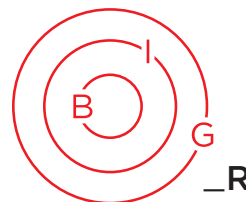Volume 4, Issue 1
Fall & Winter 2022

Academic and
artistic explorations
of borders in the
21st century

PORTFOLIO
Situational Realism
By Ian Howard (cover)

Featuring SPECIAL SECTION
Resisting Anti-Migrant Politics
Edited by Kenneth Horvath, Elise Pape,
Catherine Delcroix, and Lena Inowlocki

BORDERS IN GLOBALIZATION REVIEW

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ROLLING CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS

BIG_Review is a bi-annual, multidisciplinary, open-access, and peer-reviewed journal, providing a forum for academic, policy, and artistic explorations of borders in the 21st century. We publish **scholarly work** (academic articles, review essays, research notes, film reviews, and book reviews), **policy work** (brief and reports), and **artistic work** (photography, painting, poetry, short stories, fiction reviews, and more). The journal is committed to quality research, public access, policy relevance, and cultural significance. We welcome submissions from all disciplines and backgrounds.

Scholarly submissions should engage with the research literature on borders, including, for example, bordering processes, borderlands, and borderscapes. We encourage studies that go beyond the 'land image' by exploring borders as non-contiguous, aterritorial, mobile, electronic, biometric, functional, etc. We are especially interested in explorations of borders and global challenges such as pandemics, climate change, migration, and economic shocks. We also seek border studies that break new ground by integrating Indigenous perspectives, knowledges, and practices. We encourage innovative theoretical work as well as empirical and quantitative research. Articles should be between 7,000 and 10,000 words in length. Book and film reviews should be between 500 and 1,000 words, and essays between 1,000 and 4,000 words. Academic submissions must be previously unpublished and not simultaneously under other publishers' consideration.

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Policy submissions should translate research and scholarship into clear, accessible language, avoiding jargon and theory. Policy briefs (2,000 words) and policy reports (4,000 words) should inspire and enable non-experts to incorporate the findings into their policy frameworks pertainng to the governance of borders.

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BORDERS IN GLOBALIZATION
REVIEW

CONTENTS

POLICY

PORTFOLIO

POETRY

ART & BORDERS

FILM REVIEWS

BOOK REVIEW

EDITORIAL MATTER

Letter of Introduction

Dear Readers,

Borders in Globalization is proud to share the latest issue of *BIG_Review*. In scholarship, policy, and art, this issue provides a remarkable exploration of borderlands, border governance, and border resistance—cross-cut with some distinct thematic interrogations of 'the real'.

The article section begins with a demonstration of the analytical power of *borderlands* and *lived experience* as frameworks for problematizing common presuppositions about nation-states and territorial boundaries; Virpi Kaisto, Olga Brednikova, and Kristiina Korjonen-Kuusipuro explore everyday-ordinary constructions of borderlander identity at the Finnish–Russian border. Then, we present a special section that challenges European anti-migrant politics, featuring an introduction by guest editors Kenneth Horvath, Elise Pape, Catherine Delcroix, and Lena Inowlocki, and four original research articles. First, Stefania Adriana Bevilacqua and Daniel Bertaux show that small European villages facilitate more robust integration for migrants seeking better lives. Then, Monika Salzbrunn goes into cases of *artivism*—activism through art—that resist anti-immigrant politics via music and fashion. Rosa Gatti, in her article, challenges the categories of citizenship and teases out the tensions of migrant women wielding national citizenship to cross borders and better their lives. The special section concludes with an in-depth case study by Abdoulaye Ngom that chronicles the multiple (and unsuccessful) attempts of a Senegalese family to reach Europe by regular and irregular means.

Following the articles, we are thrilled to introduce a new section to our journal—*policy*. Until now, there has not been space dedicated to making border scholarship more accessible to policymakers and other professionals whose work may benefit from the research of border studies. Starting now, each issue of *BIG_Review* will contain a policy section, edited by Alan Bersin, Ben Rohrbaugh, and Edwin Hodge. Our first installment features two illustrative policy briefs, one focused on borders and culture, the other on borders and climate change, both written by section co-editor Edwin Hodge.

The art sections of this issue each further disrupt the realities of international boundaries. In the centre portfolio, selected by Chief Editor Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, artist and professor Ian Howard meticulously structures insights into some of the hardest and most iconic international barriers around the world—through photo, prose, video, and frottage—in a unique collection he calls Situational Realism. Then, poetry editor Natasha Sardzoska shares three poems from a recent collection by Arian Leka, in which the poet vivifies the harsh realities of forced migration through truthful—if not factual—scenarios. Last but not least, our art sections conclude with a three-part installation by Paulo Nazareth, curated by editor Elisa Ganivet; Nazareth's performative and bodily works unearth the gritty underside of borders, blurring the lines between satire and documentary along the way.

Finally, the issue closes with our Film & Book Review section, featuring entries by M. Derya Canpolat, M. Mustafa Iyi , and Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly.

BIG is grateful to be at the University of Victoria, located on the unceded Indigenous lands of the Lekwungen, WSÁNEĆ, and Esquimalt peoples. We are also grateful for the hosting and support provided by the Centre for Global Studies and by University Libraries. And thanks are also due to the whole BIG team who helped make this issue possible. Please enjoy, share, and stay in touch through our webpage and social media.

Sincerely,

Michael J. Carpenter, Managing Editor
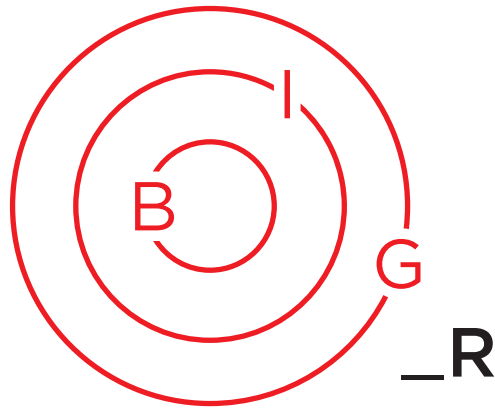
ARTICLES

BIG_Review articles are long-form explorations of borders in a globalized world, presenting original research from diverse disciplinary backgrounds. All articles undergo at least two double-blind peer reviews, drawing on the expertise of our Editorial Board and a wider network of borders scholars, subject to the discretion of the Chief Editor. Like all *BIG_Review* publications, articles are available for free in open-access Creative Commons licensing.
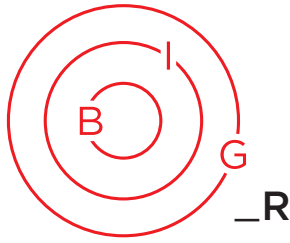
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ARTICLE

Switching Cars with the Militsiya and Other Ways the Finnish–Russian Borderland is 'Lived' by People in Their Everyday Lives

Virpi Kaisto, Olga Brednikova, Kristiina Korjonen-Kuusipuro *

Borderlands differ from more central areas of states as they are affected by different border effects, such as cross-border flows and the intermingling of societies and cultures. Yet, the ways people experience and practice borderlands by attaching meanings to the material and social space have received relatively little attention. The present study focuses on the Finnish–Russian borderland as 'lived' by people in their everyday lives. It is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the Finnish border cities of Imatra and Lappeenranta and the Russian border cities of Svetogorsk and Vyborg in 2017 and 2018. The main finding is that the participants' cross-border practices are intertwined with personal and socially shared meanings that they associate with the borderland and places within it. These meanings also play an important role in the ways the participants form relationships with the borderland. The paper argues that research on borderlands needs to pay more attention to the ever-evolving relationship between people and space for deepening the understanding of the specificity of borderlands as living environments.

Introduction

In June 2017, we joined Petri, a Finnish man in his 40s on his trip from the Finnish city of Imatra to the Russian city of Svetogorsk. These cities are located opposite each other on the Finnish–Russian border, and Petri travelled across the boundary every now and then to fuel his car and shop for various items that he preferred to buy in Russia. During the trip, Petri shared many exciting stories with us from the end of the 1980s and the 1990s when he used to

spend a lot of time on the Russian side of the border with his Finnish friends. "Switching cars with the militsiya" was one of these:

> At that time, I had a Yankee van [...] Then, militsiya men came to ask: "Can we drive this?" I said: "Yeah. But I will drive that [the militsiya car]." "Okay!" They drove in front of me, and I had sirens on, and I tried to keep up [laughs]. [...] Well, I was not able to catch

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them. Then, they were so happy that they had driven an American car. (Petri, interviewed by authors. Imatra and Svetogorsk: 6th June 2017)

For us, this and Petri's other stories were very entertaining, but they also opened our eyes to the various, sometimes even surprising ways people 'live' borderlands in their everyday lives. This involved the fact that the experiences Petri had in his youth were an integral part of how he experienced the borderland today.

The argument that we want to make in this paper is that borderlands are "lived spaces" in the sense of Lefebvre (1974, 1991) and Soja (1996), and people experience and practice them by attaching meanings to the material and social space. Consequently, there is a need to pay more attention to the ever-evolving relationship between people and space in border areas to deepen our understanding of borderlands as living environments. The argument draws on research carried out at the Finnish–Russian border, which serves as the European Union (EU) external border and the eastern boundary of the Schengen Area. In 2017 and 2018, we conducted ethnographic fieldwork in two Finnish (Imatra and Lappeenranta located in South-East Finland) and two Russian (Svetogorsk and Vyborg in North-West Russia) border cities. The fieldwork consisted of observations and interviews and conversations with people who had crossed the Finnish–Russian border for different purposes and varying lengths of time: migrants, second-home owners, and renters and visitors. Our research was inspired by Lefebvre's (1974, 1991) notion of lived space, and we explored people's ways of practicing and perceiving the borderland.

The objective of this paper is to study how the Finnish–Russian borderland is lived by people in their everyday lives. The concept of "borderland(s)" contains the idea that areas in close vicinity to state boundaries differ from more central areas of states because they are characterized by border effects, such as cross-border flows and the intermingling of societies and cultures (see: Martínez 1994). Numerous studies have provided important information about everyday life in different borderlands of the world. Among the most popular themes has been the history and development of borderlands, including how various historical events and ethnic and political crises have affected life at borders (see for example: Banerjee 2010; Zartman 2012; Readman et al. 2014). A lot of research has also been done on how the state is reflected in the daily lives of borderland inhabitants both in terms of the power it exercises as well as in terms of border security (see for example: Donnan & Wilson 2010; Reeves 2014; Bhaumik 2021). In addition, researchers have looked at people's perceptions of the border and its other side, as well as their cross-border practices (see for example: Paasi & Prokkola 2008; Boesen & Schnuer 2017). Researchers have also been interested in the construction of cultures and identities in borderlands (see for example: Prokkola 2009; Konrad & Nicol 2011; Phaneuf 2013).

The key question underlying these studies has been: "In what ways borders impact the lives of people living in their vicinity?" Recently, researchers have become interested in looking at borderlands as spaces to which people attach different meanings. In these studies, attention has shifted from the border and its effects on the relationship between people and the environment in which they live (see for example: Price 2004; Idvall 2009; Fisher 2013; Wille 2013; Pfoser 2014; Durand 2015; Yılgın Damgacı & Ulaş Dağlı 2018). Konrad (2020), among others, has called for research on what people feel about borders and borderlands and how borderlands can become places to which people feel they belong.

Our research seeks answers to these questions in the Finnish–Russian borderland. This boundary has been, and continues to be, a popular research area among border scholars. Most studies in recent years have focused on economics and the development of the borderland (see for example: Smętkowski et al. 2017; Kolosov et al. 2018; Stepanova & Shlapeko 2018), tourism and second-home ownership (see for example: Izotov & Laine 2013; Hannonen et al. 2015; Kondrateva & Shlapeko 2021), cross-border interaction and collaboration (see for example: Eskelinen et al. 2013; Makkonen et al. 2018) and perceptions of the border and the other side (see for example: Kaisto & Brednikova 2019; Prokkola 2019).

Up to now, little attention has been paid to the relationship between people and the borderland environment. Paasi's (1996) and Jukarainen's (2001) studies are exceptions. Paasi's (1996) classic study on the Finnish–Russian border includes a section exploring local people's territorial identification and belonging at the border in Värtsilä (Finland). Jukarainen (2001) sheds light on young people's perceptions of the border and its other side, and young people's territorial identities on both sides of the boundary. These studies are from the period when the border had 'opened' after the collapse of the Soviet Union.[1] Many changes have occurred in the borderland in the last 20 years as new crossing points have been opened and the cross-border traffic has increased, and there is a need to understand people's present-day experiences (prior to the COVID-19 pandemic and war in Ukraine that have again reduced cross-border traffic and transformed people's lived experiences in the borderland).

In the last few years, there has been a growing interest in the role of history, memory, and remembering in the relationships between people and certain places in the borderland. Researchers have found, among other things, that the history of the Karelian territories that Finland ceded to the Soviet Union after the Second World War (WWII) plays an important role in the relationships that Finnish people have with the region (see for example: Karhu 2017; Korjonen-Kuusipuro & Kuusisto-Arponen 2017). Likewise, the controversial history of their home region impacts everyday life and experiences of the current Russian residents in Karelia and the Karelian

Isthmus (see for example: Melnikova 2019). These studies suggest that the Finnish–Russian borderland is more than a material arena for people's activities, and that in addition to studying how the border impacts people's lives, it is important to pay attention to the diverse ways that people live the borderland by attaching meanings to the material and social space.

This ethnographic research provides new in-depth insights into how people experience the Finnish–Russian borderland and what kinds of relationships are formed within it. Our approach allows looking at the previously separately studied borderland phenomena (such as cross-border mobility, perceptions and role of history and memory) through one theoretical lens. While most studies scrutinizing the Finnish–Russian borderland have shed light on the North Karelia (Finland)–The Republic of Karelia (Russia) section of the border, this research focuses on the South Karelia (Finland)–Leningrad Oblast (Russia) section, which is the busiest stretch of the border for crossings and has its own characteristics in terms of history and current day developments.

We begin the article by outlining our theoretical approach and explaining what we understand by borderlands as lived and socially produced spaces. We continue by describing the geographical context, before proceeding to the methods of data collection and analysis. We then present and discuss our findings and conclude with key messages and ideas for further research.

Borderlands as Socially Produced and Lived Spaces

In this study, borderlands are understood as socially produced and lived spaces. The idea that space is socially produced has been credited to French sociologist Henri Lefebvre (Gieseking et al. 2014). Lefebvre (1991, 31) argues that every society "produces a space, its own space". Thus, to say that borderlands are socially produced is, first, to say that the materiality of the borderland is a product of the society (Lefebvre 1974, 1991; Cresswell 2015). In this sense, borderlands are meeting places of national spaces and, simultaneously, unique transnational spaces. In the Finnish–Russian borderland, the spaces produced by the Finnish and Russian societies meet and cross-border flows of people, goods, and ideas are increasingly important in the social production of the transnational borderland. Moreover, as is common for other borderlands regions, the Finnish–Russian border has shifted over the course of history, and historical events and their traces remain inscribed on the physical and social landscape (see: Lefebvre 1974, 1991). The effect of history on the physical and social space of borderlands becomes particularly obvious in our case study.

Social production of space also implies that spaces are more than material arenas for people's practices and routines, and people live in spaces by associating them with collective and individual meanings (Soja 1996). In this sense, social space comes very close to the definition of *place* as it incorporates the idea that space is being invested with meaning (Cresswell 2015). Lefebvre (1974, 1991) distinguishes between three interconnected dimensions of social space—"spatial practice", "representations of space", and "representational spaces".[2] This study focuses on representational spaces, also known as 'lived' space. Although representational space is distinct from the other two spaces, it also encompasses them in that "It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects" (Lefebvre 1991, 39). Soja (1996) has renamed lived space as "thirdspace" and he explains that it is where everything comes together: "subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, [...] mind and body [...] everyday life and unending history" (56–57).

Wille (2013) and Durand (2015) have recently developed conceptual models for studying borderlands as socially produced spaces. Both models are inspired by Lefebvre's (1974, 1991) spatial thinking and, thus, pay attention to the material borderland and people's practices in it, to contextual factors and to individual and collective representations and meanings. Wille's (2013) analytical framework is intended mainly to the study of "cross-border doing geographies" (such as cross-border commuting). Durand (2015), on the other hand, outlines a framework to analyze "the production of cross-border space" and links this with cross-border integration. He considers, for instance, that unfavourable contexts for cross-border cooperation will limit the opening of the border and the integration process and constrain the production of cross-border space.

We claim that social production of space in borderlands is not limited to cross-border mobilities or processes (such as cross-border integration). It is an ongoing process in the everyday life of each borderland—regardless of whether the border is open or closed and regardless of the level of interaction existing across the border. For example, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the border between Finland and Russia was open only for freight transport and essential passenger traffic, but people continued leading their everyday lives at the border and were affected by the border closure. Thus, social production of space continues and people continue to live in the borderland even under exceptional circumstances.

In addition to the analytical frameworks scrutinized above, Sofield (2006) has considered how the concept of space can be used in the study of tourism in borderlands. There are also some studies that have applied the concepts of space and place to the empirical study of borderlands. Research illustrates that people invest borders and borderlands with personal and socially shared meanings (thoughts, ideas, beliefs, preferences, stories, memories, feelings, and values) that influence their daily lives and the relationships that they form with the surrounding

space. Yılgın Damgacı and Ulaş Dağlı (2018) discovered in their study on Nicosia, the divided capital of Cyprus, that individual and collective memories of the past and how the city and social life in it used to look and feel like, are part of how people experience the city today. Similarly, Pfoser (2014) shows that the socialist past continues to be meaningful in the present for Russian speakers in the Estonian city of Narva, located at the Russian border.

Meanings that people and groups of people attach to borders and borderlands can vary, and the same physical site may be imagined and lived very differently by different individuals and groups. Krichker (2019) illustrates how people interpret and reproduce spaces differently in Melilla, the Spanish enclave in North Africa where migrants from the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa seek asylum and access to Europe. Price (2004) explores some of the historical and contemporary narrative threads about the Mexico–US borderland. She shows how Anglo-Americans and Chicano nationalists have related the borderland with contrasting narratives in the 19th and 20th centuries. Price (2004) emphasizes that we negotiate our own belonging to places vis-à-vis existing place narratives and the stories we ourselves attach to places.

As has been established by research on cross-border tourism (see for example: Timothy 2001; Hannonen et al. 2015), meanings that people give to borders and borderlands are also linked with cross-border mobilities. Szytniewski and Spierings (2018) studied a Polish bazaar as a cross-border shopping destination in the German–Polish borderland. They found that German shoppers from the city just across the border and people from further afield had different place images of the bazaar. While for the locals it was no longer interesting, non-locals associated the bazaar with leisure and visited it regularly. Idvall (2009) discovered in his study of pleasure boaters' lived experiences in the Swedish–Danish maritime border area of Öresund, that the boaters prefer to sail to the foreign guest harbours where they can experience something nationally different.

Finally, studies examining borderlands through the concepts of space and place illustrate how spaces/places always relate to questions of power and agency. Fisher's (2013) study delves into everyday life in the early 20th century in the cities of Ciudad Juárez and El Paso on the U.S.–Mexico border. He shows how the inhabitants in both cities were constantly producing and transforming the cities with their practices and negotiations. There were, for example, hundreds of Americans who ventured into Juárez to experience what was prohibited in El Paso. At the same time, people in both cities questioned the morality of the spaces of 'vice' and drew discursive boundaries between themselves and those engaged in immoral activities. In her study, Sharples (2018) highlights that borderlands may provide opportunities for engagement and agency for people that do not have

these in nation-state spaces. Thus, borderlands have the power to transform people's lives and, at the same time, people's practices and agency transform the borderland and provide it with alternative meanings that challenge the dominant state narrative, determining who belongs and who does not belong to the state territory.

Although it may not be exhaustive, the above discussed literature suggests that it is important to pay attention to borderlands as socially produced and lived spaces. The advantage of this approach is that it helps to understand how materiality, meanings, and experiences intertwine with people's agency in borderlands. Thus, it adds to our understanding of people's life in close vicinity to state boundaries.

The Finnish–Russian Borderland

The 1,340-kilometer-long Finnish–Russian border is a land boundary that reaches from the Gulf of Finland in the south to the Finnish–Norwegian border in the north. It is only possible to cross the border at designated crossing points with a valid passport and visa. The border runs mostly through uninhabited woodlands, but in the south, there are sparsely populated rural areas and small villages and cities on both sides of the boundary.

Our case study region is in this part of the Finnish–Russian borderland, and it includes the cities of Vyborg (76,400 inhabitants), Svetogorsk (15,400 inhabitants), Lappeenranta (72,700 inhabitants), and Imatra (26,500 inhabitants) (see Figure 1). These territories belonged to the Swedish Empire until the beginning of the 19th century and to the Grand Duchy of Finland (an autonomous part of the Russian Empire) until Finland's independence in 1917. During WWII, Finland and the Soviet Union fought over these lands in two consecutive wars in 1939–1940 and 1941–1944. As a result, the border was moved westward. Western parts of the region remained in independent Finland, and the eastern territories were assigned to the Soviet Union. The ceded territories were resettled with people from different parts of the Soviet Union after the Finnish population of approximately 407,000 people was relocated to the Finnish interior (Karjalan liitto n.d.).[3]

Among the ceded lands was the city of Vyborg, which was Finland's second largest city before WWII, and the industrial settlement of Enso, which was renamed Svetogorsk in 1948. On the Finnish side, the city of Lappeenranta inherited the status of regional centre for South-East Finland from Vyborg, and the borough of Imatra was established across the border from Svetogorsk and grew into an industrial town. The border was closed after the war. Until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, it was open mainly for freight and site traffic and organized travel (Stepanova & Shlapeko 2018), and it separated Vyborg and Svetogorsk from Lappeenranta and Imatra for more than four decades.
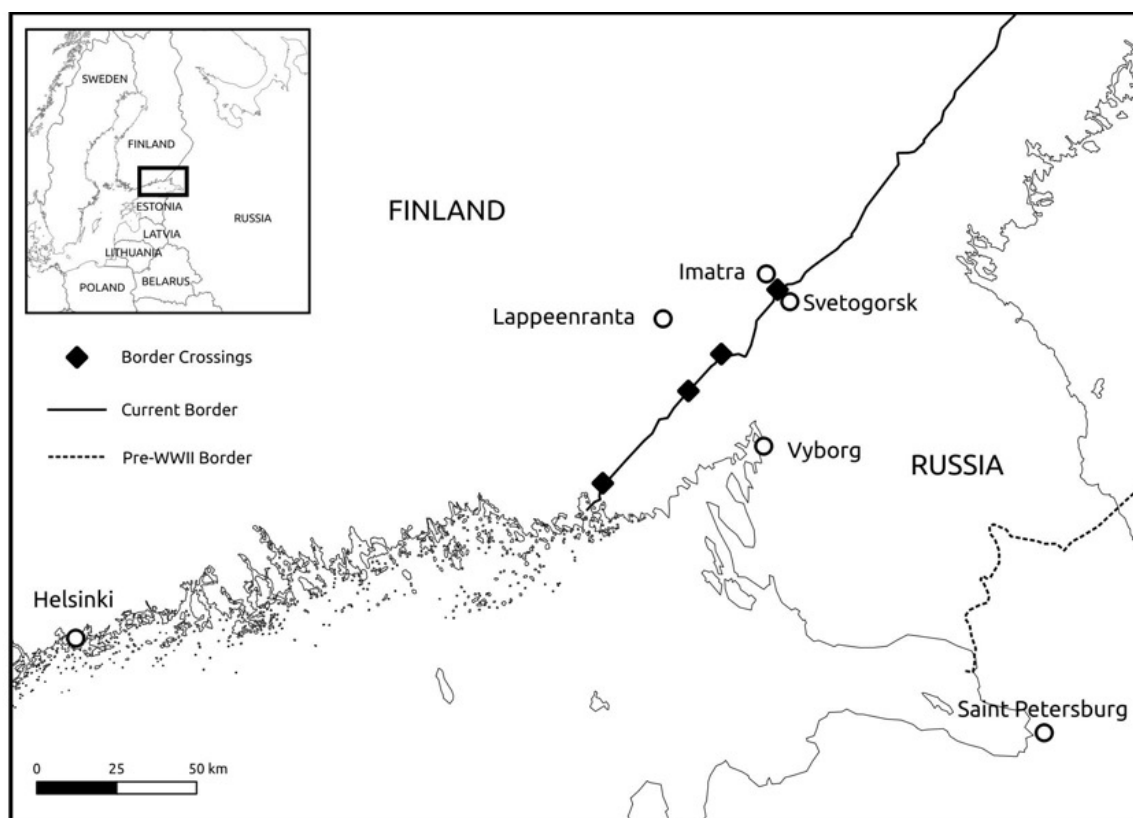
Figure 1. The Case Study Region. Source: the author.

Today, three of the nine international checkpoints on the Finnish–Russian border are located between the cities. During our fieldwork in 2017 and 2018, these four cities were 'at the heart' of the Finnish–Russian borderland as they took care of around 50% of the cross-border traffic between Finland and Russia. Approximately ten million people crossed the border annually and, although the number of border crossers fluctuated depending on political and economic circumstances, the boundary was increasingly important for the economies of the border cities and regions (Smętkowski et al. 2017). Moreover, the border was present in the social life of the borderland in terms of travellers, shopping tourists, and shops and services directed at visitors. It had developed from "alienated borderlands", with practically no routine cross-border interchange, to "interdependent borderlands" where the everyday lives of inhabitants had begun to merge in terms of economic and social ties (see: Martínez 1994).

