that is useful and important there. It is argued that if the body is understood as coming into being through racialization and gendering processes, producing the appearance of a subject who can 'know' and 'act', then it cannot be separately imagined from these 'identities', nor can we inquire after the subject's self-awareness without further producing the illusion of a subject who acts. Additionally, if we turn to Fanon, we see that it is the oppressive and illusory nature of subjectivity itself that requires a racialized embodiment that constitutes the racialized body through immobility.

The organization of this paper is as follows: I begin by outlining the need for a more critical analysis of questions of movement and embodiment in the Refugee Studies literature. Secondly, I introduce Razack's work in the volume *Race, Space and the Law*, which I critique and further develop through work by Judith Butler and Frantz Fanon. Guided by this work, I show that, first, the body takes on a material being discursively in relation to space; that this embodiment simultaneously produces social space, also racialized and gendered; and finally, that the racialized and gendered body is marked by a

lessened ability to move through social space. I conclude with a discussion of the implications of this research for the area of Refugee Studies.

Why Write About Bodies and Movement?

It should be clearly recognized that this paper is focused around the movements of the racialized and gendered body. This focus is not meant to suggest that all refugees are 'of colour', but rather, it is to suggest that discussions of refugee politics must consider analyses of 'race' and gender when addressing the question of mobility. If, as I show below, Razack and others are accurate in arguing that bodies of colour, particularly those of women of colour, are not as mobile as white men's bodies, and further, that they belong to racialized space, then surely these ideas shape how we talk about refugee politics in relation to Canada².

To weigh the relevance of this argument, it can be considered that academic and policy work related to refugee politics is always related to questions of mobility and the nation-state. As Saskia Van Hoyweghen (2001) notes, growing attention is now being paid to issues around the capacity of individuals and groups to move and, therefore, to seek asylum. Interestingly, Van Hoyweghen locates her discussion in relation to the growing criminalization of refugee and migration issues in Europe (Van Hoyweghen, 2001). Within this literature, gender is sometimes discussed in relation to how women asylum seekers' mobility may be differently hindered or facilitated by various gendered factors (Johal, 2004). As Ramina Johal notes, the mobility of women refugees is an important concern considering that, first, the majority of refugees are women and children, and because the oppression of women results in a lessened ability to move and seek asylum (Johal, 2004: 4). Johal suggests that this lessened mobility is a result of a number of factors, including women's frequent social and economic dependence on men, their potential sexual exploitation, their different relationship to public space, and a general lack of state support and services to fight gender-based marginalization (Johal, 2004: 4-5)

Another aspect of the gendered and racialized study of refugee politics in the Canadian context relates to that state's fairly recent inclusion of gender persecution as a consideration for granting asylum. Although this move is considered to be of a "pioneer"ing nature by some, such as Kathleen Newland (2004: 5), others, such as Razack (1998) suggest otherwise. In the essay "Policing the Borders of the Nation", Razack (1998) argues that the refugee trial may be read as a profoundly racialized and gendered text through which understandings of Canadianness are established through the making/marking of the refugee woman. In her analysis of some Canadian refugee trials of women seeking asylum on the basis of gender persecution, Razack found that the

² It is relevant to consider the ways that refugee bodies may be marked and perhaps racialized through their very designation as 'refugee'. Here, we might consider Razack's argument that any body that belongs to the space of the inner Canadian city is racialized because of its normalization in the context of racialized space. In the context of refugee politics in Canada, particularly considering the role of anti-Semitism in the development of refugee protection legislation, there is a strong argument to be made that the 'whiteness' of refugees who are not of colour is complicated. Again, it is critical to note here that the focus of this paper is on writing about the movements of refugees to and within the borders of Canada.

success of women's arguments depended on their ability to appear as a cultural Other in need of Canada's liberal protection from traditional oppressions. Additionally, where women were able to access existing racialized scripts about their cultural oppression, as was the case for Indo-Caribbean, Arab, and South Asian women, as opposed to the representations of black women as more independent and assertive, they were more likely to be successful (Razack, 1998).

Razack and Van Hoyweghen's analyses point to the need for non-empirical studies of transnational migration and refugee politics. These works suggest the need to shift the analytical lens from one of International Law and Relations theory to one which allows one to better understand how 'race' and gender operate to produce the relationships that mark some bodies as refugee and some as Canadian.

