Coloniality In queer asylum: towards theorising 'colonial surveillance' and its resistances

Marie Lunau & Rieke Schröder

Published online: 18 Jan 2025.

Submit your article to this journal ↗

Article views: 25

View related articles ↗

View Crossmark data ↗

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Coloniality In queer asylum: towards theorising 'colonial surveillance' and its resistances

Marie Lunau[a] and Rieke Schröder[b]

[a]Department of Communication and Arts, Roskilde Universitet, Roskilde, Denmark; [b]Department of Politics and Society, Aalborg Universitet, Aalborg, Denmark

ABSTRACT

This article introduces the concept of 'colonial surveillance' as a tool for analysing contemporary regulatory practices within queer asylum. Based on interviews and ethnographic fieldwork with queer refugees, immigration officers and support organisations in Berlin and Copenhagen, we argue that the surveillance and assessment processes of queer refugees are rooted in colonial logics. We contribute to the growing body of research on queer migration by theorising 'colonial surveillance' and examining its manifestations. First, we identify colonial surveillance within the archives of knowledge employed to assess queer refugees in the decision-making processes. Here, we argue that coloniality of knowledge is reflected in the assessment of queerness as well as in the documents used to evaluate queer refugees' fear of persecution. Second, we discuss resistance strategies employed by queer refugees and support organisations against these colonial forms of surveillance, uncovering the complex position of these organisations that both perpetuate and resist surveillance. Through the lens of 'colonial surveillance', we aim to illuminate the intersection of queer asylum and continued colonial logics within the asylum regime in Berlin and Copenhagen.

Introduction

In the spring of 2018, Sadia migrated from South Asia to Germany for different reasons, mostly because of their queerness. Through the digital portal of a Zoom call, Sadia talked about their experience of being an activist working for the rights of queer and trans refugees in Germany. In our conversation, Sadia continually insisted on acknowledging Germany's historical relationship with migration and its continuities in both the past and the present. They expressed how Germany 'is full of trauma' and elaborated on how 'it's in the bones'. 'It's in the vertebrate of every, every single person born here and also who come here'. The pervasive presence of trauma within Germany is not only due to historical events, Sadia emphasised – it is woven into the very fabric of society, affecting both permanent residents and refugees. 'Have people forgotten

everything?' Sadia asked furiously as our conversation unfolded. 'I sometimes think people are living in amnesia or something like that (…) You are repeating history again'. In conveying their frustration at the apparent collective forgetfulness or amnesia of historical atrocities, Sadia urges us to consider the repetition of them in the present. Sadia specifically highlights how colonial territorial occupation and domination are mirrored in contemporary migration policies aimed at controlling and regulating borders and any incoming refugees. The parallel between the trauma in German history and current migration control suggests a recurring pattern where individuals are caught in a history not of their own making. It is, rather, a making of the legacies of colonialism that repeats itself in various, deadly and traumatic ways. Sadia apologises for becoming louder as we talk. Their frustration, anger and grief bear witness to a deep affective attachment, and a firm resistance, to colonial histories and their continued workings.

We begin this article with a vignette from an interview with Sadia to effectively illustrate the force of colonial histories and their ghostly encounters with the present. Much like Sadia, Ann Laura Stoler (2016) delves into the concept of 'colonial amnesia' to highlight how countries with colonial legacies often engage in selective memory or outright forgetting of their colonial pasts. This amnesia is not just about forgetting historical events, it is also about forgetting the continued effects of colonialism on contemporary societies. As Sadia reminds us, Germany's historical and colonial domination of populations can be linked to the national inclusion politics of refugees today. In this article, we take up Sadia's call to relate queer asylum to colonialism by analysing how colonial logics are reflected and reproduced through contemporary forms of regulating queer migration in Germany and Denmark. Furthermore, we analyse how these regulating structures are being resisted by both queer refugees and support organisations.

Queer migration and asylum-seeking within Europe is in principle regulated by the UN Refugee Convention, which establishes that asylum may be granted to individuals who possess a 'well-founded fear of being persecuted [based on their] membership of a particular social group' (UNHCR 2010, 14). Queer asylum seekers' national inclusion is predicated on the trustworthiness of their sexual and/or gender identity along with their fear of persecution (UNHCR 2010). European states have increasingly implemented heightened surveillance practices to obtain the knowledge they need to assess and separate the 'fraudulent' from the 'genuine' queer (Lunau and Andreassen 2023). These stately sorting mechanisms ultimately work to divide asylum seekers into categories of who is (un)truthful and, thus, (un)worthy of state protection. This climate of surveillance occurs at a time when anti-immigration political discourses have introduced an increased regulatory framework on asylum policies in both Germany and Denmark (Jønsson and Petersen 2012; Tschalaer 2023). The highlighted restrictive development in asylum procedures has not only made it more difficult to apply for asylum; suspicion about the truth of the applicant's identity and asylum motive along with amplified surveillance technologies are increasingly emphasised during the assessment of asylum cases (Bendixen 2020; Tschalaer 2023).

In this article, we introduce the theoretical concept of 'colonial surveillance' to analyse contemporary forms of regulating queer migration in Berlin and Copenhagen. The aim of this article is to develop a theoretical concept that can help to explore how queer refugees are being made visible, surveilled and assessed in their processes of becoming credible subjects within the queer asylum regime. We employ the term 'colonial' as a conceptual lens and analytical tool to understand how past colonial logics, practices or

structures are mirrored in contemporary societies. As such 'colonial' is used as a theoretical rather than a historical term, not merely describing past colonial rule through historical events. To do so, we draw on interviews and ethnographic fieldwork with queer refugees, immigration officers and support organisations produced as part of our respective doctoral research in Berlin and Copenhagen. With this article, we do not aim to develop a comparative study of the two cities, but rather explore them as analytical examples of how cities, often portrayed as progressive queer safe havens (Padovan-Özdemir and Øland 2022), engage in ordering practices that can be theorised as 'colonial surveillance'. Berlin and Copenhagen present two urban localities and centres where queerness does not appear as a form or precarity (Bhagat 2023) but can be utilised in becoming a citizen and a 'queer lover', rather than a 'hateful other' (Haritaworn 2015). Due to the availability of (federal) state funding, the two capitals provide a multitude of support offers to queer refugees. Furthermore, the queer asylum regime in both cities is framed by national laws, with the nation-state level playing a central role in perpetuating German and Danish colonial histories. Therefore, while exploring the urban contexts, we occasionally refer to the state level, as it regulates much of what is taking place on a local level. By bringing our material together, we explore the shared colonial logics evident in the surveillance of 'others'' identity as either genuine or fraudulent.[1]