Saint Petersburg, located 170 kilometers from the border with a population of more than five million people, played a key role in the development of this part of the Finnish–Russian borderland. During the Soviet period, most border crossers were from Finland, but by the 2010s, 70% were from Russia (Sisäministeriö 2015; Stepanova & Shlapeko 2018). The largest number of travellers from Russia to Finland were from Saint Petersburg (67% in 2018), and Lappeenranta and Imatra were their favourite destinations, along with Helsinki, Finland's capital. The Finnish side of our case study region was also attracting Russian second-home owners and migrants. Alternatively, when it comes to travelling across the border, a large share of Finnish borderland inhabitants had never visited Russia (Prokkola 2019).

The Russian side of the case study region also experienced great changes following the opening of the border. In terms of the economy, changes were not as prominent as those on the Finnish side because cross-border traffic was directed towards Finland. The social life of the borderland inhabitants, on the contrary, changed substantially. People had the opportunity to travel across the border to Finland, and it was much more common for inhabitants of Russian border cities to visit Finland than vice versa (Kaisto & Brednikova 2019). Also, much of the traffic from Finland to Russia was oriented towards border cities or places just across the border. Previous studies (Smętkowski et al. 2017) and our fieldwork indicate that short refuelling trips made up more than half of border crossings from Finland to Russia. The cities of Vyborg and Svetogorsk also attracted visitors, and a small number of Finns rented apartments in these cities. There is practically no migration from Finland to Russian border cities.

Ethnographic Approach and Analysis

To study people's lived experiences, we conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Vyborg, Svetogorsk, Lappeenranta, and Imatra in 2017 and 2018. The research material consists of interviews, drive-along interviews, fieldwork notes, and photographs. In-depth interviews were conducted with 36 people and shorter discussions with 75 people (see Table 1). The participants were people that had crossed the Finnish–Russian border for different purposes and varying lengths of time: migrants, second-home owners, and renters and visitors.[4] We concentrated on border crossers and, despite this method offering a limited perspective, we have been able to get a better understanding of how the border shapes people's practices and the surrounding space.

The in-depth interviews with migrants and second-home owners and renters lasted between one and two hours, and the shorter discussions with visitors around fifteen minutes. We mostly met the interviewees in their homes or second homes, and some at work or in public places. With two interviewees, we travelled across the border and back to examine closely their practices and ways of talking about the border and the borderland. Due to time constraints, only such two drive-along interviews were conducted. The interviewees were recruited through our local networks and social media sites, and snowballing. The visitors were found and interviewed in different public places in the cities. There were roughly equal numbers of Finns and Russians, and women and men among the participants. Participants ranged in age from approximately 17 to 80 years, with the majority being middle-aged. The thematic structure of the interviews was based on the theoretical framework of the study. The in-depth interviews covered four topics: (1) personal information and background; (2) travelling across the border; (3) settling on the other side of the border; and (4) everyday life and perceptions. The discussions with the visitors focused on the second and fourth themes.

Ethnography as an approach to research and a mode of knowledge production is based on the close interaction between the researcher and the participant. It aims at understanding people and their activities from their own perspectives and at explaining the cultural contexts of lived experiences. By engaging in participant observation, as we did in the four border cities, the ethnographer enters the everyday lives and life-worlds of the participants and may have access to meanings, nuances, and affective realms that are not visible or understandable at first sight (see for example: Koskinen-Koivisto et al. 2020). Ethnographic analysis was entwined with every stage of the research and the choices made during the fieldwork, analysis, writing, and reflection played an important role (see for example: Hammersley & Atkinson 2019).

We acknowledge that the information shared by the interviewees was shaped by us as interviewers and might have been different if told to some other listeners in another social context. Similarly, the fieldwork notes were written for the purposes of this study, guided by the research topics.[5] We are aware that being female and researchers influenced what people told us and what they left unsaid. For instance, the Finnish men that we had conversations with in Russian border cities would undoubtedly have been more open about their experiences with male interviewers. Yet, our lengthy experience of living and conducting research in the borderland allowed us to ask nuanced questions and to relate to people and therefore build rapport.

The process of analysis began by transcribing the interviews and fieldnotes and by immersing in the data by reading and re-reading them. Notes of field diaries and the interviews were also made. Next, the segments of the data that were relevant to the research questions were coded. This way, making sense of the data and coding them were informed by the theoretical framework. The analysis was an iterative process in which we reflected between the theoretical concepts and data and our developing descriptive and explanatory ideas (Hammersley & Atkinson 2019). After coding, we began identifying and forming patterns in the codes and generated four themes with central organizing ideas. The first version of the analysis was written and the candidate themes were thoroughly discussed by us as a group. During the discussions, we noticed a need to review the themes and to focus the analysis on issues that were relevant to practicing and living borderlands versus any other space/place. We returned to the codes and began the theme development afresh. The re-coding enabled us to recognize three main themes in the data. These are discussed in the following section.

Findings

The three main themes that capture the ways in which people live the Finnish–Russian borderland in their everyday lives in the light of our data and analysis are: (1) Mirroring the two sides of the border, (2) Living places through narratives, and (3) Living the borderland environment.[6]

Table 1. The number of participants. (We had a larger number of interviewees in Imatra because of our personal contacts with migrants and because the lake shores surrounding Imatra are the most popular second-home locations in South Karelia).

	Vyborg	Svetogorsk	Lappeenranta	Imatra
In-depth interviews	5	4	8	19
Discussions with visitors	37	10	15	13

Mirroring the Two Sides of the Border

It was common that the participants associated the borderland with different personal and socially shared meanings and thereby mirrored the Finnish and Russian sides of the boundary. Consequently, they travelled across the border to find something different from their own side. Finnish visitors most often crossed the border to Russia to purchase cheaper gasoline, but also to buy products and foods that are either less expensive or different in Russia or not available in Finland (e.g., cigarettes, alcohol, spare parts for cars, or good quality linen). For many, the Russian side also represented a place to spend free time and to visit sights as well as restaurants and cafeterias (see also the next section).

Finnish second-home owners and renters were after certain goods and services, but also new experiences and relaxation time spent away from the usual contexts of their lives. Saara, who rents an apartment in Svetogorsk with ten other Finnish people, explained how they take turns in staying at the apartment, but also sometimes spend evenings together. She and the other tenants like to visit shops, restaurants, and beauty salons in the city, and in the apartment, they relax but also do household chores to keep the apartment clean and cosy.

For Aki, his rental apartment in Svetogorsk is a place to enjoy solitude. For his fellow tenants, the apartment has a different meaning, as they unwind there by drinking inexpensive alcohol.

> We have kind of agreed [...] that we are not [in the apartment] at the same time. If I want my own peace... They smoke here, drink booze, so... I get to be by myself if I want to read, watch TV, spend my day off [...]. (Aki, interviewed by authors. Svetogorsk: 12th June 2017)

Aki said that he first visited Svetogorsk in the 1970s when he was employed by a Finnish construction company and worked in the city. In the end of the 1980s, when foreigners were able to move around the city more freely, he rented an apartment and began regularly visiting the city, establishing friendships and later finding his wife. Aki often visits Svetogorsk to see and help his wife's relatives, but he and his wife want to live in Imatra because it is "a stable and safe [place]" (Aki, interviewed by authors. Svetogorsk: 12th June 2017).

Our Finnish participants who used to travel to Svetogorsk and Vyborg at the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s, described the cities as places where corruption and illegal activities took place and where they could experience things they could never find in Finland (see also Petri's story of switching cars with the militsiya in the Introduction). An important part of their adventures was consuming cheap alcohol, importing alcohol and cigarettes into Finland, and performing small-scale trading in Vyborg and Svetogorsk (for similar findings on Finnish peoples' experiences in the Soviet/Russian border area see: Izotov & Laine 2013; Scott 2013; Shikalov 2020). The Finnish men we met in Vyborg seemed to similarly enjoy urban life and gathered in certain bars to drink beer and relax. They explained that sometimes Finnish men get in trouble and cause problems for their neighbours after drinking too much, but that this happens less frequently than before. Sex tourism has also decreased due to rising living standards in Russia.

In the 1990s, there was a small number of Finnish people working and living in Svetogorsk and especially in Vyborg. The newly opened Russian market offered Finnish companies a place to expand their business and provided people the chance to develop their skills and know-how. Tero, who worked in Vyborg in the field of logistics, considered Vyborg to be his "professional springboard". Minna, who lived in Svetogorsk for three years, talked about the city as a place where she could earn a good living and develop professionally. For both, the cities were also places for meeting new interesting people and having many celebrations and "more fun" than in Finland.

Russian visitors that crossed the border to Lappeenranta and Imatra were mainly interested in buying products and goods that they perceived to be of higher quality in Finland than in Russia. Many visited large supermarkets close to the border-crossing points that are targeted at Russian customers and sell foods and household goods that are popular among Russian visitors. Yet, Russian visitors also travelled to the Finnish border cities to spend free time, to be in nature, and to visit sights, restaurants, and cafeterias. Olga mentioned in her field diary that the Finnish side of the borderland seems to represent "a large supermarket" and "an extended homeland" for many Russian visitors, because they are so familiar with the area and its services.

Most of our Russian second-home owners were from Saint Petersburg, which impacted the way they perceived and experienced the Finnish border cities. They described the Finnish side as rural, safe, peaceful, and rich in nature. Stepan and Alla said that after living in Saint Petersburg with a population of five million people, Imatra, where they own a detached house, feels like the countryside. They remarked that "there is nothing here" but that "we don't need anything! Because culture, theatres and all that, we have in Petersburg" (Stepan and Alla, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 15th September 2017). Diana and Pavel, who are also from Saint Petersburg, experienced an internal change when crossing the border and spending time in their second home in Imatra.

> when we cross the border [...] we exhale and experience a kind of an internal calmness. Why? Because in Russia we are continuously under stress. We have a business— it is a stress, a massive stress... [...] When we cross the border... I don't know, there is [...] an aura here. [...] Once we were sitting and eating outside—bats flew around

us. Again, at first we were afraid. [...] They say it is very good. They fly only where there is a clean aura. (Diana and Pavel, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 11th June 2017)

For some Russian second-home owners, part of the 'peaceful' Finnish experience involved properly disconnecting from their day-to-day environments in terms of not having Russian neighbours or not meeting other Russians.

The Russian migrants we met in Imatra and Lappeenranta moved to Finland because they or their spouses were looking for study or employment opportunities, or because they married Finnish spouses. Some had Ingrian Finnish roots and moved to Finland because of their Finnish heritage. Others settled in the border cities to stay close to their families and friends in Russia.

Even though the participants mirrored the Finnish and Russian sides of the border and constructed differences between them, many expressed how the other side feels close and familiar. This was related to the physical proximity but also to similarities in the people and cultures and to the other side becoming a part of everyday life. At first, Stepan and Alla planned to buy a second home in Spain but instead purchased a house in Finland because it is close and "the nature is similar to ours, it is just [more] peaceful, [and there are] few people" (Stepan and Alla, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 15th September 2017). Russian migrants felt comfortable having the possibility to visit, for example, elderly parents in Russia or invite friends over from Russia. Nina, who lives in Lappeenranta and regularly visits her mother in Saint Petersburg, expressed: "I have the feeling that I'm not too far removed from Saint Petersburg. [...] Because it is so close, and it is so easy to get there" (Nina, interviewed by authors. Lappeenranta: 7th September 2017). A Finn, Petri, even found it difficult to think that "it is sort of abroad. It is just here, next to you" (Petri, interviewed by authors. Imatra and Svetogorsk: 6th June 2017).

Living Places through Narratives

The fact that people associated places in the borderland with personal and socially shared meanings was especially apparent in the city of Vyborg. There, we observed and met many Finnish visitors who were taking part in organized group travel dedicated to the history of the city and the Karelian Isthmus. We also met several individual visitors on one-day and overnight trips. Many Finns that we talked with had roots in Vyborg or the Karelian Isthmus or mentioned that Vyborg is a former Finnish city and nostalgic place. Among them was a family from Helsinki that had come to Vyborg because of family history. One of the purposes of the trip was to visit the family's paternal grandmother's old apartment. When we asked the family members what first came to mind regarding Vyborg, they mentioned a "nest of joy"

and the "genuine crowd of Vyborg". In Finland, these are typical ways of describing Finnish times in Vyborg and the character of the people who lived there. This family, among other informants, was also worried about the condition of old Finnish buildings and happy to see some being renovated.

The organizers and participants of one Finnish bus tour highlighted that they do not need local guides as they know the history of the places they visit and consider it their duty to provide their young travellers with "correct information" about the past. This indicates a tendency to view Vyborg and the Karelian Isthmus from a 'Finnish' perspective and a desire to pass on this narrative to the next generations. Among the organized tours was a group of singers from the *Viipurin lauluveikot* [Song lads of Vyborg] choir and their family members and friends. The choir worked in Vyborg before WWII and was transferred to Helsinki after the war in the 1940s. Although the tour took place within the framework of the choir's 120-year anniversary and, thus, Vyborg's Finnish history, the participants expressed that they were equally interested in present-day Vyborg. Therefore, although the historical context and the shared meanings and narratives played a major role in many participants' ways of living Vyborg, they were not exclusive in framing the participants' experiences (for similar results concerning Finns experiencing Karelia see: Korjonen-Kuusipuro & Kuusisto-Arponen 2017).

While in Vyborg, we were invited by a local Russian woman, Inna, to listen when she performed old Finnish songs (some of Vyborg and Karelia) in one of the most famous historical buildings in the city. She is a music teacher and earns extra money through these performances, which, according to her, are met sentimentally, especially by elderly Finns. We also ate lunch in Espilä restaurant, which is a reconstruction of a Finnish-time restaurant in Central Park Avenue with pictures of Finnish-time Vyborg and old Espilä on its walls and some old Finnish dishes on its menu. This shows how Vyborg's Finnish history materializes and becomes part of the social life in Vyborg and, consequently, the Finnish–Russian borderland.

This observation is significant considering that there is a lot of Russian-built heritage and history in Imatra and Lappeenranta, but these did not seem to be important for the Russian visitors. It must be noted, however, that during our fieldwork in Vyborg, we also met Finns and Russians and a group of tourists from Thailand, who knew very little about the city and associated it with meanings related to tourism and shopping.

Living the Borderland Environment

The participants also ascribed meanings to the borderland as a living environment. They often mentioned changes that had taken place due to the increasing cross-border traffic. Russian migrant

Aleksandr considered Imatra a border city "one hundred percent": "There is a lot of Russian speech around; there are many Russians; there are many tourists. Even if you forget that there are holidays in Russia, you quickly remember when you see a bunch of cars with Russian licence plates [arriving in Imatra]" (Aleksander and Ekaterina, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 6th June 2017). He also recognized how Imatra's development is tied to the border and how the flow of tourists has allowed the improvement of the infrastructure and services in the city: "When I arrived in Imatra, it was a bearish corner, absolutely, with no development prospects at all" (Aleksander and Ekaterina, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 6th June 2017). Ekaterina noticed how she was able to function in Imatra in the beginning without knowing the Finnish language. Russian migrant Alina mentioned that children in Svetogorsk are dressed in the same fashion as children in Imatra, because so many people do tax-free shopping in Imatra. Virpi pondered in her fieldnotes how the fact that it was increasingly popular to cross the border by bike signified for her that the border was becoming an ordinary part of everyday life in Imatra, where she lives.

The participants related to the borderland environment in different ways. For some, the borderland context did not play a role. These were typically participants who did not live in the border cities or rarely crossed the border. Many participants living in the border cities mentioned that they could live somewhere else instead, but since they live close to the border, they make use of their location. Marina, who is originally from Petrozavodsk and works as an elementary school teacher in Imatra, contemplated how, for her, employment is more important than her place of residence. However, now that she lives at the border, she visits her 'homeland' to shop for items that she cannot find in Finland and to visit the hairdresser as it is cheaper.

There were also those who decided to live close to the border to mobilize the opportunities offered by it. Among them were participants that were employed or had built their businesses around border-induced phenomena (such as cross-border shopping and second-home tourism). A Russian–Finnish couple, Veronika and Jouni, who owned a company related to Russian second-home tourism in Finland, enjoy living next to the border. Besides running their business, it allows them to visit Saint Petersburg (where they also have an apartment) whenever they feel like it. Veronika explained: "we live in the countryside, where there is no one [...] I always say we do the opposite to what Russian people do. Russians want to come here to calm down. We want to go and see people and streetlights" (Veronika and Jouni, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 14th June 2017). Likewise, Alina feels very comfortable living near the border in Imatra. She is one of the few people who commutes to work daily from Imatra to Svetogorsk: "I think it is very nice from my point of view. That really this is the best situation [...] I love that I

can sort of be in both countries" (Alina, interviewed by authors. Imatra: 15th June 2017).

Those participants that crossed the border frequently adjusted their everyday routines according to the border traffic. For example, a Finnish visitor we met in Svetogorsk pointed out that he often crosses at four in the morning when there are no queues at the border. Similarly, Russian second-home owners were aware of the busiest days and times at the border and tried to avoid these. Some participants built their whole lifestyle around the border and its regulations. Timo, a Finn, lives in Lappeenranta and travels to Russia to import cigarettes and alcohol into Finland. In 2016, he decided to rent an apartment in Vyborg to comply with the new Tobacco Act, which prohibits importing cigarettes into Finland from outside the European Economic Area (including Russia) when the person (a Finnish resident) has been away from Finland for less than 24 hours. Now he spends his weeks in both Lappeenranta and Vyborg and plans his schedule according to his petty trade activities.

Some participants took pride in knowing about the history, people, and places in the borderland. Visitors mentioned how they know personnel in local shops and enjoy shopping as they do not need to bargain, or they get special discounts. Finnish second-home renters told intense stories of life in the borderland and surviving and thriving in this environment seemed to be important for their identity building. For example, Saara, a Finn, shared a story about a Finnish man who was found dead in Svetogorsk a few years ago and how she helped to identify the man and get his car back into Finland. She was clearly proud that she is often asked to help Finnish people that have problems in Svetogorsk. Another Finn, Petri, explained how his colleagues at work wonder how he dares to eat and drink in Russia and how they will not taste the delicious juice that he buys in Russia and brings to the office. Thus, he compared himself with his colleagues and used his expertise in the borderland and Russia to narrate what he himself is like as a person.

While many interviewees were frustrated by or indifferent towards the border checkpoints, these were meaningful places for participants who crossed the border frequently and took pride in knowing the borderland. They told stories from the border and highlighted their knowledge of the places, the people that work there, and the border-crossing formalities. Saara recounted how she was once late for her beautician's appointment and spoke to a familiar customs officer Sergei:

> We are in a bit of a hurry; we have lash extension maintenance in a quarter of an hour" [...] He was so good when he checked my papers there [...] went to stamp [the documents], came out, said: "Would you move the car here in front?" Did not check the car at all [...] directly opened the barrier. Finnish people said: "Oh fuck! That one was allowed to pass [...]! (Saara, interviewed by authors. Imatra and Svetogorsk: 8th June 2017)

The frequent border crossers also spoke of the border-crossing points with particular terms. Among these was "the lane of the forgotten", which signified the rightmost lane at the Russian checkpoint on the way from Imatra to Svetogorsk. Petri, explained that "when a Finn is put there […] he may be [there] for a very long time. They [the border guards] are not interested in coming to see" (Petri, interviewed by authors. Imatra and Svetogorsk: 6th June 2017).

Discussion: In What Ways is the Finnish–Russian Borderland Lived by People in their Everyday Lives?

The above analysis shows that people "lived" (Lefebvre 1974, 1991; Soja 1996) the Finnish–Russian borderland by associating it with various personal and socially shared meanings. These meanings were derived from the materiality of and in the borderland. People's perceptions, knowledge, and skills and experiences all played an important role in the ways people practiced the borderland and formed relationships with it.

We first illustrated that people mirrored the Finnish and Russian sides of the boundary in terms of what is on their and the other side of the border, and what their and the other side of the border are like. They crossed the border to buy various goods and services that were less expensive or different on the other side or not available on their own side. They also crossed to find new opportunities, to spend free time, and to feel differently about oneself. For example, by travelling across the boundary, second-home owners were able to remove themselves or escape from their usual social spaces and ties. Hannonen et al. (2015) identify this as one of the main reasons for Russians to purchase a second home in Finland and note that crossing a border can give a more profound feeling of changing location and being able to relax.

When the other side represented something different for the people, they were motivated to cross the boundary to experience something that they could not experience on their own side (see also: Idvall 2009; Szytniewski & Spierings 2014; Hannonen et al. 2015). Examples of this are the possibility to have adventures in Russia and to enjoy safety and the natural environment in Finland. Sometimes, the perceived differences prevented the participants from crossing the border and spending time, settling, or simply enjoying themselves on the other side. Some participants also pointed out how the two sides share similarities and are close to each other physically and/or mentally. This shows that a complex and dynamic interplay exists between (un)familiarity and cross-border (im)mobility in borderlands, as scholars have demonstrated (Izotov & Laine 2013; Scott 2013; Szytniewski & Spierings 2014; Hannonen et al. 2015).

In terms of mirroring, the border played a central role in how people made sense of the space around them. However, it was also the meanings that people attached to certain places in the borderland that were key to their lived experiences (see also: Cavallo & Di Matteo 2021). We illustrated this by focusing on the city of Vyborg and by discussing how its Finnish history and related collective and individual narratives were an important part of how Finnish people experienced the city. Recently, researchers have explored the meanings that Finnish and Russian people associate with Vyborg and its urban space. Wells (2020) notes that for many Finnish people Vyborg signifies a "perfect lost place", while Karhu (2017) discovered that the meanings his Finnish research participants gave to buildings in Vyborg relate to Finnish history, almost without exception. Similar "lost" cities exist in many borderlands of the world, and therefore, borderland researchers need to develop a better understanding of the ways they are lived through associated meanings. Memories and narratives of the past are meaningful in the present for people experiencing and constructing belonging to borderlands and border cities (Price 2004; Prokkola & Ridanpää 2011; Pfoser 2014; Yılgın Damgacı & Ulaş Dağlı 2018). Yet, some memories and narratives are more relevant than others, and in the Finnish–Russian borderland memories and narratives related to Russian history in Imatra and Lappeenranta seemed to be less important motives for crossing the border and experiencing the cities.

Our study also highlights that Vyborg's Finnish history is a part of how the city space is socially produced into being in terms of material constructions (Espilä restaurant) and social practices (Inna earning an extra living by performing old Finnish songs for Finnish visitors). These activities are closely linked to cross-border tourism and therefore we can talk about social production of cross-border space (cf. Durand 2015).

We additionally found that people lived the borderland through meanings that they ascribed to the borderland environment. People were aware of the impacts that the boundary has on the physical and social space they live in. Many individuals were familiar with the rhythm of life at the border and adjusted their own cross-border practices according to it. Cassidy et al. (2018) discovered similarly in their study on the city of Dover in the southern coast of the United Kingdom that the border can give both material and symbolic meaning to life in borderlands. Yet, our analysis accords with earlier studies in that people relate to borderlands in different ways (see: Martínez 1994; Paasi 1996; Phaneuf 2013). Some participants were indifferent to living close to the border, but many developed skills related to using both sides of the border.

Among these participants were people, who developed expertise in relation to the borderland environment and seemed to identify themselves with it. These

participants were proud of being familiar with the borderland and the local border-related way of life, with its practices, narratives, and expressions. Researchers have shown that borderlands can act as identity frameworks for inhabitants in various ways (Prokkola 2009). Our novel finding from the Finnish–Russian borderland indicates that the relationship between people and the surrounding space plays a role in the negotiation of borderland identities. This is in line with Rose's (1995) argument that a place and the meanings given to it may become a central part of the identity of people experiencing them. Rose (1995) also identifies that meanings related to places are shaped both by individual feelings and experiences and the social, cultural and economic context an individual is part of. We believe that some of our Finnish participants were proud to possess knowledge and skills for operating in the borderland, because so few Finnish people have extensive experience of Russia and its border cities. Thus, the cross-border space that is unfamiliar for most Finns (see: Izotov & Laine 2013; Scott 2013; Prokkola 2019) might become an important identity framework for those Finns who gain familiarity with it and can thereby develop a sense of difference in relation other people living in the borderland.

Overall, the results indicate that each person lives the borderland in their own individual way, even if representations, practices and experiences are always related to the shared social and cultural context (see also: Krichker 2019). The meanings a person attaches to the borderland are multiple and simultaneous. Finally, it is important to point out that the participants' relationship with the borderland evolved over time. This was connected to the ways the borderland was changing but also to how people's own practices and ways of experiencing the borderland altered. This reminds us that relating to spaces and places is an ever-changing process (Tuan 1977).

Conclusions

This paper has studied how the Finnish–Russian borderland is lived by people in their everyday lives. It shows that the borderland is more than a material arena for people's activities. It is socially produced into being through people's practices and narrations. Therefore, we argue that research on borderlands needs to pay more attention to the ever-evolving relationship between people and space to deepen the understanding of people's lived experiences in borderlands and borderlands as living environments. This is especially timely now that the study of places is evolving to "place-writing", which attempts to understand and present places in all their complexity (Cresswell 2015); and scholars are discovering how spaces/places "co-become" through relationships between humans and more-than-humans (Bawaka et al. 2016).