In light of this concern, if it is understood through Judith Butler (1993a), that the body is continually produced and reproduced discursively through its 'race' and gender, and if this constitution of the body is the effect of an incomplete and continual process of reformulation and contestation, then it is possible to open up new ways to think about the violence of the body's materialization. If this understanding is broadened to consider how the constitution of the body happens in and through the production of social space, also discursively, then additional possibilities arise. These possibilities, however, must be considered within a particular textual context.

What should be noted, however, is that these meanings might even work in complicated ways in work that aims to resolve or clarify these relationships. It is for this reason, that I begin with a work that is explicitly from an anti-racist feminist perspective to suggest how we might continually engage in dialogue around these questions. The purpose of my critique here, then, is not to refute but to build on work that Razack has done. I begin with Razack's arguments about 'race' and space because her work suggests how we might make visible how 'race' and gender often covertly operate within scholarship itself.

Unmapping 'Race', Gender and Mobility with Razack

In the edited book *Race, Space and the Law*, Sherene Razack (2002a: 5) and other contributors attempt to "unmap" some of the ways that 'race' and space work together in the English-Canadian national context. The double purpose of the book is first, to denaturalize seemingly innocuous geographies by exploring how they are implicated in the production of space, and secondly, to destabilize the role of white Canadians in this process (Razack, 2002a: 5). Towards these purposes, Razack develops a theoretical framework that guides the work of the following chapters. The questions that guide her analysis are complicated and important. She asks: "What is being imagined or projected on to specific spaces and bodies, and what is being enacted there? Who do white citizens know themselves to be and how much does an identity of dominance rely upon keeping racial Others firmly *in place*? How are people kept in their place? And, finally, how does place become race" (Razack, 2002a: 5, original emphasis)?

These questions point to both the potential and the problematic of Razack's analysis. The relationships between space and body, and between 'race' and place, that form the basis for Razack's analysis, are deeply complicated and important, and the

author makes the intriguing suggestion that there exists a relationship between the 'keeping in place' of some and the 'identity' or domination of others. Despite the importance of these ideas, they also point to some problematic positions: first, is it accurate to suggest that something is imagined or projected onto pre-existing material space or body, suggesting that these spaces and bodies can be considered apart from these layered meanings? Is it appropriate to speak of the processes by which white (and non-white) citizens come to 'know themselves'? And, although there is importance in Razack's argument that the racialized body is represented as belonging to particular kinds of space, and additionally, that its mobility is inhibited, it is possible that in framing the problem in this way, Razack reproduces what she attempts to subvert.

Razack's discussion of the body focuses on her argument, following Foucault, that the liberal state is characterized by the separation of the body that is marked as bourgeois from that body which is marked as degenerate (2002a: 10, 11). This spatial separation, she writes, is secured in the interest of the moral regulation of the body and the state (Razack, 2002a: 11). Razack uses Foucault to argue that throughout the 18th century, the body increasingly became an object and a target of power, and that individuals were 'made' through the micro-processes of discipline (2002a: 11). It is through these processes and technologies of surveillance that the normal social body and the abnormal, spatially segregated, body was produced (Razack, 2002a: 11).

Although the focus of the collection is on the relationship between racialized and gendered oppression, mobility and space, Razack does not clearly suggest that this embodiment is itself racialized or gendered. While her understanding of 'race' and gender is not made explicit, it is suggested that the racializing and gendering of the body happens through other "identity making" processes, particularly through the potential for the 'normal' body to move through space (2002a: 13). The bourgeois body of Foucault's analysis is likened to the Cartesian subject in the work of Kathleen Kirby through the idea that the Enlightenment subject developed in a parallel with the rise of cartographic technology and exploration (Razack, 2002a: 12). This parallel suggests that the figure with the potential to map space is the one who controls it (Razack, 2002a: 11). Razack suggests that this mapping subject is also the figure of the imperial man who "achieves his sense of self through keeping at bay and in place any who would threaten his sense of mastery" (2002a: 12). It is also through this process of containing space, through mapping, that racialized space is constructed.

For Razack, mobility is a form of racialized and gendered identity making. Through the work of Radhika Mohanram and Richard Phillips, Razack argues that the movement from respectable to degenerate, primarily racialized space, is the process by which the bourgeois subject comes to know himself as such (2002a: 12). She uses the work of Mohanram, who explores representations of the black body in various Western texts on identity formation, to show that the black body is always marked and is immobilized through this marking, while in contrast, the white body is characterized by its ability to move freely (Razack, 2002a: 12).