We draw on a growing body of research on queer migration that suggests that decision-makers often rely on Eurocentric and colonial understandings of sexual and gender minority identity categories in the assessment of queer asylum seekers (Fobear 2014; Lee 2018; Shakhsari and Jin Haritaworn 2014). Eithne Luibhéid (2008) discusses, for instance, that queer migration is based on a colonialist discourse that not only impeaches asylum seekers' countries of origin but also relies on 'immutable' identity categories that have been distorted through colonialist perspectives (179). Giametta and Havkin (2021)also argue that the '[r]acist and exoticizing representations of queer otherness … vehiculate colonial archives about places and about what being queer means' (111). Following Lucy Mayblin (2017), we propose that merely relying on racism to explain these power dynamics would mean 'missing … an engagement with those inter-connected histories – colonial histories – which have allowed for the assignment of differential worth to various human bodies' (Mayblin 2017, 4). This does not imply that racism is peripheral to coloniality; rather, it emphasises that racism is enmeshed within colonial power relations, which have created and enforced hierarchies that justify the perception of certain groups as more 'civilised' (Mayblin 2017).

Especially scholars from the Global South critique how representations of queer and trans migration are often overly simplistic and perpetuate neo-colonial logics (Camminga 2018; Manalansan 2006), emphasising how such narratives position the Global North as the progressive 'protector' of sexual and gender minorities from 'savage' Africa (Marnell 2022; Rao 2020). As a result, African scholars such as Zethu Matabeni (2014) and Stella Nyanzi (2014) have challenged the neo-coloniality of Western ontological and epistemological perspectives on queerness. However, within the growing body of research in Europe (Danisi et al. 2021), these anti-, de- and post-colonial perspectives remain less explored compared to their more significant influence in studies of the Canadian queer asylum system (Fobear 2014; Lee 2018). Building on this research, highlighting both (neo-)colonial and heightened surveillance practices within a queer asylum, we believe it is fruitful to conceptualise these together as 'colonial surveillance' within a

European context. In this article, we ask how 'colonial surveillance' can be traced in the queer asylum regimes in Germany and Denmark, and how it is resisted by different actors. We begin the article with a brief history of colonisation in Germany and Denmark, followed by a theoretical exploration of the concept of 'colonial surveillance', after which we present our methodology. Our analysis is twofold: We start with identifying 'colonial surveillance' within the archives of knowledge employed to assess queer asylum seekers. Here, we argue that coloniality of knowledge manifests in the assessment of queerness and in the documents used to evaluate asylum seekers' fear of persecution. Secondly, we explore how these colonial forms of surveillance are resisted by both queer refugees and support groups, before we conclude the article.

A brief history of Danish and German colonialism

While it is beyond the scope of this article to flesh out Denmark and Germany's colonial histories in detail, we do believe that it is indispensable to provide some historical context. By doing so, we aim to avoid an ahistorical reading or homogenisation of Denmark and Germany's colonial past. Denmark is often excluded from narratives about past European empires. Perhaps this is attributed to the limited scale of the Danish Empire in terms of territorial extension compared to, for example, the British Empire. However, focusing merely on scale overlooks the broader impact of colonialism as a form of cultural, economic and social oppression (Jensen 2015). It has been argued that Danish colonial history began in the 16th century in the North Atlantic and expanded by establishing trading posts in India. It continued with the establishment of colonies in Ghana, the Caribbean islands and its ongoing colonisation of Kalaalit Nunaat (Greenland) (ibid.). Germany became a colonial power much later than Denmark, in 1884. The German colonial empire stretched through large parts of Africa, in today's Togo, Cameroon, Namibia and Tanzania, as well as smaller areas in East Asia and in the Pacific (Conrad 2011). With a duration of only thirty years, the German colonial empire was one of the shortest, and yet it came to be the fourth largest colonial empire at the time, after Britain, France, and the Netherlands (ibid.). While different in scope and length, Denmark and Germany were both colonial powers. Numerous scholars in a Nordic context have pointed to the lack of acknowledgement of the continued consequences of coloniality and called for a critical scholarship on decolonisation[2], racialisation and (anti)racism (Guschke, Khawaja, and Myong 2023; Hunter 2023; Keskinen et al. 2009). Through 'Nordic exceptionalism', Nordic countries, including Denmark, disengage from their colonial past by purporting to be merely associated with profound human rights and gender equality. This effectively downplays their histories of racialisation, racism and colonialism (Lundström and Teitelbaum 2017). Germany's colonial history is also often overlooked, or, as Alyosxa Tudor (2018) phrases it, actively 'de-memorised' (1067). It has similarly been argued that Germany is engaging in a 'whitewashing of the colonial past' (El-Tayeb 2011, 13). Today's fantasy of Germany as free of racism is directly connected to such differential (dis)prioritising of certain aspects of Germany's history – and present (Tudor 2018). In this article, we align with this critical scholarship and argue that contemporary asylum regimes of surveillance and disbelief must be examined through the lens of coloniality within Danish and German thought and practice. It has often been highlighted

how popular historical discourses, especially in Scandinavia, have somehow moved directly from 'no colonialism to post-colonialism' (Ipsen and Fur 2009, 10). Contrary to this, we wish to stop between the two and delve into the ways in which coloniality did, in fact, not pass the post, but how colonial logics are alive, present and reflected in current asylum policies and practices.

Thinking through the lens of 'colonial surveillance'

In the following, we introduce the concept of 'colonial surveillance' by merging existing literature on the enduring effects of coloniality with perspectives on surveillance mechanisms. We draw on Michel Foucault's (1971) conceptualisation of surveillance as the exercise of control over subjects and as a form of disciplinary power. Such control is not always exercised directly, but the looming possibility of being surveilled at any time influences how subjects move and actively navigate a given society (Foucault 1971). Through discourse and self-surveillance, as well as surveillance of one another, surveillance practices are intrinsic to the structuring of modern society. Surveillance is not only conducted by those in power; it is also enacted horizontally, with individuals surveilling each other. However, those in positions of power typically define what constitutes acceptable behaviour and knowledge through 'punishing' what is considered 'out of line'.

