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Home, Displacement, and Belonging

Feature Interview: **Prof Aihwa Ong**

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Home, Displacement and Belonging

General Section

Letter from our Managing Editor

Oxford, February 2017

Dear Reader,

Welcome to the new edition of the St Antony's International Review (STAIR)!

The theme of this edition, homelessness and belonging, has gripped the attention of the world. Despite it not being a new topic—issues of belonging and inclusion/exclusion are as old as humanity—it has acquired renewed urgency in recent years as record numbers of refugees and migrants have been displaced, domestically and internationally, and questions of national identity have come to the fore in political debates around the world, with often serious consequences. Underlying many of these debates are deeper questions of identity and belonging. This edition of STAIR seeks to explore those underlying issues with a rich selection of articles, representing various theoretical perspectives, intellectual backgrounds, and methodologies. We are confident that scholarly knowledge can play a positive role in society and see our search for excellence in sourcing and publishing articles as part of that role.

We will continue our work over the coming year and invite you to become more involved with STAIR. Our new website (www.stairjournal.com) contains details of our upcoming issues, events, and special features. If you or your institution are not currently subscribers, we have attractive subscription packages and are always looking to enlarge our subscription base. Please do not hesitate to contact us if you would like more information.

Special thanks to the editorial board of STAIR for their hard work putting this edition together, to Professor Margaret MacMillan for her ongoing support, and to our institutional homes at Oxford—St Antony's College and the Department of Politics and International Relations.

Enjoy!

Marco Moraes
Managing Editor

Editorial Introduction

I. Themed Section Editors *Amogh Dhar Sharma, Garima Jaju, and Ikuno Naka*
II. General Section Editors *Robert Gorwa, Anton Peez, and Yuan Yi Zhu*
III. Book Review Editors *Claire Dale, Tim Epple, and Giulia Garbagni*

I. Themed Section

"Home" is one of those uncomfortably subjective words in academia, more often evoked than systematically unpacked. Often discarded altogether on grounds of being mawkish and overly sentimental, words like "citizenship," "belonging," or "resettlement" often, rather conveniently and sometimes even erroneously, take its place. However, the use of the terms "citizenship," "belonging," or "resettlement" as placeholders for a broader understanding of "home" ends up highlighting only some aspects of "home" to the detriment of the other. Thus, a focus on "citizenship" places more emphasis on juridical rights and ideas of a political community; the use of "belonging" becomes indicative of affective ties and interpersonal relationships between subject-agents and/or groups; and ideas of "resettlement" invoke the search for a home in the specific context of a conflict induced displacement. In practice, however, the idea of "home" may encompass all these dimensions simultaneously. In this special issue, we aim to tackle the question of "home" head on through a selection of six papers and an interview with anthropologist Aihwa Ong, which together seek to examine, from various perspectives, the processual constructions of "home" and its varied forms, studied against the backdrop of international politics.

In this special edition, we introduce "home" as an analytical concept. Before doing so, it may be useful to articulate why there is such a need and what there is to be gained from it. Home has a strong and intimate presence in the lives and imaginations of people. Not just individuals, but families, societies, religious or ethnic communities, nation states, and international civil societies, recognize a place or a people as its home and organize their social lives with reference to it. Given this centrality, changing definitions of home over time come to reflect on changing patterns in important international social, economic, cultural, and political processes, and by extension, the changing world order. Its multiple understandings at any given time reflect on the contradictory and heterogeneous nature of these processes, and contests any unified, hegemonic world vision. Home then is, at the same time, deeply personal, political, and politicised.

4   Here, our effort will be to suggest an analytical lens with which to understand this "home." The lens will be bifocal through which we can understand both the concept of home and the larger international context of which it is a part. In the absence of any such serious analytical treatment of home, we find the term loosely deployed, with its meaning often implicitly assumed and the discussion often progressing through a patchwork of different concepts such as "belonging" or "citizenship." Admittedly, the wide breadth of contexts in which the term "home" is currently evoked makes the task of drawing an analytical outline around it difficult. But, it is also what makes the task pertinent.

In our effort to analyze and develop a comprehensive and complex understanding of home in today's world, we begin first by freeing the idea of home from a nation-state based on fixed territoriality. Here, we are not suggesting the irrelevance of the nation-state. Various constructions of home could well operate within the citizenship/ nation-state dyad; however, they are by no means limited to it. Here, we reject the isomorphism of home, homeland, and nation-state. Instead, we posit a more dynamic understanding of contemporary geography that moves beyond the hegemony of the nation-state, which continues to be foundational for academic disciplines like, inter alia, international relations. In moving beyond such flat and unidimensional understandings of geography, we instead seek to explore the multiple geographies, both real and imagined, upon which the very idea of "home" materialises in people's lives. In doing so, we hope to rescue the concept of home from becoming spatially, and analytically, imprisoned within the confines of a rather recent unit of global spatial, political, and socio-cultural organisation—the nation-state. We hope to instead facilitate an appreciation for the construction and experience of home as multi-scalar and multi-spatial, arising from a multiplicity of competing imaginations. Home(s) could be simultaneously many, rife with contradictions and tensions. Home could also be singular, but existing solely in imagination, acutely aware of the impossibility of its own actuation. Home could be a site of resistance creating counter-hegemonic discourses that compete with dominant ideas of "imagined communities." Home could also be a site of oppression, and in which case freedom from home, instead of belonging to it, is sought. Thus, the attempt here will be to move the idea of home from one that is spatially bound to one that reflects its multiple and fragmented realities.

Conventional discourse on "belonging" often begins with a certain juridical, Marshallian understanding of citizenship and membership to a national community. In his seminal piece *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950), T.H. Marshall put forth a conception of citizenship as composed of three fundamental components: civil ("freedom of speech, thought, faith, liberty of the person, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, right to justice"), political ("right to participate, execute power"), and social ("live the life according to the standards of society"). Marshall's theory of citizenship was certainly influential during its time, particularly in understanding liberal democracies of post-World War II. However, Marshall's conceptualization of citizenship would be critiqued, most famously by Hannah Arendt, who in 1979, challenged such geographical formations of citizenship in her invocation of the importance to have "the right to have rights"; that is to say the right to be recognized "as a moral equal, treated by the same standards and values, and due the same level of respect and dignity by all other members" in a given social and political body. What Arendt meant was that without recognition and inclusion, there would be no agent even capable to claim that Marshallian bundle of economic, political and social rights endowed to nationals in the first place. Building on both Marshall's and Arendt's insights, Margaret Somers, in her seminal work, posited a reformulated notion of citizenship as an ensemble of "institutionally-embedded social practices." Somers, thus, effectively articulated what Marshall had not: that any form of universal membership rules and legal institutions is only valuable when the rights and responsibilities that it entails are exercisable.

Still, it is important to recognize here how such theoretical conceptualizations nonetheless continue to be grounded in a certain idea of citizenship and belonging that reifies the centrality of the state as the benefactor of these rights. And in so doing, it continues to ground the very notion of citizenship and belonging fundamentally in a certain geographical framework of borders and nation-states. In other words, they fail to conceive of political identities beyond the binary of citizen and stateless. A more critical examination of how conceptions of belonging are demarcated beyond the artifice of legal polity membership that is nationality—this journal issue fundamentally seeks to do this.

It is worth noting that Arendt argues that rights were the fundamental normative content of citizenship, and these rights were influenced, in no small measure, by the dynamics of the immediate

post-war period. As a new international regime governed by multilateral institutions and power blocs took shape, the relationship between "state," "nation," and "citizens" came to be reworked in paradoxical ways. On the one hand, the new post-war consensus (as embodied by institutions like the United Nations, and norms like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) came to emphasize the inviolability of certain fundamental human rights, thereby making the normative content of citizenship universal and de-linking from any particular nation-state. On the other hand, the principles of "right of return" and non-refoulement that sought to safeguard the fundamental rights of refugees, asylum seekers, and stateless actors entrenched the notion that everyone had to "belong" to a nation-state.

Such paradoxes and limitations in the concept of the nation-state as home became increasingly apparent with a series of technological shifts and changing patterns of production and accumulation that characterized the second half of the twentieth century. Technological advancements in the field of communication enabled the rise of an "information society" that rapidly shrunk the time and space barriers in the circulation of ideas and information. If print capitalism had been linked to the emergence of nationalist sentiments in an earlier era, then, this new wave of communication technology sought to transform the world in the image of a post-national "global village." Technology, thus, came to redefine home and belonging in two fundamental ways. Firstly, it became easier to define "home" without reference to a physical location or spatial fixity. These new forms of communication technology were seen as the vehicle that could sustain communal belonging over long-distances, and thus home itself could become entirely "digital." Secondly, coinciding with the counterculture movement of the 1960s, mass media technology became integral to the discourse of cosmopolitanism (see below) that promoted cross-cultural exchanges as a counter to the perceived parochialism of nationalist identities.

Furthermore, the shift towards a post-Fordist mode of production and increasing financialization of capital from the 1970s onwards necessitated a new international division of labour. Often captured under the catch-all term of "globalization," this new regime of production, distribution, and exchange entailed an unprecedented level of movement of labour and capital across the globe. Aihwa Ong suggests that it was in support of this rapidly globalizing economic sphere that the idea of "flexible citizenship" took root in the lives of an increasingly footloose elite. In contrast to the political and nationalist basis of traditional citizenship, this

new "flexible citizenship," Ong suggests, was driven primarily by material considerations and in pursuit of individual profit that the new globalized regime promised. Such ideas of citizenship (and the global economic transformations from which they emerged) opened up the possibilities of conceptualizing the multiplicity of "home" and mutating "belongings."

However, these changing understandings of citizenship were not entirely a function of a new economic regime. This period was marked by a renewed academic interest in moral cosmopolitanism that provided ideological sustenance to the proposition of being a "citizen of the world," and challenged still further the ontological coherence of the nation-state. The anthropologist Akhil Gupta, for one, argues that the nation-state is merely one expression of the imagined community of home. Problematizing the understanding of identities as "firmly spatialized and seemingly immutable" within the nation state, Gupta traces the multiple imaginings of national homelands that operate on the national space, leading to its fracturing, repartitioning, reinscription, and reterritorialization. While he acknowledges the "affective commitment to territory," by studying the multiple spatial grids of belonging, he challenges the idea of the "hegemonic representation of spatial identity" to be that of nation-states. Situating his work on the borders and boundaries of national states, Michael Kearney makes a case for their increasingly ambiguous and blurred nature in the changing transnational order of the world. He writes about the people spanning these borders as "ambiguous in that they in some ways partake of both nations and in other ways partake of neither." In other words, people may belong to both multiple and no spatial territories, simultaneously.

The scholar to most famously reject the spatial fixity of home within the nation state is Appadurai who instead understands everything as "disintegrating into translocality" because of globalization, leaving conceptions of definite and bounded home spaces as anachronistic. Appadurai discusses the emergence of a "postnational geography" formed by post-national identities, mobile sovereignties, translocality. A person's identity is conceptualized as more fluid, embedded in translocal cultural practices and less determined by nation-state citizenship. Conceptualized as such, the person experiences home in different, multiple locations in a world, which is increasingly deterritorialized, awash by "global flows" that erase clear distinctions between bounded nation-state territories. Not spatially fixed in the nation-state, home is then a trans- and supra-local cultural condition, spanning various spatial and scalar sites. However, in such an extreme rejection of any singular spatial

fixity Appadurai starts to present people "as if they have no spatial constraints at all, as if people float freely, exist in several places at once, or are truly placeless."

In our exploration of "home," we reign in Appadurai's claims on post-national geographies to make a more qualified argument that while home is not limited within the borders of the nation-state or that the nation-state is not its sole spatial referent, it is not entirely diffused and neatly separable from the model of the nation-state. If recent events—such as the Brexit Referendum, the US Presidential Campaign of 2016, and the resurgence of right-wing parties and anti-immigration sentiments in the European Union—are any indication, one would be hard-pressed to argue that the nation or nationalism is waning in the popular imaginaries and discourses surrounding citizenship. While rejecting its spatial limitedness within national boundaries, we continue to acknowledge the relation of "home" to national geographies, which may not be synonymous, but continues to be relevant. Multiple imaginations of home may exist not just by erasing existing borders and boundaries, but also re-emphasizing them.

In This Special Issue

Our efforts in this special issue are greatly aided by our interdisciplinary approach; the diverse six articles highlighted here incorporate discussions of political theory, international relations, sociology, and anthropology. As such, in their aggregate, they seek to challenge many of the assumptions of realism and constructivism about fixed, territorial, and bounded understandings of home.

Unpacking the concepts of home and belonging in the twenty-first century requires an examination that accommodates both the centrifugal push of transnationalism and the centripetal pull of nationalism. **Maidul Islam**'s paper studies the conflict between an imagined universal, homogenous home, and its more fractured empirical reality in the case of the Muslim Umma, or international or global community of Muslim believers. He points to the political machination necessary to bridge the divide between contesting conceptions of belonging and identification, and the inevitable failure of any such effort.

Some of the articles highlight how ethnic difference, not just nationality, becomes a way through which ideas of home and belonging are forged, negotiated, and reshaped. **Erin Hughes**'s article on Iraq's Assyrian, Chaldean, and Syriac diaspora is one such example of this. For marginalized communities like the Assyrians,

Chaldeans, and Syriacs in Iraq, Hughes argues how an imagined "home" emerging out of some combination of historical, ethnic and religious homelands becomes central to diasporic understandings of nationalism (and their relationship to the "home country" of Iraq): as she puts it, "here, Nineveh (the Christian province) is a homeland that, if protected, will preserve the nation indefinitely." This emphasis on ethnic difference echoes Michael Kearny's distinction between "boundary" and "border," wherein the former reflects the legal cartographic borders of nation-states, and the latter constitutes the cultural demarcations that each ethnic group draws for itself. This rupture between "boundary" and "border" is most acute in those liminal spaces where "nationalist boundaries of territory and identity are most contested and ambiguous." In the context of one such liminal space, **Antía Bouzas**'s paper explores how belonging is articulated by Kashmiris living along the Line of Control (LoC) that lies between India and Pakistan. Antia shows how claims of "belonging" articulated by Kashmiris seeks to inscribe both demands of territorial and political rights, as well as cultural identity grounded in the ethnic difference of *Kashmiriyat*. In this context of the Kashmir conflict, belonging emerges as a quest for political recognition. This epistemological focus on "belonging" allows us to explore the meaning of belonging in a contested borderland without making any *a priori* assumptions about the supposed fixity of the identities and culture of the people under study. The pervasive presence of borders and boundaries is also felt in **Marco Mogiani**'s paper which examines the impact of neoliberal practices and migration policies pursued by state and non-state actors on the border port of Patras in Greece by drawing upon different theories on the production of space. In this framework, border areas emerge as "meeting places," where multi-scalar forces of migration flows, security policies, and economic rationalities constantly intersect to reinscribe space and imbue it with contesting meanings. **Mogiani** analyses the everyday experiences of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers that arrive daily on the shores of Greece to understand how these populations attempt to carve out a "living space" for themselves in these border areas that are in a constant state of flux.

Forced displacement and conflict-induced migration are moments when home and belonging need to be forged anew. Conventionally, refugee camps have long been seen as spaces of endless waiting marked by an acute deprivation of rights and agency. However, recent interventions in the debate highlight that—far from being passive actors—they are active agents capable of imagining home and forging belonging in diverse and innovative ways even in these

"periods of waiting." Nando Sigona argues that refugees possess "campzenship"—a term which denotes the membership of, and contingent set of rights found in, refugee camps, and through which refugees actively participate in the navigation of their own future. **Nicole Hoellerer'**s ethnographic work on Bhutanese refugees resettled in the UK is one such paper that cautions such conceptualizations of refugees as passive actors. She argues that "although forced migration may have removed individuals from their locality, refugees may not perceive themselves as essentially home-less, but possess the agency to actively re-fashion their sense of belonging in exile." In illustrating the multi-dimensional and multi-cultural ways by which a "community-in-transition" finds belonging, her paper poses a challenge to conceptions of "home" as a natural," singular, and permanent sense of locality and identity. Similarly, **Giula Gonzalez**'s paper on the production and consumption of music in a community of Malian Kel Tamasheq refugees in Burkina Faso challenges such conceptions of camps as "periods of waiting" by examining how a community, when forcefully displaced from their homes, do not live simply as placeless and homeless, but engage productively and creatively to form expressions of home and belonging through their music. In doing so, her paper illustrates the fluidity of conceptions of home—that "home" is not just something place bound or physical, but something that can still be affected spatially, albeit immaterially.

II. General Section

The journal's general section publishes timely and relevant articles with an international focus from a variety of disciplines. In this issue, the foci are international humanitarian law, political and economic integration, and security and defense policy.

In the "The False Obsolescence of European Integration Theory in the Study of North American Integration," Ivan Pelcastre challenges the neglect of European integration theory in the study of North American integration. Pelcastre argues that the neglect stems from North American integration scholars' assumption that the process is a purely intergovernmental one, which leads to their dismissing European regional integration theory as irrelevant for the study of the North American integration process.

In fact, as Pelcastre demonstrates, while North American integration began as an intergovernmental process, it is no longer exclusively the case, as what began as a purely economic process evolved into a process involving a large degree of policy interdependence

and political integration between Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Hence, European integration theory has in fact much greater relevance to the study of North American integration than previously thought, as the differences between the European and North American processes are narrower than they are generally portrayed. Consequently, Pelcastre calls for a reassessment of the commonly held assumption that the European integration experience has little relevance to the study of North American integration.

In "Urbanization of Warfare: Historical Development and Contemporary Challenges for International Humanitarian Law," Alvina Hoffmann discusses several important and topical questions. How do militaries, governments, and international organizations conceptualize what seems to be the continuation of a historical shift for warfighting and conflict towards the urban landscape and the city? How do occupying forces militarise and transform urban spaces, and what are the implications of these efforts for International Humanitarian Law?

In order to address these issues, Hoffmann attempts to synthesize a number of literatures, including critical urban studies, international law, and military doctrine. Through an emphasis on customary international humanitarian law, "which emerges from state practice," and an analysis of the 2003 US invasion of Iraq, the article presents a potential path forward for policymakers and practitioners that could help amend central tensions between the urbanisation of war and international legal frameworks.

In "The Nation, Bureaucratic Functionality, and EU Institutions: Three Socialization Worlds of CSDP Actors," Samuel Faure examines the emergence of a EU strategic culture concerning military affairs. Faure discusses the EU's Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) from a sociological perspective, using a dataset based on 16 interviews with CSDP officials and a questionnaire surveying 47 further professionals in the field (conducted from 2010–2012 and 2008–2010, respectively).

Casting the CSDP realm as a "social field," Faure argues and demonstrates that CSDP professionals have three main allegiances— to their home country, but also to the function they hold within their work environment, and to the EU institution in which they work. Faure suggests that this convergence of "social representations" (shared values, beliefs, and practices), in turn, shapes the development of a distinct EU strategic culture.

The survey indicates that CSDP actors still overwhelmingly prefer a strong role of the nation-state in European security decision-making, as opposed to a shift towards the EU or NATO (whereas the former is

preferred over the latter), albeit to varying degrees depending on the respondents' nationality. Another finding is that CSDP professionals' social representations remained consistent before and after the Lisbon Treaty entered into force in 2009.

Taking the approach of "strategic constructivism," Faure also engages with recent developments in Europe—such as the increase in terrorist attacks and Brexit referendum—and discusses their potential impact on the EU's strategic culture.

III. Book Reviews

This issue features three book reviews discussing "home, displacement, and belonging" in different spatial and temporal settings. To begin with, Carlotta Clivio recommends a book that will appeal well beyond the limited niche of sinologists, *Foreigners Under Mao: Western Lives in China, 1949–1976*, by Beverley Hooper (2016). Its reader will be taken on a journey through the personal accounts of those Westerners allowed to live in China under Mao's chairmanship, following the confident guidance of an exceptional mentor, Beverley Hooper, currently Emeritus Professor of Chinese Studies at the University of Sheffield, who was in fact one of the first Western exchange students to be welcomed at Peking University in 1975–1977. Without lapsing in mere anecdotal narrative, Hooper masterfully weaves the microlevel of individual experiences into the wider context of China's recent history, illustrating the different ways in which various "categories" of Westerners experienced the first turbulent years of the People's Republic of China (PCR), from the Great Leap Forward to the Cultural Revolution. The Cold War setting of the book adds another fascinating layer to the Westerners' process of defining "home" and shaping their sense of belonging—this is illustrated in the stark juxtaposition between the experiences of Western diplomats (such as the former President of the United States George H. W. Bush), who were looked at with suspicion and placed under strict state control, and the experiences of the sympathizers of the Communist cause (such as writer Edgar Snow, famous recorder of Mao's Long March), who were instead reduced to the status of "ideological misfits" in their home countries. Clivio praises this addition to the literature on Sino-Western relations during the Mao era for its marked departure from a focus on the broader geopolitical dynamics, as well as the departure from existing accounts of Western "sojourners" in socialist countries. Not only will historians of modern and contemporary China appreciate Hooper's extensive use of archival material and memoirs, but social anthropologists will also

value her in depth insights into the social dynamics of Maoist China. Beyond that, *Foreigners Under Mao* promises to satisfy the curiosity of any reader interested in a very personal and first-hand take on the PRC's most sensitive and turbulent years.

Fast-forwarding to the present-day, Claire Dowling reviews *Revolution in Rojava: Democratic Autonomy and Women's Liberation in Syrian Kurdistan* (2016), by Anya Flach, Ercan Ayboga, and Michael Knapp. According to Dowling, *Revolution in Rojava* will be of great interest for academics and activists interested in the region and the movement as a whole, as it fills a significant gap in the literature on the emergent forms of political organization in Rojava. Crucially, the book dispels the common misconception that Rojava is an exclusively Kurdish endeavour. In reality, Rojava is a "home" to those Kurds, Arabs, Armenians, Syriacs, Chaldeans, and Ezidis that previously lived there or who sought refuge in the area as a consequence of the Syrian Civil War. Moreover, the book offers an insightful account into the political, social, and economic aspects of daily life in this new political project based on ecological sustainability, gender equality, and democratic confederalism. At the same time, the book highlights the manifold challenges that Rojava is facing. Most acutely, these include the dangers associated with the intensification of class stratification, the inherently time-consuming nature of consensual politics, and the ramifications of Rojava's status in international law and global politics. All in all, Dowling praises the book for its compelling analysis that highlights the fluid and evolving nature of Rojava, and which challenges orientalist assumptions in academia, particularly in leftist critical theory.

Finally, Çağatay Cengiz discusses *Refugees and the Meaning of Home: Cypriot Narratives of Loss, Longing and Daily Life in London* (2015), written by Helen Taylor. Indeed, in light of the January 2017 Cyprus peace talks between Turkey, Greece, and the UK, this book raises hope for a reunification of the island which thousands of people were forced to leave. Taylor's book examines the daily lives of Greek and Turkish Cypriot refugees living in London, and through that analysis, challenges the clear-cut distinction between the lost and the present home that prevails in common wisdom and academia alike. Toward this end, as Cengiz argues, the book instructively examines the processes through which the meaning of "home" is constantly constructed and re-imagined. For instance, Taylor vividly describes how Greek and Turkish Cypriot refugees living in London articulate their collective identity and claim an active role in transforming the environment in their new home. Taylor examines daily food habits, typical Cypriot gardening, and the importance of social networks, all

of which play a crucial role in the (re-)imagination of "home" that transcends spatial and temporal boundaries. Cengiz claims that one of the key strengths of the book is Taylor's careful attempt to minimize the bearing of subjectivities arising from the highly politicized issue of Cyprus partition on her analysis of home, displacement, and belonging in that context. However, Cengiz also notes the gap between Taylor's stated goal of objectivity and her interpretation of the communities' political commemorations, which implicitly suggests a responsibility on the Turkish side in protracting tensions between the two communities. Nonetheless, Cengiz concludes that *Refugees and the Meaning of Home* represents a significant contribution to the literature on forced migration and refugees as it pays testimony to the many ways in which refugees actively transform and (re-)construct their "home" in their new host society.

Feature Interview: Prof Aihwa Ong in Conversation with STAIR

In this interview, Ikuno Naka, Garima Jaju and Amogh Dhar Sharma sit down with Professor Ong to discuss how themes of "home" and "belonging" have featured in her research. Professor Ong also shared her views on the changing norms of citizenship, "global civil society," the "Brexit" vote, and what she thinks anthropology can contribute to the study of international politics.

Aihwa Ong is the Robert H. Lowie Distinguished Chair in Anthropology and the Director of the Group in Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. She is the author of a number of books, including *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty, Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, and *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia*. Her latest book, *Fungible Life: Experiment in the Asian City of Life*, has been published by Duke University Press.

STAIR: For a long time, debates on international issues were dominated by political scientists. Your work in that respect has been pioneering in its anthropological investigations of cosmopolitan citizenship, multiculturalism, and globalization. What does anthropology bring to the study of such issues?

AO: Anthropologists investigate how everyday practices shape the imagination, configuration, and meaningfulness of social life in conditions of flux. We tend to study how various human activities give pattern to ways of life that are not necessarily circumscribed by physical and administrative borders. In modern times, as in the past, human practices have never been entirely constrained or contained by political entities such as the nation-state.

 Whereas international relations focuses on policies that manage relations among sovereign nations, anthropology investigates the variable effects of everyday activities that can ripple across and connect different scales of social action. Contemporary human decisions are enabled by a rich array of technologies that allow for action from afar, and thus have the potential to transcend political borders and propel geopolitical events.

Anthropology's grounding in fieldwork makes us alert to heterogeneous activities on the ground that are not predetermined by overarching social theory. By paying attention to both first-order and second-order observations, we produce knowledge that emerges out of direct participant observation and the theoretical formulation of gathered data. The methodological focus on situated analysis and open-ended observation allows researchers to track how everyday practices, beliefs, and relationships can spillover to other sites.

Today, anthropologists are concerned about how contingent intersections of global and situated forces constitute rather specific contexts of emergence. Stephen Collier and I have proposed "global assemblages" as the lens for mapping a space of inquiry into how emergent contexts are crystallized by interacting global technologies, situated politics, and ethics. Instead of using static units of analysis, an assemblage concept identifies particular milieus rising from the interplay of global and situated elements. This angle of analysis allows us to understand how each emerging situation is constituted by different conditions of possibility for solving anthropological problems, or questions of human life and living in rather distinctive ways.[1]

Therefore, the mobility of capital, technologies, actors, ideas, and practices does not generate uniform or homogenous conditions that many refer to as "globalization." Rather, we investigate how universalizing forces—rational reasoning, forms, and practices—unevenly impinge upon and co-constitute a spectrum of cultural and socio-political situations. "Globality" describes not merely a condition of transnational interconnectivity, but is also a variable enmeshment in "global forms": abstractable and mobile ideas, practices, and tools that are universalizable across a range of socio-political sites. Situated actors, groups, institutions, and states are unevenly entangled in, as well as selectively deploy, global technologies in pursuit of diverse goals.

From an anthropological perspective, globalizing contexts are heterogeneous, simultaneously global and particular. Let me briefly comment on the debate on neoliberalism and illiberal governing. I disagree with the claim of some Marxists that China is a "deviant" form of neoliberalism (exemplified by the United States). Instead of a typological approach, our assemblage concept captures the rather distinctive socio-political formation developing from a specific combination of global (including neoliberal reasoning) and situated forces. A major example is the People's Republic of China's capacity to deploy cutting edge technologies—mega infrastructure, cyber and space projects, nuclear power, biological sciences—in ways that

actually strengthen the autocratic state and its non-liberal politics.

As a discipline for studying what is at stake in being human, anthropology inquires into diverse ways of belonging. The global— rational ideas, forms, and activities—is directly implicated in redefining ways of being human today. Of course, as my writings have illuminated, social and digital technologies are not only involved in processes of subjectivization, but, in the hands of certain actors, are deployed in practices of self-making. I have investigated diverse subjective and institutional effects of the global in a variety of contexts: the new freedoms and unfreedoms experienced by Malaysian female workers in multinational factories;[2] the accumulative strategies of Asian entrepreneurs in relocating family and capital overseas;[3] the social disciplining of Cambodian refugees to embrace American self-reliant values;[4] neoliberal reasoning and graduated modes of governing in Asia;[5] and the transformation of cosmopolitan biosciences in Singapore and in China.[6]

STAIR: In your book Flexible Citizenship, you argue how economic globalization is transforming citizens into self-governing subjects whose human capital becomes a passport towards realizing individual freedom in diverse transnational realms. In this process, what changes occur in how the individual relates to the larger community? How does the citizen's conduct balance the desire to expand individual freedom while inextricably remaining embedded in specific socio-political communities?

AO: I wonder what you mean by "inextricably remaining embedded in specific socio-political communities." For over a century now, anthropologists have questioned stable notions of culture and community. In our interconnected and mobile world, the idea of community has been rudely disrupted, fragmented, and dispersed across multiple sites. It becomes necessary therefore to distinguish among different degrees and modes of "embedding" in a particular nation-state. For instance, migrants may seek the citizenship protections provided by a host country, and continue to sustain cultural and socio-political networks that span countries.

In such circumstances, one must query the presumed static notion of modern citizenship as politico-legal singularity. Instead, it would be useful to study the mutating interrelationships among key values that fall under the rubric of citizenship.[7] Besides political rights and membership in a particular nation-state, citizenship is encrusted with duties and obligations, infused with spiritual meaning (freedom, equality, love of nation), and tied to a specific national territoriality. By unpacking citizenship as a cluster of

interrelated elements, we discern enduring tensions among rights, duties, obligations, identifications, and affects associated with the citizenship of a particular country.

Polities—advanced liberal states, electoral democracies, theocracies, Asian socialist countries—define national membership and belonging in their own balancing between rights, duties, and obligations. There are further dimensions in the interrelationship of these critical components in modern citizenship. Nation-State templates are premised on the claim of national territory by founding nations or races, thus giving rise to notions of majority-minority groups within the sovereignty country. Subsequent class and racial struggles led to a more even-field understanding of equal belonging. The American imaginary as an Anglo-Saxon nation gradually gave way to the vision of a nation of immigrants, i.e., a nation undivided. Nevertheless, the civil rights movement of the late 1960s, led by African Americans and inspiring other minority groups, was the first serious challenge to the actually existing conditions of entrenched unequal citizenship. The struggle continues in multiple domains of everyday life.

In the aftermath of colonialism, Asian countries tend to formalize unequal citizenship, distinguishing between a racialized majority and minorities, and often, in practice, between urban and rural citizen-subjects. In addition, an explicit hierarchy of duties and obligations seeks to integrate various elements in the nation-state. For instance, the People's Republic of China subordinates human rights to what may be called the "national right" of demanding absolute loyalty (glossed as "love of motherland") from all citizen-subjects in the name of national unity.

Geopolitical competition today exerts additional influence on citizenship criteria everywhere, making their values more contingent and fluid. In the United States, the national conscription of all able-bodied men in times of war has been replaced by a voluntary army in a time of perpetual war. Meanwhile, challenged by the rise of Asian economic powerhouses, disparate countries have become preoccupied by the human capital composition of their own populations. Certain elements of citizenship—contribution to national well-being—are weighed against others (e.g., duty to defend the country). This balancing act is most blatant in the variable reception of emigrants as liberal democracies weigh how best to attract brains and wealth to one's national territory while excluding potentially disruptive arrivals.

By viewing citizenship as an unstable set of rights, duties, and obligations, we realize that there is no one-size-fits-all experience

of citizenship. Furthermore, the governmental effects of class, gender, and race impose variable possibilities on how a particular citizens-subject can balance the desire for individual freedoms and the obligations of socio-political communities. We would expect that the challenges for citizens in different advanced liberal societies would be rather varied. In some countries, individual rights would come into conflict with cultural norms (e.g., restrictions on female behaviour) that mark their home communities. By contrast, in the United States, the ongoing destabilization of gender normativity at large has contributed to the fluidity of identity and the blurring of gender differences. Self-practices of subject formation may be viewed not in conflict with a citizenship that is based on political principles of individual freedom, but as a radical expression of them. The American experiment with citizenship highlights that what is fundamentally at stake in citizenship is the political right to exercise individual freedom even in the midst of cultural differences.

STAIR: Building upon the previous questions, often this desire for a fixed "home" and belonging dangerously manifests itself as xenophobia. Increasingly, one observes a resurgence of exclusionary nationalistic sentiments and a closing down and/or stricter policing of open borders. How do we reconcile the emergence of post-national identities, imaginations, and belongings with those that are strictly nationalistic?

AO: We are in a historical moment when the survival of the nation-state is in question. In many regions, the nation-state has never developed beyond the national capital, and in other cases the government fails to provide basic human needs, much less the lofty ideals of human rights. Millions of people from places disrupted by war, poverty, and pestilence turn to safe havens in the North Atlantic world (the original home of the modern nation-state). The influx of multitudes from impoverished and shattered nations has sparked a crisis of citizenship in advanced liberal countries. Some European Union (EU) countries are closing borders and voicing exclusionary nationalist sentiments.

Given the variable processes of nation-building, we need to rethink a simple opposition between nationalist and post-nationalist aspirations. From a European perspective, this opposition may be one of defending national identity against the promptings of cosmopolitan ideals. But in the developing world, the question is how and whether nationalist aspirations can be realized, or firmly entrenched in a particular territory. Thus, border-straddling reimagination of the nation, or what Benedict Anderson calls "long-

distance nationalism," continues to be rather important. Anderson mentioned the Tamil Tigers in Canada who supplied arms and money to their compatriots in Sri Lanka. A more recent and less virulent form of nationalism from afar is enacted by diasporic South Asians who support nationalist and anti-Muslim sentiments in India from their Silicon Valley redoubts. Then, there is the fearsome quest of the Islamic State movement to establish a foothold for a reimagined caliphate in the chaos of a war-torn Middle East.

A situated vantage point enriches understanding of the varied forms of nationalist imaginings, strategies, and projections across borders. For instance, "strictly nationalistic" applied to China may mean not the closing of borders, but the expansion of territory in a reimagined position as a regional power. China's building of island fortresses on reefs in Southeast Asia has fueled nationalistic fervour in Vietnam and the Philippines to defend their maritime territoriality. Attention to the coordinates of space and time will sharpen our analysis of the play of national aspirations and strategies in shifting geopolitical conditions.

STAIR: Many have noted the recent Brexit vote to represent a re-territorialization of citizenship. What is your opinion?

AO: Instead of assuming an either/or process of de- and re-territorialization, it would be intriguing to explore the implications of their entanglements in shaping a national milieu. In *Neoliberalism as Exception*, I suggest that we think of the nation-state not as a political singularity governing a uniform national territoriality, but as an ensemble of governing technologies that target diverse spaces and groups.8 The "political exception" becomes a flexible mechanism for managing the national population and territory in relation to global flows. Since joining the EU, Britain has flourished through de-territorializing its capital and labour markets. London capitalizes on its liberal regulations and financial services for investments, thus becoming a global haven for capital-bearing foreigners and would-be citizens seeking to escape state controls in Russia and Asia. The survival of London and, by extension, the UK, depends on its role as a global refuge for ginning up investments generated in China and other emerging countries.

I do not view the Brexit divorce from the EU as a complete or irrevocable re-territorialization of citizenship. On one level, Brexit expresses the sentiments of a majority of British people who feel dispossessed and overwhelmed by global forces they associate with the steady influx of foreigners. Such effects may drive a process of re-

territorializing or limiting access to citizenship. But now that Brexit has happened, it creates an opportunity for the governing elite to fine-tune immigration. There is an opening for the government to adjust EU laws on free labour flows and tailor immigration policies to be more favourable to the nation-state. There is new flexibility for invoking the political exception in order to balance the influx of skilled and wealthy arrivals and of unskilled and poor refugees. "Graduated sovereignty," I suggest, is an effect of using the political exception to selectively connect and disconnect (re- and de-territorialize) parts of the country to circuits of capital and migrants.

Regardless of Brexit, London is expected to flourish as the European capital of "pied-a-terre cosmopolitanism."9 London, and Britain by extension, is more dependent than any time in its past on the presence of wealthy and professional foreigners, especially from Asian regions. The enforcement of global regulations—immigration policies, property rights, tax policies, professional standardization—makes London an ideal destination for flows of assets and actors from other places where such benefits are not guaranteed. By funneling the inflows of wealthy and professional elites, London benefits from investments in property, knowledge, and culture, thus making it the centre of a truly globalized multiculturalism. Brexit does not cancel this ongoing de-territorialization of British citizenship that has so greatly benefited the country, albeit in extremely unequal ways. Therefore, the processes that globalize the British economy also generate efforts to re-territorialize the nation. By considering citizenship as an unstable set of values, we understand the intersection of de- and re-territorializing relationships, or the lines of flight that converge in vibrating landscapes of globality. Citizenship is an unfinished business that is constantly buffeted by shifting tectonics of geopolitics.

STAIR: In the past, you have demonstrated how elite migrants remain the primary beneficiaries of globalization. Yasemin Soysal has argued that, increasingly, ordinary immigrants and displaced refugees make claims on the global civil society to demand equal rights in the host country. How far do you think non-elites can maneuver the transnational regime for their own benefit?

AO: There is no singularity to "global civil society," only shifting networks of institutions and actors that respond to "humanitarian" crises in select parts of the world. In many cases, humanitarian actors and agencies aspire to a form of "people-to-people" multilateralism based on giving aid and protection to peoples in crisis in the so-called "global South." "Equal rights" blurs a critical distinction between a

weak universal claim and a politico-legal status; i.e., between the discourse of human rights (in the name of modern humanity) and citizenship (human rights guaranteed by a nation-state). Whereas the displaced and stateless can claim human rights protection from transnational regimes of virtue, the rights of citizenship can only be achieved through formal membership in a nation-state.[10]

For many refugees, the first claims would not be for "equal rights" but for the right to sheer life: minimally, access to food, shelter, and freedom from torture. These are claims to protections that underpin weak universals about modern humanity. Once settled in host countries, different categories of asylum seekers and ordinary immigrants often engage in a protracted struggle for citizenship (what you gloss as "equal rights"), which take place in many domains of daily life: legal status, socioeconomic benefits, social inclusion, and cultural respect.

In *Buddha is Hiding*, I investigate how Cambodian refugees in California engage different institutions of the welfare state rather effectively, albeit at further cost to their original culture already devastated by the Pol Pot regime.[11] The Indochina-wide war and subsequent US defeat (1975) engendered an international refugee intake programme that began at the Thai border. Upon arrival in the US, many Southeast Asian refugees slipped beyond the federal resettlement programme and re-migrated in order to form larger communities in sunshine states where welfare benefits are more generous.

My findings trace the complex manoeuvres of Cambodian refugees to accommodate and deflect social service agencies—health, welfare, school, non-profit, and church—that dominated their everyday lives. Refugees submitted to lessons on self-reliance and individual freedom, while deflecting disciplining, in order to access a range of "refugee" benefits. At the same time, Cambodian migrants were adept at manipulating social service workers for their own economic and social ends. For instance, whereas feminist social workers encourage women to abandon their abusive spouses, many call on the police to discipline their errant husbands but continue to keep the family intact.

Engaging several governing regimes, I argue, immigrants participate in a process of "being made" and "self-making." Having survived a devastating war at home, Cambodian refugees navigate a strange new culture to become new hyphenated Americans according to their own understanding of "self-reliance."

STAIR: It has been 30 years since Benedict Anderson proposed his theory of "imagined communities." In the past two decades, the Internet has emerged as a virtual home to many displaced people (such as the Kurds, Tibetans, etc.). How far do you think technology can mediate and sustain diasporic and transnational belonging?

AO: *Imagined Communities* reminds one of Marx's quote that unlike the spider and the bee, "the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality."[12] In a creative interweaving of Marx, Weber, and also Foucault, Anderson proposed an "'ideal type" of the nation-state, an imagined construct of the national community that emerges from the interplay of language and media technologies— not inherited "culture" alone, but contingent interrelationships of salvation imaginings and "print capitalism" of local natives and diasporic populations, wove disparate peoples into imaginable, viable nations.

Anderson's writings outline an early phase of globalization studies. His framework is "the world-system" of nation-states (many now disintegrating in the midst of the return of repressed), with sympathetic imagination as a means for claiming and stabilizing fluid collectivities. And indeed, "print capitalism" foreshadows the critical ways the information economy now fuels a bewildering array of imaginative possibilities for affiliations, often beyond the nation.

Perhaps because Anderson was more interested in literary texts than in tech literacy and in the romance of national belonging than in practices of political governance, he considered technologies mainly props to styles of collective representations. My own writings have demonstrated that a variety of technologies co-constitute and regulate identities at multiple scales. Communications technologies enable the flexible citizenship of "overseas Chinese", and "hyberbuilding" infrastructure has reinvented the image of Asian cities.[13] More recently, I argue that genomic technologies identify ethnic markers, thus stretching the span of Asian identities in the realm of biomedical science. The question is not "how far" technology can mediate and sustain transnational identities, but rather how radically it can transform our sense of who we are and where we belong at home and in diaspora.

STAIR: You have noted that in the study of transnationalism a gap exists between scholarship that adopts a purely "local" perspective and that which posits grand theories at a "global" scale. Looking back on the scholarship over the past two decades, do you feel that the dichotomy between the "global" and the "local" has been resolved? Are we anywhere closer to

AO: The anthropological focus on everyday practices and multi-sited ethnography trains researchers to study actors, ideas, and relationships in flux across multiple fields of action. From the migrant's point of view, "home" becomes a contingent belonging to values and networks that do not necessarily coincide with a single nation, community, or culture. As I mentioned above, a situated approach to social change unfolds the multi-scalar dimensions and performance of belonging.

Decades ago, at Columbia University, Margaret Mead made the acute remark that: "we are all immigrants in the twentieth century." For variously displaced people in the twenty-first century, home may be a condition of unwilled homelessness, an existentialist search for the freedom to forge a meaningful home out of the entanglement of many places, networks, and identities. Perhaps this is the ultimate effect of "globalization," that we arrive at the point when nationally-imposed ideas of citizenship are eroded by the existentialist understanding that through variable belongings we all call mother earth "home."

Notes

[1] Stephen J. Collier and Aihwa Ong, "Global Assemblages, Anthropological Problems," in *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*, eds. Aihwa Ong and Stephen J. Collier (Malden: Blackwell, 2005).
[2] Aihwa Ong, *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987).
[3] Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: the Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).
[4] Aihwa Ong, *Buddha is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, the New America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
[5] Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).
[6] Aihwa Ong, *Fungible Life: Experiment in the Asian City of Life* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).
[7] Aihwa Ong, "Mutations in Citizenship," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 22, no. 3 (2006): 499–503.
[8] Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception*.
[9] Aihwa Ong, "Please Stay: Pied-a-Terre Subjects in the Megacity," in *Citizenship between Past and Future*, eds. Engin. F. Isin, Peter Nyers,

and Bryan S. Turner (London: Routledge, 2008), 81–91.

[10] Aihwa Ong, "Citizenship in the Midst of Transnational Regimes of Virtue," in *Political Power & Social Theory*, eds. Diane E. Davis and Julian Go (Bingley: Emerald, 2009).

[11] Ong, *Buddha is Hiding*.

[12] Karl Marx, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* [1898] (New York: International Publishers, 1963).

[13] Aihwa Ong, "Hyperbuilding: Spectacle, Speculation, and the Hyperspace of Sovereignty," in *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global*, eds. Ananya Roy and Aihwa Ong (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 205–226.

Umma and the Dilemma of Muslim Belonging in Modern South Asia

Maidul Islam

Abstract: The Islamic belief in the universal identity of Muslims, as primarily a religious one, is related to the Islamic faith in the homogenous concept of the *umma* (international or global community of Muslim believers). However, the empirical reality is that the Muslim umma is fragmented and heterogeneous not only in terms of distinct theological sects like Sunnis and Shias but also along with other variables like class, language, and gender. Therefore, the specific articulation of an imagined idea of the umma has to necessarily go through a process of political construction by the Islamists, which neutralizes the differences within the Muslim community, along caste, class, gender, and ethnolinguistic lines. In this regard, this paper will problematize the idea of umma by examining two sets of events in modern South Asia, the region with the largest concentration of Muslims in the world. Firstly, it will foreground the critique of nationalism by Maulana Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi towards both 'composite nationalism' of Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the 'Muslim nationalism' of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, highlighting an intellectual debate that occurred in a post-Khilafat Muslim context. Secondly, this paper will locate the limitations of the idea of the umma within the emergence of the Bangladeshi nation-state in a post-colonial setting, on the basis of linguistic nationalism that questioned the unity and integrity of the imagined sense of the Muslim umma in modern South Asia. Finally, the paper will briefly highlight the fractured nature of the Muslim umma by pointing out the prominent categories of caste and language among the South Asian Muslims along with the deep divisions within the Muslim theological and political leadership in contemporary South Asia.

The idea of *umma*: Conceptual and historical Issues

Islamists aim to achieve the very unity and solidarity of Muslims all over the world around the commonality and centrality of the Islamic identity of *umma* (global community of Muslim believers). The idea of umma is expressed in terms of identification with a singular and Universalist global Muslim identity. However, within the Islamic discourses, there are compelling concepts like *Mulk* (country) and *Watan* (home). Such concepts in the Islamic discourses invoke an idea of belonging that ranges from the territorial idea of the nation-state to the transnational and

internationalist appeal of the umma. Conceptually, the seventh-century Islamic idea of the umma is an antinomy to the seventeenth-century Westphalian system of the nation-state. The period of decolonisation and the emergence of newly formed Muslim majority nation-states following the abolition of the Caliphate in the early 1920s, certainly questioned the universality of the umma. The internationalist idea of the umma is based on the logic of fraternity (Muslim brethren). Similarly, the idea of the nation is also based on the logic of fraternity. In this respect, the question of where a Muslim belongs in a post-Khilafat and post-Westphalian system of nation-states is a significant one to ask.

Generally, Islamists believe in the Universalist concept of *umma*, which is conceptually a supranational or transnational union. The Islamist call for the unity of the umma is based on the belief that Muslims throughout the world should have a certain sense of solidarity among one another that cuts across the borders of the nation-state. In this respect, Islamists have justifications to oppose the concept of the nation-state. In the specific case of South Asian Islamism, Maulana Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, the founder of Jamaat-e-Islami, was opposed to the nation-state and nationalism, as shall be discussed later in this paper. After the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924 by Kemalist policies, there has been little symbolic global theo-political authority among Muslims. Therefore, in a post-colonial and post-Khilafat world, the universalist idea of the Muslim umma encounters the particularist entity of new and emerging nation-states.

Recently, Arshin Adib-Moghaddam has argued that by and large, myriad Islamist movements have accepted the nation-state "as an organizational principle of the international system which re-inscribes the authority of national governments into the global order."[1] However, Talal Asad offers a caveat that, although Islamism has always "addressed itself directly to the nation-state, it should not be regarded as a form of nationalism."[2] This is because Islamic umma is not an "imagined community" equivalent of any nation-state and it "is ideologically not 'a society' onto which *state*, *economy*, *religion* can be mapped" as it is "neither limited nor sovereign", and can eventually "embrace all of humanity."[3] However, as Adib-Moghaddam suggests, in the presence of the nation-states, Islamism is certainly *not* "an emblem of the political uniformity of the *umma*."[4]

With this in mind, what should an Islamist party do today if it must operate within the geographical confines of the nation-state? Should it altogether discard the universalist concept of the umma from its ideological vocabulary? Alternatively, should it rhetorically appeal to the umma even if Islamists must operate within the particular territory of a given nation-state?