To add gender to this analysis, Razack looks to Richard Phillips' analysis of novels for young boys' of 19th century adventure. She focuses on Phillips' argument that a process of subjectivity is enacted through the idea of movement into and back from liminal space, a movement that can only be undertaken by the bourgeois white man

(Razack, 2002a: 13). She writes:

The subject who comes to know himself through such journeys first imagines his own space as civilized, in contrast to the space of the racial Other; second, he engages in transgression, which is a movement from respectable to degenerate space, a risky venture from which he returns unscathed; and third, he learns that he is in control of the journey through individual practices of domination (Razack, 2002a: 13-14).

This idea is then extended to the movements of middle class, white men in the Canadian context, where identity is made through various movements, including into the space of the inner city where working-class, racialized and Aboriginal bodies are expected to belong (Razack, 2002b).

What remains unclear from Razack's discussion is her understanding of the constitution of the subject and of the materiality of the body. Although at times Razack refers to the body as produced, at other times it is suggested that a material body exists apart from these "identity making" processes. Confusion also arises from Razack's discussion of what, at times, seems to be representations of the body, and at other times, seems to be a body that exists outside representation. Additionally, throughout the introduction, the relationship between racialization, gendering processes, embodiment and the subject of which Razack speaks, is left somewhat unclear through the idea of a subject who knows himself through "identity making" processes that are racialized and gendered.

Despite this, Razack's insights on mobility are extremely important. Is there a way that we might resolve some of these tensions and then see if there is indeed a connection between racialization, embodiment, space and mobility? Although the discussion of the respectable or bourgeois subject is useful, I am unconvinced that it adequately theorizes the role of 'race' and gender in the constitution of the subject and body themselves. And if there is a more integrated way that we might theorize about the constitution of the subject and the body through 'race' and gender, then we might be able to better understand if and why the racialized body is less mobile and is produced as belonging to degenerate spaces. It is for this reason that I turn to the work of Judith Butler, particularly her arguments about the materiality of the body.

Problematizing the Subject of Movement

Judith Butler argues that the materialization of the body happens through the materialization of the body's sex (1993a: 2). This materiality of sex is compelled through the regulatory norms of compulsory heterosexuality in a performative fashion, that is, by producing that which is being named (1993a: 2; 1993a: 13). Although the body is posited as existing before language, "this signifying act delimits and contours the body that it then claims to find prior to any and all signification" (1993b: 30). In other words, the body's materiality is woven into signification and so does not happen outside language (1993b: 31). For Butler, materialization is never complete, but over time is stabilized in and through the appearance of what we understand to be matter -- "the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface" (1993a: 9).

The idea of performativity, taken from speech act theory, depends on a notion of power that is not the act of an originating will (Butler, 1993a: 13). Through a revision of

the grammar of action, power is understood as that which is produced in and through its effects, which are, themselves, power (Butler, 1993b: 35). Thus, we are not dealing with a subject who acts or power that acts on a subject. Butler writes: " 'Materiality' designates a certain effect of power, or rather, *is*, power in its formative or constituting effects. Insofar as power operates successfully by constituting an object domain, a field of intelligibility, as a taken-for-granted ontology, its material effects are taken as material data or primary givens" (Butler, 1993b: 34-35). The moment in which matter appears as existing outside the workings of power or discourse, as an irreducible ground of meaning, is the moment when this discourse is most effective (Butler, 1993b: 35).

These ideas are useful towards a rebuilding of Razack's hypothesis that the body that is racialized and gendered is less mobile and is confined to particular Canadian spaces. First, Butler's understanding suggests that by considering processes that make 'identities' of 'race' and gender on the body, we further reproduce the gendered and racialized constitution of the body's materiality. Rather than understanding how gendered and racialized identities are made separately from the body, Butler suggests that the making of these 'identities' is the very making of the body itself. Further, her work suggests that there is no outside to discourse, and that when we speak of the body we are always speaking about something produced in its representation. Butler complicates the relationship of separation that seems to be suggested in Razack's discussion of matter and its representation.

