## CONTENTS

### Regular Articles

- ‘Individually-led’ or ‘female-male partnership’ models for entrepreneurship with the BISP support: The story of women’s financial and social empowerment from Pakistan
  - Muhammad Warsi Tahir, Rubina Kaiser, Madeline Bury, Javed Shaafi Iqbal
  - Page 1

- Becoming an employed mother: Conceptualising adult identity development through semiotic cultural lens
  - Marianne Martin
  - Page 11

- From patriarchal socialism to grassroots capitalism: The role of female entrepreneurs in the transition of North Korea
  - Kyung-Jung, Bronwen Dalton, Jacqueline Willis
  - Page 19

- Gender differentiation and citizenship acquisition: Nationality reforms in comparative and historical perspective
  - Diane Sainsbury
  - Page 28

- The tension between gender equality and doing gender: Swedish couples’ talk about the division of housework
  - Charlott Nyman, Lasse Rundgren, Kristina Eriksson
  - Page 36

- Womanhood, reproduction, and pollution: Greek Cypriot women’s accounts of menstruation
  - Andre Christoforou
  - Page 47

- Marriage for the ‘New Woman’ from the Lord’s Resistance Army: Experiences of female ex-abductees in Acholi region of Uganda
  - Allen Kizza, Martin Nyahidima
  - Page 65

- The symbolic violence of tolerance zones: Constructing the spatial marginalization of female Central American migrant sex workers in Mexico
  - Margaret Pintos-Perez, Marta Luz Rosas Wiesner, Rubalene Breuan
  - Page 75

- Criminalisation and prostitution of migrant women in Turkey: A case study of Ugandan women
  - Emel Cogun
  - Page 85

- When structural violence creates a context that facilitates sexual assault and intimate partner violence against street-involved young women
  - Catherine Flynn, Dominique Damant, Séverine Léandre, Charlotte Gagnon, Vanessa Couturier, Penelope Couturier
  - Page 94

- Post-conflict ruptures and the space for women’s empowerment in Bangladesh
  - Nazme Hossain
  - Page 104

- “Incorrigible slag,” the case of Jennifer Murphy’s HIV non-disclosure: Gender norm policing and the production of gender-class-race categories in Canadian news coverage
  - Jenny Ruth, Chris Sanders
  - Page 113

- Rethinking the possibilities for hegemonic femininity: Exploring a Gramscian framework
  - Carrie Paechter
  - Page 121

### Special Section on Feminisms in Times of Anti-genderism, Racism and Austerity

- Guest Editors: Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Pinar Tuzcu and Heidemarie Winkel

(Continued on inside back cover)
Aims and Scope

Women’s Studies International Forum (formerly Women’s Studies International Quarterly, established in 1978) is a bimonthly journal to aid the distribution and exchange of feminist research in the multidisciplinary, international arena of Women’s Studies and in feminist research in other disciplines. The policy of the journal is to establish a feminist forum for discussion and debate.

The journal seeks to critique and reconceptualize existing knowledge, to examine and reevaluate the manner in which knowledge is produced and distributed, and to assess the implications this has for women’s lives.

We seek contributions from people, individually of collectively, from different countries and different backgrounds, who are engaged in feminist research inside or outside formal educational institutions. We welcome a variety of approaches and resources through the whole range of disciplines: papers geared toward action-oriented research as well as those that address theoretical methodological issues; and we encourage historical reassessments of the lives and works of women. We urge all contributors both to acknowledge the cultural and social specifics of their particular approach, and to draw out these issues in their articles.

We also invite conference reports and announcements, calls for papers, notices of new publications and reports, contacts, etc., sent in by individuals or groups in the international feminist community.

© 2018 Elsevier Ltd.

This journal and the individual contributions contained in it are protected under copyright, and the following terms and conditions apply to their use in addition to the terms of any Creative Commons or other user license that has been applied by the publisher to an individual article:

Photocopying: Single photocopies of single articles may be made for personal use as allowed by national copyright laws. Permission is not required for photocopying of articles published under the CC BY license for non-commercial purposes in accordance with any other user license applied by the publisher. Permission of the publisher and payment of a fee is required for all other photocopying, including multiple or systematic copying, copying for advertising or promotional purposes, resale, and all forms of document delivery. Special rates are available for educational institutions that wish to make photocopies for non-profit educational classroom use.