The idea of the umma, signifying all of Islam within the broadest definition of "Muslim collective identity," has its genealogical roots in the seventh century and is directly linked to Mecca as the "common node" and Arabia as the focal spatial context.[5] In this regard, the umma also frames the medium for "constructing Muslim networks" from the late sixth and early seventh-century pagan Arabia that linked Muhammad, the merchant, "to the metropolitan world of Mesopotamia and beyond."[6] The Muslim networks, until the twentieth century, privileged men over women except for the annual event of *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) as prescribed by Islamic religious tradition.[7] Scholars have argued that, from the eleventh to sixteenth centuries, several ancient Greek epistemological concerns were later transmitted to the thinkers of the European Enlightenment by the active assistance of the global context of the *umma*. This was possible because, until the sixteenth century, Islamic empires controlled large parts of the world and the Muslim intellectual elites were linked across polities, territories and networked societies in the west.[8]

According to Islamic law (*Shari'a*), the Muslim community (*al-umma al-muslima*) is supposed to rule the Islamic territory (*dār al-Islām*), and such a community, which could be in conflict with other religious communities inside or outside the Islamic territory, is certainly opposed to tribal feeling.[9] Right from its inception, Islam emerged as a reason for being, and the cementing factor between the community (*al-umma*) and the state (*al-dawla*).[10] In this respect, a scholar of Islamic studies points out that "[p]olitical boundaries were unknown to Islam except those that separated the *dār al-Islām* (abode of peace)... from the *dār al-harb* (abode of war)... In its internal aspect, it was an assemblage of individuals bound to one another by ties of religion."[11] In fact, the Islamic states in the seventh century under the Prophet Muhammad and the first four caliphs (Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali) were based purely on ideological terms rather than strictly political, territorial, or ethnic lines. This is precisely why the purpose of the Islamic government was to defend and protect the faith instead of the state.[12] Therefore, Islam as an ideological-cum-politico-religious entity tied Muslims together by bonds of faith (*deen*) within the umma, and in this regard, "the *dār al-Islām* should ideally expand without limit."[13] Such expansion was made possible by the travels of several disciples of the Prophet in Medina who helped and accommodated the followers (*muhājirūn*) and companions of the Prophet with a politico-ideological agenda of transforming the territory of *dār al-hijra* (the first Islamic city of Medina) to *dār al-Islām*.[14]

The concept of umma in the Islamic vocabulary is "transglobal" and bears the idea of a borderless nation. The Prophet Muhammad imagined a transglobal Muslim citizenship, "based on faith rather than

contemporary nation-state distinctions, or rather, on how colonizing cartographers cut up the global landscape."[15] In this respect, the original goal of the umma was to be a network, which on the one hand "was fixed in faith" but also "mobile" through all parts of the world.[16] Such a perception of umma as mobile and malleable challenges the conservative and traditional understanding of the umma as a homogenous community that "has always occluded rifts and contradictions and has been unlinked from any idea of travel and movement."[17]

In a non-Arab setting, particularly in the case of South-East Asia, Islam did not automatically unite diverse ethnic groups but instead offered some unifying principles with references to the umma and the *shari'a* that encourage supralocal orientation among the Muslim believers.[18] In such a context, the general idea of the umma had to go through the localized matrix of territory and polity, led by local *raja* (rulers).[19]

In the twentieth century, the idea of fraternal unity and solidarity of the Muslim umma was successfully contested in many instances on the basis of the nation-state and nationalism. The Eurocentric model of secular-nationalism propagated by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey in the 1920s, popularly known as Kemalism, was later introduced by the westernized and modernizing political leadership (the Kemalist elites) in many parts of the Muslim world in the post-war international scenario, who regarded Islam as peripheral to the concerns of the state.[20] The Kemalist programme influenced other Muslim regimes as well, such as Reza Shah's modernization project (the Pahlavist strategy) in Iran, the Arab nationalist politics articulated in the form of Nasserism in Egypt, some of the anti-FIS groups in Algeria, and the Baathist regime of Iraq.[21]

Recently, in an insightful essay, Faisal Devji has demonstrated how the annual event of *hajj* is actually characterized with nationalist segregations instead of the so-called myth of the "Muslim unity."[22] While reading Devji's accounts, it is interesting to note that while the centrality of the *Kaaba* in the everyday Islamic religious practice of five times *namaz* (prayer) is crucial, and thus creates conditions for an imagined homogenous Muslim umma (since all Muslims have to face the *Kaaba* in order to pray five times per day), the actual religious event of *hajj* exposes the vacuous nature of solidarity and unity of the Islamic brotherhood for very minute logistical reasons.

Devji suggests that the idea of umma, in an age of globalized forms of technology and social media, is just an imagined, virtual and simulated community. It does not exist in the real world, out there. According to Devji, although "Muslim unity" as a significant theme emerged in the 18th and 19th centuries in response to the rise of European empires, calls for Muslim unity as a "defensive strategy" were specifically a feature of the 20th century "to counter the loss of Muslims' control over their own

political life."[23] Instead of unity, there was recognition of disunity and disagreement as an old discourse, as "the Prophet pronounced that his community would be divided into 72 sects until the end of time, with only a single crucially unspecified one bound for salvation."[24]

However, the twentieth century desire for Muslim unity remained largely theoretical until the end of the Cold War as a result of two specific set of events. The first was the global Muslim mobilizations over Salman Rushdie's allegedly blasphemous novel, *The Satanic Verses* (1989). The second set of events that directly triggered the idea of "Muslim unity" in the contemporary world was the supposedly insulting depictions of the Prophet by cartoons in sections of the European print media. Thus, the Muslim protests in response to the Rushdie Affair and the Danish cartoons in a transnational space, without any particular party or organization playing the anchor role for such a worldwide response, was actually possible due to the globalization of media.[25]

In this respect, for Devji, calls for Muslim unity are "not high-minded" but "disingenuous" with a "noble pretext for anathematising or demonising opponents."[26] In this regard, "the ideal of unity is inherently anti-political" because posturing about an illusory Muslim unity tends only to "alienate Muslims from the political world of nation-states that govern their societies."[27] From such a perspective, "Muslim militancy, too, is actually a consequence of de-politicization."[28] In fact, the "condemnations of terrorism in religious language, in the name of Islam, are losing causes" as "real problems will not be solved on theological terrain" because of the celebration and promotion of "moderate Islam," which is "another step away from the world of politics and institutions," to the "world of progress and solutions."[29] Therefore, Devji argues that the "quest for harmony" and for Muslim unity, is a "siren song" and must be resisted.[30] In agreement with Devji, the next section of this paper will explore how the articulations about Muslim unity along the lines of the Muslim umma in the 20th century South Asia were marred with theoretical and political inconsistencies.

Contradictions within the idea of Muslim *umma* in modern South Asia

In modern South Asia, the contradictions within the idea of umma were first exposed on a large scale during the partition debates in the 1930s and 1940s. Such debates in late colonial India created a context where "an old language of moral solidarity, embodied in normative concepts such as *millat* and *umma* and in the image of Islam as a networked civilization, took on new public significance."[31] In this regard, normative ideas about community played an important role in shaping Muslim politics in the

Indian subcontinent during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.[32] In this respect, Maududi's response to both the composite Indian nationalism of Hussain Ahmad Madani and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and the Muslim nationalism of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, deserves special mention. Consider the following passages by two great Muslim leaders of the Indian subcontinent.

> Pakistan was founded because the Muslims of the subcontinent wanted to build up their lives in accordance with the teachings and traditions of Islam because they wanted to demonstrate to the world that Islam provides a panacea to the many diseases which have crept into the life of humanity today.—*Liaquat Ali Khan*[33]

> It is one of the greatest frauds on the people to suggest that religious affinity can unite areas that are geographically, economically, linguistically and culturally different.—*Abul Kalam Azad*[34]

From the quotes above, two dominant versions of nationalism are expressed. The Muslim nationalism of the Muslim League is being articulated by Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, while the "composite nationalism" articulated by the Congress leader, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad falls under the banner of Indian secular nationalism. Azad was supported by the majority of the Deobandi *ulama*,[35] who, under the leadership of Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, articulated an Islamic theological ground for "composite nationalism."

The debate between Muslim nationalism and composite nationalism has often misled many historians to situate the Indian partition debates into a binary model. However, it is worth noting that, in contrast to a binary model, by late 1930s, three different Muslim positions regarding independence and nationalism had developed. More conservative religious leaders like Sayyid Abul Hassan Ali Nadwi of Lucknow's Nadwat-i-Ulama seminary, Abul A'la Maududi, and sections of India's Islamic scholars (*ulama*) argued that nationalism and Islam were antithetical ideologies. They condemned nationalism because it was simultaneously identified as a Western-bred phenomenon and as a particularism in conflict with Islamic universalism. Therefore, any form of nationalism, even Muslim nationalism, was rejected by them. A second position was articulated by Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958), a major theoretician of the Caliphate (*Khilafat*) Movement and a leader of the Congress Party, eventually becoming its president. After the abolition of the caliphate, Azad's political position was favourable to a "composite nationalism," which was based upon the unity of Hindus and Muslims and their shared history and experience in the subcontinent. From the late 1930s, Azad's

commitment to Indian nationalism was consistent until the end of his life. The *Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind* leader, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani's position was similar to that of Azad. Finally, the third position was that of Muslim nationalism. The Muslim nationalist position was aptly articulated by Muhammad Iqbal, the Islamic reformer, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the politician who led the Muslim League. A growing number of communal conflicts had led to a situation where an important concern of the Muslim League leadership was that the historic divisions between the Hindu and Muslim communities would severely impact the rights of Muslims in a Hindu-dominated state. At the same time, the electoral defeat of the Muslim League in the 1937 provincial elections convinced Jinnah and the Muslim League leadership that if they were to secure mass support from the Muslim populations, a formal appeal to religion was the only time-tested method for building a national and pan-Indian Muslim movement. Islam provided a common denominator that had proven effective in uniting Muslims—modern elites, *ulama*, and the common masses, like it did in the Khilafat movement.[36]

In the partition debates, the views of Maududi—the founder of *Jamaat-e-Islami*—differed from both the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan and the pro-Congress Muslim *ulama,* who accepted the Indian version of nationalism.[37] Maududi and Jamaat-e-Islami opposed the Muslim League's campaign for Pakistan because it believed that Pakistan would not be an Islamic state.[38] Maududi's proposed settlement for the Hindu-Muslim problem lay in the logic of an undivided India. For him, the creation of Pakistan would substantially weaken the position of those Indian Muslims who would stay in the Muslim minority provinces.[39] Maududi differentiated between the concept of a "Muslim identity" and an "Islamic identity". A Muslim can be born into a Muslim family without following the religio-political principles of Islam, whereas a "true Muslim" is a person who bears an Islamic identity by practicing and believing Islam as a complete way of life, motivated by the goal of establishing the sovereignty of God on earth.[40] Therefore, for Maududi, "being a Muslim was not an inborn characteristic but a state attained by striving for Islamic knowledge."[41] That is to say, Maududi believed in the concept of a "puritan Muslim". Jamaat's opposition to the League's Pakistan was because Maududi turned "cultural difference into an extreme form of bigotry" by which he "execrated Jinnah and the Muslim League and practically excluded the majority of Muslims from his definition of the true community of Islam."[42]

In a pamphlet titled, *Nationalism and India*, Maududi clearly holds that "Islam and nationalism are diametrically opposed to each other."[43] According to Maududi, "Islam cannot flourish in the lap of nationalism, and nationalism too cannot find a place in the fold of Islam. The progress of

nationalism would starve Islam to death and the progress of Islam would sound the death-knell to nationalism."[44] In another instance, he says "Muslim Nationalist and 'Muslim Communist' are contradictory terms as 'Communist Fascist,' 'Socialist Capitalist,' and 'Chaste Prostitute.'"[45] Maududi even sees a fundamental contradiction between the Western dress donned by nationalists and their nationalist message. As he says,

> [W]ell known section of Indian Muslims advocates with full gusto the encouragement of Western nationalism in this country. The self-same people make strong recommendation for the adoption of Western dress by Indian Muslims. These Oriental nationalists are, indeed, a very strange creature. On the one hand they make intense and violent propaganda of their nationalism, and on the other hand they show least scrupulousness in appropriating the dress and culture of an alien people of an alien country.[46]

Writing about nationalism in the context of the Second World War (1939-45), Maududi felt that nationalism was responsible for all sorts of violence and destruction stemming from international war. In a public meeting, he said:

> Today, all of us are baffled and perplexed by the question why human life has been bereft of peace and security. Why are we being visited perpetually by various kinds of troubles and hardships? Why has the scheme of our life gone awry? We find nations falling foul of one another, country struggling against country, men tearing one another to bits like wolves. Millions of men are being killed, wounded, or uprooted by war, human habitations are being destroyed and property and business worth billions of rupees are being ruined.[47]

In another speech, Maududi depicted a divine-cum-historical analysis of the rise and fall of nations, and opted for a narrative approach in his reading of Indian history. He narrated the story from the fall of indigenous inhabitants to the rise of Aryans, to the decline of ancient civilization and the rise of Muslim rule during the medieval ages, to the decimation of Muslim rule and the ascendancy of British rule and while speaking at the dawn of partition, he also found justification for the expulsion of British.[48]

Maududi believed in a homogenous concept of nation based on Islamic faith and practice and thus according to him, there can be only two kinds of nations—Islamic and un-Islamic.[49] Maududi believed that the composite nationalism proposed by the Congress and supported by a significant section of Indian *ulama* would lead to "absorption of Muslims

in the Hindu nation."[50] Similarly, he had been opposing the Muslim League's two-nation theory in the partition debates of the 1940s on the following grounds: (1) the terms "Muslim" and "nationalism" were contradictory, (2) The top leaders of the Muslim League did not deserve to be the leaders of Muslims since they lacked an "Islamic mentality," (3) Pakistan should not be just a Muslim majority state but an "Islamic state" where "the system of government will be based on the sovereignty of God."[51]

Maududi argued that the type of mindset that Islam sought to build could not be reconciled with a nationalist outlook; those who accepted the principles of Islam transcend the distinctions of race, country, and nationality. A nationalist, on the other hand, was obliged to place the interests of his or her own nationality ahead of all other groupings, as the nationalist's ultimate goal would be a nation-state rather than a world state.[52] As Maududi saw it, Indian Muslims were at that time divided between "nationalist Muslims" and "Muslim nationalists." While the former believed in Indian nationalism, the latter were interested only in the political and economic well-being of Indian Muslims. Maududi denounced both, charging that they had forsaken the universal principles of Islam. His scathing criticism of Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani's advocacy for the concept of composite Indian nationalism[53] popularized by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad,[54] on the one hand, and of Jinnah's demand for Pakistan, on the other, must be seen in this context. In an article published in *Tarjuman al-Quran* of February 1939, Maududi mounted a frontal attack on Madani, arguing that in advancing the concept that country (*mulk aur watan*), not religion, made the nation, he had allowed himself to be swayed by his anti-British sentiment and by his solitude for the Indian National Congress, and thus tarnished his reputation for piety and religious learning.[55] Although, the majority of the Deobandi *ulama* was in favour of the composite nationalist line of Madani and Azad, a minority among them, led by Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, was in favour of the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan.[56]

Maududi opposed the concept of Pakistan, but on different grounds. He reasoned that there was no basis in history for the belief "that once you create a Muslim national state, even if it be non-Islamic, you can subsequently transform it into an Islamic State through education, training, and reform."[57] Almost like a Marxist, he asserted that no change in the governmental structure could be made as long as the existing social structures remain unchanged.[58] In particular, Maududi questioned the Muslim League's credentials for carrying out an Islamic revolution, arguing that a lemon tree could not bear mangoes.[59] However, following Iqbal's original thoughts as foundational to the making of Pakistan, Maududi eventually moved there permanently, despite his initial

opposition to the very idea of Pakistan as a specific variant of Muslim nationalism. By January 1948, he had departed from his earlier position and declared that Pakistan was destined to become an Islamic State.[60] By that time, Maududi and his staff had already left for Pathankot, the headquarters of the Jamaat before partition, and had arrived in Lahore. Maududi's final change in position on Pakistan was imminent. By May 1947, Maududi equated nationalism with prejudice and selfishness, but made a distinction between 'nationalism' and 'nationality.' As he argued:

> We do not object to nationality because it is a natural fact. We are not against national welfare provided it does not include animosity for other nations. We have no objection to patriotism provided it does not reach the limits of national prejudice; under partiality for one's own nation and hate for others. We consider national freedom the proper thing because it is the right of every nation to manage its own affairs and to control its own home and the rule of one nation over another is not right. But it is the worship of the nation, nationalism, which we not only disapprove of but consider hateful. The reality of nationalism is that it is another name for self-worship. … [W]hy should we not consider that selfish nation an execration for humanity which, in the comity of nations, makes its national interest its god and through all means, fair or foul, indulges in its worship?[61]

The contradiction in Islamic discourses of Muslim-belonging in modern South Asia can be theoretically located in the fundamental difference between 'nationality' and 'nationalism' made by Maududi. Since Maududi already acknowledged that 'nationality' is a 'natural fact', the possibility of a new political agency to articulate a different language of politics in and around the idea of nationality was open. In fact, in the next two decades after the partition of India, the rise of Bengali nationalism on the basis of celebrating the unique identity of Bengali nationality and its key difference from the Urdu-speaking people exposed the very unity and solidarity of the Muslim *umma* that Maududi envisioned. I shall later discuss the emergence of Bengali nationalism in East Pakistan in the 1950s and 1960s that was contradictory to the idea of the unity of Muslim *umma* in modern South Asia.

To ground that discussion, it is helpful to examine the changing positions of Maududi on the issue of nationalism. In 1935-36, he held that the two major Indian communities (Hindus and Muslims) could cooperate on common issues. But by 1938, he believed that the fundamental differences between them (which he believed were exploited but not created by the British), precluded unity and held that Muslims were an independent nation. Yet, by the outbreak of the Second

World War (1939), Maududi had come to believe that Muslims were not a nation but an international revolutionary party, and that their Islamic principles should rule the world. Earlier he believed that it was obligatory for every Muslim to strive to establish an Islamic government, even through the use of *jihad* if need be. However, between 1940 and 1944, he outlined the process of creating an Islamic state, first as an elite-led project and later as a mass movement, based on education and training, yet continued to remain silent on the use of force for an Islamic revolution. He felt that a nationalistic Muslim movement or state could not serve as the first step for its creation, since the latter must be free from all traces of nationalism. In 1944, Maududi's stand regarding the Indian political situation was again ambiguous. While he declared that Muslims did not desire a national homeland since they were not a nation but a world-wide ideological group, he also held that in their capacity as a nation, their demand for political and economic independence was justified. However, in 1946 he again emphasized collective organization and effort, for Islam could not be fully realized at the individual level. Finally, by 1947, he appeared to have accepted the idea of Pakistan as a Muslim, territorial, and national state, reverting to his original view that Islam never objected to nationality and patriotism if free of prejudice and within their natural limits.[62]

In this respect, it is worth noting that Pakistan was not just a classic case of a nation-state, based on hereditary linkages between ethnicity and soil, but was instead based on an idea of belonging in the name of Islamic religion, as Faisal Devji puts it.[63] Thus, for Devji, Pakistan is a distinct political geography, ungrounded in the historic connections of lands and peoples, whose context, although similar to the settler states of the New World, is closest ideologically to the Israeli state. Therefore, the political idea behind the formation of Pakistan is that of the 'Zion' as a political form, rather than a holy land, because like Israel, the state of Pakistan was made possible by the migration of a minority population, inhabiting a vast subcontinent, who abandoned old lands in which they feared persecution to settle in a new homeland. In this regard, although one could argue that the emergence of Pakistan was a novel example for the unity of the Muslim umma on shared belonging of religion, the emergence of Bangladesh especially smashed such a political project of the unity of the *umma*.

The making of Bangladesh was set against the backdrop of a conflict between the quest for Bengali identity and Islamic identity among Bengali Muslims from the late nineteenth century.[64] This tussle between Bengali identity and Islamic identity had also shaped the political discourses of the Bengal Muslim League in the first half of the twentieth century. Influential sections of the Bengal Muslim League had a very different

imagination from that of Jinnah and in fact, lacked clarity on the consensus over the demand for Pakistan. Instead, they had aspirations for either an independent East Pakistan or an undivided, sovereign, and united Bengal.[65] In other words, calls for Islamic identity or calls for the unity of *umma* were not prominent political articulations among the Bengal Muslim League leadership when compared to the rest of the Muslim League leadership in the pre-Partition period.

In fact, more than the appeal of the umma, pre-Partition Bengal actually witnessed a "politics of Muslim identity [with] an agrarian base."[66] The Muslim peasantry "responded to the appeals of religion" and discovered a "sense of community" in religion which also "provided the basis of a 'national bond'…and became the rallying cry of a 'political organization' demanding the creation of a separate Muslim homeland."[67] Thus, the peasant mobilizations behind theo-political discourses of *Khilafat* movement in the 1920s could later become part of the Pakistan movement in the 1940s.[68] In effect, the peasant question was relatively more important and relevant for the Bengal Muslims than the questions of religious identity and the unity of umma. This was evident from the results of the 1937 provincial elections when A.K. Fazlul Huq's *Krishak Praja Party* (Agriculturalist Tenant Party) led the United Front, forming a coalition government instead of the Muslim League, in the Muslim majority province of Bengal. However, the Muslim peasants were also living under severe communal tensions. In fact, communal polarization between Hindu and Muslim communities in Bengal started growing from the first half of the twentieth century.[69] Thus, in the first half of the twentieth century, Bengali politics was organized around either a religious Islamic identity or a community identity, and in most cases, the overlapping theo-political ascription of Islamic identity and the assertive communal Muslim identity.[70] Therefore, when the Bengali Muslims were presented a choice between India and Pakistan in the 1946 elections, the overwhelming majority voted for Jinnah's Pakistan project as they felt safer with the Muslim League proposal of creating a separate homeland for Muslims.[71] This being said, the vision of significant sections of the Bengali Muslim population and that of the Urdu-speaking Muslims was very different on the issue of the primacy of Islamic religious identity as the foundational basis of the Pakistani nation-state. The formal creation of Bangladesh within less than a quarter of a century of the creation of Pakistan proved that the majority of Bengali Muslims opted for Pakistan for merely tactical reasons instead of a vision for the unity and integrity of the Muslim umma.

The decline of the Muslim League started in East Pakistan immediately after the 1947 partition, and their significance ended with the provincial elections of 1954 in East Pakistan.[72] Subsequently, the authoritarian

politico-administrative interventions of the central government in East Pakistan and the declaration of martial law in 1958 were indicative of the fact that right from the beginning, the Pakistan project that celebrated the unity and solidarity of the Muslim umma, in search of a new nation-state in South Asia, was faulty. The emergence of Bangladesh was tied up with the struggles of peasants and workers, the political and ideological debates in the Bengali language movement in the 1950s, and the calls for the regional autonomy of East Pakistan. The emergence of Bangladesh was anchored around two significant issues—class and language.[73] The series of movements in East Pakistan that eventually culminated in an independent Bangladesh were initially protest movements set against a quasi-colonial occupation by the West Pakistani elites over the territory of East Pakistan. Such a quasi-colonial occupation took the form of dominance of West Pakistani elites in business and industry, which went alongside an impending economic crisis for the peasant population in East Pakistan. It was in the context of such an agrarian crisis that two towering political leaders, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani in the 1950s and early 1960s and subsequently, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman since the mid-1960s rose to prominence. Mujib's leadership later became crucial for the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971. Moreover, the Indian army and Liberation activists was instrumental in creating a newly independent nation-state,[74] based on the secession of East Pakistan from its Western counterpart by primarily identifying with Bengali linguistic identity instead of Islamic religious identity.[75] The tussle between the forces of democracy and dictatorship on the one hand, and the political and ideological conflict between secular and religious political articulations in East Pakistan on the other hand, clearly exposed the fractiousness of the so-called unity and solidarity among Muslims in South Asia.

The fractured nature of *umma* in contemporary South Asia

Today, one can notice the heterogeneous nature of South Asian Muslims fragmented along linguistic, cultural, caste lines[76] and having traditional loyalties to various theological and spiritual formations like Deobandis,[77] Barelvis,[78] Tablighis,[79] and Sufis.[80] In India, the Sachar Committee Report (2006) and the Ranganath Misra Commission Report (2007-09), clearly demarcates the Muslim community along caste lines, with specific broad caste groups of *Ashrafs* (the Muslim upper castes), *Ajlafs* (other backward classes among Muslims) and *Arzals* (minutely divided lower castes among Muslims). Moreover, the political space of Muslim pressure group politics is competitive and fragmented between rival factions of Indian Muslims showing allegiance to various Muslim groups with political

overtones. Therefore, no single political formation could become a hegemonic pressure group of the Indian Muslims or form something like a "vanguard" of Indian Muslims. Moreover, no Islamist party in South Asia has been popular enough to capture political power. In India, the Muslim identitarian parties have an insignificant presence. In Pakistan and Bangladesh, the Islamist parties have never received more than 13 percent votes in any parliamentary election in either country.[81]

In contemporary Bangladesh, political mobilizations occur on the basis of nationalist rhetoric, challenging the political project of constructing the umma like the Shahbag protests in Dhaka did, in reference to the issue of 1971 Bangladesh war crimes. In other words, 1971 is not just a date of a historical past in modern South Asia, but it is also a definitive moment in the nationalist imaginary among significant sections of Muslims in South Asia, which has continued to inform and influence Bangladeshi politics in the last four and a half decades. In the wake of a renewal of nationalist sentiments in Bangladesh, as explicitly seen in the 2013 Shahbag protests and the ongoing proceedings of the International Crimes Tribunal over the issue of 1971 Bangladesh war crimes, Internet-based networks of the Muslim umma are challenged by parallel political mobilizations on behalf of the secularists in social media and the blogosphere. Evidently, such political mobilizations, based on the idea of the nation-state, not only resist the depoliticized calls for "Muslim unity", but also bring back the nation-state as a site of political struggle.

In an era of various particularist struggles, it is difficult for the Muslim umma alone to become the universal political actor, to represent and articulate the voice of other marginalized and oppressed sections of a given population, or to speak on behalf of the entire plebeian society. Since, the 'people' in the South Asian context is a much broader and comprehensive political category, and an inclusive collective political actor which encompasses varied plebeian and underprivileged groups, the Muslim umma itself has become a form of particularism like other socio-political actors like peasants, marginalized castes, the working class and women. Since the category of "universal" is "a highly unstable figure,"[82] the Islamist concept of umma as a universal identity for Muslims is difficult to construct because South Asian Muslims are divided by several particularist identities like language and caste. As Dipesh Chakrabarty argues that "a 'community' based on the loyalties of religion, language, habitat, kinship, and the like could only be ambiguous [...] because a 'community' defined by such loyalties was necessarily a self-contradictory entity. People sharing the same religion, for example, could be divided by language (or habitat) and vice versa."[83]

The history of South Asia in the last hundred years only indicates that

the call for the unity of the umma has been always contested by the deep political factions within the umma on the basis of class, caste, gender, language and nationality. Given such socio-political diversity among Muslims across South Asia, the contradictions of the so-called "Muslim umma" stand exposed as there is no singular notion of belonging and identification of the Muslims in South Asia.

Notes

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[3] Ibid. 197-198.

[4] Adib-Moghaddam, *A Metahistory of the Clash of Civilisations*, 167.

[5] Miriam Cooke and Bruce B. Lawrence, "Introduction," in *Muslim Networks: From Medieval Scholars to Modern Feminists*, eds. Miriam Cooke and Bruce B. Lawrence (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005), 2.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid. 2-3.

[8] Ibid. 15.

[9] Yanagihashi Hiroyuki, 'Solidarity in an Islamic Society: "*Asaba*, Family, and the Community," in *The Concept of Territory in Islamic Law and Thought*, Yanagihashi Hiroyuki (London: Kegan Paul International, 2000), 51.

[10] Iik A. Mansurnoor, "Territorial Expansion and Contraction in the Malay Islamic Traditional Polity as Reflected in Contemporary Thought and Administration," in *The Concept of Territory in Islamic Law and Thought*, ed. Yanagihashi Hiroyuki (London: Kegan Paul International, 2000), 128.

[11] Ann K.S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 13.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Mansurnoor, "Territorial Expansion," 128.

[14] Brannon M. Wheeler, "From *Dār al-Hijra* to *Dār al-Islām*: The Islamic Utopia," in *The Concept of Territory in Islamic Law and Thought*, ed. Yanagihashi Hiroyuki (London: Kegan Paul International, 2000), 9-15.

[15] H. Samy Alim, "A New Research Agenda: Exploring the Transglobal Hip Hop *Umma*," in *Muslim Networks: From Medieval Scholars to Modern Feminists*, eds. Miriam Cooke and Bruce B. Lawrence (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005), 265.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Taieb Belghazi, "Afterword," in *Muslim Networks: From Medieval Scholars to Modern Feminists*, eds. Miriam Cooke and Bruce B. Lawrence (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005), 277.

[18] Mansurnoor, "Territorial Expansion," 159.

[19] Ibid. 162.

[20] S. Sayyid, *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism*, 1997, 2nd ed. (London: Zed Books, 2003), 78.

[21] Ibid. 69-72.

[22] Faisal Devji, "Against Muslim Unity," https://aeon.co/essays/the-idea-of-unifying-islam-is-a-recent-invention-and-a-bad-one (accessed July 14, 2016).

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Faisal Devji, *The Terrorist in Search of Humanity: Militant Islam and Global Politics* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 2008), 167-179.

[26] Devji, "Against Muslim Unity."

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] David Gilmartin, "A Networked Civilization?" in *Muslim Networks: From Medieval Scholars to Modern Feminists*, eds. Miriam Cooke and Bruce B. Lawrence (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005), 59.

[32] See Farzana Shaikh, *Community and Consensus in Islam: Muslim Representation in Colonial India, 1860-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[33] Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, *Debates*, March 7, 1949, Vol. 5, 3.

[34] *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative* (Delhi: Longmans, 1959), 227.

[35] Islamic scholars, trained in a major Islamic seminary, *Darul Uloom* in the town of Deoband in North India.

[36] John L. Esposito, *Islam and Politics* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 89—91.

[37] Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850* (London: Routledge, 2000), 454—455.

[38] Francis Robinson, *Islam, South Asia, and the West* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 118.

[39] Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 455.

[40] Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, *Towards Understanding Islam*, trans. Khurshid Ahmad and Dr. Abdul Ghani (Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1960).

[41] Ayesha Jalal, *Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 253.

[42] Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 455-456.

[43] Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, *Nationalism and India* (Delhi: Markazi Maktaba Islami, 1993), 13. Originally, it was written by Maududi in Urdu as *Mas'ala-e Qawmiyat* (The Problem of Nationalism, Lahore: 1939) that was later translated into English as *Nationalism and India*, first published from Delhi in 1965. It was also published as part of Maududi's *Tahrik-e Azadi-e Hind aur Musalman*, 2 Vols. (Freedom Movement in India and the Muslims, Lahore: 1964).

[44] Maududi, *Nationalism and India*, 15.

[45] Ibid. 12-13.

[46] Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, *The Question of Dress* (New Delhi: Markazi Maktaba Islami, 1994). This article, the English translation of '*Libas ka Masalah*' was originally written in 1929 for the journal *Ma'arif* of Azamgarh, India. In 1940, it was reprinted in the monthly journal *Tarjumanul Quran*, edited by Maududi and published from Lahore. It was subsequently included in Maududi's book *Tafheemat* (Vol. II), from where it has been translated.

[47] Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, *The Road to Peace and Salvation* (New Delhi: Markazi Maktaba Islami, 2005), 12. This article is an extract from a speech delivered by Maududi in May 1940 before a gathering of different religious communities.

[48] Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, *Nations: Rise and Fall Why?* (New Delhi: Markazi Maktaba Islami, 2001). This is the English translation of *Bana'o aur Bigar* (Lahore: 1947), a speech delivered by Maududi at a public meeting in Dar-ul-Islam near Pathankot (East Punjab) on May 10, 1947.

[49] Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, *The Sick Nations of the Modern Age* (New Delhi: Markazi Maktaba Islami, 1952).

[50] Kalim Bahadur, "The Emergence of Jamaat-i-Islami in Bangladesh," in *Society, Polity and Economy of Bangladesh*, ed. Sukha Ranjan Chakravarty (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1994), 30.

[51] Ibid. 29—31.

[52] M.S. Agwani, *Islamic Fundamentalism in India* (Chandigarh: Twenty-First Century India Society, 1986), 59.

[53] Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, *Composite Nationalism and Islam* (Muttahida Qaumiyat aur Islam, 1938), trans. Mohammad Anwer Hussain and Hasan Imam, introduced by Barbara Metcalf (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2005).

[54] Pran Nath Chopra (ed.), *Maulana Azad: Selected Speeches and Statements, 1940-47* (New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House, 1990); Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *Islam and Indian Nationalism: Reflections on Abul Kalam Azad* (Delhi: Manohar, 1982).

[55] Maududi, *Mas'ala-i-Qawmiyat* (Problem of Nationalism) *Nationalism and India*. An interesting point that emerges from this study is the ambiguity surrounding the word 'qawm'. To define its English counterpart 'nation', this is by no means an easy task. However the Urdu 'qawm' proves to be more problematic, due to its extremely loose usage, and the fact that it connotes more than one form of the word 'nation'.

[56] Venkat Dhulipala, *Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in Late Colonial North India* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[57] Maududi, *Nationalism and India*, 14.

[58] Agwani, *Islamic Fundamentalism in India*, 60.

[59] Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 95-100.

[60] Agwani, *Islamic Fundamentalism in India*, 60.

[61] This is an extract from a speech delivered by Maududi on May 9, 1947 under the topic called *Islami nizam aur maghribi la dini jamhuriat* (Islamic system and Western democracy), 11th printing (Lahore: April, 1969), 18-19 compiled in the book, Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, *Come Let Us Change This World* (Delhi: Markazi Maktaba Islami, 1991), 54—55.

[62] Safia Amir, *Muslim Nationhood in India: Perceptions of Seven Eminent Thinkers* (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2000), 270-72.

[63] Faisal Devji, *Muslim Zion: Pakistan as a Political Idea* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013).

[64] Rafiuddin Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims, 1871-1906: A Quest for Identity* [1981] 2nd ed. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[65] Harun-or-Rashid, *The Foreshadowing of Bangladesh: Bengal Muslim League and Muslim Politics, 1906-1947* [1987] Revised and enlarged ed. (Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 2003).

[66] Partha Chatterjee, *The Present History of West Bengal: Essays in Political Criticism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 30.

[67] Sugata Bose, *Agrarian Bengal: Economy, Social Structure and Politics, 1919-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 231—232.

[68] Taj ul-Islam Hashmi, *Pakistan as a Peasant Utopia: The Communalization of Class Politics in East Bengal, 1920-1947* (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1992).

[69] Joya Chatterji, *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Suranjan Das, *Communal Riots in Bengal 1905-1947* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991); Badruddin Umar, *Banga-bhanga O Shampradayik Rajniti* [Bengal Partition and Communal Politics] (Calcutta: Chirayata, 1987).

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When the Nation is Under Threat: The Assyrian and Chaldean-American Diaspora and the Complicated Politics of Refugee Resettlement

Erin. E. Hughes

Abstract: For stateless diasporas, the homeland is often central to their identity and imagining, representing the roots or anchor of its national existence. As observed within the Assyrian and Chaldean diaspora in the United States, the violent displacement of the diaspora's ethnic community from Iraq poses an existential crisis: Can the nation survive, absent a territorial homeland and co-nationals therein? Will aiding emigration lead to the loss of the nation? This paper examines how the diaspora responded to the nation's displacement from the homeland, and how perceptions of nationalism and belonging influence policy choices, particularly regarding the question of refugee admissions. Comparing the diaspora's response to the post-2003 sectarian conflict and to ISIL's takeover of northern Iraq in 2014, it finds two fundamentally different ideologies: that which believes territorial nationalism within Iraq is the nation's only hope for continued existence, and that which believes the nation can survive in diaspora, absent a homeland.

Introduction

From the first postwar church bombing in June 2004 to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant's (ISIL) eviction of Mosul's Christians in June 2014, the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Syriacs of Iraq have endured more than a decade of persecution. This small nation, which comprises almost the entirety of Iraq's Christian community and whose nationalists trace its roots to the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, saw its population of more than one million before the Iraq War fall to an estimated 300,000 to 500,000 by 2014.[1] Its population today is unknown, as ISIS has, for the time being, effectively cleansed most Christians from Mosul and their indigenous land in northern Iraq's Nineveh Plain.

Permanently removed from the homeland, the Assyrian,

Chaldean, and Syriac community's displacement poses an existential crisis. The diasporic connection to the homeland entwines identity, ideology, origins, and ancestry. The tragedy in Iraq makes starker the diaspora's own distance, safely removed from conflict. Yet, with such displacement, the diaspora's political mobilization becomes a necessary voice able to advocate for those affected by tragedy, and a voice for the nation itself.

This paper focuses specifically on the largest diasporic population, the Assyrian and Chaldean diaspora in the United States, and examines the diaspora's perceptions and political mobilization in response to the mass waves of refugee displacement after the Iraq War and again after ISIL. It questions how a diaspora responds when the homeland is under threat, and how political considerations, nationalism, and notions of belonging impact policy decisions.

The concerted effort of several diasporic activists to increase refugee admissions, which succeeded to some extent in 2007, and continues anew after 2014, demonstrates the challenges of a small, stateless diaspora in gaining attention for its plight, and the influence of larger political forces in shaping policy calculations. Examined further is the perceived necessity of a territorial homeland for an increasingly diasporic nation. The less secure the homeland becomes, the more tension that results over emigration.

This paper finds that diasporic elites possess divergent understandings of the nation and the role of the homeland. To nationalists, the nation is as physical as it is ideological, and cannot exist absent a territory serving as its anchor. In this perspective, consonant with traditional nationalism theory, territorial autonomy within Iraq is the best means of national preservation.

Yet, there is also a growing perspective of the diaspora that believes the nation can survive in diaspora, unrooted from a homeland, through the strength of its ethnic church and community organizations. This perspective presents something of a paradox to nationalism studies: it represents a diasporic nationalism that aims to build an extraterritorial nation. Here, policy decisions are largely responsive to political opportunities and closing boundaries rather than national ideology; yet, its adherents act and understand themselves as national actors.

Methodology

The research for this paper stems from the author's doctoral research, which was conducted from 2011 through 2014, and examined how diasporic elites act as nation builders. It is supplemented by

the author's professional experience as a congressional aide who worked with Assyrian and Chaldean advocacy organizations from 2009 through 2010, and as an intern with the then-active Chaldean Federation of America in 2011. The author conducted twenty-nine interviews with diasporic activists and community leaders in the US between 2012 and 2014, including representatives of the Assyrian Aid Society, Assyrian Democratic Movement, Assyrian Universal Alliance, Chaldean Catholic Church's American Diocese, Chaldean Federation of America, and Chaldean Chamber of Commerce. The author conducted participant observation at several community events hosted by the Chaldean Federation, the Chaldean Chamber, and the State Department. Additionally, four interviews were conducted in the fall of 2016 in Detroit, Michigan, to gather updated information regarding advocacy efforts and hopes for a post-ISIL Iraq.

Research was also conducted into documents produced by or pertaining to the aforementioned diasporic organizations, including policy briefs, action alerts, press releases, annual reports, and news articles. Community news sources included the Assyrian International News Agency, Assyrian Information Management, *Zinda Magazine*, *Chaldean News*, and Chaldeans Online. A review was also conducted of congressional legislation and committee hearings regarding Assyrian, Chaldean, and Iraqi issues.

Situating the diaspora in nationalism theory

As diaspora theorists frequently note, understanding diaspora is complicated by an expansion in the term's use from a paradigm of a traumatically displaced, long-marginalized population to seemingly any migrant group.[2] For the purposes of this paper, and borrowing from Khachig Tölölyan, diaspora is understood as "a special category of ethnicized dispersion" shaped by a "paradoxical combination of localism and transnationalism."[3]

This study is further complicated by its choice of diaspora itself: Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Syriacs possess a contested understanding of their ethnic identity, or identities. Religious schisms and disparate geographic origins complicate national identity through today, and any examination that could fully situate Assyrian and Chaldean histories and ethno-religious boundaries is outside the scope of this paper.[4] Modern Chaldean identity is intertwined with membership in the Chaldean Catholic Church. Some Chaldeans contend the community has become its own ethnic group in the years since the Church's formation, whilst others contend they remain the same ethnic group as Assyrians, and thus identify as Assyrian. Assyrian

community leaders generally consider Chaldeans to be ethnic Assyrians who belong to the Chaldean Church.[5]

This paper positions Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Syriacs as one nation. A nation is understood, in Benedict Anderson's definition, as an "imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and inherently sovereign," with the community constituting a "deep horizontal comradeship."[6] Such positioning recognizes the diversity of ethnic opinions and the presence of ethnic cleavages amongst these groups, whilst also recognizing that political activity by Assyrian and Chaldean actors in the US and Iraq makes claims on behalf of all components collectively—often hyphenating all names or terming the community "Iraqi Christians" for political expediency.

As Rogers Brubaker argued, nations and ethnicity are not fully synonymous: whilst both contain common cultures and historical origins, the nation is intertwined with states and political power "in a way that is not true for ethnicity or race."[7] Nations, like nationalism, are fundamentally political. John Breuilly also emphasized the centrality of politics—and power—to nationalism:

> To focus upon culture, ideology, identity, class or modernisation is to neglect the fundamental point that nationalism is, above and beyond all else, about politics and politics is about power. Power, in the modern world, is principally about control of the state. The central task is to relate nationalism to the objectives of obtaining and using state power.[8]

Implicit in these framings is that nations can be built upon ethnicity and ancestry, but that is not a necessity. The necessity is the political claim on behalf of the nation, however defined. In interviews with the author, diasporic actors continuously expressed their belief in the shared fate of the Assyrian, Chaldean, and Syriac people—although, as found below, this unity diverges as the centrality of the Chaldean Church becomes increasingly important to Chaldean diasporic nationalism. The intent here is not to split hairs between ethnicity and nationhood as theoretical concepts, nor between identities within the diaspora itself, but to underscore the political claims made on behalf of this population and its pursuit of politics as a means to protect its existence.

Recognizing that migrant populations may still pursue national aims on behalf of their homeland, Anderson applied his theory of imagined communities directly to the migrant experience, observing a "long-distance nationalism" through which migrants continue

to imagine themselves as part of their home community and hold political claims on its behalf. Anderson notes, "[t]he internet, electronic banking and cheap international travel are allowing such people to have a powerful influence on the politics of their country of origin, even if they have no intention any longer of living there."[9] Anthony Smith similarly found a "vicarious nationalism," in which members of a national minority, despite having left home, still support a national agenda on behalf of their co-ethnics in the homeland.[10] He later suggested that there exists a specifically diasporic nationalism, an "ideological movement to secure…collective autonomy, unity and identity by restoring its members to their historic homeland."[11] The political underpinnings of these theories are significant: nationhood is found not in cultural connections, but in political engagement; diasporic nationalism is not *ipso facto* a demand for a state. For diasporas like the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Syriacs, whose nation holds no autonomy nor hope for statehood, diasporic activists at times understand themselves as having a role as guardians of the nation, advocating for its political rights and protection from the safety and free expression of the West. How diasporic actors perceive the security and longevity of their own existence as a diaspora shapes their understandings of displacement and political attitudes towards resettlement and autonomy.

Situating the diaspora within the US

Given the diaspora's diverse origins, it is significant that a common political mobilization within the diaspora exists and is oriented towards Iraq. Whilst much of the diaspora in Detroit and San Diego has roots in Iraq, other populations fled Turkey, Syria, and Iran. Prior to World War I, Assyrian, Chaldean, and Syriac populations were spread across the Ottoman Empire and Persia, concentrated primarily in the Hakkari and Tur Abdin regions of modern-day Turkey, the Mosul vilayet of Iraq, the Urmia region of Iran, and northeastern Syria. Genocide, marginalization, Arabization policies, and emigration significantly reduced population in these states, and indelibly shaped the diaspora that exists today.

Specific diasporic population numbers in the US are difficult because individuals may identify by their country of origin on official forms. The 2000 Census placed the community at 82,322 who self-identified under the official Assyrian/Chaldean/Syriac label; however, this figure was believed to be under-representative for several reasons, including low completion rates and language barriers.[12] The Assyrian/Chaldean/Syriac option was eliminated in the 2010 Census.

The Chaldean Chamber of Commerce estimated in 2014 there were 121,000 Chaldeans in Michigan and another 150,000 Chaldeans and Assyrians throughout the US.[13] Other organizations have placed total estimates at 400,000.[14] Whilst early waves of migration to the US included Syriacs, recent Syriac migrants have largely turned to Europe, and the remaining US population is estimated to be between 15,000 to 25,000 individuals.[15]

The American diaspora was settled through differing waves of migration. The Detroit and San Diego populations are the largest, and its residents primarily migrated voluntarily from Iraq beginning in the 1960s and arriving in larger numbers in the 1990s and early 2000s. They overwhelmingly belong to the Chaldean Church and do not have the same narratives of tragedy as the descendants of refugees who either fled genocide after the First World War, the Simmele attack on Assyrian villages in northern Iraq in 1933, or the Anfal attacks on northern Iraq in the late 1980s. Those waves of refugees, predominantly identifying as Assyrian, first settled on the East Coast, especially in New York, and in Chicago; later waves largely joined the community in Chicago and helped grow the community in northern California.[16] The diaspora is also home to Assyrians and Chaldeans who fled various political hardships—repressive regimes in Iran and Iraq, the Iraq sanctions era, and most recently, Iraq's ethno-sectarian conflict. Amongst these diverse origins, identities, and migratory paths, diaspora is a "way of imposing an imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation."[17]

National leaders and organizations work to build narratives and symbols to unify the diaspora. Narratives regarding ties to antiquity and Assyrian and Mesopotamian symbols, such as the lamassu and lion of Babylon, are frequent amongst diasporic and Iraqi organizations and aim to provide a narrative of Assyrian, Chaldean, and Syriac commonality that predates modern sectarian divisions. The Nineveh Council of America notes, "Iraq's Christians trace their ethnic origins as the very first inhabitants of Mesopotamia and Iraq's dwindling indigenous population."[18] Yonadam Kanna, the head of the Assyrian Democratic Movement and a member of Iraq's Parliament, draws upon this narrative by referring to Assyrians and Chaldeans as the "children of Babylon and Nineveh."[19]

As the next sections demonstrate, the diaspora quickly became engaged and presented clear policy objectives in response to crisis. Attitudes towards resettlement are examined to better understand how diasporic actors perceive displacement and territoriality of the nation, and to demonstrate the difficulty diasporic activists encountered in advancing policy. The community learned firsthand

from its experience pushing for refugee admissions that calls for assistance and appeals to humanitarian need are not easily heeded.

Refugee admissions after the Iraq war

By 2007, Iraqi displacement had reached such proportions that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, António Guterres, labeled it "the most significant displacement in the Middle East since the dramatic events of 1948," noting that "one in eight Iraqis have been driven from their homes," with approximately 2 million having fled outside Iraq and 1.9 million internally displaced.[20] Various aid agencies estimated that Christians comprised somewhere between fifteen and forty percent of the refugee population, a rate far disproportionate to their less than five percent share of Iraq's population.[21]

Opportunities for permanent settlement were generally absent in the countries of first refuge, and, overwhelmed with hundreds of thousands of refugees in their borders, these states struggled to provide basic services. It was expected that the US, as the initiator of the conflict, administrator of Iraq, and a refugee receiving state, would lead refugee resettlement efforts. As L. Craig Johnstone, then President of Refugees International, testified before Congress, the international community largely felt the responsibility for responding to the refugee crisis lay on US shoulders: "Where it hasn't been an ally of ours, they'll say this was a US war and the US should pick up the costs associated with it."[22] However, the Bush administration generally appeared unwilling to acknowledge the crisis. Between April 1, 2003, and February 28, 2007, only 687 Iraqi refugees were admitted to the US, including just 202 in Fiscal Year (FY) 2006.[23] Initial estimates for FY 2007 admissions predicted the US planned to admit only 500 Iraqi refugees despite the approximately two million refugees.[24]

Diasporic activists instinctively rallied to seek aid, mobilized by the fact their friends, families, and religious leaders had been targeted by extremists, the prevailing humanitarian necessity, and the disproportionate representation of their community amongst Iraq's displaced. A wedge within the diaspora soon became apparent, however, over the degree to which refugee admissions were seen as an appropriate response to mass displacement because nationalists feared increased flight and resettlement would risk the permanent loss of the homeland.

Tensions between humanitarian imperatives and long-term national interests highlight the struggle of a diaspora in difficult circumstances: negotiating questions of whether aiding emigration

would lead to a loss of the nation, if it is fair to encourage others to stay while living in the safety and luxury of diaspora, and if those who emigrate will be lost to assimilation.

Those who supported refugee admissions, led largely by Chaldean activists in Detroit and San Diego, argued permanent resettlement was the moral and humanitarian responsibility of the US, and refugees should be allowed to resettle in areas with established diasporic communities. As this section demonstrates, activists encountered significant external political barriers atop internal divisions. Activists argued for the admissions of any Iraqi Christian or persecuted minority wishing to leave Iraq. Such advocacy reflected the transnationalism of the diasporic nation, but also reflected a policy solution rather than a national ideology.

It was frequently noted by refugee advocates that after the collapse of South Vietnam in 1975, the US urgently accepted 134,000 Vietnamese refugees; in the years since, over 900,000 Vietnamese have received refugee status.[25] Similarly, in 1996, under Operation Pacific Haven, the US airlifted 6,600 Iraqi Kurds who supported US humanitarian operations in Iraq to Guam out of concern they could face repercussions from the Ba'ath regime.[26] As the context of these examples foreshadowed, a core pillar of advocacy for refugee admissions became focused on aiding those whose lives were in danger for their work in support of coalition war efforts. This narrow interpretation of refugees who "deserved" to come to the US quickly dominated discourse and moved focus away from aiding persecuted minority populations. Nonetheless, the legislative process to address admissions for US employees provided an opening to roll in additional provisions, and diasporic activism was necessary to urge refugee provisions be extended to ethnic and religious minorities, who may otherwise have been overlooked in this conversation.

In October 2005, estimating 10,000 to 40,000 Christians had already fled Iraq, then Patriarch of the Chaldean Church, Emmanuel III Delly, called on the US to help: "I pray that Western governments, including the United States, take pity on these Iraqis and at least offer them a stay permit for those who are already there and, if possible, a visa."[27] The Chaldean Church in this period was not adverse to refugee admissions.

The Chaldean Federation of America (CFA), a non-profit community organization based near Detroit, created Operation R4 (Research, Relief, Resettlement, and Re-empowerment) and in July 2006 began surveying those who contacted CFA for assistance regarding their reasons for leaving Iraq and experience in the country of refuge.[28] The purpose of this data was to document that

Christians were fleeing Iraq because of the use of force. From July 2006 through March 2007, CFA processed approximately 4,000 survey results representing almost 12,000 refugees, in which over 90 percent of respondents cited religious persecution or discrimination as cause for leaving Iraq; additionally, over 64 percent of responses indicated family reunification was being sought. Data from this study was shared with the State Department, congressional officials, and UNHCR.

At the same time, with the help of Chaldean Bishop Ibrahim Ibrahim, CFA formed an immigration committee that explored potential legislative options. One avenue considered was an expansion of the Lautenberg Amendment of the 1990 Foreign Operations Appropriations Act, which facilitated refugee processing on humanitarian grounds for certain religious minorities, particularly the Jewish community, in the former Soviet Union.[29] In 2004, the amendment was expanded to include certain religious minorities in Iran, specifically Jews and Baha'is.[30] Given the very recent extension to Iranian minorities, there was hope a similar extension could be made to Iraqi religious minorities, although this ultimately proved unsuccessful.