But what does this complication mean for the idea of the 'subject'? Butler argues that subjects of action come to appear as an effect of this materialization through sex (Butler, 1992: 9). Butler again takes from Foucault, arguing that the subject is the effect of a chain of actions, a genealogy that is erased when the subject is understood as the foundation of action (Butler, 1992: 12). The subject is not the point of origin of action, but is itself the effect of various acts, which are unpredictable and indirect (Butler, 1992: 12). This constitution of the subject through the materialization of sex is then covered over through the supposed autonomy associated with the subject (1992: 12). Although the subject is posited as an actor within an external sphere of social relations, these relations are the very process, then concealed, of the subject's constitution (Butler, 1992: 12). Butler writes: "In this sense, then, the subject is constituted through the force of exclusion and abjection, one which produces a constitutive outside to the subject, an abjected outside, which is, after all, 'inside' the subject as its own founding repudiation" (1993: 3). This constitution of the subject requires, for Butler, an identification with norms of sex through a repudiation, forming an abjected outside which must then be covered over and disavowed (Butler, 1993a: 3). If not, this would threaten to reveal the 'self-grounding presumptions' that are at the basis of the sexed subject (Butler, 1993a: 3).

Although it is not widely noted, one of Butler's critical revisions in *Bodies that Matter* (1993) is the role played by racialization in the regulation of sex and gender. In this work Butler revisits her earlier discussions of performativity and the construction of sex and gender to suggest that it is not only the regulatory power of compulsory heterosexuality, but also taboos against miscegenation that structure the ways in which bodies come to materialize³. Although Butler brings attention to this oversight,

³ This is particularly noted in the beautiful essay "Passing Queering" in which Butler argues that the

something that is often overlooked in the reception of her work, and argues that the heterosexual matrix that compels the materialization of sex is always racialized, she does not adequately theorize racialization in her work.

Butler's work certainly points to some questions that might be asked of Razack's focus on the subject's self-awareness. If the subject is produced as an effect of the materialization of the body, and if the actions of the subject cover over its constitution, then by focusing on the process by which this subject 'knows himself' we do not get at the heart of oppressive 'identity'. Instead, if we give to the subject a sort of agency that then covers over the constitution of that subject through sex (and 'race'), then those norms that compel such a constitution are further reproduced.

It is important to note that Butler repeatedly states that any deconstruction of the body, of matter, of sex, or of the subject, is not a rejection but is a critique of something useful. Although Butler problematizes what is meant by the 'subject' or the 'body', she does not suggest that they should not, then, be studied. Instead, her work suggests that it is important to examine how these ideas come to materialize, and particularly what is being grounded through such a materialization. In the case of Razack's questions about mobility, this would suggest that we focus on how racialized and gendered bodies are made intelligible, and in which ways their intelligibility is bound up with particular spaces. If the racialized body is indeed restricted in its movement, then by studying its constitution in space, we might see if and how this immobility happens.

It is important to note that Butler's understanding of the subject as constituted by its actions is not a suggestion that the subject is overdetermined. The possibilities for a sort of 'agency' or resistance are located within this process of constitution. This understanding of resistance requires that the subject and its agency are not considered external to the field of power, nor that the subject is the effect of one act of power (1992: 13). Rather, when the subject is understood as continually being subjected and constituted, when its materiality is understood as the effect of reiterations that congeal over time to produce an appearance of stability, the possibilities for resignification are left open (Butler, 1992: 13). Importantly, Butler argues that this materialization of the sexed body is the effect of a set of actions that are mobilized through, but not compliant with, the regulatory law; thus, the performative constitution of the body is always engaged in a reshaping of meaning (1993a: 12).

Further this understanding offers some initial clues as to why the racialized and gendered body might be produced as belonging to particular space or with lessened mobility. Butler cautions that the subject of philosophy that is constituted through this materialization takes a particular form. She describes it as:

...a figure of disembodiment, but one which is nonetheless a figure of a body, a bodying forth of masculinized rationality, the figure of a male body which is not a body, a figure in crisis, a figure that enacts a crisis it cannot fully control...The body that is reason dematerializes the bodies that may not properly stand for reason or its replicas, and yet this is a figure in crisis, for this body of reason is itself the phantasmatic dematerialization

symbolic that governs the intelligibility of bodies is deeply racialized. She shows that although structures of 'race' and gender have separate histories and should not be conflated, they are often only articulated and made intelligible through one another (1993c).

of masculinity, one which requires that women and slaves, children and animals be the body, perform the bodily functions, that it will not perform (Butler, 1993b: 49).