Derivative Works: Users may reproduce tables of contents or prepare lists of articles including abstracts for internal circulation within their institutions or companies. Other than for articles published under the CC BY license, permission of the publisher is required for resale or distribution outside the subscribing institution or company.

For any subscribed articles or articles published under a CC BY-NC-ND license, permission of the publisher is required for all other derivative works, including compilations and translations.

Storage or Usage: Except as outlined above or as set out in the relevant user license, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission of the publisher.

Permissions: For information on how to seek permission visit www.elsevier.com/permissions or call: (+44) 1865 843830 (UK) / (+1) 215 239 3334 (US) / (+33) 1 44 06 87 17 (France). Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Elsevier provided the appropriate fee is paid directly to Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, USA; phone: 978-750-8400.

Author rights: Author(s) may have additional rights in their articles as set out in their agreement with the publisher (more information at http://www.elsevier.com/authorsrights).

Notice: No responsibility is assumed by the publisher for any injury and/or damage to persons or property as a matter of products liability, negligence or otherwise, or from any use or operation of any methods, products, instructions or ideas contained in the material herein. Because of rapid advances in the medical sciences, in particular, independent verification of diagnoses and drug dosages should be made.

Although all advertising material is expected to conform to ethical (medical) standards, inclusion in this publication does not constitute a guarantee or endorsement of the quality or value of such product or of the causes made of it by its manufacturer.

Language (usage and editing services): Please write your text in good English (American or British usage is accepted, but not a mixture of these). Authors who feel their English language manuscript may require editing to eliminate possible grammatical or spelling errors and to conform to correct scientific English may wish to use the English Language Editing service available from Elsevier’s Webshop (http://webshop.elsevier.com/languageediting/ or visit our customer support site http://support.elsevier.com for more information).

Illustration services: Elsevier’s Webshop (http://webshop.elsevier.com/illustrationservices) offers Illustration Services to authors preparing to submit a manuscript but concerned about the quality of the images accompanying their article. Elsevier’s expert illustrators can produce scientific, technical and medical-style images, as well as a full range of charts, tables and graphs. Image ‘polishing’ is also available, where our illustrators take your image(s) and improve them to a professional standard. Please visit the website to find out more.

Advertising information: If you are interested in advertising or other commercial opportunities please e-mail Commercials@elsevier.com, and your inquiry will be passed to the correct person who will reply to you within 48 hours.

USA mailing notice: Women’s Studies International Forum (ISSN 0277-5395) is published bimonthly by Elsevier B.V. (P.O. Box 211, 1000 AE Amsterdam, The Netherlands). Periodicals postage paid at Jamaica, NY 11431 and additional mailing offices.

USA POSTMASTER: Send change of address to Women’s Studies International Forum, Elsevier Customer Service Department, 3251 Riverport Lane, Maryland Heights, MO 63043, USA.

Airfreight and MAILING in USA by Air Business Ltd., c/o Worldnet Shipping Inc., 156-15, 146th Avenue, 2nd Floor, Jamaica, NY 11434, USA.

Orders, claims, and journal inquiries: please contact the Elsevier Customer Service Department nearest you:

St. Louis: Elsevier Customer Service Department, 3251 Riverport Lane, Maryland Heights, MO 63043, USA; phone: (877) 8397266 [toll free within the USA]; (+1) (314) 4478878 [outside the USA]; fax: (+1) (314) 4478776; e-mail: JournalCustomerService-usa@elsevier.com.

Oxford: Elsevier Customer Service Department, The Boulevard, Langford Lane, Kidlington, Oxford OX5 1GB, UK; phone: (+44) (1865) 843434; fax: (+44) (1865) 843979; e-mail: JournalsCustomerService-EMEA@elsevier.com.