Chaldean activists in Detroit principally lobbied the state's senior Senator, Carl Levin, then Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, to push for policy to aid persecuted religious minorities. Demonstrating Levin's urging of this issue with his colleagues, in a hearing of the Senate Immigration, Border Security, and Citizenship Subcommittee in January 2007, on "The Plight of Iraqi Refugees," Senator Ted Kennedy, the subcommittee chairman, specifically noted in his opening remarks that some Iraqis "such as the Chaldean Christians" were suffering persecution, and that "I want to make a special note of the Chaldean Federation of America. They have a statement, a comment here. Senator Levin has spoken to me about this."[31] Notably, Kennedy, upon becoming chairman, publically criticized the administration's neglect of the displacement crisis.[32]

Joseph Kassab, CFA's executive director, stressed in his statement to the Committee that repatriation to Iraq, an emphasis of the State Department at the time, was "impossible" for Iraqi Christians because of continued violence and the inability of the Iraqi government to guarantee protection.[33] Citing data from CFA's surveys, Kassab urged Congress to make Christians eligible for special priority statuses that would expedite the admissions process, and create a special designation for internally-displaced Iraqi Christians.

As one Chaldean activist from California recalled, pushing for refugee admissions was a sustained, multi-year effort met with

political resistance. Diasporic organizations were contacted by hundreds of diasporic members and community members in Iraq for assistance:

> "After the invasion in 2003, I went to Washington many times to help in getting this program started, this refugee program… At the beginning it was very hard to get this program approved and they found out there is no other way, so they open the door for our people to come–not until 2006 or 2007… I still have a big file of all these 400 people who applied."[34]

A strategy of activists pushing for admissions, one that would reemerge after 2014, was to compile names and locations of Iraqi Christians who applied for refugee status to share with policy-makers in demonstrating overwhelming demand for refugee admissions.

In September 2007, the Senate approved a Levin Amendment to the Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2008, which, noting the government "has an obligation to help," sought to tweak existing visa allocations by urging the Administration to provide all refugee visas allotted for Near East/South Asia, and any unused portion of the worldwide allocation to Iraqis specifically.[35] Ultimately, the amendment was not included in the final bill.[36] By September 2007, the US Ambassador to Iraq, Ryan Crocker, issued a heavy critique of processing delays and inefficiencies that were leaving refugees vulnerable and increasingly insecure.[37]

Increased refugee admissions were finally secured with the attachment of Kennedy's Refugee Crisis in Iraq Act to the FY 2008 National Defense Authorization Act, which was signed into law in January 2008.[38] The bill facilitated the refugee process for two key populations: those who assisted the US, and those members of a persecuted group—specifically, vulnerable ethno-religious minorities—who have immediate family in the US. The bill addressed several problems noted in Crocker's and CFA's critiques, including opening refugee applications to those still inside Iraq, thereby removing the burden requiring applicants to flee to a neighbouring state. It allowed these groups to apply directly to the US for refugee status and bypass the lengthy UNHCR process by extending Priority 2 status of "special humanitarian concern" under Section 207(a) (3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.[39] Political compromise is evident in the family preference provision, arguably included to garner support for minority admissions with the understanding the presence of family would facilitate acculturation and support upon

arrival. This was meaningful to members of the diaspora with family seeking refugee status, but unfortunate for refugees without the luck of having family in the US.

Relocating Assyrian and Chaldean refugees was seen by those who supported admissions as both a humanitarian imperative and a means to keep those displaced as part of the community. The loss of the community in Iraq is reconciled with affording community members the same opportunities as those in diaspora. Within the diverse fabric of the US, diasporic members have successfully integrated, established churches and community institutions, and are more able to maintain identity than in Iraq. As a Chaldean activist in Detroit commented:

> "On the one hand, it hurts me to see Christians leaving Iraq, our villages; on the other hand, I see them, they have better future for them, for their kids, grandkids…I'm living in a great country here, and this is land of opportunities. I feel more citizen here, 200 times more than Iraq. Here I can do whatever I want to do. Open my TV station, newspaper, my own church…My brother's publishing a book. In Iraq he couldn't publish a book about the Christians. They wouldn't allow him to publish a book. I couldn't speak my language. Here, we have our radio station, TV station in our language."[40]

However, concern is frequently expressed that the American diaspora will ultimately be lost to assimilation. The core pillars of national culture and identity—especially their Christianity—that rendered the nation unique in the Middle East are no longer marginalizing in the US, and there is little to stop next generations from simply becoming "American."

Yet, despite hard-fought legislation, Assyrians and Chaldeans still languished as refugees. According to the State Department, an estimated 127,000 Iraqi refugees were admitted to the US between 2007 and mid-2015, of which almost 48,000, or 37.5 percent, were Christians or other religious minorities.[41] Although Christians are well-represented, given the scale of displacement, these figures are arguably rather conservative. On the one hand, they should ease worries that Iraq's Assyrians and Chaldeans could soon be relocated to America; yet, on the other hand, they challenge assumptions that refugee admissions would be sufficient to alleviate the crisis.

As noted above, support for prioritizing refugee admissions was not universal across the diaspora. To nationalists, the nation's roots, or the anchor of its continuity, become increasingly tenuous with continued flight from Iraq. This position gained traction as violence and displacement from Iraq continued to worsen.

From 2004 through 2013, at least 73 churches were bombed or destroyed, including the devastating 2010 attack on the Our Lady of Salvation Church in Baghdad that killed 58 worshipers and police officers.[42] By March 2013, Chaldean Patriarch Louis Sako estimated only 57 churches remained in the whole of Iraq, a loss of 80 percent of the 300 churches prior to the war.[43] Minority-targeted violence further included murders of priests, political assassinations, attacks on university students, kidnappings, rapes, destruction of Christian-owned shops, and other religiously-motivated threats and murders. As the US Commission on International Religious Freedom has repeatedly found, mass flight and persecution are "threatening these ancient communities' very existence in Iraq."[44]

Whilst the 2005 Iraqi constitution recognizes Assyrians and Chaldeans as national minorities for the first time in the history of Iraq and provides for their administrative, religious, cultural, and linguistic rights, the population holds little ability to enforce these guarantees, particularly in Iraq's dysfunctional, sectarian, and violent post-war political climate. The provision for administrative rights, a provision whose inclusion was urged by many Assyrian and Chaldean leaders, nonetheless provided a foundation for nationalists to push for territorial autonomy within Iraq's Nineveh Plain.[45] This territory went through iterations of being conceived of as an autonomous region, a self-administered region and currently as a province.

Nationalists contend the Nineveh region represents the root of the nation's homeland, having stood as the seat of the ancient Assyrian Empire and possessing ancient Assyrian sites, most notably the city of Nimrud.[46] Nineveh's centrality is further supported by the region's 1,600 year presence of Christianity, and the presence of long-standing Christian towns like Telkeppe and Alqosh, towns with direct connections to many in the diaspora. Many Christians within Iraq fled to the region following conflict in major cities like Baghdad and Basra. Indeed, a 2008 survey of internally-displaced Iraqi Christians, who fled to Nineveh, found 80 percent of respondents reported familial or legal ties to the Nineveh Plain.[47]

Thus, rather than advocating for refugee admissions, nationalists within the diaspora understood displacement as reason to further

their claim for territorial autonomy and the right to their own security in Iraq. It was argued autonomy would help protect the nation's culture, religion, and existence. As was explained by Chaldean and Assyrian activists alike:

> "The reason I am in favour of creating this province is because without it, eventually we'll become extinct. The reality is, our language will die out; if we don't have any roots in Iraq, there will be no existence of Chaldeans or Assyrians... And again, it goes back to, look at the Jewish community. We're a similar community but without Israel;[48]

> We're continuing to advocate for an administrative unit in the Nineveh Plain, where we have enough numbers and enough towns and villages that we could have a self-sustaining community that could thrive...We see it as a well or a spring that maintains the culture and language, and people will move into the cities, will move to diaspora, but that will be the source of our existence."[49]

To this end, diasporic actors also called for economic development assistance from the US and Iraqi governments, and from the diaspora itself, to improve the Nineveh region and enable the community to return.

Similarly, Joseph Kassab left CFA in 2013, and formed the Iraqi Christians Advocacy and Empowerment Institute (ICAE) to advocate with the Iraqi and Kurdish governments to help Christians return and remain in Iraq. Kassab stated he became frustrated with an inadequate refugee resettlement system and with political infighting, both of which seemed to take attention away from the situation's humanitarian toll:

> "It is important for Assyrians and Chaldeans who say that we are emptying from Christians from Iraq, the question that needs to be addressed to them is this: what have you done for these refugees—for these Iraqi Christians—to stay there and not to leave?"[50]

Reflected here is the implication that it is harder to make policy than to criticise it. Kassab's decision to refocus efforts from refugee

admittances to in-country return suggests a pragmatic assessment of limited resource availability, political impasse, and ongoing challenges for those resettled in the US.

The frustrations Kassab outlined are enumerated in a 2009 Georgetown University study, which found systemic flaws in the refugee resettlement program because it "does not break down barriers to sustainable employment, employment services are not properly funded, English language training is insufficient, transportation is inadequate, and professional recertification is not viable."[51] Moreover, as Assyrian and Chaldean organizations found, the type of refugee arriving had greater needs resulting from trauma and lengthy periods of displacement, needs to which current programs were not readily-equipped to respond. Juliana Taimoorazy, founder of the Iraqi Christian Relief Council, stressed the challenges facing refugees after arrival refocused her organization's work to the US:

> "We were formed to help strictly Christians in Iraq, but at the end of 2007, the doors really opened and a huge influx of Assyrians and Chaldeans started coming to the West. And we as a community weren't ready in Chicago to welcome them… And, absolutely devastating, our nation is dying because our young are not being educated, refugee kids for five, six, seven, eight years–they left high school when they were 16, they get here when they are 24, they're not going to go sit next to a high schooler."[52]

Notable is the years individuals have lived as refugees before resettlement: conflict and displacement have impacted an entire generation. Refugees live in indefinite limbo, belonging to neither the homeland nor their places of refuge, part of the diaspora but often without hope of resettlement. As the plight of Iraq's Christians continued even as conflict between Shia and Sunni waned, and as the Obama administration disengaged from Iraq alongside the withdrawal of US troops, it was increasingly apparent refugee admissions were not a solution adequate to meeting need.

Diasporic actors who advocated for a province were highly aware of the awkward dynamic of urging their co-ethnics to remain whilst arguing so from the safety and comfort of the US. As one activist noted, the diaspora understands firsthand both the lure to leave and the existential threat posed by assimilation:

> "You go on the net and look on Facebook, and you

see ninety percent of your family living in Detroit with their nice homes, or in California, and, "why am I here? What the hell am I doing here?" So it's really challenging for the people who are staying. It is an existential issue for us. And as they leave, I mean, one generation, two generations, maybe three - and then what? It's really difficult to maintain your culture and language and heritage in diaspora."[53]

In addition to fearing conflict and displacement pose an existential crisis, diasporic actors thus perceive resettlement, and the assimilation that risks following, as an existential threat.

As nationalist activists lobbied US and Iraqi governments in support of a province, it gained a measure of traction in January 2014, when then Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki announced his support for a Christian province in the Nineveh Plain. Although the hurdles to move forward were significant, the endorsement ultimately became moot when al-Maliki was defeated in the next election and, shortly thereafter, ISIL took over the Nineveh Plain.

ISIL and the renewal of the refugee question

The damage done by ISIL will perhaps be immeasurable. In June 2014, as ISIL moved into Mosul and the Nineveh Plain, entire villages fled as edicts were issued ordering Christians to convert to Islam, pay *jizya*, or be executed, effectively displacing Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Syriacs in the heart of their indigenous land. Ancient Assyrian monuments, including the remains at Nimrud, were plundered and destroyed, churches bombed, cemeteries razed, homes looted and confiscated, all efforts tantamount to destroying the material evidence of the nation's, and Christianity's, existence.

The question of return or resettlement following ISIL's takeover is a point of contention amongst diasporic actors as much as those displaced: a November 2014 survey of internally displaced minorities in northern Iraq found 56 percent of respondents hoped to return to their homes under international protection, and 42 percent hoped to resettle in another country.[54] Those who return may return to homes and villages that no longer exist, and return to neighbours who may have supported ISIL.[55]

Amongst many in the diaspora, efforts for a Christian province within the Nineveh Plain have redoubled. A parallel between nationalists in diaspora and the Chaldean Church in Iraq has become apparent in their expressed opposition to flight. Both understand the

homeland as central to the survival of the nation and the Church, respectively.

Whilst Chaldean Patriarch Sako opposed emigration prior to ISIL, contending in 2012 as Archbishop of Kirkuk that the West "should help Iraqi Christians to remain in their homeland rather than investing resources in assistance programs that actually encourage their escape," his rhetoric on emigration after the fall of Mosul became firmer, centering on the threat flight poses to the Church's existence.[56] By late 2014, as Patriarch, he openly criticized American leaders who encouraged refugee admissions, stating:

> "In America they put baskets with asylum request forms on church altars during Mass, as if the migration of thousands of Iraqi Christians to the US was something to ask God's blessing for. That's a strange thing to do and only confuses people's faith. Unfortunately, some members of the clergy turn into businessmen instead of remaining shepherds of souls. They think in business instead of evangelical terms, even in relation to [the] faithful. To some they are just numbers who can help priests beef up numbers of Catholics in the areas over which they have jurisdiction."[57]

The selfish intentions ascribed to Chaldean priests is perhaps rather harsh given the mass crisis, but highlights the tense uncertainty over the future of the Chaldean Church and its inability to protect its roots in Iraq.

The Patriarch has long understood the Chaldean Church as innately intertwined with Iraq; here, Chaldean flight amounts to an existential crisis for the Church: "We have been there for 2,000 years...We have a mission and a role, and if a future exists for the Chaldean Church, it is not in the diaspora but in Iraq. If all the families leave, and even the priests, the entire history and Chaldean Christian patrimony will vanish."[58] Such rhetoric reflects the need to keep Chaldeans in Iraq— and in essence save the Church itself.

The Chaldean Church in the US, however, generally opposes the Patriarch's stance against emigration, and diasporic activists are again calling for increased refugee admissions. Mark Arabo, a Chaldean activist who works closely with the Chaldean Church in California and compiled a list of approximately 70,000 Iraqi Christians hoping to leave Iraq, told the *Wall Street Journal* that in pursuing refugee admissions, "my biggest obstacle is our Patriarch in Iraq."[59] Joseph Kassab, like Arabo, contends that, given the gravity of ISIL's atrocities,

the US should increase visa allotments for Iraqi Christians and other persecuted minorities. Kassab has proposed using the President's allotment discretion to admit 50,000 Iraqi Christians and creating a special humanitarian program to bring 100,000 Iraqi refugees.[60] At the same time, Kassab continues to prioritize short and long-term security and development efforts to enable Christians to return to their homes in Iraq.[61]

Like the previous decade, efforts are again challenged by political reluctance. Now, however, the Iraqi refugee crisis is compounded by the tragic displacement wrought by the Syrian Civil War, perpetuating a humanitarian crisis the international community seems incapable of meeting. Certain American politicians, including President Donald Trump, have equated refugees with terrorism and called for a halt to refugee admittances from Middle Eastern countries; moreover, thirty-one state governors demanded Syrian refugees, and possibly Iraqi refugees, no longer be settled in their state.[62] Consequently, legislative efforts, like Congressman Juan Vargas's bill to exempt Iraqi Christians from the refugee cap and streamline the application process, have not advanced through Congress.[63]

The contrast between the American-based Chaldean diaspora, and the positions of the Chaldean Patriarch and nationalists in the diaspora extends beyond simple differences in refugee policy. They possess different perceptions of the future of the nation. Rather than stake the future of the nation in Iraq, certain Chaldean diasporic actors have come to argue Chaldeans can survive in diaspora. As Arabo stated:

> "Wherever there's a Chaldean Church in the world,
> the Chaldean culture will have a chance for survival
> … the most important thing to preserve the heritage
> is the church, the Chaldean Church specifically.
> Because it hangs on to the culture. It's uniting."[64]

Accompanying this sentiment is a belief Christians no longer belong to Iraq, as Chaldean priest Noel Gorgis of California recently commented: "There is no more hope for the Christians, the Chaldeans in Iraq … Here in the US we can preserve our language, our culture, our religion."[65] Similarly, then-Bishop Ibrahim commented at a diasporic convention, "[w]e don't like to create a new country for us. We have a homeland; the whole world is our homeland. We have Iraq and America, that are enough for us to live in."[66]

The contrast with the Patriarch, particularly in comparison to diasporic Church officials, regarding the necessity of the homeland,

is significant. It suggests Chaldeanness is increasingly understood in ethno-religious terms, a framing which may further entrench a Chaldean-specific ethnicity and nationhood as distinct from its Assyrian brethren. Moreover, this viewpoint imagines an extraterritorial nation, detached from territory. Such an ideology is antithetical to nationalists, whose central ideology is framed around the question: to where does the nation belong if not the homeland? The response of Chaldean diasporic nationalists appears to be: anywhere that allows migration and allows the Church, community institutions, and identity to flourish.

Conclusion

Illuminated in this discussion are the crisis Iraq's Assyrian Chaldean and Syriac nation has endured since 2003, and the fundamental differences in the diaspora's response to crisis. Found within diasporic activism is a negotiation of policy choices, choices informed by nationalism, understandings of the homeland, and concern for the immediate and long-term needs of the Iraqi community. Diasporic activism was disadvantaged by the importance of Iraq: because Iraq was politically consequential to both administrations, the diaspora lacked power to capture influence regarding Iraq to meaningfully shape policy outcomes.

Diasporic understandings of the nation and its relation to the homeland are not uniform, and their policy agendas do not exist in isolation. Their nationalism is reactive to opportunities and threats, becoming increasingly salient when the homeland and community members are threatened. The long-distance nationalism towards Iraq found within much of the diaspora positions the homeland as essential and shapes the demand for a Christian province: here, Nineveh is a homeland that, if protected, will preserve the nation indefinitely. For others, the homeland is understood differently: territory is less central and policy, as a result, is more adaptable. As events demonstrated, however, refugee admissions are not a permanent solution because the rates of resettlement are simply incapable of meeting the need and do not help those who wish to stay. Many diasporic elites, including many who support refugee admissions, turned their focus to enabling Assyrians and Chaldeans to return to and remain safely in Iraq, only to be curtailed by ISIL and a new wave of national expulsion.

The nation's statelessness undoubtedly underpins its insecurity, as each wave of crisis presents a new challenge to perceptions of national belonging and locatedness. Notable is the same debate

occurring within the diaspora over the centrality of the homeland and the nation's security, therein throughout both iterations of conflict. However, emergent with ISIL and its physical displacement of Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Syriacs from their indigenous land is increased concern from the Chaldean Church for its survival, suggesting that, like nationalists, the Church in Iraq understands its future as tied to the nation's territorial homeland.

Nationalism is not stagnant, but is responsive to changing political and social dynamics. The importance of diasporic connectivity is reaffirmed by this activism: the homeland is the unifying root of the diaspora, even if a homeland is not central to diasporic ideology, because what happens to its members mobilizes its diaspora. Diasporic ideology is shaped largely by how the diaspora perceives its security and longevity within the diaspora and how it perceives the nation's security and existence in the homeland.

Notes

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Borders as Meeting Points: Migration Policies, and the Migrants' Resistance in the Port and Border Area of Patras

Marco Mogiani

Abstract: Over the last twenty years, borders have undergone a substantial redefinition of their functions, meanings, and structures, as a result of geopolitical and socio-economic changes. Borders have proliferated in places other than national boundaries and different actors other than the states have contributed to their redefinition. The development of the European Union (EU) embodies the epitome of this process. Driven by global capital restructuring, the creation and progressive enlargement of a common European market has led to a process of de- and re-bordering that eliminated checkpoints between member states while strengthening security measures along and even outside the external borders of the EU. Internal borders, however, have not disappeared, but rather have been reproduced within the European space through variegated policies and practices, asserting, as Balibar put it, their ubiquitous and heterogeneous character.

Drawing upon the concept of production of space, as theorized by Lefebvre and elaborated by Harvey and Massey, this paper assesses the impact of neoliberal practices and migration policies on the spatial transformation of the border/port area of Patras, the third most populated city and the third most important harbour in Greece. Since the 1990s, the port – driven by rapidly growing traffic figures – has undergone a significant expansion while simultaneously strengthening its security measures. In the same period, the increasing migratory pressures prompted many migrants and asylum seekers to gather in the proximity of the port, where they created and moulded their own "living space," contesting the bordering practices in their attempt to reach Italy and the rest of Europe.

Taking insights from recent empirical research, the paper will analyze the role of both state and non-state actors (migrants, associations, local residents) in shaping the border area, each of them producing their own particular space. In particular, the paper will focus on the everyday experiences of migrants and refugees occupying an abandoned industrial area in front of the port. Despite their impelling desire of leaving Greece, legal conditions and lack of money have often forced some of them to stay indefinitely, thus seeking alternative ways to build their own "living space" out of that inhospitable place. Through the examination of semi-structured and informal interviews with a wide variety of actors, the paper will investigate the everyday practices of negotiation, contestation, and resistance employed by migrants and asylum seekers at and across the border. The paper will eventually argue that borders are "meeting points" where different multi-scalar dynamics performed by multifarious actors continuously meet and reproduce.

Over the last forty years, economic, political, and socio-cultural changes have shaped the structure of modern nation states and the geography of capitalist accumulation, as well as our everyday lives, habits, and ways of thinking.[1] The advent of neoliberal globalization represented an epochal turning point: the capitalist mode of production in force as of the 1930s, based on state-led development, mass production and consumption, labour standardization, strong unionism, and job stability,[2] began to be seen as inefficient and burdensome. The new phase of capitalist development entailed the elimination of "all geographical barriers to the accumulation process in search of cheaper raw materials, fresh sources of labor-power, new markets for its products, and new investment opportunities."[3]

In this context, borders have acquired different functions and meanings:[4] they are both bridges that commodities, capital flows, businessmen, and tourists can easily cross, and barriers that prevent the movement of certain categories of people and goods.[5] The impact of neoliberal globalization on states' borders is particularly evident in Europe. Since the 1980s, EU member states have intensified the construction of a common market where capital, goods, services, and workers can circulate freely.[6] The elimination of internal controls and the gradual communitarization of EU policies on economic, financial, and monetary matters have reinforced the developments of such a market.

However, the fulfilment of an internal borderless space required the parallel intensification of border controls and security mechanisms across and along EU external borders.[7] Practices of de-territorialization of mobility controls have alternated with re-bordering processes within and outside the EU.[8] The latter have manifested also through the creation of a well-rounded architecture of policies and laws to regulate incoming flows and fight irregular migration, often with dubious outcomes.[9] Rather than erecting an external fortress and blocking *a priori* any kind of migration movement from the outside, these security mechanisms and migration policies have engendered manifold "hierarchies of belonging [...] marked through the ranking of immigration status that positions mobile citizens in a globalized world."[10] In doing so, they have operated a meticulous selection "between the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving'"[11] along the lines of power, race and citizenship, ensuring the slow yet constant access of cheap labour force into the European space.[12]

In some cases, migrants and refugees are not simply the objects, or the victims, of European and national policies, but they may act

as active political subjects, negotiating, contesting, or resisting those same policies of bordering and exclusion. The unprecedented number of arrivals in Greece in 2015, for example, has put at stake the European border regime, initially pushing member states to open their borders to alleviate the flow, suspend security and migration dispositions, and relocate potential asylum seekers all over Europe.[13] Even at smaller scales, though, practices of negotiation, contestation, and resistance perpetrated by migrants and refugees against bordering mechanisms and policies can prove to be efficient.

Drawing from the Lefebvrian concept of production of space and its declination on border cities, this paper analyses the impact of neoliberal practices and migration policies on the spatial transformation of the border/port area of Patras, the third most populated city and third most important harbour in Greece. Driven by rapidly growing traffic figures, since the 1990s its port has undergone a significant expansion project in order to increase its capacity and intensify traffic connections from Turkey and the Middle East to Italy and the rest of Europe. The parallel increase of migratory pressures in Greece has made Patras a transit city for many migrants, who settled in the proximity of the port and found in the port itself an alternative escape route towards Italy. The logistical restructuring in Greece, along with the harsh economic crisis which hit the country in the late 2000s, made Patras a secondary commercial and migrant route, but still a crossroad of neoliberal, geopolitical, and migratory practices.

Taking insights from recent empirical research, this paper assesses the different processes producing, shaping, and creating their own spaces in the port area of Patras. Whereas logistic processes operate to reduce costs, distances, and times of commodity chains, migration policies put in place security measures that may slow down, or even threaten, the whole process of distribution and logistics. In this context, migrants and asylum seekers challenge these processes on a daily basis, occupying and producing their own "living space." Analyzing the impact of multi-scalar policies and practices in shaping the borderlands, this paper argues that borders are "meeting points" where global and local dynamics continuously meet and reproduce.

The concept of production of space and its application on border studies

Over the past twenty years, a variety of epistemological and methodological approaches have been employed to analyze and scrutinize borders. The first conceptual change in border studies occurred when borders began to be seen not simply as lines

demarcating a territory and dividing political entities, but as more complex institutions that reproduce power relations and mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion diffusely throughout societies.[14] This social constructivist shift from borders to border*ing* allowed researchers and scholars to analyze borders as "dynamic social processes and practices of spatial differentiation."[15] Moreover, a whole range of new disciplines has come into play in order to capture and critically examine the social proliferation of borders: border studies are no longer just a matter for international relation theorists and political scientists, but also for sociologists, economists, geographers, anthropologists, and ethnographers.[16]

More recent developments have focused on the necessity of grasping the practices of negotiation, contestation, and resistance that border subjects perform in order to experience, confront, or challenge bordering processes. In other words, the centre of attention has shifted from the analysis of top-down bordering activities to the comprehension of perceptions, representations, enactments of (and oppositions to) such activities carried out by border subjects. The main question here is not simply to understand where borders are located or how they manifest themselves, but rather how border subjects live, defy, and react to bordering practices. This new ontological approach has terminologically led to the concept of borderscapes,[17] while methodologically a renovated interest for ethnographic research has arisen.

The borderscapes concept works towards new configurations of political belonging "based on a novel concept of 'community' that is (re)defined by giving attention to the fluidity of nation-state borders and the complexity of experiences of those who live in them and/or across them."[18] Significant attention is dedicated to the personal experiences of border subjects and their representations of the border and, in a wider sense, of the political categories of citizenship and belonging.[19] Performative and participatory approaches are the preferred methods to collect and understand these experiences and eventually open up "new possible pathways towards novel forms of political participation."[20]

Although theoretically grounded and innovative, the borderscapes approach seems to have lost sight of those same processes that ultimately create and reproduce border practices. From a theoretical and methodological point of view, a question remains. Echoing Mezzadra, we might ask, "How can we develop a methodology capable of grasping [...] the common characteristics of global capitalism while at the same time allowing us to remain sensitive to the specificity of local contexts and differences [...]?"[21]

In this sense, I argue that looking at borders through the lens of the production of space could add intrinsic value to the borderscapes approach. Indeed, on the one hand it would allow us to seize the (various declinations of) socio-economic, political, and legal processes behind the production and reproduction of bordering practices. On the other hand, it allows us to capture the everyday practices of negotiation, contestation, and resistance that border subjects organize and perform. Methodologically, ethnographic research still represents a valid method, as these multiscalar processes and practices, although ascribable to the neoliberal process and securitization measures, may assume different declinations in different contexts.

The overarching and panoptic gaze on the city is certainly helpful in capturing not only the spatial patterns and textures shaped by capitalist relations over time, but above all the multitude of microbe-like practices and activities that challenge them on an everyday basis.[22] However, "walkscapes" might provide a more nuanced perspective on urban space and its multiple lives: "the mere act of walking in the street"[23] constitutes a simple yet powerful methodological tool to actively experience, rather than passively represent, urban space and the actors that live it. Moreover, empirically grounded research permits to analyze practices and policies as they unfold through different scales and actors, observing and capturing "the everyday practices governing (im)mobility and in/security at borders."[24]

The concept and study of space as a social product is a relatively recent approach in social sciences. It is only in the 1960s that a renovated interest for the topic took place in a wide variety of subjects.[25] Hence, philosophers, geographers, and social theorists have reasserted the social role of space in the analysis of capitalist development. The idea that space is a mere container of social, political, and economic interactions, seized by mathematicians and planners to exercise their influence and control, is here completely challenged.

One of the initiators of such ontological overturn is the French philosopher Henry Lefebvre, who investigated space not as a simple void, but rather as a social product, the result of social relations of production and reproduction. This approach entails that space in itself cannot exist: space is always bound up in time and social reality; it is historically and socially produced and transformed.[26] This conceptualization of space engenders renovated epistemological assumptions. As Lefebvre put it, "If space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production. The 'object' of interest must be expected to shift from *things in space* to the actual *production of space*."[27]

In the analysis of the process of spatial production, Lefebvre
identified three different but interconnected moments:

  a) spatial practices;
  b) representations of space;
  c) representational spaces.

Spatial practices can be defined as the "networks of interaction and communication as they arise in everyday life (e.g., daily connection of residence and workplace) or in the production process (production and exchange relations)."[28] It is the space perceived by different users, grasped through their senses: those same perceptions are nonetheless "based on a concrete, produced materiality"[29], as spatial practice "embraces production and reproduction"[30], "masters and appropriates" [31] society's space. Representations of space are "the dominant space in any society"[32]: it is the space conceived by "scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers" and shaped through images, conceptualizations, designs, and plans.[33] Representations of space are thus objective and abstract, but they have practical effects in the social and political context in which they operate. Spaces of representation pertain instead to the "symbolic dimension of space"[34]: it is the "space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, [...] the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate."[35] Indeed, representational spaces are related to the meanings and signifiers attributed to particular natural or artificial places, thus "express[ing] and evok[ing] social norms, values, and experiences."[36]

In the triadic process of production of capitalist space, the state plays a fundamental role. Such space needs indeed to be simultaneously homogeneous, as it must comply with the totalizing rationality of both capital accumulation and political unification, and fragmented, as it has to be divided and sold in lots and parcels to be controlled and to ensure its practical use. Indeed, the state has the necessary resources, techniques, and capabilities to organize space "on a grand scale," that is to build infrastructures, control energy production, manage computer and information technology, mediate multiscalar market relations, and regulate flows.[37] Moreover, it can strategically organize space in order to redistribute people and prevent oppositions, differentiate and hierarchize places, and control the entire system.[38]

Lefebvre's theoretical concept of production of space can provide useful analytical tools for the study of borders. His theoretical

framework, however, seems to focus on one side of the process: indeed, he analyses how capitalist relations have produced and moulded space, and how spatial relations have in turn affected everyday life, overlooking the potential pockets of contestation and resistance to this process. Even the representational space, although being a space "lived" by the subject and "embodied in his/her corporeality"[39], emerges as a passive space, shaped by capitalist relations and filled by the state with symbols and emblems to create a common sense of identity. Paraphrasing De Certeau[40], one could argue that Lefebvre's analysis focused more on the "strategies" employed by political and economic institutions to shape urban space and adapt it to their own needs, rather than on the "tactics" developed by users in their everyday life to escape, negotiate, or contest those strategies and reappropriate social spaces.

The feminist critique advanced by Massey might add a more fruitful perspective. In Massey's work, space assumes a more vivid and dynamic character: space is not (only) the product of capitalist relations unfolding over a certain territory and dominating the lives of people, but rather the product of a heterogeneity of multiscalar interrelations, the result of a "multiplicity of trajectories."[41] For Massey, space is socially constructed, but this construction is not fixed once and for all, but rather an "open ongoing production."[42] Space and time remain distinct, yet co-implicated: space is the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations and interactions at all spatial scales, from the most local level to the most global. However, "simultaneity does not mean stasis"[43]: given its nature, space is alive with a plurality of intertwining trajectories, and replete with a complex web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and cooperation. These different and multiscalar relations occur simultaneously over space. Processes of negotiation, contestation, and resistance between conflicting instances, therefore, happen on an everyday basis. Any critique of neoliberal globalization must thus take into consideration the specificity of the local in relation to the global, in order to engender a process of resistance that is politically effective.

Since borders have been de- and re-territorialized outside and within nation states, the necessity of grasping more nuanced manifestations of bordering processes and practices of border resistance has become more palpable.[44] As Reeves puts it, the study of the border requires simultaneously to "direct attention to the multiple sites in which a border comes to materialize" and "to think of space as inherently 'lively' – that is, as the always-provisional outcome of heterogeneous trajectories of people, things, and ideas."[45]

In this sense, applying the concept of the production of space to the study of borders aims at achieving a two-fold purpose. Conceptually, it enriches the theoretical concept of borderscapes by providing it with a socio-political framework that has chiefly contributed to the creation and proliferation of borders themselves. Methodologically, it allows borders and bordering processes to be conceived not simply as dominant institutions carried out arbitrarily from the above, but also as situated practices negotiated, contested, and resisted locally from below. In other words, it enables a more comprehensive understanding and analysis of neoliberal/security strategies and migrants' tactics, "hegemonic and counter-hegemonic imaginaries"[46], and lived and living spaces. In doing so, different yet connected moments of the production of borders can be identified: neoliberal practices and securitization measures create and shape their seemingly contradictory, yet mutually interrelated, spaces, while a whole range of actors mould their own "living space," negotiating, contesting, and resisting those same practices and measures.

The process of production of space in the port/border area of Patras

This paper takes into consideration the process of production of space in the port/border area of Patras, analyzing the three key moments identified by Lefebvre: spatial practices, representations of space, and spaces of representation that have created and shaped it. Although maintaining the same analytical structure, the three moments should be understood as interrelated parts of a comprehensive process that distinctively shape the port/border area of Patras.

This reconstruction draws from empirical research conducted in Patras between January and September 2015, involving participant observation and semi-structured interviews with professors of the University of Patras, members of the Port Authority, independent technicians and historians, members of the Hellenic Police and the Hellenic Coast Guard, social workers of local and national NGOs in Patras, the Interim Head of Department of training, quality assurance and documentation of the Greek Asylum Service (in Athens), and migrants and asylum seekers squatting the abandoned industrial area in front of the new port of Patras.

a) Spatial practices

Lefebvre defined spatial practices as a social web of spatial

relationships that produce and shape space for the sake of capitalism, creating a homogeneous system of networks, connections and interactions between elements and activities.[47] Following this perspective, the analysis of the spatial practices in the port/border area of Patras considers the historical, economic, and logistical reasons for its development, examines the relationship between the actors involved, and contemplates a cohesive reconstruction of the Greek socio-economic system and logistical networks. The unfolding and intertwining of these processes will eventually construe how space in Patras is produced and shaped in order to guarantee the constant circulation of capital.

Historically, the development of the port of Patras went hand in hand with that of the city. In the 1830s, the expansion of the village of Patras towards the sea favoured the elaboration of the first urban plan and the gradual enlargement of the port infrastructure. Until the turn of the nineteenth century, the port operated for the export of raisins, the main commodity of the region. With its decline, the port began to develop freight activities, serving the growing industrial needs of the city: paper mills, textile industries, and distilleries started to populate the industrial landscape in the southern part of the town, well connected to the port through the railway line. After the two world wars and the following Greek civil war, activities resumed in the 1960s when the first ferry lines to and from Italy began to operate, and the Adriatic Sea emerged as an important multimodal corridor for goods and passengers. It is only in the late 1980s that the port, despite its continuous expansion through the years, faced increasing traffic and environmental problems.

The block of the road traffic in the Balkans due to the war and the lack of decent road connections crossing northern Greece made Patras the only viable option for the traffic routes from Turkey and the Middle East towards Italy and the rest of Europe. Patras, therefore, became a nodal point in the Adriatic corridor, experiencing significantly increased demand, which worsened the environmental and traffic conditions within the city and led to the first discussions and projects for the relocation of the port. The construction of the new port in the southern periphery of the city began in 1996 and lasted fifteen years, officially opening in July 2011. Throughout this period, the port has almost completely abandoned freight activities and developed on a single-dimensional basis, as a RO/RO-PAX port for passengers and lorries. Since the mid-1980s, the process of de-industrialization had indeed struck a serious blow to the commercial activities of the port (as well as for the industrial development of the town and the region), leaving a ghostly industrial area now occupied

by migrants and refugees.

The construction of the port necessarily involved the improvement of the railroad and road network surrounding it. In this respect, Patras is a core project within the TEN-T network, transport networks identified by the EU as corridors of European interest, and therefore financed as priority projects. However, problems still remain. Despite the logistical improvements around the new port, well connected to the bypass outside the city, road connections with Athens in the east and Ioannina in the north remain difficult. Instead, the completion of the Egnatia Road in the late 2000s, a 670 kilometre long motorway connecting Igoumenitsa with Thessaloniki and the Turkish border, increased the traffic to and from the port of Igoumenitsa, which became a valid and quicker alternative for connections to Italy, slowly attracting international traffic from Eastern Europe, Turkey, and the Middle East.

As for the railway, Peloponnese historically suffered from having used a metric gauge, creating two different networks. Works are being carried out to replace the metric gauge with a standard one, but the railway connection from Athens is still far from reaching Patras, and there are ongoing discussions on where exactly to build the railway around and into the city. Regarding the connections with southern Peloponnese, the allocation of EU funds has been postponed, leaving the old existing railway abandoned, to the use of migrants and refugees living in the nearby industrial area.

The intertwining of multi-scalar geostrategic, economic, and logistical factors has significantly contributed to massive spatial changes in the port of Patras, first pushing for its expansion and then rearranging its reduced roles and functions. Driven by increasing traffic figures, generated by regional and national geopolitical and logistical changes, the port has undergone a significant process of expansion, in order to create a "spatial fix"[48] and facilitate the circulation of goods through the Middle East and Europe. The expansion of the port was supposed to engender relevant repercussions on the spatial redefinition of regional, national, and local networks, although the evolution of those same geopolitical and logistical processes has negatively affected the spatial role of the port of Patras in the network transportation, limiting its economic influence to the surrounding region, and cutting off its international traffic.

b) Representations of space

According to Lefebvre, representations of space are territorial subdivisions that a whole range of actors, from planners to bureaucrats

and policy-makers, exploit for the production and reproduction of capitalist relations. Maps, master plans, urban projects, and legal provisions contribute to division and fragmentation of space, in order for the bourgeoisie to buy and sell it, to conceive and design it, to dominate and appropriate it; in other words, to impose that 'order' on the relations of production needed for their reproduction.[49] The spatial division of the territory for a more efficient management of fixes and flows within it should here be understood as part and parcel of, rather than separated from, the same process through which capitalist development tends to erode barriers and homogenize space for the production and reproduction of capitalist relations. In other words, security measures and migration policies do not merely operate for the exclusion of the undesirable, but for the management and regulation of flows and the gradual inclusion of mobile populations within the European space in step with "the speed of absorption into the local labour markets."[50]

With regard to security in the port area, the main provision is the International Ship and Port Facility Security (ISPS) code, introduced by the EU directive 725/2004. This regulation defines the needs to control access to the port facility, carry out inspections, and check the substances transported, but each individual port facility has to assess the levels of importance and gravity of potential dangers. In the port of Patras, the first threat is illegal immigration. Despite being an intra-Schengen Area port, a whole series of controls are performed by several actors to prevent undocumented migrants from entering into the port facility.

The spatial fragmentation of the port area facilitates the division of labour among the various security forces. The new port is indeed clearly divided into three demarcated areas, each separated by a fence, where different policies apply and different, yet sometimes overlapping, authorities operate. The presence of a buffer zone between the national road and the restricted-access port facilities constitutes a strategic area of intervention for both the Port Police and the Port Authority security forces to prevent migrants from reaching the embarking area. Since this area is accessible to everyone, controls are less strict, yet highly racialized: migrants found in the area cannot be arrested, unless the security forces prove that they are attempting to go inside the port, but they are always intimated to go away. Along the national road that stretches outside the external fence of the port, controls are performed by the private security of the Port Authority and the Hellenic Police. While the former can intimidate migrants to stay away from the port area during busy boarding times, the latter can perform more thorough checks on migrants' documents and

enter the factories to hunt down irregular migrants. The ethnic and racial visibility of migrants, while facilitating the policing of European space,[51] make them fearful of walking freely down the street, being always subject to controls and document checks.

The actualization of security measures is also reflected in the implementation of migration and asylum policies. While the ISPS code produces a space replete with fences, security forces, and checkpoints, a whole architecture of laws and policies simultaneously operate to create other, less visible, borders, that nevertheless affect the everyday life of thousands of migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees. Migration and asylum policies often produce legal, bureaucratic, and even psychological barriers that, combined with security measures, reduce the speed of migration flows, allowing for a better management. These barriers are defied and overcome by some people, but turn out to be insurmountable to others who are forced to remain in Greece for years.

Migration and asylum policies in Greece reflect the European legislation which aims at fighting irregular immigration, expelling illegal migrants and bogus refugees, and providing formal protection to genuine refugees, but without granting access to proper legalization or asylum procedures. Before the implementation of the EU-Turkey deal in March 2016, migrants crossing the Greek-Turkish border via land or sea were identified and given a one-month non-renewable paper. If they had not claimed asylum by the deadline, they either should have left the country autonomously, or would fall into illegality. If they chose to remain and were caught in the Greek territory without valid papers, they could have faced up to six months of detention. Several human rights organizations and migrants themselves had denounced the difficult conditions of detention.[52]

With regard to asylum policies, since June 2013 the Greek Asylum Service has replaced the old system operated by the Hellenic Police, characterized by lengthy waiting times, minuscule recognition rates, and acute discriminations. Within the new independent Asylum Service, equally financed by both State and European funds, recognition rates have significantly increased and response times reduced. However, problems still persist and new barriers are erected, generating legal and social distinctions among asylum seekers.

International and local organizations have complained about the scarcity of dedicated offices, funds, and personnel, making the asylum procedure almost inaccessible. As of September 2015, only five offices were indeed operative for newly arrived asylum seekers,[53] while access to the Regional Asylum Office in Attica, the most important office at the national level, was often highly problematic. The lack of

personnel and the intermittent availability of translators meant that only a maximum of forty applications could have been lodged per day, while hundreds of people would queue every morning in front of the office and be forced to come back for several days or weeks in a row.

Moreover, the police still holds the responsibility for the examination of asylum applications submitted before June 2013. This disposition has created a twofold system, where older asylum seekers may have been waiting for an answer to their application for several years, while newcomers, with the exception of Syrians, usually have their claims processed in a few months' time. Since December 2014, Syrians with valid documents can indeed benefit from a fast-track examination procedure that lets them have an answer within the same day. Different procedures thus apply according to the applicant's nationality and to the period in which the asylum application was lodged, generating resentment among migrants themselves.

The modification or the implementation of new laws and procedures constitutes a powerful change for the lives of thousands of people. Old barriers are demolished, while new ones appear overnight, having important repercussions for migrants' lives. Whereas security measures create visible barriers to prevent unwanted migrants to cross certain borders, laws and policies produce a different space, filled with less manifest yet compelling barriers to regulate their entry. In the port of Patras, these spatial processes assume the form of two seemingly contradictory momenta: while multi-scalar economic and logistic factors are pushing for the expansion of the existing 'spatial fixes' and the demolition of barriers to the circulation of capitals and goods, a whole complex of mechanisms and law is erecting new barriers to guarantee the security of capitalist exchanges and regulate the slow admission of cheap workforce into the European labour market.[54]

c) The living space of migrants and refugees

Whereas hegemonic spatial practices and representations of space have leaned towards the reproduction and expansion of the capitalist relations of production, relegating undesirable people into confined and hidden spaces, migrants have transmuted those spaces into places of negotiation, contestation, and resistance against dominant practices. Hence, I discuss precisely how migrants have created and moulded their own "living space" over the years in the port/border area of Patras, despite the constant proliferation of bordering practices. Although considered as a precarious place, this "living space" is constantly filled with meanings, symbols, and desires.

Rather than having a passive and dominated nature, this space is the product of a multiplicity of networks and interrelations: migrants thus become active subjects, as opposed to mere objects, in the process of production of space.

The first migratory movements in Patras date back to the early 1990s. Kurdish and Iraqi refugees fleeing from the First Gulf War began to arrive in Patras, lodging in the abandoned train station of Saint Dionysus, just opposite the old port. Its occupiers could initially rely on local citizens and the Church for the provision of food or clothes, while the first routes towards Italy started to operate. The war in Afghanistan following the 9/11 terrorist attacks brought thousands of Afghans into Greece, and Patras in particular, considered the only possible escape route towards Italy and the rest of Europe, while the presence of Kurdish people began to decrease. The Afghans occupied one of the wealthiest areas around the old port, establishing a makeshift camp with its own organizations and rules. Inside the main self-organized camp, composed of about two hundred tents and sheds distributed haphazardly, the Afghans also built a mosque and a few shops, and some charismatic people were appointed to keep order within the camp and manage relationships outside it.

In 2007, the camp reached its largest numbers with about 1,500 occupiers, while hundreds of other Afghan refugees had settled in a small wood one kilometre north of the camp and the port. Citizens and institutions were harshly divided between the need to provide general assistance to the people in the camp and the fierce opposition to the camp itself. In 2009, after a first rejected attempt, a decision from the prefecture of Achaia achieved its purposes: On the early morning of the 12th of July, the police closed the main access routes to the port area and entered the camp. They cleared the whole area, evacuating or arresting its remaining occupiers, and eventually set it on fire. Most of the people living there already knew what was about to happen and had previously abandoned the place, either spreading into the city, going to other settlements around the port, or moving to the northern border with Albania or Macedonia.

However, Patras still remains a destination for several migrants and refugees even after the burning of the old camp. The first Sudanese and Somali refugees started to arrive in the late 2000s, settling at the beginning in the then-abandoned train station of Saint Andrew, and afterwards in the abandoned textile factory of Peiraiki-Patraiki, close to the southern entrance of the new port. Another small group of Sudanese migrants occupied a few shacks just in front of the exit of the new port. Afghan refugees moved into the southern part of the town only when the old port ceased its international operations:

the abandoned wood factory of AVEX now hosts mainly Hazara, whereas Tajik occupied the old paper mills of Ladopoulos. Contacts and exchanges among the various groups are nonetheless frequent, as all the factories are connected through the national road and the abandoned railway track that passes through them.

Whereas in capitalist societies spaces and times are continually destroyed and reconstructed according to the requirements of global capital, in the factories they are reappropriated and readapted to the everyday experiences and routines. As mentioned earlier, the factories have represented and contributed to the industrial development of the city over the twentieth century, before being dismissed following the global capitalist restructuring and the repositioning of the port and the city of Patras within the trans-European transport network. With the reoccupation of these abandoned spaces by migrants, the factories have become alternative places to temporarily live without having much money at their disposal, to seek refuge from police intrusions and develop new techniques of crossing the border, to express their art and creativity, and to build up solidarity networks among each other.

The factories constitute first of all a cheap alternative for those migrants who cannot afford to pay for their accommodation or for smugglers to other destinations. This characteristic made Patras a valid option for autonomous migrants willing to try their chances to sneak under a lorry towards Italy. For destitute migrants, living in a factory, combined with the possibility to independently cross the border to Italy, is thus better than living on the streets, renting a bed in overcrowded flats, or paying smuggler high prices to be carried through the Balkans.

The factories are also considered a safe place, where migrants can hide from police inspections. The vastness of the places, the presence of hidden passages and shortcuts, and the rear connections among the factories through the abandoned railway line allow migrants to hide easily or to readily reach other factories. Even during the everyday Tom-and-Jerry-like chasing activities between the police and the migrants (as some of them called it), taking refuge inside the factories or reaching the railway line where police cars cannot go means that they could avoid document checks and potential arrest as irregular migrants. The factories, however, are places that allow not only personal defence, but also collective offence. In this sense, the different spatial locations of the factories all along the area of the new port result in the creation and development of various, varyingly successful techniques to cross the fences of the port area or to sneak under a lorry.

The factories and their walls are also places where one can express their resentment against the authoritarian regimes in their countries of origin, as well as firmly criticize the violence of the EU border regime and the inhumane conditions migrants are forced to live in. Meaningful feelings of displacement and disembeddedness are indeed well depicted within the factories, in so far as temporary and sometimes inhospitable accommodation, through the constant use of visual arts and graffiti. The walls surrounding common areas are filled with writings and drawings, showing the migrants' attachment to the country of origin or their desire to leave the country as soon as possible. Ships and lorries are the most sketched subjects, often accompanied by stick figures in their attempt to sneak into their bellies, or by the names and dates of those who actually made it (or have tried to). Also poems, songs, and slogans are written everywhere in the factories, in Arabic, Farsi, and English.

Eventually, in the "living space" of the factories, cooperation and solidarity among migrants represent core values that the rational logics of capitalism seem to have forgotten. The partition into groups within the factories allows a better utilization of the few resources available and the division of labour according to a rotational basis. Every person can thus participate with little economic effort (or none at all, if they do not have money) to the provision of food for the group, and contribute in rotation to the preparation of meals. Common areas, such as the Veso B factory, a former wine distillery now almost completely razed to the ground, let migrants from all various groups relax, chat with each other while charging their phones through an illegal connection to the power line, or pray and play together, further developing a sense of team spirit. Solidarity also extends to those members that cannot join the group life, as it is the case of a Sudanese man who lost the use of his legs after an accident, and is now looked after by various group members. Moreover, migrants are generally sympathetic towards newcomers, who are initially not only welcomed inside the factories, but also taught the best techniques or places in order to reach the port area whilst avoiding risks and accidents.

