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The Political Quarterly

Beyond Euro-Americancentric Forms of Racism and Anti-racism

TARIQ MODOOD AND THOMAS SEALY

Abstract
Following the killing of George Floyd by the police in the US in May 2020, a new anti-racism has erupted across the world. While this anti-racism is squarely focussed on dismantling anti-black racism, scholarship—especially in western Europe—has for some decades now been emphasising racisms: Anti-South Asian racism, Islamophobia and Sinophobia in Britain, anti-Arab racism in France and anti-Turk and anti-migrant racisms in Germany, and so on. These various forms of racism do not just refer to the use of biological features, but also perceived cultural features in the way that particular groups are constructed and rendered as 'other'—cultural racisms. Yet, this scholarship is deeply Euro-Americancentric as it barely acknowledges racisms outside the West and least of all racisms that do not involve white perpetrators. This special issue considers a number of such racisms and anti-racisms in Asia and the Middle East.

Keywords: racisms, racialisation, cultural racisms, anti-racisms, Asia, the Middle East

IN MAY 2020 videos of the killing of George Floyd by the police in Minneapolis went viral and the impact came to be felt far beyond the United States. A wave of anti-racism protests spread, first in the US and then across different parts of the world, extending far beyond the context of origin geographically, but conceptually also.

The anti-racism protests that swept the US under the banner of Black Lives Matter (BLM) were squarely focussed on dismantling the anti-black racism that videos of George Floyd immediately gave rise to and is based on an understanding of racism that is institutional, structural and cultural, and focussed on societies that have an operative 'white privilege'. What has importantly emerged as the anti-racist protest movement—still under the loose banner of BLM—spread internationally is that protests have not been restricted to a focus on anti-black racism. For many, particularly western European countries, there has been a focus on connecting to colonial histories and to migrants that came from outside Europe in the several decades following the Second World War.

Britain, and Bristol, where we write this introduction, provide a good example of the contextuality apparent in how this has happened. The city of Bristol came to international prominence when protestors pulled down a statue of Edward Colston in the city centre and dumped it into the harbour (and it now resides in the city museum). Colston, who had made his money in the slave trade, had long been a controversial figure in the city—the local event centre was already undergoing a name change from Colston Hall to Bristol Beacon—and the 2020 protests galvanised a momentum to confront more openly the history of the city and its relationship, and reliance for its historical wealth, on the Atlantic slave trade. Even as this focussed more directly on Britain's connections with the US, wider issues, and statues, became the focus of public and political debate—debate which put Britain's imperial history front and centre. In addition to what Britain shared with the US, what is distinct about Britain from the US, about its population and migration history, its history of empire and colonialism, and its race and ethnic relations, was also emphasised. Scholars and politicians across the political spectrum cautioned against importing concepts and contexts that did not reflect these distinctions and were, therefore, of limited help in diagnosing or addressing the issues of racism in the British context.

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Coincident with the BLM protests of 2020 was, of course, the Covid-19 pandemic. This served to highlight ethnic disparities in infection and mortality rates and, while prompted by disparities in health, provoked calls for wider attention to, and action on, the effects of discrimination across policy areas and society and, moreover, attention to the differential impact on groups. The focus of anti-racism as part of this international spread has, as such, taken on contextual specificities reflecting different histories and differential social impacts: anti-South Asian racism, Islamophobia and Sinophobia have all been emphasised in Britain; anti-Arab racism in France and anti-Turk and anti-migrant racisms in Germany have been variously highlighted in this anti-racist eruption.

What is conceptually significant about the way these debates have spread and occurred in different contexts is that the various forms of racism that are highlighted do not just refer to the use of biological features, but also perceived cultural features in the way that particular groups are constructed and rendered as 'other'. In response, scholars have in recent decades increasingly started working with the concept of 'racialisation' to describe and analyse a process of a dominant group 'othering' a subordinate group, whether that be based on alleged biological or cultural features, or both. The concept of racialisation has a history going back (at least) several decades and has been a term variously rendered and applied.[1] An early use relevant to the debates oriented around histories of colonialism is that of Frantz Fanon, who talked of a 'racialisation of thought' brought into being by European colonisers and which served to create a distinction between a 'white' or 'Western' culture and an 'African' or 'Negro' culture.[2] The late Michael Banton is credited with bringing the term into the rubric of sociology.[3] While he rejected a simple black-white dualism, his use imposed conceptual restrictions, cautious of what Miles would call 'conceptual inflation'.[4] He maintained throughout his decades of writing on the subject that:

> I have concluded that, in general, it is better not to use the words race and racial whenever there is an alternative; usually the alternative will be more accurate … Since racialization has no biological justification, it is best to restrict application of the concept to settings in which explicit use is made of racial nomenclature. This is an important restriction.[5]

There has, nevertheless, been a shift to conceiving forms of 'cultural racism' that in important respects mirror biological racism, but that are distinct from it.[6] Whereas biological racism, or what is sometimes referred to as scientific racism, is based in physical differences, for cultural racism, it is understandings of cultural differences that do the work of essentialising, categorising, drawing boundaries and putting into hierarchies. That is, cultural traits—customs, practices, and so on—forms the basis of essentialised differences between groups and how, because of these cultural differences, some groups are held to be more advanced, more civilised, and so on, than others. This is not to say that one replaces the other; the two can co-exist and some may be subject to forms of both biological and cultural racisms. For Stuart Hall, they are racisms' 'dual logics' and which were always present in any form of racism, albeit in different proportions and combinations.[7] A lot may depend on how one wants to interpret 'biological' here (descent, say, rather than phenotype or genetic causality), the important thing being not to reduce the one to the other or to make just one essential to the concept of racism. While we want to highlight the ascendence of the cultural form in both scholarship, as well as in

[1] R. Miles and M. Brown, *Racism*, 2nd edn., London, Routledge, 2003; K. Murji and J. Solomos, *Racialization: Studies in Theory and Practice*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005.

[2] F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, London, Penguin, 2001 [1961], p. 171.

[3] M. Banton, *The Idea of Race*, London, Tavistock, 1977.

[4] Miles and Brown, *Racism*.

[5] M. Banton, 'Historical and contemporary modes of racialisation', in Murji and Solomos, eds., *Racialization*, pp. 52 and 54.

[6] T. Modood, 'Difference, cultural racism and anti-racism', in T. Modood and P. Werbner, eds., *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multicultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-racism*, 1997, pp. 154–173.

[7] S. Hall, 'Conclusion: the multi-cultural question', in B. Hesse, ed., *Un/Settled Multiculturalisms: Diaspora, Entanglement, Transruption*, London, Zed Books, 2000, pp. 209–241.

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racisms as they manifest in everyday and political life, we also insist on the operation of perceived or attributed descent in the notion of racism. Without that, racism could not be distinguished from other forms of groupism such as nationalism or sexism. Yet, it is important to recognise that cultural racism, as a form of racialisation, does not simply point to how discourses on culture can reflect those of 'race' and operate in similar ways, but that it is a form of racism in its own right and not merely by analogy or as a proxy for racism.

It has, in fact, been observed that this culturalist conception of racism has been paradigmatic in the last half century and some have applied it to historical periods before the modern lexicon of 'race' and racism emerged.[8] This is not simply because racial stereotypes may pick out an identifying biological feature (skin colour) without making it a source of behavioural determinism; and not simply because most racisms actually have a cultural component. It is because some of the most visible forms of racism may be more cultural than biological. This take up of the term racialisation refers to the process in which issues or groups come to be understood through racial meanings, construed as processes of essentialism and determinism that pick out not just—or not even—aspects of physical appearance, but aspects of cultural or religious beliefs, practices, values or behaviour. This, then, points to greater analytical specificity than the binary Fanon sees, but is also more expansive than the limitations placed on the term by Banton. This notion of cultural racism is significant for anti-racisms also, which will be discussed below.

One way of thinking about this development in thinking about racism is through what Wittgenstein referred to as 'family resemblances', where we 'look for something in common to all the entities which we commonly subsume under a general term'.[9] It is not a precise sameness but, as with members of a family, a likeness that is shared such that it makes sense to see them as members that come under a general term, here racism.