This understanding suggests why the racialized and gendered body remains embodied and why the subjectivity (even illusory) accorded to the masculinized white body requires a certain disembodiment. However, for a more thorough understanding of this process, I turn to the work of Frantz Fanon, and the suggestion that different kinds of embodiment translate into different relationships of body and space.

Fanon and Racialized Mobility

As in Razack's analysis, racialization for Fanon does not happen by virtue of having a black body, but happens through what Razack might call "identity-making processes". What is different in Fanon's analysis is that 'identity' is not merely assumed or played out on the surface of the body, but, as does sex in Butler's account, racialization itself constitutes the body. Through the often cited "Look, a Negro!" sequence, Fanon shows how the black body is brought into being. What is important for my analysis here is how Fanon understands this embodiment to be played out in terms of the subject, the body, 'race', and space. Social space enters into Fanon's analysis in interesting ways, first, as that which provides the context for embodiment, secondly, in the relationship of the racialized body to social space. I use Fanon here to open up questions about how we might better understand how bodies and spaces produce one another, and how the racialized body is constituted through immobility.

In Chapter Five of *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon describes the movement of the pre-1940 Antillean⁴ from Martinique to colonial France⁵. The Antillean 'at home' is immersed in French discourse, including French school curriculum, French magazines and stories, and French history, and so comes to identify with whiteness as the norm (Fanon, 1967: 146). As whiteness is associated with purity and morality, and blackness is associated with immorality and sin, the Antillean, in order to see himself as moral, must maintain a psychical image of himself that is white (Fanon, 1967: 192). Fanon argues that, in this way, the collective unconscious of pre-1940 Antilles is white, and the black man is understood as the African, particularly the Senegalese (1967: 148). This understanding is troubled through maturity, and although the Antillean may identify himself as Negro, he still must maintain a moral identification with whiteness (Fanon, 1967: 192, 193).

Once he is in France, the Antillean is confronted with the gaze of the white man ("Look, a Negro!"), and is confronted with his blackness (Fanon, 1967: 112). In

⁴ In Chapter 6, Fanon argues that after 1940, with the dissemination of the work of Aimé Césaire, Antilleans began to think of themselves as Negroes (1967: 153).

⁵ It is important to note the tension between, on the one hand, Fanon's cautions against generalizing his theory as that of 'black experience' and his theoretical discussion of the essential construction of blackness, and on the other hand, his construction of 'Antillean' experience. Ann Pellegrini points to the tensions in Fanon's anti-essentialist tendencies and his attempts to make parallels between various oppressed groups/people (Pellegrini, 1997: 93). In particular, Pellegrini points to the ways in which Fanon homogenizes black women (1997: 93). She asks whether this might be indicative of the "impasse of constructionism/essentialism, theory/politics", and suggests that this is, perhaps, a consequence of Fanon's "ambition and genius" (Pellegrini, 1997: 93).

becoming black, the Antillean realizes that he too, and not just the African, is represented by the "myth of blackness", constructed through white images and histories of the Negro (Fanon, 1967: 112, 150). This marks the zebra striping of the mind -- the white unconscious is too stable for an easy displacement and the Antillean is left fragmented and "forever in combat with his own image" (Fanon, 1967: 194). As Pellegrini suggests, this white gaze is most successful as it becomes internalized (Pellegrini, 1997: 92). This gaze also enacts a trauma on the bodily schema, or the "lived body by and through which one takes up the world" (Merleau-Ponty in Sullivan, 2004: 13)⁶. When the black Antillean is confronted with the white world, this bodily schema falls away to show below it the existence of what Fanon calls the historico-racial schema formed through representations of blackness in discourse (Fanon, 1967: 111).