If space is the main analytical concern of this article, time also requires a brief yet important mention, as these two categories cannot be conceptualized independently of each other.[55] In contrast to the temporal acceleration of modern life and the "time-space compression"[56] of global capitalist relations, in the factories time is marked by different velocities and rhythms, which shape the everyday lives of migrants. The biological and natural times, combined with the social and cultural times of their religious duties, create standardized habits and routines, as well as moments of closeness and togetherness

among migrants: the times of eating, sleeping, and praying structure the day. However, the slowness and repetition of daily routines might be suddenly and abruptly interrupted, and replaced by the frenzied and quite chaotic lapses when migrants prepare to approach the port area. In the early afternoon, the arrival of ferryboats in the port, and consequently, of lorries in the port area, prompts migrants to suspend the conviviality of lunchtime, frantically scattering across the factories and eventually heading to the port area in order to try their luck.

Time is also marked by the different temporalities created through migration and asylum policies.[57] The (il)legal status of migrants strongly conditions their everyday lives, creating long bureaucratic waits for some and frenetic accelerations for others. Those who have not applied for asylum, relying on the one-month paper provided during the registration at their arrival in Greece, are indeed more determined to sneak under a lorry and embark to Italy, as their precarious conditions relegate them into invisibility. On the other hand, those who have submitted an asylum claim might be stuck in the country for months or years, waiting for a response, which slows down their lives and dilutes their future expectations. Yet, some migrants have challenged these suspended times by reinventing themselves and inventing petty economic activities through which they sustain their lives on hold.

In conclusion, rather than constituting a generic and passive "lived space," the space produced by the migrants is filled with meanings and characteristics that put it in contrast with the spatial practices of economic and logistic rationalities and the representations of space implemented through policies, laws, and security provisions. Migrants have reappropriated those spaces that the capitalist development has abandoned in search of more remunerative and faster processes of accumulation. The deserted factories, the unused railway, and the port itself have thus been reconverted to other functions and meanings: from primary links within the industrial development of the city and the European transport network, to transit points within global migration flows that migrants exploit to defy bordering practices and attempt to reach their destinations. Practices of solidarity and commonality; sharing everyday activities; learning new escape routes and honing existing techniques; transforming the dreariness of the walls into drawings and poems; contriving self-sustaining employment independent from the logics of capitalist relations: in this sense, the factories represent an alternative living space counteracting the spatial practices produced by the economic and logistical configurations of global capital and the representations

Conclusion

Looking at borders through the lens of production of space could theoretically and methodologically enrich the borderscapes concept, as it would allow analyzing the various multiscalar processes that produce and shape borders. The evolution from the concept of border to that of border*ing* and eventually to borderscapes has been very helpful in capturing the everyday life at borders, with all its variegated experiences and representations. Over the last twenty years, indeed, borders have moved further away from the territorial boundaries of nation-states, proliferating throughout societies, and are now analyzed as mobile and changing institutions, performed by an increasing number of actors. However, in restricting the depth of field, the concept of borderscape has lost sight of the socio-economic framework that has generated the bordering process in the first place.

In this sense, this paper argues that borders are the "meeting point" of several simultaneous practices with intertwining spatial outcomes. Neoliberal policies, with their corollary of economic and logistic rationalities, tend to erode borders in order to accelerate capital circulation. Migration and security policies need to guarantee that capitalist relations unfold safely and without impediment; therefore they create borders and checkpoints to regulate and control the correct circulation of goods and workers. These policies and practices are not simply passively experienced by citizens and migrants, but negotiated, contested, and resisted at and across different levels. New counter-hegemonic practices create and produce alternative and lively spaces, challenging the dominant spatial practices and representational spaces.

The port/border area of Patras represents an interesting case study to analyze how such multiscalar policies and practices meet and reproduce. Driven by economic and logistical needs for expansion, since the early 1990s the port has undergone a massive process of spatial restructuring, which led to the opening of the new port in the southern suburbs in 2011. The logistics around the port and the city has also been improved, facilitating the connections between the new port and the external bypass. At the same time, the implementation of stricter security measures has led to the strengthening of controls and policing activities, in order to avert the first potential threat in the port area: irregular immigration.

Since the early 1990s, in fact, Greece has turned into an immigrant-receiving country, while Patras has become one of the

main destinations for migrants, who could escape the country through the port and head towards northern Europe. The first Kurds, followed by the Afghans in the early 2000s, squatted abandoned places in the proximity of the port, creating their own alternative and self-organized space, although in contrast with local citizens and authorities. With the opening of the new port, Afghans and newly arrived Sudanese migrants occupied a deserted industrial area just in front of it. Despite the difficult living conditions and the relentless desire to leave the country, migrants have arranged their own space, with non-written rules of commonality and solidarity, counteracting the hegemonic practices perpetrated by neoliberal and securitization policies. Being at the same time forcedly displaced from their countries of origin and excluded from the host society, migrants in Patras have constructed their particular sense of belonging to a place they consider temporary and sometimes hostile, yet developing practices of solidarity among themselves, and resistance against hegemonic practices.

This paper has argued that border studies can further develop through the use of the perspective of the production of space, which allows scholars to understand not only where borders are located, but also how bordering practices reproduce themselves and how border subjects negotiate and challenge these practices. The concept of production of space is therefore beneficial to capture the different multiscalar activities, performed from both above and below, which produce and shape border areas. The port/border area of Patras represents a tangible manifestation of the three key pillars in Lefebvre's theory and, as I would argue, a "meeting point" of these multifarious practices, policies, and activities. The paper nonetheless encourages further researchers and scholars to explore borders through such a lens.

Notes

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Displacement and Belonging: musical consumption and production among Malian Kel Tamasheq Refugees in Burkina Faso

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Abstract: This article discusses displacement and belonging by analysing the relationship between narratives and practices of consumption and production of music, and the (re)making of individual and collective feeling of belonging in a community of Malian Kel Tamasheq refugees in Burkina Faso. 'Being displaced' has a double-effect on how individual and collective subjectivities express themselves in relation to their feeling of belonging. On the one hand, forced separation from home fosters stronger feelings of attachment to activities perceived as essentially representing the population's traditions; on the other hand, novel contingencies make these cultural factors sometimes redundant or they are challenged by other practices and expressions of values. While taking care not to belittle the physical and psychological deprivations that forced migration entails, this article underlines the importance of transformative or reactionary processes of cultural making within a context of displacement. In doing so, it contributes to the literature on belonging by underlining dynamics of openness and boundedness, of contemporary destabilisation and re-stabilisation of individual and collective identifications, dynamics mostly visible in "grey zones" of change such as displacement. The first section situates the paper in relation to anthropological studies of forced migration; the second part reviews the literature on belonging, social identity and music. With an introduction to the methods and the context at the time of fieldwork, the third section presents the main findings in the following sub-sections: first, how dynamics of forgetting and remembering spurred by music shape feelings of belonging; and second, how the community conceives the traditional and *guitar genres* of Tuareg music, and what this entails for dynamics of the music's politicization. By presenting opposite trends (novel musical expressions and interests unrelated to what "truly" Tuareg music is considered to be, and the sporadic irrelevance of Tuareg music) the last section exemplifies how concurrent trends (conserving or transforming) coexist in the making of refugees' subjectivities.

Introduction

In 2012, the *Mouvement pour la Libération de l'Azawad* (MNLA), a Kel Tamasheq militarised group, chased the Malian army out from its northern territories and, on April 6, proclaimed the regions of the North to be independent from Mali; they constituted the new state of *Azawad*.[1] Coinciding with a *coup d'état* in the capital, Mali was led into chaos.[2] At present, turbulences and sporadic attacks continue to shake the region,[3] postponing a solid resolution to this crisis, and resulting in 134,262 Malians refugees in neighbouring countries and 36,762 internally displaced people.[4]

The 2012 outburst of conflict in the North of Mali was not an exception but an expression of a tense socio-economic and political relationship between the Tuareg[5] community and the state. This region has been characterized by socio-political fragilities; deficiencies of infrastructures and services; absence of the state which manifests its presence solely through national security forces and police; corruption; cultural misunderstandings and long-lasting tense relations between ethnic groups in the North.[6]

This article tackles debates on refugees, displacement, and belonging[7] by analyzing the nexus between narratives on consumption and production of music, musical events, with the (re)making of individual and collective identities in a community of Malian Kel Tamasheq refugees in Burkina Faso. It relies on findings gathered during my fieldwork in 2014 between Ouagadougou and the then nearby refugee camp of Sag-Nioniogo. By looking at ethnicity, nationalism, culture, and place as contextual products of the relation between social subjectivities and structures,[8] I argue that 'being displaced' has a double effect on how individual and collective subjectivities express themselves in relation to belonging. It fosters feelings of attachment to activities perceived as essentially representing the population's traditions and reinforcing a sense of collective belonging; simultaneously, novel contingencies make these cultural factors redundant, while leaving space for new practices. By no means denying the physical and emotional deprivations of displacement, this article analyzes expression of belonging by looking at patterns and narratives of musical production and consumption in the refugee community.

The article is structured as follows: the first section situates the paper in relation to anthropological studies of forced migration; the second part reviews the literature on belonging, social identity, and music. With an introduction to the methods and the context at the time of fieldwork, the third section presents the main findings in the following subsections: first, how dynamics of forgetting and remembering, spurred by music,

shape feelings of belonging; and second, how the community conceives the traditional and guitar genres of Tuareg music, and, what this entails for dynamics of music's politicization. Finally, the presentation of opposite trends (novel musical expressions and interests unrelated to what "truly" Tuareg music is considered to be, and the sporadic irrelevance of Tuareg music) reveals how the making of refugees' subjectivities entails concurrent processes of conservation and transformation. This article contributes to the literature on belonging[9] by underlining dynamics of openness and boundedness, of contemporary destabilization and re-stabilization of individual and collective identifications, dynamics mostly visible in "grey zones" of change such as displacement.[10]

Belonging and Displacement

Belonging is conceptualized as notions of identification together with shared values, practices, and social networks.[11] It is never a finite status, but it is always a work-in-progress, a play of negotiations between including and excluding dynamics. Being relational and contextual, "belonging to" concerns coexisting *de*rooting and *re*rooting processes[12] to which individual assign their own meaning. Belonging is intimately linked to distribution of power and politics.[13]

Commonly, "belonging to" alludes to a place, here conceptualized as a temporal and spatial bounded dimension, to which cultural meanings are attached.[14] Space, in turn, is a field of action and a trampoline for action. It embeds two mutually constitutive processes: first, its relativity and possibility to acquire significance rely on the location of the subject experiencing it and attributing meanings to it.[15] Second, "the production, practice, and power relations of space"[16] are themselves productive and liberated from individuals' agency. Spaces acquire different, contradictory, coexisting meanings.[17] Within this context, displacement acquires new understandings.

This paper draws mainly from an anthropological literature of forced migration,[18] where the relevance of this approach lies in gathering insights and subjects' perspectives that could not be revealed otherwise: "refugees must adapt to radically new social and material conditions. Documenting and interpreting the variety and diversity of human cultural phenomena is the work of anthropology."[19] The objectification of a displaced experience, present in mainstream understandings of forced migration,[20] is abandoned and replaced with a personal own experience of dispossession.[21]

A broad definition of refugee is adopted to avoid strict predefinitions of subjectivities. This paper adopts the following one: "those individuals who have been forced to migrate due to individualised or collective

persecution and/or cumulative discrimination and human rights abuses, in addition to those who may have migrated voluntarily and yet find themselves unable to return "home" in safety and dignity for a variety of reasons; this term also refers to the descendants of these individuals and groups."[22]

A strand of anthropological literature[23] deconstructs the assumption that the norm is a territorial and sedentary identity, interdependent with the nation-state. Within this "national order of thing" displacement *de*territorializes people and communities, making them rootless and depriving them of their individual and collective histories and politics. This paper contributes to the deconstruction of this assumption by displaying how Kel Tamasheq *re*territorialize in a condition of displacement by consuming and producing traditional[24] and novel musical patterns. Consequently, refugee camps are not absolute spaces but enmeshed within the surroundings.[25] Music is, in this article, the knot of junction between all these dynamics.

Identity, music and social change in Kel Tamasheq community

The literature[26] underlines the link between social identity and music: musical consumption and production creates spaces for (re)constitution or transformation of subjectivities. Musical contexts and subjects interlink with each other through musical practices defining, in these exercises, their on-going relation. The positionality of a person, that is the socio-economic and political space someone occupies in society, embeds internal and external feelings of identity,[27] intertwined, for example, with notions of race, gender, or nationalism.[28] Cultural and political processes influence (and are influenced by) musical expressions; in this mutual constructive relation the status quo is reinforced or questioned.

Music is both equally specific, by being inscribed within cultural meanings and language, and universal, by giving space to borderless emotional impacts and expressing continuous cultural interactions. No linear direction exists between identity and music genre - its orientations can be opposing (confirmation or evasion of someone's own identity).[29] The volatility of identity is expressed through the contextual nature of music production and consumption; the multidimensionality of musical experiences (whether in groups or individually, mainstream or alternative types, stimulating cathartic or emotionless feelings) presents how fluid and varied processes of identity-making are.[30] Importantly, music can be totally irrelevant to people's experiences and practices.[31]

In her research on social identity and music in Tuareg communities, Card underlines how specific musical instruments relate to determined socio-economic and political positions.[32] Tuareg society is articulated

around two main organisational lines: a caste system and a tribal/familiar system, which are further structured in political conglomerates. These rigid hierarchical structures revolve around matrilineal descent. The *anzad* (in southern Tamasheq dialect; also known as *imzad* or *anzhad*),[33] is a one-stringed bowed lute, and links to three imaginaries: the old Tuareg warrior culture and those systems of values embodied by the noble castes; love, gallantry, youth, and sensuousness; and ancient pre-Islamic beliefs connected to women's social power.[34] *Anzad* embodies the matrilineal nature of Tuareg society, and due to its sacredness, only women can play it. The *tende*, a traditional drum, allegedly originated in, and is representative of, the vassal caste. In the 1930s its popularity spread, following the growing power of the caste.[35] With increasing ethnic consciousness developing during the twentieth century, the *tende* became a symbol of Kel Tamasheq ethnic uniqueness. The *teherdent*, a three-stringed lute, represented the progressive integration of Kel Tamasheq communities in urban centres. As it was not an originally Tuareg instrument and its sound was similar to other non-Tuareg instruments, the *teherdent* created a space for exchange and communication between Kel Tamasheq and other groups.[36] Through music the Kel Tamsheq community was able to continuously reconstruct its own understanding of belonging; the *anzad* and the *tende* expressed the Tuareg sense of ethnicity, the *teherdent* showed their adaptation to urbanised centres.

Card's focus is on traditional Tuareg music in a period when diversions from it were springing up in Malian Tuareg migrant communities in North Africa. One strand of literature[37] analyzes the relationship between a migrant's community and music, during multiple processes of re-structuring of individual and collective identities. Migrant communities catalyse processes of cultural reproduction and innovation. Due to its emotive and symbolic power, 'place-making' is also constituted by musical production and consumption: a space where cultural patterns are reproduced, ensuring a cultural continuity with the past, and transformed, creating new spaces for confrontation between migrant and receiving communities.[38] Migratory patterns are not monolithic, and neither are migrant communities, nor are musical productions; music enhances spaces for identity (re)formulation and confrontation of different coexisting subjectivities.[39]

A new Tuareg genre, developed during the 1970s and 1980s , was labelled *revolutionary* music, or *guitar* music, and consisted of a fusion of traditional beats and sounds with electric guitar. It originated in communities of young migrants who moved to Algeria and Libya in search of better economic prospects.[40] This music, initially outlawed by Mali because of its strongly politicized nature, represented the *ishumar,* the unemployed (from the French word *chômeur*). It discussed the

ishumar's condition of economic precariousness and the discrimination they faced in receiving communities. The music symbolised the Kel Tamasheq's cultural revolution of the 1980s, *Teshumara,* which was founded upon nostalgic imaginaries praising Tuareg traditions.[41] In this case music clearly played with concepts of memory, nostalgia, and exile - constructive forces shaping subjects' perceptions of themselves and their community. The endless negotiation of these concepts creates new practices and systems of values which potentially become features of new traditions,[42] as it did, according to Rasmussen,[43] in communities living in Niger where *guitar* music was associated with Tuareg cultural memories.

From *Teshumara*, the revolutionary *Tanekra* movement blossomed, and from that, the revolution of *Al-Jebha* (1990-1996).[44] Prior to and during the rebellion, *guitar* music became an effective tool for political mobilisation. It travelled across the Sahara, crossing checkpoints in the form of cassettes. Its messages, hardly understandable to non-Tamasheq speakers, preached the unity of the Tuareg and their independence from Mali. *Teshumara,* and *guitar* music, were not only about opposing Mali and envisioning a Kel Tamasheq state across the newly formed states, but also reframing power-structures within Tuareg society.[45] In this case, musical production and consumption embeds conceptions of ethnicity and nationalism as contextually bound, reframing and mirroring overarching socio-economic and political processes. Historical specificities, both in the origin and receiving countries, enhanced processes of continuous re-formulation of what it meant to be Tuareg.[46] Consequently, strict categorizations such as Card's should be handled with care.

Musical expressions in Ouagadougou and Sag-Nioniogo

The following analysis relies on data gathered during intensive but short-term fieldwork from the July 1st to August 5th 2014. I was hosted by a refugee family belonging to a high caste in Ouagadougou. Through a journalist working on Tuareg music, I contacted an internationally famous traditional Kel Tamasheq musician (for the sake of anonymity, she will be called Aisha). From the first email, where I explained my project, Aisha welcomed me into her family and offered me her help in conducting the research. Her personal involvement in music undeniably influenced my fieldwork, providing a greater number of traditional musical encounters.

As a result of establishing a good relationship with Aisha, I was able to gain quick and easy access to the Kel Tamasheq population in the city and the camp due to Aisha's standing as a well-known figure in her home community (as a member of the noble caste of *Kel Ansar* in Timbuktu) and in Burkina Faso (as the president of the women refugees). However,

the access she provided allowed me to address a relatively homogeneous population in relation to social and economic status.

I conducted 26 unstructured interviews (12 women, 14 men; 15 in Sag-Nioniogo, 11 in Ouagadougou) where refugees' daily activities (dietary and fashion habits, collective and individual activities) and their individual and collective understandings of Mali, northern Mali/ Azawad, and the Tuareg population (in and outside Mali) were discerned. Alongside unstructured interviews, the data gathered was enriched by informal conversations and participant observation. The latter enabled me to uncover how practices integrate or discard narratives, and how the two relate and influence each other.[47] The longest observation period was spent in Ouagadougou with my host family in their social environment. My interest revolved around daily routines (of which my host family became the point of reference), and people's movements in and out of their houses.

I spent a total of nine days in the camp, walking around, conducting interviews, drinking tea at people's tents, and participating in three main events: a meeting between the organizers of the camp and the Assembly of Male Refugees (4/07/14); the monthly distribution of food by UNHCR (16/07/14); and the second-day of 'Aid al-fitr, the celebration at the end of Ramadan (29/04/14). Nineteen of the 26 interviews were held in French, for which I did not require a translator. The remaining interviews were held in Tamasheq; four of which were translated by Aisha, and for the remaining three I worked with a young refugee in Sag-Nioniogo.

The fieldwork was conducted between Ouagadougou and the then nearby refugee camp of Sag-Nioniogo, 35 km North of the capital. I chose this area due to three main factors: the insecurity of conducting fieldwork in other countries hosting Kel Tamasheq refugees; the stability then characterising the south of Burkina Faso; and the large community of Kel Tamasheq in the refugee camp.[48]

The 95 families in Ouagadougou had houses subsidised by the Burkinabé state and were mainly from high caste or military backgrounds. The 299 refugees[49] are split between the north and the south of the capital, (the southern part being generally richer than the northern area). I lived in the southern neighbourhood of Azimo. The days were usually spent at home (of my host's residence or the residence of her friends/relatives), chatting about events happening back in Mali and drinking tea. A large portion of Ouagadougou inhabitants strongly supported independent nationalist armed groups fighting in Mali; many of them, especially those in Ouagadougou, were managing or actively contributing to the rebellion. Unofficially, Ouagadougou's families were composed only of women, children, and elders, as the men were rarely present and only came back once in a while.

Founded in the 1990s during the then Malian crisis, Sag-Nioniogo refugee camp was reopened in 2012 for the same purpose. During my fieldwork it was hosting 1,835 people, of whom 75,42% were Tuareg.[50] Many families had experienced the two conflicts from this camp. The geographical provenance of refugees was distributed as follows: 66.59% from the northern regions; 9.83% from the centre of Mali; 3.54% from Bamako; and 19.95% from unspecified areas. The majority of them were unemployed (44.25%), and the remaining refugees were students (24.63%), shepherds and herders (2.45%), artisans (14.28%), domestic workers (4.25%), and those whose occupation remained unspecified (10.14%) (UNHCR 2015b).[51] The camp was managed by staff from the *Commission Nationale Pour les Réfugiés* (National Commission for the Refugees – CONAREF) together with the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM) was also present. Sag-Nioniogo was closed in March 2015 because of a lack of resources.[52]

The camp, 35 km away from the capital, was an open-site with no fences or walls surrounding it. A small portion of the refugees commuted daily to Ouagadougou to find jobs. The few activities in the camp were mainly self-organised by the refugee population (e,g. school and music classes, football matches, soap-making activities). There were also opportunities to work with humanitarian agencies (e.g. translating). People found leisure in drinking tea in each other's tent, participating in assemblies, or visiting their relatives in Ouagadougou.

The urban and the camp's refugees interacted daily, with family members visiting each other, going between the camp and the city for periods of a couple of days or even weeks. They relied on each other, especially for food or money (urban refugees bringing commodities such as tea, powdered milk; the female committee organised a monthly collection of money to give to female refugees in the camp). The movements of people were proportional to the socio-economic position of each family, and extended beyond the Ouagadougou/Sag-Nioniogo route, and inside and outside Burkina Faso - between the Burkinabé camps and cities, to other countries (Mali, Niger, Nigeria, etc.).

Being near to the capital permitted Sag-Nioniogo's inhabitants to usufruct a wider range of services and support from urban refugees. Due to this continuous interdependence, I do not consider the two fields and populations as two completely distinct entities, although urban refugees had a privileged position due to their social and economic status in the community and the greater help given to them by the Burkinabé state.

In the tents in Sag-Nioniogo and in the courtyards in Ouagadougou, talking about music cheered my informants. They triggered a wide range of sentiments in people by providing a space of evasion and reflection on

Between remembering and forgetting

While being an escape from boredom and a leisure activity, music was also a remedy, a space of evasion, oscillating between remembering and forgetting an individual and collective past. It was a practice from which people acquired different enjoyment and social status, creating a link between life in Mali and the present, healing the sadness of being far away from home, as well as providing feelings of belonging to a community which was united by this traditional activity (among others). Listening to or practicing music everyday crafted a sense of perceived continuity with the past.

In my informants' accounts, traditional music held an important place in their community's history: "If traditional music is lost, [we have] lost a part of the Tuareg culture, cultural heritage" [53] (Ouagadougou, 07/07/14). Being a cultural artefact, music had to be practiced to be protected, and celebrated to be known. A part of Tuareg cultural identity depended on its survival. This sense of belonging to a cultural identity, acquired through listening to music, had a restorative power to a large portion of my informants: "If you do not listen to music within a month, you will be sick. So you have to listen to music three, four times a month" (Ouagadougou, 04/07/14). This necessity was usually fulfilled by mobile phone recordings of past regional festivals or tracks from CDs by famous or local Kel Tamasheq music bands. Anyone with access to internet on their phones had a wider range of choices. Music allowed a space for memories of past events, imaginaries of a Tuareg community set in the past, in the territory of Mali.

Sometimes these recordings were played in groups, other times by individuals sitting by themselves. Aisha's cousin, a middle-aged woman who lived her life herding animals in the outskirts of the desert, used to isolate herself with a phone to listen to traditional instrumental music. In accordance with Card's claim that instrumental music was typical among pastoral groups,[54] the relevance of music for her did not centre around its reminiscent qualities: "[music] gives you a lot of pleasure and it makes you forget a lot of things, so it is important. And it is a tradition" (Ouagadougou, 01/08/14). Here music is an enjoyable activity which allows the subject to recollect his/her specific Tuareg tradition, which has survived over time and place despite the odds. However it does not facilitate remembering, on the contrary, it allows the subject to forget past events.

The link between obliterating the past and connecting the present appeared several times during the interviews, both in the camp and the

city: "[music] permits to us to forget to think, it permits us to forget what has happened to us. So we cannot live without it" (Sag-Nioniogo, 08/07/14). The importance of music here is first to stop thinking, to stop pondering about a historical collective and biographical condition. Consequently, and similarly to the previous account, music provides a safe space where past memories cannot surface. Which kind of events have to be forgotten? Three viable, and potentially coexisting, options arise: first, past collective and individual traumatic events linked to conflict and displacement; second, biographical loss of life in Mali; third, the present conditions of deprivation in Burkina Faso.

Music (re)shapes feelings of belonging in two ways; by reinforcing a sense of belonging to a Tuareg culture, and by allowing a space for the re-creation of identity on the basis of forgetting painful events. Through musical consumption, time conflates into the present through a conscious attempt to forget the past; it allows for the present to be absolute (by not remembering the past) and void (by not thinking). In this suspension of time, present conditions can be dealt with and no clear separation between individual and collective reminiscence can be extracted.

This shift from remembering to forgetting also boosted feelings of nostalgia and sorrow for what it was lost, individually and collectively:

"Sometimes, you sit down and you listen to some music which reminds you of your country, your brothers and sisters and you are saddened and you cry. You think about the people who are deceased" (Sag-Nioniogo, 08/07/14).

This quote is from a young female refugee living in Sag-Nioniogo, originally from the Timbuktu region, where she was raised living a sedentary life, and is now divorced with a child and working with the institutions managing the camp. In her account, music consumption is not entangled with collective Tuareg identity, but relegated to the private sphere. Through reminiscence, dear losses surface. However, this does not happen with all types of music, only with "some music" —that which she identified with instrumental traditional music.

This nostalgic and painful effect was widespread in the community, but not all of the community lived through it in the same way. Depending on each person's own biography different styles of music had different effects. For example, one day, I found Aisha at home with some women, a male host and a couple of children watching old videos and recordings of Aisha's music performances in the 1990s. The videos showed her playing in Bamako with old friends, who later became members of Tinariwen, a band of *guitar* players who fought during the 1990s, now the most internationally recognised Tuareg band. They were laughing at funny episodes from her youth, remembering first gigs in Bamako, and applauding Aisha's beauty. They forgot where they were and plunged into

their personal, but also collective, memories. The emotional strength
of *guitar* music for my host was too strong: when a song started, Aisha
would suddenly become extremely emotional. She explained she could
not face the great loss of friends, of familiar places devastated by the
war, the impossibility to play freely for her people, the passing of time. In
that outburst of sadness, music revealed to her the current condition of
herself and her community. In these accounts, music, whether traditional
or *guitar,* had considerable emotional impacts on people, despite their
individual differences (e.g. caste, genre, generation, being a urban or
camp refugee), and it was linked to feelings of belonging, whether
through remembering, suppression, or nostalgia.

Live music: its centrality in everyday life as well as in the Aid al-Fitr celebration

Music was not only reproduced by electronic devices, but played and
learned by new generations. One day, in Sag-Nioniogo, while waiting for
tea, I noticed a boy outside a tent playing a sort of guitar. I turned around
and asked my companion of the day, a young musician, what instrument
he was playing. It was a home-made *thenderet*. The boy had made it
himself with objects he had found—a plastic bottle, sticks from trees,
and strings. I discovered that he was a student of the musician I was
speaking with, who taught children to play Tuareg music in the camp.
He told me they made their own instruments, for example the *tende,* the
drum, which was usually made using plastic containers. Learning music
was important to the children, the young musician continued, not only
because it occupied some of their time, but also because it made them
aware of their culture and allowed them to reproduce it.

   In Ouagadougou, I noticed that playing the electric guitar was quite
popular among teenagers and young people. Talented performers gained
a social status. Although not a traditional Tuareg instrument,[55] the
electric guitar became part of recent Tuareg political imaginaries:

   "Among us [Tuareg], music [*guitar*] is very important because it
contributes especially, after the revolution [pause] I see it a bit like the
blues in the United States, revolutionary for the people, young people
listened to music, it pushed them to look for freedom, to fight for their
freedom" (Sag-Nioniogo, 18/07/14).

   In this informant's account, a young educated man living in the
camp, music praised collective unity, liberation and free expression of
the Tuareg identity.[56] It had strong symbolic power for young people who
proudly displayed their art by use of the *guitar,* affirming a social status
when able to perform.

   After a day of interviewing a high-rank figure in the community,

a noble *Kel Ansar* from Timbuktu, the interviewee left to run some errands. I was free to stay in his house with my translator and the family. As soon as he left, his oldest boy, approximately 15 years-old, approached me and waited until the translator introduced him as a very good *guitar* player. With this introduction, the young musician timidly told me that almost every night he would sit on the street, outside the front door, and play while his Tuareg neighbours would come around to cook tea. The electric guitar, and its familiar sounds, attracted people and created a convivial space, a bridge between the past life in Mali and the refugees' current one in Burkina Faso and a link between generations—those who lived through the 1990s rebellion and the youths who grew up with the celebration of revolutionary music. In these ways, musical production opened a channel for remembering old and new traditions through learning instruments and playing music. Simultaneously, music was a way to find collective amusement, escape from everyday boredom, and acquire a special role within the community: "a young *guitar* player" as he was presented to me by the translator. Playing music (in this case *guitar*) was no longer merely the domain of those belonging to the specific caste of musician,[57] nobles could enjoy music and acquire social status from it. Moreover, this case is in line with Bardelli's findings,[58] that music can here establish a space for "normal" activities which cannot necessarily find explanation in the contestation or victimisation of the refugee status.[59]

Music did not only permeate everyday moments, but also the extraordinary ones. My fieldwork began during Ramadan, so I participated in the *Aid al-Fitr,* three days of celebration signalling the end of the fasting period. This occasion necessitated a great festivity that included music. At the end of the first day, after having paid visits to relatives and friends' houses in Ouagadougou, Aisha brought the women of the family and me to a compound where MNLA officials and their counterparts were celebrating. While men were sitting outside, drinking tea and eating, loud music came from inside the house. Women had made some space in the room, putting all furniture aside, to prepare the dance floor. Five women, both young and old, were dancing, clapping and whistling to the *guitar* music. A feeling of euphoria reigned in the room and pro-Azawad slogans were sung louder than music.

This religious celebration provided an occasion to reinforce collective feelings of belonging to a group, and music was the medium for this shared emotion. Moreover, in this case, the cultural-religious side was tightly intermingled with the political, and crafting of a national identity.[60] Celebrating the Tuareg's political struggle by dancing to revolutionary music and pro-Azawad chants sealed a nexus between collective identity and specific ideas of what it means to be Tuareg and what it means being

independent from Mali. However, this strongly politicized feature of musical experience was circumscribed among MNLA militants and their families who, in this case, were from noble castes and had consistent social and economic capital.

At the same time, young refugees were celebrating with both traditional and guitar music until three in the morning. At Sag-Nioniogo, the *Aid al-fitr* celebration had been organised with great care because of its religious importance as well as the existing restrictions of collective gatherings in the camp. Indeed, all types of festivities had to be allowed by the institutions managing the camp, but planning and deciding how to celebrate in advance was necessary to obtain permission.

A few weeks prior to the festival, the Women's Committee organised an assembly where the *Aid al-fitr* was discussed. What came out of this meeting was that the second of the three days of celebration was going to be dedicated to the women of the camp, for whom a shared lunch and musical performance with traditional *griots* was to be organised. The idea of this festivity thrilled people in the camp, and so did the anticipation of a live concert. The decision to organise a musical performance was very important; from a symbolic point of view, this was deemed to be a great activity to celebrate an important event, at both the individual and collective levels, from a practical point of view, it was an entertaining event, and from an economic one, it was well thought-through decision, as the oil to run the generator and the speakers was to be provided by the refugees themselves. They had to invest parts of their savings in it, a decision which was highly relevant at a time when the monthly portion of rice was decreased from ten to four kilograms per person per month.

On the day of the celebration, we arrived early at the camp. We reached the location designated for the party, a place under the trees just outside of the tent of Aisha's aunt. At noon, a young boy arrived with the generator and the speakers from the night before, and started playing a mix of traditional and guitar music. Some young and middle-aged women stood up to dance, while other accompanied them with clapping. After lunch, three traditional *teherdent griots* wearing traditional dresses came. In accordance with Card's description of *teherdent* performances,[61] it was light, convivial entertainment, not a recitation of heroic poems as it had been since the 1960s. The first *griot* held the scene for a while by performing a solo, then the other two joined in and it was time to dance. Two female couples sat in the middle of a circle facing each other and started a sitting dance by moving their torso, arms, and head in accordance with the beats and sounds of the *teherdent*. Their dancing was accompanied by clapping and whistling. The rhythm of the music was constituted of repeated sounds and tones, allowing for sudden improvisations,[62] also in accordance with the different couples of women

dancing. The performance lasted two hours.

Its beats and suddenly high-pitched notes created a sort of trance-inducing music. A strong collective feeling exploded and as one informant told me: "when we play traditional music we lose control" (Sag-Nioniogo, 30/07/14). This episode enhanced two dynamics: it reinforced the link between religious and cultural practices in the Kel Tamasheq community, and it also connected the past, understood as "ethnic" manifestations of traditional instruments, music, dances and so on, to the present condition of being a refugee.

Music and current politics

Within the community, traditional and revolutionary music symbolised various things. Some people differentiated neatly between the two, while others did not. The distinguishing factor in discussions revolved around the political nature of both. Although traditional music generally represented the nomadic and pastoralist world, and its socio-economic and political order, many of my informants did not see any difference between the two *genres*: they both represented the Kel Tamasheq community and they both discussed the same issues at different times. As one young informant said "*Ishumar* [revolutionary] and traditional [music] are the same thing, they talk about society and love" (Ouagadougou, 23/07/14). Indeed, these two types of music both represented the needs and desires of their society.

Due to the oral tradition of Kel Tamasheq culture, traditional songs and poems transmitted the community's values from one generation to another, ensuring a continuity of moral values preached to be "truly Tuareg."

"Indeed, this is not a special type of music, the revolutionary music. If you know that since old times music in the Tuareg community was a message of war. It was poetry, the penal code which was represented by music. To a man who does despising acts, there is a song, it is a torture to listen to a song which denigrates you, the man who beats his woman. So music always had this side [of setting moral standards]" (Ouagadougou, 13/07/2014).

This continuity of values made the traditional and *guitar* genres intimately linked. This perspective was mainly supported by the older generation who had not taken part in the previous rebellion and the younger generation not directly involved with political armed groups in Mali.

Conversely, people who had actively participated in the rebellion of the 1990s, and who had been migrants in Libya and Algeria before, saw an intrinsic difference between the two *genres*. Traditional music was

associated with "traditionally-made" instruments and the absence of the electric guitar. The main themes dealt with by this type of music were the nomadic life, pastoralist-related topics and love, understood as a political themes. The *revolutionary* music, conversely, witnessed the introduction of the electric guitar, and the spread of a politically-charged message. This theme was extremely relevant, especially as being in Burkina Faso allowed combatants and high-ranking persons to go back to Mali anytime. A high profile combatant who had participated in the 1990s rebellion and in the latter rebellion, described to me the fundamental role music played in fomenting and supporting the rebellion:

"[the music] played a huge role in the revolution [...] it became like a message to all the Tuareg who listened to it. It played a huge role because the musicians, they are militants like us" (Ouagadougou, 15/0714).

According to some informants actively supporting or even engaged in the independence movement's claims, *guitar* music was the music of the revolution, it was a re-reframing of the old honour and nobility of Kel Tamasheq knights into present day freedom fighters who aim to combat against inequality and injustice. In these narratives, music gave power to these struggles, while the traditional genre represented an old-fashioned, almost folkloristic system:

"[traditional music] is older [...] You see the fighters there [in Northern Mali], this [the *guitar* music] is what it gives them strength, it talks about revolution, love, love for the parents. The Tuareg music is extremely important" (Sag-Nioniogo, 2014).

This was the main narrative they wanted to present to an outsider like myself, as it related to historical Tuareg micropolitics, as the following section will show.

During my fieldwork, I noticed that a large portion of the population I met was listening to Tinariwen. Although they were criticised by traditional players for diverging too much from old musical styles and predominantly playing at international concerts, their music nevertheless managed to permeate the community. When I arrived in Burkina Faso Tinariwen's album *Emaar*[63] had just been released. While travelling through the capital in different cars belonging to refugees (mainly independence supporters), I became familiar with this music as the majority of refugees were playing it in their cars.

Their music denounces the political deprivation of the population, as well as underlining its inner fragmentation. During one interview I discussed Tinariwen's song *Toumast Tincha,* literally meaning "the people have been sold." This song, I was told, refers to those Tuareg who decided to side with Mali. This is seen as a terrible action against the unity of

the Tuareg, especially in the community in which I lived in, where the majority were active members or supporters of MNLA. The people I stayed with were mainly from the noble caste of the *Kel Ansar* tribe. Claiming their origin back to the Prophet, it is one of the main political conglomerates, which has maintained its power for many centuries, in part by cooperating with the colonial powers. During decolonisation, a part of the *Kel Ansar* supported an idea that would create a French Tuareg protectorate in the Sahara to avoid becoming part of Mali. Their suggestion was not fulfilled; since independence, they have had to negotiate their political position in the Kel Tamasheq community and in Mali.[64] MNLA can be seen as a manifestation of how new generations are living through these negotiations and the political claims they support; establishing an autonomous multi-ethnic state in the North of Mali to recreate a space where "being Tuareg" is not a stigma and power-relations are reset.

In this refugee community, the cooperation that some Kel Tamasheq built and nourished with Mali was an outrage to their group unity. One song, as one informant told me, hinted at a specific political figure: General ag Gamou, Chief of the *Group Autodéfense Touarerg Imghad et Alliés* (GATIA), who since the 1990s sided with the newly-formed African state. According to my informant, his affiliation was driven by personal thirst for power and money which Mali's support could grant him, and therefore he did not deserve any type of respect.

To understand more clearly how music represents this political order, it is important to see who Ag Gamou is and what he stands for. Ag Gamou was an exponent of the *Imghad* caste, the vassal caste which had been independent but subordinate to the noble, religious, and military castes. He sided with Mali during the second rebellion in the 1990s and called for a power-redistribution in Kel Tamasheq society which triggered violence and turbulences from 2006 to 2009.[65] The tensions between *Imghad* and *Kel Ansar* reflected power-negotiations in the community. Where does music fit into this context? There are two possible readings, that are conceivably coexistant. On the one hand, Tinariwen's song denotes a fracture within Kel Tamasheq community based on disputes around the caste system's distribution of power. On the other hand, if the condition of exile allows for a re-articulation of belonging, and if the refugee community I met submits to the idea of collective identity held by Tinariwen, *tumast,* it hints at casteless conceptualisation of their idea of Tuareg political community, in favour of a more homogeneous image of it. In this latter understanding, and in disagreement with Card,[66] music is not a promoter of the traditional caste-based system[67] but of a trans-caste political belonging. Indeed, I heard many narratives depicting this refugee community as part of this Tuareg *tumast* and not of a particular

caste. Unfortunately there is no space for further discussion of this theme here, and, most importantly, as caste was a very sensitive issue and very difficult to observe in this community's everyday life, this reading should be understood as only referring to refugees' discourses, rather than to be taken as a definitive statement.

Traditional songs can also be understood as highly political: *afous afous*, meaning "hand in hand", symbolises unity and support of each other. Aisha's band performs this song. She told me how much the Tuareg community needed to stick together, whether in the refugee camps or back home, in order to confront their difficult situation. We discussed another song *Iya Henyia*, that dealt with a similar theme and made her emotional: " brothers and sisters of Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Algeria, Libya, we take each other's hands to be together because the union is strength and the only independence that comes with it is the economic independence. So they [Tuareg] prefer working rather than fighting" (Ouagadougou, 10/07/14). As a musician, who has played since the 1990s in her band, Aisha had a strong attachment to music, but she did not recognise herself as a musician. Rather she was a promoter of her community's culture and cause.[68] Her social and political engagement led her to assume prominent social positions within the Kel Tamasheq community while giving traditional Tuareg music concerts at the international level. Music had always been her tool to raise international awareness of the crisis in Northern Mali, and therefore a tool for change: "music is my fight."

New musical interests and the irrelevance of music

It would be misleading to think of this refugee community as only listening to Tuareg music. By living in a family, I mingled not only with adults but also with younger generations who identified with other types of music.[69] The eldest daughter of my host, who was between 15 and 18 years old, discovered other types of music by joining non-Tuareg communities. Hanging around and going clubbing, she listened to Western African music. Western music was also of interest to her, and she listened to it mainly on the internet or on the satellite TV. At the end of my fieldwork we exchanged songs from our computers and the music she gave me ranged from guitar, to Arab, to Western music. Her friends, with whom I spent some time with, shared her varied tastes in music.

Rap was also a very prominent genre. One day she proudly made me listen to one of her cousins who is producing rap music and posting it on YouTube. She was also rapping. One night, just after dinner, she performed a song she wrote herself. The song was about the Malian Tuareg community, the harshness they experienced and the ongoing

discriminatory treatment. I could understand only a quarter of the song because, after the initial part in French, she switched to Tamasheq. In this way, she reconfigured Kel Tamasheq issues in a new frame, within rap music, and retrieved cultural (by way of language) and political (by the theme) topics dear to her community.

However sometimes music is not relevant at all, but merely a trivial aesthetical practice which can be avoided given the difficulty of the everyday. One day Aisha led me to the tent of her cousin who was a former combatant in the 1990s rebellion. He welcomed me to his family and we had a long conversation. When I approached the theme of music in his culture, I expected him to celebrate its mobilising and symbolic power, but his reaction was different. He was almost irritated by my question and, with his hand spread wide open, he showed me his tent and what his wife was doing. She was shunting rice from beans to determine the exact proportion of their food supplies and to ration them better for the coming month. He asked me how they could care about music when there was no food to give to his children, to his father? The point was clear and simple to grasp, music was irrelevant for him at that moment in his life.

I came across similar positions towards music held by other people I interviewed. The following quote summarises these feelings well:

"Tuareg before, they played music all day, men and women met to play music and there was nothing bothering them. Now they do not bother anymore, which party can they do? If [only] we had some rice, [we eat rice] without the sauce, some do not even eat. So if we would have something to eat we would party" (Sag-Nioniogo, 17/07/14).

Two final considerations can be made at this point. First, a divide can be found between urban and camp refugees: the former, with their privileged position, would enjoy music and celebrate it as a traditional or political activity; the latter, more constricted by scarcity of resources, would sometimes understand music as irrelevant to their status. However, the distinctions between the two are contextual and dependent on the individual in question. The second consideration is that, despite the many adversities of displacement, the importance that music held in this community demonstrates the 'normality' of living a life as a refugee, characterised by the same variety of positionalities towards music as any other non-refugee group.

Conclusion

This article discussed issues of displacement and belonging in the community of Malian Kel Tamasheq in Ouagadougou and the refugee camp of Sag-Nioniogo by analysing the nexus between narratives on and practices of the consumption and production of music. It looked at

the dynamics of forgetting and remembering, enhanced by music, and their relation to belonging to the Tuareg community, refugees' individual and collective past, and their present conditions. It hinted at processes of maintenance of music as a featured characteristic of being culturally Tuareg, as demonstrated through the celebration of the *Aid al-fitr,* with traditional *griots* playing.

It also related Tuareg music to current politics and the internal power-distribution within the Tuareg community. This article therefore revisited Card's findings,[70] which understood music production and consumption as a perpetuating tool of a caste-based division in this society. Conversely, the fruition of songs such as *Toumast Tincha* by this Kel Tamasheq refugee community might hint toward new perceptions within this community, to slowly depart from a caste-based structure, and instead subscribe to a collective belonging, *tumast,* which does not rely on caste division. While reinforcing this idea of belonging to a common *tumast,* Kel Tamasheq refugees, especially younger generations, are expanding their musical tastes. This enables and enhances potential new musical experimentations, for example the phrasing of Taureg political issues in rap music. It is also important to recognise that resorting to music is not always appealing, and sometimes, as in any other non-displaced context, music can become less important, or even redundant.

This article contributed to a literature that conceptualises identity and belonging as a convergence of counter stabilizing and destabilizing processes, which more clearly surface when caught up in quickly evolving phenomena, such as displacement. It also provided insights in relation to other issues. Firstly, it explored the importance of looking at how various feelings of belonging in the Kel Tamasheq community flourish and are maintained, and also in relation to refugees' movement in and out Northern Mali. Second, the recognition that the political debate is not only framed as a binary between Kel Tamasheq and Mali identities, but that there are also internal Tuareg fragmentations, further enriches the picture.

Notes

[1] J. Keenan, "Mali's Tuareg rebellion: What next?", *AlJazeera,* 2012, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/20123208133276463.html; MNLA, "Déclaration d'Indépendance de l'Azawad", *MNLA Website,* 2012, http://mnlamov.net/actualites/169-declaration-dindependance-de-lazawad.html (accessed 24 March, 2015).

[2] Sibide Ousmane, "The Malian Crisis", *New Left Review,* 84 (2013).

[3] AlJazeera, "Deadly attacks target UN peacekeepers in Mali's Gao", *AlJazeera Website,* 1-06-2016, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/06/mali-crisis-peacekeepers-killed-gao-attacks-160601043032404.html , (accessed 10 July

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⁴ UNHCR, "Operation Sahel-Mali", *UNHCR Website,* 2016 http://data.unhcr.org/SahelSituation/regional.php (accessed 1 July 2016).

⁵ Tuareg is used as synonym of Kel Tamasheq as did the community during fieldwork.

⁶ B. Lecocq, *Disputed Desert* (Leiden:Brill, 2011); B. Lecocq and G. Kulte, "Tuareg Separatism in Mali", *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis*, 68, 3 (2013); Sibide Ousmane. "The Malian Crisis", *New Left Review,* 84 (2013); O. Sidi Ahmed, "The Crisis in Northern Mali and Possible Outcomes", *AlJazeera Centre for Studies,* 2013, http://studies.aljazeera.net/ResourceGallery/media/Documents/2013/1/16/201311612403217734The crisis of north Mali and possible outcomes.pdf.

⁷ F. Anthias, "Thinking through the Lens of Translocationalpositionality: An Intersectionality Frame for Understanding Identity and Belonging," *Translocations: Migration and Social Change* 4 (2008); F. Anthias, "Where Do I Belong? Narrating Collective Identity and Translocational Positionality," *Ethnicities* 2, no. 4 (2002); A. Appadurai, "Sovereignty without Territoriality: Notes for a Postnational Geography"," in *The Anthropology of Space and Place*, ed. S. Low and D. Lawrence-Zúñiga (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003); D. Chatty, "Anthropology and Forced Migration," in *Oxford Handbooks Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1–15; D. Chatty, "Palestinian Refugee Youth: Agency and Aspiration," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28, no. 2 & 3 (2010); Fresia, "Les Réfugiés Comme Objet D'étude Pour L'anthropologie : Enjeux et Perspectives"; A. Fortier, "Re-Membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s)," *Theory, Culture & Society* 16, 2 (1999); M. Fresia, "Forced Migration in West Africa," in *Oxford Handbooks Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); A. Gupta and J. Ferguson, "Culture, Power, Place: Ethnography at the End of an Era," in *Culture, Power, Place. Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. A. Gupta and J. Ferguson, Third (London: Duke University Press, 2001); L. Malkki, "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialisation of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees" *Cultural Anthropology* 7, 1 (1992)*;* L. Malkki, "Refugees and Exile: From 'refugee Studies to the National Order of Things,'" *Annual Review of Anthropology 4* 24 (1995); L. Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Nira Yuval-Davis, "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging," *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, 3 (2006): 197–214; Edward W Said, *Reflections on Exile: And Other Literary and Cultural Essays* (London: Granta, 2010).

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[9] For literature on belonging see note 6.

[10] T. H. Eriksen and E. Schober, "Introduction: The Art of Belonging in an Overheated World," in *Identity Destabilised*, ed. T. H. Eriksen and E. Schober (London: Pluto Press, 2016).

[11] Anthias, "Where Do I Belong? Narrating Collective Identity and Translocational Positionality"; Anthias, "Thinking through the Lens of Translocationalpositionality: An Intersectionality Frame for Understanding Identity and Belonging."

[12] Fortier, "Re-Membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s)"; A. Gupta, "The Song of the Nonaligned World: Transnational Identities and the Reinscription of Space in Late Capitalism," in *Culture, Power, Place. Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. A. Gupta and J. Ferguson, Third (London: Duke University Press, 2001); Malkki, "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialisation of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees."

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(B)Ordering and the politics of Belonging

Antía Mato Bouzas

Abstract: This article examines the notion of belonging as an analytical perspective to deal with the spatial problems involved in border conflicts. It underlines the usefulness of this concept for the scholarly articulation of more inclusive political spaces that already exist at the societal level. Drawing from empirical data and experiences of people on both sides of the Line of Control (the LoC is a provisional border) in the disputed region of Kashmir (in India and Pakistan), this article explores how issues of belonging unfold within ongoing struggles about placemaking. This relates to the question of inclusion with regard to those that are deemed not to belong. The paper is structured in three parts. The first explores the scope of the concept of belonging in relation to that of identity by underlining the problematic of place and space implied in both. Being in one place (or part of a collective) and "longing" for other place(s) (and collective(s)) is a form of displacement that questions normative understandings of the way the world is divided. The second part discusses this displacement by looking at the relational character of belonging, in respect to the contexts in which the latter is articulated, claiming that belonging is thus tantamount to recognition and becoming visible. Finally, the third part introduces the notion of the politics of belonging in reference to the circumstances under which people and groups distinguish between belonging and non-belonging. Since belonging necessarily embodies a translocal and transnational experience, I claim it generates specific knowledge about the way in which the world is (b)ordered.