The expansion of racism from biological to cultural forms and manifestations brings into racism's orbit distinct yet overlapping patterns. The move to cultural forms of racism has particularly been the case for analysing racism against ethnic or ethno-religious minorities, groups not necessarily based on biological theories or racialised on the basis of biological phenotypes, but rather on the basis of biological descent. Anti-semitism, at times referred to as the oldest form of racism, is a prime example of this use, as contemporary anti-semitism rarely refers to a Jewish biology. A further example can clearly be seen in its application to white minorities with no distinguishing visible features from the white majority, such as to Eastern European migrants in the UK, where racism is rendered as a form of xenophobic othering. For example, Rzepnikowska argues in relation to Polish migrants in Britain that 'even though racism and xenophobia are often discussed as distinct phenomena, they often overlap and both are particularly important'.[10] Possibly the principal example of 'cultural racism' today in the West relates to Muslims and the concept of Islamophobia. Although some contest that both people (Muslims) and their religion (Islam) can be racialised, Islamophobia is understood as a form of anti-Muslim racism because, while appearance is part of the depiction of Muslims, it is cultural features of Muslims and of Islam (inherent violence, backwardness, misogyny, for example) that do most of the work of the racial stereotype.[11] The hostility to Muslims can be based on

[8]D. T. Goldberg, *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1993; G. Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018; B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2004.

[9]L. Wittgenstein, *The Blue and Brown Books: Preliminary Studies for the 'Philosophical Investigations'*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1969, p. 17.

[10]A. Rzepnikowska, 'Racism and xenophobia experienced by Polish migrants in the UK before and after Brexit vote', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2019, pp.61–77.

[11]F. Halliday, 'Islamophobia reconsidered', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 22, 1999, pp. 892–902; T. Modood, 'Islamophobia and normative sociology', *Journal of the British Academy*, vol. 8, 2019, pp. 29–49; N. Meer and T. Modood, 'The racialisation of Muslims', in S. Sayyid and A. Vakil, eds., *Thinking Through Islamophobia: Global Perspectives*, Chichester, Columbia University Press, 2011, pp. 69–84.

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descent (as when the Serbs engaged in 'ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia, without inquiring into individual's religious beliefs or practice); or it can be based on Islam, understood as a doctrine productive of misogyny or fanaticism; or both.

As suggested by the limitations imposed in Banton's conception, however, this is not without controversy. Conceptual fault lines remain when it comes to identifying and addressing patterns of discrimination that traverse lines of 'race', ethnicity and faith; or which posit 'racism without race'. Nevertheless, a degree of scholarly, political and policy consensus has been reached along these kinds of lines and a rich literature has been developing. Racialisation, it might be noted, was Miles's own way of evading what he saw as the conceptual inflation of 'race', although critics have accused him of doing the same to racialisation. On the other hand, the main thrust of Miles's racialisation was its intimate tie with capitalism, while contemporary racialisation analysis makes no assumption about any special relationship between racism and capitalism. Thus, racialisation can be discerned in Ancient Greek perceptions of 'Persians' or in perceptions of Muslims today, independently of any economic mode of production.

Racisms and anti-racism

Understanding racialisation in terms of family resemblance, and the shift to cultural racism, is not just relevant for identifying forms and patterns of discrimination and exclusion, however. They are also central to understanding and developing forms of anti-racism.

We noted above that Islamophobia can perhaps to be said to be the prevailing form of cultural racism in western Europe, and scholarly work on Islamophobia may also be said to be leading the way in these conceptions and forms of (quasi-)racism. A further reason this is significant, and from which we can draw lessons, is that this has developed out of anti-racism concerns and from bottom-up claims made by racialised ethnic minorities. It was the case in Britain in the latter half of the twentieth century, for instance, that prevailing forms of anti-racism rooted in anti-black struggles and the idea of uniting under 'political blackness' proved inadequate for many South Asians.[12] Muslims in particular found that racism focussed on colour fail to capture the forms of discrimination they faced, grounded in perceptions of culture and religion. It also failed to reflect the claims they wanted to make for inclusion in the public and political spheres, the grounds for a sense of 'groupness', which were directly related to cultural and religious claims for inclusion and accommodations.