Although blackness comes into being in relation to whiteness, the converse is not also true and any possibility of black subjectivity is precluded (Fuss, 1994: 22). As Diana Fuss suggests, within white colonial discourse, the Other, always blackness, is used to maintain colonial selfhood (Fuss, 1994: 22). Although whiteness may be 'the other' to blackness, it can never be the Other that is essential to subjectivity (Fuss, 1994: 22). Rather, blackness is produced as a sort of illusory Other through a subject/other relationship that is actually an economy of the same, as illustrated by Fanon's discussion of the myth of blackness. The blackness that becomes the Antillean is made up of white myths: "I discovered my blackness, my ethnic characteristics; and I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects, slave ships, and above all else, above all: 'Sho' good eatin'" (1967: 112). Further, Fanon's work performs a further deconstruction of colonial subjectivity by suggesting that if the Antillean forms the exteriority of the colonial interiority, then the very humanness of the colonizer, defined against the non-humanness of blackness (which is only produced falsely in relation to whiteness!) comes into question (Fuss, 1994: 23). Fuss describes this as the double command of the colonizer: "Be like me, don't be like me" (Fuss, 1994: 23).

Fanon's account of the preclusion of black subjectivity problematizes and supplements Razack's framework on a number of counts. First, this analysis suggests that there are a number of very important links between 'race', embodiment, subjectivity, and mobility. However, it also suggests that when Razack (2002: 5) asks, "Who do white citizens know themselves to be and how much does an identity of dominance rely upon keeping racial Others firmly *in place*?" she is posing a very complicated question, one that, as discussed above in relation to Butler, reproduces the illusory effect of a thinking and acting subject. Further, Fanon suggests that the racialized body becomes neither other nor subject, but simply an object. Whiteness, the "transcendental signifier", is not understood as "not-black" but is self-reproducing and works as its own Other (Fuss, 1994: 144). This suggests the importance of moving away from questions of how the subject knows himself and asking instead how this subject comes to appear through the 'keeping in place' of racialized bodies, and how this keeping in place is achieved.

⁶ Here Fanon looks to the phenomenological work of Merleau-Ponty where a distinction is made between the body through which the world is experienced and the body as it is reflected on as an object (Sullivan, 2004: 13). For both Merleau-Ponty and Fanon, although the movements of the body through space allow one to engage with the social world, this is done in an unthought way that does not render the body into an object (Sullivan, 2004: 13).

Racialization in Fanon's account is the embodiment of blackness, which is embodiment itself for the black man, unrecognizable without his blackness in the French context. This is, at the same time, the process by which the body comes into being and the process by which the black man's subjectivity is denied. The black man cannot attain a disembodied subjectivity but remains characterized, only a 'black man' and never a 'man', in a heightened state of embodiment. Referring back to this becoming of blackness, Ann Pellegrini writes: "This inscription surfaces on and as the racialized body; the oppressed loses all claim to individual 'being' and comes instead a representative type" (Pellegrini, 1997: 92).

Not only does embodiment happen in relation to social space, in this case, racialization happens in relation to bodies that produce the social space of colonial France, and is also the process by which the racialized body is marked as one that cannot move freely in space because of the trauma to its bodily-schema (Fanon, 1967: 112). As Fuss acknowledges:

Space operates as one of the chief signifiers of racial difference here: under colonial rule, freedom of movement (psychical and social) becomes a white prerogative. Forced to occupy, in a white racial phantasm, the static ontological space of the timeless 'primitive', the black man is disenfranchised of his very subjectivity. Denied entry into the alterity that underwrites subjectivity, the black man, Fanon implies, is sealed instead into a 'crushing objecthood' (Fuss, 1994: 21).

This hyper-embodiment can also be understood as a sort of alienation of the black man from the black body (Dalal, 2002: 98). Fanon argues that the now racialized person is left in a state of seeking approval and definition from the white world, which cannot come from the non-existent Other (Sullivan, 2003; Fanon, 1967: 154). The black body only comes to take on meaning in a social space where the white body is presumed to be *the* body.

'Race', Gender and Mobility in the Canadian Context

If Fanon's work is at all applicable to the contemporary white settler state context of Canada then a number of things might be suggested. First, and in light of Butler's understanding of embodiment, an 'identity' of whiteness might itself never be fully achieved but might be better understood as needing continual reaffirmation through encounters with an Other produced in its own image, as is highlighted in Razack's thoughts on the movement of white, middle-class men's bodies into 'degenerate' or racialized space. Secondly, although Butler's arguments effectively show that subjects are merely an effect of materialization, dominant discourse continues to conceptualize bodies as belonging to acting subjects. Fanon's work, taken together with Razack's suggestion that people of colour and Aboriginal people in Canada continue to be excluded from subjectivity, suggests that those who are excluded are not merely an Other, but are, to some extent, hyper-embodied as a representative racialized type. Racialized bodies become intelligible in part through a process that forms part of white subjectivity, itself an illusory process. It is for this reason that the body that is racialized falls into a sort of representative position that is the basis for its intelligibility.