Introduction[1]

"In 1963 I went to Skardu [from a village in Chorbat La area, eastern Baltistan] for a court case regarding a land dispute. Once there, I joined the army as a soldier. I was married and since I got this job, I used to visit my family once a year for one or two months [...]. In 1965 I was posted in Azad Jammu and Kashmir, in front of Baramulla [a district and a city in the Kashmir Valley on the Indian side]. I was in the regular army, but I was asked, along with others, to disguise as *muhajideen* and to infiltrate through the Kel sector. This was during the rule of Ayub Khan [...]. In 1971 I was posted in Kel and we were

exchanging fire for 14 days. Then the whole unit was sent back to Gilgit. There I asked about my village and the major informed me that we "were eating salt," a polite way to say things were not going well there. I flew back to Skardu and I got the news [...]. My village and my family were now on the Indian side. One day I went to Fraono village, the new border, just in front of the newly acquired Indian territory [...]. There, I also learnt that the commander in charge during the fighting was Major Bashir, a Bengali major and that he had no interest for Pakistan. In fact, he was defending Indian interests because at the time Bengalis were fighting against Pakistan and the Indian government was supporting them [the Bangladesh Liberation War]. Pakistanis were not interested in these areas because they were mountain regions, although India was willing to return the villages [in the peace conversations of Simla in 1972]. The Pakistani Prime Minister Bhutto negotiated the return of villages in Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Lahore sector but not ours [those in Chorbat La]. The government gave our villages away. We did not get any compensation for the resettlement [...]. Here [in Pakistan] we suffered a lot. Those who remained on the Indian side also suffered for many years. They could not move, their houses were constantly searched and people were harassed. We know that." — *Ahmed (not his real name), about 75 years old, from Baltistan. Interview conducted in July 2014 in Urdu and Balti (with the assistance of a translator) as part of a group meeting with displaced people from the border area of Baltistan and Ladakh, in the disputed region of Kashmir."*[2]

Ahmed lives in the Baltistan division[3] of Gilgit-Baltistan, under the control of Pakistan, and this quotation is from a biographical account in which borders and national allegiances play a central role. Through his narration, it is possible to disentangle some of the issues involved in the representation of conflicts and how they are perceived and lived by those affected. Ahmed's testimony is that of a single person, although there are several thousand displaced people from the border areas dividing Baltistan and Ladakh (in India) and hundreds of thousands from the Kashmir Valley and Jammu (India) living in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK, controlled by Pakistan). It can be said that the story of the collectivity that Ahmed represents is off the map in the sense that the places he mentions (remote, sparsely populated villages) and that the historical events associated with these places have been largely ignored in the literature on the Kashmir conflict, or have been mentioned only in passing.[4] This may have something to do

with the scale of the "international"— with international understood as being beyond the state level (that is, beyond the state border) or defined essentially by the border-crossing or transnationalism. This scale hides the level of analysis of those living in between these spaces, such as the case of borderland territories. In order to make sense of the international, Didier Bigo proposes field studies as they "allow us to distance ourselves from the academic (and philosophical) illusion of the primacy of discourse, obliging us to reflect further on the technologies of power and resistance."[5]

The ignoring of the fate of the collectivity that Ahmed represents — despite the geopolitical importance of the area in which these people live — can be also related to the focus in international studies on larger groups. These larger groups are normally referred to simply as "actors," as if they were embodying some individual action, even though there has been increasing recognition in recent decades that individuals also count in international affairs.[6] To some degree, Ahmed's story is that of the India-Pakistan conflict that began in 1947 in order to take control of the former princely State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Ahmed is neither a proper Pakistani citizen nor a Kashmiri. He is not a proper Pakistani citizen because the area where he lives is considered "disputed" and is not integrated in Pakistan's constitutional framework. Consequently, those living in Gilgit-Baltistan lack the basic constitutional rights, e.g., they can neither vote nor be elected in the Pakistani general elections.[7] Despite this, Ahmed, like many others, feels that the political aspects of the Kashmir dispute are not his concern, except for the fact that the conflict caused his separation from his village and family and dramatically changed his life.

Asked about their understanding of the Kashmir dispute, Ahmed and members of other divided families in Baltistan underlined the shared experiences they went through after Partition. They did not frame their views on their condition as a minority, as Baltis (non-Kashmiris), but on their precarious position living in a disputed area characterised by a lack of basic constitutional rights. In other words, their views about themselves were connected to their position in a wider structure, to their fitting and unfitting in a political space formed by the border figuration.

With the concept of figuration, Norbert Elias wished to express that there is no such thing as an individual separated from society and that individuals are the product of (and are constrained by) their interactions within a network of relations.[8] By acknowledging a border, in so far as a border is an institution, I stress the fact that people on both sides of the border position themselves and interact

within the scope of this institution by legitimating it, challenging it and, eventually, transforming it. In this article I draw attention to the problematic relationship of "being" (as a political subject) and attachment to a "place" (as a physical or a symbolic territory) which is implied in the notion of belonging.

As such, I discuss how belonging, which has found a fertile niche in studies on migration and feminist epistemologies, represents a useful analytical tool to study the spatial dimension involved in conflicts about borders.[9] The use of this notion in migration studies, as shown in the work of Floya Anthias, is connected with the relational position of migrants in terms of the construction of a "we-ness" and "otherness" and the negotiation of this ambivalence.[10] Eva Youkhana has examined belonging as a form of placemaking through the migrants' spaces of representation.[11] In the case of gender studies, belonging revolves around the construction of women as a group.

Since the notion entails territoriality, the study of belonging can contribute to the theoretical debates about the framework of international reality, because it questions approaches from the political realism that do not pay attention to the individual subjecthood and constructivist perspectives that tend to consider identity as embodying a high degree of cohesion.[12] In other words, the focus on belonging challenges assumptions about the way the world is ordered. For this purpose, I explore the contexts under which individuals and groups claim belonging in the Kashmir's disputed territories and the form it takes. Drawing on Yuval-Davis' work, I call this the politics of belonging that "comprises the specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging in particular ways to particular collectivities that are, at the same time, themselves being constructed by these projects in very particular ways."[13] This definition implies considering both hegemonic political projects and also the articulation of forms of resistance to them. The latter articulation is the focus of this article.

I draw on fieldwork carried out in the period 2009–2014 (with stays of two to six weeks) with groups living on both sides of the Line of Control (the LoC, the provisional border) in the disputed Kashmir region of India and Pakistan. The main fieldwork sites were in the Kashmir Valley and Kargil (on the Indian side) and Baltistan and Muzaffarabad area (on the Pakistani side). The fieldwork consisted of interviews, meetings and conversations with businessmen, divided families, cultural activists, political activists, professors, students, among others, conducted in a few localities, mostly urban areas. The aim was to understand how people in these territories framed the conflict in contrast to the way it is examined at the state and international levels. Because Kashmir is a sensitive issue, I have

maintained the anonymity of those who agreed to speak to me, unless otherwise agreed.[14] The outcomes from fieldwork cannot be considered representative of the whole region, but they certainly illustrate how things are perceived by some of those affected by conflict in terms of the specific political context in which they live.

Expressions of belonging appear as claims for recognition in contexts of political uncertainty (with high surveillance and various forms of violence) and dramatic socio-economic transformations. From this point, belonging serves as an analytical perspective to unfold ongoing struggles about placemaking, which constitute the politics of belonging mentioned above. This is tantamount to the Rancieran definition of politics as a moment of contestation that implies the disruption of the established order of domination by one party which seeks inclusion (or recognition) in equal terms. It equates to the search for inclusion of those who do not belong (*la part des sans-part*). [15]

By examining issues of belonging in the disputed territories on both sides of the LoC, I want to underscore a more relational understanding of the position of people living in these areas as members of one collective or the other which is usually silenced by identity understandings of the dispute.[16] In the first section, I analyse the relationship of belonging and identity by questioning the category of Kashmiri identity against the plurality it embodies. I move on to explain how the focus on belonging provides a more dialogical understanding of groups in borderland territories, against identity ascriptions, involving claims of recognition that imply rethinking the political space. Finally, I discuss how the politics of belonging, as claims of belonging that challenge existing borders, reconfigure the political and shape new spatialities.

Dimensions in the study of belonging: The problematic relationship with identity/space

This section discusses belonging with regard to being in one place/or part of a collective and making claims or "longing" for other place(s). I argue that belonging constitutes a form of displacement worth investigating as it reveals the formation of subjectivities that question existing bordering processes. This can be seen in issues ranging from the treatment and integration of minorities, new waves of migrants within the state polity, the consideration of refugees, to the enforced separation of groups across borders, and the militarisation of various zones in the world. The study of belonging has found a productive niche in feminist epistemologies and migration studies

which intersect with the theme of borders and security. For this reason, depending on the feasibility of fieldwork research, the study of belonging offers a more discursive and non-hierarchical way to understand feelings and demands of groups caught in conflict zones. It allows the deconstructing of dominant security discourses and the unveiling of hegemonic power hierarchies.

Belonging, as a form of identity, does not entail the same boundary-drawing as the latter and has a relational character. If one defines oneself, or is defined by others, as a Kashmiri it is not the same as if one acknowledges belonging to "Kashmir." In the introductory quotation, Ahmed, a soldier who fought in the regular Pakistani army, refers to the "Pakistanis" as a collective, hierarchically above him and uninterested in the fate of his own people. Ahmed shows affection toward his people (those living in Chorbat La area), from whom he has been displaced, but he does not claim to be Pakistani (Pakistanis are the others) despite having lived most of his life in a territory controlled by Pakistan and having been enrolled in the Pakistani army. While both belonging and identity indicate membership and may be gradual processes, they do not entail the same intensity.[17] Belonging means to trace a relationship in which a degree of ambivalence and distance is implied when drawing the boundary of membership, whereas identity definitions offer less room for doubt about the group's boundary and some can be more permanent in time, let alone that some characteristics of identity, such as language and sex, are not easy to change.[18]

Since the 1990s there has been a "cultural turn," fostered by the development of constructivist and postmodernist theories in the field of social sciences, and in international studies in particular which has resulted in new approaches to the study of conflicts and political processes mainly affecting non-Western societies (or in Western societies dealing with the "others," such as in the case of the study of multiculturalism). For the study of "ethnic" conflicts, this cultural turn has meant an overemphasis on what Brubaker defines as "groupism," that is, a reification of the bounded character of groups as units for social analysis, which in the case of conflicts is dominated by ethnic identity ascriptions.[19]

In his study of relations between the Hungarian minority and the Romanians in Transylvania, Rogers Brubaker notes that most of the protagonists of ethnic conflict are not ethnic groups *per se* but organizations, broadly understood.[20] He calls into question the category of ethnic group, and ethnicity in general, as a domain of analysis. Brubaker's contribution to the understanding of ethnicity is important to address the difference between identity and belonging.

He points out that the category of "ethnic" identity depends on the degree of mobilization by organizations. The same can be found in the study of cultural conflicts in South Asia, in the sense that political institutions can create and perpetuate identity politics, in particular those of the central authorities of the state.[21]

However, it is not always clear if organizations can be identifiable as more or less separated from the "people" or the "groups" for which they claim to speak. The analysis of minorities in a post-socialist state may well differ from that in a postcolonial state because of different political forms of institutionalization and social cultures. In the case of the Kashmiri nationalism in the Kashmir Valley in India, for example, the categories of "Kashmiri," "Indian," and "Pakistani" can be viewed through a number of organizations which can be identified as actors in the conflict. However, this conflict has been going on for decades and society as a whole has assumed the political cause in different manners, in the sense that "ethnic" assumptions may contain some "regime of truth." I refer to the contexts (the relational dimension) in which people are being bordered. As Nirvikar Singh demonstrates in his study of the conflicts in Punjab and Kashmir, political institutions alone do not explain cultural (ethnic) conflicts because they usually overlap with identity markers as tools for political mobilization. Interestingly, this author relates the use of identity markers with weak institutionalization.[22] The latter indicates that in contexts of uncertainty (in terms of access to resources) identity affiliations provide a sort of "safe haven" for membership but in general it is not easy to draw a boundary between "organizations" and the society and "groups."

During my research in the Kashmir Valley, I interviewed people (some of them victims of violence) who were critical of nationalist organizations such as the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), the Jamaat-e-Islami (JeI), or the nationalist umbrella organization of the Hurriyat. Respondents occasionally admitted they did not dissent to the leadership in public because of fear, but they also acknowledged respect for these organizations because their leaders were considered as "martyrs" — for Kashmir — and because of their work for the community, that is, their support of families of deceased and former militants in need.[23] Being "Kashmiri" has been equated by the Indian state and by some academic works with being Muslim (mainly Sunni) from the Valley and sympathising with the separatist cause.[24] However, being "Kashmiri" also includes other religious and language categories from the Valley such as Pandits (Kashmiri speakers of Hindu religion), Sikhs (Punjabi speakers of Sikh religion), and beyond the Valley (Pahari speakers and Muslims

living in the mountains West of the Kashmir Valley) on the basis of their legal status as "State subjects" — a form of citizenship based on *jus soli* which evolved in the colonial period.[25] Experiences from fieldwork have shown that, despite the conflict and the consequent narrowing of social boundaries, "Kashmiri" is still a broad category in everyday understanding. My Sikh interviewee explains: "I am Kashmiri. My ancestors came from Punjab in the nineteenth century but we are state subjects. We are from this soil. I speak Kashmiri although I use Punjabi at home."[26] At the same time, findings show that both the society in the Kashmir Valley and the organizations directly involved in the conflict are interrelated by the dynamics of violence and are therefore not easy to differentiate.[27]

My point is that what is usually referred to as an identity marker is framed in terms of a high degree of cohesion or "groupness" which, in most cases, is nowhere present in the societies labelled under these identity markers. The fluidity among social groups was already pointed out by Barth in 1969 and the understanding of identities as more or less stable categories is a product of the Western state institutionalisation and the expansion of this political form across the world, which has implied the classification, codification and subjection of people as the others.[28] The latter has been explained in recent works in relation to historical forms of resistance to the state, such as in the history of the agrarian peoples of the uplands in southeast Asia by James Scott. Scott concludes that identity is seen as a "political choice," a strategy related to a context which changes and re-adapts according to circumstances.[29] Therefore, it is worth looking at contexts in which these categories operate and, apart from an analysis of "units" or "actors" it is necessary to also consider the positionality of the social groups included in the category — in terms of social background, gender, biographical experience, worldviews and expectations — in order to grasp the power relations involved in identity making.

Hence, because it challenges existing borders, the study of belonging unfolds the problematic of place and space not only of groups caught in contested borderlands, but also of those displaced for whatever reason. The focus on belonging unveils ongoing struggles regarding placemaking which question the normative ways in which the world is assumed to be divided. As a form of displacement, being neither completely "here" nor "there," the study of belonging, as that of identity, entails imagination. To trace relations to a space is an act of imagination which implies subverting the current state-of-things but also reflects a preoccupation of the collectivity which transcends the individual experience.[30] This can be expressed as a form of nostalgia

about the past or as the emphasis on being part of a larger community (beyond the existing borders). In this sense, belonging implies both recognition and differentiation which needs to be examined against the current context in which people are being bordered.

Belonging across borders as claims to recognition

Since the focus on belonging challenges existing borders (and thereby conceptions of place/space), articulations of belonging are framed under specific contexts that need to be considered. How can people living in a disputed border territory articulate views about the context in which they live and about the world in general? In order to situate this question, it is necessary to point out at least three main issues. Firstly, people living in disputed contexts may have an ambivalent status as citizens — either due to existing legal systems or a situation of violence and instability — and this affects the way they can speak. Secondly, the conflict, when it lasts for a significant period, generates its own social dynamics of fragmentation in which views about the community are severely affected. Thirdly, the border is the product of a specific historical construction, normally imposed on those living in its surrounding areas.

The account of Ahmed mentioned in the introduction came as part of a group meeting with displaced families from villages originally part of Pakistan, which were captured by India during the war of 1971. Those people displaced and families separated by the conflict in Baltistan may number a few thousands. Most of them have had to fend for themselves since then, without receiving any compensation from the state. Only some families have received support from individual wealthy philanthropists who donated plots of land. Ahmed's account, in line with others gathered in the fieldwork, reflects the sense of disillusionment with the lack of state support despite the fact that the people opted for Pakistan at the time of partition. The same sentiment is expressed with regard to the ambivalent constitutional status of Gilgit-Baltistan because of which residents in the region feel excluded as state citizens.[31] As a soldier who participated in military operations of the Pakistani army to capture the Kashmir Valley, Ahmed (and others in Baltistan) sees the Kashmir dispute as the fight for the Kashmir Valley which is different from his own area. However, Ahmed and other respondents in Baltistan admit that their "suffering," the political uncertainty about the place where they live, is "because of Kashmir" since they know — as shown in Ahmed's narration — that their border region (between Baltistan and today's border sub-district of Kargil, in Ladakh) is of less importance for

Pakistan. A feeling prevails that the LoC has been imposed on them, not only ignoring previous administrative divisions, but cutting family ties, previous interactions, and also the political aspirations of various groups. For those living in Baltistan, as well as for those in other parts of the Kashmir borderland, there is the perception that they had more access to other places and regions before the LoC was established, e.g. relations with Xinjiang, Tibet, Srinagar, Simla and Deoband among others. Baltistan enjoyed a certain centrality in that world and present articulations of belonging aim to regain that past. Hence, claims of belonging are based on readings of the present and oriented towards certain aims.

The study of belonging through biographical accounts about the past, present and future expectations makes it possible to trace specific understandings of space which denote the forms in which people are bordered and the resistance to them. In a way, claiming belonging is a form of empowerment as it implies recognition, or becoming visible. When various groups in AJK claim to belong to Kashmir (as the entity existing before 1947), or when those in Baltistan claim to belong to the Tibetan milieu and when those in the sub-district of Kargil on the Indian side relate themselves to Baltistan, they are showing their discontent with the ways they are being identified and represented within "the dispute" — as waiting to be part of Pakistan for those of AJK and Baltistan and as the loyal guardians of Indian borders in the case of those living in the sub-district of Kargil. This does not necessarily mean they consider themselves as "Kashmiris," "Tibetan" or "Balti," as identity markers, since what they emphasise is the act of "sharing" meanings and experiences.[32] The claim of being part of a larger community that transcends existing borders is a reaction to the marginal current position of these groups and is articulated through cultural expressions that challenge existing borders — preoccupation with past ties, sharing of language and cultural references, and displays of symbologies. This is because there is no way to articulate alternative forms of dissent in these highly militarized areas, where surveillance is part of everyday life. For these reasons, articulations of belonging do not appear as subversive in the first instance, since they operate within the constraints of the limited existing political space, but they imply a re-positioning from an ascribed identity category in the seeking of recognition.

In this light, it is worth considering the observations made by the French philosopher Etienne Balibar in his article "Uprisings in the Banlieues," where he describes the case of the violent revolts that affected the French *banlieues* perpetrated by groups uprooted from the French state because they simply do not count in the social and

economic programmes of an increasingly de-democratised society.[33] Balibar discusses the use of violence as the inability of these groups to articulate demands as a collective. They do not have the language or the access to the system and are therefore excluded from it. Similar views apply to those living in the Kashmir disputed territories in the sense that the spaces to claim dissent are almost non-existent and the boundaries of the permissible are not explicit. This can be seen in the stone pelting movement that erupted in the Kashmir Valley in 2010, when youth confronted the Indian paramilitary forces deployed in the Valley and particularly in urban areas since 1990 (the beginning of the conflict), by throwing stones at them. Balibar later relates the inability of those groups from the *banlieues* to make demands as a collective to the de-democratization process in the public space implied in neoliberal governance, a term he borrows from the work of the political scientist Wendy Brown.[34] Leaving aside the specific question of de-democratisation, a discussion of which is beyond the scope of this work, he makes the interesting point that the state (national) form becomes irrelevant both from below, as it is excludes and further marginalises the weaker groups, and also from above, as is unable to control multinational capitalist groups who operate irrespective of state regulations.[35] Despite the differences of context, similar conclusions can be drawn from the Kashmir's disputed territories with regard to the role of the state. The ambivalent legal status of the inhabitants of these territories as state citizens makes them vulnerable. At the same time, this legal ambivalence allows interventions from above such as the building of large infrastructure by multinational companies (such as roads and dams in Gilgit-Baltistan and in AJK) and the promotion of large-scale religious and leisure tourism (such as in the Kashmir Valley and Ladakh).[36]Although Balibar's work draws on the historical evolution of the Western European state, and focuses on the French republican tradition, the processes he describes share similarities with many post-colonial states. In these states, the issue of belonging revolves around the question of addressing the social plurality in these societies and the construction of a clear-cut national identity.

What is also interesting is the fact that while the cosmopolitanism from below expressed in Balibar's text — in the sense of transcending or not fitting the current boundaries — is not recognised (or denounced as racism), cosmopolitanism from above is in general celebrated and becomes irrelevant and detached from conflicts and demands for recognition (of difference, economic and legal recognition) from groups on the ground. In this sense belonging, as being neither here nor there, relates in many contexts to a contestation of the immobility,

spatial and social, occurring within borders. Hence, by unveiling alternative experiences of territoriality, the study of belonging opens up a way to rethink understandings of political space and borders. Following the case of the Kashmir dispute, field research has shown that those living in Baltistan and Ladakh (mainly in the Kargil border area) would wish to re-establish direct ties, not only for economic reasons but also for personal and cultural ones. Unlike the border conflict in AJK and the Kashmir Valley, people living in these border areas were never directly involved in violent activities; however, they have been prevented from meeting and interacting across the border by their respective states.

In a similar way, the contestation of immobility through claims of belonging can also be found in the Kashmir Valley, although framed in different terms. Respondents in various locations of the Kashmir Valley — including religious leaders, such as the influential *Mirwaiz*[37] Umar Farooq — have debated the question of the social heterogeneity of the Kashmir disputed territories and how it can be articulated in a political form. The need to decide the future status of the region, they say, is not possible without dialogue between the representatives of the various groups affected. On this point, the *Mirwaiz* has pointed out: "India and Pakistan have to maintain Jammu and Kashmir as it was in 1947 (the political status) or change it. With respect to the other groups (outside the Kashmir Valley), let them be part of the region, allow them to communicate, let the community to talk to each other."[38] Indeed, it is striking that despite the frequent references to the diversity of Kashmir in research and journalistic work, few efforts are made to add to the little knowledge that the various groups in the region have of one another. There are many international conferences, academic and political events devoted to the Kashmir issue, but the question remains whether those most affected by the conflict can speak to each other. Notwithstanding the differences, the situation echoes the case described by Balibar regarding those involved in violence in the *banlieues* in the sense that the plurality existing in the Kashmir disputed territories at the societal level is acknowledged but it cannot be politically articulated.

Unlike identity, which underlines differentiation (what is specific to a group), belonging is mainly relational and this raises the question of the interaction between individuals and society which can be examined through the lens of the border figuration. By articulating senses of belonging beyond established borders, people separated in border territories propose alternative figurations of space which can be symbolic but also real — in the sense of personal and material exchanges. For example, although people in Baltistan and Ladakh

cannot cross the border, divided families meet during religious pilgrimages in third countries such as in Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. There, they exchange news and gifts and also pass on presents for other separated families who cannot afford to travel. Moreover, videos circulate, sent directly by post or exchanged in these third meeting points, containing family information or recordings of the local landscape. Along with symbolic representations of space, such limited mobilities exemplify the subversion of existing borders in these societies. They show that people in these territories have experiences of seeing themselves as part of a wider world, and therefore these expressions and actions contain a sense of cosmopolitanism from below.[39] These limited mobilities contrast with the continued reproduction of knowledge of the border territories (and so the border space) as divided along existing lines. Therefore, articulations of belonging contain a reflection on the political space worth further investigation.

Politics of belonging and world (b)ordering

In the previous sections I discussed how the notion of belonging, as differentiated but not entirely separated from identity, raises the spatial problematic, i.e. the fixed spatial lens through which various social processes and groups (mostly) in non-Western societies are examined. The study of belonging shifts attention to how people living in these territories are bordered — as further divided and fragmented — and how, under specific living conditions, they can articulate views about their own context. Hence, it provides an understanding of the collective because it questions how concepts such as security, sovereignty and identity have become detached in broader theoretical debates from the empirical experiences they attempt to explain. Since belonging necessarily embodies a translocal and transnational experience, I claim it generates specific knowledge about international reality and the way in which the world is ordered.[40] In this regard, I understand the politics of belonging as relating to the circumstances under which people and groups claim belonging and non-belonging. The politics of belonging is the lens through which to scrutinise dimensions of international reality — above all legal, security and surveillance issues — which are silenced in broader theoretical debates.

Nira Yuval-Davies describes the politics of belonging as the continuous maintenance and reproduction of boundaries of the community of belonging by the hegemonic political powers but also admits that it involves their contestation and challenge by

various political agents.[41] This latter aspect is the focus of our attention because the politics of belonging is not only about state belonging, implied in the relation to citizenship, but a form of contesting existing hegemonies which can draw attention to new or alternative understandings of space, in so far as belonging embodies territoriality.[42] Yuval-Davies and Anthias underline the intersectional dimension implicit in the notion of belonging at the level of social locations in the sense that claiming belonging is also affected by other cross-cutting categories (class, gender, race, etc.).[43] Therefore, claiming belonging is also a process of re-appropriation and placemaking by which reality at various spatial scales is transformed.

In the disputed Kashmir territories between India and Pakistan, conflict has been manifested in various ways — militarisation of the Kashmir Valley, tight surveillance and lack of basic freedoms in parts of AJK and Gilgit-Baltistan, etc. The dynamics of conflict in the Kashmir Valley have also tightened the boundaries of the community and, as mentioned before, have made dialogue difficult between and within various groups. The dispute has been discussed in the media and some academic works as an identity issue concerning the "Kashmiri Muslims" versus the Indian state, in which the Kashmiri Muslims (especially Sunnis) from the Valley are singled out as the source of dissent.[44] Instead of acknowledging that the Kashmir issue extends beyond the Kashmir Valley and the LoC, a number of scholars have recognised the failure of the Indian state to address this nationalism, but by doing this they have framed the problem within the confines of the state.[45] Framed in this way, the representation of the conflict ignores a more complex and interactive understanding of these societies based on everyday experience. Some anthropological works on specific groups in various parts of the disputed territories have highlighted aspects of agency and structure which are neglected in broader political and sociological studies and which show the relational and interactive dimension examined here.[46] In other words, the conflict in the Kashmir Valley and the political context of those in AJK, Gilgit-Baltistan and Ladakh are interrelated by the dynamics associated to the border, that is, the figuration.

There is little doubt that the conflict which erupted in the Kashmir Valley in 1989 was initiated by organizations whose members were Muslims, that many (youth from mostly low-middle class background) crossed the LoC to receive training in AJK and other parts of Pakistan and then returned to the Valley to launch attacks against the "Indian enemy," personified as those with certain posts in the administration, government positions, and those who openly displayed pro-Indian views.[47] Their aim was to free Kashmir from

India, but the climate of chaos also created an opportunity to settle personal accounts and vendettas, which leads to a less coherent view of the "movement."[48] In an interview in the Kashmir Valley with a middle-aged woman who was active in the support of the armed struggle (providing logistic support to militants), she narrated the rape and killing of a young female journalist of Kashmir state TV in early 1990s by a well-known militant of Hizbul al-Muhajideen. She mentioned his name while she was showing me the photograph of the dead woman. After a moment of silence, which I interpreted as reflection, she finally said: "These things also happened. It is true. There was chaos and people used the opportunity to do other things."[49] Within the general climate of violence, Kashmiri Pandits became a particular target because they were the educated class, had better positions in the administration, and were seen as more sympathetic to India. Estimates about the Kashmir conflict since 1989 put the number of victims between 50,000 to 90,000, of which some 20,000 were civilians, apart from a few thousand who disappeared. Among the victims, Pandit organizations estimate that some 670 Kashmiri Pandits have been killed.[50/51] However, between 80 and 90 per cent of Pandits abandoned the Valley in the early 1990s, some on their own because they were threatened, while others left in what seem to have been organised operations by the Indian administration in order to give an identitarian character to the conflict.[52]

Former militants—members of JKLF and Hizbul al-Muhajideen —and families of dead militants I interviewed narrated their activism (and that of their sons' and brothers') using political arguments. They explained their discontent with the political system at the time—mentioning corruption and the rigging of the elections— and the illegitimacy of "Indian rule," since people did not decide in a plebiscite to be part of the state, following the UN resolutions. This notwithstanding, in some cases the involvement in militancy was through networks of friends and neighbours without apparent significant political mobilisation ("he joined because the others did"). During these meetings, there was never any specific form of hatred directed against any other religious group in the Valley. However, in meetings in Srinagar with more educated and politically mobilised men—university professors, members of NGOS, US migrant returnees, lawyers, and nationalist politicians—the situation of the Pandits was referred to with a sense of embarrassment and guilt but also explained within the broader context of general violence, where people had to fend for themselves. It was not Muslims targeting Hindus but also other Muslims. In this respect, the respondents emphasised the political question instead of ethnic or religious

ascriptions. In fact, as a reaction to my questions about the Pandits, a few of them replied that the Sikhs from the Valley and other Hindus did stay on during the conflict. A tentative explanation could be that Pandits enjoyed more prominent positions in the public sector than the Sikhs and other minorities. In interviews, three Sikh men in their mid-fifties in Srinagar acknowledged having been threatened by Muslims during the conflict, but in the case of one of them this was more a kind of extortion due to the fact, he explained, that his business (distribution of gas cylinders) was going very well at the time. The three of them, whose families had been settled in the Valley for more than a hundred years, identified themselves as Kashmiris.

These views emphasise a political issue over identity arguments, but at the same time show a reflection on the political context which, because of the conflict, is difficult to investigate. Following these accounts, those who revolted in the Valley did so because they felt excluded from the state system—a manipulated electoral system and atrophied administration—in which a class element was also present, but also because they shared ideas and meanings about their own place, the Valley, framed in a historical democratic struggle that questioned the boundaries of Indian state rule over them. The politics of belonging in the Kashmir Valley can only be understood, by not analysing relations between religious and cultural groups. The broader figuration of boundary drawing and maintenance by the Indian and Pakistani post-colonial states must also be considered, which impacts people's lives, and the inability of those states to mould the social diversity into a political subjecthood.

The research findings in the various locations of the Kashmir borderland also show evidence of the incapacity of the interviewees to refer to/or to speak for a community of people or a specific territory and their difficulty to articulate their views politically. Even in the Kashmir Valley, where the idea of forming an independent state, or merging the region with Pakistan is openly defended by various organizations, respondents were not able to express what kind of polity they envisioned and which territories would be part of it—except for those who favour Kashmir remaining in India. Most of the answers about the future of the region were about the need to decide (acknowledged in UN resolutions) since Kashmir is disputed. Yet, interviewees in the Kashmir Valley were confused about whether their need to decide should also encompass the Pakistani territories, Ladakh and Jammu, and most of them were worried about their own living conditions, marked by a long period of violence and militarisation.

The figuration formed by the LoC is characterized by the

ambivalent position of the various actors and groups as citizens of India and Pakistan and their attempts to articulate claims to places, as modes to overcome their present situation within the restricted political context. The emergence of alternative forms of identification, apart from the more articulated nationalism in the Kashmir Valley with its openly anti-Indian stance, is the result of the claims to be or become something within the narrow political space that transcends the existing borders. This can be the case with the revival of Tibetan culture in Baltistan and probably, less examined in the fieldwork, the transborder identification of Pahari speaking groups in AJK. In this sense, the politics of belonging concerns the study of these articulations, their motivations, the moment and the context in which they appear and gain significance, and their aims.

The study of the politics of belonging also implies reflection on the political space, which connects to debates about the changing state space and sovereignty at a more abstract level. This has been mainly examined concerning the case of migrants and diasporic groups in West European and North American contexts, in debates on multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, but there has been little reflection on other contexts. Within the umbrella question posed by inquiries of belonging — how can we live together? — it is necessary to ask under which conditions we can live together.

Again Etienne Balibar's works on the relationship of borders and citizenship provide interesting insights.[53] He observes territorialisation and deterritorialisation processes involving the changing nature of state, with a particular focus on the European experience, and notes that, while the state form is no longer, if ever was, able to respond to the challenges emanating from above (globalisation processes) and from below (redistributive policies and social inequalities), there is a continuous reproduction of the state form. To this situation, Balibar takes the particular case of the European Union as a supra-state entity and seeks to answer the question of how and under which conditions people can live together in this borderland territory. In fact, it is this model of borderland that he proposes to acknowledge the existing internal diversity in a political space "imagined in terms of overlapping open regions."[54] The borderland model strongly resonates with the understanding of belonging, and the politics of belonging in particular, examined in this article. In this understanding the sense that belonging, as expressed in the Kashmir border territories, is about the ambivalence of neither being "in" nor "out" and between non-being (as not-belonging) and being a multiplicity of things (depending on the circumstances). In this regard, the Kashmir borderland already exists, as other

borderlands in the world, and the politics of belonging is the channel through which it becomes recognisable.

Conclusion

The notion of belonging, understood as the relationship of "being" and attachment to a "place" and exemplified in Ahmed's narration, is a useful analytical tool to examine issues of displacement and recognition of groups caught in disputed borders because it raises questions about the ways these groups are bordered as part of a wider structure represented in the border figuration. Belonging shares an intimate relationship with identity but it questions the latter's intensity (or cohesion), since articulations of belonging emphasise social and territorial interaction irrespective of existing borders. These articulations embody a translocal and transnational experience and draw attention to the context and the circumstances in which they operate. Moreover, the exploration of issues of belonging represent an epistemological alternative when it is not possible to ask about identity aspects, or when these are the source of great contestation. In this regard, claiming belonging implies a search for recognition that contests the existing political space and its territorial dimension.

Therefore, the analysis of the politics of belonging — exemplified in the Kashmir dispute and the claims of the various groups to relate to other places irrespective of the border — makes a hybrid form of territoriality re-emerge, in what Balibar aptly defines as borderland. Borderlands, such as Kashmir, already exist in other parts of the world and the politics of belonging refers to struggles about their political articulation.

Notes

[1] The author wishes to express her gratitude to the two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments, and also the STAIR Team.

[2] Names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the interviewees as part of this research project, given the sensitive political context. The only exception is the case of well-known people, for their public activity, who agreed beforehand to be mentioned.

[3] 'Division' refers to the territorial administrative entity, similar to a province.

[4] Alastair Bonnett, Off the Map (London: Aurum Press, 2014).

[5] Didier Bigo, "The Möbius Ribbon of Internal and External Security(ies)," in Identities, Borders, Orders: Rethinking International Relations Theory, eds. Mathias Albert, David Jacobson and Yosef Lapid (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 98.

[6] James N. Rosenau, People Count!: Networked Individuals in Global Politics (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2008).

[7] Antía Mato Bouzas, "Mixed legacies in contested borderlands: Skardu and the Kashmir Dispute," Geopolitics 17, no. 4 (2012): 867–86.

[8] Norbert Elias, What is Sociology? (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 128–33.

[9] Ulf Hedetoft and Mette Hjort eds., The Postnational Self: Belonging and Identity. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Eva Youkhana, "A Conceptual Shift in the Studies of Belonging and the Politics of Belonging," Social Inclusion 3, no. 4 (2015): 10–24; See Nira Yuval-Davies and Michael Stoetzler, "Imagined Boundaries and Borders: A Gendered Gaze," The European Journal of Women's Studies 9, no. 3 (2002): 329–344; Nira Yuval-Davies, Kalpana Sannabiran and Ulrike Vieten eds., The Situated Politics of Belonging (New Delhi: Sage, 2007); Floya Anthias, "Thinking through the Lens of Translocational Positionality: an Intersectionality Frame for Understanding Identity and Belonging," Translocations 4, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 5–20.

[10] Ulf Hedetoft and Mette Hjort eds., The Postnational Self: Belonging and Identity. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Eva Youkhana, "A Conceptual Shift in the Studies of Belonging and the Politics of Belonging," Social Inclusion 3, no. 4 (2015): 10–24; See Nira Yuval-Davies and Michael Stoetzler, "Imagined Boundaries and Borders: A Gendered Gaze," The European Journal of Women's Studies 9, no. 3 (2002): 329–344; Nira Yuval-Davies, Kalpana Sannabiran and Ulrike Vieten eds., The Situated Politics of Belonging (New Delhi: Sage, 2007); Floya Anthias, "Thinking through the Lens of Translocational Positionality: an Intersectionality Frame for Understanding Identity and Belonging," Translocations 4, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 5–20; Anthias, "Thinking through the Lens," 8.

[11] Youkhana, "A Conceptual Shift," 16–19.

[12] I refer to the fact that identity explanations may obfuscate other important issues which are connected to the question of access to resources (broadly understood).

[13] Nira Yuval-Davies, "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging," Patterns of Prejudice 40, no. 3 (2006): 198.

[14] Kashmir is a sensitive topic for the states of India and Pakistan because it is central to the construction of their respective national identities. This has consequences for those living in the disputed territories on both sides of the LoC, who cannot (most of the time) openly express critical views owing to the context of fear and political uncertainty.

[15] Jacques Rancière, La Mésentente: Politique et Philosophie (Paris: Galilée, 1995), 169–85. See also for a more contextualized understanding of the term Samuel A. Chambers, The Lessons of Rancière (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 41–45.

[16] By identifying understandings of the dispute I refer to the implications of drawing assumptions on the conflict by employing categories such as "Ladakhis," "Kargilis," "Mirpuris," "Kashmiris," and so on as more or less established collectivities living in specific locations. I do not ignore that boundary-drawing has activated and articulated identities in specific ways. My interest is to show that people living in these disputed territories have a more dynamic and plural relationship in dealing with each other and relating to the various places than the one provided by identity explanations.

[17] Hedetoft and Hjort, "Postnational Self," viii–x.

[18] Zigmunt Bauman, Identity: Conversations with Benedetto Vecchi (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), 76–80.

[19] Chris Brown, "Borders and Identity in International Relations Theory," in Identities, Borders, Orders: Rethinking International Relations Theory, eds. Mathias Albert, David Jacobson and Yosef Lapid (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 119; Rogers Brubaker, Ethnicity without Ethnic Groups, European Journal of Sociology 43, no. 2 (2002): 163–189, 164, also see the extended version by the same author, Ethnicity without Ethnic Groups (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004): 10–20.

[20] Brubaker, "Ethnic Groups," 173.

[21] Nirvikar Singh, "Cultural Conflict in India: Punjab and Kashmir," in The Myth of "Ethnic Conflict"Politics, Economics and "Cultural" Violence, eds. Beverly Crawford and Ronnie D. Lipshutz (Berkeley: International and Area Studies, University of California, 1998), 344–346.

[22] Nirvikar Singh, "Cultural Conflict in India: Punjab and Kashmir," 344–346.

[23] For example, one of my respondents admitted going to demonstrations (in support of the nationalist cause) because of the pressure from the neighborhood. Criticism of the nationalist organizations also exists, for example, the idea that the nationalist leaders receive money from Pakistan, that is, from the Pakistani intelligence agencies. At the time of the research, for example, there were rumors (and jokes) circulating in the city of Srinagar regarding the ongoing unrest caused by the "stone pelting" movement (throwing stones at the paramilitary forces after Friday prayers) by saying that youngsters involved were paid by the JeI. This was a critique to JeI.

[24] See for example, Robert G. Wirsing, Kashmir in the Shadow of War: Regional Rivalries in a Nuclear Age (Armonk, New York: E. M. Sharpe, 2003), 157. I refer to the fact that argumentations on the Kashmir dispute, and especially on the conflict in the Kashmir Valley, are articulated around the question of "Muslimness" of Kashmiris. This implies the idealization of a Muslim community as part of a common shared Kashmiri identity with non-Muslims, Kashmiriyat or Kashmiriness, or its more problematic consideration as a separate group (identity) as part of a "melting pot" (underlining the existence of many identities in Kashmir). The latter implies that Kashmiri Muslims of the Valley are troublesome owing to their political demands because their mobilization also exacerbates the demands by other groups.

[25] For more detail see Ravinderjit Kaur, Political Awakening in Kashmir (New Delhi: APH Publishing, 1996), 26–35 and Mridu Rai, Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir (London: Hurst, 2004), 252–253.

[26] Interview, Srinagar, 3 May 2011.

[27] This can be seen through the journalistic account of a kidnapping of foreigners in the Kashmir Valley in 1995, The Meadow by Adrian Levy and Cathy Scott-Clark (New Delhi: Penguin, 2012).

[28] Fredrik Barth ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference (Oslo: Pensumtjeneste, 1994).

[29] James C. Scott, The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia (New Haven: Harvard University Press, 2009), 280–281 and 329.

[30] See the discussion by Bottici on Hanna Arendt's understanding of imagination. Chiara Bottici, Imaginal Politics: Images Beyond Imagination and the Imaginary (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 96–98.

[31] Caylee Hong, "Liminality and Resistance in Gilgit-Baltistan," Legal Working Paper Series on Legal Empowerment for Sustainable Development (Montreal: CISDL, 2012).

[32] Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, Multiple Belonging and the Challenges to Biographic Navigation," MME Working Paper 13-05(Göttingen: Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, 2013), 15.

[33] Etienne Balibar, "Uprisings in the Banlieues," Constellations 14, no. 1 (2007): 47–71.

[34] Etienne Balibar, "The 'Impossible' Community of the Citizens: Past and Present Problems', Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 30 (2012), 437.

[35] Balibar, "'Impossible' Community", 441.

[36] Although those living on the Indian side are considered citizens of India, their political rights are very restricted; See Antía Mato Bouzas, "Securitization and Development as Modes of Peripheralization in North-Eastern Pakistan" in Peripheralization: The Making of Spatial Dependencies and Social Injustice, eds. Andrea Fisher-Tahir and Matthias Naumann (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2013), 90–95; Ian Reader, Pilgrimage in the Marketplace (London: Routledge, 2016), 42. See also Mohamad Junaid, "Peace, Tourism and Political Gamens in Kashmir," Al-Jazeera, July 29, 2012, accessed December 12, 2016,http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/
07/201272612535508711.html

[37] Title of the spiritual leader in the Kashmir Valley who represents the traditional form of Islam in Kashmir connected to Iranian influences of the first preachers.

[38] Interview, Srinagar, 12 July 2012.

[39] My use of the term "cosmopolitanism" is not in the strict philosophical sense. Rather, it is employed to highlight the memories (that people still evoke) of these places as crossroads of influences exemplified in the still existing social plurality and experiences of multilingualism. Through the re-enactment of ties across the borders, those involved try to re-appropriate of these past legacies based on their condition of being members of the wider world. This understanding does not contradict the political argument that many Kashmiris in the Valley seek to differentiate from India and Pakistan (by creating a border). Many minority groups in the world searching for self-determination based their claims on universal values on issues of justice and solidarity.

[40] Joanna Pffaf-Czarnecka and Gérard Toffin eds., The Politics of Belonging in the Himalayas: Local Attachments and Boundary Dynamics (New Delhi: Sage, 2011), xxii.

[41] Nira Yuval-Davies, "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging," Patterns of Prejudice 40, no. 3 (2006): 197–214, 205.

[42] Joel S. Migdal, Joel S. ed., Boundaries and Belonging: States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 15–16.

[43] See Yuval-Davies, "Politics of Belonging"; Anthias, "Translocational Belonging."

[44] Robert G. Wirsing, Kashmir in the Shadow of War: Regional Rivalries in a Nuclear Age (Armonk, New York: E. M. Sharpe, 2003), 137–192; Navnita Chadha Behera, Demystifying Kashmir (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2006), 104–144. See the most recent and controversial "Letter to Kashmiri Youth: Even if you don't like India, here's why your best bet is to integrate J&K with it" by the well-known Indian author Chetan Bhagat, April 16, 2006, accessed December 8, 2016, http://blogs.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/The-underage-optimist/letter-to-kashmiri-youth-even-if-you-dont-like-india-heres-why-your-best-bet-is-to-integrate-jk-with-it/.

[45] Among others: Navnita Chadha Behera, State, Identity and Violence: Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000); Sumantra Bose, Roots of

Conflict: Paths to Peace (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications 2003), 164–165.

[46] For example, Mona Bhan, Counterinsurgency, Democracy, and the Politics of Identity in India: from Warfare to Welfare? (London: Routledge, 2014); Ravina Aggarwal, Ravina, Beyond Lines of Control: Performance and Politics on the Disputed Borders of Ladakh, India (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004) and Cabeiri Debergh Robinson, Body of Victim, Body of Warrior: Refugee Families and the Making of Kashmiri Jihadists (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

[47] I refer here to the religious adscription, not to the degree of religious mobilization. This is based on the fact that, according to the 2011 census of India, Muslims constitute 68.31% of the population of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and the majority live in the Kashmir Valley. Moreover, in my interviews with militants and families of militants (in Srinagar and Baramulla area), I noted that all of them were brought up in Muslim cultural traditions. A Sikh interviewee from Srinagar mentioned that Sikhs have been involved in militancy in the southern part of the Valley but I never met a Sikh (former) militant. In my interviews I never asked specifically for religious beliefs; I asked about the youth motivations to cross the LoC and engage in violent activities. Religious reasons were never mentioned; Sten Widmalm, Kashmir in Comparative Perspective: Democracy and Violent Separatism in India (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 131–132. Bose, Roots of Conflict, 95–96.

[48] I employ this term to refer to the political and armed popular movement in the Kashmir Valley, as this was normally used by my interviewees.

[49] Interview, Srinagar, May 15, 2010.

[50] See http://in.reuters.com/article/idINIndia-36624520081121 (accessed July 7, 2006); Abid Bashir, "670 KPs killed in Kashmir since 1989: KPSS", Greater Kashmir, 29 January 2016. http://www.greaterkashmir.com/news/kashmir/670-kps-killed-in-kashmir-since-1989-kpss/208100.html (accessed 7 July 2006).

[51] Abid Bashir, "670 KPs killed in Kashmir since 1989: KPSS", Greater Kashmir, January 29, 2016. http://www.greaterkashmir.com/news/kashmir/670-kps-killed-in-kashmir-since-1989-kpss/208100.html (accessed 7 July 2006).

[52] On a specific account on the condition of the Kashmiri Pandits during the conflict see: Alexander Evans, "A Departure from History: Kashmiri Pandits 1990–2001," Contemporary South Asia 11, no. (2002): 19–37. This author discusses the case of the Pandits exodus of the Valley and suggests there has not been Government involvement. For a different view see Mridu Rai, "Making a part inalienable: folding Kashmir into India's imagination," in Until My Freedom has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir, ed. Sanjay Kak (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2011), 250–278, 272–273.

[53] Etienne Balibar, "Europe as Borderland," Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 27(2009): 190–215, and also from the same author, "The 'Impossible' Community."

[54] Balibar, "Europe," 210.

Multiple Belongings in Refugee Resettlement: A Study of Bhutanese Refugees in the UK

Nicole I.J. Hoellerer

Abstract: In political and public discourses, refugees are often portrayed as 'uprooted' or 'homeless', based on the assumption that individuals are born into a fixed nationality, identity, and culture,[1] to which they belong, and into which forced migrants seek to return after they have been made homeless. 'Refugeeness' is conceived as traumatic, leading to a so-called 'identity-crisis' and a general sense of homelessness, making refugees into 'zombies', who fall outside of clear national borders and categories.

This paper, however, based on ethnographic fieldwork with Bhutanese refugees who resettled in the United Kingdom with an organized refugee resettlement programme, cautions against portraying the home as a natural, singular and permanent sense of locality and identity. 'Rootedness' presumes that before becoming refugees, they were coherent, homogeneous communities with a single social, cultural, and national identity and localized roots. Rather, some refugee groups, such as Bhutanese refugees, have always been a community-in-transition, with various, multi-dimensional, multi-cultural, and multi-national identities. For them, 'home' is not conceived of as having a single root, but is located in a pluralist world with multiple possibilities for finding belonging.

Forced migrants may live their lives in a process of cultural translation, in which they actively pick and choose from various local, national, and transnational cultures and identities, in order to create a multiple and hybridized sense of belonging and home. The paper concludes that although forced migration may have removed individuals from their locality, refugees may not perceive themselves as essentially homeless, but actively refashion their sense of belonging in exile. The notion of 'rootedness' in political and public discourses tells us more about the discursive landscape of the UK, rather than the actual experience of forced migrants.

Introduction

In public and political discourses in the UK, forced migration is perceived as inevitably challenging.[2] Refugees are portrayed as individuals who have lost their community, property, culture,

identities, and roots, and are therefore in a state of uncertainty that needs to be overcome through the re-invention of culture and emplacement in their new environment.[3] But, as Malkki cautions, this view "dehumanizes and dehistoricizes"[4] refugees, and denies them agency to take control of their lives.[5] Migration is not a one-way process; top-down policies may impact on refugees, but they are not passive subjects of policy and care—they actively fashion multiple identities, and negotiate their place and everyday lives in their host country.[6] Forced migrants are proactive and tactical actors who employ the "art of the weak"[7] in order to regain control over their lives, and fashion new belongings in their new 'homes'.