For example, while most Muslims in Britain are not white and as a group experience racial discrimination, the first major political mobilisation of Muslims, namely in 1988–89, against the disrespect and demonisation experienced through Salman Rushdie's novel, *The Satanic Verses*, and the subsequent 'Affair', was not anything to do with colour racism, but with the dignity of a religious community, and so required some version of multicultural equality which went beyond the anti-racism of that time.[13] This itself points to a further feature, one with relevance for thinking about anti-racism as well as racism. The development of Islamophobia, and arguments for cultural racism, did not emerge merely out of a need to specify more precisely how racism manifested in relation to 'colour racism', but also out of a need to capture the specificities of how anti-Muslim discrimination operated and because anti-racism based on political blackness was inadequate for addressing the concerns of Muslim minority populations. While most social science research has focussed on the racialisation of Muslims, that is, the kind of discrimination that all Muslims face, whether they be religious or not, for example, being not shortlisted for a job because one's name is 'Mohamed', some have begun to address the religious aspect of this discrimination more specifically.[14]

[12] T. Modood, 'Political blackness and British Asians', *Sociology*, vol. 28, no. 4, 1994, pp. 859–876.
[13] T. Modood, *Not Easy being British: Colour, Culture and Citizenship*, Stoke-on-Trent, Runnymede Trust and Trentham, 1992.
[14] Z. Adesina and O. Marocico, 'Is it easier to get a job if you're Adam or Mohamed?', BBC News, 2017; https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-38751307 (accessed 25 February 2022); T. Sealy, 'Islamophobia: with or without Islam?', *Religions*, vol. 12, no. 6, 2021, p. 369.

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Racialisation in global contexts

Yet, this scholarship is developing along fairly parochial lines. Indeed, a recent international handbook has highlighted that there is relatively little engagement between European and US scholars on racism scholarship.[15] When it comes to scholarship focussing on non-Western contexts, these conversations are all but non-existent. While the importance of contextualism might mean that this should not be such a surprise, a conception of racialisation based in the idea of family resemblance, and the kinds of historical connections and influences developments in one context can have in others, suggests it is analytically fruitful to explore racialisation through connected conversations.

In doing so, some significant new phenomena become visible. We can firstly note that some phenomena under discussion in Europe are not merely European, but exist elsewhere. For example, anti-black racism may be significant in China and Islamophobia may be present in India on a scale greater than in Europe. Secondly, phenomena not (historically) present in the West, such as caste, may be usefully interrogated as forms of racialisation, as indeed was once suggested by Martin Luther King and which some Dalits have started doing (including in the West). The point can be taken further by asking: what is the difference between racialised othering and phenomena that in various places in the world is called xenophobia, prejudice, intolerance, sectarianism, communalism and so on? Thirdly, it enables us to study racism and anti-racism in contexts in which white people are not contemporarily present. This can be a contribution to a study of legacies of European colonialism (as say in India, Malayasia or Indonesia) but, more radically, it raises the possibility of forms of racism without whiteness.

Following these points, in this special issue what we note—and is both more unusual and of more direct significance—is what has been happening outside the West, especially in Asia. Groups, inspired by the same political moment that we began this introduction with, have been speaking about their oppression as a form of racism. Here, two currents are worthy of note. First, these racisms (or quasi-racisms) are levied against historic minorities in the context of new mono-nationalisms and the pushback against them from ethno-religious or religious groups. Cases of this kind, for instance, include the Rohingyas in Myanmar, the Uyghurs in China, Hindus and Muslims in Sri Lanka, Hindus and Chinese in Indonesia, Muslims in India and Christians in Pakistan; or along caste lines, as is the case for Dalits in India, for instance. Secondly, they might also represent debates around the ideas of 'neo-imperialism' or 'neo-colonialism'. Here we might point to Palestinians in the Occupied Territories or the Chinese in Tibet and growing Chinese influence in Africa.