This research was conducted in the Finnish–Russian borderland at a time when crossing the border had become a mundane practice for many people and cross-border interactions were evolving. In March 2020, the borderland experienced a rapid transformation, as cross-border traffic decreased significantly due to the restrictions that were introduced to prevent the spread of the COVID-19. The war in Ukraine, which began in February 2022, has also affected people's perceptions of the border and its other side. It is therefore important to continue research in the borderland and to scrutinize how these events have impacted the ways people live the borderland. Finally, the Finnish–Russian borderland has its own unique history and cultural, social and political context that influences people's representations and practices. Future research could continue to explore, and possibly compare, people's lived experiences in other borderlands contexts.

Acknowledgement

Notes

1 Before 1991, the number of people crossing the border was low and there were only four international border crossing points, allowing anyone obtaining a valid passport and visa to cross to the other side.

2 Spatial practice is the daily performance or routine of people in a certain space and the materiality of that space. Representations of space are conceptions of space articulated by scientists, planners, cartographers and other specialists, through plans, designs, maps and other means. Representational spaces are the space of the "inhabitants" or "users". They live the physical space through its associated images and symbols, which have their source in individuals' and people's cultures and histories. (Lefebvre 1974/1991; Soja 1996.)

3 The total number of evacuees was about 430,000 people, which was c. 11% of Finland's population at the time.

4 We use this grouping in the analysis to identify the target groups of the study. In the visitor category, we included people that crossed the border to fuel their cars.

5 The fieldwork was carried out by Virpi and Olga.

6 We have translated the citations from Finnish and Russian into English. We have also changed the names and some personal details of the interviewees to guarantee their anonymity.

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SPECIAL SECTION

Resisting Anti-Migrant Politics: Challenging Borders, Boundaries, and Belongings in Europe and Africa

Edited by Kenneth Horvath, Elise Pape, Catherine Delcroix, and Lena Inowlocki

Resisting Anti-Migrant Politics:
Challenging Borders, Boundaries, and Belongings in Europe and Africa

Edited by **Kenneth Horvath**, **Elise Pape**, **Catherine Delcroix**, and **Lena Inowlocki**

With an Introduction by the Editors

Kenneth Horvath is a Professor for Educational Sciences at the University of Teacher Education Zurich, Switzerland. His current research focuses on current trends and dynamics in educational inequalities, paying specific attention to educational disadvantages in contexts of migration and racism. His second key interest is on the methods and methodologies of social research in an era of migration in which configurations of politics and science become reconfigured on a global scale.

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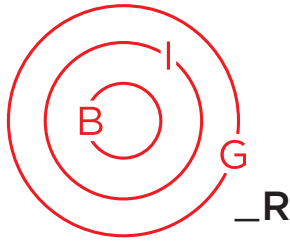
INTRODUCTION
Resisting Anti-Migrant Politics: Challenging Borders, Boundaries, and Belongings in Europe and Africa

Kenneth Horvath, Elise Pape, Catherine Delcroix, Lena Inowlocki *

This special issue argues that the novelty of current migration realities is not so much due to the scale or forms of migration practices *as it is to as the rise of* anti-migrant politics, *which has led to the institution and differentiation of novel border regimes. Over the years, practices of resistance have developed against these regimes and these politics in different places and on various scales. This special issue highlights the emergent interplay of anti-migrant politics and everyday practices of resisting and subverting them. In their combination, the four articles in this issue make two important contributions: they address the increasing need to unveil unexpected forms of challenging dominant regimes of borders, boundaries, and belongings, and they present a specific case-study-based methodological perspective for capturing counterintuitive and unexpected forms of resisting anti-migrant politics. This special issue stresses the importance of studying resistant practices in different local, regional, national, and continental settings in a comparative and longitudinal manner. Additionally, it emphasizes the consideration of the role of anti-migrant politics and practices as they relate to resistant practices in countries of departure, as in geographic contexts such as the African continent, even if—and especially when—attempts of migration fail due to enhanced border control.*

Migration is one of the key political and social issues of our times (Peters 2017). This special issue starts from the proposition that the novelty of our current migration realities is not so much due to the changing scope or forms of *migration practices* themselves as it is to the rise of a political configuration that can be characterized as *anti-migrant politics* (Castles & Miller 2013; Carvalho et al. 2019). Repeatedly, since the mid-2010s, migration scholars (e.g. Rea et al. 2019) have highlighted the fact that current European states do not face a "migration crisis", but rather a "reception crisis". At the same time, practices of *resistance* towards anti-migrant politics have developed in different places and at various scales over the past years (Scheel 2019): resistance by migrants and their families themselves, by civil society actors in countries of arrival, but also by political players on different levels, be it in national or supranational political arenas such as the UN or on the communal scale, such as through the emergence of so-called sanctuary cities (Bauder 2016).

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The idea for this special issue emerged from the Midterm Conference of the European Sociological Association's (ESA) Research Network 35 "Sociology of Migration", that took place at the University of Strasbourg in January 2019 and that focused on the manifold entanglements of politics and biographies in current, highly politicized migration contexts. It is based on the Franco–German research project "Migreval: A Biographical Policy Evaluation of Policies Concerning Migrants" at the University of Strasbourg (migreval.hypotheses.org). Debates in these two contexts led to the idea underlying this special issue: to explore and highlight different forms of resistance and the subversion of currently dominant anti-migrant politics, from biographic and more widely qualitative methodological empirical approaches.

The geographic focus of the collected articles is on the current European context in its deep historical, social, and political interrelations with the African continent (Benoît 2019). These two world regions are interwoven through myriad postcolonial entanglements. The European Union provides a specifically challenging analytical case due to the overlapping of different border regimes (Engbersen et al. 2017): supranational EU regulations work together with varying national regulations and policies, which in turn translate into highly diverse legal and political settings on the communal and local level. Europe thus provides an outstanding example for the complexity of anti-migrant political landscapes, and at the same time for the many forms of agency that develop in relation to them (Mezzadra & Neilson 2012). Migrants from African countries can be singled out as those that are most affected by these complex border and migration regimes. Not only are they regularly forced into highly precarious legal positions and marginalized living conditions, they are also framed as a key target group of control and surveillance policies. These considerations are reflected in many ways in the four articles of this special issue, be it by comparing local dynamics in different European countries or by following the trajectory of migration projects across African and European political and social spaces.

The diagnosis of anti-migrant politics that informs this special issue points to two interrelated developments: first, the massive politicization of migration that has taken place on a global scale over the last several decades and has gained significant traction after the end of the Cold War (Hammar 2007; Brug et al. 2015). Paralleling this politicization of migration, we have seen the rise of new right-wing formations that organize their political strategies around anti-migrant rhetoric and campaigning, thereby also affecting the positioning of mainstream political parties (Lefkrofridi & Horvath 2012; Dennison & Geddes 2019). Second, there has been a pronounced shift towards restrictiveness in migration regimes across the global North and West (Horvath et al. 2017; Eule et al. 2018; Pott et al. 2018). This general tendency has been discussed intensely over the past few years, leading to the establishment of entire new research fields, such as the studies of the "securitization of migration" (Huysmans 2006; Borbeau 2011; Banai & Kreide 2017; Jaskulowski 2018; Deleixhe et al. 2019), "deportation regimes" (de Genova & Peutz 2010; Benoît 2019; Cleton & Chauvin 2019), and increasingly militarized "border zones" (Walters 2006; Mezzadra & Neilson 2012; Fauser 2019; Scheel 2019; Ambrosini et al. 2020).

In contrast to the post-WWII period, migration and border regimes today are highly differentiated. After 1945, migration and integration regimes around the globe were organized mainly along the boundary of collective categories, such as national citizenship (Pott et al. 2018). There was therefore a strong overlap of national territorial borders and the legal and social positions and opportunities one could enjoy. Further categories (such as exact world region of origin, age, education, etc.) played only a marginal role for the allocation of civic, social, and political rights. The situation today is very different. On the one hand, borders today are stratified political technologies—porous and almost inexistent for some, insurmountable and all-encompassing for others (Walters 2006): while EU citizens, for example, face almost no borders within Europe, access to the European continent for non-EU citizens has become increasingly difficult.

On the other hand, new geopolitics of mobility (Hyndman 2004; 2012) have emerged that come with far more complex and nuanced forms of differentiation. Different groups of migrants today possess different sets of rights, or different opportunities to gain access to these rights over time (Engbersen et al. 2017). They also enjoy strongly varying chances of moving to and settling in countries of the global North and West in the first place. This differentiated treatment of groups of mobile individuals along categories such as national origin, age, education, language skills, etc. is the reason why we speak of anti-migrant politics, not of anti-migration politics. Human beings are thus framed and targeted in a highly nuanced and demarcated manner, with wide-reaching consequences for biographies, living conditions, and life chances—intersectional orders of violence and violation (Chattopadhyay 2018).

This differentiation between migrants and migration is crucial for a full understanding of the situation being faced. Actually, and perhaps surprisingly, even the most outspoken anti-migrant parties are seldom fully opposed to immigration as such. On the contrary, they often even lobby for specific forms of migration (Horvath 2014). These pro-migration stances of anti-migrant parties can take the form of favoring long-term immigration perspectives for those considered "deserving" or "belonging". They can, however, also surface as campaigns for temporary migration programs targeted at filling labor market needs in sectors such as agriculture or construction, with migrant laborers largely deprived of any rights or prospects of long-term settlement …

Focusing on anti-migrant politics also shifts our view to how those who are addressed in politics, targeted by border regimes, and framed in narratives respond and react to the circumstances they are facing. In doing so, the vivid and varied forms of resistance that develop against current restrictive regimes of mobility and belonging become apparent.

It is against this background—one of highly politicized migration discourses, stratified immigration and settlement regimes, and resistant agencies by migrant actors and others—that migration scholars have paid growing attention to borders, border zones, and border technologies. It is fair to say that the study of migration has increasingly become a matter of understanding the form and functioning of borders and boundaries in their interrelations with orders of national and social belonging. There are three main starting points for understanding this rising confluence of migration and border studies.

First, debates on migration regimes mark a key facet of current migration studies (Pott et al. 2018). The notion of migration regimes is polysemous and used in very different ways (Horvath et al. 2017). In each of these different understandings, however, the focus shifts from studying migration practices to analyzing the concrete ways in which states and other actors (such as supranational organizations or private security companies) regulate international mobility and settlement. Borders are the most important component for understanding these regulatory frameworks (Walters 2006). Thus, scholars have highlighted how border crossings are presently monitored and controlled in ways that are very different from how the same task had been understood and implemented only one or two decades ago—which is to say far more subtle, yet at the same time also far more pervasive. Furthermore, the border configurations that migrants face today are often layered (involving local, national, and supranational regulations and surveillance) and lasting (with controls extending far beyond territorial borders and also extending over time).

Second, the notion of boundaries has moved center stage in migration studies (Wimmer 2013). Boundaries are here understood as lines of differentiation that gain social and political meaning for assigning human beings into different categories, thus allowing to distinguish "us" from "them". Interest in the making and unmaking of such boundaries in migration contexts has grown steadily over the years. Boundaries are mainly treated as discursive phenomena—as orders of social meaning. The crucial question for current migration scholarship is how these boundaries become interwoven with borders. Many social categories such as age, level of education, and occupation have become effective in the drawing of boundaries between "deserving" and "undeserving" or "belonging" and "not belonging" migrants. As soon as these patterns of drawing boundaries become effective in policies and regulations, they become part of border regimes. Boundaries and borders become intersected (Amelina & Horvath 2021).

Third, increasing attention has been paid to how migrants themselves develop agency in dealing with complex and pervasive configurations of borders and boundaries, resulting in an analytical decentering of the state (Shachar 2022). The notion of "autonomy of migration" (Mezzadra & Neilson 2012; Scheel 2019) captures these countermoves and underlines that no matter what forms of surveillance and control states establish, migrants will respond by developing creative and rebellious practices aimed at circumventing border controls and responding to the boundaries of belonging they face on an everyday basis. Securitized and militarized "borderlands" (Agier 2016; Deleixhe et al. 2019; Fauser 2019) emerging across the globe and on different spatial scales have become privileged sites for studying both border regimes and migrants' strategic agencies in response to them.

The four articles compiled in this special issue represent a variety of methods of resistance to anti-migrant politics. All are based on qualitative empirical studies. In their combination, they make two important contributions.

First, they address the increasing need to focus research on different scales and fields of resistance towards anti-migrant politics in order to unveil unexpected forms of challenging borders, boundaries and belongings. The articles analyse rural settings (Bertaux & Bevilacqua), neighbourhoods of large cities that have particularly diverse populations (Salzbrunn), individual life courses of politically engaged migrant women who have lived in Europe for over twenty years (Gatti), and strategies on the family scale to organize clandestine migration from an African country to Europe (Ngom). These contributions highlight the importance of connecting different scales and levels of analysis with one another: the interplay of local authorities (especially mayors), state and church actors, actors of privately run reception centres for asylum seekers, and inhabitants of small municipalities (Bertaux & Bevilacqua); collective mobilizations, national politics and individual experiences of district actors (Salzbrunn), the national, associative, family and individual level (Gatti), and the international level concerning border control, family mobilizations and individual migration (Ngom).

Second, there is a need to develop research methods and methodologies that allow capturing counterintuitive and unexpected developments in the field of resistance to anti-migrant politics. The articles in this special issue share a specific research strategy: all employ quite radical case study designs. The cases are indeed defined quite differently—the articles treat families, events, villages, or female migrant biographies as units of analysis. While it is clear that such case study designs do not yield statistical representativity, concentrating on few cases has two

specific methodological advantages. First, it permits the capture of a high degree of complexity involved in the interplay of biographies, migration projects, border regimes, and anti-migrant politics. Second, careful attention to single cases is necessary in order to be sensitive to the perceptions and perspectives that more often than not run counter to what we have come to accept as social realities. European borderlands look very different when seen through the eyes of Senegalese families jointly planning a migration project.

Following this general and shared idea, referring to a large qualitative databank allows the development of a novel perspective on the reception of refugees in rural areas of France and Italy (Bertaux & Bevilacqua), a field that has received little attention in migration research up until now. Furthermore, adopting visual methods and focusing on events rather than on social groups permits the unveiling of unexpected forms of collective resistance to stigma and gentrification (Salzbrunn). Focusing on gender-related experiences through ethnographic observations, biographical interviews, and the mapping of migrant associations over an extended period of time (six years) makes it possible to explore different forms of resistance of migrant women against marginalization and to highlight the multiple facets between the migration–citizenship nexus (Gatti). Departing from the context of departure in an African country and conducting interviews with several members of family groups finally makes collective familial mobilizations for migration visible, a largely under-researched topic in social science (Ngom).

Daniel Bertaux and Stefania-Adriana Bevilacqua explore the encounters and interactions between village inhabitants and refugees in four small municipalities in Molise (Italy) and Alsace (France). They depart from an apparent paradox: if one takes the percentage of the far-right vote as an indicator of hostile feelings towards immigrants, it becomes apparent that this percentage is highest in places where there are no or few migrants (mainly rural areas), while in places where there are many (large cities), the percentage falls drastically. Bertaux and Bevilacqua compare small villages located in Italian and French regions that bear relatively high numbers of extreme-right votes. Through ethnographic research and qualitative interviews with different village actors, they demonstrate the crucial importance of spatial proximity in the integration process of refugees and in the deconstruction of stereotypes of French and Italian citizens. The authors argue that while migrants in cities tend to remain in "urban voids", empty spaces do not exist in villages, thereby enhancing possibilities of interactions between migrants and non-migrants. This contribution shows how numerous migrants finally prolong their migration into cities, in the search for professional integration or better life opportunities, while also displaying the way that transitory phases in rural spaces constitute a sort of "decompression chamber" in their asylum journey.

Monika Salzbrunn analyses the resistance towards stigmatisation and gentrification through art and activism in two French and Italian districts: the Parisian district of Belleville and the Maddalena district of Genoa. Both neighbourhoods boast particularly diverse populations and suffer from negative stigmatisations in a context of growing extreme-right discourses. Both are part of gentrification processes that threaten socio-cultural dynamics of these neighbourhoods. Salzbrunn analyses two self-organised fashion and music shows in these districts that valorise multiple belongings, reverse the stigma, and fight against local politics of gentrification. While research perspectives on migration studies too often focus on national belonging, Salzbrunn argues that "event lenses" can constructively replace "ethnic lenses", question supposed homogeneities, and highlight processes of multiple belonging. Studying an event by situational and visual analysis allows one to "observe how strategic groups emerge around a common political goal". While refugees without a legal status most often cannot express their claims vis-à-vis institutional state actors, this contribution shows how novel strategies for speaking up publicly become possible through collective events.

Rosa Gatti focusses on the link between immigration and citizenship from a gender perspective by analysing citizenship practices of migrant women engaged on a collective and associative level in the Italian public sphere. Departing from a qualitative study of migrant women of different origins in Naples, she presents an in-depth case study of a Somali woman, Farhio (pseudonym), who arrived in Naples in the 1980s. Gatti presents the particularly restrictive nature of accessing citizenship in Italy that this case study—as well as most other women encountered in her research—encounter, even after twenty years of residence in the country. At the same time, she shows how, counterintuitively, procuring Italian citizenship did not lead Farhio to develop a stronger sense of belonging in Italy, nor to improve her living conditions. On the contrary, the author shows how family- and gender-related experiences—and the geographic distance of family relatives who could support her in childcare—instead put Farhio's professional, social, and political inclusion in Italy at risk. The author thus highlights the multiple factors that interfere in the migration–citizenship nexus. She shows how, counterintuitively, accessing Italian citizenship, in the case of Farhio, allowed for a follow-on migration project taking her to another European country, making proximity to family relatives possible.

Abdoulaye Ngom finally analyzes family mobilizations for migratory departure in Senegal. Existing research has analysed clandestine migration mainly from an individual point of view, retracing the routes and the obstacles encountered by migrants trying to reach the European continent. Through biographical interviews and crossed life stories with several members of the same extended family groups in Senegal prior to

emigration and during the migration process, Ngom adopts a rarely employed empirical approach in migration research. He shows how, far from being an individual project, clandestine migration often results from collective strategies on the family scale. Departing from an in-depth family case study, he first shows the process of selection of the family member designed for emigration, the motivations for collective support, and the ways large families with limited income concretely manage to raise sums of several thousands of euros over extended periods to make emigration possible. Ngom also highlights forms of family solidarity when attempts of migration fail because of enforced border controls, and the mid- to long-term effects of European anti-migrant politics on families in Senegal.

In sum, this special issue stresses the importance of studying resistance towards anti-migrant politics in different local, regional, national, and continental settings. The four articles presented depart from two main European national settings: France and Italy, and show the epistemic gains from comparing these two national contexts with one another on different scales: the municipal, district, regional, and national levels. They also demonstrate the importance of considering migration paths of individuals and their families on the long term over several decades, an approach that often makes visible further intra-European migration. This special issue finally calls for the urgent need to not only consider resistance to anti-migrant politics in Europe, but also in countries of departure in the African continent, even if—and especially when—attempts of migration fail due to enhanced border control.

Acknowledgments

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Asylum Seekers in Small Villages: Spatial Proximity and Integration in Italian and French Villages

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What happens when asylum seekers from African or Middle Eastern countries are resettled by authorities in small European villages? When they arrive, are they welcomed, or on the contrary, rejected by villagers? Generally speaking, overseas migrants usually wish to be resettled in large European cities. As for European villagers, they tend to form communities closed on themselves, so one might expect a rather cold reception. However, fieldwork in Italian and French villages where asylum-seeking migrants were resettled shows that this is not necessarily the case. Having observed resettlement experiences in the Italian region of Molise and the French region of Alsace, we discovered that, wherever migrants are hosted within the confines of a village, villagers get frequent opportunities to meet them, learn to communicate with them, and spontaneously offer help, especially to children, women, and whole families. The lack of a common language does not prevent day-to-day iwnteractions or development of interpersonal relations. Children go to school and are keen to learn the host society's language; adult migrants receiving help want to reciprocate by working for free, thus allowing them to quickly learn European ways and skills. If most asylum seekers eventually leave for larger cities, the months spent in a village prove to be a useful step preparing them for further resettlement.

1. Introduction

Within the already very diverse landscape of international migrations coming from overseas to European countries, an emerging phenomenon has been taking place: the settlement of asylum seekers in European *villages*. The idea that as far as *integration* is concerned, the size of the hosting city does matter, has indeed been around for a while (Schiller & Çağlar 2011; Schiller & Çağlar 2009; Balbo 2015). However, most research has focused on resettlement in big cities where the numbers of immigrants are far greater, and

where diversity is more visible (Lamanna et al. 2018; Dekker et al. 2015; Otto & Steinhardt 2014; Caponio 2010; Babel 1998).

There is of course already a considerable literature on asylum seekers coming from countries internally torn by civil wars, from Syria and Iraq to Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, Libya, and beyond. It shows, among other things, that whenever migrants are free to choose where to resettle in Europe, they will opt for large cities. Indeed, these are

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places where they can hope to find not only work and other conditions allowing them to reconstruct a decent way of life, but also communities of previous migrants originating from their own country, who could help them find housing and explain them the formal and informal rules they do not yet know.

However, due to the increase in the incoming flows of asylum seekers and to the scarcity of refugee integration in large cities, European governments came to try reorienting part of these flows towards middle- and small-size cities, with populations ranging from 30,000 to 120,000 residents. A team of Dutch researchers even boldly proposed to consider the village as the best resettlement place, because it is there that solidarity and cooperation would best flourish (Jonckheere et al. 2010). Therefore, some local governments and cities have become more entrepreneurial, developing their own integration philosophies and policies (Prakash 2001; Scholten & Penninx 2016). Studies on this new policy have begun to appear in recent years (Balbo 2015; Bonifacio et al., 2017; Mahieu 2020; Gauci 2020; Ambrosini, 2018; Caponio & Borket 2010; Delcroix & Inowlocki, 2021).

Newcomer integration is commonly understood as a two-way process involving both immigrants and the receiving society (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas 2016). Consequently, when investigating newcomers' integration, the questions are not only what immigrants do, with whom they interact, and how they identify themselves, but also whether they are accepted and how they get positioned in each of those three dimensions (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas 2016). Indeed, in the context of contemporary crises and potentially increasing flows of migrants, the establishment of new reception facilities in cities can risk provoking feelings of hostility, racialized opposition to incomers, and ethnic competition at local level (Zurlu 2017; Hubbard 2005).

However, other research projects show inclusive responses grounded on local identities of hospitality and welcome (Driel & Verkuyten 2019; Sarlo 2015). While initial hostility might be directed at reception facilities, there is research that suggests that these can be short-lived with hostility receding as asylum seekers become part of local relations (Bygnes 2020; Whyte et al. 2019). A key means of easing tension locally is by fostering social contact, as it is known that routine interactions across difference can play an important role in generating peaceful coexistence (Wise 2009).

This article will present the results of two research projects carried out respectively in Italy and in France with the aim to observe the resettlement of asylum seekers in small villages. Since we found very few studies on asylum seekers' reception and resettlement in villages of a few hundreds or thousands of inhabitants in the literature,[1] our work can enrich the field showing the paths of integration policies and their results in this environment, as seen from the perspective of the people (citizens and authorities) engaged in the resettlement.

2. Theoretical Framework

In Italy as in other European countries, the recent refugee crisis has shown the structural weaknesses of urban policies which aim at integrating migrants into host societies (Coulibaly et al. 2018). Some of this failure's symptoms are, for instance, the confinement of migrants in camps as a result of reception policies, or their segregation and marginalization as consequences of housing them in urban areas where physical degradation, social problems, and poverty are endemic (Monno & Serrelli 2020). Failures in the process of migrants' integration into urban life have been often explained by a gap between theory and practice due to an implementation deficit. Problems in coordinating different logics and steps of the integration process, ineffective multilevel governance arrangements, the inefficiency of local administrations in implementing national policies at the local level, and pockets of resistance among segments of the population constitute many of the roadblocks on the path towards local integration (Coulibaly et al. 2018).

Reception policies which aim to control, to regulate, and to dilute the flows of migrants and their impacts give shape in most cases to spaces of reception that become "spaces of exception" (Agamben 2005) in which migrants get separated from city life. Such a phenomenon directly challenges the idea of the city as an integrative and open place which allows for the mutual coexistence of strangers. In fact, public spaces appear crucial for coexistence and the creation of *micropublics* through the spontaneous encounters between locals and strangers (Amin 2002; Briata 2019; De Certeau 1980; Zorlu 2017; Rotenberg & McDonogh 1993).

The spatial dimension has been studied from the *communal living* point of view. Research has shown that cohabitation of non-family members can be a potential solution for, among others, suburban alienation, social isolation, and environmental issues (Jonckheere et al. 2010; Williams 2005). Proponents of communal living describe the relationship between inhabitants as akin to "ties between villagers", considering the village as the ideal type of setting where solidarity, cooperation, and all types of support can flourish (Jonckheere et al. 2010).

More recently, Matthieu Tardis (2019) has studied the feasibility of resettling migrants in middle-sized and small cities, as well as the relative weight of local authorities—starting with the mayor—in the whole process. Jean-Pierre Gauci (2020), upon request of the EU's Committee of European Regions", studied

integration of migrants in thirteen cities of middle- and small size (as well as two villages) in Germany, Italy, Sweden, Belgium, and Bulgaria. The report shows that in a clear majority of cities there is a relatively positive attitude towards migration generally and migrants' integration.