Since 2006, more than one hundred thousand Bhutanese refugees, who resided in refugee camps in Nepal for almost twenty years, have been resettled in eight different resettlement nations: the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Denmark, The Netherlands, and the UK. About 350 Bhutanese refugees have been resettled through the UK's *Gateway Protection Programme* since 2010. This paper is based on ethnographic research with Bhutanese refugees in Greater Manchester, as well as Leeds, Sheffield, and Bradford, where most of the UK's Bhutanese refugees have been resettled. I conducted daily participant observation over fourteen months with roughly forty key informants in Manchester, as well as occasionally meeting and interviewing approximately three hundred Bhutanese refugees in the UK, and conducting twenty-three semi-structured interviews for the *Bhutanese Refugee Film Project*, which I initiated and realized with young Bhutanese refugees in Manchester. Although my gender and personal circumstances (e.g. marital status) did not impact on my relationship with my informants, my status as an immigrant in the UK, as well as my independence of refugee resettlement service providers allowed me to build close rapport with my informants. They ascribed me with a 'migrant-identity' based on shared experiences of immigration, as one of them put it: "You are not English, you understand us." However, although long-term ethnographic fieldwork allows a detailed understanding of the continuous fluctuations in policy, public, and media discourses and responses by refugees,[8] I do not claim that my informants' experiences of refugee resettlement can be translated to other resettlement nations (e.g. the USA), or that these views are shared by all refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants in the UK, regardless of their geographical origin.

In this paper, I address the conception of refugees as 'rootless' and homeless', in need of assistance and intervention. I highlight the refugees' active adoption of multiple, hybrid identities, starting from their history of migration to Bhutan, their forced migration to Nepal,

and resettlement in the UK, and aim to demonstrate that rather than mourning their lost roots in an imagined homeland, Bhutanese refugees actively adopt multiple identities, adapting to the contexts and discourses in which they find themselves. It allows us, as Chatty puts it, to "comprehend and admire the capacity of the human being to survive [and] overcome indescribable suffering".[9]

Refugees as 'abnormality'

Globalisation puts nation-states in a crisis, leading to the breakdown of borders, the growth of transnational markets, laws, and corporations, and decentralisation of a state's power.[10] Nations protect and control their populations, which national ruling bodies assume to be comprised of homogeneous, "historically continuous" groups of people,[11] complying with the norms and regulations of the nation-state.[12] The control and surveillance of immigration is a central feature of national politics, and is widely discussed in public discourses.[13] Refugees, as a people "out of place", add an additional dimension to these complexities.[14]

In political discourses, refugees are conceived of as "liminal beings in a transitional state" of exception,[15] in which they are subject *not* to the laws of nation-states, but to international "refugee regimes" and transnational organisations and institutions, such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).[16] Thus, in political and public discourses, refugees are perceived as "fundamentally flawed human beings" who are not "social agents and historical subjects" but "passive victims", who need to be managed and controlled.[17] Nation-states who signed the UN's 1951 *Refugee Convention* have the duty to offer protection to refugees. However, as nations aim to achieve socio-cultural homogeneity amongst their population in order to control them, the refugees' temporary state of exception has to be overcome by integration,[18] which in turn should foster rootedness.[19]

Turton argues that forced migration is a "shocking and disruptive experience", which requires the re-creation and re-establishment of a sense of home and continuity.[20] Research with forced migrants is often focused on how this normality is restored in a time of uncertainty, following a definition of refugees as a "categorical anomaly."[21] As Harrell-Bond et. al. claim: "[R]efugees are people who have undergone a violent 'rite' of separation and [...] find themselves in transition, in a state of liminality."[22]

This perception assumes that individuals move—or *are* moved involuntarily—from an 'original', coherent and homogeneous culture,

identity, location, and community to a state of uncertainty and in-betweenness, which can be overcome through (re-) integration in either their homelands or in new geographical and societal locations. The purpose of 'integration' is the return to normality, without defining what this "normal order of things"[23] should be.

However, Malkki cautions against the portrayal of refugees as "uprooted" from their "stable, territorialized existence", and critically reflects on the wider political and public discourses which ascribe fixed nationalities, identities, and cultures to people, "into which they are born", and in which they are rooted.[24] International refugee and migration policies "pathologize uprootedness"[25] and make it a social, political, and moral problem that has to be overcome with the help of aid intervention. In the same way, some argue that refugees lose their identities, as Zygmund Bauman claims:

> Having abandoned or been forced out of their former milieu, refugees tend to be stripped of the identities that milieu defined, sustained and reproduced. Socially, they are 'zombies': their old identities survive mostly as ghosts.[26]

As 'zombies' who fall outside of clear national borders and categories, refugees are portrayed as being a danger to "national security", symbolizing "matter out of place" who are polluting,[27] and in need of "therapeutic intervention."[28] 'Integration' serves as the "transplanting" of these roots, to manage these 'zombies' and make them into rooted individuals, who can be controlled within the confines of a nation-state, such as the UK. Thus, refugee policies not only serve to make refugees more 'integrate-able', but also to bestow the "nationless and cultureless"[29] with new identities and a sense of belonging – in this case, belonging to British society where they can build a home.

Malkki argues that by portraying national identity as a "natural" quality (by using the metaphor of rooting), refugees are denied their agency.[30] Conversely, I maintain that the conventions of rootedness presume that before becoming refugees, these groups were coherent, homogeneous communities with a single social, cultural, and national identity. Rather, Bhutanese Nepalese have *always* been a community-in-transition, with various multi-dimensional, multi-cultural, and multi-national identities. Their expulsion from Bhutan and resettlement to the UK did not destroy their identity and sense of belonging, but added new dimensions to their already hybridized selves. Furthermore, the one hundred thousand Bhutanese refugees across the world come from a variety of social classes, educational

backgrounds, and religions, demonstrating that refugee groups are never one homogeneous community, but a diverse social group who may have nothing in common except their shared history of forced displacement.

Hybrid identities

Belonging and the creation of 'home' are tied in with notions of identity. In postmodern social science discourses, identity is divorced from its subjective meaning, in which the individual is the "centre of a phenomenological field."[31] Rather than addressing identity as a "unique sense of self" that is permanent over time and bound to the individual, social scientists perceive identity as a process of becoming,[32] shaped by various, often contradictory, contexts, cultural meanings, and social settings.[33]

Migration policies in the Global North are often based on the communitarian tradition, which stresses "rootedness, a sense of locality, identity of interests, fraternity and co-operation and a sense of identity communally mediated,"[34] perceiving human beings as geographically bounded, with permanent cultures. Social sciences have since moved from territorial perceptions of identity as bounded to a physical space (such as a village, nation, etc.), to non-territorial interpretations, which locate feelings of belonging within shared (cultural, professional, political, etc.) traits, maintained by social interactions and practices that span across the globe.[35] As Stuart Hall compellingly argued throughout his work, identity is not a fixed or singular "true self" that is collectively shared, but a continuous process of production and representation, undergoing constant transformation.[36]

In a globalised world, individuals no longer perceive themselves to be bound to a specific locality or a unique, enduring culture and homeland.[37] Rather, individuals create multiple belongings, identities, and homes, depending on the situation in which they find themselves in. Thus, rather than regarding identity as a "recovery of the past", it is subject to the "continuous play of history, culture and power."[38] Furthermore, identity is embedded in social relationships, interactions, and discourses, and is subject to various factors that lie outside rather than within the individual.[39] For example, Bhutanese 'refugeeness' is not the identity of a singular ego, but one that is constructed through relations and discourses with others and their culture, and is therefore a cultural identity.[40]

Cultural identity is a matter of political significance. It is reworked in political, public, and media discourses,[41] and subject to

representation—that is, to how individuals and groups represent themselves and how others categorize them.[42] In political and public discourses in the UK, identity and belonging are often attributed to a unique ethnicity, and are assumed to be based on similar physical, cultural, linguistic, and religious traits—a culture that is permanent and homogeneous within a cultural community, engendering a sense of belonging.[43] Within these discourses, migrants are grouped into 'ethnic' communities "based on [their] regional origin or migratory history", which seem to transcend differences between them.[44] Consequently, migrants and refugees are ascribed with the same identity, based on their 'homeland' and history of displacement, whereby their migratory background becomes a signifier of social and cultural cohesion that is fixed in time.

But rather than seeing it as a biological fact into which someone is born,[45] cultural identity is better understood as a social construct. In Hall's words, it is "multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices, and positions,"[46] and is changing and developing "like a living organism."[47] As it is influenced by internal dynamics of change, as well as by the experience of migration and policy intervention, identity is "hybridized" and adapted to the context in which migrants find themselves. Migrants actively "combine and rework images, values [...] from what they see as their multiple cultural worlds, transforming each system and themselves in the process, and in so doing creating rich, novel forms of public culture."[48]

For example, Bhutanese Nepalese have always been a community-in-transition, with various multi-dimensional, multi-cultural, and multi-national identities. Their expulsion from Bhutan and refugee resettlement did not destroy their identity and sense of belonging, but added new dimensions to their already hybridized selves. There is no all-encompassing "Bhutanese Nepali-ness" or "Bhutanese-refugee-ness" as a culture, identity, or community that has remained unchanged since living in Bhutan and Nepal. Neither do they "invent homes and homelands" in which they are rooted.[49] Their identities and notions of belonging are "no museum piece sitting stock-still in a display case, but rather consists of the endlessly astonishing synthesis of the contradictions of everyday life,"[50] which "opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference."[51]

Bhutanese refugees

Each refugee group's perception of home and cultural identity can only be understood within the context in which it occurred, and

requires interdisciplinary analyses of the various historic, political, and individual processes that led to displacement.[52]

Bhutanese refugees are a small group of the global refugee community, comprising of about one hundred thousand individuals resettled in eight different resettlement nations, as well as Nepal. They share a unique history of migration before forced displacement, demonstrating that notions of home and belonging were already hybridized before being exiled from Bhutan or being resettled across the Global North. Nepali migration in the Southern Himalayan region has been documented since the eighteenth century, and is referred to as *Prabhashi Nepali*—'immigrant Nepalese'[53]—by Nepalese people. Until China's occupation of Tibet in the 1950s, the borders of South Asian countries in the Himalayan region were not well-defined, with widespread commercial trade and socio-cultural exchange between Himalayan communities. Many semi-nomadic herders moved freely between Nepal, India, Tibet, Sikkim, and Bhutan, which resulted in a Himalayan culture spanning over various kingdoms and nation-states. This puts into question the common assumption of nation-states as "national societies, each rooted in its proper place."[54] Bhutan—a small, land-locked nation-state in the Southern Himalayas between the 'Asian giants' China and India—is no exception, and is a "multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-religious country,"[55] whose residents come from Tibet, Burma, India, Mongolia, Nepal, and Bangladesh. Nepalese Bhutanese—who later became Bhutanese refugees—are mainly Hindu, but also follow a variety of other faiths, including Buddhism and Christianity. What united Nepalese Bhutanese was their ancestry in Nepal, and a colloquial form of Nepali language.[56] Due to agriculture and subsidy farming acting as their main source of income, Nepalese Bhutanese defined home (Nepali: *ghar*) as bound to the soil which they cultivated. Connections to Nepal were only evoked for the choice of marriage partners, predominantly in the Hindu community.[57] One of my oldest informants in the field highlighted the Nepalese Bhutanese's experience of hybridized identities whilst in Bhutan:

> My great-grandfather came to Bhutan and the family lived there for generations. But we kept our Nepali culture, religion, and language. I am not Bhutanese, but I am also not Nepali.

In the second half of the 20th century, due to various national and international events,[58] Bhutan's ruling elite embarked on a project to safeguard sovereignty as an independent nation-state. Gellner defines nationalism as a "political principle, which holds that the

political and national unit should be congruent", by assuring that "ethnic boundaries do not cut across political ones."[59] In this sense, a sovereign nation-state is a geographical and political territory whose national identity is shaped by emphasizing (imagined) nationhood and a homogeneous, 'authentic' ethnicity,[60] under the authority of one distinct ethnic group, whose "ethnic markers (such as language and religion)" are "embedded in the official symbolism and legislation of the state."[61] In Anderson's words, a nation-state is thus an "imagined political community" and an ideological construction that seeks to create links between "self-defined social and cultural groups" and the state.[62] Forced migration often occurs due to nation-states' interest to "achieve some cultural homogeneity or, at least, of asserting state dominance and control over particular social groups."[63]

In the 1970s and 80s, the Bhutanese government introduced the so-called "One Nation, One People" agenda, with the aim to create a singular population with one 'distinct' culture, language, and political representation, which can be differentiated from other nations, such as India, China and Nepal. Through various policies and acts, the Bhutanese ruling elite severely limited immigration, initiated a country-wide, religious conversion project (to Mahayana Buddhism), and established strict laws prohibiting the various ethnic groups from learning and using their distinct dialects and languages in public (including educational facilities).[64] In the mid-1980s, Bhutan's government began to remove citizenship from all residents who could not provide 'documentation' of their ancestry in Bhutan, and with the help of the army and police began to deport "illegal immigrants" and so-called "anti-nationals" to India. As one of my informants recalled: "We were all different, but we were all Bhutanese. Suddenly, they call us illegal immigrants, and say we are not the people of Bhutan." Almost all Nepalese Bhutanese (regardless of their documentation) were forced to sign "Voluntary Migration Forms" and were made to leave Bhutan—something Hutt aptly named a process of "unbecoming citizens."[65] In India, they were ushered on to East Nepal, where in 1992 (after the Nepalese government's repeated calls for assistance) the UNHCR established seven refugee camps.

Due to internal political unrest in Nepal at the time,[66] the Nepalese government had neither time nor resources to allow for local integration of more than one hundred thousand people, although it was the most welcomed solution for both Bhutanese refugees and the UNHRC. Bhutanese refugees were confined to the refugee camps and prevented from seeking employment and education outside of the camp. The following fifteen years were marked by political unrest and protest by Bhutanese refugees within a politically unstable

country, including attempts to return to Bhutan. This created solidarity amongst Bhutanese refugees, who began to self-identify as one unified community that has been "mistreated by an oppressive political regime" in Bhutan and exiled, and therefore all Bhutanese refugees share a "collective history of suffering" and an urge to "go back home"[67] to Bhutan, which was never realized in practice.

The refugee camp as 'home'

In the refugee camps, Bhutanese refugees' hyphenated identities as Nepalese-Bhutanese were now further hybridized, adding additional dimensions to their notions of belonging, as well as creating strong bonds within the camp community. The bamboo or plastic huts in the camps were built so close together that sometimes a mere plastic sheet served as a wall between different families' huts, leading to very close interactions between neighbours. In the camps, they created new social networks within a new environment and community, which were not quite the same as in Bhutan. Although largely a time of "waiting" (for a durable solution),[68] children entered camp schools, and adults engaged in various socio-cultural and economic practices within the camps. As one of my younger informants explained: "In the camp, it used to be fun. Life was miserable, but there were lots of friends and relatives, and we lived together. We were free! [...] We had friends, we used to go to school. [...] It was home". During this time, Bhutanese refugees emphasized their distinction from the local Nepali population as being "similar, but not quite the same". Belonging and notions of home were not tied to a nation-state or soil, but to the specific refugee camp and the local camp community.

Aid-intervention and humanitarian relief within the camps, however, introduced new ideas and notions of identity to Bhutanese refugees. Although agencies working with refugees across the world are, in principle, politically neutral, they do employ strategies to impart "a set of values, norms and principles associated with human rights, gender equality and democratization,"[69] and "civilize" refugees by erasing "theocratic, premodern ... and superstitious ways"[70] such as the caste system or concepts of gender inequality prevalent amongst Nepalese Bhutanese. The aim of what Muggah calls "social re-engineering" in camps is to make refugees more 'Western', and therefore more easily controllable and manageable by relief agencies. The refugee camp symbolizes "a technology of 'care and control'" of space, people, and movement.[71] Here, we are reminded of Foucault's disciplined body that is made "docile" by regulating space and activities over time,[72] in order to create bodies imbued with a sense

that submission to authority is natural. The camp is therefore not simply a space of refuge or temporary home for displaced people who are in between citizenship and nation-states, but also reinforces the refugees' dependency and powerlessness by exercising control over space, time, mobility, and possessions.[73]

Camp life in protracted refugee situations reshapes the refugees' notions of social and cultural identity, and alters their sense of belonging towards a 'global' or 'rooted cosmopolitanism', whereby individuals may feel they belong in specific geographic, cultural, and national locations, but learn to locate the self in a larger world of plural cultures, identities, and peoples.[74] Due to their migration history before settlement in Bhutan, their experience in the refugee camp, and their experience with organised refugee resettlement, Bhutanese refugees conceive identity not as a single root that is bound to a specific location, culture, or nation, but as a "root moving toward and encountering other roots."[75]

There is no 'Bhutanese Nepali-ness' or 'Bhutanese-refugee-ness' as an identity "acquired at birth", which the informants "desperate[ly] attempt to re-create."[76] Rather, they reshape and adapt their values and meanings through their experiences, and thus create *new* norms and shared principles to which they may or may not choose to conform.[77] These notions are produced by *both* Bhutanese refugees and external bodies, such as aid and relief agencies, and UK policymakers and service providers.

Refugee resettlement

In 2006, the UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) initiated third country resettlement for Bhutanese refugees. Initially, this durable solution was largely rejected by the refugees themselves, who regarded it as a capitulation that would make it impossible to ever be repatriated or even compensated by the Bhutanese government. But as donor fatigue led to the reduction of resources within the camps, more and more Bhutanese refugees applied for third-country resettlement[78] after 2006. After having resettled one hundred thousand refugees by 2015, it is referred to as the most "comprehensive" and "successful" resettlement programme in the history of the UNHCR (see Figure 1).[79] The first Bhutanese refugees arrived in the UK in 2010, and by 2014 (which marked the end of this programme in the UK), about 350 refugees had resettled in Greater Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Bradford (due to availability of housing and public services). In line with the UK's *Gateway Protection Programme*, Bhutanese refugees received an

'Indefinite Leave to Remain' in the UK, which gives them the same rights to live, work, and study in the UK as any other resident, as well as to claim benefits and welfare payments. Moreover, they are able to apply for citizenship after five years of permanent residence in the UK.

Figure 1: Bhutanese Refugee Resettlement in 2015 [80]
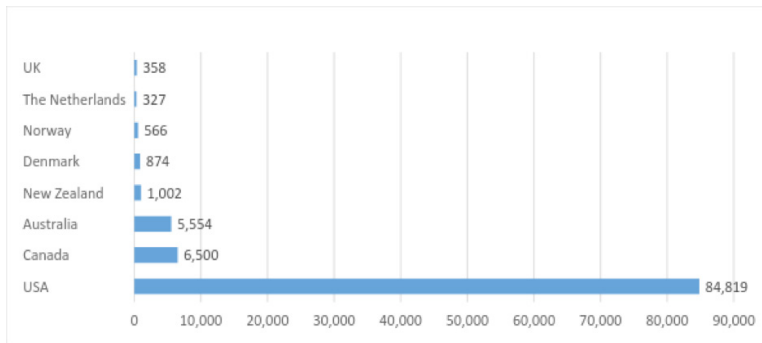
For Bhutanese refugees, there is no possibility to return to Bhutan (to date), and therefore they are obliged to learn to exist in and interact with their new environment in resettlement. Rather than regarding resettlement as the end of liminality, their negotiation, adaptation, and transformation is a lifelong process that may never result in 're-integration' and 'rootedness.'[81] However, Bhutanese refugees 'adapt' to their new surroundings and adopt multiple identities depending on the social network and environment they are in.

As many researchers working with refugees argue, belonging to different communities allows refugees to overcome liminality by providing an inclusive social network, assuring "a sense of purpose, belonging [and] security", and thus fostering 'rootedness'.[82] Similarly, Bhutanese refugees define their belonging, rootedness, and sense of home as set within the communities and social networks in which they operate. The importance for the community to create rootedness may not be unexpected, as in South Asia, where my informants originate (both Bhutan and Nepal), the community is "the central site of everyday life" and, more importantly, the stage on which "persons move through life-course passages," such as birth, youth, marriage, and death.[83] Robins clearly articulates the point by asking: "Isn't it through the others that we become aware of who we are and what we stand for?"[84] Thus, identities are closely entwined with the social networks to which individuals feel (or do not feel) that they belong to. Similarly to cultural identity, belonging is hybridized and constructed

along multiple sites and social networks, which are located in the "present circumstances" rather than imagined homelands.[85]

As I show below, Bhutanese refugees' notions of belonging to a community are adaptable and continuously changing, and become part of a "deterritorialized culture,"[86] employing several hybrid identities and belongings.[87]

Multiple belongings amongst Bhutanese refugees in the UK

Contrary to assumptions of some social theorists, who argue that migrants suffer from an "identity crisis,"[88] Bhutanese refugees in the UK learn to bridge cultural and social boundaries.[89] This is not, however, a "linear progression" from one culture to another, but a complex interplay of multiple identities and cultures, which change over time.[90] For example, my informants' insistence on referring to themselves as Bhutanese Nepalese signifies a biculturalism—a dual national and cultural identity.[91] These hybrid identities are fluid, highly dynamic, and sometimes even contradictory.[92] They "may be stressed and asserted, or subordinated and played down, according to the political and economic circumstances within which they live."[93]

Bhutanese refugees learn to adapt their identities to the context, depending on the social networks within which they find themselves. For example, my informants place emphasis on their Nepali-ness, characterised by shared values, language (Nepali), and social practices (e.g. dietary habits, celebration of Nepali festivals).[94] As one of my informants emphasized: "We are the same people". This Nepali identity is also stressed when Bhutanese refugees interact with the Nepali community in the UK. These relationships are further fostered through intermarriage: in the absence of Bhutanese refugee marriage partners, Nepali migrants are popular choices.

This territorial affiliation is expanded when they fashion social networks with the South Asian community resident in Britain, accentuating a wider 'South Asian identity', sharing religious practices, commensality of food, a love for South Asian popular culture (e.g. music and Bollywood), and collective values, such as respect for the elders. They learn to use phrases in Hindi, Urdu, and Punjabi to communicate with South Asian migrants, work in their businesses, and have reliable social networks and close friendships in the British Asian community.

When communicating with other (non-South Asian) migrants (including me), Bhutanese refugees stress their migrant-identity, characterized by unfamiliarity with the status quo, ambiguity towards the host society, and latent criticism of British policymakers.

Migrants—whether voluntary or forced—are perceived by my informants to share the experience of migration and the difficulties in adapting to mainstream society. This is something that (in their eyes) British people lack, and therefore they feel closer connections to migrants than to the British host population.

However, Bhutanese refugees perceive themselves as distinct from the Nepali (and Bhutanese) *national* identity and *ethnicity* through a shared history of 'refugee-ness'. Therefore, commonality for my informants is *situational* rather than an *a priori* biological fact based on ethnicity.[95] Refugeeness is especially useful when communicating with other forcibly displaced people, such as the Somali, Congolese (DRC), or Iraqi refugee communities in Manchester. Bhutanese refugees assume that they share a common experience of refugeeness, despite vast cultural, historical, and political differences. This was also expressed in the widespread sympathy with Syrian refugees, and demonstrated by collecting donations for refugees in the Mediterranean.

Social re-engineering in the Nepalese refugee camps engendered the active adoption of additional, 'Westernized' identities, characterized by secularism, economic self-sufficiency, high levels of education, and participation in democratic processes. In resettlement in the UK, Bhutanese refugees attempt to adopt this notion of 'Britishness'. By the time I began fieldwork in 2012, those who had arrived in the UK in 2010 were already conceiving of themselves as 'British Bhutanese Nepalese refugees' (my term), who had created vast social networks with the British host community and called Britain their home. Some of my informants in the UK distinguished themselves from Bhutanese refugees in other resettlement nations, such as the USA or Australia, emphasizing how "proud" they are to be in Britain rather than in other nations, and that they look forward to receiving citizenship from this "dreamland."

Bhutanese refugees adopt a form of "cultural mimicry", in which they imitate what they perceive to be 'British.'[96] Many of my informants compare their Nepalese Bhutanese identity with the British community, as one of them explained:

British community is where there is stable and good governance and it is highly developed comparing to Nepal. People here always seem to be in their own track which means they do not care a lot about what somebody is doing, especially neighbours and relatives, whereas in Nepal, people stay communal with their friends, families, neighbours, and relatives. Despite that, British are tolerant and they have more willingness and eagerness to tolerate other people who are not like them.

My informants' assumptions about Britain include that it is an 'advanced' society, vis-à-vis the Bhutanese or Nepalese community, as one of them highlighted: "after arriving, I learned that we [and Nepal] are a hundred years behind the British people". It is this comparison of 'developed' Britain versus 'undeveloped' Nepal (or Bhutan) that engenders change amongst many, especially young Bhutanese refugees. These performances of Britishness are important representations of themselves as both Bhutanese-Nepali and 'Western', and thus 'civilized'. Bromley's work on migrants in the UK mirrors this perception when he paraphrases his informants' views: "[t]o be fully 'human' is to be Westernized."[97]

Children and young adults find this 'everyday cosmopolitanism' much easier.[98] As one of my younger informants stated: "I'm really proud to be English. I finally feel like I've found my own identity." This is also exemplified by Kathleen Hall's research with second generation Sikh children in Southall (London), in which she illustrates how young people quickly learn to "bridge boundaries" of culture, communities, and identities through adopting a "youth [sub]culture" that incorporates a wide range of socio-cultural lifestyles and identities.[99] Similarly, Bhutanese refugee children and youth move freely between the various communities and identities in the UK, both within and external to the Bhutanese refugee community. They fashion a Bhutanese refugee youth culture, based on performance of Nepali and Indian song and dance, a mixture of fashion styles combining traditional South Asian dress (such as saris and kurtas) with 'Western' clothing (jeans, mini-skirts, etc.), and consumer culture (by owning mobile gadgets, such as mobile phones, tablets, etc.).

For young refugees, social networks with their peers from across the world allow them to create a rootedness in a diverse society, and none of my young informants planned to return to either Nepal or Bhutan. This is also expressed in the very limited (if at all manifested) political engagement to fight for repatriation or compensation from the Bhutanese government. Rather than re-inventing an imagined homeland, Bhutanese refugees in the UK hardly speak about Bhutan or Nepal, and the older generation does not actively impart their Nepalese Bhutanese culture to the young generation. But rather than perceiving this as a loss, most Bhutanese refugees regard their lives in resettlement as an opportunity to "settle down". For them, home is the ability to access the labour market and education (something that was denied to them whilst in the refugee camps), buy property, and ultimately, to 'become citizens'. As one of my informants stated:

I am Bhutanese because my fathers are born there [...] I am

Nepali, because this is my culture, my language....and now, I am British, too, [...] because I live here now and integrate, and study and learn, not follow religion [...] This is my home now.

This demonstrates that although the experience of forced migration is conceived as "traumatic", "destroying traditional" communities, hierarchies, identities, and cultures,[100] it is also an "opportunity to redefine" and restructure their identities, practices, and notions of belonging. Echoing Chatty's research with Palestinian refugees, or Malkki's work in Tanzania,[101] Bhutanese refugees adopt multiple, often overlapping identities, which they adapt to the context in which they find themselves in. Contrary to political and public discourses, they are not 'zombies' or 'homeless' and in need of re-inventing roots in an imagined homeland. In Bhabha's words, "to be unhomed is not to be homeless."[102] As one Bhutanese refugee remarked: "I was born in Bhutan, lived in Nepal, and now [the UK] is my home."

Rather than "pathologizing" their "uprootedness", Bhutanese refugees actively and independently negotiate belonging through a process of "transculturalisation of cultural translation", in which they actively pick-and-choose from various local, national, and transnational cultures and identities, 'translating' and mingling cultures, identities, and practices acquired in Bhutan, Nepal, and the UK.[103] As Zetter summarizes:

Simultaneously cohering to different social worlds and communities is part and parcel of the contemporary social life for refugees and other migrant groups in an increasingly globalised world.[104]

Conclusion

In the twenty-first century, we live in a globalized, interconnected world, in which geographical distances and cultural differences have shrunk, and various 'scapes' "chase each other across the world."[105] Migration and transnational flows are key aspects of this globalization. In today's world, we are all subject to a "general condition of homelessness,"[106] resulting in a vast diversity of people, cultures, and languages within local spaces, which intersect, interact, and co-exist. We can speak of an interdependent, transnational, and heterogeneous "world culture" or "encounter", which reshapes, delocalizes and redefines notions of identity, belonging, and 'home.'[107]

Furthermore, in a globalized world, social groups are not bounded or share a homogeneous identity internally. Multiple cultures overlap and influence one another, putting into question the rigidity of

boundaries assumed in public and political discourses on migration. In fact, the "very concepts of homogeneous national cultures, the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions, or 'organic' ethnic communities"[108] have to be examined and, ultimately, abandoned. Migration (especially if involuntary) brings about drastic changes, which involve radical modifications of identities and redefine the boundaries of cultures.[109] Migration goes hand in hand with processes of "cultural translation,"[110] which detach individuals from their past in order to create 'new persons', shaped by politics, history, and personal experiences—Bhutanese refugees are one example of this.

Bhutanese refugees are not today one homogeneous group of people with a bounded culture—nor were they before experiencing displacement and resettlement. When they were forced to leave Bhutan, they took with them cultures, languages, and identities that were already hybridized. Resettlement in the UK brought additional changes to these complex, multiple identities, resulting in a multifaceted community of 'British Bhutanese Nepalese refugees'. They are migratory individuals experiencing transition and change. They are in a continuous process of adapting to the context in which they find themselves, influenced by external forces, such as national and transnational policies, aid intervention (e.g. from UNHCR, IOM), and nation-states (Bhutan, Nepal, UK), whilst actively reworking their histories, identities, cultures, languages, norms, values, and socio-cultural practices, influenced by history, aid intervention and forced migration. There is no unique Nepalese Bhutanese identity and 'rootedness' with distinct cultures and practices that are persistent across space and time. Rather, they are a community of change, creating multiple hybrid selves. Throughout my fieldwork, I have observed the changes in perception and behaviours amongst my informants—a transformation that is ongoing since I have left the field.

Several anthropologists have called on social scientists, international agencies, and governments to address refugees and asylum seekers not as 'defenceless' victims only knowable through their needs and their 'abnormality', but rather to recognize their agency to bring about political and economic change and stability, both for themselves and for the international community, as well as their ability to create new and multiple roots.[111] Ultimately, political and public discourses about the existence and relevance of 'homelands' and 'roots' say more about the bureaucratic landscape and the dominant political and public discourses in the UK than they do about refugees and their own perceptions and experiences of

belonging.

Notes

[1] Culture, in this work, broadly refers to "highly complex and fluid behaviours, norms, values, knowledges and practices people create, maintain and follow", and has to be distinguished from notions of race, ethnicity, or identity. See Catherine Pelissier, "The Anthropology of Teaching and Learning," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 20 (1991): 75–95.

[2] Elizabeth Colson, "Forced Migration and the Anthropological Response," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 16, no. 1 (2003): 1–18, 6.

[3] Ibid., 3, 6.

[4] Liisa Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism and Dehistoricization," in *Sitting Culture: The Shifting Anthropological Perspective*, eds. Karen Olwig and Kirsten Hastrup (London: Routledge, 1997), 223–54.

[5] Ibid.

[6] See Sharif Gemie, "Re-defining Refugees: Nations, Borders and Globalization," *Eurolimes* 9 (2010): 28–37, 30; Robert Muggah, "Distinguishing Means and Ends: The Counterintuitive Effects of UNHCR's Community Development Approach in Nepal," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 18, no. 2 (2005): 151–164, 153; Jenny Mitchell and Ignacio Correa-Velez, "Community Development with Survivors of Torture and Trauma: An Evaluation Framework," *Community Development Journal*, 45, no. 1 (2010): 90–110, 91; Lucy Williams, "Social Networks of Refugees in the United Kingdom: Tradition, Tactics and New Community Spaces," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32, no. 5 (2006): 865-879, 866.

[7] See De Certeau, quoted in Williams, "Social Networks," 867.

[8] Williams, "Social Networks," 877.

[9] Dawn Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 437.

[10] Following Habermas' assertion that nation-states face a legitimation crisis, during which states lose their autonomy, power, and authority over their 'subjects.' Habermas, 1973, quoted in Hannes Gissurarson, "Authority", in: *The Blackwell Dictionary of Modern Social Thought*, 2nd ed., ed. William Outhwaite (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 38–40, 39); also see Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

[11] David Turton, "Forced Displacement and the Nation," in *Development and Displacement*, ed. Jenny Robinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 19–75, 25.

[12] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006); Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 1989).

[13] Marietta L. Baba, "Anthropology and Transnational Migration: A Focus on Policy," *International Migration* 51, no. 2 (2013): 1–9, 3; Roger Zetter and Martyn Pearl, "The Minority within the Minority: Refugee Community-Based Organisations in the UK and the Impact of Restrictionism on Asylum Seekers," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 26, no. 4 (2000): 675–697, 676.

[14] Turton, "Forced Displacement and the Nation," 26.

[15] Carol Mortland, "Transforming Refugees in Refugee Camps," *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* 16,

no. 3 & 4 (1987): 375–404, 401.

[16] Turton, "Forced Displacement and the Nation," 27–8; Dawn Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration in the Middle East,* 23; Barbara Zeus, "Exploring Barriers to Higher Education in Protracted Refugee Situations: The Case of Burmese Refugees in Thailand," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 2 (2001): 256–276, 259.

[17] David Turton, "The Meaning of Place in a World of Movement: Lessons from Long-Term Field Research in Southern Ethiopia," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 18, no. 3 (2005): 258–280, 278. Also see Liisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[18] The concept and definition of 'integration' is widely debated in social sciences, and is referred to as 'integration' (in inverted commas) to highlight the problematic nature of the term. Also see Sin Yi Cheung and Jenny Phillimore, "Refugees, Social Capital, and Labour Market Integration in the UK", *Sociology* 48, no. 3 (2013): 528–536.

[19] Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration,* 459; Gemie, "Re-Defining Refugees," 34; Turton, "Forced Displacement and the Nation," 28.

[20] Turton, "The Meaning of Place," 260; also see Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration,* 463–464.

[21] Liisa Malkki, "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees," *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992): 24–44.

[22] Barbara Harrell-Bond and Efithia Vourtira, "Refugees," in *Encyclopaedia of Cultural Anthropology*, eds. David Levinson and Melvin Ember (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1996), 1076–1081, 1077.

[23] Mortland, "Transforming Refugees," 378.

[24] Malkki, "National Geographic," 29.

[25] Ibid., 32.

[26] Zygmund Bauman, *Liquid Love: On the Frailty of Human Bonds* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003), 347.

[27] See Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1996).

[28] Malkki, "National Geographic," 34; Harrell-Bond and Vourtira, "Refugees," 1077.

[29] Harrell-Bond and Vourtira, "Refugees," 1077.

[30] See Malkki, Liisa "National Geographic"; "News from Nowhere: Mass Displacement and Globalized 'Problems of Organization,'" *Ethnography* 3, no. 3 (2002): 351–60.

[31] Lawrence Grossberg, "Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There Is?", in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 87–107, 98; Cristina–Georgiana Voiscu, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," *Philobiblon* 18, no. 1 (2013): 161–174, 161.

[32] Roger Bromley, *Narratives for a New Belonging: Diasporic Cultural Fictions* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 9.

[33] Kathleen Hall, "British Sikh Love Lives in Translation," in *Everyday Life in South Asia*, 2nd ed., eds. Diane Mines and Sarah Lamb (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 448–460, 449–450; Grossberg, "Identity," 99.

[34] Mae Shaw, "Community Development and the Politics of Community," *Community Development Journal* 43, no. 1 (2006): 24–36, 25.

[35] Victor Azarya, "Community," in *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., eds. Adam Kuper and Jessica Kuper (London: Routledge, 1996), 114–115, 114.

[36] See Stuart Hall, "New Ethnicities," in *'Race,' Culture and Difference*, eds. James Donald and Ali Rattansi (London: Open University / Sage, 1992), 252–259; Stuart Hall, "Who Needs 'Identity'?," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 1–17.

[37] Nadia Lovell, "Introduction: Belonging in Need of Emplacement," in *Locality and Belonging*, ed. Nadia Lovell (London: Routledge, 1998), 1–24, 5; Baba, "Anthropology," 2.

[38] Voiscu, "Cultural Identity," 163–164.

[39] Hall, "Who Needs 'Identity'?," 2–4.

[40] Voiscu, "Cultural Identity," 162–168.

[41] Roger Zetter, "More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 2 (2007): 172–192, 173.

[42] Hall, "Who Needs 'Identity'?," 4.

[43] Gerd Baumann, *Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi-Ethnic London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 13, 17; also see Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration.*

[44] Baumann, *Contesting Culture*, 79.

[45] See Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, ed. Clifford Gertz (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 105–157, 109.

[46] Hall, "Who Needs 'Identity'?," 4.

[47] Baumann, *Contesting Culture*, 13.

[48] Diane Mines and Sarah Lamb, "Globalisation, Public Culture and South Asian Diaspora," in *Everyday Life in South Asia*, 2nd ed., eds. Diane Mines and Sarah Lamb (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 399–405, 403–404.

[49] Malkki, "National Geographic," 24.

[50] Janice Boddy, "Managing Tradition: Superstition and the Making of National Identity among Sudanese Women Refugees," in *The Pursuit of Certainty: Religious and Cultural Formulations*, ed. Wendy James (London: Routledge, 1995), 17–44, 17.

[51] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 34.

[52] Malkki, *Purity and Exile,* 496.

[53] Mathew Joseph, *Ethnic Conflict in Bhutan* (New Delhi: Nirala Publications, 1999), 35.

[54] Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration*, 40.

[55] Joseph, Ethnic Conflict *in Bhutan*, 23.

[56] Ibid.; Michael Hutt, "Ethnic Nationalism, Refugees and Bhutan," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 9, no. 4 (1996): 397–420, 400.

[57] Hutt, "Ethnic Nationalism," 402.

[58] See Michael Aris, *The Raven Crown: The Origins of Buddhist Monarchy in Bhutan* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2005); Michael Hutt, *Unbecoming Citizens: Culture, Nationhood and the Flight of Refugees from Bhutan* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007); Rosalind Evans, "Inheriting the Past and Envisioning the Future: Young Bhutanese Refugees' *Political Learning and Action*" (PhD diss., St. Antony's College, Oxford University, (2009); Rosalind Evans, "The Perils of Being a Borderland People: On the Lhotshampas of Bhutan," *Contemporary South Asia* 18, no. 1 (2010): 25–42; Joseph, *Ethnic Conflict in Bhutan.*

[59] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism: New Perspectives on the Past* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell: 1983), 1.

[60] See Giorgio Agamben, *The Open: Man and Animal* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); Appadurai, *Modernity at Large.*

[61] Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration,* 37.

[62] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6; also see Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration,* 37.

[63] Weiner (1995), quoted in Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration*, 33.

[64] Joseph, *Ethnic Conflict in Bhutan*, 139.

[65] See Hutt, *Unbecoming Citizens.*

[66] Evans, *Inheriting the Past*, 8.

[67] Ibid., 229, 232.

[68] Also see Jenna Miletzki, "Waiting for *Citizenship: Pragmatics of Belonging of Burundian Refugees in Protracted Exile*. The *Case of Ulyankulu Settlement, Tanzania*" (PhD diss., LSE, 2014).

[69] Robert Muggah, "Distinguishing Means and Ends: The Counterintuitive Effects of UNHCR's Community Development Approach in Nepal," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 18, no. 2 (2005): 151–164, 161.

[70] Kevin Robins, "Interrupting Identities," in Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 61–86, 68.

[71] Malkki, "National Geographic," 34; also see Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1968).

[72] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991).

[73] Mortland, "Transforming Refugees," 375.

[74] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 12; Bromley, *Narratives*, 16.

[75] Glissant, 2005, quoted in Voiscu, "Cultural Identity," 165.

[76] Gemie, "Re-Defining Refugees," 31.

[77] Baumann, *Contesting Culture*, 13, 102.

[78] See Evans, *Inheriting the Past.*

[79] *Himalayan Times*, "One Lakh Bhutanese Refugees Resettled outside Nepal," November 20, 2015.

[80] *Himalayan Times*, "One Lakh Bhutanese Refugees"

[81] Mortland, "Transforming Refugees," 378.

[82] See Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration,* 3; Muggah, "Distinguishing Means;" Mitchell and Correa-Velez, "Community Development," 94.

[83] Diane Mines and Sarah Lamb, "The Family and the Life Course," in *Everyday Life in South Asia*, 2nd ed., eds. Diane Mines and Sarah Lamb (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 9–13, 9.

[84] Robins, "Interrupting Identities," 79.

[85] Malkki, "National Geographic," 36–7; also see Malkki, *Purity and Exile.*

[86] Bromley, *Narratives*, 14.

[87] Baumann, *Contesting Culture*, 23; Grossberg, "Identity," 91; Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg, *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 3.

[88] See Erik Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968).

[89] Hall, "British Sikh Love," 449.

[90] Voiscu, "Cultural Identity," 174.

[91] Bromley, *Narratives*, 4.

[92] Voiscu, "Cultural Identity," 165.

[93] Hutt, *Unbecoming Citizens*, 5.

[94] This is not to say that they evoke a *national* identity, which signifies belonging to a specific national territory (e.g. Bhutan or Nepal) and a common *national*

history and culture. Also see Voiscu, "Cultural Identity," 171.

[95] Frederik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture* (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 1998), 14.

[96] Shoat (1993), quoted in Bromley, *Narratives*, 8.

[97] Ibid., 19.

[98] Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration*, 32, 443.

[99] Hall, "British Sikh Love," 448–450.

[100] Jenny Robinson, *Development and Displacement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 13.

[101] See Chatty, *Dispossession and Forced Migration*; Malkki, *Purity and Exile*.

[102] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 42.

[103] Bromley, *Narratives*, 2, 10.

[104] Zetter, "More Labels, Fewer Refugees," 187.

[105] See Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*.

[106] Said (1979), quoted in Malkki, "National Geographic," 25.

[107] Bromley, *Narratives*, 7, 14, 24.

[108] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 36.

[109] Colson, "Forced Migration," 1.

[110] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 40.

[111] See, amongst many others, Dawn Chatty, Liisa Malkki, and Elizabeth Colson.

THE FALSE OBSOLESCENCE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION THEORY IN THE STUDY OF NORTH AMERICAN INTEGRATION

Iván Farías Pelcastre

Abstract: The current scholarship on North American integration has largely failed to engage with European integration theories. This paper argues that this situation results from the existence and dominance of the assumption, in the current literature, that North American integration is an intergovernmental process. It follows from this notion that, confronted with turbulence, the governments of Mexico, Canada, and the United States have lingered in promoting integration, and the process has stalled. Hence, (European) regional integration theories are irrelevant to the study of the North American case. This article argues that this claim resembles those made in the 1970s in Europe, when Ernst Haas declared the theorization of (European) integration obsolescent. To address this claim, this paper proposes reintroducing regional integration theories into the study of North American integration. It argues that such a change would enable scholars to better understand and acknowledge the varying degrees of policy interdependence (and hence political integration) between these countries. It concludes that the use of these theories would enable scholars to reassess North American integration, and potentially reveal that this process might be more substantial than current studies claim.

Introduction

This article, first, reviews and discusses how scholars have studied and theorized North American integration. It demonstrates that scholars have assumed that, because North American integration started as an intergovernmental process, it is *still* intergovernmental. This article shows that such an assumption is built on the understanding that the origins of North American integration lie in the negotiation and implementation

of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which the United States (US), Canada, and Mexico entered into in 1994. While this understanding is accurate, the assumption that follows from it is not. This article aims to demonstrate that, through the action of regional and transnational actors, North American integration has been more extensive and has developed further than commonly presumed. Third, this paper shows that most scholars have failed to acknowledge, or have even dismissed, these developments, hence reinforcing this assumption and, in turn, portraying European integration theories as irrelevant, unsuitable, or obsolescent for the analysis of the North American case. This paper compares the current portrayal of integration theories as obsolescent to the study of North American integration to the crisis that European regional integration and its theorization experienced in the 1970s. It concludes that, just as in the European case, the reintroduction of these theories, which have proven their relevance in other contexts, could provide a stronger foundation for reassessing the incidence and development of North American integration than theories currently used.

What is North American integration?

North American integration is a noteworthy process as it involves the world's current superpower, the US, along with a middle power and a developing middle-income country, Canada and Mexico, respectively. NAFTA accounts for nearly 15% of world exports, making the region one of three global trade poles.[1] Numerous scholars across the disciplines of economics, political science, and International Relations have analyzed different aspects of North American integration. However, due to its global economic significance, the study of North American integration has been dominated by analyses of *economic* integration.[2]

Over the past two decades, however, there has been a gradual shift in studies of North American integration. Their scope has expanded beyond economic analyses on the negotiation, implementation, and operation of the Canada-US and North American Free Trade Agreements (CUSFTA and NAFTA, correspondingly) and other intergovernmental accords, to the analysis of the social impact of such agreements. Current research includes, for instance, analyses of the effects that North American integration (or lack thereof) has had on the actions and capacities of US, Canadian, and Mexican civil societies; or the social and legal impact of North American integration on the rights and capacities of national and subnational governments and individuals.

Comparatively, the study of regional *political* integration between Canada, Mexico, and the US has been uncommon. There are, indeed,

studies looking at the *political* factors that might cause, sustain, or prevent the occurrence and development of North American integration. None of them examine, however, whether North America might be integrating *politically*, or whether it constitutes a case study of the general phenomenon of regional *political* integration. Furthermore, most analyses in the current literature on North American political integration have a policy-oriented empirical focus, as they aim to provide policy recommendations on whether and how regional integration can contribute to addressing wider economic, political, or social issues concerning the North American countries. Although these studies are of utmost importance, they do not provide a theoretical account for the occurrence of integration (or lack thereof) among these countries. Hence, while the North American integration process has been widely studied, it remains under-theorized.

How is North American integration studied and theorized?

Paradoxically, scholars conducting analyses of North American integration have largely disregarded or failed to engage with mainstream regional integration theories, such as neofunctionalism or intergovernmentalism. This is problematic, as these theories address the most fundamental questions on regional integration; namely: what is it, what forces are driving it, and whether it strengthens or reduces the political autonomy of nation-states. It is often argued that this lack of engagement stems from the fact that the mainstream theories were created mainly to explain the European integration process. Many scholars in Europe and North America conclude that this characteristic, along with the vast socio-economic and political differences existing between both regions, makes (European) regional integration theories inadequate or even irrelevant to the study of the North American case.

The same claim, however, is not often made about the comparative study of other regions. Today, European integration theories are repeatedly used in the comparative analyses of South East Asian, and Central and South American integration. However, some scholars argue that the socio-political relations between the North American countries are much weaker than those between countries in other regions, most notably Europe, Asia, and South America. In their view, trade and investment are the only trilateral linkages between the US, Canada, and Mexico. Moreover, national governments have been reluctant to surrender or pool political sovereignty, thus constraining the possibilities of establishing stronger and more regional institutions in other policy areas. These characteristics (or deficiencies) make North America very dissimilar to Europe or other regions. On this basis, these and other North

America-focused scholars have inadvertently sidelined, or deliberately avoided, using regional integration theories in their analyses, and made their comparative analyzes unsystematic.

For example, Warleigh-Lack argues that North American integration cannot be compared to "more advanced"[3] integration processes, such as the European one, due to its lack of supranational institutions. Likewise, Söderbaum argues that NAFTA created a weak institutional structure that "contrasts sharply with the emphasis on deep and institutional integration of the EU [...] which is by far the most salient point of reference or model"[4] of regional integration. In Europe, nation-states agreed to surrender their sovereignty, partly or completely (depending on the policy area or issue), to institutions with significant autonomy and authority over member-states. Given that the North American states did not surrender or pool their sovereignty, European regional integration theories are not applicable, purportedly, to North America. When accepted, these interpretations have led scholars to dismiss the comparative study of European and North American integration. For instance, Rosamond has argued that conducting comparative studies of European and North American integration would be pointless, as "we should not expect the likes of NAFTA [...] to come to resemble the EU and thus that the EU's long experience offers lessons to neither region-building policy actors [nor] academic analysts"[5] of North American regional integration.

These recurrent assertions are concerning and problematic. These scholars, first, fail to consider that European integration might be only one case of the general phenomenon of regional integration which has essentially developed for longer—rather than a unique socio-political and economic phenomenon. Second, by questioning the value of comparative studies between North America and other regions, including Europe, they discourage North America-focused scholars from engaging with European integration theories. For better or for worse, the theorization of the European case has shaped and continues to strongly influence the debate on regional integration through "comparisons with [other regions], but not as much regarding NAFTA."[6] The prevalence of these views, resulting partially from the status of European Studies as the mainstream of regional integration theory, partly explains the limited theorization of North American integration, and its comparative study.

The claim that North American integration is a process of purely economic nature is not only widespread but also reinforced by North America-focused scholars. For instance, Park and Ruiz Estrada[7] argue that North American integration is limited to the implementation of NAFTA, an economic agreement established solely for the purposes of making the North American markets more efficient, and increasing the

economic exchanges between Canada, Mexico, and the US. Likewise, Tarr,[8] Bélanger,[9] and Genna and Mayer-Foulkes[10] argue that the North American governments carefully negotiated and crafted the US-Canada and North American Free Trade Agreements (CUSFTA and NAFTA, correspondingly) to achieve their national interests on the promotion of free trade, while ensuring their continued control over the process. These authors argue that the national governments limited any possible political impact that the agreement might come to have over their countries through the creation of a very feeble institutional architecture for the administration and operation of NAFTA. Similarly, Mattli and Stone Sweet claim that North America is a regional integration scheme "whose central mode of governance is intergovernmental."[11] In their view, the rationale for pursuing integration in the region lies exclusively in the economic gains associated with increasing cross-border trade and investment between the US, Canada, and Mexico. Because these countries only signed a 'contract' (i.e., NAFTA) to establish a free trade area, North American integration has never gone beyond it. Courchene even goes as far as arguing that "this fact [i.e., the non-existence of North American political integration] is fully recognized"[12] in the literature.