In combination with this understanding of surveillance, we draw on a scholarly framework that considers how coloniality and colonial logics are continually embedded within the structures of contemporary policies and societies (Ahmed 2006; El-Tayeb 2011; Lugones 2010, 2023; Mayblin 2017; Stoler 2016, 2020; Tudor 2017, 2018). We follow Sara Ahmed (2006), who argues that we are enmeshed in a 'world shaped by colonial histories, which affect not simply how maps are drawn, but the kinds of orientations we have towards objects and others' (126). This orientation is not only towards the context of 'the orient' (Said 1978), but also those others that are appearing in what is conceptualised to be the centre: Europe (including Denmark and Germany). In this way, we can understand how European coloniality is not only affecting colonised spaces, but also how it is employed within the colonialist centre itself (Shohat 1992).[3] We might then argue that is it indeed sensible to apply post-colonial theory to European geopolitics by shedding light on contemporary continuities and ruptures of Danish and German colonial legacies. As such, we aim to bring the colonial question out of the colonies, and instead, into Europe (Cooper 2005, 415). We recognise that colonialism 'is not a closed epoch of the past, but is a powerful, ongoing ideology and social order that defines, in the first place, what can be understood as "Europe"' (Tudor 2017, 35). Therefore, we employ the concept of 'colonial surveillance' not as a historical concept, but as a theoretical lens that allows us to explore the colonial logics and ordering principles as a 'social order', experienced by queer refugees in the asylum regime. As such, we are interested in thinking through the question of how coloniality as a structure of power permeates not only the political, but also social and affective relations such as sexuality, gender, racialisation, subjectivity and authority through the very processes of knowing and organising queerness (Mayblin 2017; Quijano 2000).

Scholars have suggested that colonial powers often understand themselves as the bearers of totalising and objective knowledge (Tuhiwai Smith 2021). María Lugones (2023), for instance, argues that colonialism imposed a gender system as a mode of

organising and knowing through binarisms. Looking back at colonial history, Stoler (2020) similarly discusses, through the concept of 'intimacies of empire', how colonial empires reorganised sexual relations by regulating morality and implementing penal codes to prohibit same-sex relations and non-normative gender expressions (see also Hellweg 2015). As a result, many post-colonial states have employed the very same tactics of surveillance and control as their colonisers, which have forced many queer people to seek protection elsewhere. In this article, we focus less on the historical influence of colonial rule in former colonies, but rather on the ways in which former colonisers (Denmark and Germany) continue to regulate sexuality and gender today through surveillance mechanisms within asylum regimes. With the concept of 'colonial surveillance', we aim to locate colonialism within a context of queer asylum, specifically within a European and Nordic context, where the continued effects of colonial histories are often denied, de-memorised and erased. Throughout this article, we demonstrate how asylum regimes exercise 'colonial surveillance' in the assessment (and ascribing) of queer identity and how these practices affect support organisations. Importantly, we pay attention to the ways in which 'colonial surveillance' is resisted through both firm and subtle forms of resistance by queer refugees and support organisations. The concept of 'colonial surveillance', thus, contributes novel insights into how the assessment process itself can be linked to ongoing colonial logics, but also how refugees and organisations resist colonial powers.

Methodology

In this article, we draw on fieldwork and interviews produced as part of our respective PhD projects. As part of Marie's PhD project, she carried out ethnographic fieldwork and interviewed ten queer refugees in Denmark, as well as eight immigration officials who assess and conduct asylum interviews with queer asylum seekers between 2020 and 2022.[4] As part of Rieke's PhD project, she interviewed 12 queer refugees in Copenhagen and Berlin, as well as 22 employees and volunteers within organisations offering support to queer refugees in these cities between 2022 and 2023. Out of these, eight organisations had queer asylum seekers and refugees as their main target groups, while the others offered sub-projects focusing on queer refugees although their main organisational target lay elsewhere, such as health support or general refugee and migrant support. All asylum seekers, refugees, employees, volunteers and the organisations they are affiliated with have been anonymised. We refrain from naming their countries of origin, as this could potentially compromise the anonymity, as some of the individuals we interviewed are the only ones from their specific countries to have received asylum so far. While it is beyond the scope of this article to flesh out our methodology and positionalities in detail, we have done so elsewhere.

As feminist researchers, we acknowledge the importance of reflexivity throughout the research process, which is also pertinent to writing this article. We understand the colonial legacies implied in creating knowledge about 'the other'. We cannot free ourselves from recreating and upholding some of these colonial knowledge creations in undertaking this research. We understand our position as academics as being engaged in works of translation, prioritising some stories shared with us over others, thus shaping what we are presenting here. We also acknowledge that our positionalities have been shaped by

ongoing colonial and Eurocentric structures in Nordic universities, meaning that we have both been trained and formed by the very same coloniality of knowledge we are critically addressing in this article.

How do we hold ourselves and each other accountable? As part of practising reflexivity, 'situated knowledge' (Haraway 1988), which can be described as a way of making one's position within the research visible, has become a prominent practice within academic writing – especially by white feminists. We do not intend to present our positionality statements here 'as a function of coloniality' (Gani and Khan 2024) but want to point out that this practice is also grounded in colonial 'truth-making' processes. Our locational and political positions as two white, queer-identifying German (Rieke) and Danish (Marie) individuals bear witness to an asymmetrical colonial power between us and the queer refugees we were in contact with. This also means that we might have been perceived as – and are actually positioned within – the colonial surveillance that queer asylum seekers and refugees need to navigate. Although we are aware that we cannot overcome these barriers, we have strived towards continued reflexivity, transparency and accountability throughout our research relations and processes.