This, then, already suggests the relevance of scholarly analysis and application of the terms of racism to contexts outside those where this language has been developing. There are signs that scholars are beginning to do this. Paul Hedges' recent book includes consideration of anti-semitism (in Israel-Palestine) and Islamophobia (in Sri Lanka and India) in non-Western contexts, both reflecting the lexicon of racialisation and making global connections, conceptual and historic.[16] Bina Fernandez has applied the concept of racialisation to the Middle East, looking at the *kafala* migrant sponsorship system, that is commonly used in, for example, the Gulf, and which strictly ties the migrant's right to entry and residence to an employer, as 'a racially stratified occupational hierarchy', whilst also critically assessing the term's scope as it has developed in Western scholarship.[17] Roberto Castillo has focussed on relations between China and Africa and employed an alternative vocabulary, that of 'multiple triangulations'. He does so in order to move away from 'Euro-American binaries and dichotomies' and towards a 'post-imperial vocabulary' when it comes to 'race' and 'racism' thought about in global contexts, but also does so in a move firmly related to

[15] J. Solomos, 'General introduction', in J. Solomos, ed., *Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Racisms*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2020, pp. 1–12.

[16] P. Hedges, *Religious Hatred: Prejudice, Islamophobia, and Antisemitism in Global Context*, London, Bloomsbury, 2021.

[17] B. Fernandez, 'Racialised institutional humiliation through the Kafala', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 47, no. 19, 2021, pp. 4344–61.

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the idea of racialisation.[18] Alastair Bonnet's *Multiracisms* came too late to influence this special issue, but it is an excellent global survey which promises to make what so far has been a niche topic into a mainstream one in racism studies.[19]

In a globalised world where disciplines such as sociology and politics are increasingly challenged to better reflect and think in globally oriented and connected ways, including about the disciplines themselves, we are also challenged to interrogate critically the lenses we apply to our work. Indeed, the above examples of recent work under what we can see as a family of racialisation very much have decolonising logics at the heart of their intellectual and conceptual thinking and approaches. Whilst currently intellectual 'decolonisation' is focussed on the Western empires, we seek to move beyond this Eurocentric myopia and broaden the purview to include other empires and the legacy of their racial hierarchies today, as well as the development of new forms of racism outside the West.

This special issue seeks to situate these recent developments outside the West in relation to the conceptualisations of racialisation, (quasi-)racism and anti-racism that have been developing in Anglophone scholarship. In so doing, it aims to develop our understandings and intellectual resources to talk about and tackle forms of discrimination which traverse 'race', ethnicity, culture, nationality and religion. We can also, thereby, ask what is brought together under what can be considered a 'family resemblance' of (anti-)racism and what important distinctions are also suggested. In discussing the applicability and formation of the notions of racism and racialisation in different contexts across the world, the contributions allow us to begin to map new directions and make a significant agenda-setting contribution in the fields of racism and anti-racism studies.

The contributions to this special issue reflect the concerns outlined above. They use the language of 'race' and 'racism' to greater or lesser degrees, sometimes preferring different terms, sometimes adding in further vocabulary to highlight specific aspects. Yet all can, we suggest, be understood under the family resemblance of racialisation. Some show a concern with how race, or related terms such as Islamophobia, might be applied or resonate in different contexts. And while some note that the terms do not have the same, or perhaps any, resonance in different contexts, some stick with it as an appropriate analytical concept, while some seek alternatives. Some primarily present a contemporary racism, while others include or even primarily focus on, some forms of anti-racism that have emerged against the racialisation in question. While most of the articles focus on one country in Asia or the Middle East, some point to transnational connexions, whether that be political Islam or international capitalism, and one takes India as a point of departure to consider casteism and anti-casteism in the UK, while another analyses anti-Palestinian discourse, which may originate in Israel, but is creating conflict in the US and Europe too.

The contributions that make up this special issue begin with an extreme case—a possible genocide—in the largest and most powerful country in Asia, China. The case is that of the People's Republic of China's treatment of the Uyghurs, the historic ethnic group in Xinjiang province. Gerald Roche and James Riebold look at leaked police files in the capital city, Ürümqi. They examine how racialisation processes are carried out through surveillance, who these impact, and how. They put these empirical materials in a broader comparative framework, drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of state racism, which sees racism as a technique of governance common to all contemporary states; a method they think appropriate to an analysis of state racism—not just in the north Atlantic world where scholarship is nearly always focussed upon, but to racism as a whole. Their conclusions reflect on what it means to undertake anti-racist scholarship in a world of racist states.