One basic conclusion of urban researchers about migrants' integration is that, although the national frame of racial and ethnic relations remains important, much of the negotiation of difference occurs at the local and even very local level, through everyday experiences and encounters (Amin 2002). "*Integration happens locally*", says a very experienced person in charge of migrants' integration in a German city of 125,000 inhabitants. "*A city determines everyday life. It is here where people feel if they are equals and welcome*" (quoted by Gauci 2020, 7).

3. Data and methods

This paper is the result of a 2019 encounter between its two authors at the midterm Conference of the European Sociological Association's Research Network on *Belongings and Borders: Biographies, Mobilities, and the Politics of Migration* at the University of Strasbourg. The first fieldwork took place in the southern Italian region of Molise (about 315,000 inhabitants).[2] At the time (2017) Molise hosted a total of 3,698 migrants from Senegal, Gambia, Ivory Coast, Mali, and Nigeria. Migrants thus represented 11.9% of population, as compared with the Italian national average of 3.1% (*Data on International Protection in Italy* 2017).

The research project surveyed the local population's attitudes towards upcoming migrants in three small villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants each: Pescopennataro, Roccamandolfi, and Ripabottoni. It began by interviewing local authorities (mayors, the President of the National Association of Italian Communes, and the President of the Province of Isernia) as well as the owners of the cooperatives that manage the reception centers. Later on, semi-structured interviews were carried out with a sample of villagers on their thoughts about the presence of refugees, whether they knew what activities these refugees participated in, and how they evaluated the consequences of the arrival of refugees in the village.

The data relating to the French case is based on material collected by Daniel Bertaux and the members of the French–German research network Migreval. In 2015, Daniel Bertaux, Catherine Delcroix, Lena Inowlocki, and Ursula Apitzsch created an international qualitative database as the result of a French–German research cooperation between the University of Strasbourg (France) and the Goethe University of Frankfurt (Germany). It gathers biographical interviews with migrants who arrived in France and Germany from the 1950s up until today, as well as semi-structured interviews with professionals, politicians, priests, and members of the civil society supporting migrants.[3] The interviews are conducted using a common interview guideline that focuses on the biographical experiences related to the arrival and integration of migrants.

Thanks to these materials, the author has been able to analyze the life stories of migrants in the Grand Est region, a French region bordering Germany. After having analyzed the interview of Father Adel, Daniel Bertaux discovered how this Dominican priest born in Northern Iraq had been very active in exfiltrating many families fleeing Iraq and resettling them in various Alsatian villages. Bertaux then decided to make an inquiry in one of the villages (here called Mondfanger) in which a family of migrants had been sent. He interviewed the former mayor of the village and a member of the city council who had organized the reception of that Iraqi family. He was told that for two and a half years, twenty inhabitants of Mondfanger had helped this family integrate into French society. He conducted a second interview with Father Adel on his life story as a migrant to understand to which extent resettlement in villages is a good practice for migrants. All interviews, including the testimony of the son of this Iraqi family, were analyzed in an on-going, collaborative French–German research seminar which is a constitutive part of the Migreval research project.

In this article the expression "biographical approach" is referring to the experiences and interactions of refugees/migrants with members of different local agencies and institutions, as well as their evaluation of reception policies. "Biographical policy evaluation" analyzes the concrete effects that policies have on the biographies of individuals who have experienced them (Apitzsch et al. 2008). This approach discloses how different policies (immigration policies, entry regulations to national countries, access to the asylum procedure, policies in the fields of housing and education, as well as support by volunteer associations) are biographically intertwined in migrant's lives, rather than remaining separate entities.

Biographical narratives are also especially valuable in expanding our understanding of the *courses of action* developed by refugees/migrants, as well as the *strategies* they employ to adapt to (or resist) given policies. Our reconstructive analysis of the "biographical evaluation" of migrants' encounters and experiences with institutions can yield critical insights on how policies are put in practice, resulting in enabling or on the contrary obstructing migrants' efforts. The methodological challenges of such an approach imply establishing working alliances of trust and shared interest with our interview partners among migrants and professionals, contextual ethnographic observation in the different locations, and a contrastive comparative approach in our analysis to understand the specifics of each local setting in relation to others.

Having described the evidence collected by the two authors of this article and their sociological implications, it is possible to highlight convergent traits that will be exposed later in the conclusions.

4. Two Case Studies of Overseas Migrants' Resettlement in European villages

4.1 Resettlement and reception in the Molise Region (Italy)

The Italian reception system of asylum seekers provides that, after landing and requesting international protection, the authorities move migrants to reception centers where they stay (for a maximum of three years) as asylum seekers until they are granted refugee status; after which they have to fend for themselves. There are two kinds of reception systems: the SPRAR (Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees), a national system in which local authorities cooperate with the Ministry of Home Affairs but play the main role; and the CAS (Reception Center for Exceptional Cases), also managed by the Home Affair Ministry who funds private actors to manage the reception of refugees on their own, thus bypassing local authorities.

We have presented above the methods used to monitor, in three Italian villages of the Molise region, the reactions of local authorities and population towards the resettlement of migrants in their locality. As it goes, these reactions were quite different from one village to the other.

Pescopennataro and Roccamandolfi:

Pescopennataro is a 250-person village in the mountains (altitude 3,900 feet) and its mayor had proposed to host migrants. In 2017, three migrant families—six adults and four children—were resettled there.

The mayor explained why, in the name of the village, he had volunteered to host migrants: "We have taken in people, because they can also represent an added value for the village. With such a small number we will be able to guarantee an effective integration to these families".

In the interview, villagers talked about their relations with migrants, each outlining the benefits of welcoming the migrant families to Pescopennataro. The first said, "they keep company to our elderly: they seem to communicate, even if they don't speak Italian very well and our elderly don't know a word of English". The other two focused on the role of the youth migrants, saying: "Now at last, the village numbers some youths. Young people have gone away, so there were no babies, and no future for Pescopennataro. Now there are young migrants and a few children!" and "one of the migrant women has had a little girl, tiny Mary: she was baptized, and an employee of the SPAR was chosen as godmother!"

The restricted area in which the life of the village develops (a square, a bar, and two small grocery stores) made interactions between migrants and citizens possible, which progressively developed to be relations of friendship and trust. The importance of sharing urban space becomes evident when comparing Pescopennataro and Roccamandolfi, which is also a mountain village 2,500 feet above sea level with 900 inhabitants. There is a reception center, a CAS, which is located about four kilometres from the central square. As a result, migrants live in a sort of isolation and villagers believe that they do not have any opportunities to get to know them better, saying: "They live far; how could we know how they spend their time?" and "Sometimes they come in the city center, for example when there is a party; but otherwise, no. We don't know them."

In Pescopennataro, the very small size of the village and, most importantly, the constant presence of migrants in the community facilitated a spontaneous process of mutual acquaintance: the initial absence of organized activities did not seem to prevent proximity between immigrants and villagers, and integration was proceeding on its own. A few weeks after migrants' resettlement, the SPRAR Cooperative started organizing integration activities, such as projects based on the vocation, skills, and competences of migrants, taking into account the locally available resources (structural, professional, and economic).

Three years after migrants' arrival, the head of the integration project said:

> In organizing projects, one must consider their [migrants'] past experiences and their will, not forgetting their origins (...). We organized sewing courses. The women had already manual skills; they said they wanted to do this type of activity (...). For the men we organized—in agreement with the mayor—"work grants" in agriculture and construction. For example, they learned how to use the "forklift"; and they took "Safety at work" courses (...) Together with a city councillor—who has now become the mayor, we organized many things. For example, we have organized parties, such as the Halloween party! On these occasions, local people celebrated together with immigrants.

> The mayor is the owner of the project, while the cooperative has the task of managing it. So, we hold regular meetings together. Having a good relationship with the public administration is the key to doing a good job! This is not the case everywhere. In another village the mayor is not very interested in our job. So, the results obtained are lower: they are still positive, but they are minimal, and not of excellence.

At the end of the interview, she concluded:

> Of the three families present in Pescopennataro, two left the SPRAR program and moved to other regions

(in Italy) because the heads of these families have been integrated into the labor market in these regions (...). The cooperative helped them to find a job.

The third family is now leaving the program; but they will stay in Pescopennataro, mother, father and their four children. The head of the family, after an adequate job training provided thanks to the program, has been hired with a regular contract by a local company in the building sector! According to the law, their humanitarian residence permit has been converted into a work permit thanks to the regular employment. They are doing well in Pescopennataro! Moreover...four children in such a small village as Pescopennataro are really a beautiful thing!"

Ripabottoni:

Ripabottoni is a medieval village of 500 residents about 2,100 feet above sea level. The citizens' daily life takes place in the main square where there is only one bar, owned by the mayor, as well as the Town Hall. The square is crossed by the main street where there are two grocery stores. Everyday life takes place within 400 yards. The CAS center, managed by a private association, is a building formerly used as a barrack, located on the main street, only three minutes from the central square.

When, in 2017, 32 migrants who landed in Lampedusa were sent by the Italian State to resettle there, the villagers were shocked, saying: "The day before, everything in the village was normal; the day after, 32 migrants arrived!"; "We didn't receive any notice beforehand"; and "32 migrants in such a small village as Ripabottoni, this is too many".

The mayor was especially offended: "It could have destabilized the population (...) My authority was completely ignored by the people who opened the CAS center (...) I had no control whatsoever about how the CAS would spend public money, nor about which activities migrants would have to do". So, the mayor and a few villagers organized an—unsuccessful—protest against migrants' resettlement and asked the Prefecture to close down the CAS.

Meanwhile however, several villagers collected clothes and other necessities for the migrants, thanks to the mediation of the village's priest. The first days passed quickly, and a lot of integration activities were organized by the CAS and the priest. During ethnographic observation some migrants were observed spending time at the bar and some of them sat with local people. Ripabottoni citizens told us: "The CAS is located a few yards from the square, so migrants can come to the bar, and we can meet them"; "The CAS is located in the right place, because so close to the square makes it possible to integrate them"; and "They try to speak Italian, and we try to understand them".

When asked whether they knew about migrants' activities, villagers showed they were well informed and sympathetic: "They study Italian: they are learning, but it is difficult for them"; "Some of them sing in the Church choir with some of us, even if they are all Muslim"; and "We also organized a football match together!" Some migrants were invited to participate in the village's football team: "Without them the team wouldn't have existed, because there were not enough young men in Ripabottoni".

The interviews showed how, over time, the population and the migrants spent time together, establishing friendly relations and positive contacts. Direct contacts in the bar, in the church, and in the square made it possible.

However, this is not to say that villagers were easy to interview in Ripabottoni. After the first interviews in the bar, the mayor—who was also the owner—came and sat down at the counter. From that moment on, nobody was willing to answer any questions. Going deeper into the matter, one might wonder whether the mayor's authority (and his well-known opposition to migrants' resettlement) might also have determined the villagers' initial attitude towards the CAS. In villages or very small towns, the mayor is a very influential person; in Ripabottoni he was (and still is) also the owner of the only recreational activity in the area. Therefore, he can easily put pressure on the villagers.

Weeks after our interviews, the mayor applied to open a SPRAR center for minors. The hidden reason behind this initiative was that the opening of a SPRAR would lead to the closure of the CAS: according to a rule establishing a limit of migrants' reception based on the number of citizens in the local population. The prefecture finally authorized him to open a SPRAR and ordered the closure of the CAS.

However, by that time the villagers did not want the CAS to shut down. They organized a protest and collected signatures to keep it open. Thus, the very same population that before the arrival of the migrants had signed a petition against its opening, presented a petition asking to reconsider its closure and organized a pro-migrant demonstration. During this protest, citizens spoke to journalists who came from all over Italy: "We did not expect this forcing! "; "This village is giving a good example of warm reception!"; and "It is not fair that they have to leave in this way: divided and sorted out in other reception centers. They're not postal packages!" Despite the villagers' protests, the CAS closed and the 32 migrants it hosted were dispatched to other reception centers in the region of Molise.

Later, the village of Ripabottoni received a special mention at the tenth edition of the Chiara Lubich international Award for Fraternity (*Premio internazionale per la Fraternità*) because of its citizens'

commitment to solidarity. The village's mayor did not show up to collect the prize; he did not even announce to the citizens that they received this honor. Fortunately, two town councillors heard about it and showed up to receive it.

4.2 The Resettlement of Iraqi Asylum Seekers in Alsatian Villages

As has been explained above, the French fieldwork on which the present article is rounded is part of a much larger research project, the Migreval research project. Beside the life stories collected (whose number is now close to 200 and still growing), interviews with local authorities, social workers, and members of associations of volunteers helping migrants are also conducted and stored in the Migreval data bank. In addition, sessions of data analysis are regularly held, with a particular focus on the actual functioning—and possible dysfunctions—of various public policies concerning migrant newcomers as documented through their personal testimonies.

Among volunteers who had been interviewed previously was a remarkable man, born in Iraq, who had come to France 30 years earlier to study and become a Catholic priest, and who is a member of the French Dominican order. Father Adel (this is the pseudonym he chose) was born in the mostly Christian city of Qaraqosh, about 30 kilometres from Mosul in Northern Iraq. He had felt the vocation rise within him from an early age and had left Iraq at age 20 to study and become a priest in France where he became a very active Dominican. As he was coming back to Qaraqosh each summer to be with his family and community, he had followed closely the rise of the militant jihadist organization ISIL or ISIS (the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant or Syria), also known as Daesh (from the Arabic acronym), and was fully aware of the danger it represented for his family and community. In June 2014 ISIL militias attacked Qaraqosh and its Christian inhabitants began to leave the city to take refuge in a region controlled by Kurdish forces. The latter defended the city itself until August 6th, the day they suddenly left. The remaining Christian families had only a couple of hours to leave all their belongings behind and flee for their life towards Kurdistan territory.

In the following months and years, Father Adel devoted all his resources and contacts to try and get as many Christian-Iraqi families out of Iraq. It had indeed become a matter of life vs. death for them:

> You see, these people would and did sacrifice all they had rather than lose their faith. They were given a choice by the Islamic State: "If you want to go on living here, you MUST convert to Islam!". But these people just could not convert to Islam. The whole of Iraq used to be Christian for centuries, before Muslims came from Arabia in the 7th century and conquered everything, little by little. Until Christians became a tiny minority and fled to live in the North, in mountains in the very North. How do you want us to convert to Islam when our ancestors taught us that they sacrificed their lives to keep their faith? Christian faith for these people is primordial; more than the house, more than properties, more than one's income.... No one converted to Islam.

Being well aware of the tragedy faced by Iraqi Christians, Father Adel talked about it with as many French medias as he could. He also got invited to speak to the (French) Senate and to the European Parliament in Strasbourg. As he knew quite well every step of the complex procedure to come to France as an asylum seeker aspiring to the status of refugee, he began helping those Iraqi Christians who were ready to emigrate to France. He met the French consul in Babli (Babylon) and even succeeded in getting an appointment with Laurent Fabius, who was the French *Ministre des Affaires Étrangères* (Foreign Affairs Secretary). Recounting this meeting Father Adel said:

> I met him four days after our massive deportation, in the beginning of August 2014. I described him the invasion of our region by Daesh, the self-called Islamic State. And I proposed him to organize a collective immigration in France of Iraqi Christians, who were all terribly suffering and in great danger. He asked me, "How many of them?"—120,000!

> But unfortunately, he immediately said: "oh no, I do not have the power to do that! The Parliament must be consulted first, and some other institutions too. Even if they are persecuted and suffering, we cannot receive 120,000 persons.

Nevertheless, Father Adel was able to help hundreds of Christian families to get out of Iraq and come to Strasbourg. In order to find volunteers and resources to help them settle, he would frequently give conferences about the plight of Christians in Iraq:

> After the disaster over there in August 2014, families that arrived in Strasbourg during the first eighteen months all rapidly found their happiness here. Housing was found, residence permits, and other documents were quickly done by the administrations, State help rapidly came within their pocket, children were enrolled in schools ...Everything was easy, really very easy, because they were few.

> But in the last six months, since last September (2018), there are many more difficulties. For instance, there is not much housing available, and there are many families looking for it. I know several families that have been put in small rooms in downtown cheap hotels, in small rooms, quite dirty... People cannot cook in the rooms; this is normal, it is the rule in any hotel, but what do they eat? Sandwiches, chocolate bars... The children, oh my God, I am crying when thinking about their situation.

This is how Father Adel started looking for housing in Alsace's small towns and even villages for upcoming refugees.

> And there, these people are far better received, much better! By local people, by the local church, by Protestant as well as Catholic associations, by Evangelists...The persons who welcome them open their houses, open their hearts as well. In the villages of E., G., B., W., O. we have families; and in all these villages, these families have been really very warmly welcome. We picked them up at the airport and brought them directly to a village where everything was ready for them: housing, help, school, French lessons, everything! And these ones find this marvelous! Such families, all of them are happy, happy, happy, happy of how they were welcomed by a host family, and of all the things that their hosts have done for them.

> At (name of a village) an apartment that was vacant and empty was filled in one single week with everything necessary: people from the village brought things that had been set aside in their attic, an old fridge, an electric stove, kitchen tools, sheets, pillows, blankets, a table, chairs; and everything is free, free, free! People are generous you know. And, as they told me: "We were used to give money to voluntary associations already, but we did not know what was done of it, to whom it was given. Now we know exactly who benefits of it; and we are happy to see that it is used by people whom we know, and whom we like!".

It seemed therefore that in Alsace, and particularly in Alsatian villages, the local dynamics of receiving asylum seekers were akin those that had been observed in the Italian region of Molise by Stefania Adriana Bevilacqua. It was somehow counterintuitive, as the numerous villages of this rich agricultural region are well-known for consistently voting for the openly anti-immigration political party (the *Rassemblement National*) led nationally by Marine Le Pen. Having heard, somehow by chance, that the Alsatian village of Mondfanger had hosted an Iraqi family for a while, Bertaux called its mayor who confirmed the fact and invited him to come down to interview him.

Mondfanger:

This Alsatian village (whose name we changed to protect identity) of about 1,300 inhabitants had been economically successful prior to World War 2, mainly due to its wine economy. However, at the end of the war, the town was entirely destroyed when retreating German troops entrenched themselves in this village and tried to hold control of the area. After the war, neighbouring villages gave hospitality and extensive help to Mondfanger families. The latter passed on memories of that tragic period to their children and grandchildren, so that younger generations had some ideas about what it means to be a refugee.

Mr. S., a devout Catholic like many Alsatians, had been the village mayor a few years before. After his retirement, as he was reading the local weekly published by Catholic and Protestant associations, he was struck by an article about Iraq. It described the dramatic situation of Christians who were in great danger of being slaughtered by the jihadist group ISIL. This was in November 2015. The article ended with a call to readers to save some of these families by accepting to receive them if they succeeded in leaving Iraq. Mr. S. recalled:

> During that night I could not sleep. I was thinking: why not us? My two sisters and me, we had inherited our parents' house, which was now empty. I asked them if they would agree housing there one of these families from Iraq. They both agreed. I called people I knew in Strasbourg to get contacts in Iraq; but none knew how to proceed. I had given up the idea when one day, as I was riding a local train, comes a man dressed in white who sits in front of me and starts a conversation. He was a priest; Father Adel was his name. He had been in France for thirty years but was originally from Iraq.

> "From Iraq? I am ready to house an Iraqi family in distress."

> "Are you serious? May I get your phone number?"

A few days later, Father Adel called him and came to his house. The two men got along very well, and Father Adel explained to the former mayor how he could get an appointment with Mr. Fabius, who had shown a genuine interest in the fate of Iraqi Christians and would help him. Mr. S. went to Paris and briefly met Mr. Fabius, who promised to help. Two months later, in January 2016, Mr. S. got a phone call from Iraq. It was Father Adel: "I have been in Erbil. I have a family for you. You still ready?" "Of course!" Mr. S. responded. And in March a whole family fleeing Iraq landed at the Strasbourg airport: father, mother, and three adult children.

Back in Iraq this family had been rather well off: the father owned a restaurant in Mosul and catered, employing 25 people. They had known Father Adel for a long time. After August 2014, when ISIL took over Mosul and the nearby Christian town Qaraqosh, the family had just had the time to flee, leaving everything behind. Soon afterwards the mother discovered she had cancer. They had heard that in France cancer treatment was very good; so, they contacted Father Adel. He tried to get them French visas for medical treatment, but to no avail. He finally told them to get tourist visas and fly to Strasbourg.

> We went to pick them up at the airport, with several cars: they had told us they would bring a lot of luggage. We drove them to Mondfanger, and to the house they were going to live in. We had cleaned it beforehand, from top to bottom: Easter cleaning! Five-six rooms. We had brought a painter. So, when they saw it: "Waaooouhhhh!!!!"

Neither the parents nor the grown-up children spoke a word of French when they landed in Alsace. Their language was Aramaic (the language Jesus Christ spoke) or rather its regional version, Syriac language. Mr. S says:

> It was not easy to communicate with them. Only Mrs. A., the mother, spoke some English. Mr. A. pretended to understand. The mother was clearly the mainstay of the whole family. She was very pleasant to deal with. She also was obviously the one taking all decisions. The father had been a successful entrepreneur; but the loss of his restaurant, plus the flight, had devastated him. Unfortunately, the mother was suffering from a severe cancer. She needed treatment, urgently.

Right at their arrival, Mr. S. helped the whole family register for healthcare and convinced local health authorities to accept the mother for cancer treatment in the region's main hospital, at no cost. He also introduced her to a Lebanese doctor with whom she could speak in Arabic and who prescribed her medication. But there were a host of other problems to solve; and in doing so Mr. S. asked and received great help from other villagers:

> And so, we could begin to get organized. Eventually we had twenty persons from the village who volunteered to help this family. My friend and city council member RD took up the task of planning in detail everything that had to be done for them. Everyone knew what he or she had to do, which day (for instance to drive them to administrations in Colmar, to French lessons, to the doctor, to the hospital...). The elder son took driving lessons. It was not easy for him: apparently, they don't have red lights in Iraq, he was just happy to drive through (laughs)... But when he eventually got his driving license, the villagers collected money and gave him 500 euros to buy a used car.

The family A. remained in Mondfanger for about one year, making friends and getting to know French ways. One year later, the mother succumbed to cancer. The whole village came to the funeral and she was buried in the village's cemetery. By then the grown-up children had learned enough French and understood enough about French codes and ways of thinking and doing that they were ready to take over from her. They had met Iraqi migrants who had settled in Strasbourg, where they would have more opportunities. They decided to move there. When they departed, the whole village came to tell them goodbye.

5 Findings and Discussion

5.1 Italy

Three main dimensions emerge from the empirical analysis: the relevance of the public persons' implication, the relevance of interpersonal contacts and interactions between migrants and villagers, and the issue of "spatial proximity vs. distance".

Firstly, the three case studies lead to the tentative hypothesis that, when the State authority resettles migrants in a village, the mayor's attitude (positive or negative) is a decisive factor on the further development of resettlement. The local government and local political actors play a central role in villages because they can establish, or remove, local borders easily: they can support integration of refugees or actively fight against them. However, the case of Ripabottoni, where attitudes towards migrants changed rapidly despite the mayor's persistent reluctance, provides extra information: the implication of another key public person, here the village's priest, may influence the villagers' long-term attitude towards migrants.

Secondly, the two cases of Ripabottoni and Pescopennataro, where migrants had been resettled in the village midst and thus had frequent interpersonal contacts with villagers, shows convincingly the crucial importance of spatial proximity in allowing daily interactions. As was strikingly shown by contrast with the case of Roccamandolfi, where the only difference— the resettlement outside village limits—was enough to modify entirely the dynamics of mutual recognition.

Thirdly, there is the more general issue of public space in urban settings. In cities, migrants often tend to appropriate "urban voids" (McDonough 1993),[4] which become places where they can try to reconstruct the dynamics of "home", understood in a wider sense as the country they have left behind. As a result, urban space is experienced differently by local inhabitants and by immigrants. This leads to the creation of distinct public spaces: places such as parks, squares, and streets function as places of differentiation that, at times, may generate conflict and open the door to intolerance. The actual use of urban space takes on a peculiar connotation in relation to the physical interaction between citizens and newcomers in a common space.

In villages however, the "empty space" simply does not exist. Immigrants cannot take possession of a public space by transforming it into an extension of their own home, or into a "village" suspended between the Italian reality and that of some "elsewhere". The public space is necessarily a meeting space between newcomers and locals. Thus, in this different spatial context, emerges the central relevance of contacts and interactions to create interpersonal links between people who have never met before.

The case of villagers meeting migrants for the first time presents an additional, and crucial, characteristic: the relationship is underpinned by previous, reciprocal representations about two "categories" of persons ("Us" and "Them" that is, "Europeans" vs. "non-Europeans") that pre-exist in the public discourse and in the minds.

This empirical analysis shows how interpersonal contacts with people perceived initially as belonging to a stigmatized or potentially dangerous category may thoroughly change this representation, and finally to put an end to xenophobia.

In conclusion, the integration process may depend on opportunities provided by various spatial contexts. The sheer size of the municipality or urban unit (village or town) plays a central role: in villages the proximity appears to favor migrants' paths to integration, because of common use of the same public space which generate more frequent interactions. When and if hosted in the village itself, migrants become visible, and the relations they built with villagers can offer strong resources to offset their marginalization and rejection.