Surveilling queer identities through a colonial archive of knowledge

In the following, we explore how colonial surveillance appears within national asylum practices that distinguish between 'fraudulent' and 'genuine' queer subjectivities. Through the lens of 'colonial surveillance', we analyse the asylum process as an ordering practice that assesses and ascribes queer identity based on a colonial system of knowledge. In particular, we follow how the coloniality of knowledge about queerness and fear of persecution emerge in the assessment process. Through interviews with immigration officers, working to assess queer asylum cases, they emphasised the importance of how queer refugees are required to represent clear, consistent, coherent and binary narratives of their queerness. The demand for consistency in sexual identity was emphasised through a binary ontology, necessitating a clear dualistic structure between homosexuality and heterosexuality. The Danish immigration officer Anne highlighted, for example, how bisexuality was especially 'difficult to determine since those applicants have had partners of both genders' (Anne). These rigid categorisations were also experienced by queer asylum seeker Nuri from North Africa, who was rejected by the Danish Immigration Service because her sexuality did not follow a linear and temporal consistency. Instead, Nuri's material and affective encounters with her sexuality progressed with fluidity and ambivalence through time. Even though Nuri identified as a lesbian woman at the time of her asylum application, her claim was rejected due to 'inconsistencies' in her sexual narrative. We can here understand how the logics within this form of surveillance of queer refugees' identities require a linear and consistent timeline (see also Schröder 2023b). The Danish immigration officer Louise also remarked that gender identity was understood (and surveilled) through similar binary notions when she noted that the assessment is 'focused on being either male (and homosexual) or female (and homosexual)' (Louise).

This enforcement of a strict gender binary as evidence of 'credible' queer subjects highlights the forms of knowledge about sexuality and gender that shape the assessment process. The binarization of both sexual and gender identity manifests in the assessment

process as part of a knowledge system that draws on and echoes colonial logics through an imposition of fixed categories on (ambivalent) queer identities. We might then argue that these examples demonstrate how colonial logics of gender and sexuality – also referred to as the 'coloniality of gender' (Lugones 2023) – enforce control over who can be deemed a 'legitimate' queer through the asylum process. This insistence on standardised and binary narratives can furthermore be observed through a tendency within these knowledge systems to verify 'subjective' (personal accounts) evidence of queerness through 'objective' evidence, such as documents (see also Haas and Shuman 2019). However, Stoler (2009) has emphasised that colonial knowledge is neither neutral nor objective; rather, it is a product of power relations and is shaped by the needs and interests of the colonial state. Following this, we can understand how a colonial surveillance of asylum narratives tends to privilege and believe certain kinds of colonial knowledges about queerness, while erasing alternative, nuanced and ambivalent experiences of being queer. By re-inaugurating colonial hierarchies of sexuality and gender, only binary and 'objective' narratives can become credible within the apparatus of colonial surveillance.

Some of the most important knowledge used to assess queer refugees' fear of persecution in their countries of origin is, in fact, based on more 'objective' evidence such as the Immigration Service's 'country reports'. These reports are created through collected documents and used as an archive of knowledge to assess whether a 'well-founded fear of persecution' can be substantiated in a given country. In this sense, the country reports work as background knowledge to assess whether queerness is dangerous enough in the asylum seeker's country of origin. However, it has been pointed out that these country reports are often imprecise, contradictory and out of date (Bendixen 2020; Ferreira 2018). During an interview with the Danish immigration officer Christina, she also shared her growing scepticism about the reliability of the country reports. She expressed discomfort with her own role in a system, where she feels compelled to assess queer refugees based on what she described as 'outdated and problematic' country reports. Christina also mentioned how some of her colleagues tend to select reports that align with their desired decision of an asylum case. This sentiment, indeed, shows how the practice of colonial surveillance is not a totalising or 'objective' structure; there remains room for subjective assessments, or application, in the surveillance of fear.

During her asylum interview, asylum seeker Gabriela felt the impact of the country reports when she described her fear of persecution based on her gender identity as a trans woman. In Gabriela's interview, the Danish immigration officer asked her: 'It says here [looking at the country report] that [name of country] has LGBT politics, so what are you doing here?' In this example, the background information obtained by the Danish Immigration Service about Gabriela's country of origin must have led to the evaluation that conditions for queer people in the country were safe. Immigration officer Anne shared another example of how the Immigration Service relies on country reports to verify the plausibility of an applicant's claim about visiting a gay bar in their country of origin. In this case example, the applicant deemed the environment safe enough to go out for a drink, but when the information was compared to the knowledge stated in the country report, the act of going out failed to serve as proof of the applicant's queerness. Instead, both queerness and fear were called into

question. Through these empirical examples, it becomes clear that the country reports are used as filtering devices when assessing asylum cases (Giametta and Havkin 2021, 109). Based on an archive of colonial knowledge, this form of filtering dictates how the surveillance of fear is assessed.

In the surveillance of queer asylum seekers' fear of persecution, it seems that experiences of fear are expected as part of applicants' pasts. Such expressions of past fear contribute to constructing queer asylum seekers as (homo)national subjects, who can be accepted into the nation if they can be rescued from fear and truly perilous countries. This might indicate how immigration and asylum institutions depend on narratives of fear that can fulfil their desires of becoming 'saviours' who can provide rescue and liberation to oppressed people from the Global South. Reliance on such a narrative enforces racial and colonial impositions when asylum seekers are framed as advancing from their repressive, 'homophobic native lands' to seek freedom and liberation in 'civilised' and liberating safe havens (Giametta 2017, 107). We, thus, argue that in a colonial continuity, Danish and German governments' desire to save 'the other' who is 'able to reproduce a very specific suffering narrative' (Saleh 2020, 60) secures the colonial positioning of superiority as well as upholds the fantasy of saving truly deserving refugees. In this way, colonial knowledge is not just about controlling and surveilling populations; it also shapes the identities and perceptions of the 'colonisers' themselves (Stoler 2009). Colonial surveillance can then reinforce notions of superiority and difference that play a critical role in the construction of 'colonial' subjectivities and, thus, in their asylum assessments.

As we have seen through the empirical examples, queer refugees are surveilled through continued colonial definitions and knowledge systems that reinforce binaries, racism and (homo)national logics of gender, sexuality and fear. The assessment process relies on its own archive of information and knowledge about countries in the Global South, which is used to classify, control and surveil asylum seekers' experiences of queerness and fear. By referring to the utilisation of a colonial archive of knowledge, we suggest that colonial logics of queer identities and fear are embedded within the assessment process and enforced through documents, such as the country reports. As such, we have argued that the surveillance of queer subjectivities is being upheld through totalising and binary understandings of gender, sexuality and fear that legitimise and perpetuate a colonial knowledge system through the asylum-seeking process. We can, thus, observe what we call 'colonial surveillance' through the ways in which identity and fear are being surveilled and ascribed based on colonial archives of knowledge.