Again, this argument is not without room for resistance. Fanon cautions that

despite the representation of blackness in white discourse, something remains elusive about the black man, some mystery or secret that the black man holds from his white counterpart (1967: 128). Radhika Mohanram (1999) relates this mystery to the nature of racialized representations, particularly with respect to what Fanon understands as the necessity to deny the existence of "Negroes" in favour of representations of "the Negro" (Fanon, 1967: 127, for example). Mohanram writes, "the supplementary nature of Fanon's blackness must be excluded for the internal coherence of a system divided into blacks and whites to function, a system defined from the vantage point of whiteness" (1999: 27).

Of course, it is important to consider to what extent Fanon's work might be generalized to other contexts. It is clear that Fanon's analysis speaks primarily about black men⁷. However, if we consider the work of Luce Irigaray (1985), which follows similar lines to suggest that women are also outside the process of subjectivity which she too shows to be constituted through Self-Self relations, then it is possible to argue that Fanon's work holds relevance for those 'identities' of Other, that include, Razack argues, people of colour and Aboriginal peoples in the Canadian context. Further, if we return to the work of Kathleen Kirby (1996) and Inderpal Grewal (1996), through which Razack forms her arguments about movement in space, then it becomes clear that this understanding might be extended beyond just pre-1940 Martinique.

Stranger Movements in the Canadian Context

Kathleen Kirby (1996: 45) argues that the development of narratives of the Enlightenment individual was closely tied to a particular representation of space as well as to the development of technologies for managing that space. Kirby notes the geographic ways in which the individual itself is mapped; the individual is understood as a sort of closed circle, clearly separated from its outside environment and location, and made up of a sort of internal coherence and consistency (1996: 45). In her examination of some Renaissance texts, Kirby identifies how the development of mapping shaped representations of subjectivity. She writes:

My contention is that the mapping subject, now as then, is a construct incapable of responding to many of the features of the (geopolitical) environment; that it is an exclusive structure encoded with a particular gender, class, and racial positioning; that it is a structure for subjectivity unresponsive to the perspectives of many non-dominant subjectivities, particularly women (Kirby, 1996: 46).

Kirby's work, which she argues has contemporary relevance, can be read

⁷ Rey Chow (2002) suggests that Fanon's misogyny, particularly in Chapter 2 of *Black Skin, White Masks*, points to perhaps one of the most troubling "disorders" of the colonized subject, the condition of *ressentiment*, or a repeated negative response that must be repressed (2002: 185). In this case, members of one's own community become enemies posing a threat from the outside (Chow, 2002: 184). Chow suggests that "although it may appear that these women are being disparaged on account of their lasciviousness and greediness for power, in the end it is perhaps their proximity to, and hence rivalry with, the male critic's own theoretical vision...that explains...his need to distinguish himself from them" (2002: 185). Chow suggests that as these women as understood by Fanon as attempting to 'whiten' the 'race' through their reproductive powers, something that is not out of alignment with Fanon's own political interest in bringing about a society that is not marked by racial hierarchy (Chow, 2002: 185).

alongside Fanon's understanding of racialized embodiment. The hyper-embodiment or objectification of the gendered and racialized subject can also be understood as a greater linking of this subject to place. In contrast, the universal subject is one who is detached from his environment and who also organizes and maps uncharted space. While those who are not represented as subject remain hyper-embodied and bound in space, those who are constructed as subjects can move freely.

The mobile universal subject is also constituted through the discourse of travel. Inderpal Grewal (1996) examines the idea of travel in nineteenth century British and Indian discourse, arguing that these ideas have contemporary importance. Grewal (1996) makes a clear distinction in her work between ideas of travel and ideas of tourism, primarily through ideas of class and gender. She critiques the use of 'travel' to indicate universal mobility, pointing to the erasure and exclusion of many non-Eurocentric or imperialist mobilities, such as immigration, deportation, slavery and so on (Grewal, 1996). She argues:

More than a trope, travel is a metaphor that, I argue, became an ontological discourse central to the relations between Self and Other, between different forms of alterity, between nationalisms, women, races, and classes. It remains so to this day, through continuities and discontinuities. Whether travel is a metaphor of exile, mobility, difference, modernity or hybridity, it suggests the particular ways in which knowledge of a Self, society, and nation was, and is, within European and North American culture to be understood and obtained (Grewal, 1996: 4).