Comparing how well migrants were received in the three villages allows us to identify a counterintuitive result: when migrants are hosted in or close to the village's center a majority of villagers, through getting to know the migrants personally, as persons in their own right having a name and a personal history, quickly come to accept and actually welcome them. Conversely, in the village where migrants have been hosted far from the center, such interpersonal relations cannot start taking shape, and migrants remain perceived as mere undifferentiated members of a preconstructed *category* ("non-European migrants"). It thus would seem that the *frequency of interpersonal contacts* is the key variable; while other potentially relevant variables such as gender, age, race, religion, ability to speak local language, or even the village mayor's attitude appear, by comparison, less important.

Such results however were only tentative and needed confirmation from other empirical studies on migrants' reception in villages. One of them was precisely being on its way in the French region of Alsace, thus providing the possibility of a wider comparison.

5.2 France

The French empirical case brings new information about an alternative route leading Middle Eastern asylum seekers to European villages. It is an escape route, a humanitarian corridor, whose opening and management, while condoned by the highest State authority (here the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs), was left to be operated by civil society actors: here a Catholic priest of Iraqi descent and villages' mayors. This escape route leading Christian Iraqi families from Northern Iraq to various Alsatian villages has been described here from both ends: by Father Adel, the very energetic actor who opened it; and by the mayor of one of the villages who, at the receiving end, organized an Iraqi family's reception and mobilized volunteers to accompany and support its members through the complex steps of getting appropriate documents and access to social rights.

Mondfanger is an Alsatian village which thrives on vineyards producing excellent wines. Its villagers are well-off and vote consistently for the right-wing or far-right political parties and presidential candidates.[5] Therefore, the warm welcome it gave to an Iraqi family—it must also have been the same in other Alsatian villages where Father Adel was able to resettle Iraqi immigrants—does not go without saying. Several factors must have contributed together to this warm welcome; but a single case does not allow to evaluate their respective weights. However, analytic comparison with the results of fieldwork in three Italian villages allows some tentative advances.

One might be tempted to think, for instance, that one of the factors which influenced villagers most positively was that the asylum seekers were Christians. Alsace ranks among the French regions where Catholicism is still prevalent. In fact, if there were not the Molise cases, this purported explanation alone would seem to be more than enough to account for the warm welcome.

However, the fact that this Iraqi family was Catholic was never mentioned during a whole day of conversations about how Mondfanger villagers spontaneously welcomed it so warmly. The fact that they were persecuted and in great danger appears to have been the key factor; this universal characteristic transcended everything else—religion, race, class—and one may surmise villagers felt rewarded *as human beings* by contributing to save other human beings from slaughter.

Such an interpretation is confirmed by the analytic comparison with observations of the Italian case. The migrants who had boarded ships on African coast to reach the island of Lampedusa, and were subsequently resettled in various Italian villages, were *not* Christians; most of them must have been of Muslim faith. It did not prevent Italian villagers, whom one may assume had all been raised in the Catholic religion, from receiving them warmly, once they got to know them personally, one by one, as human beings. Beyond differences in race, religion, and class there is a *common humanity* which, in dramatic situations, seems to take precedence over everything else.

6. Conclusion—European Villages as Decompression Chambers for non-European Asylum Seekers

The resettlement of asylum seekers in European villages seems, at first sight, doomed to failure given how much it goes against the grain of well-established patterns. Quite to the contrary, in fact: provided that some conditions are fulfilled, the spatial proximity induces daily interactions, and some of the villagers may perceive the arrival of asylum seekers in dire need of help as a rare opportunity to put into practice the values they have stood for all their life.

In the long run, villages are not the best place for (especially urban middle class) asylum-seeking families wishing to remain in a European country. In the short run however, they might constitute places where they could get good housing, practical help from well-disposed neighbors, where their children would grow up in a safe environment and quickly learn the language of the host society, and where they would learn, little by little, the host society's customs and habits which are usually very different from their own customs and habits. Villages might perhaps constitute the best places to learn the new society, and to prepare every member of the asylum-seeking family to find his/her way into the host society. In short, they might be the best "chambers of decompression", if one may use this image, for moving from one rather traditional and stable society to the competitive settings of urban modernity.

The ethnographic observations in villages of two European countries show that villagers' initial feelings of xenophobia melt in the air as soon as they meet and concretely communicate with asylum seekers from other continents. Xenophobia means fear of foreigners, but of foreigners who have not yet been met. Before meeting them, they were merely *imagined*. After meeting them, the dynamics of getting to know each other may transform an initially hostile village into a warmly welcoming community.

Such a turnabout may appear surprising if xenophobia is confused with racism. These two concepts are often associated; in the context we have observed however, their semantic distance appears in full light. Racism is an ingrained attitude and specialists have shown how difficult it is to change it. However, xenophobia may actually fade away when migrants are actually there. They are not all potentially threatening young males with a lot of adrenaline, as they were subconsciously imagined; most of them actually are mothers, younger women, female teenagers, children, and good men.

The inevitability of coexistence does not necessarily mean interaction, mutual exchanges, and mixing. The visibility of diversity can lead to a greater knowledge of the other, to a greater readiness to intertwine and to true inclusion; but it could also lead to the opposite, that is juxtaposition, difference, stigmatization, and suspicion.

In urban contexts there is some degree of space differentiation along the public/semipublic/semiprivate/private/intimate dimension, as well as along the "empty vs. occupied" dimension. So-called "empty spaces", for instance parks, squares, river banks, and sidewalks of avenues and streets are not convenient places to meet and interact with local residents; quite to the contrary. But in a village, there is no empty space. There is just no way for migrants to escape being seen or talked to. On the other hand, for villagers, there is no escape to being seen and talked to by migrants. The visibility and deconstruction of the "migrant" category made

inevitable by the frequency of impersonal contacts caused by the commonality of spaces does affect xenophobic feelings such as prior hostility and fear to the point of, ultimately, eradicating them.

Although data is still very scarce, the two research projects mention a convergent trend: most migrants who were first settled in small villages through some integration program will eventually move to cities when this option becomes available to them.

In the cases analyzed in Molise and in Alsace, despite the friendly relations established with villagers and having reached a significant level of integration in the community, most asylum seekers eventually decided to move to cities.

These examples might inspire a review of social and spatial integration models by introducing a new, two-stage model. The initial settlement in a village would only constitute a *transitory stage* before a new resettlement in a large city, especially for migrant families of urban origin. Villages could be considered as one of the best forms of transitory stages for asylum seekers who do not speak a word of the host society's language, because they are the best places for fostering daily *interaction* with host society's members; and because daily interactions seem to work as the best steppingstones to social integration.

In villages, this transitory stage or "decompression chamber" gives excellent results. This is true both for migrants, who learn a new language, meet the culture of the host country, and learn Western jobs; and for local citizens who will open to newcomers and their experiences, and who will see their village repopulate with children. Concluding, *spatial proximity* appears as *the* most important favorable condition, because the density of face-to-face interactions appears as the process through which the transmutation takes place.

Notes

1. The first study is on the case of Riace (2,000 inhabitants) on the Italian Southern Calabrian coast, where (in 1999) the mayor accepted 450 stranded overseas migrants so as to rejuvenate his village. The other case, much less well-known, is the one of Hofheim (5,000 inhabitants) in Bavaria. Both cases have been studied by Gauci (2020). See also Elia and Jovelin (2017) and Sarlo (2015). Leclair (2017) is about the reception of migrants in villages from the very rural Tarn region in Southern France and is more of the reportage type.

2. The data relating to the Italian case that we present here were collected by Stefania-Adriana Bevilacqua (La Sapienza University, Rome), and are part of her research project about the resettlement, by the Italian State authorities, of Lampedusa-stranded migrants in the Molise region (on the Eastern, Adriatic side of the Italian peninsula).

3 This databank contains life stories of migrants who settled in Strasbourg or in the Grand Est region of France, as well as migrants arriving and settling in Frankfurt (region of Hessen, Germany). These interviews are transcribed, re-read and approved by the interviewees, then anonymized and pseudonymized (all identifying information are removed) and, lastly, added to the databank (in French, German and in English). Due to the sensitivity of such information, and because of the ethical issues related to storing such data, the databank, of which there are essentially no other examples in France and Germany, is only accessible to a limited group of researchers, as defined by the scientific and pedagogic directors. The interviews are conducted by the members of the network currently including junior and senior researchers as well as French and German masters level students. The gathered materials are discussed in a specific seminar. The biographical interviews are then cross-referenced with semi-structured interviews conducted with politicians, professionals and volunteers in contact with these populations.

4 Gary McDonough (1993) identifies four possible types of urban emptiness: the places where a distinctive sign of the landscape once stood, full of history or memory; those frequented by dog owners, junkies and deviants; those ready for future speculation and development; and those used as forms of control or barriers to prevent access to other places. The void of space is consequently filled with meaning, potential, and conflict.

5 In 2017, for the first round of presidential elections, Mondfanger citizens voted massively (82%). Together, the various Left candidates got only 15% of the votes. Emmanuel Macron, who presented himself as "neither Right nor Left", got 25%. The main right-wing candidate got 30%; and Marine Le Pen, the far-right candidate with a very explicit discourse asking for the immediate closure of Europe' borders to non-European immigrants, got 23%.

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Constructing Local Belonging through Art and Activism in Context of Anti-Migration Politics, Stigmatisation and Gentrification: What Migration Studies can Learn from Belleville and Maddalena

Monika Salzbrunn *

Despite a decade of self-criticism, research perspectives on migration studies remain too often centred on national belonging (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2011). Based on two empirical examples, self-organised fashion and music shows in Paris and Genoa, this article shows how "event lenses" can constructively replace "ethnic lenses" in the analysis of artivistic practices that aim at changing political situations and living conditions. Wearing "event lenses" also helps us to question supposed homogeneities and to investigate common civic or political practices and interests by emphasizing multiple belonging processes in various social situations (Yuval-Davis et al. 2006, 7). I show how the research perspective of migration studies can be guided by the complexity of migrants' multiple belongings and by situational analysis. The article presents results from my ERC project "ARTIVISM. Art and activism. Creativity and Performance as Subversive Forms of Political Expression in Super-Diverse Cities", guided by an event-centred approach and multi-sensory audio-visual ethnography. The Parisian district of Belleville and the Maddalena district of Genoa suffer both from negative stigmatisations related to informal economical practices. I show how the super-diverse populations in these marginalised but gentrifying spaces creatively reverse xenophobic stigmata, by valorising their biographies and multiple belongings through fashion shows.

Introduction: Wearing "Event Lenses" Instead of "Ethnic Lenses"

Despite a decade of self-criticism, research perspectives on migration studies remain too often centred on national belonging (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2011), which is only one aspect of multiple belonging processes. An exclusive focus on nationality reproduces methodological nationalism even in a transnational research setting and does not take into consideration how migrants manage to overcome those boundaries by creating local alliances thanks to their economic, political, social, and cultural activities. Hence, social research on migration should implicate a profound reflection on sociological categories: Who defines who is a migrant and in which social situations? This question is particularly crucial during anti-migration politics, which often only concerns a specific type of migrants, depending on the economic, political, and social situation in the country in which the debate takes place. Expatriates are hardly concerned by certain stigmata and migrants who sustain the health

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sector are crucially needed, whereas refugees tend to be collectively rejected by populist governments and the press that supports their opinion.

This article provides a critical in-depth reflection on various ways of constructing local belonging through art and activism in a context of increasing anti-migration politics on a local, regional, and national level. Based on field studies conducted in Belleville (a district in Paris/France) and Maddalena La Superba (a district in Genoa/Italy), I will show how "event lenses" can constructively replace "ethnic lenses"[1] in the analysis of artivistic practices that aim at changing political situations and living conditions. Wearing "event lenses" also helps us to question supposed homogeneities and to investigate common civic or political practices and interests by emphasizing multiple belonging processes in various social situations (Yuval-Davis et al. 2006, 7). As stated in Yuval-David et al. (2006), "Citizenship and identities, as well as 'cultures and traditions'—in fact all signifiers of borders and boundaries play central roles in discourses of the politics of belonging" (3). Politics of belonging are situated temporally, spatially, and intersectionally (2006, 7).

According to Lamont & Molnar (2002), "Symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality. Examining them allows us to capture the dynamic dimensions of social relations, as groups compete in the production, diffusion, and institutionalization of alternatives systems and principles of classifications. Social boundaries are objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities'" (168).

As I have mentioned in my ERC ARTIVISM project proposal as well as in a recently published epistemological article:

[a]rtistic expressions that illustrate political claims and demands for civil rights "become manifest in political, cultural, organised or spontaneous events celebrating belonging and non-belonging by "means of performance" [Pfaff 2011]. Typically, such events are carnivals [Salzbrunn 2011c, 2014], festivals [Salzbrunn 2011a, 2011d; Salzbrunn & von Weichs 2013], pilgrimages [Salzbrunn & von Weichs 2013], assemblies, and demonstrations. Events are therefore particularly suitable entry-points to the field of art and activism and to the public space that is appropriated by marginalised social actors and collective groups" [Salzbrunn 2010a, 2011a].

Furthermore, researching art and activism through events helps to avoid a limited perspective on pre-defined groups and widens the horizon to broader forms of

participation, including spontaneous, punctual or changing ways to join artivist actions. A focus on events, combined with situational analysis and consideration of multiple forms of belonging [Yuval-Davis et al. 2006] also avoids reducing artivists to a single cause since in many cases, several events mingle different issues and/or an individual can be engaged or sympathize with various causes (antifascism, environmental issues, feminism, LGBTQI+, education, anti-gentrification and anti-touristification claims, etc.). Nevertheless, the understanding of events created by artivists also requires an in-depth understanding of their life-worlds through a share of everyday-life in a long-term research setting. (Salzbrunn 2021, 179–180)

When belonging is expressed through music, clothes and food, it expresses feelings and emotions. In the ERC project "ARTIVISM. Art and activism. Creativity and Performance as Subversive Forms of Political Expression in Super-Diverse Cities",[2] we have developed an event-centred approach and applied multi-sensory ethnography to various fields in Africa, America, and Europe (Salzbrunn 2015, 2016, 2021; Amiotte-Suchet & Salzbrunn 2019).

The events I will analyse, with their preparatory phases, their performativity (Turner 1988), their disruptive elements, and their post-phase can be considered as part of a general struggle for recognition (Fraser 1995). Each actor gives a particular meaning (Deleuze 1969) to her/his performances in a certain context (Rogers & Vertovec 1995) and in a given social situation (Clarke 2005), which in our case is during the fashion show. The study of the event allows us to observe how strategic groups emerge around a common political goal (Bierschenk & Olivier de Sardan 1998) and a common political strategy. Finally, focusing the performativity of the events allows us to understand their interactive and transformative effects in the construction of symbolic boundaries of belonging.

Wearing "event lenses" instead of "ethnic lenses" also helps us to question supposed homogeneities and to investigate common civic or political practices and interests by emphasizing multiple belonging processes in various social situations. Following Yuval-Davis', Kannabiran's and Viethen's approach on the politics of belonging (2006, 7), boundaries need to be researched situationally, taking into consideration the space where they manifest and the way race, class, and gender are articulated. When belonging is communicated through music, clothes, and food, it expresses feelings and emotions. In the same way, belonging touches multiple senses, which requires the innovation of adequate methods like multisensory ethnography (Pink 2009). Hence, thick descriptions should include all kinds of sensory experiences (touch, smell, see, hear, taste).

These are considerably under-researched topics in migration and diaspora studies despite the emotional or affective turn which the social sciences are currently

undergoing (Bens et al. 2019). Furthermore, artistic practices in super-diverse societies (Vertovec 2011) remain a topic urgently needing more profound exploration after the pioneering works of Martiniello and Lafleur (Martiniello 2008; Martiniello & Lafleur 2009). The main epistemological challenge is to research super-diversity and multiple belonging without reifying individuals or groups to one single aspect (ethnicity, religion, etc.). Focusing on events in specific urban settings allows us to enter the field with an extremely open and wide perspective, and to observe which "politics of belonging" (Yuval-Davis et al. 2006) are performed in an interactive boundary-construction work.

Following the event-centred approach developed in previous publications, I will focus here on fashion shows in Genoa and Paris, organised by the local population in order to reverse stigmata. The Parisian district of Belleville and the Maddalena district of Genoa both suffer from negative stigmatisations related to informal economical practices (prostitution, drug dealing etc.). Furthermore, they are both part of top-down and bottom-up gentrification processes. For example, While the historical center hosts a larger immigrant population then other districts, its percentage of residents with a university diploma is also higher than elsewhere. This complex social stratification can also be observed vertically: In certain streets, the dark ground floor apartments are occupied by prostitutes while the sunny upper floor penthouses with rooftop terraces are owned by a wealthy educated population.

This situation puts into question the socio-cultural dynamics of the district which threaten certain residents with low income and/or a fragile juridical status. How does the super-diverse[3] population in these spaces react to these political economic processes in a context of growing extreme-right discourses or, in the case of Genoa, of populist and extreme-right governments with anti-migration and/or anti-refugee discourses and restrictive politics at the local, regional and national[4] level? In this context, populist discourses contribute to construct symbolic borders between desired foreigners (expatriates, tourists, etc.) and undesired immigrants, namely refugees.

Stigmatising articles associating Senegalese nationals to drug sales have appeared in the Italian press in recent years, particularly through news agencies. The xenophobic discourses of the Italian Minister for Interior Affairs in 2018 have also contributed to dissemination of racism and to downgrade refugees. Only recently and in another locality, the difficulties of the many Senegalese street vendors suffering from circulation restrictions due to the coronavirus were subject to a more benevolent article (ANSA Press Agency 2020).

We will see below how the local population valorised their biographies and multiple belongings in this context, as a creative response to excluding and shifting border politics on a local, regional and national level (Shachar 2020). Independently, in both districts, the idea of reversing the stigma through a fashion show was born. The show valorises diversity and gives a positive image about the super-diverse population and its fashion-economy. Both studies provide insights on the way art and activism can create local belonging in a context of growing xenophobia.

Based on these empirical examples, I will show how the research perspective of migration studies can be guided by the complexity of migrants' multiple belongings and by situational analysis. This approach can become a productive advance for migration studies as well as for general social theory.

Migration and Diversity in Genoa in a Context of Xenophobic Politics

When I arrived in Genoa in Autumn 2017 to carry out a long-term research project on art and activism, I was struck by the very negative headlines in the local press about the Senegalese population, which was described as a "mafia" flooding the streets of the old city with "crack" (Fregatti & Indice 2017). Having worked for some twenty years on the political-religious networks of Senegalese people and their translocal roots in Senegal, Europe, and the United States, I noted a particularly negative media coverage in Italy, which contrasts with the excellent image that the Senegalese immigrants enjoy in New York (Salzbrunn 2004; 2016) or those that they build up of themselves by performing publicly their religious practices in Geneva (Salzbrunn 2017). From the beginning, I was thus led to rethink the local, regional, and national logics of performances in a context of growing xenophobia. Moreover, the stigmatisation observed concerned not only groups of people, but also an entire district, the centro storico, one of the largest remaining historic centres in Europe, and more particularly the area known as the Maddalena. Having initially chosen the city of genoa as one of the areas to be covered as part of my ERC ARTIVISM project, the discovery of the different representations circulating on the Maddalena, a neighbourhood that embodies all the diversity of Genoa's residents, thus echoed another project carried out in Paris, with the representation of oneself and others during public events, as a common issue. I wanted to understand how residents of these neighbourhoods dealt with and returned the stigma of being different, outside their country of origin (Goffman 1963). One way of returning these stigmata was the positive, joyful performance of difference *and* commonality during fashion shows in Paris and Genoa.

In these French and Italian "super-diverse" cities (Vertovec 2007), characterized by a diversity of social, economic, and legal statuses, as well as a high number of countries of origin of the residents, I followed the organisation[5] of fashion shows in working-class

neighbourhoods with a very rich history of migration. The use of visual methods allowed me to analyse how body language reflects a process of empowerment during the self-presentation in the preparatory phase (documented by filmed interviews) and at the time of the fashion show. In Paris, in the Sainte-Marthe district, the Senegalese designer Sadio Bee launched his "Mix-Tissages" collection using both professional models and neighbours from various countries. In the Maddalena district of Genoa, a group of Ivorian, Senegalese, and Ligurian tailors, in collaboration with vintage shop owners, organised three fashion shows in order to reverse the stigma of delinquency that weighs on this district and on some residents, especially those from sub-Saharan Africa. In contrast to the latter, residents of Latin American origin (of which Ecuadorians are by far the largest group) are more positively represented and even have a dedicated page in Spanish in the daily newspaper Il Secolo XIX.

In the framework of our project, we followed how the actors valorise their respective migratory journeys, both through discourses in front of the camera and symbolically, using fabrics, cuts, and make-up that refer to multiple affiliations (Yuval-Davis et al. 2006). Each actor gives a particular meaning (Deleuze 1969) to his or her performance (Butler 1993) in a certain context (Rogers & Vertovec 1995) and in a given social situation (Clarke 2005). The encounters and filming before and during the event, carried out interactively with the actors and actresses, allows us to capture as many nuances as possible in the staging of oneself, one's body, and one's trajectory (Salzbrunn 2020). When I wrote the project, I focused on art and activism, knowing that Genoa was one of the most interesting cities, not yet "museified" and damaged by mass tourism. However, the event analysed here, the Défilé Maddalena, was created after I received funding. The very open event- and space-centred approach allowed me to integrate this event in the research setting. Together with a key actor whom I met at the beginning of my fieldwork, we have conducted interviews as well as informal talks, lived and gathered in the district during the whole year (and during follow-up stays over five years).

We will see further on how the proud, valorising posture of the tailors and mannequins, in search of recognition, contrasts with the images disseminated by the local Genoese media (Il Secolo XIX newspaper) and some Italian media and discourse on migration, particularly from Senegal.

Accessing Migration and Diversity through Public Events

Despite a decade of self-criticism, research perspectives on migration studies remain too often centred on national belonging (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2011), which is only one aspect of multiple belonging processes. This aspect is often over-exploited in excluding migration politics, for example, by selecting nationalities that merit protection and those that are considered 'safe countries'. Nationalities are excluded independently of the particular situation of the refugee or migrant.

We propose an alternative by starting our research in specific places, during specific events, applying a much-needed return to situational analysis (Rogers & Vertovec 1995; Clarke 2005). The focus on religious (Salzbrunn 2017), political, and/or artistic practices in a specific social situation instead of focusing a pre-defined group reduced to one aspect of belonging provides a constructive answer to the (self-)critiques expressed against (trans)nationalism. Hence, we study artistic performances as social statements and vehicles for claims. In particular, we study two fashion shows translocally, taking into consideration each specific context and changing opportunity structures and following our definition of translocal social spaces as those that result from new forms of delimitation that consist of but also reach beyond geographic or national boundaries. These spaces become the new sources of identification and action within specific local and global reference systems (Salzbrunn 2011a, 171). For instance, several inhabitants of La Maddalena have strong connections to the district of La Plaine in Marseille and express a certain form of belonging to these protective micro-spaces of solidarity, rather than to a national reference. In the Parisian district of Sainte Marthe, part of Belleville, a long-term immigrant said during a participative Conseil de Quartier Meeting "I don't know if you can ever become French but you can become Bellevillois". This means that you can feel like a local and be perceived as such, independently of your origin. Nevertheless, the local dynamics, thanks to a diverse population, have another side of the coin. In a context of increasing gentrification and restructuring processes of localities, diverse actors contribute actively or "malgré eux" to rescaling cities or districts (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2011; Salzbrunn 2011).

The Hidden and the Public Transcript: Resistance to Anti-Migration Politics

In the context of domination, actors develop "the arts of resistance" through hidden transcripts (Scott 1990). Confrontations between the powerless and the powerful are laden with deception—refugees without a legal status are not free to speak up in the presence of State power because they risk being arrested. These subordinate groups instead create a secret discourse that represents a critique of power spoken behind the backs of the dominant. Speaking up publicly is rather possible collectively, during events, when the massive presence of actors and supporting media protects them from abuse. At the same time, the powerful also develop a private dialogue about practices and goals of their rule that cannot be openly avowed.

Scott's (1990) notion of (hidden and public) "transcripts" represent established ways of behaving and speaking that fit particular actors in particular social settings, whether dominant or oppressed. Resistance is a subtle form of contesting "public transcripts" by making use of prescribed roles and language to resist the abuse of power, including things like "rumour, gossip, disguises, linguistic tricks, metaphors, euphemisms, folktales, ritual gestures, anonymity" (137). These methods are particularly effective in situations where violence is used to maintain the status quo, allowing "a veiled discourse of dignity and self-assertion within the public transcript… in which ideological resistance is disguised, muted and veiled for safety's sake" (ibid). These forms of resistance require little coordination or planning and are used by both individuals and groups to resist without directly confronting or challenging elite norms. Individuals subject to racism have to deal with downgrading attitudes and, in case their legal status is fragile, with a continuous threat of being imprisoned and sent to their country of origin. Those who benefit from a secure legal status still have to cope with non-verbal and verbal signs of exclusion and therefore desire to return these stigmas through counter-performances. Being physically present within the public space as an undocumented migrant represents a symbolic transgression of borders, since they have been shifted from frontiers to the inner territory (Shachar 2020).