The consensus among most scholars, then, in or outside the subfield of North American Studies, is that North American integration is limited to the functioning of the trade agreements that the Canadian, Mexican, and US governments have entered over the past fifty years (starting with the 1965 Auto Pact). Such an interpretation leads most scholars to conclude that the process has no significant political impact. Some scholars do go beyond these common understandings of North American integration as a process purportedly limited to the implementation and operation of CUSFTA and NAFTA, and constrained to (or predominantly centred on) trade and investment issues.[13] In their view, North American integration also consists of the establishment and operation of regional institutions— even if only a handful of them, with very limited responsibilities and constrained capacities. To accomplish their responsibilities, however, the national governments allocated these institutions powers to address possible instances of failure by the parties to enforce their own domestic legislations or the provisions of the agreements.[14]

It can be argued that such a feature has made the process "more than intergovernmental [even if] less than supranational,"[15] as Øhrgaard and Branch and Øhrgaard[16] defined processes which have advanced towards more institutionalized forms of policy- and decision-making. Yet, other scholars downplay or deny any role for these institutions in fostering integration in North America. Hufbauer and Wong[17] argue that the national governments allocated to the regional institutions minimal financial and human resources to deliberately undermine them

and ensure they would not gain any salience in policymaking. Clarkson et al.[18] argue that these institutions have proven inconsequential. Wise argues that the lack of supranational institutions and the weakness of the existing ones have stunted the "evolution [of North American integration] into a more compelling regional project."[19] In brief, these authors agree that, even if the national governments established regional institutions, they also constrained their rule-making capacities to ensure that the regional institutions would not interfere with their sovereign powers, decisions, and actions. Hence, the intergovernmental nature of North American integration "is unlikely to change."[20]

Is North American integration truly inter-governmental?

While some scholars have challenged the widely-held view on the limited value of theorizing North American integration, most of them do agree with and/or contribute to reinforcing the assumption that this process is still intergovernmental. That is, they consider the Canadian, Mexican, and US national governments (and especially the latter) as dominating the process and determining its pace, extent, and depth.

Such an assumption builds on the conception of CUSFTA and NAFTA as the foundations of North American integration. In this account, national governments are the main actors, as they negotiate and implement accords which enable them to secure their separate national interests through the establishment of mutual commitments and common institutions. Through the establishment of intergovernmental agreements, these countries advance their own economic interests (i.e., easing and increasing their countries' cross-border trade and investment exchanges) *while* limiting or eliminating the impact of such agreements on their political sovereignty.[21] It is claimed that, for over two decades, the national governments have been able to determine the direction, pace, and extent of North American integration by making decisions and taking actions that are always in full accordance with their national interests.

The dominance of this assumption has had negative repercussions for the literature and scholarship on North American integration. In empirically-oriented analyses, it has reinforced the notion of the intergovernmental nature of North American integration. This has, in turn, prevented scholars from noticing the (uneven) increase in policy interdependence that has developed among the North American countries and the growing roles that the North American regional institutions have played in various policy areas and issues. For instance, regarding the protection and enhancement of the North American environment, the negotiation and implementation of NAFTA prompted

the creation of a regional framework for cooperation on environmental matters that did not exist previously in North America.

Recent studies are providing growing evidence that policy interdependence and political integration between Canada, Mexico, and the US on environment-related matters might be more extensive than commonly presumed.[22] While trilateral consultation between these countries on environmental issues can be traced back to the 20th century, there were no cross-border environmental rules in North America prior to the implementation of the trilateral North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation (NAAEC) and the bilateral Border Environment Cooperation Agreement (BECA). In contrast to earlier initiatives, these agreements created cross-border rules and regional and bilateral institutions to administer and implement them.[23] Their joint work has contributed to preventing and limiting damage to the *North American* environment resulting from the operation of NAFTA; enhancing the environment across the territories of the three countries; and addressing the concerns of individuals, non-governmental organizations, and border communities on the environmental impact of freer trade and investment between these countries.[24] Despite their newness in the context of environmental protection, these institutions have been responsive to the demands of non-governmental actors and facilitated the participation of the North American public in the use, development, and improvement of cross-border rules on environmental protection.

Similarly, the negotiation and implementation of NAFTA's side agreement on labour, such as the North American Agreement on Labour Cooperation (NAALC), and the creation of the Commission for Labour Cooperation (CLC), contributed—even if limitedly—to improving the place of protecting labour rights and improving workers' conditions on the North American governments' policy agenda. The NAALC provided the North American public with a formal procedure for reviewing alleged failures by the North American countries to comply with their own labour laws. Meanwhile, the CLC, which existed from 1994 to 2010, was the institution charged with promoting the effective enforcement of domestic labour laws throughout North America.[25] When the NAALC entered into force, several trade unions and non-governmental organizations, mainly in Mexico and the US, used its provisions to seek and secure policy change domestically and resolve labour issues affecting their workplaces or industries. While the effectiveness of the NAALC is disputed,[26] the agreement did contribute (even if limitedly) to protecting labour rights and upholding labour standards in North America.[27] The quasi-judicial provisions established by the NAALC's review mechanism fostered cross-border consultation, collaboration, and support which

contributed to generating transnational relationships and commitments between workers, unions, and other labour and social groups in the three countries. The implementation of NAALC and the operation of the CLC shifted the behaviour—even if limitedly—of national and subnational governments, and even firms, towards better protection of North American workers' rights, especially those in Mexico and the US.

How has the assumption on the nature of North American integration as inter-governmental impacted its study and theorization?

The dominance of the assumption of the intergovernmental nature of North American integration has prevented most scholars from acknowledging these and other changes in the region's institutional structure and policy landscape. The view that the institutional structure which the North American agreements established has failed led scholars to claim that these countries have not integrated politically in any way. And this assumption has become the explicit basis for the limited use of regional integration theories in the analysis of the North American case, or even more worryingly, ceasing efforts towards the theorization of North American integration. It has hindered the search for alternative accounts that might better explain the development (and even eventual reversal) of this process, discouraging the use of regional integration theories, and encouraging instead the use of ad hoc concepts and accounts for the direction and progress of North American integration. The prevalence of this assumption has also prompted a limited and inadequate use of integration theories in the study of North America. Ultimately, these issues have led to the under-theorization of North American integration in the current literature.

One of the effects of this assumption has been the oversimplification of integration theories—namely neofunctionalism and inter-governmentalism—in analyses of North American integration, and their subsequent dismissal. Some authors reduce the main concepts and arguments of these theories to "key" attributes or characteristics. They then evaluate their relevance to explaining North American integration, in a very limited engagement, which is often the sole basis for dismissing these theories.[28] For instance, Hussain, Pattnayak and Hira[29] discuss the suitability of using neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism in analyses of North American integration after 9/11. They condense the theory into a set of attributes indicating some of the changes that have taken place in US-Mexico relations before and after 2001.[30] They conclude that neofunctionalism cannot adequately explain the functioning of joint decision-making mechanisms in North America, as it relies too heavily on

the creation and actions of supranational institutions.[31] They argue then that this theory is irrelevant to the study of the region where the national governments explicitly reject the creation of supranational institutions. They argue, however, that intergovernmentalism is also inadequate for the study of North America, as the theory does not pay sufficient attention to the role of non-state actors in the emergence and promotion of regional-oriented policy choices. Hence, these authors dismiss the usefulness of both theories, claiming that they are "increasingly unsuitable" to the analysis of North American integration—even if they remain relevant to other case studies.[32]

The oversimplification of these theories' arguments has constrained their ability to explain changes in collective or joint decision-making structures or mechanisms. It deprives scholars of a well-developed theoretical toolbox that could enable them to better examine and explain the actions of governmental, regional, and transnational actors, and changes in decision-making structures resulting from integration between these countries. This situation immediately raises the question: if mainstream regional integration theories are not being widely used in the study of North American integration, *what theories are being used*?

One of the competing approaches to the more established theories of regional integration for the analysis of the North American case is new regionalism.[33] Scholars calling for the use of new regionalism argue that 'old regionalism' overlooks or downplays the decisions and actions of non-state actors when explaining the incidence and development of integration. Proponents of new regionalism argue that constructing theoretical models that explain more accurately the actions and decisions of both state and non-state actors *in each individual case study* enables them to understand better the causes and consequences of regional integration. In other words, advocates of new regionalism favour breadth and detail in their accounts of integration, over the parsimony and comparability of old regionalism.

While expanding the scope of integration theories might enhance our understanding of this phenomenon, shifting their object of study brings about disagreements and problems on what is being studied and how it is (or should be) studied.[34] For instance, there is still no consensus among new regionalism scholars on what *regionalism* is, and whether and how it differs from *regional integration*. Such ontological disagreement creates epistemological obstacles for the theorization of integration. Moreover, the extensiveness of factors and mechanisms accounting for the incidence of different regional integration processes comes at the expense of parsimony and comparability across cases. Looking at such a great number of possible causes for regionalism thwarts the comparability and generalizability of studies, their theoretical claims,

and empirical findings. As Caporaso asserts: "so many variables [yet] so few cases."[35] In brief, new regionalism looks at a greater number of actors and variables that might explain the occurrence of integration. But it does so at the expense of the parsimony and generalizability that are necessary for comparing cases and generating explanations for the occurrence of integration.

The crises of regional integration (theory): Europe in the 1970s and North America in the 2010s

The difficulties that the theorization of North American integration is currently experiencing closely resemble the crisis that regional integration, and hence its theorization, underwent in Europe in the 1970s. At the time, Ernst Haas asserted that Europe was facing numerous political, social, and economic challenges which were undermining its integration project.[36] He collectively referred to these challenges as "turbulence."[37] He further argued that the varied responses of states towards such turbulence had engendered differences and disagreements between the European nation-states on their continued commitment towards joint decision- and policy-making for addressing cross-border issues. Turbulence had reduced the enthusiasm of states for creating and maintaining the regional organizations or institutions that had been established in the continent after the Second World War. As turbulence was rendering integration theories obsolescent, Haas called scholars to abandon work related to the theorization of European integration. He argued:

> Regional integration was thought to come about according to the rules of incrementalism. [However,] when conditions of turbulence come to prevail we can no longer operate on such an assumption. The choices made by [governmental] actors cannot confidently be interpreted as further integration because [common] policies are *not* automatically favoured in competition with national and extra-regional alternatives. Turbulence implies that inaction might be a rational choice. What matters for us is that such a condition is not explicable in terms of assumptions derived from the incrementalist penchant [...]. As the case for incrementalism grows weaker [...] we must face the possibility that [policy outcomes] will lead away from the simple alternatives given by the older integration theories.[38]

Haas argues that regional integration forecloses many policy options for facing economic and (therefore) political turbulence,

including domestic or extraregional responses. When nation-states face turbulence, however, governments will respond using all policy options at their disposal. If domestic or extraregional options are appealing and feasible, governments will opt for them regardless of whether they come at the expense of regional integration. Turbulence, then, might prompt nation-states to take decisions and make choices that cannot be readily explained and "were never considered in the established theories of regional integration. [Given that such responses] are incompatible with the assumptions featured in the theories," these accounts become obsolescent and, eventually, irrelevant.[39]

In Haas' view, after three decades of progressively slower integration, the European nation-states were not seeking greater policy harmonization among them or growing institutionalization of their integration process, as theories of regional integration had previously suggested. Quite the opposite. They were limiting or even ceasing their participation in collective decision-making mechanisms and re-emphasizing domestic policy-making. This had resulted in divergent institutional outcomes, ranging from the pooling of sovereignty in some policy areas to the continued reassertion of domestic authority in others. Haas concluded that turbulence had then rendered integration theories unable to explain the behaviour of nation-states taking part in this process. Therefore, he declared the European integration theory obsolescent and called for scholars to abandon the theoretical endeavour altogether. In his view, even if better theories could be devised to bridge the gap between expected and actual outcomes, "the effort [was] probably not worth our while."[40]

The similarity between this argument and the one made about the current status of North American integration is striking. It is often argued that in the past two decades, the North American countries have faced socio-economic challenges, including economic crises, domestic and external security threats, and the political polarization of their populations. The term "turbulence" is sometimes used in the literature to describe these challenges, and the overall political and economic context surrounding North American integration (see Ayres and MacDonald, 2012). In this context, the economic and political incentives for pursuing integration, and the enthusiasm of the national governments for promoting and maintaining it, have diminished (see Meacham, Dade and Starr, 2014). As the national governments respond to such challenges independently, they have secured dissimilar economic and political benefits. Should North American integration continue this path, it will come to a standstill and will eventually halt (if it has not already done so). By this account, the usefulness of integration theories for explaining the overall process in North America is understandably limited.

Bow and Anderson[41] illustrate how current studies of North American integration have come to resemble Haas' argument. They argue that NAFTA was conceived at a time when policymakers and scholars argued that regional arrangements were progressively replacing the dominant multilateral order:

> At that time [...] integration was seen to play out through the negotiation of ever more ambitious treaties and more robust supranational institutions (or at least intergovernmental agreements that could effectively channel and constrain policy choices), and progress was measured in terms of ratcheting up through sequential steps or stages. [...] NAFTA seemed to fit those patterns. [...] But what followed NAFTA did not fit those patterns. [...] Twenty years after NAFTA, no new treaties had been negotiated, no new regional institutions were being built. [...] In terms of the 'old' NAFTA-era regional integration studies, nothing was happening. [On the opposite, American integration] takes forms unanticipated by, and poorly explained by the [...] literature that shaped our collective expectations back in the 1990s.[42]

Such difficulties have undermined the commitment of national governments for integration, and reduced the incentives for maintaining or advancing regional institutional arrangements—even in trade and investment issues, which are commonly seen as the driving force behind North American integration. Given that the North American countries have experienced economic and political difficulties, the incentives for coordinating or establishing common policies have diminished rapidly.

Unsurprisingly, this understanding of the process has negatively impacted on the study of North American integration. For instance, Haynal asserts that to better understand the relations between the North American countries, "it might be useful to think independently of the grand [theoretical] debate by focusing on the real problems in the relationship. [Closely resembling Haas' argument, Haynal maintains that] NAFTA, a trade agreement with a few adornments, is not the right tool for [managing] obsolescence. We have to find new mechanisms, domestic and multinational, to do so."[43] In his view, the characteristics of NAFTA make any integration theory of little relevance to the analysis of this process.

European Regional Integration Theories are Relevant to the Study of North American Integration (and vice versa)

Not all scholars dismiss the use of integration theories in the study of

North American integration. Yet, many of them argue that there is "a lot more happening [in North America that is not being] adequately captured by regional integration theories."[44] Hussain goes on to argue that, in the context of economic and political *turbulence*, integration theories—including different strands of intergovernmentalism—seem irrelevant in explaining the occurrence and development of this process.

Yet, recent political and socio-economic developments in Europe and North America suggest that the differences between both integration processes might not be as vast as previously thought.[45] The fact that scholars are seeing conditions in North America comparable to those observed in the 1970s in Europe, which originally prompted Haas to question the value and explanatory power of regional integration theories, should be regarded as a positive development. Hussain and Dominguez argue that the study of regional integration and "integration itself [are] parachuting down to a more stable reality where it ceases to be an ideal type but more part of a motley package in which deepening economic relations adjust to expected political turbulence."[46] The fact that Hussain uses the term *turbulence* to summarize the political and economic changes and challenges to the sovereignty of the North American nation-states[47] indicates one of various similarities between the experiences on regional integration in Europe and North America. What is more, the occurrence of turbulence has enabled some scholars to break away from the commonly held view of European integration as a model or ideal type to be followed.

Until recently, European regional integration theories were often portrayed as policy guidelines rather than analytical tools. Even more so, in some works, the discussion has been centred on whether and which theories should be "pursued" or "implemented" in North America. These works have used and discussed the main concepts and arguments of integration theory as if they were signposts for the direction in which regional integration should go. For instance, Hussain et al. assess similarities and differences between integration theories to determine which is 'more relevant' or 'favourable' to North America, rather than using the theory to inform and enhance their analysis of the development (or lack thereof) of integration. Based on such limited engagement, they conclude that "neofunctionalism and regional […] integration theories, because they are so detailed and Panglossian, may remain on the back burner or be exhausted as explanatory tools"[48]

Similarly, Genna, Inglehart, Nevitte, and Basaf as well as Chanona Burguete discuss *whether and how* North American integration can progress from an intergovernmental to a more "institutionalized" (i.e., sovereignty-pooling and social-centric) process. Their research identifies policy areas which might (and in their view should) be incorporated

into the North American integration process. Such a normative use of integration theories is problematic. Normative-oriented studies underscore opportunities for increasing and improving cooperation between these countries, but do not discuss or explain changes that might have already occurred or are occurring in policy areas where joint decision-making is taking (or has *already* taken) place. Their selective engagement with the concepts and arguments of integration theories *hinders*, rather than enhances, our understanding about the rationale or means through which integration occurs, develops, and deepens.

However, *turbulence* has prompted some scholars to partially and progressively depart from this normative approach. Clarkson argues that current studies of North American integration should no longer ask whether North America should follow in the steps of Europe, but instead assess whether North America "under NAFTA 'exists' in any way similar to the EU"[49]—even if only in some policy issue-areas. While there is still a normative inclination in this question, the work of Clarkson, among others, has contributed to shifting back the research agenda from a normative to an explanatory focus, and renewing scholarly interest in theorizing North American integration.

Conclusion

The literature on North American integration is ever expanding, both in the number and scope of works. Although its study is still dominated by analyses of economic integration, recently, there has been a shift towards the study of the growing policy interdependence (and hence political integration) developing between Canada, the US, and Mexico in non-trade issue areas, such as labour and environmental protection. A growing, even if still limited, number of scholars have examined the impact of North American *political* integration on the governments and societies of these countries, hence contributing to the continued development of the subfield of North American studies.

Despite the breadth and significance of these studies, however, there are some commonalities in the current literature. First, most studies are developed on a policy-oriented empirical basis. That is, they are not aimed at theorizing or contributing to the theorization of this process. Hence, they do not address the fundamental questions of what is North American integration, what forces are driving it, and whether it constrains the political autonomy of the nation-states taking part in this process. Second, among those studies that have aimed at theorizing North American integration, most of them have assumed, or built on the assumption, that the nature of this process is intergovernmental. They consider that the direction, pace, and extent of North American

integration are still fundamentally determined by the actions and decisions of the US, Canadian, and Mexican national governments—especially the former.

The dominance of this assumption in North America-focused studies is concerning. Its acceptance has led most scholars to disregard, and even actively discourage, the use of mainstream European regional integration theories in the analysis of the North American case. Paradoxically, to this day, few scholars studying North American integration have comprehensively used the theories that constitute the basis of the discussion, analysis, and explanation of this phenomenon in other world regions, namely, but not limited to, Europe. Instead, most scholars continue to use approaches other than mainstream European regional integration theories in their studies of North American integration, including international trade theories or new regionalism, which consider global economic developments as the causes of—but (mainly) obstacles to—North American integration. These theories, however, do not consider, least assess, the actions and interests of governmental, regional, and non-governmental transnational actors in sustaining (or hindering) integration.

Despite the limitations of other approaches, North America-focused scholars have limitedly engaged with or discarded a priori the use of mainstream regional integration theories in their analyses.[50] Furthermore, when integration theories are used, their concepts and main arguments are often condensed into so-called "attributes," which are promptly rejected in empirical analyses. Finally, in a few analyses, regional integration theories have been used for normative, rather than explanatory purposes. All these circumstances have led scholars to conclude that European integration theories are inadequate or even irrelevant to the analysis of North American integration.

This article has shown, however, that North America-focused scholars have not adequately engaged with these theories, which have proven their relevance to the analysis of other non-European integration processes. It showed that current arguments in North American Studies about the purported obsolescence of integration theories in the study of North America resemble the 1970s crisis of European integration and its theorization, which led to Haas' call for abandoning work on these topics. Instead, this article calls for the reintroduction of European integration theories into the study of North American integration. It argues that a systematic engagement with these theories could provide a strong foundation to reassess the incidence and development of this process, and potentially show that the process might be more extensive and developed than it is commonly presumed.

Notes

[1] "Key Statistics and Trends in International Trade 2015: The Trade Slowdown," United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, accessed December 29, 2016, http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ditctab2015d1_en.pdf., 13; "World Trade Statistical Review," World Trade Organization, accessed December 28, 2016, https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/wts2016_e/wts2016_e.pdf.

[2] A simple test illustrates the dominance of economic analyses of North American integration over political and social ones. A basic search for the keywords "North American economic integration" on *Google Scholar*—one of the most popular search engines for scholarly research—returns 1,370 results. In comparison, the keywords "North American political integration" and "North American social integration" return only 19 and three results, respectively. Furthermore, a systematic literature review does not provide significantly different results (see Farías Pelcastre, 2013).

[3] Alex Warleigh-Lack, "Learning from Europe? EU Studies and the Re-Thinking of 'International Relations'," *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 31 (2006): 36.

[4] Fredrik Söderbaum, "Comparative Regional Integration and Regionalism," in *The SAGE Handbook of Comparative Politics*, ed. Todd Landman and Neil Robinson (London: SAGE Publications, 2009), 486, 487.

[5] Ben Rosamond, "Conceptualizing the EU Model of Governance in World Politics," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10, no. 4 (2005): 463–464.

[6] Söderbaum, "Comparative Regional Integration and Regionalism," 486–487.

[7] Donghyun Park and Mario Arturo Ruiz Estrada, "A New Multi-Dimensional Framework for Analyzing Regional Integration: Regional Integration Evaluation (RIE) Methodology," *ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration*, no. 49 (May 2010), accessed January 25, 2017, http://aric.adb.org/pdf/workingpaper/WP49_Multi_Dimensional_Framework.pdf.

[8] G. Alan Tarr, "NAFTA and Federalism: Are They Compatible?" *Norteamérica* 2, no. 2 (2007): 133–160.

[9] Louis Bélanger, "Governing the North American Free Area: International Rule Making and Delegation in NAFTA, the SPP, and Beyond," *Latin American Policy* 1, no. 1 (2010): 22–51.

[10] Gaspare M Genna and David A. Mayer-Foulkes, *North American Integration: An Institutional Void on Migration, Security and Development* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

[11] Walter Mattli, and Alec Stone Sweet, "Regional Integration and the Evolution of the European Polity: On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Journal of Common Market Studies," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50, no. S1 (2012): 8.

[12] Thomas J. Courchene, "FTA at 15, NAFTA at 10: a Canadian Perspective on North American Integration," *North American Journal of Economics and Finance* 14, no. 2 (2003): 19.

[13] Richard Baldwin, *Integration of the North American Economy and New-Paradigm Globalisation* (October 2009), accessed April 27, 2015, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1507519.

[14] These regional institutions are the NAFTA's Free Trade Commission, the Commissions for Environmental and Labour Cooperation (CEC and CLC, correspondingly), and their supporting institutional bodies. Separately, these institutions administer NAFTA and the North American Agreements on Environmental (NAAEC) and Labour Cooperation (NAALC).

[15] Jakob C. Øhrgaard, "'Less than Supranational, more than Intergovernmental':

European Political Cooperation and the Dynamics of Intergovernmental Integration," *Millennium, Journal of International Studies* 26, no. 1 (1997): 1–29.

[16] Ann Branch and Jakob C. Øhrgaard, "Trapped in the Supranational-Intergovernmental Dichotomy: a Response to Stone Sweet and Sandholtz," *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 1 (1999): 123–143.

[17] Gary C. Hufbauer, and Yee Wong, "Security and the Economy in the North American Context: the Road Ahead for NAFTA," *Canada-United States Law Journal* 29, no. 1 (2003): 53–69.

[18] Stephen Clarkson, Sarah Davidson Ladly, Megan Merwart, and Carlton Thorne, "The Primitive Realities of North America's Transnational Governance," in *Complex Sovereignty: Reconstituting Political Authority in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Edgar Grande and Louis Pauly (Toronto: Toronto University Press. 2005), 177.

[19] Carol Wise, "Global Monitor: The North American Free Trade Agreement," *New Political Economy* 14, no. 1 (2009): 7. Unsurprisingly, assessing the role of regional institutions as insignificant has even led some scholars to question the value of the continued existence of these bodies, claiming that the current ones "occupy policy space that better alternatives should fill" (Geoffrey Garver, "Forgotten Promises: Neglected Environmental Provisions of the NAFTA and the NAAEC," in *NAFTA and Sustainable Development*, ed. Hoi L. Kong and L. Kinvin Wroth, 15–36 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 17).

[20] Stephen Clarkson, Sarah Davidson Ladly, Megan Merwart, and Carlton Thorne, "The Primitive Realities of North America's Transnational Governance," in *Complex Sovereignty: Reconstituting Political Authority in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Edgar Grande and Louis Pauly, 168–195 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2005), 177.

[21] It is often argued that the North American governments achieved these seemingly opposite objectives through careful bargaining and cautious design of the regional institutions established. See Maxwell A. Cameron and Brian W. Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA: How the Deal was Done* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

[22] See: David L. Markell, and John Knox, *Greening NAFTA: The North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation* ed. David L. Markell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Hoi L. Kong, and L. Kinvin Wroth, *NAFTA and Sustainable Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[23] These institutions are the (North American) Commission for Environmental Cooperation, the (US-Mexico) Border Environment Cooperation Commission, and the North American Development Bank.

[24] "Enforcement," Commision for Environmental Cooperation, accessed January 6, 2017, http://www.cec.org/our-work/enforcement.

[25] The national governments opposed some of the decisions and the growing role that the CLC acquired on North American labour policies and issues soon after its creation. In response, in August 2010, the Office of the Secretariat of the CLC in Washington, DC, was "temporarily closed as part of broader discussions among the Parties to improve the implementation" of the NAALC ("Statement of the Council on the Secretariat of the Commission for Labor Cooperation of the North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation," *Internet Archive: Wayback Machine,* August 2010, accessed December 26, 2016, https://web.archive.org/web/20150310223630/http://www.naalc.org/index.cfm?page=751&artcat=4&article=56). As of December 2016, the NAALC is still nominally in force, but the CLC has never been reopened. I argue that the disagreements between the national governments and the CLC led them to undermine its functioning and continued existence, first, through under-funding of its activities and, later, their closure of the CLC's Secretariat, which constitutes an effective—and implicit—withdrawal from the institution.

[26] See: John Isa, "Testing the NAALC's Dispute Resolution System: A Case Study," *Journal of Gender & the Law* 6, no. 3 (1998): 615–652; Lance A. Compa, "Is There an Emerging Transnational Regime for Labor Standards? Remarks," *Proceedings of the American Society of International Law,* January 1, 1999, accessed February 11, 2012, http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1335&context=articles; Graciela I. Besunsán Areous, "La Efectividad de la Legislación Laboral en América Latina," *Instituto Internacional de Estudios Laborales, Organización Internacional del Trabajo,* Working Paper no. 181 (2007): 1–60, accessed January 13, 2017, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---inst/documents/publication/wcms_201135.pdf.

[27] See: Tamara Kay, *NAFTA and the Politics of Labor Transnationalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Mark Aspinwall, *Side Effects: Mexican Governance under NAFTA's Labor and Environmental Agreements* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

[28] See: Alejandro Chanona Burguete, "A Comparative Perspective between the European Union and NAFTA," *Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series* 3, no. 5 (2003): 1–12; Imtiaz Hussain, "Introduction: Intergovernmental, Supranational and Transnational Medley: NAFTA at the Crossroads," in *North America at the Crossroad: NAFTA After 15 Years*, ed. Imtiaz, Hussain, 17–31 (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2009; Gaspare M. Genna, "Does North America Have the Right Stuff? An Analysis of Compatibility and the Potential Deepening of North American Integration," *Politics & Policy* 39, no. 1 (2011): 141–165; Laura Macdonald, "Regionalism in Flux: Politics, Economics, and Security in the North American Region," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Regionalisms*, ed. M. Timothy Shaw, J. Andrew Grant and Scarlett Cornelissen, 113–128 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

[29] Imtiaz Hussain, Satya R. Pattnayak, and Anil Hira, *North American Homeland Security: Back to Bilateralism?* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2008).

[30] Ibid., 194.

[31] Ibid., 173.

[32] Imtiaz Hussain, "Similar Feathers or Different Stripes? Mexico, Turkey, and the Limits of Regional Integration," *Proceedings of the European Community Studies Association Seventh Biennial International Conference* (University of Pittsburgh, 2001), 30, accessed November 9, 2012, http://aei.pitt.edu/2105/1/002119.PDF. Furthermore, Hussain argues that "neofunctionalism lost its relevance [for North America] after 9/11" when security spilled over other policy areas (Hussain, et al., 2008, 172). For Macdonald, meanwhile, both neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism are becoming "increasingly irrelevant" to the analysis of North American integration (2011, 125).

[33] Shaun Breslin and Richard Higgott define new regionalism as the study of the role of and interactions between governmental, non-governmental, international, and non-state actors in the context of regional integration (Studying Regions: Learning from the Old, Constructing the New, New Political Economy, Vol. 5, No. 3, 2000, 347). Meanwhile, "old regionalism" is defined as the group of theories (purportedly) centred on the analysis of the decisions and behaviour of states amidst an integration process (e.g. intergovernmentalism and neofunctionalism).

[34] See Björn Hettne, "Beyond the 'New' Regionalism," in *New Political Economy* 10, no. 4 (2005): 543–571. Also, Breslin and Higgott claim that regional integration "both results from and further drives globalisation" (2000, 345). Such an assertion muddles the difference between the causes and effects of integration, and the relationship between both phenomena. Moreover, it does not contribute to explaining the differences in the institutional structures that can be observed across

integration processes (i.e., the creation of supranational structures in some regions; intergovernmental arrangements in others; and no agreements or arrangements of any kind, in yet others).

[35] James Caporaso, "Regional Integration Theory: Understanding Our Past, Anticipating Our Future," in *Journal of European Public Policy* 5, no. 1 (1998): 7–8.

[36] Ernst B. Haas, "Turbulent Fields and the Theory of Regional Integration," in *International Organization* 30, no. 2 (1976): 173–212.

[37] Ibid., 173.

[38] Ibid., 194, 196, 199.

[39] Ibid., 200.

[40] Ibid., 174.

[41] Brian Bow and Greg Anderson, *Regional Governance in Post-NAFTA North America: Building Without Architecture* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

[42] Ibid., 2–4.

[43] George Haynal, "The Next Plateau in North America: What's the Big Idea?" in *Policy Options* (2004): 4, accessed April 25, 2015, http://policyoptions.irpp.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/assets/po/north-american-integration/haynal.pdf.

[44] Imtiaz Hussain, ed. *The Impacts of NAFTA on North America: Challenges Outside the Box* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 11.

[45] These developments include a vote from the British electorate in the June 2016 referendum on membership of the United Kingdom (UK) in the EU in favour of leaving the union. Based on the result of such referendum, the UK government has declared its intention to pursue a withdrawal process that, if completed, would take the UK out of the EU by March 2019. Similarly, throughout his election campaign, US president Donald J. Trump, repeatedly stated his intention to secure a more privileged treatment for the US in its trade with Canada and Mexico. Should these countries be unwilling to revise the relation, Trump has stated his intention to "withdraw from the deal," i.e. NAFTA. Donald Trump, 2016, quoted in Luhby, Tami, "Yes, 'President Trump' Really Could Kill NAFTA - but it Wouldn't be Pretty," *CNN Money,* July 6, 2016, accessed December 30, 2016, http://money.cnn.com/2016/07/06/news/economy/trump-nafta/index.html?iid=EL.

[46] Imtiaz Hussain and Roberto Dominguez, *North American Regionalism and Global Spread* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 6.

[47] See Imtiaz Hussain, ed. *North America at the Crossroads: NAFTA After 15 Years* (Mexico City.: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2009).

[48] Imtiaz Hussain, Satya R. Pattnayak, and Anil Hira, *North American Homeland Security: Back to Bilateralism? (*Westport: Praeger Security International, 2008), 250.

[49] Stephen Clarkson, *Does North America Exist? Governing the Continent After NAFTA and 9/11* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 15.

[50] With the notable exception of Imtiaz Hussain, "Introduction: Intergovernmental, Supranational and Transnational Medley: NAFTA at the Crossroads," in *North America at the Crossroad: NAFTA After 15 Years*, ed. Imtiaz Hussain (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2009). Also see Ian McKinley, "The Bayview Irrigation District v. Mexico Case: An Evaluation of NAFTA Chapter XI," in *North America at a Crossroads: NAFTA After 15 Years*, ed. Imtiaz Hussain (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2009), 299–359.

The Urbanization of Warfare: Historical Development and Contemporary Challenges for International Humanitarian Law

Alvina Hoffmann

Abstract: This paper provides an overview of the historical development, contemporary discourses, and challenges of the urbanization of warfare for international humanitarian law (IHL). By drawing on critical urbanism studies, official military documents, and doctrines, this paper highlights the mutually constitutive relationship between warfare and militarization, with a particular focus on the American armed forces and argues that IHL in its current form is unable to guarantee a humanitarian conduct of war in compliance with its principles of proportionality and precaution. Using the invasion of Iraq in 2003 as a case study, this paper will shed light on the decisive role of the occupying power and its deliberate transformation of the urban battlefield into a militarized zone by targeting dual-use infrastructure and employing discourse and techniques on the ground to securitize urban zones. Therefore, by arguing in favour of the application of customary IHL, which emerges from state practice rather than treaties or conventions, an attempt can be made to close these loopholes. As a more general conclusion, this paper suggests that the mutually constitutive relationship between urbanization and warfare has to become more explicit in military doctrines in order to highlight the responsibility of occupying forces.

Introduction

For more than a decade, pictures of war zones have been increasingly characterized by destroyed urban areas and infrastructures, revealing the inconvenient truth that cities have become the centre stage of war. Whether in East Aleppo, the conflict between the Turkish state and the Kurds in the Sur municipality in Diyarbakir during its most recent battles in 2016, or the war in the Donbass in Ukraine, urban spaces have been transformed into war zones. These pictures "prompt us to think about how organised human violence shapes our spaces, practices, and identities."[1] The point of departure of this paper is the effect of such developments for the conduct of lawful warfare,

leading to the central research question: how can lawful conduct of war be assured in urban centres? What is the nature of the tension between the urbanization of warfare and international humanitarian law (IHL), as the legal framework for the conduct of war in order to limit its effects? By tracing the development both from a historical and theoretical perspective, this paper argues that codified IHL is no longer equipped to deal with the challenges that urban warfare poses. Instead, it is necessary to draw upon customary IHL, which emerges from state practice rather than written treaties or conventions, and stresses the principle of proportionality. This alternative perspective would allow us to include myriad discourses and analyses from legal, military and urban specialists into account, as each body of literature offers different insights into the complexity of contemporary urban warfare.

This paper will develop this argument in three different sections: The literature review will focus on the theoretical framework and historical development of urban warfare showing the mutually constituting relationship between warfare and urbanization, by building on urbanism studies that critically engage with urban space as a historically and politically constructed site. This part will also analyze US military strategies that encompass urban warfare and the war on terror. The second section will be dedicated to the case of the 2003 US invasion of Iraq, with an analysis of military doctrine and discourse against the backdrop of this transformation of urban space. The last section will highlight challenges that emerge from urban warfare for IHL and advocate for the application of customary IHL in its place.

Urban warfare and international humanitarian law through history and theory

In this literature review I will trace how urban centres have come to occupy a central place in the conduct of war throughout history, affecting military doctrines and thus, outlining new challenges for IHL. While the development of IHL began in the nineteenth century, the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 constitute the core of the law of armed conflict. This is why this literature review will only briefly touch upon earlier historical periods.

It is interesting to note at the outset that warfare plays a crucial role in the development of urban centres. Pre-colonial eastern Africa offers an interesting insight into the co-constituting relationship between the processes of urbanization and warfare, where "military activity led to the creation of new settlements developed in response

to particular circumstances."[2] Based on this argument, it is crucial to view warfare and urbanization as historically closely intertwined. With increased urbanization, the conduct of war changed, in turn redefining the course of urbanization. Such a process is embedded in "depopulation and de-urbanization elsewhere," which should be kept in mind throughout this paper.[3] Twentieth century communist revolutionary theory engaged critically with the importance of urban centres in guerrilla warfare, with debate about the relative benefits of first winning the countryside or the urban centre for revolution to be successfully spread.[4] This shows how urban areas have increasingly been transformed into "the main centres of gravity of operations […] as a symbol, a political nucleus, a communication and transportation net, an economic heart, and as mass media centres."[5]

Concerning US urban warfare, some scholars consider the Battle of Mogadishu in 1993 to be a watershed for American attitude towards urban warfare, leading to the revision of military doctrine and laying the groundwork for the 2003 Iraq War.[6] This battle is a particularly powerful example because it stresses the interconnectedness of three dimensions in urban warfare: population, terrain, and infrastructure. It was then that it became apparent that it was necessary for the US military to face these central challenges by improving combat efficiency and further developing appropriate military capabilities.[7]

How do critical urban theorists conceptualize the relationship between urbanization and war? Graham states that "processes of urban militarization do not constitute a simple clean break with the past. Rather, they add contemporary twists to longstanding militaristic and urban transformations."[8] Therefore, it is important to continuously underline at the outset of this paper that "militarization" and "the urban" are mutually constitutive and any investigation that considers these two categories as separate is simplistic and does not fully grasp their nature. Militarization is rightly considered as a process that links "urban sites, cultures representations, state spaces and political economies."[9]

Unsurprisingly, with the continuing urbanization of spaces, urban militarism has come to dominate military and security doctrines in which "the key 'security' challenges of our age now centre on the everyday sites, spaces and circulation of cities."[10] How are we to imagine the war zone regarding these developments? Graham suggests the term "battlespace"—as opposed to battlefield—a more inclusive term which mirrors the contemporary challenges employing military capabilities to meet strategic aims within the parameters of legality. This also allows for attention to be drawn "on the changing powers of states to attempt the violent reconfiguration, or even,

erasure, of cities and urban spaces."[11] The last part of this paper will deal with the relationship between justified assaults and states of emergency and exception.

This paper borrows the concept of "critical urban infrastructure" from critical urban studies, which stresses how cities have increasingly become a military target, and hence, how they "are securitised in response to actual or imagined threats that are perceived to derive from such forms of war."[12] The targeting of infrastructure is historically linked to the industrialization and urbanization of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where "the increased concentration of infrastructures such as railways, road and telegraph/telephone lines in urban areas" turned the city into a military target "precisely because it hosted the technical systems that were necessary for the enemy to continue to wage war."[13] Contemporary warfare is distinct due to "the relationship between those infrastructures and urbanity itself."[14] Historically, the central targets were populations as well as logistics chains, with the aim being to demoralize the enemy and cut their supply routes. Contemporary urban warfare, however, aims at disrupting "urbanity through the destruction of that substrate which is central to contemporary cities: critical infrastructure."[15] Consequently, it is not an attempt to disrupt the logistics of the enemy, or to target the civilian population, but the very structure of urban life. It creates a form of dominance over the urban space which demonstrates the effects that continued resistance has on the wider population, a very important psychological consequence of urban warfare. Following these developments, it is logical that military research focuses on these new realities by developing "a widening range of 'hard' and 'soft' anti-infrastructure weapons."[16] Contemporary geopolitical strategy is therefore oriented towards "the deliberate de-modernization of the whole suite of modern networked infrastructures."[17] The consequences for urban centres, if such a strategy is applied effectively, are catastrophic. Graham mentions myriads of factors that contribute to this new state of affairs, especially in the post-Cold War era. A central one is that warfare is increasingly characterized by asymmetry, since US and Western forces in general are much more advanced technologically than their adversaries.

An interesting case is the US Air Force strategist John Warden's "strategic ring theory," which views the enemy as embedded into a system of five rings: the centre, constituted by the leadership, then the organic essentials, then the infrastructure, followed by the civilian population and lastly, the military fighting force.[18] Warden states that instead of targeting civilians directly, only indirect targeting through

hitting the societal infrastructures is authorized.[19] This form of strategic targeting is supposed to affect the very shape and outline of the system, while at the same time generating "intolerable pressures to bear on the nation's political leaders." This theory has had a major influence on "all major US bombing campaigns since the late 1980s."[20]

Another American air power strategist, Kenneth R. Rizer, also adapted his military strategy to the challenges posed by urban warfare favouring the targeting of dual-use infrastructure which serves both civilians and combatants.[21] This revised military strategy affected the conduct of war significantly. The Kosovo War, for instance, saw the use of a bomb which emitted "graphite crystals to comprehensively disable electrical power and distribution stations."[22] Similar graphite bombs had already been used against Iraq in the First Gulf War. This is clearly the case of strategically targeting the critical infrastructure of the belligerent. The aftermath of this systematic de-electrification was devastating: in the case of Iraq, it was considered impossible to reconstruct its "water and sewage systems, relying completely on electrical pumping stations."[23] Since these were interpreted as dual-use items, any attempt to reconstruct the infrastructure was prohibited. Consequently, the very central distinctions that constitute the nature of IHL were blurred. This concerns the military and civil as well as "the temporal and spatial boundaries separating domains of peace from those of war."[24] The case study of the Iraq invasion in 2003 will allow us to understand these developments in more depth.

A report by the United States Marine Corps' Lieutenant General Paul K. van Riper offers a different perspective on urban warfare: "urban terrain is highly restrictive, limiting observation distances, engagement ranges, weapons effectiveness, and mobility. These factors tend to force extremely close combat with troops fighting from building to building and from room to room."[25] These impediments on mobility are countered with sophisticated manoeuvres, which use "tempo as a weapon to shatter [the enemy's] cohesion, organisation, command and psychological balance."[26] Hence, van Riper imagines a new form of navigating through the space, which would "bypass and isolate the enemy's centres of resistance, striking killing blows against those enemy units, positions, or facilities upon which his force depends."[27]

It is interesting to see how, despite historical connections and developments, military strategists consider urban militarism as a novel form of warfare and suggest new approaches to render it more efficient. This confirms the suggestion that, despite the historical importance of cities and urban infrastructure in warfare, the contemporary urbanization of warfare has changed in nature.

Moreover, the strategic language does not take into account the long-term structural transformations that will occur with this form of military urbanism. As Tuck has argued, these strategies might be seen as "an expression of unspoken assumptions or desires on the part of Western states regarding how they would like war to be fought, [...] stress[ing] the role of technological solutions to political and social problems."[28] With regards to IHL, this development renders its central principles, especially the principle of distinction between civilians and combatants, and the principle of proportionality, subject to interpretation. The dual-nature of urban infrastructure is a particularly striking example of how military strategists have made use of these loopholes in their strategic reasoning.

A final set of literature is concerned with the relationship between terrorism and cities. Beall suggests that cities have assumed a central importance for international terror networks as well as become targets due to their multifaceted functions, which allow terrorist attacks to reach a "maximum impact from their acts of destruction and disruption."[29] Cities are not only physical environments but also have economic as well as symbolic importance, and can be attacked to send an international signal, as Beall shows using the examples of the Bali, Sharm el Sheikh, and the Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam terrorist attacks.[30] Consequently, the urban centre assumes the character of an international stage.

In summary, this literature section reviewed different sorts of discourses on militarism and urban warfare and showed that militarism and urbanization should be seen as historically co-constituting processes. This section also reviewed contemporary military strategies adopted to navigate through urban space. The next two sections will draw from the critical perspective that was presented in this part and analyze the Iraq invasion in 2003 and subsequently, the challenges for IHL.

II. Iraq invasion

As the previous section has shown, the application of IHL in urban warfare is complex and subject to interpretation, a fact that has been deliberately exploited by military strategists. The case of the Iraq invasion will help us understand the difficulties of the application of IHL, as well as the challenges and effects of urban warfare in general.

Major Lee Grubbs' review of the urban warfare doctrine in the context of the Iraq invasion provides major insights into the redefinition of the US Army forces in urban contexts.[31] In comparing the operational concept for the Iraqi deserts and cities, this report

concludes that "the high density of non-combatants dictates the characteristics of the environment and limits the application of force."[32] Moreover, concerning different offensive strategies, "it is clear that the enemies of the United States' military have learned a method to mitigate the Joint Force dominance in long range surveillance and engagement."[33] This report further suggests that the city is deliberately chosen as a battleground by the opponent, where civilians and combatants intermingle and therefore the US military must restrain the use of overwhelming force. Therefore, despite their clear technological advantages, the US is forced to adapt to these new challenges.

This discourse, however, neglects the changing realities on the ground: increasing militarization in the context of war. Military urbanism is embedded into a wide collective structure of military urban technology, "trying to (re)organize the basic architectures and experiences of urban life."[34] Such technologies range from walls and fences, to killer robots and drones.

Graham's *Cities Under Siege* offers a very insightful account of the Iraq invasion, recognizing striking similarities between the Israeli occupations of Palestine and the US invasion of Iraq, terming the engagement in Iraq "Palestinianisation." Graham shows how the military task in Iraq initially concentrated on destruction (which was relatively easy to accomplish due to US military and technological superiority) and rapidly shifted "to the challenge of pacifying complex urban insurgencies."[35] Deep structural changes were forced upon the Iraqi population, with their own land transformed into an occupied, militarized zone. In light of this, research suggests that concrete has increasingly come to occupy a central role in urban warfare. In the context of the Iraq War, "no other weapon or technology has done more to contribute to achieving strategic goals of providing security, protecting populations, establishing stability, and eliminating terrorist threats."[36] Consequently, while urban battlegrounds pose challenges to an occupying power, in this case the US, the technological and military superiority allows it to transform the urban environment in such a way that makes total domination possible. An example is the US attempt in 2007 "to forcibly reconstruct the urban geographies of Baghdad and other troublesome Iraqi cities, so as to reduce opportunities for insurgents to move around and launch their attacks." [37] Since the rules of the game are set and defined by the outline of urban centres, the US is modifying these by reconstituting them according to their own rules. In the case of Baghdad, the reconstruction of the urban centre was clearly aimed at fragmentation, by sealing off some towns with razor wire or walls,

establishing checkpoints and requiring the population to carry biometric cards. From the US perspective such a reconstitution was necessary in order to ensure the first priority, namely security.

This form of complete domination has to be understood in the framework of "systematic demodernization and impoverishment" that took place in Iraq since the first Gulf War.[38] Even though central infrastructural nodes were less targeted, dual-use communications and control equipment constituted the main targets for newly developed weaponry including "electrical and power transmission grids, media networks, and telecommunications infrastructures."[39] Similar to the experience in the 1990s, this resulted in a "serious crisis of water distribution because of the resulting power blackouts" with devastating results for the civilian population, resulting in the spread of infectious diseases such as cholera.[40] The bulldozing of houses became another central strategy in order to punish the families of alleged fighters.[41] Utilizing technologies such as biometric checkpoints, the US established itself as an occupying power that was allowed to use deadly force against civilians that did not abide by the rules.

What relevance does the Iraq case bear on contemporary techniques of warfare? This article acknowledges that increased technological sophistication creates new threats such as cyber warfare and therefore imposes additional challenges to IHL, especially since its jurisdiction in cyberspace remains unclear. However, the transformation of urban zones into "battlespaces" is still unfolding on a large scale in different contexts, whether in eastern Ukraine, southeastern Turkey, Yemen, Gaza or Aleppo. As suggested by the ICRC report from October 2015, urban warfare does not only have immediate effects, but the transformation and destruction of urban space leaves the population behind with long-lasting and deep structural changes that remain under-researched.[42] Therefore, while a ceasefire might be agreed, the restructuring and reconstruction of those urban spaces remains questionable as some of its most fundamental infrastructure might be perceived as "dual-use infrastructure." The lessons from the Iraq invasion, especially on the crucial importance of concrete as a weapon of war, is likely to inform future conflicts.

Consequently, as this section attempted to show, the Iraq invasion offers excellent insights into the central challenges of urban warfare, both for the occupying power as well as for the civilian population. The military discourse on the run-up to the invasion was primarily concerned with the difficult navigation of the urban space by the soldiers, and pointed to a lack in specialized technology to meet strategic goals within an increasingly difficult urban environment.

However, it neglected the structural transformations for the civilian population. Consequently, the application of IHL is faced with various challenges which will be investigated in the final section.

III. Challenges for the conduct of war and IHL

The challenges for warfare and IHL are manifold, since many different viewpoints have to be taken into account. This section will shed light on the situation of soldiers and civilians, arguing in favour of the application of customary IHL, with a particular emphasis on the principles of proportionality and precaution.