Ambivalent archives and shadows of resistance

In the previous section of this article, we argued that a colonial archive of knowledge within the assessment process manifests through colonial surveillance of queer asylum seekers. We now turn our gaze away from the apparatus of colonial surveillance, and instead focus on moments of resistance to this ordering. Importantly, we are opening up 'a shadow archive of resistance, one that does not speak in the language of action and momentum but instead articulates itself in terms of evacuation, refusal, passivity, unbecoming, unbeing' (Halberstam 2011, 129). We understand '[a]daptation, rejection, adoption, ignoring or integrating' (Lugones 2023, 754) as modes of resistance. When we

focus on the limitations set by an asylum regime that regulates how queer people are expected to perform their sexuality, gender identity and general life, it becomes evident that we must also focus on the everyday acts of resistance.[5]

Through our conversations with queer refugees, we encountered numerous instances where they challenged and criticised the prevailing colonial surveillance of queerness and fear by insisting on their ambivalent identities. We observed multiple situations where they challenged the colonial knowledge applied and imposed on their identities. In response to immigration officers' expectations of binary and consistent narratives of queerness, Gabriela, for instance, asserted that 'I am not a machine', indicating that she refuses to conform to the state's demands of certain types of evidence of her queerness and fear. Many other queer refugees were highly critical of immigration officers' methods of assessing their identities. For example, Nuri voiced her confusion about the need to provide objective, binary and consistent evidence of her sexuality, remarking, 'You know how you feel'. Others also resisted the colonial logics by rigidly rejecting to talk about their countries of origin as inherently homophobic. Ahmed, who identifies as bisexual and who received asylum almost a decade before we met him for an interview, does not associate being queer in his country of origin with fear. When asking him about the underground gay scene in the city he grew up with in the Middle East, Ahmed says 'It was magnificent. … I think Europe needs like 100 years in the future to have experienced this gay culture'. Rather than understanding his own culture as 'backward', he positions the gay culture in his country of origin as futuristic, compared to Europe, thus resisting the colonial 'oppression-to-liberation narrative' (Marnell 2022, 39).

Another act of resistance was articulated by the queer refugee Joy, who presented themselves through binary categories of sexual and gender identity in their initial asylum assessment. Talking to Joy after being recognised by the Danish Immigration Service, it was clear that they now understood their queerness in much more fluid ways. Joy was aware of the kind of narrative they needed to present to the authorities to become recognised, but through the trajectory of acceptance, they could take up a position beyond the binary. Joy's testimony here functions to locate how compliance with 'colonial surveillance' can also be perceivable as resistance through the declaration of queer ambivalence. Other queer refugees also expressed a sense of insistence on their ambivalent queer identities. As the lesbian asylum seeker Abbo recounted: 'It's up to them to decide, I'm not going to convince them. I'm not going to beg for it'. Rather than being available as clear forms of objective evidence, they persist and exist through their queerness. Contrary to the state's expectations within the 'colonial surveillance', queer refugees foreground their queerness through ambivalence and nuance rather than clear, binary and consistent desire. In this way, we argue that queer refugees' insistence on ambivalent queerness manifest and operate as resistance through the construction of their own ambivalent archives of existence. In this way, they hold an archive formed by their own affective experiences and encounters with queerness, fear and persecution: They have sought out other spaces, beyond the confines of the asylum accommodation, such as taking part in events of local queer asylum support organisations, or meeting people to date. They have disrupted the asylum regime's impeded time by insisting on not merely waiting to be recognised (Schröder 2023b; Tschalaer 2023), but by living in the present time through their hopes and desires for a queer future. By doing so, they are queering the colonial logics and knowledge imposed on them by the

asylum regime. In response to the colonial archive of knowledge that seeks to surveil and assess them, they have generated their own ambivalent archives through multiple acts (and shadows) of resistance, refusals, compliance and unbecomings.

Through queer refugees' stories, we want to gesture towards and make visible the various forms of subtle and tangible acts of resistance they undertake against the colonial surveillance of their identities, fear and pathways to national inclusion. In this sense, queer refugees' ambivalent archives and the inevitable absence of consistent and binary evidence of queerness both centre the cruelty of current forms of colonial surveillance within asylum practices and foreground the possibilities of decolonising such colonial practices and powers. Perhaps, at the intersection of colonial surveillance and resistance lies the radical potential of queerness and its ambivalent archive to challenge and envision a more liveable world.

Organising complicity as resistance

In this last section of the analysis, we analyse how queer asylum support organisations navigate the colonial surveillance employed by the state. For people who are in the process of applying for asylum based on their queerness, many organisations offer legal counselling and provide guidance throughout the asylum process. Some organisations offer social networks and activities focusing on community building. While they usually do not aim to exercise surveillance on those individuals they seek to support with their services, they are oftentimes forced to operate within the boundaries set up by the asylum regime. The organisations are positioned differently within the German and Danish nation-states, respectively. This enables them to take different approaches. Some of the organisations are mainly funded by the state and can thus only operate within the parameters offered by the latter – at least officially. Others are more dependent on private donations, or in a field bridging the two. Securing finances to keep running the work they are doing has been a theme that came up in almost all the interviews conducted with people affiliated with these organisations.

These queer asylum support organisations oftentimes take the role of translating the asylum regimes' expectations to the asylum seekers (Akin 2017; Giametta 2018; Held 2023; Pullen and Franklin 2024). By doing so, these organisations are taking a 'filtering role' (Giametta 2020, 146), 'assisting, policing and subverting' (ibid.). In this way, they are complying with the logic of colonial surveillance, but subverting it by visualising its inner workings to the individuals who are in need of being able to navigate it. In our interviews, we have been told that sometimes there is a need to comply with the discourse in order to be heard. Thus, in this section, we are analysing 'how the structural expectations for homonationalism – expectations that are becoming hegemonic – are negotiated by groups who may well want to resist such interpellation but need to articulate that resistance through the same logics of homonationalism' (Puar 2017, 231). Within the context of asylum, 'homonationalism' depicts how inclusion is regulated and surveilled through white, normalised and nationalist formations of queerness (see also Lunau 2019; Schröder 2023a). While they might have their own political agenda, many of these organisations are playing by the rules of the asylum regime, even if they disagree with the framework from the start. This is rooted in a pragmatic approach that will enable their members to claim asylum

within the given structure. However, some organisations are at the same time lobbying for a bettering of these structures.