As part of the two research projects dealt with in this text, I filmed the events and the event preparation, as well as the actors' general reflections on the context and their biographical trajectory. Moreover, in both cases, the fashion shows were nowhere to be found in my research projects for the simple reason that they were invented after the start of the project. What interested me in the ARTIVISM project, in the wake of Richard Schechner (2013, 127), was performativity, "the human capacity to behave reflexively, playfully", using art as a means of political expression and resistance. It is therefore necessary to remain open to the unexpected, to surprises, to the instinct and emotions that also guide our work, since it is essential to follow the actors' creativity in resisting against the actual political power.

In our latest book (Amiotte-Suchet & Salzbrunn 2019), we discussed different ways of dealing with 'the (un) foreseeable event', following my earlier proposal to focus research on an event that takes place in an (urban) space rather than starting from a group (pre-) defined by the researcher (Salzbrunn 2015, 2017, 2021). This approach, which takes the event, organised and/or disruptive, as a starting point, allows us to observe the ways in which the actors stage their multiple affiliations, among which origin can play a role. It should be noted straight away that nationality, religion, or migratory background do not necessarily come into play in the social situation observed. We shall see later on that migration is not always the subject of discussion as such, since we wanted to avoid opening the exchange with this subject. Indeed, the people filmed emphasise more spontaneously their belonging to their neighbourhood of residence as well as their professional skills and spoke less about their past migratory trajectory. The research therefore focuses on political commitment and the expression of local belonging as well as on the unifying event that is being prepared. This does not exclude to notice the way in which other affiliations are staged (through make-up, fabrics, body language, etc.). Those interactive performances include a play with symbolic boundaries of belonging such as expressing bodily signs of community-building through make-up or dance.

Following the internal dynamics of the event and the speeches of the people involved, I did not focus my shots and my questions around the national origin. As we will see later, multiple belonging (particularly the Senegalese origin of some of the tailors) can be mentioned but it is always in relation to the neighbourhood, the profession, and the event. During the latter, the symbolic border is around the local district of La Maddalena: as engaged artivists, residents or friends of the community, the protagonists belong to this place, regardless of their legal status.

Although daily life is peaceful in these two neighbourhoods, which function as micro-spaces of solidarity, the general atmosphere towards certain categories of people, conveyed through a significant part of the media, has a negative impact on the self-esteem of the people I met. They all made a clear difference between self-help, solidarity, and the feeling of living in an urban village in everyday life and the feeling of suffering from negative and devaluing, even criminalising stereotypes outside this microcosm. The second part of this article goes more into detail about these representations of self and others, on two ethnographic terrains in Paris and Genoa.

Staging Diversity through Mixed-Tissues Fashion Shows in Paris

I came to the decision to work on the Parisian district of Sainte-Marthe at the end of the 1990s. I was writing my thesis on a completely different subject and I heard live music from my balcony so I decide to follow it. As I walked down the street, I soon realised that this music was intended to represent the migrations and diversity of the neighbourhood's inhabitants, in images and sounds, and was part of a struggle to save the human and material aspects of the neighbourhood, which was threatened with destruction. In the 1980s and 1990s, several districts of the former village of Belleville, now located in the 19th and 20th arrondissements of Paris, were largely destroyed in favour of the construction of housing (social, intermediate, and owner-occupied) with six or more floors. The argument of insalubrity was a recurrent justification for this destruction, in addition to the stigma of (petty) crime that weighed on these socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

I reproduce here field notes and an analysis carried out from 1998 until the 2010 years, before moving on to the interview with the Senegalese fashion designer Sadio Bee, carried out a few years later in this same district. In Sainte-Marthe, I did all the image and sound shots alone, having been for a dozen years both a researcher and a resident.

> One Sunday in April 2010 in the north-east of Paris: from afar, you can hear a guitar and a djembe accompanying a Malian singer. Closer up, you can hear the laughter of children taking part in the painting workshop set up on the Place Sainte-Marthe, in the 10th arrondissement, near the Belleville metro station. In a corner of this picturesque square, which looks like a provincial village centre, potted flowers are waiting to be bought by neighbours who want to embellish their balconies and brighten up the neighbourhood. Next to the flowers, a large stand, run by the association Les Quatre Horizons, offers visitors oriental pastries, tabbouleh, pancakes and mint tea. In a neighbouring street, rue du Chalet, a renovated industrial premise hosts the summer collection of the Senegalese designer Sadio Bee. The latter will present his latest creations during a fashion show in the square. At one of the corners of the square, on the walls of the building of the evangelical mission that welcomes the homeless, are glued the children's paintings: a picture shows a young girl in a yellow dress greeting the visitor, next to her is an elegant silhouette of an adult woman doing the same gesture—except for one detail, she is wearing the Niqab, the full veil. A neighbouring drawing shows linked lines representing a root—the child has added the caption "we all come from the same root". It is the spring festival in Sainte-Marthe, organised by the president of the association Les Quatre Horizons, in collaboration with a theatre programmer, a music producer and an artist. (Salzbrunn 2010b, fieldnotes, 25 April 2010)

The association Les Quatre Horizons, as its name suggests, presents a whole programme, which is eminently political, as it strives not only to safeguard the architectural heritage but also to maintain social and cultural diversity. Its logo consists of an image of planet Earth around which four children hold hands: one of the children is of Asian descent, the other wears a cap and is dark-skinned, the third has a dark brown complexion and wears a long ponytail, and the fourth is lighter-skinned. This image is in fact an enhancement of the origins of the inhabitants. The festive events organised by Les Quatre Horizons follow this logic of representing otherness through the music styles selected, the dishes and pastries sold, and the decorative elements (notably the fabrics) chosen to embellish the stands. This staging of diversity and difference leads to essentialisations as well as hybridizations on the part of various actors. Thus, the president, of Algerian origin, was subjected to exclusionary remarks such as, "this is not Algeria here" after proposing a menu composed of couscous méchoui

and tabbouleh (Salzbrunn 2011b)—although couscous is now the most popular dish in France. I come back later to Sadio Bee, a tailor who expresses hybridisation through his trademark, "MixTissage", by combining fabrics from different origins. The name is a plaidoyer to overcome boundaries.

In addition to this, the content of the musical messages partly refers to contemporary debates on the colonial era or on slavery. These political elements contained in the musical performance are also expressed in the choice of instruments: the Caribbean group "Alonzidon" used moulds on several occasions during the festivities in St. Marthe's Square, which were used to transmit encrypted messages during the colonial era. During the performance, the leader of the group explained the principle of sending subversive information that was illegible to the coloniser.

The fashion show of Senegalese designer Sadio Bee, who has his studio in the rue Sainte Marthe, is part of one of the many festivals organised throughout the year (Spring Festival, Music Festival on 21 June, Giant Couscous in July, Back to School Festival in September, and the Storytelling Night in winter to name a few). As the name of his "Mix-Tissage" collection indicates, the combination of fabrics of different materials, origins, colours, patterns, and weaves is his trademark. Moreover, diversity is also expressed voluntarily through the choice of models, most of whom are amateurs (some of whom live in the neighbourhood). Sadio Bee alternates models appearing alone with pairs, often composed of a woman and a man, of different phenotypes. He would illustrate great diversity by pairing different couples together such as a blonde woman with a young black man from West Africa or a woman of Asian origin with a European man. A group of percussionists playing the djembe accompanies the parade. On its website, which has just been completely redesigned, there are still mannequins of different origins wearing her creations. The latest photos were taken in the rue Sainte-Marthe, in front of the colourful shops and restaurants.

As Getrud Lehnert (2013, 8) points out, clothing must be staged and performed in order to become fashion. Sadio Bee has chosen the environment of the aesthetic and material creation of the clothes—the street in front of his workshop—to showcase his collection. For some years now, this area has been not only his workplace but also his living space. In an interview I conducted for my film *Sainte-Marthe en fêtes* (Salzbrunn 2015), he explains what he likes about this place:

> It's a neighbourhood that I like very much because it's mixed, it's blended, and to see these colours is pleasant. It reminds me a bit of my neighbourhood, where I was born and grew up in Senegal. You have the same movements, the same atmospheres, the same colours and that's why I love this neighbourhood, I love this street. It's full of artists, full of bars, you can really feel

good. You feel at home. (Extract from the film Sainte-Marthe en fêtes by Monika Salzbrunn, minute 32)

The diversity of colours relates not only to the origins of the inhabitants and the many arts and crafts represented, but also, from a purely aesthetic point of view, to the architecture: the colourful facades of the shops, craft workshops, restaurants, bars, and dwellings in this district. Thanks to the staging of this diversity through the celebrations organised by the association Les Quatre Horizons (which also made it its programme) and thanks to the latter's militant work with the Saint-Louis Sainte-Marthe association, the district was saved from destruction. The overall political situation (favourable to the staging and marketing of diversity) and the political victory of the left in Paris in 2001 (which had appropriated many rehabilitation projects, particularly in north-east Paris where the left had controlled the 10th district since 1995) made it possible to enhance the diversity of its inhabitants, which had previously been depreciated or left indifferent. The multicultural environment has even been used by real estate agents or restaurant owners as a sales and consumption argument to promote the district and their businesses. Finally, due to its long history of immigration and the resulting social, linguistic, and religious diversity, the Belleville neighbourhood as a whole has been a much followed research topic for two decades (Simon et al. 2000; De Villanova & Deboulet 2011; Salzbrunn 2011a & 2011b; Raulin et al. 2016). The tension between the commercial valorisation of diversity and the destruction of its social and economic bases is addressed in particular through the rise in rents and consumer prices leading first to the exclusion of the inhabitants of certain bars and restaurants and then to their eviction to outlying districts or departments.

In the case of Sainte-Marthe, the performance of diversity is not only a performance of desired living conditions, in the sense of Butler (1993), but above all the staging of a proudly lived reality: in the 10th arrondissement of Paris 16% of residents have a foreign nationality, while this proportion reaches 28% in the Sainte-Marthe neighbourhood (l'INSEE 2016; City of Paris 2020). As Deleuze (1969) reminds us, each actor gives a particular meaning to his or her performance: here, Sadio Bee tells how much and why he feels at home. His mannequins, with their multiple colours and weaves, parade in different pairs to represent a diversity of styles, couples, and origins. This performance of diversity is both an individual and collective semantics in that it embodies a real political counter-project: the residents, workers, and shopkeepers of this neighbourhood want it to be maintained, not only architecturally, but above all sociologically. The fear that renovation rhymes with destruction and expulsion of the most fragile people has been the driving force behind a common struggle to safeguard the human and architectural heritage. As I have shown elsewhere (Salzbrunn 2011a; 2011b), the struggle was far from peaceful and unanimous,

and the joy of the victory was short-lived, because the enhancement of the district has had its price in terms of day and night life, much more expensive than before. The enhancement of the material and cultural heritage has thus had the unintended consequence, for most of the players, of accelerating the gentrification process. The enhancement of the district through cultural events such as the "MixTissage" fashion show and the conduct of several OPAHs (Programmed Housing Improvement Operation) has therefore made it more attractive to tourists and developers. The Société immobilière de Normandie (SIN), owner of a very large part of the housing and shops in Sainte-Marthe and Jean Moinon streets, has been put up for sale in November 2019, which potentially weakens the tenants.

The monitoring of politico-artistic struggles, including the fashion show around Sadio Bee's creations, revealed that migration and origins—in the national and even nationalist sense—play a minor role. They are highlighted collectively in order to defend the common living space and thus contribute to turning around the stigma that weighs on certain populations. In the second empirical example, I show how this reversal of stigma occurred in the Genoese district of La Maddalena.

Défilé La Maddalena Genoa: Transforming Legal and Social Orders through a Fashion Show

The Genoese district of La Maddalena, near the port, has some similarities with the Parisian district of Sainte-Marthe. It too is marked by a very large diversity of its population, the highest in the city. In the larger Centro Est district to which la Maddalena belongs, only 12.1% of the residents have a foreign nationality. According to the statistical atlas of the city from 2008, more detailed, the district of La Maddalena hosts 21.3% of foreign residents (Comune di Genova 2021). Like Sainte-Marthe, located in the same district as two large Parisian railway stations, and therefore historically linked to the immigration which has spread around the transport nodes, La Maddalena has seen the settlement of workers from the nearby port as well as from all the industry and business, both formal and informal, found in the port cities. Today, La Maddalena, which is part of the centro storico, the largest old town in Europe. As the tourist office likes to remind us, this area also has the highest percentage of inhabitants with university degrees. In this sense, it already reflects a process of gentrification of which artists and intellectuals are the ambiguous precursors. However, real estate pressure is less in Genoa because, over recent decades, the city's population has decreased by 30%. Specifically, from 1971 to 2019 the population decreased from 816,872 inhabitants to only 565,752 (Comune di Genova 2021). This change can be attributed to demographic reasons and because of the decline in the local (steel) industries which left dozens of dwellings vacant and/or occupied by people living in

precarious conditions. Indeed, Genoa is not only named "La Superba", but also the "South of the North" since it has the lowest birth rate and the highest rate of elderly residents (Comune di Genova 2021).

As I pointed out at the beginning of this article, the image of La Maddalena is being mishandled by the local press, who regularly blames the "Senegalese mafia" for flooding the neighbourhood with drugs along with other negative claims. At the entrance to one of the streets leading to the centro storico, there are still remnants of a warning addressed to soldiers dating back to the Second World War warning them against sexual diseases transmitted by prostitutes as well as against the general violence in the area. Some contemporary tourist guides also warn of the risks of walking through the small lanes, some of which are almost too narrow to let more than two people through. These material and discursive border signs have discouraged tourists and residents in the wealthier outskirts from going in to certain parts of the historical centre.

The refugees who reside in this district have a temporary permit if they are still waiting for the decision made on their application for asylum. If their claim is rejected, they perceive national borders everywhere: even though they had managed to cross national borders, the shift of border controls to the interior territory threatens them daily (Shachar 2020). Therefore, the local network of solidarity who includes them in their artivist events allows them to feel an emotional and morally legitimate belonging to this place. The new right-wing municipal team, elected after decades of left-wing domination in 2017, has "militarised" the historic centre in response to security concerns. On the other hand, more and more groups of cruise tourists are passing through the historic centre due to its proximity to Via Garibaldi, a UNESCO World Heritage Site with many museums and palaces from the Renaissance period.

As in Sainte-Marthe, there are many craftsmen's workshops in La Maddalena, including a dozen or so dressmakers of West African (Senegal, but also Ivory Coast) and Ligurian origin. In addition, a number of vintage shops have opened, working for charities or individuals and catering to a wide variety of customers in terms of purchasing power. In 2017, the designers and managers had the idea of getting together to organise a fashion show on Maddalena Street, which runs through the neighbourhood. One of the motivations was the desire to turn around the stigma of crime and danger that weighs on the neighbourhood, and to value the diversity of its residents, regardless of their origin, status, or social class. I followed the preparations for the second Maddalena parade in Genoa, which took place in autumn 2017, with Raphaela von Weichs (the senior researcher of the ERC ARTIVISM project) and Pascal Bernhardt (a Frenchman living in Genoa, who was working as a cameraman on our team at that time).

Having arrived in Genoa to work on art and activism, and having chosen to leave as much room as possible for surprises, discoveries, and the unexpected, I quickly came across the existence of this fashion show. From the outset, it seemed to me to be a form of political performance, a staging of self and otherness, a way of staging diversity and commonality (the common point of being attached to this neighbourhood, whatever the reasons). As Lehnert (2013) points out, what happens at the moment of the staging of the clothes by the body or of the bodies by the clothes. According to her, fashion clothing changes the body and produces new bodies, the fashion bodies, which are neither just clothes nor just wearers of clothes. The transformative power of this experience has been expressed by several participants, as I will show below. Namely, it legitimizes their presence within this space, during the event, regardless of their legal status.

During the preparatory shots, we asked the models, none of whom were professionals, what effect the covering of these clothes had on them. After putting on a silk suit from the 1960s, one young man of North African origin who had had a few setbacks in his adolescence replied, "it makes me feel important". The camera allowed us to observe the way his body straightened up and stretched out until he reached a proud, dignified, and respected posture. The young man gradually inhabited his clothing, blending in with the symbolism of the important person, with responsibilities that emanated from the very materiality of the costume: the shirt, the scarf, the jacket, the trousers and so on. All the experiences of rejection, of the depreciation he had been subjected to at times during his youth, seemed to have faded behind the joy of wearing a signifier representing another status. The exchange took place in great complicity with the cameraman who, having seen the young man evolve, shared his pride in having overcome his difficulties, and in embodying his success through this precious costume. Another actor in the situation, Patrick, a former political refugee and well known in this neighbourhood for his generosity, also radiated joy and pride, telling the camera "I am very happy that I am in Italy and that I am in Genoa", then declaring his love "more than anything" for the neighbourhood, La Maddalena. Patrick has lost an arm but is now used to doing most tasks with one hand. On the way to the parade catwalk he wore a jacket, but took it off on the way back so that his missing arm was visible. Applauded very warmly during his appearance, kissed by the next mannequin, he had a very moving moment.

Later on, Cheikh, the Senegalese boss of a sewing workshop, proudly retraced the 24-year long migratory trajectory of his family of dressmakers: Senegal, Ivory Coast, Italy. For him, the fashion show was above all else an opportunity to show his creations to everyone. We filmed Cheikh in his workshop, while he was working concentrated on a costume:

It's a job I grew up with. It's now been 28 years in the trade. I started in our country, Senegal, and I did it in many African countries before coming here. We did it in Mali, we even had a sewing workshop there. We did it in Togo, Nigeria, Cameroon, we did it in many countries. In Africa, everyone can see that this is Senegalese work. (Bernhardt & Salzbrunn 2018)

Sambou, who at the time had worked in Italy for two years and six months, has been trained in Senegal and in Italy. He has just opened his second tailor workshop and store. Reflecting on the parade he said:

It suits us well, really, through this we can show our product to everybody... We are happy with this, because we had already done it once, and we can see that it has brought us customers and relations, really, and it makes this via, which is Via della Maddalena, become alive too. Really, it's good. (Bernhardt & Salzbrunn 2018)

As one of the motivations of the people gathered around the idea of the parade was to value the sewing work, the common trade emerged as a rallying point, more important than the origins or religious affiliations of people who do not appear as such during the event. They were nevertheless mentioned when we conducted interviews with the tailor Cheikh. The question of religious practices was raised in the spring of 2019 when the parade fell during Ramadan. Enthusiasm for maintaining the public showcase of these creations eventually outweighed the criticism of the choice of date. On the other hand, a critical attitude towards the globalised fashion industry and in favour of local creations and second-hand circuits brought the participants together.

Just as the individual shots triggered statements about the way body and mind inhabit clothing, the shots of the event itself reinforced the staging of the self. Dances, acrobatics, exotic make-up with white strokes on the cheeks, all kinds of gestures of joy and greetings were performed theatrically by all the residents and friends of the neighbourhood who were transformed into daytime models. Certain participants had painted their faces, referring to West-African patterns. Others have presented vintage clothes in order to critique consumerism and the capitalist fashion industry.

In the end, a strong point emerged as the representation of oneself, of one's attachment to the district, to the locality—a much more important aspect than the performance of the origins, which was rather emphasised during the interviews in preparation for the parade. Nevertheless, throughout the filming process (interviews, preparations, catwalk) there was a tangle of national and local references within the staging of hybrid elements. Vintage clothes were highlighted as well as contemporary creations, similar to Sadio Bee's, which combined patterns common in Europe with pieces of Malian fabrics or wax. In the memory of the inhabitants, this event strengthened the ties between the people and the neighbourhood, as well as the inhabitants' feelings of attachment towards the neighbourhood. Living and performing with the joy and pride of being a participant in the parade of a day in the La Maddalena district allows one to affirm one's place in this place, which is particularly important for people subject to the growing racism in Italy, especially (former) refugees, many of whom took part in the parade. The reinforcement of the attachment to the local community strengthens local borders and allows to cross national borders situationally, during the artivist event. The othering process does not implicate the criterium of nationality, but belonging to the place. In this context, cruise-ship-tourists or bourgeois residents from the outskirts are clearly those who do not belong to the place and are the object of jokes or disregard. A collective place-making process goes along with the reinforcement of internal borders (of the artivists' community) during an interactive boundary-making process with those outside (tourists and wealthy residents from the outskirts).

Conclusion

In general, the event approach of the ERC ARTIVISM project, starting from events within the urban space in order to grasp how art is mobilised as a political act, made it possible to avoid the trap of groupism denounced by Brubaker (2006), or that of the reproduction of methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002) by the very conception of a research project. Arriving in a field to understand what is at stake requires accompanying residents and craftspeople in their daily concerns and activities (Fontorbes & Granié 2018), in order to understand the local issues: on the one hand, the safeguarding of the architectural and human heritage in all its diversity and, on the other hand, the promotion of local craftsmanship, alternative economic models, and the reversal of stigmas based on the origin of residents. In both cases, representations of migration were performed implicitly through make-up and fabrics during the event, but sometimes explicitly mentioned during the interviews: diversity was valued, staged, but in a playful and theatrical way (through make-up, dance steps and fabrics combined) and rarely in an essential and reifying way. The playful way of playing with fabrics and make-up is a way of returning the stigma that weighs on these two neighbourhoods and on some residents, who are sometimes insulted on the basis of their respective origins. In other (rare) cases, such as that of the Senegalese tailor Cheikh who talks about his migratory trajectory, the know-how of a profession (tailor) has been proudly linked to a country (Senegal). This appreciation of one's own origins does not exclude a strong attachment to the current neighbourhood of residence or cooperation with tailors from Ivory Coast and Liguria, working in the same neighbourhood. The analysis of individual life-courses, day-to-day routines in a specific urban setting as well as the planning and

conducting of events has allowed me to grasp the complexity of multiple belonging processes and their performativity.

Working with the camera on events also made it possible to highlight the transformation of the filmed people's body postures at the time of dressing in Genoa. The straightening that took place the moment when the garment and the wearer became one, transforming themselves for this very special fashion show, is striking. Finally, the camera as a research tool triggered deliberately accentuated performances at the time of the events, especially the fashion shows, but also during the interviews. Thus, the filmed people became actors and actresses, co-producers of the images that circulated about them. In a context of stigmatisation and rejection of entire urban neighbourhoods and/or of the population living there, conveyed by the media, especially since the strong increase in the influence and political responsibility of the extreme right in Italy but also in some places in France, the desire to return the stigma, especially by enhancing their particular creative potential through fashion, is greater than ever among the target people. Talking about professional trajectories, as the Senegalese tailor does in a context of stigmatisation linked to the drug trade in the neighbourhood where he works, is a way of counter-performing the self-image in the individual sense, but also collectively, because not only has the Maddalena neighbourhood been negatively connoted by the local press, but also "the Senegalese". The camera thus reinforced the staging of self and solidarity around a common political objective. Being a community in front of the camera and being aware of the stakes involved in media coverage is part of this media battle of which we researchers are part.

Throughout the whole research process, event lenses have replaced ethnic lenses in order to leave a maximum degree of liberty to the expression of individual and collective dynamics which are staged during public performances as well as during individual filmed interviews and informal talks. Triangulating various methods allowed us to study these belonging processes situationally, and to understand their interactive and performative articulation.

During the above studied fashion shows, belonging to a circumscribed local territory have been performed. Refugees who are vulnerable because of their status could cross physical and symbolic borders, feeling legitimate on the local territory. The attachment to those districts had an empowering effect on them. Nevertheless, it does not prevent them from feeling excluded from other urban or regional public spaces, where boundaries are interactively constructed with regard to skin colour, economic or symbolic capital and legal status, so that intersectional exclusion process are still ongoing.

Notes

1 On the critique of "ethnic lenses" see Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar's constructive suggestions on "Locating Migration" (2011). Rogers Brubaker (2006) also criticised "groupism" in social sciences.

3 According to Vertovec's definition of super-diversity (2011), diversification of immigrants' origins is also increasing in various European countries. In the case of Genoa, this means that the number of significant countries of origin of the residents has increased from five twenty years ago to a dozen today. While in 2000 Senegal and Morocco were the most important countries of origin, today it is Ecuador and Albania. In the centre-east, of which *La Maddalena* is a part, however, Ecuador, Morocco and Senegal are the most represented countries of origin on 31 December 2016 (Comune di Genova 2021).

4 On a local and regional level, police control and the number of instances of the expulsion of refugees who squatted empty buildings have increased. On a national level, xenophobic discourses, laws and the boycott of refugee support organisations and rescue boats have considerably increased when Matteo Salvini was Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior Affairs (from 1.6.2018 until 5.9.19).

5 In both places, I did immersive long-term fieldwork during several years, living in the district where the events have been created. I followed the local actors in their day-to-day routines as well as during the concrete planning of the events. I took part in several shows, filming and interviewing the participants, and was also part of follow-up meetings. Before the lockdown in 2020, the Maddalena Défilé took place in Spring and Autumn from 2017.

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Seeking Better Life Chances by Crossing Borders: The Existential Paradox and Strategic Use of Italian Citizenship by Migrant Women

Rosa Gatti *

Based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Naples (Italy) in the period 2014 to 2020, this article focuses on the rearticulation of the migration–citizenship nexus through a gender perspective. The article questions how migrant women exercise their agency despite the structural constraints that prevent their full inclusion and how they are able to cross and transgress the boundaries of citizenship and national belonging in search of better life opportunities. The data analyzed show the existential paradox linked to the migration–citizenship nexus that affects the lives of migrant women in Italy and their use of citizenship as a strategy to react to a blocked destiny, to follow one's aspirations, and to rebalance gender relations. The article refines an integrated approach that considers the relationship between agency, aspiration, and capability as a broader theoretical framework within which to jointly study the dynamics of gender, migration, and citizenship as closely related, beyond the boundaries of fixed and opposite categories.