The next article, by James Chin, is also a presentation of a state racism, this time in Malaysia, but where the ethnic Chinese (or their state) are not the perpetrators, but the victims. Politics in Malaysia, it is argued, revolves around the tensions between the three major ethnic groups: Malays, Chinese and Indians. A watershed moment was the

[18] R. Castillo, '"Race" and "racism" in contemporary Africa-China relations research: approaches, controversies and reflections', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3, 2020, pp. 310–336.

[19] A. Bonnet, *Multiracisms: Rethinking Racism in Global Context*, Cambridge, Polity, 2021.

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1969 ethnic riots in which the non-Malays were the victims. The Chinese were principally targeted, partly because they were—and largely still are—the dominant group in the economy. This was a frightening moment for the country and from that time a central policy of the state has been to meet the grievances of the Malays and improve their economic position as a group in a country in which they are a majority. A major affirmative action programme was adopted, which Chin argues may be regarded as racist towards the non-Malays, especially the Chinese. He contends that the rise of political Islam in recent times has added a religious layer to the institutionalised racism. The article looks at contemporary racism towards the Malaysian Chinese community and argues that things will get worse in the future owing to the omnipresence of the Malay-Islamic Supremacy ideology, *Ketuanan Melayu Islam*.

Indonesia, too, has a long history of racism against the Chinese, dating back to colonial times. They too had suffered through discriminatory policies and a series of racist riots, some sponsored by the state. However, in contrast to Malaysia, after a period known as the New Order (1966–1998), the Indonesian political elite has worked to reverse the policies of racism, and Taufiq Tanasaldy's article examines the transformation of this racism towards the Indonesian Chinese. It is argued that despite the de-institutionalisation of state racism, popular racism against the Chinese is prevalent and is indeed getting bolder and more political. This is facilitated by the fact that religious issues, in Muslim-majority Indonesia, as in Muslim-majority Malaysia, have been used to fuel anti-Chinese sentiments. It shows that grassroots racism has become more difficult to tackle as it has become intertwined with a conservative Islam, thus offering a form of legitimacy to anti-Chinese hostility. It concludes that a counter-narrative from Islamic moderate civil organisations would be needed to redress the religious sentiment in the native-Chinese relations.

The concept of Islamophobia as a form of racism against Muslims, paralleling racism against Jews and anti-black racism, was developed in Britain in the 1990s and is now widely used and debated in the West.[20] It is mainly discussed in relation to post-immigration settlements of the last fifty years or so. However, this does not mean that the phenomenon exists only in the West or in relation to new countries. If the case of the Uyghurs in China provides an example of a Muslim people incorporated through conquest and colonialism, the case of India is of Muslims who have been present for over a thousand years as conquerors, rulers, traders, spiritual searchers and through mass conversions. India, after Indonesia, with over 200 million Muslims, has the second largest Muslim population in the world, and Sonia Sikka's article argues that India is currently manifesting a severe form of Islamophobia. She argues that while in Western countries anti-Muslim discrimination is linked to perceptions of phenotypical characteristics, upon which cultural stereotypes are constructed, in India, by contrast, there are no physical markers of difference between Muslims and other social groups. Nonetheless, it should be understood as Islamophobia because in India the Muslim 'type' functions in much the same way that racial types have within European anti-semitism. In addition, the disadvantaged social location of Indian Muslims resembles that of African Americans in significant respects. Calling this Islamophobia matters, because it also offers a diagnosis and prescribes remedies. For legal, moral and political purposes, viewing the situation of Indian Muslims through the lens of racism points to solutions, Sikka concludes, quite different from the ones the Indian state has in fact implemented under the aegis of secularism.