Yas, who is an employee at a queer migrant support organisation, reflected on the ways in which 'the whole talk about negative social control, honour related conflict and stuff like that, it took up a lot of space in [our organisation]. And it still does' (Yas). While being critical of this, Yas further states that this is 'our weapon somehow with the politicians to get money to do our activities … the way like the narrative [our organisation] has as like this saviour organisation for people fleeing their immigrant, backward-minded families'. Such separation of 'the backward-minded immigrants' from the 'civilised', we argue, is a colonial continuity, especially as the members of this organisation are migrant queers who need to be 'saved' from their biological families. This discourse has spilled into the organisation, too, which employs it as a 'weapon with the politicians to get money'. We, therefore, argue that this complicity in upholding colonial surveillance is organised and employed as a strategy that will have the best outcomes in terms of securing funding for the target group. This can also be read as an act of resisting by complying, a shadow resistance. Yet, such compliancy does not come without costs, which we can see in Yas stating: 'Me doing that advocacy work, I feel complicit in like my own racialisation somehow'. In speaking into the victimhood narrative, Yas feels like she is othering herself based on her racialisation, intersecting with her gender and sexuality – always already racialised categories (Tudor 2018). As we have shown, racialisation is a central dynamic of (post)colonial othering processes (El-Tayeb 2011). Yas' self-surveillance clashes with the surveillance she feels the organisation is needing to uphold.

These queer asylum and/or migrant support organisations are surveilled by the state when deciding who is worthy of receiving funding for their work.[6] Yas continues: 'That's why I said "weapon" earlier, because victimhood is becoming like this, somehow like political status that we can use to, uh, exchange for something else'. Stressing the exchange logic behind employing a 'victimhood' narrative reveals how much queer asylum and/or migrant support organisations are part of the capitalist system – despite being perceived as its 'other' in some instances, still. It is however easier to receive funding or secure sponsors for a mainstream pride parade, declaring 'love wins' or other almost depoliticised statements, than for supporting subjects always already perceived as political – just through existing. While breaking with the colonial surveillance, there is a parallel process of reproducing the logics connected to the colonial knowledge within the queer asylum regime. We want to stress that we are not aiming to make a normative assessment of who are 'the good' or 'the bad guys' in this instance. Rather, we bring this example to show that avoiding this colonial surveillance is impossible for organisations situated within the queer asylum regime. This was also stressed by Eman, who is an employee at another organisation supporting queer refugees. She says that 'in our organisation, our narrative has been very important for us, that we have not wanted to work for our target group oppressing other groups [here] that also need rights'. However, after years of being met with scepticism by the state's agencies, the organisation had to take a more 'pragmatic' approach, in order to secure state funding: 'In order to really visualise for the politicians what our members are going through, we have now in our narrative, um, included that okay it can be difficult to support and make sure that our members are not discriminated against at asylum centres'. This speaks into the idea of the

'homophobic other', present in the asylum accommodation in the form of, especially, Muslim men – or, at least, this is how the homonational discourse goes. In this way, Eman experiences how her organisation now employs 'the very filtering logic character-ising the asylum system against which they structurally fight' (Giametta 2020, 147), leading to 'moral and political dilemmas' (Giametta 2020, 146). In order to not lose funding, many support organisations avoid to directly critique the asylum regime per se (Pullen and Franklin 2024).

While this 'pragmatic' approach might seem a bit harder to be read as an act of resist-ance, we want to stress the need of these organisations to be heard. As they want to resist that their queer members are being housed in mainstream asylum accommodation, after several violent instances in those, the organisation took the pragmatic approach of com-plying with the framework of colonial surveillance. By doing so, they have been successful in putting the creation of queer asylum spots in asylum accommodation on the political agenda. Being still a little uneasy about doing so, however, Eman says, 'We do it in a very decent and ethical, I won't say ethically correct, but at least an ethically well-thought way'. With this, they have made some surprising allies. Eman tells us that 'Some of the parties, even some parties on the right wing now, they say, oh, we need to support LGBT + people on the run because this is a group we need to support. Whereas other asylum seekers and refugees, I mean, not so much, right?' Such a differentiation in who is a refugee deserving of support, and thus state funding, needs to be read as a colo-nial continuity, creating specific, narrow categories for those deserving of protection – and the rest. We understand such adaptation to the discourse by the queer asylum / migrant organisations as performed by active subjects, and thus to be conceptualised as resistance (Lugones 2023) to the present colonial surveillance.

While a section on resistance might have created expectations in the reader around narratives that are more easily celebrated, maybe with the ambitious goal of overthrowing the entire asylum system – while at best abolishing capitalism while doing so – we could not, and did not want to, provide such narratives here. Rather, as stated in the beginning of this section, we are interested in the 'shadow archives of resistance' (Halberstam 2011, 129). We argue that queer refugees' survival in a system that does not want them to live, and the creation and persistence of queer asylum support organisations to remain oper-ating in such a climate of hostile immigration policies, is in itself resistance to the colonial surveillance.

Conclusions

In this article, we have asked and explored how 'colonial surveillance' can be traced in the queer asylum regimes of Berlin and Copenhagen, and how it is resisted by different actors. To address these questions, let us return to Sadia, the queer migrant activist based in Germany, whose narrative opened this article. Beyond describing the pervasive trauma within historical and contemporary migration policies and calling out the selective memory or 'colonial amnesia', Sadia's story exemplifies the ongoing colonial logics and the urgent need to address them. Through this article, we have theorised these workings within the queer asylum regime through the concept of 'colonial surveillance'. We propose this concept as a tool for analysing contemporary regulatory practices within queer migration in Germany and Denmark. Our analysis demonstrates how queer refugees

are survielled through colonial forms of knowledge when assessing their identity and fear as (in)credible within the asylum process. Additionally, we have focused on resistance to such colonial surveillance through stories and testimonies of queer refugees and support organisations. By employing the lens of colonial surveillance, we have highlighted the continuities of sexual, gendered and racial logics of colonialism in current asylum structures, processes and practices in Berlin and Copenhagen. There is a compelling need for scholars in queer migration to consider how colonial logics and structures continue to shape, inform and govern migration. This article serves as a starting point for exploring colonial legacies in queer asylum and invite further research across diverse contexts. Tracing coloniality in state regimes is not limited to immigration and asylum but demands recognition and active undoing of the colonial amnesia that has surrounded the existing scholarly debate. We, thus, make a claim for the importance of (re)examining our past by tracing colonial historical residues in order to be able to (re)imagine other possible, decolonial worlds.