1. Introduction

Borders play a central role in the discourse of States and nations: they are "privileged sites for the articulation of national distinctions" (Sahlins 1989, 271, as cited in Yuval-Davis et al. 2005, 522), differentiating between those who belong and those who do not belong to the national political community. The demarcation built on national borders has led to the fictitious opposition between citizens and migrants, considered as distinct terms of a binomial that defines people and situations in an oppositional manner: the citizen[1] as someone who belongs to a place; the migrant[2] as someone who moves from one place to another crossing its borders.

The media-political debates around this demarcation have intensified strongly and have assumed increasingly alarmist tones in conjunction with the so-called "refugee crisis" (Krzyżanowski et al. 2018), pervading and characterizing contemporary migration policy in an anti-migrant sense. Against migrants, generally perceived as problematic subjects that threaten the safety of national citizens, the States have adopted "selective and targeted" external border control system (Rumford 2006, 164) based on a visa policy that regulates mobility according to a global hierarchy of nationalities. Therefore, borders as "regulatory mobility

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filters" (Ribas-Mateos 2015, 159) are being opened and closed very selectively, maintaining a strong demarcation between the "deserving" and the "undeserving" to enter.

Rather than having disappeared or having lost their meaning, borders have been strengthened, moved, and reinvented (Mau 2020). In some parts of the world, such as the Schengen area, borders and internal border controls have been removed; in other places, the borders have been strengthened by erecting new walls, as in the case of Mexico-USA border or even the one recently erected on the border between Poland and Belarus. Border control has also moved away from the border line extending both internally and externally, becoming a "shifting border" (Shachar 2007, 2020).

Borders and border practices have become increasingly complex, ambivalent, and paradoxical (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013; Kolossov & Scott 2013). They structure and separate space and different social phenomena from each other and at the same time they pose the problem of their own identification to the point of denying their objective existence (Kolossov & Scott 2013). However, the "polysemy" and "heterogeneity" of borders, their "multiplicity, their hypothetical and fictive nature" does "not make them any less real" (Balibar as cited in Mezzadra and Nielson 2013, 4). On the contrary, they are strongly real for the consequences they determine in the lives of individuals—especially those of "unwanted" categories (such as migrants)—both in terms of freedom of movement and *life chances.*

Indeed, "unwanted" categories are not only rejected at the border but also after crossing it they are kept "in their place" within the social hierarchies, regardless of how long they have spent in a given country and how much they are integrated into a given society (Khosravi 2019, 9). For them, as the analysed case will show, also crossing the border of national citizenship through naturalization does not always coincide with better *life chances.* "The State is not only performed along the international border, but also in daily life, through the construction of the identities of citizens, non-citizens and partial citizens" (Mountz & Hyndman 2006, 452).

The theme of the effects of borders on individuals' daily lives reminds us to move the focus away from borders as locations and treat bordering more as a social process (Yuval-Davis et al. 2019). From this perspective, "borders are not only multiplying in space but also multiplying in time, as people are subjected to acts of everyday bordering at any time in daily life" (Gülzau et al. 2021, 11).

The border of national belonging on which the migrant–citizen opposition is built has also diverted attention from the internal borders of citizenship, as if all citizens were fully and equally included (Anderson 2019); on the contrary, citizenship is highly differentiated internally and does not make all citizens equal. The intersection of different axes of differentiation (Crenshaw 1991) can determine the greater or lesser disadvantage of some categories over others. Among these, migrant women experience a double disadvantage (Kofman et al. 2000, 2005) as both women and non-citizens at the same time. Despite the quantitative and qualitative relevance of migrant women in contemporary migrations, their occupational segregation in care and domestic services contributed to the construction of their social and political invisibility (Campani 2011) and their partial citizenship (Parreñas 2015). According to a consolidated victimised paradigm, moreover, migrant women have long been considered passive citizens.

This article focuses on migrant women, analyzing how the intersection of gender with the migratory experience crosses the national citizenship boundaries after crossing the geographical borders of destination country. As will clearly emerge from the case study presented, the introduction of gender dimension by complexifying the migrant–citizen binomial allows us to grasp the multiplicity of intersections between citizenship and migration that would otherwise remain invisible.

In light of the foregoing, I wonder how migrant women exercise their *agency* despite structural constraints (such as restrictive migration policies and citizenship law, and also gender and care regimes), how they react to exclusion, how they cross and transgress the borders of citizenship and national belonging, what elements come into play in activating their *capacity* to act, and what the formal transition from migrant to citizen status entails for their *life chances.* In order to answer these questions, the paper is based on empirical data drawn from a long-term ethnographic fieldwork on migrant women's social and political participation that I carried out in Naples (Italy) between 2014 and 2021, in which subsequent follow-ups allowed me to follow the analysed subjects in their crossings territorial and status borders. The proposed analysis focuses on the biographical path of one of the research participants in her transition from "migrant" to "citizen" status.

Starting from the *biographical nodes* of the analysed case, I will discuss some relevant themes for migration, borders, and citizenship literatures and for migrants' lives: the crossing of borders to respond to one's wider life *aspirations*; the experience of *lived citizenship* (Lister 2007b) as a *struggle for recognition* (Bloemraad 2018); the *existential paradox of citizenship* (Pinelli 2009, 185; see also Ong 1999) and the *strategic* use of Italian *citizenship* to cross national borders again seeking for better *life chances* elsewhere. Before going into the details of the analysis, I first place the article within relevant bodies of literature in order to position and distinguish my approach. Next, I introduce the Italian context and present the research strategy and methodology. In light of the elements that emerged

from the analysis, in the conclusions I propose an integrated theoretical approach to jointly study gender, migration and citizenship, with the overarching aim of de-exceptionalizing migration and overcoming methodological nationalism.

2. A Synthetic-Relational Approach to Migration, Borders, and Citizenship

Not only politics but also social research with its "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002) have contributed to the construction of the migrant–citizen opposition and to fuel the understanding of migration as a "problem" to be controlled and solved (Anderson 2019). Although scholars now recognize that migration and citizenship are inextricably and intimately tied to each other in complex ways, both conceptually and empirically, existing accounts often treat them separately or focus only on one of the two terms, at best emphasizing the implications of one for the other (Giugni & Grasso 2021). Furthermore, with reference to the issue of borders, if in the literature on migration it has found ample space and resonance, in the literature on citizenship it is little discussed, "even though borders have been at the core of the emergence of citizenship and, more broadly, are at the center of politics itself" (Cinalli & Jacobs 2020, 27). As Ambrosini and coauthors (2020) pointed out, "in the academic debate, respectively, migration, borders and citizenship have always been treated more as specialist topics, giving rise to different lines of research: migration studies, border studies, citizenship studies" (297). With this exception, migration and citizenship have rarely been treated jointly, which is the gap I attempt to bridge in this article.

Borders as "polysemic, multidimensional and fuzzy concept" are studied and perceived variously by many disciplines (Chattopadhyay 2019, 151; see also Brunet-Jailly 2011). Theories "related to borders—their power and functions, and the agencies impacting on borders and bordering—are multiple" (Paasi 2012, 2304). Studies with an interdisciplinary and multi-dimensional focus have also increased (Chattopadhyay 2019). Contrary to traditional scholarship, borders are now rarely conceptualized as separate socio-spatial entities or as a mere *line on a map*. In opposition to the current and dangerous anti-democratic drifts, several authors have proposed rethinking spatial borders in a critical way: "shifting borders" are conceived "as a creative resource at the service of human mobility and the protection of rights across borders rather than as a mere tool of exclusion" (Shachar 2020, 96) or as "global seams" (Cinalli & Jacobson 2020) that unite entities rather than divide them.

According to other authors, "borders are social facts that divide and rule people (...) and are written on human bodies: bodies carry borders but also make borders. (...) B/ordering separates but also brings together. Respectively, borders are open to contestations at the level of the state and everyday life. State borders are scalar and function in complex ways in relation to local, regional, state-bound, and supranational processes" (Chattopadhyay 2019, 151) and involve both public and private life (Mountz & Hyndman 2006). In the light of this, the article focuses on the process of *otherizing* and *b/ordering* based on national citizenship, race, and gender (Chattopadhyay 2019), and on the *everyday bordering* (Yuval-Davis et al. 2019).

For the purposes of the analysis, I used the migrant–citizen nexus (Dahinden & Anderson 2021), that allows us to recompose the fracture—delineated along the border of national origin—between the opposite terms of this binomial, by analysing them jointly, highlighting their dynamic relationship, and revealing the fluid, mobile and porous nature of their border. Going in the direction of overcoming methodological nationalism, this synthetic-relational approach requires and produces new conceptual advances, capable of grasping different experiences of social life not enclosed exclusively in the nation-state.

To proceed in this theoretical-conceptual elaboration, the starting point is represented by the critical reflections on citizenship developed by feminist and migration scholars. Citizenship as a juridical status, conferred on all those who are full members of a community and which makes all citizens equal with respect to rights and duties (Marshall 1950), has shown its Janus-two-faced quality, opposing its general inclusive promise to its exclusive tendencies for both marginalized groups within the borders of nation-states and for those trying to move across them. The main theories of citizenship have developed on this antinomy (Balibar 2012), which can broadly be divided into two types: normative and empirical (Giugni & Grasso 2021, 4). Normative theories have focused on citizenship as a *status* with the aim of defining which rights and duties citizens should have, while empirical theories consider citizenship as a *practice* describing and explaining how citizens acquired these rights and duties.

From an analytical point of view, the formal dimension of citizenship, conceived as a legal status and the rights and duties connected to it, has been accompanied by its substantial dimension which translates citizenship into practices and acts of everyday life. Fundamental to this second line of studies was the contribution of Engin Isin and Greg Nielson (2008), who ask "what makes the citizen" rather than "who is the citizen", and pioneered the conceptualization of "acts of citizenship", arguing that the events performed by migrants themselves can constitute citizenship. This approach focuses on the agency of subjects and public acts of those who are "second class" citizens or non-citizens (Bloemraad 2018, 11). For this type of subjects, citizenship represents a "claim" to be accepted as full members of society (Bloemraad 2018, 11). In the words of Bloemraad (2018), "citizenship as claims-making is a relational process of recognition" (14).

From an operational point of view, the practice of citizenship understood as participation in the public sphere involves requests for recognition but also the ability to exercise the responsibilities of citizenship (Lister et al. 2007). In this perspective, citizenship develops in response to the exercise of *agency* by women and men, individually and collectively, through political associations and civil society (Lister 1997, 2003). Several authors have highlighted the manifold dimensions of citizenship (Shachar et al. 2017), even if they have treated them as "independent pillars holding up the citizenship edifice" (Bloemraad 2018, 4), underestimating that in subjects' life experiences they can be intertwined and reinforce each other. With respect to the "ongoing debates on whether citizenship is a status or a practice" (Isin 2009, 369), I argue that citizenship is both a status and a practice.

Since citizenship is not experienced by subjects as members of an abstract collective and as isolated individuals in the absence of relationships, but as members of a network of meaningful relationships, among which intimate and family ones take on particular importance (Bonjour & de Hart 2021), in my analysis I also introduced the intimate dimension of citizenship. As highlighted by feminist studies, in a more contextualized understanding of citizenship, as an embodied practice and daily lived experience, gender relations, family dynamics, sexuality, reproductive mechanisms, and the burden of care, are crucial elements for the construction of lived citizenship (Lister 2007). The concept of intimate citizenship highlights the crucial relationship between citizenship and intimate life: citizenship as a lived practice shapes and is shaped by intimate and family life (Plummer 2001; Roseneil et al. 2013).

Referring to migrant women, intimate citizenship can be used to illuminate the experiences and struggles of other marginal subjects (Cherubini 2017). The introduction of the intimate dimension of citizenship, as its constitutive dimension that intersects civic, social, and political citizenship and that concerns all subjects (Cherubini 2017, 204–205), allows for an enlargement of the boundaries within which it has been framed in the research on international migrations and the transformations of citizenship, leaving the public–private dichotomy and moving towards a synthetic understanding of it (Lister 1997, 2003; Lister et al. 2007). As will emerge from the case analysed, the public and the private define each other and derive meaning from each other. We cannot understand how migrant women entering and leaving the public sphere without taking into account the sexual division of labor within the private sphere and the relationship with one's partner. As a "potential bridge between the personal and the political", the intimate citizenship "sensitizes us to the imbrication between the public and private spheres" (Plummer 2003, 15, 68).

Based on feminist theory of citizenship, which proposed a synthesis of rights and participatory approaches to citizenship (Lister 1997) rather than a binary approach, I chose to adopt a synthetic-relational approach to address the complex interrelation between the multiple facets of citizenship linked to crossing borders and migratory experiences. At the heart of this approach is the notion of *agency* (Lister 1997, 2003) understood as "transformative capacity" (Lister 2005, 19). This human *agency* allows to tie together the different dimensions of citizenship, which by intertwining and reinforcing each other can contribute to determining different *life chances*. This *agency* also emerges in the spaces left open by structural constraints (Ambrosini et al 2020) of borders, migration, gender, care, and citizenship regimes. As we will see from the case analysed, even if *agency* can be held back by discriminatory institutions and policies, acting as a citizen requires a sense of agency and in turn fosters the sense of agency as awareness of being able to act as a citizen (Lister 2003, 2005).

In my analysis I did not consider the role of *agency* in isolation, I also included *aspirations* (Appadurai 2004; Boccagni 2017; De Haas 2021), and *capabilities* (Näre 2014; see also Briones 2009). Migration process was analysed in two steps (Carling & Schewel 2018), in terms of *migration aspiration* and *migration ability* (Carling 2002) or capability (de Haas 2003). Likewise, citizenship in its configuration of status and practice was analysed in terms of both *aspiration* and *capability* (as ability to act as a citizen) (Baglioni 2020; Lister 2005). The use of an *agency-capacity-aspirations approach* allows us to jointly study the dynamics of gender, migration, borders, and citizenship, moving beyond deterministic and dualistic approaches.

3. Migrant women in the Italian context

Unlike other European countries, such as France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, Italy became a host country later and it was only in the 1990s that immigration began to be perceived as a mass phenomenon. In recent years the migrant population has increasingly become a structural component of Italian society. According to municipal population registers, in 2020 about 5 million foreign citizens are legally residents (8.5% of the total population living in the country), out of whom more than half are women (51.9%).

The feminization of migrations (Kofman 2004; Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2002) represented one of the most salient features of Italian immigration from the earliest stages. In the sixties, the first women to arrive in Italy were Somalis and Eritreans who followed the families of the settlers who returned to their homeland. Then, in the seventies, thanks to the mediation of the Catholic Church, women from Cape Verde, the Philippines, and Latin American arrived in Italy looking for work as domestic workers in upper-class families in large cities. During the 1990s, the immigration landscape changed dramatically with the arrival of Eastern European

women, further strengthening the female component. On one side, following a change in legislation, a large number of women arrived in Italy for family reunification purposes, rebalancing the gender percentages of some nationalities traditionally characterized by men; on the other, following the collapse of the communist regimes, many women arrived in Italy looking for work from the countries of the former Soviet bloc, making the Italian domestic work market more complex and competitive. By the beginning of the new millennium migrant women were mostly to be employed to care for the elderly population.

Today migrant women continue to be employed mostly in low-paying and low-skilled sectors and their situation has been described as a "frozen professional destiny" (Campani & Chiappelli 2014). Their position as domestic workers generally does not lead to "better" jobs and their role in domestic work quickly becomes a permanent occupation. Over time, the nationalities of the women working in this field has diversified but the working sector itself has not changed. In 2019, foreign women still represent 88.6% of domestic workers in Italy. In the same year, more than 50% of employed foreign women concentrated in only three professions—domestic services, personal care (40.6%), and office and shop cleaning—unlike foreign men who concentrated in thirteen activities (Idos 2020).

The needs of the Italian labor market (which depends on immigrant workers, especially women) is the basis of the structural gap between restrictive policies towards new entrants and selective expansion outcomes (Caponio & Cappiali 2018; Geddes & Pettrachin 2020), which characterizes Italian migration policies. According to this logic, a preferential entry channel has been created for migrant women employed in domestic and care work (Olivito 2016, 11). This paradox has strongly influenced the public discourse. That is, the focus on the highly "problematic nature" with which immigration is represented contrasting with the almost total invisibility of its female component, despite its numerical consistency. Unlike their male counterparts who are viewed as a political problem to be solved, migrant women are in fact mainly perceived as a discreet and useful presence in Italian society.

Beyond this form of indulgence, more restrictive rules have been introduced into the Italian legal system both in terms of family reunification and acquisition of citizenship by marriage with the intent of discouraging immigrant women from reuniting with other family members and from creating and caring for their families. This normative ambiguity has had the perverse effect of strengthening an "oppositional" representation of migrant women, as either self-supporting agents (when employed) or as vulnerable subjects and victims (when they are dependent on others). Thus, establishing a dichotomy that erases the complexity of their experiences.

Beyond this political and discursive ambiguity, immigrant women in Italy, as women, foreigners, and domestic workers, continue to experience marginal positions, multiple discriminations, and formal and informal exclusion within citizenship based on the intersection of gender, race, and class. In most cases, as workers, they fail to get out of the home care sector and move on to better positions. Furthermore, the transition to citizen status, with the rights and chances associated with it, does not happen quickly or easily. Even when formal citizenship is obtained, it does not perfectly coincide with symbolic membership in the citizenry (Bonjour & Block 2016).

Furthermore, the life of migrants is characterized by an "existential paradox of citizenship" (Pinelli 2009, 185; see also Ong 1999), which consists of the gap between substantial and formal citizenship, between real and desired life chances, that the acquisition of citizen status fails to fill.

Italian migratory history, characterized by mass emigration and only subsequently by the immigration of new populations, caused the delay in the formulation of the laws that regulate immigration and influenced the legislation on citizenship, which still closely anchored to the *jus sanguinis*. According to the Italian law (no. 91/1992), citizenship can be acquired by naturalization, demonstrating to have resided continuously and regularly in Italy for a minimum number of years (*jus domicilii*), which varies according to the applicant's status (ten years if a non-EU foreigner; five years if asylum seekers and stateless persons; four years if an EU citizen). Alternatively, citizenship can also be acquired by virtue of being married to an Italian citizen (*jus connubii*).

Compared to other European countries, the Italian citizenship legislation appears to be particularly restrictive (see Mipex Index: https://www.mipex.eu). Although at the beginning of 2020 the number of naturalized Italian citizens was 1.5 million, the majority of the people of foreign origin living in Italy do not have Italian citizenship. Without Italian citizenship they cannot vote and are unable to experience the same inclusion opportunities in the political arena. Civil society organizations, trade union, and ethnic associations continue to provide them with concrete opportunities for participation in political life, both locally and nationally. In the absence of legal citizen status, for many immigrants, organizational involvement represents a way to exercise one's political citizenship, to quest recognition, and claim their rights.

Looking at the literature on associationism, some main typologies have been identified: "charitable solidarity", "claims and protection of rights", "entrepreneurial planning", "feminist intercultural" associations (Ambrosini 2005; Pojmann 2006; Tognetti Bordogna 2012). They are mainly characterized by three types of actions: the activities of integration and cultural promotion of migrants

in the receiving society; activities aimed at the country of origin, both transnational political engagement and international cooperation (Caselli 2008); actions to fight against racism and sexism. These general aims have been translated into specific actions: intercultural mediation; reception of migrants; learning Italian and their respective mother languages; support in handling administrative and bureaucratic procedures for renewal or conversion of residence permits and for the acquisition of Italian citizenship; and integration in the fields of school, work, health, and home (Idos 2014).

In this scenario, there is a lack of information regarding the civic participation of foreign women in Italy (Kosic & Triandafyllidou 2005) and there are still only a few studies on female migrant associations (Garofalo 2015; Pepe 2009). The latest national survey on migrant associations identified 2,114 immigrant associations (Idos 2014), without giving any thought to gender differences.

4. Research strategy and case study presentation

The research carried out in Naples (2014–2021)[3] sought to reconstruct the civic and political participation of migrant women mobilized and visible in the public sphere, that is, those who "*won the competition for access to the public sphere and who ... made themselves known locally*" (Mantovan 2007, 117) in the role of leaders within organizations.

In 2014, I conducted a first mapping of immigrant associations[4] and, between 2018 and 2020, a follow-up to check which associations were still active. I identified twenty self-organized associations led by migrant women of different nationalities: Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, Bulgaria, Kyrgyzstan, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Somalia, Nigeria, Tunisia, Perù. I also carried out extended participant observation and biographical interviews with migrant leaders, integrating the organizational material with an ethnographic and biographical one. To reconstruct their biographical path, both individual and organizational, the leaders were met several times. From the biographical interviews, it emerges that most of the immigrant leaders have several characteristics in common: (1) a considerable number of years of stay in Italy; (2) an in-depth knowledge of the area; (3) a close network of relationships with natives who operate in the field of local immigration and who act as facilitators in accessing Italian institutions; in many cases, this includes a relationship with an Italian man; and (4) the foundation of her own association took place after at least ten years of settlement (Gatti 2016). For those who did manage to obtain Italian citizenship, it happened after almost twenty years of settlement (despite the required number of years being a maximum of ten in the case of non-EU citizens). As will be clear

from the case presented, visibility and mobilisation are the result of a process of empowerment, very often linked to the modification of biographical trajectories.

This article presents the main results of the broader ethnographic research, whose data collected support the discussion on the relationship between citizenship and migration. Furthermore, it includes an in-depth analyses of a single holistic case study, *atypical* of the others, to dialectically explore the migrant–citizen nexus (Dahinden & Anderson 2021) through a gender perspective. The case study analysed is that of Farhio, a Somali-born woman, who arrived in Italy in the 1980s with a co-resident domestic job. This element unites Farhio's migratory history to that of other Somali and non-Somali women who have immigrated to Italy for work since the 1960s within female migratory chains (Hochschild 2000, 2003). Thanks to the trade union engagement, Farhio was able to free herself from domestic work and in the 1990s she founded an ethnic association of which she became the president. In this role she became very active and visible in the local public sphere. Despite my predictions, when I tried to recontact her at the end of 2018 during the follow-up study I found that she had since become invisible in the local public sphere. I was finally able to connect with her directly via email and a phone call in the winter of 2019 and discovered she had moved to Berlin, Germany.

Farhio's case is the only one among the cases I analysed who made a second emigration after naturalization. Her migratory path shifted from the status of irregular immigrant to that of a foreigner legally residing in Italy, to that of a naturalized Italian citizen to finally that of an Italian citizen who emigrated to Germany.[5] This case allows us to explore in an integrated way the process that transforms a migrant woman into a citizen (in *practice* and by *status*) thus overcoming the migrant–citizen opposition.

The case of Farhio, as I will show, allows us to highlight that the different spheres of existence and the different dimensions of citizenship are in a dynamic relationship with each other, shaping each other. It highlights the dialectic between status and practice, between public and private, and the role that multiple positions and social relations play in it. Fario's life story will show that citizenship cannot be seen in the binary terms of absence or presence of a status, much less a time before and after its acquisition, without considering other factors that contribute to structuring the *life chances* of the subjects.

Through the adoption of a single case strategy, this article aims to refine an integrated and comprehensive theoretical approach to jointly study the dynamics of gender, migration, border, and citizenship. This strategy allows us to better explore the many connections between the formal exclusion of non-citizenship, the multiple—and sometimes informal—exclusions within

citizenship, and the "transition" linking migration to citizenship, challenging the oppositions with which migrant women are generally represented.

5. Farhio's biography: the existential paradox and strategic use of citizenship.

Farhio is a Somali-born woman, the first of six children of a middle-class family. Her father worked for Alitalia,[6] the Italian airline, in Mogadishu and her villa was frequented by her father's Italian colleagues. Her migratory project had not matured in a context of poverty and deprivation. The father, in fact, was an enterprising man, who had risen to some autonomous activities in the transport and building sectors. On the contrary, her *migration aspiration* matured within a context that has favored an anticipatory socialization to the Italian language, society, and culture. She declared to have always loved Italy, which represented for her a *focus of aspirations* in itself, where to realize her aspiration to graduate in medicine.

> I have always had love for Italy—because my father worked with Italians, with the airline Alitalia and with these Italians who often came to my house—and, once I got my diploma, I wanted to come and study here in Italy, but my parents did not agree. Then, insisting, they let me go. (Farhio, interviewed by author. Naples: 8 July 2016)

5.1. From the aspiration to study medicine to entrapment in housework

Contradicting her parents, in 1985, at the age of twenty, Farhio arrived in Naples,[7] following an international female migratory chain (Hochschild 2000; Decimo 2007), which put her in contact with the family where she worked as a housekeeper.[8]

> I had a friend, a schoolmate, who had come to Naples to join her sister, who arrived with the independence of Somalia from Italy. She joined her sister, and I joined her. So, I came with already a job as a babysitter, with a family, I lived with them night and day, and they had two terrible little children, these children were always screaming, they were always in activity... I didn't spend much time with them because I was not well, because I worked so hard. The employer wanted to help me with my university enrollment. He told me: "bring me the documents!" but I went away. Then I found a job as a domestic worker, with a terrible woman, always "night and day" ... after a while I left there too ... after a while one person, who returned to Somalia, gave me her place, with an elderly couple, I spent some time... (Farhio, interviewed by author. Naples: 8 July 2016)

Having entered Italy with a visa, once it has expired, Farhio became illegal. Contrary to her aspirations, she experienced a form of entrapment within domestic work,[9] which for most immigrant women in Italy concerns not only their work life but their entire existence. Farhio experienced the *paradox of migration*, that often the autonomy of choice is matched by a loss of power over one's life and the failure of the personal life project linked to migration.