Tokyo: Elsevier Customer Service Department, 4F Higashi-Azabu, 1-Chome Bldg, 1-9-15 Higashi-Azabu, Minato-ku, Tokyo 106-0044, Japan; phone: (+81) (3) 5561 5037; fax: (+81) (3) 5561 5047; e-mail: JournalCustomerServiceJapan@elsevier.com.

The Philippines: Elsevier Customer Service Department, 2nd Floor, Building H, UP-AyalaLand Technohub, Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines 1101; phone: (+63) 6390022; fax: (+63) 2 352 1394; e-mail: CustomerServiceAPAC@elsevier.com.

The paper used in this publication meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (Permanence of Paper).

Printed by Hesy Ling Ltd, The Dorset Press, Dorchester, UK.

WOMEN’S STUDIES INTERNATIONAL FORUM

VOLUME 68 2018 MAY/JUNE

Severe and Enduring Anemia: The Personal Meaning of Symptoms and Treatment
CRAIG STICKFOSS, BDA, STEINERT KREESE, ADAM BESLIEV, NEWMAN LIEUNG

Special Section on Feminisms in Times of Anti-genderism, Racism and Austerity (Guest Editors: Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Pinar Tuzcu, Heidemarie Winkel)
Introduction: Feminisms in times of anti-genderism, racism and austerity
ENCARNACION GUTIERREZ RODRIGUEZ, PINAR TUCU, HEIDEMARIE WINKEL

Saving and reproducing the nation: Struggles around right-wing politics of social reproduction, gender and race in austerity Europe
UMUT EREK

119
129
139
142
Introduction: Feminisms in times of anti-genderism, racism and austerity

Introduction

In recent years, Western as well as Central Europe has experienced an ideological shift which first became visible with the steady increase in right-wing voters, for example, in the Netherlands, France and Scandinavia as well as in Hungary and Poland. The United Kingdom and Germany have both experienced a wide public articulation of anti-European and anti-liberal sentiments, illustrated in the increasing polls for political parties such as UKIP and AfD to regional, federal and municipal parliaments in the last elections. These parties mobilize resentments against migration and globalization by appealing to parochial notions of nationalism as well as beliefs in ethnic rootedness and racial homogeneity. This has become particularly salient in the media debate on the ‘refugee crisis’ and also in the debates around the ‘financial crisis’.

By gathering contributions from various European countries, such as the United Kingdom (UK), Greece, Finland, Hungary, Poland and Sweden, this special issue aims to foster a critical debate and dialogue on the issues of economic, social, and rhetorical vigilanteism against refugees and gender studies in public and political debates. The volume critically examines the coupling of gender and racism in the current socio-political conjuncture. Further, it engages with a cross-country comparative approach on this question. In particular, the volume engages with analyses from Sweden (Sager and Mulinari), Finland (Keskinen), Greece (Carastathis), the United Kingdom (Erel) as well as Hungary and Poland (Grzebalska & Petö). These contributions show that when we examine the complex interrelationships of discourses of anti-genderism, austerity and racism, it becomes clear that the political remedy for financial crisis that the European right-wing parties offer, aims to establish a patriarchal and nationalist hegemony. Political strategies and legislation targeting gender equality and liberal migration policies, are enacted by what Weronika Grzebalska and Andrea Petö (in this issue) coin as “illiberal” forms of governing. “Illiberal” states raise their popularity by introducing abortion laws, stricter border controls and body searches, building walls, conducting mass deportations and in some cases, war mongering while offering no feasible solutions to their own impoverished populations. Indeed, as the articles in this volume also bring to light, if today’s extreme right-wing politics attack globalization as a key reason for the national financial crisis, the ‘refugee crisis’ is configured in these neo-nationalist debates as the last battleground to defeat globalization. In these debates it is especially sexuality/gender which become a tricky modifier of ideologically charged financial decisions that are built on political economies of racism and xenophobia.