In order to analyze how the conduct of urban warfare has changed in recent times, NATO's 2003 RTO Technical Report 71 provides very useful insights from the perspective of a soldier operating in urban spaces. The report underlines the central challenges of urban warfare and sets major goal to prepare all soldiers effectively by 2020. In urban settings, a soldier is faced with "a combination of extreme danger, rapidly changing circumstances and conditions of chaos and uncertainty."[43] The report echoes the military strategists analyzed in previous sections by emphasizing that the urban terrain is deliberately chosen by the enemy in order to weaken the efficiency of the counterinsurgency forces, however it neglects to state that the urban terrain is equally constantly remodelled by the engagement of the occupying power. The report further stresses that "by using an asymmetric approach an insurgent can operate more freely and effectively in crowded urban areas to harass the forces of law and order with a much reduced risk to himself."[44] The urgent need that the occupying power sees in restoring security over all central needs is directly linked to this account. This blurred nature of civilians and combatants also points to loopholes in IHL that can be misused and interpreted in ways that might go against the principles of IHL, while justified by security needs. The report further contrasts the traditional approach to urban operations, which involved slow and linear progress but also "significant casualties among non-combatant and the destruction of much infrastructure," depicting it as an unexpected strategy, directed at "shattering the enemy's overall cohesion."[45] Even though the aim would be "to achieve objectives with fewer casualties, less collateral damage to urban infrastructure, and reduced harm to the non-combatant population" the case of Iraq shows that the constant emphasis on security has to be scrutinized, as it may authorize a wide range of actions that go against central principles of humanitarian conduct of war.[46]

Based on these developments, IHL can no longer assure compliance

with its most central principles: (1) the distinction between civilians and soldiers, (2) proportionality and (3) precaution. Therefore, this essay argues, we must move towards the increased application of customary IHL, which is based on state practice rather than codified law in treaties or conventions. Customary IHL, particularly its focus on the principles of proportionality and precaution, is able to address the central challenges discussed above, especially as they pertain to the targeting of dual-use infrastructure.

As John-Hopkins notes, "full compliance with [IHL] lessens [the military superior's] ability to quickly and decisively achieve strategic objectives such as a ceasefire, surrender, regime change, restoration of international peace, security, and the rule of law."[47] At the same time, he argues that it is increasingly challenging to comply with IHL, as densely populated urban areas challenge the efficiency of military objectives. As he shows, the wide scope of possible interpretations of IHL is already manifest at the outset of armed conflicts, when it is to be decided if these are national or international in nature. In fact, the situation faced on the ground might be too complex, due to its oscillating character, to be applied to this binary framework. Moreover, while treaty-based IHL outlines broad humanitarian protection – both in the Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and the Additional Protocol I on the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts – important states involved in operations that take place in urban environments have not ratified Protocol I, including the US and Israel. Citing the Geneva Declaration report *The Global Burden of Armed Violence,* John-Hopkins shows that between 2005 and 2007 more civilians than combatants died, mostly in conflict zones where the US or Israel were involved. Consequently, the application of customary IHL is even more pressing.

The distinction between civilians and combatants and the prohibition of indiscriminate attacks are two central principles of IHL. Yet when a military target is located in a civilian area, an attack might be viewed as legal.[48] Rule 15 of the 2005 ICRC compilation of customary IHL states that "constant care must be taken to spare the civilian population, civilians and civilian objects" as well as that "all feasible precautions must be taken to avoid, and in any event to minimize, incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians and damage to civilian objects."[49] As John-Hopkins argues, the emphasis on feasibility enables a wide range of organizations to examine the legality of attacks.[50] This echoes Article 57 of the Additional Protocol I, which emphasizes this feasibility. This obliges parties involved in armed conflicts "to comply with the full range of feasible means in

order to gather the most accurate intelligence possible and ensure that the object of attack is a military one" and stresses that "failure to exercise due diligence and reasonableness in that regard [...] will amount to a violation of this precautionary rule."[51] Yet its application is context-bound, can vary according to specific circumstances, and has to be followed by all parties in the same manner. Closely tied to this principle is the application and prohibition of certain weapons, especially "those that have wide fatal and destructive impact zones."[52] Some weapons of this kind are not yet regulated by treaties, but should nonetheless be considered as violations of this principle if applied in contexts of potentially indiscriminate attacks.

Furthermore, proportionality is another central principle of IHL which is at increased risk of being neglected in the context of urban warfare. Article 57 (2) (a) of the Additional Protocol I states that belligerents should "refrain from deciding to launch any attack [...] which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated."[53] Moreover, any attack must be cancelled or suspended if it is expected to break the proportionality principle. Yet, it has to be noted that most attacks face time constraints which inhibit the application of such precautionary methods and could authorize the "militarily superior side [... to] classify most military objectives as 'immediate targets' and subject them to truncated precautionary measures or take no precautionary measures whatsoever."[54] However, these attacks might still violate proportionality and hence be in conflict with legal principles, especially in urban contexts, where rapid responses might be as inefficient since asymmetric conflicts are characterized by "unconventional tactics such as emerging, attacking, and disappearing in a fleeting moment."[55] Once again, this is crucial and can provide a very strong legal argument for the application of precautionary measures over the general argument of time constraints. Consequently, precaution and proportionality are crucial for a more humane conduct of war in urban environments, most of all for the protection of civilians.

Hence, while the implementation of customary IHL into military doctrines and practice might help achieve legitimate aims and foster compliance with IHL principles, some limitations remain. It can help change the character of short-term tactics and attacks, but some blurred categories as well as long-term transformations of urban spaces would remain unchallenged. A very important issue that is the targeting of dual-use infrastructure. It is crucial that this infrastructure, especially electrical power and distribution stations become more directly linked to the principle of proportionality. Moreover, the occupying power's ability to perform very decisive

structural transformation of urban centres, as the case of Iraq showed, has to be scrutinized. Therefore, the mutually constitutive relationship between urbanism and warfare should be central in any analysis of urban warfare, as it mirrors not only the challenges ahead but also provides insights into the deep structural transformation of urban space that populations and occupying powers will have to face. This will allow for a better understanding of the urban environment and the conduct of war in compliance with customary IHL.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has argued that codified IHL is no longer equipped to face the challenges of urban warfare. As the first section has analyzed through the lens of a critical urbanist approach, the historically co-constitutive relationship between warfare and urbanization renders the lawful conduct of war in contemporary settings difficult, both for civilians whose protection can no longer be ensured, as well as for soldiers on the ground who have to navigate through this urban space. This section further showed how the constitutive nature of warfare on urban environments is generally neglected in military strategies. Targeting critical infrastructures has become central to urban warfare, which at times can be subject to individual interpretation. According to this logic, electrical power and distribution stations can be defined as dual-use infrastructure, which deeply affects the urban structure and the lives of civilians.

The second section analyzed the Iraq invasion in 2003, which exemplified the challenges outlined above. It shed light on the techniques of the US military that were applied in order to create securitized military zones, which allowed for complete domination of the urban zones by the occupying power. Such operations are oftentimes legitimized by discourses of security, which expose the loopholes of IHL by exploiting ambiguous definitions. This in turn means that the central principles of IHL, proportionality and distinction between civilians and combatants, can no longer be upheld.

Therefore, in light of these discussions, this paper argues in favour of customary IHL, which emerges from state practice, to provide the legal framework for the conduct of war. Customary IHL can close the loopholes in IHL that might render targeting dual-use infrastructure lawful, by emphasizing precaution and proportionality through compliance with all feasible means to clearly determine whether a target is of military nature. This can also prohibit increasingly sophisticated weaponry which could cause indiscriminate attacks.

188 Moreover, this paper suggests that in customary IHL the mutual relationship between urbanization and warfare becomes more explicit, which in turn can have an impact on military doctrines in order to promote a better understanding of the structural transformation of urban space through war. In consequence, only customary IHL through its focus on state practice can meet contemporary challenges of lawful warfare.

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The Nation, Bureaucratic Functionality, and EU Institutions: Three Socialization Worlds of CSDP Actors

Samuel B.H. Faure

Abstract: This paper engages with the theoretical debates about the emergence of a European Union (EU) strategic culture by focusing on social representations of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) actors. Using a case study of military cooperation areas, during a period of security crises (2008–2014), two research questions are addressed: (1) What are CSDP actors' social representations on military cooperation areas? (2) How do national, functional, and institutional socialization processes shape the emergence of the EU strategic culture? The paper shows that (1) CSDP actors have sharply state-centric social representations of defence and security issues. Nevertheless, the European security field is not only structured by the national cleavage between states, and especially between great powers in Europe, but also by transnational political cleavages. As regards military cooperation areas, CSDP actors share a set of social representations in favour of European cooperation through the CSDP rather than transatlantic cooperation through NATO. Their social representations are not reducible to their national preferences and suggest the emergence of an EU strategic culture. (2) This EU strategic culture is shaped within three areas or worlds of socialization: one national (the nation) and two transnational (bureaucratic functionality and EU institutions). This paper is based on a questionnaire of closed questions and on a set of semi-structured interviews, which investigated networks and social representations of CSDP actors in France, Germany, the United Kingdom (which are the three main military players in Europe), and in EU institutions. This paper contributes to the field of EU studies by offering a sociological perspective on the CSDP.

Introduction

Decision-makers rarely agree on international affairs, but the European Union's (EU) Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) seems to be an exception. Apart from some actors who work in this field, people seem to arrive at the same conclusion: either this

policy does not exist or it is already dead. Major international events in recent years seem to prove them right. The EU has been unable to deploy forces abroad in high-intensity military conflicts, such as in Libya in 2011 (even after the Lisbon Treaty came into force),[1] or to react to the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014.[2] The EU, through the European External Action Service (EEAS), also failed to harmonize national foreign policies on how to act regarding the regime of Bashar Assad in Syria, or to move in support of the Syrian rebels, against ISIS or with Russia and/or the USA. Stanley Hoffmann[3] and Andrew Moravcsik[4] respectively define the CSDP as an "illusion" and as a "pipe dream," where no European interests or preferences exist. Even Jolyon Howorth, the father of the studies on the CSDP, is more sceptical vis-à-vis the European integration of national defence policies in the 2010s than in the 2000s.[5] The EU as an organization is too weak to shape decision-making in the defence and security sectors, due to the fact that it has low institutional autonomy from nation-states.[6]

These intergovernmentalist and institutionalist contributions are helpful in shedding light on the weaknesses of the EU's CSDP governance through the analysis of state preferences (*macro* level of analysis) and EU institutional frames (*meso* level of analysis). Nevertheless, they do not take into account CSDP actors who are embedded in EU institutions (*micro* level of analysis) while European (British, Croatian, Italian, Lithuanian, etc.) military and diplomatic personnel interact in Brussels on a daily basis[7] and have done so since 2001. Far away from Brussels, intergovernmentalists and institutionalists claim that CSDP actors do not matter, but do not provide any empirical evidence for such an assertion. Moreover, they focus on interest and institutionalist variables to explain the CSDP governance rather than on ideational ones.

This article uses primary sources to suggest a constructivist argument: social representations of decision-makers matter.[8] The CSDP is less the product of a bargaining process between national interests or a set of EU institutions than it is a social field in which CSDP actors share national and transnational social representations.[9] These social representations form what can be called a "strategic culture."[10] This strategic culture that CSDP actors share is shaped in three political areas or worlds of socialization, with three distinct kinds of allegiance visible: the nation, the bureaucratic functionality, and EU institutions. This paper is based on a questionnaire of closed questions and on a set of semi-structured interviews, which investigated networks and social representations of CSDP actors in France, Germany, the United Kingdom (which are the three main

military players in Europe), and in EU institutions.

The aim of this article is to go beyond the outdated nation/Europe dialectic and articulate the three worlds of CSDP actors' socialization that structure the field of European security. This paper contributes to international relations theory by offering a sociological perspective on European integration that is based on Bourdieu's work.[11] It is also useful to those seeking to understand the new EU Global Strategy on foreign policies and security defined in 2016.[12] The article is divided into four main sections: (i) setting out the status quo, (ii) the theoretical framework, (iii) the research design, and (iv) a discussion of the results.

Realist and constructivist perspectives on EU strategic culture

From the literature on EU strategic culture emerges a theoretical debate between realists and constructivists on the question of convergence of national strategic cultures. Realists observe a persistent divergence of national strategic cultures between the great powers interests in Europe.[13] The most important actors are France and the United Kingdom,[14] as well as Germany and Italy.[15] EU institutions, especially the supranational ones such as the European Commission, the European Parliament (EP) and the Court of Justice of the EU, have a marginal role in the convergence of national strategic cultures. In the spirit of the Concert of Europe that resulted from the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the realist school suggests that only cooperation between the great powers is possible.[16]

Constructivists also demonstrate the persistence of the national cleavage: the social representations of German CSDP actors are not equal to those of French, British, or Italian CSDP officials.[17] Based on empirical research conducted within the EU institutions, constructivists argue that a gradual convergence of national strategic cultures towards a European strategic culture is at work. This is explained by processes of functional (military vs. diplomats vs. security professionals) and institutional socializations (national vs. EU institutions; EU intergovernmental vs. EU supranational institutions). They demonstrate that a slow but undeniable convergence of national strategic cultures is under way. However, they face difficulties in understanding, characterizing, and explaining the convergence process.[18] There is a lack of results from empirical studies to confirm or deny the convergence process in discussion. "Does the PSC [Political and Security Committee] contribute to the convergence of strategic cultures between Member States? We cannot answer that question with a high degree of certainty given the nature of empirical

data."[19] This preliminary finding calls for further theoretical debate in order to find new empirical evidence.[20]

A sociological approach to EU strategic culture

This paper aims to fill some of the gaps left by constructivist works on the emergence of an EU strategic culture with a sociological approach[21] as a link between scholars who use "strategic constructivism"[22] in EU studies and those who develop a "theory of practice"[23] in international relations theories. This theoretical sociological framework is based on three notions: the social field, the strategic culture, and the socialization process.

A social field is a social microcosm in which actors struggle to keep or to obtain a type of power (economic, European, military, political, symbolic, etc.).[24] More precisely, a social field is "a hierarchical space of social relations centred on a specific stake, such as politics (for example, winning the elections), business (dominating one's competitors), or culture (being in vogue)."[25] The CSDP field is a relatively autonomous space where national and EU actors (diplomats, civil servants, lobbyists, military, politicians) engage, with different levels of resources to influence CSDP policy-making. According to Kauppi, the main issue is "to understand the formation of a distinct European field of political action."[26] In the CSDP field, this refers to the convergence of national strategic cultures.

On December 3–4, 1998, France and the United Kingdom signed the Saint-Malo declaration, creating the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). In 2001, the Treaty of Nice institutionalized the ESDP by providing it with three structures unique to defence: the Political and Security Committee (PSC), the Military Committee (EUMC), and the EU Military Staff (EUMS). In 2003, the EU launched its first peacekeeping mission (Operation Concordia in Macedonia). With the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009, the ESDP became the CSDP, and in 2015, the EU undertook its 32th mission (EUTM RCA in the Central African Republic). This suggests that "this all-out institutionalisation of ESDP began to produce effects of military socialisation analysed by some authors in terms of Europeanisation and acquisition of a common strategic culture."[27]

A "strategic culture" is generally defined as a "consistent and persistent set of ideas, specific to a given socio-historical context, on the use of armed forces and the role of military institutions, and which is shared by a community."[28] The concepts of ideas, norms or social representations are associated with constructivist language. Nevertheless, the concept of social representation is preferred because

it is characterized by a "unique kind"[29] to analyse how actors see, think, and represent the (political) world in practice.[30] The EU strategic culture is operationalized by four dimensions: (i) the political arena for strategic cooperation (from the transatlantic alliance through NATO to European cooperation through the CSDP); (ii) the attachment to sovereignty (the inertia level of Europeanisation of national security and defence policies (NSDP)); (iii) goals of the military power (from the defence of European territory to the deployment of forces beyond the borders of Europe); and (iv) policy instruments (from military to civilian tools). The first two dimensions test the European integration of the NSDP. The second two dimensions identify the EU's use of military power.[31]

Socialization is a process referring to the social construction of actors' behaviours and their social representations through different mechanisms at different period of their lives. This article focuses on secondary socialization processes from three mechanisms, or more precisely three practices:[32] national, functional, and institutional. National socialization assumes that CSDP actors' social representations are shaped by their nationality,[33] while functional socialization presumes that the social representations of CSDP actors' are the product of the actors' function in their work activities.[34] Lastly, institutional socialization assumes that CSDP actors' social representations are a product of the institution in which they operate.[35]

Three worlds of socialization and two military cooperation areas

This sociological approach focuses on the analysis of CSDP actors' social representations from the case study of military cooperation areas (dimension 1 of the EU strategic culture), and during a period of security crises (2008–2014). Two research questions are asked in sociological jargon: (1) What were CSDP actors' social representations on military cooperation areas between 2008 and 2014? (2) How did national, functional, and institutional socialization processes shape the emergence of the EU strategic culture? The paper shows that (1) CSDP actors had sharply state-centric social representations of defence and security issues. Nevertheless, the European security field was not only structured by the national cleavage between states, and especially between great powers in Europe, but also by transnational political cleavages. As regards military cooperation areas between 2008 (the Russo-Georgian conflict) and 2014 (the Russo-Ukrainian

conflict), CSDP actors shared a set of social representations in favour of European military cooperation area through the CSDP rather than transatlantic cooperation through NATO. Their social representations were not reducible to their national preferences and suggest the emergence of an EU strategic culture, though in an unstable European security context. Between the Russo-Georgian and the Russo-Ukrainian conflicts, North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean were destabilized from 2010 to 2011 by the so-called "Arab Spring." (2) This EU strategic culture was shaped within three areas or worlds of socialization, one national (the nation) and two transnational (bureaucratic functionality and EU institutions). CSDP actors' social representations of military cooperation areas were not only a national socialization process effect but also the product of transnational functional and institutional socialization mechanisms.

This paper is mainly based on a questionnaire of closed questions, carried out between 2008 and 2010,[36] which investigated networks and social representations of forty-seven CSDP actors in France, Germany, the United Kingdom (arguably the three main military players in Europe), and in EU institutions. This figure (forty-seven) is lower than the level (one hundred) from which it is theoretically accepted to calculate percentages.[37] However, given the purely qualitative and interpretative ambition of this research, it does not seem incongruous to compute statistics on a small number of actors. Furthermore, these forty-seven odds have not been randomly picked up but chosen by three criteria: one deductive (*positional* criterion) and two inductive (*participative* and *reputational* criteria).[38] Firstly, I checked the organizational chart of government department or interest group interested in security policy in the EU (Brussels), France, Germany, and the UK (*positional* criterion). Secondly, I did an in-depth study of CSDP-related meetings and summits in order to extract actors who took a stand on CSDP issues (*participative criterion*). Thirdly, I submitted the resulting list containing several hundred actors to a small group of CSDP experts, who added key actors they thought were missing, but also subtracted those they thought were too marginal to CSDP debates (*reputational criterion*).[39]

Data analysis was conducted using Excel and SPSS. In this article, I only use the section of the questionnaire on social representations (table 1 and appendices 1 and 2). A second survey, also qualitative, was conducted between 2012 and 2014, with sixteen semi-structured interviews with other CSDP decision-makers in Brussels. I conducted this additional survey to check if there was an evolution of the CSDP actors' beliefs after the Lisbon Treaty came into force in 2009. The main result of this fieldwork is that there was a consistency in CSDP

actors' social representations before and after Lisbon.

Table 1. Sample distribution of the forty-seven CSDP actors' social representations with respect to three socialization worlds: the nation, bureaucratic functionality, and institutions

Socialization World	Variety	Absolute values	Proportion
Nation	French	7	15%
	German	18	38%
	British	15	32%
	'Other' Europeans	6	13%
	Non-Europeans	1	2%
Total		47	100%
Bureaucratic Functionality	Diplomats	17	36%
	Military	9	20%
	Politicians	9	20%
	Civil servants	4	8%
	Academics	4	8%
	Lobbyists	4	8%
Total		47	100%
Institution	National institutions	26	55%
	EU institutions	13	28%
	Non-governmental institutions	8	17%
Total		47	100%

European cooperation rather than transatlantic alliance

As regards military cooperation areas between 2008 and 2014, an overview of the questionnaire results shows that (1) CSDP actors were more likely to choose European cooperation (CSDP) over the transatlantic alliance (NATO), and (2) the effectiveness of the three worlds of socialization. Social representations of CSDP actors were shaped by their national affiliations but also by their transnational functional and institutional allegiances.[40]

Overall, the area of strategic cooperation which CSDP actors were most likely to choose is national (68%) (table 2). Nevertheless, the actors preferred European cooperation through the CSDP (21%), compared to transatlantic cooperation through NATO (11%).

Table 2. Overall results of CSDP actors' social representations
with respect to military cooperation areas

		Absolute values	Proportion
Areas of military cooperation	**Nation**	32	68%
	European cooperation (CSDP)	10	21%
	Transatlantic cooperation (NATO)	5	11%
Total		47	100%

This trend is confirmed by the answers to the question on relations between the EU and NATO. Actors were more than 80% likely to say that EU had complete autonomy (15%) or most (67%). Concerning decision-making in relation to NATO, 83% of the actors said that the EU had autonomy, either complete (15%) or limited (67%), while only 5% thought otherwise. In addition, two thirds of actors (67%) believed that the EU should develop integrated military structures. Some wish for this to happen regardless (27%), others provided that there was no duplication with NATO structures (50%).

The national world of state socialization

While most of CSDP actors questioned seemed to prefer the European area of strategic cooperation rather than the transatlantic one, the national level of analysis specifies preferences of actors based on their nationality. According to the above-mentioned questionnaire, French and German officials preferred, to different degrees, European cooperation more than British actors did between the 2000s and the 2010s. National differences observed between the CSDP actors validate the significance of national cleavage as strongly structuring the European security field.

Sixty percent of German actors believed that decisions should be taken by the state. Of the remaining 40%, an overwhelming majority (83%) preferred the EU to NATO. This preference for European cooperation was confirmed by the relationship between the EU and NATO. A large majority of German officials (94%) would prefer for the EU to get a complete (12%) or a limited (82%) political autonomy from NATO. As for the European integration of military structures, German respondents unanimously approved: three quarters (73%) wanted the integration of structures, but without duplication of NATO structures, and one quarter (27%) of respondents wanted it

regardless.

The results for British actors are completely different. None of them believed that the EU should take decisions relating to security policy and defence. 80% responded that the state should do so, and 20% that NATO should be in charge. Concerning the relationship between the EU and NATO, a majority (60%) believed that the EU was autonomous from NATO, even if these two institutions should strive to work together. Nevertheless, 20% of them thought that NATO remained the main security organization in Europe, and another 20% believed that NATO was the only security organization in Europe. 60% of the British respondents were also against integrated European military structures. The rest were divided between those who were against the integrated structures unless NATO agrees (20%), and those who would accept the structures only if there was no duplication of NATO structures (20%).

French CSDP officials were set between their British and German counterparts. Of the French respondents, almost three-quarters believed that decisions should be made by the state (71%), and more than a quarter (29%) thought that decisions should be made by the EU. None of the respondents considered it the role of NATO. French respondents unanimously answered that the EU was autonomous from NATO. 57% considered the autonomy to be limited, and 43% that the EU was completely autonomous from NATO. Moreover, all French actors endorsed the creation of an integrated European military structure: three quarters wanted full integration (71%), and almost one third of the respondents answered that they wanted the integration but without duplication of existing NATO structures (29%).

The transnational world of functional socialization

A functional analysis can specify the CSDP actors' level of commitment to the EU as an area of strategic cooperation, in relation to their professional position. Civil servants and academics spoke out strongly in favour of European cooperation, followed by diplomats, members of lobby groups or firms, and then the military for the period 2008–2014. Politicians belonged to the professional group which identified itself the least with the idea of European cooperation. Functional differences observed among the CSDP actors supported the hypothesis of a functional socialization: that the CSDP field was not limited to a national structure. A transnational functional cleavage completed the national allegiance of CSDP actors.

Civil servants represented the professional group that declared

itself the most in favour of the EU as an area of strategic cooperation. Half of the respondents believed that decisions should be made by the state, whereas the other half believed that the EU should make them. None considered it to be the role of NATO. All civil servants responded that the EU's decision-making is autonomous from NATO — 75% considered this to be restricted autonomy and 25% considered the EU's autonomy to be absolute. They unanimously approved the creation of integrated European military structures: half of the respondents were fully supported these structures, and the other half supported this but without duplication of NATO structures.

This support for the European cooperation social representation was also found among diplomats. Over three quarters (77%) of diplomats surveyed believed that decisions should be made by the state. In the remaining quarter, they were twice as likely to choose the EU (15%) as NATO (8%). Over 85% of diplomats believed that the EU is autonomous in relation to NATO. Nearly one fifth (16%) of diplomats estimated it to be complete, and over two thirds (69%) considered it to be restricted. Almost three fifth (58%) also endorsed the concept of integrated European military structures: one third did so unconditionally (33%) and one fourth (25%) on the condition that there was no duplication of NATO structures.

The respondents from the military likewise favoured European over transatlantic cooperation. More than eight in ten (86%) said that decisions should be made by the state. But the remaining 14% chose the EU. None of the respondents answered that NATO should make the decisions. Furthermore, nine in ten (87.5%) said that the EU was completely (37.5%) or partially (50%) autonomous from NATO. In addition, three in four (75%) were in favour of the creation of integrated European military structures: 25% were unconditionally in favour and 50% were in favour, but without duplication of NATO structures.

The positions of politicians were more balanced. 37.5% believed that decisions should be made by the EU and 37.5% that decisions should be made by NATO. 75% of politicians replied that the EU was autonomous from NATO, even if these two organizations must work together. 75% endorsed the development of integrated European military structures: 62.5% did so but without duplication of NATO structures, and 12.5% did so unconditionally.

Finally, all the academics believed that decisions should be made by the state, and they were unanimously in favour of European integration of military structures. In addition, three quarters (75%) of academics believed that the EU was independent of NATO, even if both institutions were encouraged to work together.

The Transnational World of EU Institutional Socialization

Between the Russo-Georgian and the Russo-Ukrainian crises, CSDP actors from national, European, intergovernmental, and supranational institutions believed in the social representation of a European strategic cooperation rather than a transatlantic one. However, the degree of CSDP actors' commitment varied in this period of time, depending on the institutional bond. The significance of the divide between workers belonging to the CSDP national institutions and those working within the EU institutions confirmed the divide between the CSDP officers attached to the EU intergovernmental institutions (Council, EDA) and those belonging to the EU supranational institutions (Commission, EP) structured the European security field to a lesser extent.

When asked by whom decisions should be made in the CSDP, most EU actors (85%) as well as national officers (68%) largely answered "the state." The remaining 15% of European officials favoured the EU. Among the last third of the national staff, 16% favoured the EU and 16% NATO. Regarding EU/NATO relations, EU officials unanimously affirmed the EU's autonomy in decision-making, either limited (78%) or total (22%). Nearly three quarters (74%) of domestic actors came to the same conclusion. However, they were half as likely (11%) as their European counterparts (22%) in saying that the EU had complete autonomy from NATO. The finding that the European CSDP actors were more likely to support European strategic cooperation over the national ones is confirmed by the following data. Nearly nine out of ten European actors (88%) believed that the EU should develop its integrated military structures, while among national staff only two out of three expressed this position (67%). A majority of European actors of the CSDP (54%) were unconditionally in favour of this military integration, and one third was in favour of such integration, but only without duplication of NATO structures (33%). Among domestic actors only one tenth (11%) were in favour of unconditional military integration. More than half (56%) were in favour of it if there was no duplication of NATO structures. In summary, all actors were in favour of European cooperation through the CSDP, but in different proportions; the EU actors were more strongly in favour than domestic actors.

Validation of a cleavage between the 'Europeans' and the 'nationals' confirms the assumption of institutional socialization. What about the second institutional divide?

The EU intergovernmental and supranational actors strongly

shared the social representation of European cooperation as the most relevant military cooperation area, the latter more so than the former. For a very large majority of actors belonging to an EU supranational organization (80%), decisions on security and defence issues should be made by the EU. Officials working in the EU intergovernmental institutions were four times less likely to think so (20%). No actor part of the EU supranational or intergovernmental organizations responded that NATO should make such decisions. Social representations of intergovernmental and supranational CSDP actors converged more on EU/NATO relations and integrated European structures. The EU officials, embedded in intergovernmental and supranational organisations, were unanimously in favour of autonomy for the EU in its relations with NATO. More intergovernmental actors (25%) than supranational actors (20%) thought that the EU was completely independent of NATO. However, 75% of intergovernmental actors and 80% of supranational actors saw it as partial. The creation of integrated European military structures was an idea endorsed by three out of four (75%) intergovernmental actors. Half did so unconditionally, and 25% on the condition that there was no duplication of NATO structures. Supranational actors supported the integration of military structures unanimously: 60% unconditionally, and 40% if there was no duplication of NATO structures.

Varieties of political allegiances in the EU

In conclusion, this article puts forth two main findings that contribute to the CSDP studies, based on primary sources from fieldwork in Berlin, Brussels, London, and Paris.

First, CSDP actors adhered to their own social representations which could not be exclusively explained by their national preferences. Taking the case study of military cooperation areas for the period 2008–2014, CSDP actors chose the European area (CSDP) rather than the transatlantic one (NATO). The symbolic use of Article 42.3 of the Treaty of the European Union rather than NATO's Article 5 by the French Minister of Defence Jean-Yves Le Drian, after the ISIS terrorist attack in Paris in November 2015, can be seen as a recent practical example of this. This result is consistent with research that demonstrates the emergence of a common strategic culture.[41] It should be confirmed by the analysis of the three other dimensions of the EU strategic culture.[42]

Second, CSDP actors' social representations were shaped within three worlds of socialization between the Russo-Georgian and Russo-Ukrainian crises: one national (the nation), and two transnational

(the profession and EU institutions). To put it differently, CSDP actors had not one allegiance, either national or European — even in these military issues which are closed linked to national sovereignty — but varieties of political allegiances: their national preferences, the function which they hold, *and* the institution where they work. As a result, these three worlds of socialization structured the European security field around national *and* transnational cleavages between the 2000s and the 2010s.

Conclusion

I have demonstrated that the EU strategic culture has been reinforced during the last decade in spite of a destabilized security context on the borders of Europe (Russo-Georgian conflict in 2008, "Arab Spring" in 2011, Russo-Ukrainian crisis in 2014). This time of political uncertainty is not over, but still shapes the EU. Inside the EU, the eurozone's reform,[43] a more effective cooperation between states to fight ISIS against terrorist attacks,[44] and the implementation of "Brexit"[45] present major challenges, especially in light of the 2017 elections in Germany and France. On the EU's borders, the migration flow resulting from conflicts in Syria, Yemen, and Libya, which is not likely to end in the near future, is a disturbing symptom of the Schengen crisis.[46] Outside the EU, the American foreign policy shaped by President Donald J. Trump casts further doubt on the future of European security.[47]

In this time of political turmoil, I hope that this constructivist and sociological analysis is a more practical tool to follow the next political developments of the CSDP than the outdated nation/Europe dialectic. Taking seriously the power of ideas and linking together these three socialization worlds of CSDP actors can be useful to understand the future of CSDP governance and political outcomes, of both further EU integration or disintegration.

Appendix 1. Sample distribution of the forty-seven CSDP actors with respect to age

	Absolute values	Proportion
Male	44	94%
Female	3	6%
Total	47	100

Appendix 2. Sample distribution of the forty-seven CSDP actors with respect to gender

	Absolute values	Proportion
35 and under	7	15%
36-45	10	21%
46-55	10	21%
56 and older	6	13%
Non respondents	14	30%
Total	47	100

Notes

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BEVERLEY HOOPER. *FOREIGNERS UNDER MAO: WESTERN LIVES IN CHINA, 1949–1976.*

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Beverley Hooper's latest work is a collection of portraits—a colourful and vivid mosaic constructed of the stories of westerners who lived in the People's Republic of China (PRC) at the time of Mao Zedong's chairmanship (1949–1976). The author seeks to dispel myths concerning the allegedly impenetrable barrier dividing 'Red China' from the Western world at the height of Cold War hostilities. She does so by giving voice to foreigners allowed by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to reside in the PRC, either for reasons of political convenience or out of diplomatic necessity. The result is an ensemble of nuanced testimonies from westerners who, in the author's words, have too often been left out of the modern literature on Mao's rule. After consuming Hooper's work, contemporary Chinese history enthusiasts will be left with the desire to explore the author's biographical accounts of her time in China (see: *Inside Peking: a Personal Report*), as well as the works of the large number of prominent figures mentioned in the book—from journalist and activist Anne Louise Strong, writer Edgar Snow, translators Gladys and Xianyi Yang, to then-head of the U.S. liaison office George H. W. Bush, and Italian sinologist Renata Pisu, to name but a few.

The book is divided into six sections, one per type of Western residents examined.

The first two groups are 'foreign comrades' and Korean War prisoners of war (POWs), individuals who were ideologically aligned with Communist China. Among these were either civilians who spontaneously left Western Europe to assist the CCP's Revolutionary Project, or US POWs who demanded to be relocated to the PRC after having been charmed by communist propaganda during their imprisonment in North Korea. Two other groups, foreign diplomats and correspondents, lived in socially isolated communities, but their very presence symbolized the

beginning of a new era of foreign relations for the People's Republic—one characterized by increased international recognition and legitimacy. The last two groups of westerners, students and 'foreign experts,' represented the PRC's most politically diverse foreign community, comprising leftists of all persuasions as well as apolitical enthusiasts of Chinese culture and language. Unlike 'foreign comrades,' 'foreign experts' were professionals invited by the central government to move to the PRC "to help modernize China" (p. 163). Upon arrival, however, these 'experts' were soon confronted with the "indifference, deception and hostility" (p. 164) of locals, which would force them to set aside their sense of superiority, and their ambitions of reforming China "along Western lines" (p. 163).

While acknowledging the multitude of nationalities represented within the PRC's foreign community, Hooper chooses to focus her work on the lives of people from Britain, North America, Western Europe, and Australasia. The author's choice is determined by her interest in the lives of those who came from countries that Beijing considered its "Cold War enemies." The oft-silenced voices of foreigners who lived in Mao's politically turbulent China are heard through Hooper's use of extracts from their written memoirs, private letters, and diaries. The author also interviewed a broad selection of westerners—contacts from her time as a student at Peking University 1975–7, and interviewees from her earlier works.

Hooper is acutely aware of the inadequacy of painting a picture of one of China's most complex and agitated political eras based on the accounts of her interviewees: "Oral history […] has its limitations: memories are selective […], and can be influenced by subsequent knowledge and experience" (p. 7), she notes. Nonetheless, the interviewees' poignant depictions of Mao's China enabled Hooper to bring their personal experiences to life in a candid fashion, and to draw links across unfinished written records.

One of the book's strongest merits lies in its avoidance of the attribution of fixed group identities to the foreigners studied by the author, despite dividing them into six distinct communities. Beijing's 'foreign comrades,' for instance, were disparagingly depicted by some of their ex-pat colleagues as 'renegades' who plunged into the Chinese Communist world due to being 'maladjusted' to Western society. Yet, as Hooper reminds us, some of China's 'international friends' were communist sympathizers fleeing the rise of McCarthyism in the United States, while others were long-term residents who hoped that the Communists' victory would put an end to local corruption and poverty. Some Western ex-pats decided to follow their Chinese spouses, while others decided to remain in the PRC for a short period of time and found themselves eventually unable to leave out of fear of social marginalization

at home. This nuanced portrayal of the foreigners' overlapping identities and complex motives for living in Mao's China produces a vivid image of the variety of their experiences, even as it dispels the pervasive myth of foreigners in China as a homogenous category. Indeed, Hooper's work highlights the inaccuracy of viewing foreigners solely as 'Western ideological misfits' coming to China in search of ideological solace. Hooper also avoids generalizing the stories of Chinese nationals. When assessing the role played by the so-called *lianluoren (*known in English as 'minders'[1]), for instance, the author provides a nuanced description of their interactions with the book's Western protagonists: despite being chosen on the basis of their political trustworthiness and anti-imperialist fervour, in fact, minders often developed genuine friendships with their foreign counterparts. This subtle account of the minders' multifaceted role makes Hooper's academic contribution all the more refreshing, relieving the reader from trite depictions of the "Chinese living under Mao" as passive government mouthpieces.

Yet, an almost-excessive descriptive focus on each group of foreigners leaves little room for cross-case comparisons, or for an overarching analysis of their experiences as foreigners under Mao. As a result, the book's chapters are impressive individually, but lack an overall cohesiveness. Perhaps, the *fil rouge* that binds together the book's sections is an omnipresent tension between the excitement and frustration of living in the PRC in the midst of a turbulent era, especially considering how the 'foreign other' residing in China was at the time routinely put under government and civilian scrutiny. These are, however, minor quibbles, which in no way diminish the comprehensiveness of Hooper's work. *Foreigners Under Mao* is a unique account that offers a rare opportunity for avid readers of contemporary Chinese history to catch a glimpse of an era "when politics were 'in command'" (p. 246) and dominated the daily lives of Western communities living in Beijing, Shanghai, and other major provincial cities.

Notes

[1] The term refers to Chinese students, teachers, and professionals recruited to assist foreign residents while also monitoring their actions on behalf of local government and/or CCP branches.

Anya Flach, Ercan Ayboga, and Michael Knapp. Janet Biehl (trans). *Revolution in Rojava: Democratic Autonomy and Women's Liberation in Syrian Kurdistan*

London: Pluto Press, 2016. 320 pp. £15. ISBN: 9780745336596

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Following the siege of Kobani in 2014, the revolution in Rojava, and the images of the women in the People's Protection Units (YPG/YPJ) fighting Islamic State (IS), a fascination with the Kurdish struggle in Syria developed in the Western media and the International 'Left.' *Revolution in Rojava* fills the remarkable gap in the literature regarding the history, ideology, and structures which led the three cantons of Rojava in Northern Syria (Afrin, Cizire, and Kobani) to unite under the principles of ecological sustainability, gender equality, and democratic confederalism. The three authors' deep understanding of the region, combined with a wealth of testimonials gathered through interviews in the field, shed light on how Rojava functions under extreme pressure from multiple adversaries, namely IS, the Assad regime, Iraqi Kurdistan, and Turkey. The book acts not only as an academic analysis of the region, but also as a compelling study of how direct democracy can sustain itself—in the region and elsewhere.

This book's analysis of Rojava allows for an exploration of the Syrian Civil War, the emergence of IS, and the refugee crisis from the Syrian Kurdish perspective in light of the broader geo-political context. The first chapter introduces the reader to the nuances of the term 'Rojava' and provides a thorough analysis of the area's geography and demographics. It puts to rest the myth that Rojava is an exclusively Kurdish endeavour by highlighting the relationships and participation of Arabs, Armenians, Syriacs, Chaldeans, and Ezidis—who are either indigenous to the area or have come to Rojava as refugees fleeing the Syrian Civil War.

Chapter three cogently explains the principles of democratic confederalism, its emergence in the Kurdish movement, and how the Rojava project put into practice this theory of building a society from concepts of direct democracy and pluralism. The explanation of this theory is striking in that it is rooted in the writings of Abdullah Ocalan,

the historic leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). He argues that capitalism is a result of patriarchy and that consequently, all types of social and economic exploitation merely mimic women's oppression. The work of Rosa Luxemburg, Antonio Gramsci, and particularly, Murray Bookchin, are drawn upon to note the movement's transition from Marxist-Leninist to anti-statist ideals, in which communities administer themselves into decentralised units using bottom-up dynamics, and pluralism is emphasized over demands for a Kurdish nation-state. The importance of the freedom of women is considered essential within this paradigm. The proceeding chapters unpack the different ways in which equality between the genders is considered and implemented: through the influence of the the Yekitiya Star, the women's Congress, in education, representation in the administrative structures and leadership, and women's participation in defence—both personal and that of the community. Chapter 8, "Defence," and Chapter 14, "Neighbours," both provide important insights into how Rojava and the Kurdish question tie into the fight against IS and other militant Islamist groups in the Syrian Civil War. The chapters on ecological protection, health care, justice systems, and the social economy provide important building blocks in understanding daily life in the cantons. Notably, Chapters 6 and 7, "Democratic Autonomy in Rojava" and "Civil Society Associations" provide comprehensive insight into how the society contrasts with the hegemony of the nation-state.

A key strength of the book is the transparency of its authors' subjectivities. In the introduction, they deny their ability to be objective as they see such a claim as "often used to conceal the investigator's original purpose."[1] In this sense, the book must also be considered in reference to what is omitted and left unsaid. While the book does not explicitly deny the existence of those in Rojava who do not support the TEV-DEM (the Coalition running Rojava), it does not include extensive interviews with these people. Further, the book does not touch upon the rumoured (and denied) operational connection between the PYD leadership (particularly Salih Muhammad) and the PKK. Equally, the book refrains from discussing the many obstacles in the way of the movement's ideology, choosing instead to focus on how patriarchy has been overcome instead of how it may persist. Similarly, an Armenian is quoted as saying that Armenians, although grateful for the YPG's protection against IS, must tolerate whoever is dominant in the region. The authors invokes multi-ethnic principles, insisting that this is not a movement for Kurds alone, but the book does not systematically address how this will be maintained. Despite the authors' transparent solidarity with the Rojava movement, at the end of multiple chapters they suggest ways of building on the movement and critically discuss where sustainability will be

difficult. For instance, in Chapter 6 "Democratic Autonomy in Rojava," they recommend that a detailed outline be written in order to protect the movement's egalitarian structure. This would protect the existing relationship between the highest levels of administration, the People's Councils of West Kurdistan (MGRK), and the transitional administration for individual cantons, the Democratic Autonomous Administrations (DAA).

David Graeber, in his foreword, while acknowledging his limitations in only spending a week in the region, outlines the criticisms and possible difficulties facing the movement. Particularly, he underscores the dangers of class structures emerging in the movement (and being ignored), the inherently time-consuming nature of consensus building, and how Rojava can function internationally when human rights treaties and even the use of an airport would seem to demand it declare itself a state. Graeber and the three other authors end their chapters on a positive note, acknowledging that even the existence of such a movement was unprecedented five years ago. Regardless of the difficulties Rojava faces, it should continue to be seen as a source of inspiration to international organisers and activists. Bookchin has written on the concept of democratic confederalism with the West in mind, yet Ocalan and the writers of this book acknowledge that the lack of industrialisation in this region, combined with its rich resources, offer the opportunity for radical democracy that might overcome the Marxist notions that endure in some parts of the leftist Western imagination. Therefore, this book can be considered a departure from a tendency, typical of the orientalist eye in academia and leftist critical theory, to transport Western ideology to the Middle East. Instead, it looks at the struggle in Rojava as a site of learning. Like the region, Rojava's nature is neither static nor permanent, yet *Revolution in Rojava* provides an up to date snapshot of the capabilities, challenges, and promises of the Kurdish struggle.

Notes

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Helen Taylor. *Refugees and the Meaning of Home: Cypriot Narratives of Loss, Longing and Daily Life in London*

London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. £79.99. ISBN: 978-1-349-57091-1

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In *Refugees and the Meaning of Home: Cypriot Narratives of Loss, Longing and Daily Life in London,* Helen Taylor explores how Greek and Turkish Cypriot refugees living in London make sense of their identities in relation to both their homeland and host country. By treating their construction of 'home' as a fluid and multidimensional process, the book challenges recurrent assumptions in the mainstream literature on forced migration and refugees, which tends to dichotomise 'belonging' either by clearly separating the realms of the 'lost' home and the 'present' home, or by employing a state-centric meta-narrative, which suggests a natural and inevitable connection between people, culture, and a territory defined by immutable borders. *Refugees and the Meaning of Home*, on the other hand, provides us with a vivid account of the contradictory, dynamic, and intersectional nature of the processes involved in making, unmaking, and remaking of 'home' by analysing four dimensions: the spatial, the temporal, the material, and the relational.

The book is founded on in-depth interviews conducted with twenty-two Cypriots who were forced to leave their homeland either because of inter-communal violence in the 1960s or as a consequence of the Turkish military intervention in 1974. Throughout the book, Helen Taylor draws our attention to the inescapable consequences of exile: the narrowing of an individual's options and the loss of control over one's destiny that follows forced displacement. The chapter, *The Spatial Time*, suggests that the 'idea of home as space' goes beyond the physical structure of a house and extends to the interplay between life in the neighbourhood, in the village, and on the island. The following chapter, *The Temporal Time,* challenges another core assumption of the mainstream literature, namely that time is a linear journey from past to present. Taylor instead treats time as a cyclical reappearance of key events—an interpretation which makes more pointed her argument that the lost home is not 'frozen' in the past. The performance of religious and cultural festivals,

participation in communal activities, and rituals functions are but some of the expressions of this cyclical pattern; not only passing down traditions to second- or third-generation refugees, but also, and more importantly, serving as a daily strategy of home-building and as a demonstration of their unrelenting wish to return to their lost home.

In the superb chapter, *Sense of Belonging—The Material Home*, the idea of 'home' as an 'organic matter' comparable to plants, food, trees, crops, and soil evokes the past experience of home through prompting sensorial memory and imagery (pp. 88–89). Taylor does not fail to note the political and national meanings carried by sensorial memory. Indeed, even daily eating habits can contribute to the articulation of a particular national discourse among refugees, fulfilling a sense of collective identity and of belonging to the homeland. The author illustrates this dynamic through vivid depictions of some habits of Cypriot refugees in London, like growing typical Cypriot gardens. This public performance of a specific 'ritual' reinforces their identity and signals their belonging to the Cypriot diaspora (p. 102). Thus, refugees are not portrayed as passive or rootless, but as actively constructing their lives within a 'home' that transcends spatial and temporal boundaries. The concept of home, then, takes on a dynamic aspect: its meaning is constantly constructed by the daily practices, experiences, and actions of refugees.

The following chapter, *Home is Other People—The Relational Home,* draws on Bourdieu's concepts of 'habitus' and 'social capital' to explain the daily interactions of refugees and the distribution and mobilisation of resources through mutual acquaintances and social networks (pp. 128; 130). Mobilization of social capital by refugees both facilitates a sense of feeling at home and connects them to a larger collective network. Furthermore, Taylor highlights the gendered aspect of the functioning of social norms, with women often encountering 'moral' and sexual codes imposed by their community in exile.

A meaningful analysis of the Cypriot Diaspora, however, must go beyond the study of individual experiences and engage with sensitive political issues such as the '1974 Turkish military action,' which has been narrated differently by the Greek and Turkish communities. Taylor's account mostly avoids political commentary, which allows the reader to concentrate on her more convincing discussion of 'home building.' Nevertheless, she does make one jarring political judgment when she concludes that the different nature of the commemorations and celebrations of the two communities are clear indicators of political projects that antagonize Cyprus' reunification. In particular, Taylor suggests that the Greek Cypriot community in London selectively commemorates events such as the independence struggle against British colonialism, the denouncement of the Greek military junta, or

the Turkish 'invasion' in 1974—without ever mentioning the killings of Turkish Cypriots between 1960 and 1974. This tendency towards selection encourages the belief among the Greek Cypriot community that both communities on the island can coexist, even if this entails a collective amnesia of its recent history. On the other hand, in Taylor's account, at the heart of the Turkish commemorations are the killings of Turkish Cypriots in the 1960s and the 1974 Cyprus 'peace' operation of the Turkish military. This would suggest a contradictory belief within the Turkish community of the impossibility of peaceful coexistence, since their commemorations emphasize the island's past inter-communal violence (pp. 69–71, see also p. 126). However, Taylor's rushed interpretation of the political implications of such commemorations seems to implicitly attribute to the Turkish side only the responsibility for maintaining tension in the Island. In reality, the 2004 Annan Plan for Cyprus, aiming at uniting the two communities under the name of 'United Republic of Cyprus,' was supported by less than a quarter of Greek Cypriot voters, and by 65 percent of the Turkish electorate.

All in all, *Refugees and the Meaning of Home* is a timely work that offers a new and critical perspective in the study of refugees and forced migration for students, scholars, and perhaps most particularly for refugees themselves. In the light of the January 2017 peace talks between Turkey, Greece, and the UK which sought to resolve the Cyprus issue, the book contributes to the current climate of renewed hope for a reunification of an island that thousands of people were forced to abandon. Moreover, Taylor challenges the assumption that refugees are passive and compliant victims who accept the circumstances in which they find themselves by emphasizing the transformative and constructive power of refugees as active resilient agents who make, unmake, and remake their homes. This understanding provides the potential to shatter the state-centric meta-narratives that are particularly dominant in this academic sphere.

ST ANTONY'S INTERNATIONAL REVIEW
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DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSIONS: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24TH

ST ANTONY'S INTERNATIONAL REVIEW
CALL FOR PAPERS

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN A POST-FACTUAL WORLD

Abstracts of 500 words to be submitted by 15th March 2017.
Final articles of max. 8,000 words to be submitted by 1st August.

In November 2016, the Oxford English Dictionary declared "post-truth" its word of the year. Despite this, little academic debate has been produced on its repercussions on the field of International Relations. Oxford University's international relations journal, St Antony's International Review (STAIR), is calling for papers for the February 2018 Issue, dedicated to an academic analysis of the implications of 'post-truth' political movements to international affairs.

The rise of an international wave of populist political movements has challenged the wisdom and advice (and very existence) of experts in many fields, particularly international relations. Donald Trump rode to victory on calls to repeal longstanding bulwarks of the international system, from NAFTA to NATO, and has been seen by some as a new shift toward isolationism, while the consequences of the British decision to leave the European Union are still unclear. These decisions, which largely came to the surprise and dismay of social scientists, raise serious questions for experts in international relations. Scholars, now more than ever, are challenged to reassert their perspective on these developments as well as their own role in knowledge production.

World politics increasingly relies on scientific and technical solutions to problems ranging from climate change to nuclear nonproliferation, trade legislation, and the complexity of international cooperation, and yet recent political movements worldwide seem to challenge not only the validity but also the very existence of such expertise. Thus, we face a challenge in how we reconcile the importance of expert opinion with an increasingly post-factual world.

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- The future of the free trade regime in light of growing protectionism
- The impact of populism on global climate change negotiations
- The challenges presented by big data in international relations

Please submit your contributions to Leah Matchett (leah.matchett@politics.ox.ac.uk), CC'd to Katherine Tyson (katherine.tyson@politics.ox.ac.uk) and Ivo Bantel (ivo.bantel@politics.ox.ac.uk). For more details regarding submission procedures and the style guide, please consult http://www.stairjournal.com/notes-for-contributors.

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