Notes

1. In both Germany and Denmark, the assessment process follows a similar trajectory: Through interviews and various documents, immigration officers assess the asylum seeker's story for consistency, its alignment with the 'country reports' and the applicant's credibility as a member of the persecuted group (Danisi et al. 2021; Lunau 2019). While a case is under assessment, the applicant is accommodated nation-wide. Despite similarities, our aim is not to suggest that asylum assessments and everyday surveillance are identical in the two countries or cities.
2. While we acknowledge that this article does not actively engage with or commit to decolonial practices, we highly encourage such approaches. Our primary aim for this article is to make visible how colonial surveillance practices persist in contemporary contexts.
3. For instance, the crafting of the 1951 Refugee Convention was shaped by underlying colonial logics. Many countries involved in drafting the Convention had colonial empires, and their interests in regulating migration, borders, and asylum were informed by their imperial legacies (Krause 2024).
4. Some of the interview excerpt in this article also appears in Lunau's (2024) PhD dissertation.
5. While the instances discussed in this section might not be considered resistance by the queer refugees themselves, we believe it is fruitful to conceptualise them as such, as it allows us to centre the agency of the queer refugees and avoids retelling mere narratives of victimhood.
6. Such surveillance takes place in the form of requiring data about organisations' impact, through keeping track of the number of clients reached, giving details on how money was used and requesting written reports. More indirectly, many organisations are also using their Social Media accounts to give insight into their work.

References

Ahmed, Sara. 2006. *Queer Phenomenology. Orientations, Objects, Others*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Akin, Deniz. 2017. "Queer Asylum Seekers: Translating Sexuality in Norway." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (3): 458–474. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1243050.

Bendixen, Michala C. 2020. Well-Founded Fear – Credibility and Risk Assessment in Danish Asylum Cases. https://refugeeswelcome.dk/media/1207/well-founded-fear_web.pdf.

Bhagat, Ali. 2023. "Queer Global Displacement: Social Reproduction, Refugee Survival, and Organised Abandonment in Nairobi, Cape Town, and Paris." *Antipode* 55 (5): 1517–1537. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12933.

Camminga, B. 2018. "'The Stigma of Western Words': Asylum law, Transgender Identity and Sexual Orientation in South Africa." *Global Discourse* 8 (3): 452–469. https://doi.org/10.1080/23269995.2018.1521045.

Conrad, Sebastian. 2011. *German Colonialism. A Short History*. Cambridge University Press.

Cooper, Frederick. 2005. "Postcolonial Studies and the Study of History." In *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, edited by Ania Loomba, Suvir Kaul, Matti Bunzl, Antionette Burton, and Jed Esty, 401–422. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Danisi, Carmelo, Moira Dustin, Nuno Ferreira, and Nina Held. 2021. *Queering Asylum in Europe. Legal and Social Experiences of Seeking International Protection on grounds of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity*. IMISCOE Research Series, Springer Cham.

El-Tayeb, Fatima. 2011. *European Others. Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ferreira, Nuno. 2018. "Reforming the Common European Asylum System: Enough Rainbow for Queer Asylum Seekers?" *GenIUS – Rivista di Studi Giuridici Sull'orientamento Sessuale e Sull'identita' di Genere* 2:25–42.

Fobear, Katherine. 2014. "Queer Settlers: Questioning Settler Colonialism in LGBT Asylum Processes in Canada." *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 30 (1): 47–56. https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.38602.

Foucault, Michel. 1971. *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.

Gani, Jasmine K., and Rabea M. Khan. 2024. "Positionality Statements as a Function of Coloniality: Interrogating Reflexive Methodologies." *International Studies Quarterly* 68 (2): 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqae038.

Giametta, Calogero. 2017. *The Sexual Politics of Asylum: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in the UK Asylum System*. London: Routledge.

Giametta, Calogero. 2018. "Reorienting Participation, Distance and Positionality: Ethnographic Encounters with Gender and Sexual Minority Migrants." *Sexualities* 21 (5-6): 868–882. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460716678751.

Giametta, Calogero. 2020. "New Asylum Protection Categories and Elusive Filtering Devices: The Case of 'Queer Asylum' in France and the UK." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46 (1): 142–157. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1500172.

Giametta, Calogero, and Shira Havkin. 2021. "Mapping Homo/Transphobia: The Valorization of the LGBT Protection Category in the Refugee-Granting System." *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 20 (1): 99–119. https://doi.org/10.14288/acme.v20i1.1929.

Guschke, Bontu Lucie, Iram Khawaja, and Lene Myong. 2023. "Racialization and Racism in Denmark." *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning* 36 (2): 8–20. https://doi.org/10.7146/kkf.v36i2.141914.

Haas, Bridget M., and Amy Shuman. 2019. *Technologies of Suspicion and the Ethics of Obligation in Political Asylum*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Halberstam, Jack. 2011. *The Queer Art of Failure*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Haraway, Donna. 1988. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14 (3): 575–599. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066.

Haritaworn, Jin. 2015. *Queer Lovers and Hateful Others: Regenerating Violent Times and Places*. London: Pluto Press.

Held, Nina. 2023. ""As Queer Refugees, we are out of Category, we do not Belong to one, or the Other": LGBTIQ+ Refugees' Experiences in "Ambivalent" Queer Spaces." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46 (9): 1898–1918. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2032246.

Hellweg, Joseph. 2015. "Same-Gender Desire, Religion, and Homophobia: Challenges, Complexities, and Progress for LGBTIQ Liberation in Africa." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 83 (4): 887–896. https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/lfv076.

Hunter, Elizabeth L. 2023. "Black Racial Isolation: Understanding African Diaspora Subjectivity in Post-Racial Denmark." PhD Diss., UC Berkeley. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3qk0z1fm.

Ipsen, Pernille, and Gunlög Fur. 2009. "Introduction: Special Issue on Scandinavian Colonialism." *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction* 33: 7–16. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115300003065.

Jensen, Lars. 2015. "Postcolonial Denmark: Beyond the Rot of Colonialism?" *Postcolonial Studies* 18 (4): 440–452. https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2015.1191989.