As Sirma Bilge (2012: 5), explains, “if the gender/sexuality paradigm has become the chosen operation field of racist and imperialist nationalisms of the West,” it is not because it encapsulates the fragile nature of Western progression. Rather, it is “because of its fittingness with the current neo-liberal picture” where economic, spatial and affective injustice and disparities can be easily “concealed behind culture wars” under the “neo-liberal equal-rights doxa” (ibid). As Sara Farris (2017: 15) argues, one of these culture wars is articulated by what she coins “the femonationalist ideology”, a “political-economic formation” that facilitates “the state apparatuses in order to (re)organize the productive and particularly the socially reproductive sphere”. Within this framework, racist and xenophobic rhetoric and politics are heavily wrapped up in the discourse of gender equality in which the brown, black, non-Western female and male bodies are almost always seen as the disqualified subjects of this imagined parity. Within this context, one popular reaction to the debate on giving asylum to a projected 1.5 million refugees in the EU, which has a population of 508.2 million people, was met with nationalist racist anxieties. These fears, conjured and mobilised by right-wing populist movements and parties openly connect to debates on the “end of multiculturalism” initiated in the late 1990s by a wide spectrum of liberal to right-wing intellectuals. In Scandinavia, particularly, this debate interlinks public discontent with multiculturalism with the disapproval of the “intellectual establishment”, while targetting feminists as “loving multiculturalism” and responsible for the “decay” of the imagined white Christian nation (Åsberg, Rönnblon, & Koolbak, 2012; Keskinen, 2013; Mulinari & Neergaard, 2012).

The backlash against feminism in other European countries, such as Hungary, Poland and Germany, has seen similar anti-genderer attacks in the last five years addressing feminists as members of an imagined white heterosexual female comunity, failing in “their” duty of guaranteeing the reproduction of an invented white nation (Kováts & Pőim, 2015). On another level, anti-genderism has been seen to be a reaction to the increasing public awareness of non-normative gender relations and the implementation of gender equality in public and private institutions (Hark & Villa, 2015). Through accusing gender equality state
regard to who these discourses identify as debaters on caring for families and women's safety. This is not only in for the formation of social relations and social reproduction (and feminists have argued, gender and gender relations are always modernity. As Black, People of Colour and anti-racist gender scholars di austerity scheme of migration control policies. Combined with nation-states’ austerity politics in national territory. The nesting crises discourse as a conduit through which the borders of a contested national project are redrawn, she demonstrates how the construction of an outside threat to the nation serves the rhetorical proclamation of national sovereignty. Thus, while the global economic crisis was adopted as Greece's 'own crisis', the migratory movements to Greece were perceived as Europe's crisis. As Carastathis argues, this interpretation of crisis has a triple function: (a) it conceals the systemic and structural underpinning of violent processes of dispossession and displacement; (b) it authorizes the imposition of regimes of management and securitization in regard to migration; and (c) it strengthened the control of borders and human beings. Carastathis' notion of "nesting crises" alludes to the territorialisation of crisis and the tracing of the divide between "us" – national citizens, and "them", illegitimate bodies in national territory. The "nesting crises" discourse as Carastathis demonstrates, elevates a national rhetoric, reminiscent of Quijano's coloniality of power. Within this framework the racialized nation’s other is constructed and reaffirmed as a threat for social cohesion, while the financial crisis becomes a nationally managed issue. The reactualization of racist imaginaries in current national debates on security measures is also discussed in Sager and Mulinari's contribution entitled "Safety for whom? Exploring femonationalism and care-racism in Sweden". Discussing the appropriation of feminist issues by right-wing xenophobic parties and Neo-Nazi inspired organizations in order to mobilize racist and anti-immigration arguments, Sager and Mulinari focus on the discourse on trygghet (safety), which indicates the co-optation of this care discourse by a nationalist and racist agenda. However, as they demonstrate, this discourse is countered by self-identified antiracist feminists, many of them with migrant backgrounds and/or identifying as queer struggling for alternative understandings of safety that transcend hetero-patriarchal and ethno-nationalist agendas. Keskinen's contribution entitled "The 'Crisis' of White Hegemony, Neo-nationalist Femininities and Antiracist Feminism", explores the rise of neo-nationalist politics and racist activism in Finland in recent years. Attention is particularly placed on a growing public focus on gendered and sexualized intimacies, including gendered violence and harassment, negotiated in racial terms. On these grounds, the article raises questions in regard of what Keskinen calls the 'crisis' of white hegemony, articulated in Finland in the aftermath of the arrival of refugees in 2015/16. Within this context, progressive, but also racist anti-migration women's activism has developed. In particular, white nationalist movements operate by evocating "white border guard femininities", mobilizing white women on social media and far-right groups. Meanwhile, anti-racist feminist activism has strengthened, confronting racist discourses and addressing aspects of racial and gendered hierarchies in public debates. Departing from this analysis, this article elaborates on the role of