Grewal (1996) argues that the discourse of travel played a crucial role in the formation of gender and class subjectivities through the formation of contact zones, or spaces of colonial encounter, such as the civilized home and the exotic harem (Grewal, 1996). Grewal identifies these spaces as zones through which understandings of difference and identity were produced and reproduced.

There are many contemporary implications of this work. In her analysis, Grewal (1996) argues that contact zones are not only restricted to nineteenth century contexts, but that they can exist everywhere, wherever narratives of encounter with difference are spatially embodied. When taken together with Kirby's work, we see that the universal subject has the ability to freely move through, map and organize space, and also that this movement further reinforces the deracialized and ungendered nature of the subject. This movement is both an effect of and further constitutive of an embodiment that requires, Butler and Fanon suggest, an encounter with an other which may merely be a reflection of the self.

Implications for Refugee Studies

As this last section might suggest, much of the recent critical writing on issues of mobility focuses on the language of travel or free movement undertaken often for pleasure and discovery and its materialization of the mobile subject. In contrast, the racialized and gendered body comes into being in racialized space and is not freely mobile. Through my analysis of Butler, Razack, Fanon and other post-colonial work, it can be understood that . any discussion of mobility must very carefully consider how bodies and spaces are constituted through meanings of 'race' and gender. Without such a

consideration, it becomes possible to reproduce the racialized and gendered exclusions that are being challenged. To examine how this happens in Razack work, Butler's understandings of embodiment and of materiality were used to show how racialized and sexual exclusions are reproduced in Razack's argument that there exists a sort of ontological existence of bodies and spaces. Through a discussion of Butler and Fanon, it was suggested that a focus on the constitution of the materiality of both bodies and space allows us to differently develop Razack's argument that the racialized and gendered body is less mobile and is constituted within particular space.

However, what must be stressed is that this analysis refers not to the movements of what is understood as the physical body, but refers to the ways that this body materializes in particular texts. It is important to keep in mind Butler's understanding, which grounds the writing of this paper, that the body comes into being, or materializes, in text through a series of racialized and gendered exclusions. These exclusions, I have shown here, produce the racialized and gendered body as less mobile than the white masculine subject.

As there is a growing literature within the diverse refugee studies literature that explores questions of mobility, it is important to consider this intervention into the ways that bodies and spaces in question come into being and the questions it asks: What does this mean for writing on transnational migration and refugee studies? How do bodies and spaces materialize within these texts? What are the racialized and gendered implications of this writing? In particular, this analysis suggests the importance of undertaking a critical examination of particular texts, including those written from an anti-racist or feminist approach.

In looking at writing within Refugee Studies literatures this research approach might include an exploration of how the refugee materializes in policy or academic writing. How is the language of mobility employed and through what exclusions do the bodies and spaces in question materialize? Additionally, how does the consideration of refugee movements further complicate this theoretical framework? There is a way that refugee movements complicate the idea of travel as one of privilege, or is there a way that the very idea of the 'refugee' produces a racialized and gendered body because of its relationship to a mobility that is highly controlled by those granting asylum?

My discussion of Butler and Fanon's work also complicates the use of ideas of agency to 'empower' the refugee. Additionally, it suggests that we should consider how a negotiation of the refugee's agency relates to its mobility. It is possible that it is through this negotiation of agency that the movement of the refugee is distinguished from that of the freely chosen movements of the citizen subject. As is suggested in my initial discussion of Razack's (1998) work on gender persecution refugee hearings in Canada, the agency of the state granting asylum is often contrasted with the dependency of the refugee herself. The appearance of agency of the refugee is often, Razack suggests, her failure in securing asylum (1998). It is further important to consider how this materialization of the refugee body in relation to the citizen subject's agency relates to the criminality of the refugee that, as highlighted by the Van Hoyweghen (2001) quote at the start of this paper.

Although there are a number of further areas of research to develop, what is made

clear by this analysis is the importance of turning to non-traditional approaches in order to make visible the way that power operates to exclude. In the interest of making clear the obscured workings of 'race' and gender it becomes important to explore the violence that is not experience not *on* but *as* the material body and to ask how this material body comes into its being.

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