Jønsson, Heidi, and Klaus Petersen. 2012. "Denmark: A National Welfare State Meets the World." In *Immigration Policy and the Scandinavian Welfare State 1945–2010*, edited by Grete Brochmann, and Anniken Hagelund, 97–148. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Keskinen, Suvi, Salla Tuori, Sara Irni, and Diana Mulinari. 2009. *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Krause, Ulrike. 2024. "Invisibilization of the Unwanted Others? Feminist, Queer, and Postcolonial Perspectives on the 1951 Refugee Convention's Drafting." *Women's Studies International Forum* 107), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2024.102979.

Lee, Edward O. U. 2018. "Tracing the Coloniality of Queer and Trans Migrations: Resituating Heterocisnormative Violence in the Global South and Encounters with Migrant Visa Ineligibility to Canada." *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 34 (1): 60–74. https://doi.org/10.7202/1050855ar.

Lugones, María. 2010. "Toward a Decolonial Feminism." *Hypatia* 25 (4): 742–759. doi:10.1111/j.1527-2001.2010.01137.x.

Lugones, María. 2023. "The Coloniality of Gender." In *Feminisms in Movement*, edited by Lívia De Souza, Edith Otero Quezada, and Julia Roth, 35–58. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783839461020-002.

Luibhéid, Eithne. 2008. "Queer/Migration: An Unruly Body of Scholarship." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 14 (2/3): 169–90. https://doi.org/10.1215/10642684-2007-029.

Lunau, Marie. 2019. "The Trouble with 'Truth'. On the Politics of Life and Death in the Assessment of Queer Asylum Seekers." *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning* 3–4:12–23. doi: 10.7146/kkf.v28i2-3.116305.

Lunau, Marie. 2024. "The Affective Politics of Queer Migration: On Affective Ambivalence, Truth and Queerness." PhD Diss., Roskilde University. https://rucforsk.ruc.dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/107408540/The_Affective_Politics_of_Queer_Migration.pdf.

Lunau, Marie, and Rikke Andreassen. 2023. "Surveillance Practices among Migration Officers: Online Media and LGBTQ+ Refugees." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 26 (6): 655–671. https://doi.org/10.1177/13678779221140129.

Lundström, Catrin, and Benjamin R. Teitelbaum. 2017. "Nordic Whiteness: An Introduction." *Scandinavian Studies* 89 (2): 151–158. https://doi.org/10.5406/scanstud.89.2.0151.

Manalansan, Martin F. 2006. "Queer Intersections: Sexuality and Gender in Migration Studies." *International Migration Review* 40 (1): 224–249. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2006.00009.x.

Marnell, John. 2022. "Telling a Different Story: On the Politics of Representing African LGBTQ Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers." In *Queer and Trans African Mobilities: Migration, Asylum and Diaspora*, edited by B. Camminga, and John Marnell, 39–60. New York: Zed.

Matabeni, Zethu. 2014. *Reclaiming Afrikan: Queer Perspectives on Sexual and Gender Identities*. South Africa: Modjaji Books.

Mayblin, Lucy. 2017. *Asylum After Empire. Colonial Legacies in the Politics of Asylum Seeking*. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.

Nyanzi, Stella. 2014. "Queering Queer Africa." In *Reclaiming Afrikan: Queer Perspectives on Sexual and Gender Identities*, edited by Zethu Matabeni, 61–66. South Africa: Modjaji Books.

Padovan-Özdemir, Marta, and Trine Øland. 2022. *Racism in Danish Welfare Work with Refugees: Troubled by Difference, Docility and Dignity*. New York: Routledge.

Puar, Jasbir K. 2017. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Tenth Anniversary Expanded Edition. Durham: Duke University Press.

Pullen, Christopher, and Ieuan Franklin. 2024. ""Were in This Together"-NGO Advocacy and LGBTQ+ Asylum Claimants: Intimate/Care Citizenship as co-Presence and Imagined Equality." *Sexualities*, https://doi.org/10.1177/13634607241275865.

Quijano, Anibal. 2000. "Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America." *International Sociology* 15 (3): 215–232. https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580900015002005.

Rao, Rahul. 2020. *Out of Time: The Queer Politics of Postcoloniality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Saleh, Fadi. 2020. "Queer/Humanitarian Visibility: The Emergence of the Figure of *The Suffering Syrian Gay Refugee*." *Middle East Critique* 29 (1): 47–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2020.1704501.

Schröder, Rieke. 2023a. "Scandinavian Design. The Continuous Closet and Queer Refugees in Denmark." *Sexualities*. Preprint. https://doi.org/10.1177/13634607231199.

Schröder, Rieke. 2023b. "Shifting Paradigms, not Identities. LGBTIQ+ Refugees Queering Temporalities in Denmark." *Journal of Refugee Studies*. Preprint. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fead075.

Shakhsari, Sima. 2014. "Killing me Softly with Your Rights: Queer Death and the Politics of Rightful Killing." In *Queer Necropolitics*, edited by Jin Haritaworn, Adi Kuntsman, and Silvia Posocco, 93–110. New York: Routledge.

Shohat, Ella. 1992. "Notes on the "Post-Colonial"." *Social Text* 31/32 (31/32): 99–113. https://doi.org/10.2307/466220.

Stoler, Ann L. 2009. *Along the Archival Grain. Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Stoler, Ann L. 2016. *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in our Times*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Stoler, Ann L. 2020. "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule." In *The New Imperial Histories Reader*, edited by Stephen Howe, 177–194. Routledge.

Tschalaer, Mengia. 2023. "Queering Migration Temporalities: LGBTQI+ Experiences with Waiting Within Germany's Asylum System." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46 (9): 1833–1853. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2076566.

Tudor, Alyosxa. 2017. "Queering Migration Discourse. Differentiating Racism and Migratism in Postcolonial Europe." *Lambda Nordica* 22 (2–3): 21–40.

Tudor, Alyosxa. 2018. "Cross-fadings of Racialisation and Migratisation: The Postcolonial Turn in Western European Gender and Migration Studies." *Gender, Place & Culture* 25 (7): 1057–1072. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1441141.

Tuhiwai Smith, Linda. 2021. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Third Edition. London: Zed Books.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). 2010. *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*. http://www.refugeelegalaidinformation.org/sites/default/files/uploads/1951%20convention%20and%201967%20protocol.pdf.