regulations and implementations of perverting a merit-based system of recruitment in public and private institutions, this approach works with the affectively charged fiction of the discrimination against white middle class men. The increasing restructuring of companies in the service sector, affecting middle class white men and women is thus ideologically misused to serve the misogyny of affluent white masculinity. What this backlash has in common across all the contexts of its emergence is the reinforcement of the imaginary of a white, ethnically homogeneous, heteronormative nation. In other settings such as Greece, this debate is less impacted by this nationalist racist ideological shift but rather it engages with a leftist project of insurgency against the TROIKA. Deriving from popular protest movements in the last five years, the debate in Greece, as Anna Carastathis discusses in this issue, is centered on the divide between citizens and migrants, played out in the social, political and economic upheavals produced by structural adjustment programmes in the implementation of EU austerity measures. This goes hand in hand with Greece's transformation into a laboratory for the EU refugee industrial complex through the establishment of numerous hot spots in the Greek archipelago.

The struggle against anti-genderism and the protest against the implementation of austerity measures in Europe seem to unfold in parallel ways but without referring to each other. Further, debates on anti-genderism and anti-austerity have underestimated the dimension of racism in shaping gender relations and processes of capital formation. As W.E.B. Du Bois (2014[1935]) argued in his analysis of modern society, racism does not represent an exception, but is foundational for modernity. As Black, People of Colour and anti-racist gender scholars and feminists have argued, gender and gender relations are always racialized (cf. hooks, 1992; Collins, 2000). Race remains constitutive for the formation of social relations and social reproduction (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2010). As Suvi Keskinen (Finland), and Maja Sager and Diana Mulinari (Sweden) assert in this special issue the connection between gender and race becomes evident in the right-wing populist debates on caring for families and women's safety. This is not only in regard to who these discourses identify as 'sexual perpetrators' and 'oppressed women', but also who they consider as being at risk of being potential victims. While in right-wing populist discourses the white national family is portrayed as falling apart and in need of support in order to fulfill its role of reproduction of the white national community, families marked as migrants and refugees are discussed in terms of overpopulation and unstoppable procreation as Umut Erel critically elaborates in this issue. According to right-wing racist ideology White families are perishing, and the nations of Europe are depicted as in threat of losing their original population, identity, culture and language. The white Christian national women and men are addressed as guarantors of the national Christian white project. The care for white national Christian women's safety, conveyed in right-wing white supremacist campaigns against sexual violence, attends to the logic of the reproduction of the white Christian European nation. European right-wing discourse is thus preoccupied with white lives and white bodies. These bodies might be sometimes exceptionally even identified as gay or lesbian, as the female AfD lead for the German elections 2017 illustrates. They might also be in bi-national or bi-racial family constellations, but what makes them part of the white supremacist project of “Christian Europe”, is their engagement in a heteronormative reproduction of the Christian white nation. Anti-gender and anti-feminist attacks are inscribed in this reproduction of the white heteronormative Christian nation.