One of the entrenched structural inequalities that is most associated with India is that of caste. This is the theme of Meena Dhanda's article, but her focus is less on India itself than on the presence of caste in the Indian diaspora, especially in the UK, and on how it is being challenged by some Dalits and denied by upper caste Hindus. She argues that the juxtaposition of the conceptual apparatus of 'caste' and 'race' illuminates and aligns the phenomenon of anti-casteism as a form of anti-racism. She shows, with rich descriptions of UK activists' and campaigners' experience, that Indian diasporas experience the relative intensity of racism and casteism in different ways, including how they are linked together. Dhanda explains how the language of Hindutva, exported from India to the diaspora, uses the emergent trope of 'Hinduphobia' by usurping

[20] Modood, 'Islamophobia and normative sociology'.

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the language of anti-racism. This creates a simulation of caste blindness, but its purpose is to undermine the agenda of genuine anti-casteism. She goes on to argue that anti-casteism as a form of anti-racism is actualised through the practice of litigation, adapted to the legal apparatus available in any given jurisdiction, such that 'caste' is malleably open to interpretation, so as to allow a pragmatic capturing of the experience of casteism as a form of racism. Her argument is that casteism is best understood as a racism not through a theoretical construct, but in the realm of practice, by how those who experience casteism use the concepts, alliances and laws of anti-racism to resist casteism.

Just as Dhanda makes us aware of casteism in countries such as the UK and the US, Sara Singha spotlights casteism in a Muslim country, Pakistan—a country in which, because of its Islamic identity, caste is largely overlooked as a form of othering that has the potential to cause multiple forms of sociopolitical exclusion, marginalisation, and ostracism. She looks at caste ancestry and how identity impacts a segment of the Christian Protestant community, and how the Muslim identity of Pakistan creates additional challenges for casteism and caste discrimination. She discusses various forms of caste-related discrimination, as well as how the Pakistan government addresses these issues in a different way from India, where caste is socially and politically acknowledged. Singha concludes with suggestions on some ways in which the Pakistani government could better address caste-related persecution and discrimination.

Our final two articles move the focus from South Asia to the Middle East. Since winning the bid to host the 2022 World Cup, the Qatari government has channelled billions of dollars into infrastructural development to prepare for the tournament, which has ramped up the country's already high reliance on migrant labour. The international spotlight on migrant labour abuses has also become more intense as the date of the event approaches. Yet, Zahra Babar and Neha Vora argue that human rights discourses surrounding World Cup 2022 are wrong to focus only on Qatar. Qatar and its racially stratified economy must be understood in terms of local rulers exploiting practices that were developed during European colonialism. Moreover, such practices are sustained not through some local insistence, but because it suits the interests and profits of multinational, primarily Western, corporations. So, rather than wagging a Western human rights finger at Qatar, one should be focussing on the global racial capitalism, past and present. Accordingly, they offer a historical and transnational framework for understanding contemporary racialised labour and immigration systems in the Gulf. They conclude that effectively improving everyday life for migrant workers in the Gulf requires engaging both local stakeholders and the multiple actors and institutions—both inside and outside Qatar—involved in reproducing these systems.

Our final article is on anti-Palestinian racism. Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Abigail Bakan identify key elements of this racism as a specific form of racism that operates at local and global levels. As an Arab group which includes both Christians and Muslims, Palestinians can experience anti-Muslim racism (or Islamophobia) along with being subjected to anti-Arab racism and Orientalist stereotypes. Abu-Laban and Bakan go further, however. Using the concept of racial gaslighting which has been advanced recently across a number of disciplines, they isolate an identifiable anti-Palestinian racism. The argument is that anti-Palestinian racism is expressed through racial gaslighting in a threefold manner. The first is denial, with a key example being the treatment of the 1948 Nakba (or catastrophe). The second is how racial gaslighting operates through power inequities, with stateless Palestinians, occupied Palestinians, and Palestinians holding Israeli citizenship suffering clear inequities because of an active repositioning of the apartheid and settler-colonial character of the Israeli state as one that is 'democratic', 'Jewish', and unfairly treated. Finally, they consider how Palestinians are victim-blamed, by discourses which present them as 'terrorist', 'anti-semitic' and 'undemocratic'.

Together, the contributions collected in this special issue not only help to expand our understanding of global racisms and racialisation processes in diverse contexts, but in doing so they also help us move away from Euro-Americancentric conceptions of racism and, we hope, contribute towards a new agenda in racism and anti-racism scholarship that is more globally connected.

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