As we have seen, the logic of racism operating within the nation-state rhetoric on family and women's safety distinguishes between an "us", imagined as the white national citizens, and a "them", constructed as the racialized migrant or refugee. This logic is reactivated within the scheme of migration control policies. Combined with nation-states' austerity measures, targeting the state care provision, this matrix of differentiation reveals Aníbal Quijano’s (2008) "coloniality of power". That is, the organization of modern societies around the axes of race. As Carastathis discusses in this issue, the analysis of austerity politics requires that we take a closer look at how the nation and the nation's other is imagined. The analysis of racism is thus pivotal for the interrogation of gender and gender relations in times of increasing right-wing populist and racist attacks. The chapters in this volume focus on both feminism and anti-racist debates as key points of entry to analyze the current conjuncture of racism and austerity in Europe. Thus, the analysis offered by gender and feminist studies scholars is pertinent and necessary in order to examine the ideological entanglements mobilizing white nationalist heteronormative rhetoric, but also its political translation on the level of the discussion, production, introduction and implementation of misogynist, anti-disabled/trans/gender/queer/poor/homeless and racist policies of abjection, discrimination and exclusion.

The volume starts with Carastathis’ contribution entitled "Nesting Crises". Considering the impact of the financial crisis of 2008 on Greece, Carastathis discusses the explosion of crisis discourses as a medium for ideological negotiations of nation-state borders and the implementation of securitization measures. Suggesting that 'crisis' needs to be examined as a semantic of intervention in sovereign democratic states, she draws attention to the refugee crisis and the debt crisis in the reshaping of the nation-state. Asking how the crises' discourses serve as a conduit through which the borders of a contested national project are redrawn, she demonstrates how the construction of an outside threat to the nation serves the rhetorical proclamation of national sovereignty. Thus, while the global economic crisis was adopted as Greece's 'own crisis', the migratory movements to Greece were perceived as Europe's crisis. As Carastathis argues, this interpretation of crisis has a triple function: (a) it conceals the systemic and structural underpinning of violent processes of dispossession and displacement; (b) it authorizes the imposition of regimes of management and securitization in regard to migration; and (c) it strengthened the control of borders and human beings. Carastathis' notion of "nesting crises" alludes to the territorialisation of crisis and the tracing of the divide between "us" – national citizens, and "them", illegitimate bodies in national territory. The "nesting crises" discourse as Carastathis demonstrates, elevates a national rhetoric, reminiscent of Quijano's coloniality of power. Within this framework the racialized nation's other is constructed and reaffirmed as a threat for social cohesion, while the financial crisis becomes a nationally managed issue. The reactualization of racist imaginaries in current national debates on security measures is also discussed in Sager and Mulinari's contribution entitled "Safety for whom? Exploring femonationalism and care-racism in Sweden". Discussing the appropriation of feminist issues by right-wing xenophobic parties and Neo-Nazi inspired organizations in order to mobilize racist and anti-immigration arguments, Sager and Mulinari focus on the discourse on trygghet (safety), which indicates the co-optation of this care discourse by a nationalist and racist agenda. However, as they demonstrate, this discourse is countered by self-identified antiracist feminists, many of them with migrant backgrounds and/or identifying as queer struggling for alternative understandings of safety that transcend hetero-patriarchal and ethno-nationalist agendas. Keskinen's contribution entitled "The 'Crisis' of White Hegemony, Neo-nationalist Femininities and Antiracist Feminism", explores the rise of neo-nationalist politics and racist activism in Finland in recent years. Attention is particularly placed on a growing public focus on gendered and sexualized intimacies, including gendered violence and harassment, negotiated in racial terms. On these grounds, the article raises questions in regard of what Keskinen calls the 'crisis' of white hegemony, articulated in Finland in the aftermath of the arrival of refugees in 2015/16. Within this context, progressive, but also racist anti-migration women's activism has developed. In particular, white nationalist movements operate by evocating "white border guard femininities", mobilizing white women on social media and far-right groups. Meanwhile, antiracist feminist activism has strengthened, confronting racist discourses and addressing aspects of racial and gendered hierarchies in public debates. Departing from this analysis, this article elaborates on the role
of gender and sexuality in racial formation from the perspective of
Finland, a Nordic country where the corner stones of national identity
are gender equality and white Western-ness. Shifting the geographical
focus from Scandinavia to Eastern Europe, Grzebalska and Petô propose
in their article “The Gendered Modus Operandi of the Illiberal
Transformation in Hungary and Poland” a new conceptual framework
in order to understand the rise of the new hybrid political system, de-
scribed as the “illiberal state.” Based on a comparative analysis of the
ideological and policy tools of illiberal ruling parties in Hungary and
Poland, Grzebalska and Petô argue that the 21st century Central
European illiberal transformation is a process deeply reliant on gender
politics, and that a feminist analysis is central to understanding the
current regime changes, both in terms of their ideological under-
pinnings, and with respect to their modus operandi. The illiberal state,
as they demonstrate, works on three levels, by (a) opposing the liberal
equality paradigms; (b) fostering family mainstreaming and anti-gender
policies, and (c) appropriating a liberal rights vocabulary, while un-
dermining and dismantling the delivery and implementation of these
rights. In this vein, Grzebalska and Petô makes us consider new ways of
mobilizing a women’s rights agenda, feminist civil society and eman-
cipatory politics in Hungary and Poland, aimed at countering illiberal
governance.

Erel’s contribution entitled “Saving and Reproducing the nation:
Struggles around the politics of social reproduction, gender, migration
and race in austerity UK,” raises the question of how the organization
and politics around the family are embedded in the social reproduction
of the nation in gender and racial terms. Taking the case of the UK and
proposing a theoretical focus on reproduction, Erel provides a con-
textualization of this focus within a wider European context by con-
centrating on the debates across the far-right and mainstream
rightwing. She argues for an analysis that demonstrates the narrow gap
between far-right and mainstream right-wing approaches to gender and
family ideas within a rhetoric of care for the nation’s reproduction.
Embedded in a racial vocabulary, as she discusses, migrant families are
set outside the boundaries of care for the nation exemplified through
the discussion of the UK policy of ‘No Recourse to Public Funding’.

The articles in this special issue aim at mapping the social com-
plexity and political emergency in which feminist politics in Europe is
debated today. Thus, our aim in putting this volume together was to
collectively reflect on the potential for feminist interventions in debates
on austerity politics while fighting against anti-genderism and racism.
We engage in this discussion here without becoming invested in a
feminist “we” that almost promptly returns back by demolishing all
differences and the multitudinous voices that made the grounds and the
potential of transformation of anti-racist progressive politics of trans-
formative and distributive justice trapped in a patriarchal nationalist
rhetoric of creating a unified gendered and sexualized identity. Thus,
‘worrying about feminist futures’ constructs a sense of urgency which
eventually calls for common reflections and political alliances. We hope
that the examples discussed here will delineate a way of talking, writing
and discussing new paths of thinking about feminist politics in times of
anti-genderism, racism and austerity, while being vigilant of not re-
producing a nationalist rhetoric of unity. In this sense, this special issue
is interested in thinking through political alliances across democratic
progressive anti-racist and trans-, queer-feminist movements.

We thank all authors for their contributions. They demonstrate that
the consolidation of nationalism, populism/right-wing extremism and
racism in Europe is a comprehensive phenomenon that has to be called
by its name. The contributions encourage us not to condone or silently
accept this nationalist racist ideological shift.

References

Åberg, C., Rinnblom, M., & Koobak, R. (2012). Nordic Terror is not exceptional. NORA –
Collins, P. H. (2000). Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness and the politics of
University Press.
Farris, R. S. (2017). In the name of women’s rights: The rise of femonalism. Durham:
Duke University Press.
Keskinen, S. (2013). Antifeminism and white identity politics: Political-right populist and
anti-immigration rhetoric in Finland. Nordic Journal of Migration Research, 3(4),
225–232.
and far right parties in the anti-gender mobilizations in Europe. FEPIS: Foundation for
European Progressive Studies.
Mulinari, D., & Neergaard, A. (2012). The Sweden democrats. Racism and the construc-
tion of Muslim threat. In G. Morgan, & S. Poynting (Eds.). Global Islamophobia:
Muslims and moral panic in the west (pp. 67–82). Farnham: Ashgate.
Moraña, E. Dussel, & C. A. Jáuregui (Eds.). Coloniality at large: Latin America and the

Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Pinar Tuzcu, Heidemarie Winkel