> After two years [from arrival], discouraged, I wanted to go back to Somalia, I said to myself—enough! I cannot handle it anymore! ... you know "day and night" is heavy, I lost my freedom ... so in 1987 I gave up the idea of staying and studying. But I met this boy and stayed ... and from there things took a different turn ... (Farhio, interviewed by author. Naples: 8 July 2016)

The beginning of the romantic relationship with an Italian man represents the first turning point in Farhio's biographical path. Thanks to the economic stability provided by this relationship, when her father came to Italy for medical treatment and she was the only one who could take care of him, she was able to not work for an extended period of time.

Even when this relationship ended, she never returned to Somalia, except for short visits to her parents, and she permanently left the co-resident domestic work sector. In the context of my research, the partnership with an Italian citizen—such as membership intermediary or gatekeeper—represent a decisive social resource in the paths of empowerment of migrant women. It often gives them the opportunity to leave their co-resident domestic work and, in some cases, not to work, as in the case of Farhio.

5.2. Making yourself a citizen by claiming rights

> When the relationship with him ended, I got a job as an office cleaner, but I gave information at the entrance to the sales office, I prepared advertising material. But the employer was an ignorant person, very authoritarian, he humiliated... and I thought—the day when it will be my turn, listen! you cannot afford to tell me this ... and then it happened to me, so I went to the trade union office and said—listen! I want to go away, what should I do?—and they gave me the information I needed to end the employment relationship. I submitted a notice letter and left, then I filed the job suit for him, because he did not want to pay me. From there my relationship with the trade union was born. (Farhio, interviewed by author. Naples: 8 July 2016)

This excerpt from Farhio's story highlights her (citizenship) (cap)ability to put rights into practice in everyday life (Baglioni 2009). Farhio's account reveals the narrative of a woman who chooses to oppose the discrimination of her employer by claiming justice for herself. In this process of claiming, the trade union[10] played a decisive role in the new direction that her life took as did her relationship with one of the union leaders, a man who would eventually become her husband. Farhio was immediately involved in the organization's activities, also holding the role of head

of the Immigration Sector until 1997, when she distanced herself from it and she founded the Immigrant Workers' Federation (IWF), an autonomous union of immigrants on national base, gathered "in an independent association of political parties, bosses and, above all, traditional trade union confederations" (Statute of the IWF).

The discrimination and the difficulties suffered give her the impetus to fight not only for herself but also for other migrant workers employed in irregular, precarious, and exploited conditions. In a moment of rupture of the order, the daily bordering ends up expressing its transformative potential. The border from the space of oppression becomes the space of resistance from which it is possible to imagine alternatives and to change the conditions of the status quo for both oneself and for others (hooks 1989; Appadurai 2004; Mountz & Hyndman 2006). Subsequently, by founding its own ethnic association, this (citizenship) agency "is deployed in an ongoing process of struggle to defend, reinterpret and extend a range of citizenship rights and to fight for the recognition of various marginalised groups as full citizens" (Lister 2005 20; see also Bloemraad 2018). Claiming rights make her a citizen and acting as a citizen fosters her sense of agency citizenship.

In 1998, the establishment of the Register of associations for immigrants (art. 42 of lgs. n. 286/1998) gave Farhio the opportunity to set up also a voluntary association, New Somalia for Solidarity, of which she was president until 2016. The activities carried out by Farhio through her organization flourished for the ten years following their establishment. When I met Farhio the first time in 2014, she stated that her association had about five hundred registered members. Unlike the other self-organized associations led by migrant women, in which most of the members and the collective to which they refer are predominantly female, her association is the only one not to have a female basis. This element also differentiates it from the other three Somali associations present and still active in Naples.[11]

Farhio's case is also atypical because, despite being part of a first nucleus of associations born in Naples in the second half of the 1990s,[12] the associations she founded and led share a number of traits with younger foundations born after 2010. More specifically, the uniqueness of the individual path of their leaders (Gatti 2016) who is capable of interacting with local institutions while being supported by natives in the key roles of organization's activities (Saggiomo 2019). Among the main purposes of Farhio's association were the integration and social participation of migrants, the enhancement of the culture of origin, the fight against discrimination, legal protection, administrative assistance in the workplace and healthcare system, and intercultural mediation.

At the peak of her organizational career, Farhio was very visible in the local and national public sphere by participating in various initiatives, intervening in the

media, and holding various roles, thus performing daily citizenship even though she still lacked citizen's legal status. Citizenship practice raises awareness of one's citizenship agency and capability. The organizational involvement gave her the opportunity to start working as a linguistic-cultural mediator for local hospitals. Furthermore, she enrolled in a master's degree course on "Foreign Languages and Literature" at one of the Universities of Naples, where she also was appointed teacher of the Somali language.

Up to this point, she appears as a successful social and political inclusion path. She naturalized in 2005,[13] married her Italian partner in 2007 (with whom she had already lived since 2001) and gave birth to their children in 2009.

5.3. The existential paradox and strategic use of citizenship

As I will show below, however, despite the acquisition of Italian citizenship generally representing the most powerful integration measure for migrants, it did not lead either to an improvement in Farhio's living conditions or to her greater and definitive rooting. Once she crossed the border of Italian citizenship, Farhio continued to experience the internal borders of citizenship as a black woman with a migratory background, more disadvantaged in access to resources and opportunities compared to native.

The birth of her twins radically changed Farhio's life path once again, ending organizational and work activities, which had characterized her life in the previous ten years.

> I spent time and money for associations and trade unions… then with the pregnancy and the birth of the children I decreased… there are no institutional supports that work, even for native women, and it becomes even more complicated for foreign women…. I should have brought a relative to support me at least the first year (of the life of the children) … but so I paid for it … in fact it is a long time in which I feel unable to manage the children, time, and everything … I have always worked … until 2009 … but having a precarious contract I had no rights … and to this day I am still unemployed … I am slowly recovering from the effort of raising two children alone … in the meantime I am missing two exams to graduate… but I will have to do it, I must finish, because it's a shame not to finish… this is the situation… I have never lost the battle… I hope not to lose it now… I have to do it…(Farhio, interviewed by author. Naples: 8 July 2016)

The excerpt from Farhio's story highlights the difficulties encountered after the birth of children in the management and reconciliation of life and work times, highlighting the shortcomings of the Italian welfare state whose weight falls on women. While a native Italian woman would also need support in this case, for immigrant women the disadvantage is doubled. In the absence of

another woman in family and not having the economical possibility to hire a stranger, Farhio left both paid work and associative activity. With the arrival of the children, the partnership with an Italian citizen is transformed from a resource into an obstacle. In fact, the rigidity of gender roles means that childcare is completely left to the woman, leaving Farhio deprived of the time and energy to devote herself to something else. Farhio's story shows how, for migrant women, the border is located and reproduced not only in the workplace and in the public space, producing exploitation and invisibility, but also in the home, as "a place where the body is a border" (Mountz & Hyndman 2006, 455). On a daily basis, home ends up reproducing borders, as "inflections of the global in intimate space" (ibid, 454), leaving her—a black woman with a migratory background—in a position of subordination towards her native white partner, who exercises his power within the relationship by not giving collaboration and support in the management of home and childcare.

This imbalance produces a conflict that in most of the cases I have analysed has been resolved with the breakdown of the relationship. In the case of Farhio, on the other hand, where marriage and pregnancy were considered a choice of adulthood, the strategy was to try to recompose the relationship elsewhere. Also in this case, for Farhio, the (intimate) border from site of oppression becomes site of resistance with transformative power (Mountz & Hyndman 2006). The last time I met Farhio, she was really exhausted, aware of the "situation" but still able to resist, hope, and imagine a possible alternative future elsewhere. Comparing her life in Italy with that of the members of her diasporic family network,[14] she began to consider the possibility of moving to Germany where one of her sisters lives.

When I finally reached Farhio by phone in January 2019, she had already moved to Berlin with the whole family and had graduated, showing greater serenity and self-control. Her second migration project was a family migration and takes on the connotations of an emancipatory project in the intimate sphere. In fact, its realization entailed a re-adaptation and re-balancing of gender roles within the couple, greater collaboration in the care of children, and the release from the interference of the husband's ex-wife. At the same time, however, it led to the definitive abandonment of her organizational engagement and the disappearance of the associations she founded, even if during our telephone conversation her words gave a glimpse of the hope and the desire to resume the organizational involvement also in Germany. Farhio said: "Let's see if we can do some movement for immigrants here too!" (Farhio, interviewed by author. Telephone interview: 9 Jan 2019), showing once again the capacity to adapt to the existing situation, to aspire and imagine a different future.

The acquisition of Italian citizenship and the enlargement of the rights connected to it failed to translate into more

and better *life chances*. Rather, instead of being a source of stability and the final stage of a path of full inclusion in Italy, citizenship becomes for Farhio a "facilitator of mobility, capable of making real other forces that are above all personal and linked to its social networks" (Pinelli 2009, 185) and most of all a strategy for a new life project elsewhere. The power of citizenship, linked to the capability to move freely in the EU, thanks to the Italian passport, gives the opportunity, the freedom, and the capability to act, making practicable the imagined alternative life.

Faced with the existential paradox of citizenship that she finds herself living in, Farhio reacts by strategically using Italian citizenship—and the migratory capability connected to it—as a form of (intrinsic) agency and capability with which to create better living conditions for herself and for her family. In Farhio's case, the second migration is based on an experience of vulnerability, of the loss of power over one's life, which is closely intertwined with the experience of migration, motherhood, and the asymmetrical relationship with the partner. At the same time, it is influenced by the family diasporic condition and the transnational sociability connected to it,[15] together with the transformative power of *agency*, the *capacity to aspire* to a better life and a different future elsewhere, and the capability to act make this aspiration actual.

6. Conclusions

By exploring the multiple interconnections between migration, borders, and citizenship, Farhio's story allows us to deconstruct the oppositional dichotomies with which migrant women are generally represented in public discourse. She is not a victim at all, nor a "resistant self-referential heroine" (Colombo & Rebughini 2016, 450), but a woman capable of imagining alternative possible worlds and futures (hooks 1989; Appadurai 2004). Vulnerability and agency coexist; and agency emerges at the intersection of social categories in the relationship with structural constraints and situational opportunities, and with the other actors present in the context, opening spaces for adaptation, resistance, and change (Näre 2014). Her action is connected to and is a consequence of her social positions within the context and of a temporally and spatially specific situation, which changes over time following the course of her life, as a result of a complex intertwining of structural, relational, personal, and familiar factors.

Farhio's account shows that, although citizenship remains a key aspiration for those who lack its full or partial protections, it does not determine better living conditions for migrant women and may not represent the ultimate horizon. If it is clear that a stratified system of rights corresponds to an inequality of life chances, the details of Farhio's biographical path made it possible to underline that the choice to make a second migration after naturalization is not linked only to structural factors

and (the lack of) opportunities provided by the Italian context. The motivation behind the individual choice matures in a complex interweaving of macro, meso, and micro factors, inlcuding elements concerning the course of life, intimate and family relationships, diasporic network, the loss of power over one's existence, and the desire to regain it are inserted. Contrary to what one could imagine, having a native partner and young children born in Italy does not represent a major root cause through naturalization; on the contrary, acquired Italian citizenship is used as a precise strategy to regain the power to act on one's existence, rebalance the couple's relationship, and follow one's personal and family aspirations. The *strategic use* of citizenship by migrant women represents a form of agency and capability to resist adverse conditions, to react to the *existential paradox* of citizenship, and to seek better life chances.

The story of Farhio, today an Italian citizen of foreign origin who emigrated abroad, allows us to highlight how the different life chances are linked to the intersection of different spheres of existence, that public and private life are not separate but closely linked, that migration and citizenship are in a dialectical relationship, and that the different dimensions of citizenship contribute to determining different life chances. The analysis of Farhio's biography, which is at the same time a story of emigration, immigration, settlement, participation, citizenship, and new emigration, challenging and undoing the binary system on which gender, migration, borders, and citizenship have been historically theorized, invites us to conceptualize their dynamic relationship as a spectrum rather than an opposition and to struggle for the "massive uprooting of dualistic thinking" (Anzaldúa 1987, 102). It highlights the ambivalence and contradictoriness of citizenship for migrant women, which is at the same time an instrument of inclusion and exclusion (Lister 1997, 2003; Werbner & Yuval-Davis 1999; Isin 2009), both domination and empowerment (Isin 2009, 369), rooting in the host country and mobility (Finotelli et al. 2018), to the construction of which both positions of power and resistance contribute. Therefore, the migrant–citizen nexus used to better explore the everyday bordering experiences of migrant women offers a deconstruction of the border, remolding it into a concept used not to divide but to connect and create.

The proposed analysis highlights how the introduction of a gender perspective can profitably enrich the joint study of migration, borders, and citizenship by raising new questions for the study of social and political categories and by encouraging the development of broader theoretical frameworks, which allows to link the theories between them. An integrated theoretical framework could contribute to the process of de-exceptionalizing migration, of de-essentializing of social identities, and de-centering migration and citizenship research (Dahinden 2016; Fischer & Dahinden 2017; Anderson 2019; Dahinden & Anderson 2021).

As emerges from this case study, the integration of *agency—aspirations—capabilities approach* can contribute to the advancement in the joint study of gender, migration, borders, and citizenship beyond the binarisms. Indeed, the *aspirations* and *capabilities* to migrate and participate as citizens are both a function of people's general aspirations for a better life, of the structures of opportunity/constraints of the context and of the relationships with other actors in the different dimensions of existence. Shifting the focus of research on migration and citizenship from the national border as the only vector to larger and more complex constructs, such as the attempt made in this article, would push the social sciences to move beyond the boundaries of methodological nationalism by broadening the horizons of the (sociological) imagination.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1   That of citizen, like that of citizenship, is a polysemic and ubiquitous concept. As such, it may appear unclear and lend itself to different interpretations, depending on disciplinary perspectives and national contexts. We refer to citizenship on the basis of nationality with reference to the Italian context, in which the demarcation between citizen and non-citizen is still very clear-cut from a formal point of view.

2   The UN Migration Agency (IOM) defines a migrant as any "person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons. The term includes a number of well-defined legal categories of people, such as migrant workers; persons whose particular types of movements are legally defined, such as smuggled migrants; as well as those whose status or means of movement are not specifically defined under international law, such as international students".

3   This is the doctoral research that merged into the thesis entitled "Gender, migration and citizenship. The civic and political participation of migrant women in Italy. The case of Naples" discussed at the Department of Social Sciences of the University of Naples Federico II in July 2021.

4   The results of this first mapping are included in the research report of Idos (2014) on migrant associationism. From this first survey it appears that the Campania region is the seventh Italian region for the number of immigrant associations and is the only region of Southern Italy with more than 100 associations (105, 5.0% of the national total). Of these, 70.5% of the associations are concentrated in the province of Naples.

5   Germany represented one of the historical destinations and is still one of the main current destinations of Italian emigration flow (see Pugliese 2018).

6   Italy and Somalia are linked by a long-shared history: Italy occupied Somalia from 1889 to 1941 as a colonial power; between 1950 and 1960, Italy played the role of "guardian" of Somalia on behalf of the United Nations; and, in the following years, Italy was Somalia's main trading partner and the country most involved in the construction of its infrastructure (Decimo 2007).

7   Somali is one of the historical communities of Naples and Somali women were among the first to arrive in the 1960s. However, the presence of Somalis in Naples has significantly decreased since the 1980s and 1990s until today (167 persons: 51% women). Many emigrated to places that offered them greater employment opportunities and protection in terms of welfare, including Germany, England, Holland and Sweden or even other cities in Northern Italy.

8   Italy is one of the European countries that has attracted significant Somali migration, consisting mainly of single women employed in the lowest level of the care labor market. The Somali diaspora in Italy is anchored in integrated solidarity networks created by immigrant women who have already settled in Italy. The recruitment of female labor for employment in the niches of the Italian domestic and care labor market takes place through these networks.

9   With few exceptions, the participants in my research, despite their leadership roles and their educational attainment, continue to work as domestic workers even if part-time due to their economic autonomy.

10 In Italy, as well as in other contexts, participation in trade unions, associations, or political movements, represents for migrants an important channel for participating to the wider political community, like any other citizen, and performing citizenship even if formally non-citizen (see: Martiniello 2005; Ambrosini 2016).

11 The Iskafiri Association, founded in 1998; the Somali Community Association in Italy and the Somali Women's Community Association, both founded in the first decade of the 2000s.

12 The development of immigrant associations has followed the trend of migratory flows and legislative changes on migration. The first formal associations appeared in Naples in the early 1990s, favored by the establishment of the first Italian immigration law (n. 943/1986), with a strong acceleration between the end of the 1990s and the early 2000s, reflecting both the increase in female flow and the reorganization in the matter of immigration brought about by the "Turco-Napolitano" law (l. n. 40/1998), the establishment of the Register of associations operating in favor of immigrants (art. 42 of lgs. n. 286/1998) and the affirmation of the right to create their own associations introduced with the ratification of the Convention on the participation of foreign citizens in public life at the local level in the Italian legal system in 2000. A new push to join was recorded after 2010, with the establishment of the regional register of associations in favor of foreign people and the regional council for immigration in which representatives of the same associations could participate (law Campania n. 6 of 2010).

13 Farhio, like the other women interviewed, acquired Italian citizenship about 20 years after arriving in Italy. In fact, one often stays in Italy for long periods working without a regular employment contract or residence permit, extending the time required by law to apply for Italian citizenship.

14 The brother and sisters had all emigrated from Somalia to other European countries and United States.

15 Don't forget the importance of having a sister in Germany, which motivated her to move to Berlin.

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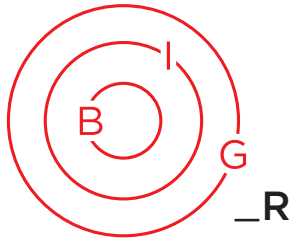
A Family Mobilization for Migration to Europe from Casamance, Senegal

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The ratio between basic salaries in Western Europe and in sub-Saharan Africa is at least of a factor ten. Many young Africans therefore dream of emigrating to Europe. However, the air route remains a privilege reserved to members of elite families: to take a plane one needs a visa for most European countries. Without a visa, the only two possibilities are the sea route via coastal navigation along the African coast and the land route through the Sahara. These are the very dangerous and uncertain routes that tens of thousands of migrants nevertheless take each year. This article examines the case of a family of small-scale subsistence farmers in Casamance, the Southern region of Senegal. It shows how this family of 42 persons decided to send one of its members to try to enter France illegally. How they chose the migrant, how they collected the necessary funds, and what happened during the two attempts. This detailed case study gives an idea of the steps taken each year by tens of thousands of other families in Africa who try sending one of their sons across European borders.

Introduction

Despite decades of efforts to reduce the immense wealth gaps between the countries of the 'North' of the planet and those of the 'South', these gaps are hardly decreasing (Journal Du Net 2022). According to World Bank data (Banque Mondial 2022), the order of magnitude for many countries is one to ten (for example, between France and Algeria: $3,524 versus $334; or between the United States and Ecuador: $5,492 versus $508). However, for most of the French-speaking countries of West Africa, which are among the poorest in the world and whose reference in Europe is often France, this ratio is much larger. For Example, one to 18 for the Ivory Coast, and one to thirty for Senegal (and even one to 82 for Madagascar).

For a long time, these considerable differences remained confidential. They are now not only public, but known to all, including in the poorest countries. They translate into considerable gaps in living standards and life chances; gaps that the globalization of the media—and more precisely the Americanization of television soap operas—has made public and well-known in all countries, or at least in most cities of the "South" of the planet. Inevitably, such differences make people dream; and many young people in the so-called "developing" countries want to at least "go there", not only to live better, but also to be able to help their family back home to get out of the endemic poverty by sending monthly remittances.

France is only a few hours away by plane from most of the French-speaking sub-Saharan African countries. One can find plane tickets from Dakar to Paris for €500 or €600: a very high amount, but not inaccessible. However, the problem is not only the cost of the plane ticket, it

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is in getting a visa in due form. The French authorities, like those of other European countries, have become aware of the immense attractiveness of the European standard of living and have become very demanding in the requirements for obtaining a visa. In practice, they have chosen to practically close their borders to mass immigration from the 'Deep South'.

With the air route now heavily guarded, there are still two other ways for young Africans to reach Europe's borders (and to try to cross them illegally): the sea route and the land route. Both are extremely dangerous. In fact, there is very little research in the scientific literature on either of these routes, and perhaps even less in the way of accounts by young adventurers of what they experienced while following either of them. However, as a Senegalese PhD who did my doctoral studies in France on the emigration routes of young Senegalese from Casamance to France, I have collected a certain number of these accounts.[1] These accounts, as well as my observations, challenge preconceived notions.

It is often imagined that young Senegalese (or other sub-Saharan Africans) who attempt to emigrate to Europe—or to Canada—leave because of a very personal decision, even without the knowledge of their parents and relatives. However, during my research, I met several young people who had left with the full support of their families; and it is precisely one of these examples that I want to present here. After presenting the political, economic, and social context of Casamance, I introduce the Diamanka family and show how emigration to Europe is a family investment. Secondly, I will examine the different ways of emigrating from Senegal to a Western European country, the reasons for Oumar's migration, and the choice of the migrant within the Diamanka family. Finally, I will analyze Oumar's two attempts to reach Europe by land and sea. These attempts both ended in failure.

Rationale for the Case Study

The case study of a poor rural family from Casamance living in Saré Bidji,[2] which we will refer to throughout this article as the Diamanka[3] family, is justified for several reasons. First, the choice of this family is explained by the bond of trust that I had established with them during my various field investigations. This bond of trust allowed me to investigate for several years with the help of family members who were very open, collaborative, and always ready to answer my questions. I discussed and lived with the family for a long time during my fieldwork investigations, sometimes sharing lunch with them and going with them to their fields to make direct observation.

Additionally, the Diamanka family was chosen because it was one of the 23 families that had supported the migration attempt(s) of one of their children, to no

avail. Of the 30 families I interviewed in my study, I found only seven cased where the migrant successfully made it to Europe, an average of one in four attempts. This statistic highlights how there are many more failed attempts at family supported illegal emigration. This Diamanka family is the image of tens of thousands of families who, each year, mobilize their resources to send one of their children to Europe in hopes of improving their living conditions and to be able to get out of the ambient and chronic poverty that strikes many families in Casamance, Senegal and many other African countries. Therefore, presenting the case study of the Diamanka family is particularly interesting and extremely rich in terms of understanding the decision-making process on the choice of the migrant and the mobilization of the resources necessary for the journey.

Review of the Literature

The literature on illegal migration from African countries suggests that the mobilization of funds for the journey is of two types: individual and family mobilization.

The choice of the Diamanka family was also guided by the fact that, even though this family is poor and lives essentially from agriculture and livestock, it managed, with the help of all the members, to finance two emigration attempts of one of their children (Oumar). I wanted to understand how a family that did not have the economic resources to allow one of its members to legally emigrate to Europe still managed to find and mobilize the money necessary to carry out a project of illegal migration.

In his study on illegal migration in Morocco, Mohamed Khachani (2008) shows that

> recourse to personal savings is frequent. Nearly two thirds (65%) of migrants stated that their migration project was financed by personal savings from work. 71% stated that they benefited from family assistance (74% of men and 58% of women), 22% from friends (21% of men and 28% of women). 23% used loans (27% of men and 9% of women). (11)

Other authors, such as Nehara Feldman, Stéphanie Lima, and Sandrine Mesplé-Somps (2020), highlight the idea that "as a general rule, the departure from the Kayes region (Mali) of a migrating family member responds to a family strategy. This is true for both male and female departures. It also shows that departure abroad is almost systematically carried out within families that already have members living outside the village who can cover the expenses related to departure. While a man's departure is primarily intended to engage in gainful work and send money back to the family behind, women's departure is initially defined as a practice aimed at assisting another family member (a sister, an aunt, a husband, etc.)" (Feldman et al. 2020).

In the case of legal migration, most often by air, Doudou Diéye Gueye (2003) studied in his doctoral dissertation the mechanisms and strategies used by nationals of the Senegal River Valley to make possible the migratory ambitions of one of their community members. His work highlights the existence of different types of mobilization: community mobilization, family mobilization, and purely individual mobilization (Gueye 2003). Community mobilization refers to the various strategies implemented by an entire village to gather resources to send one of its members to Europe or Canada. Family mobilization refers to the strategies implemented by a family, nuclear or extended, to finance the trip of one of its members; the author shows that these family mobilizations can take the form of either donations or loans, depending on the structure of the family studied. Finally, there is individual mobilization, in which the migrant himself finances his trip (Gueye 2007).

As I have noted, legal migration is reserved for children from families with substantial financial means. In the case of illegal migration, it seems that community mobilization is absent (or very rare): given the high risk of failure (through the death of the migrant, his or her capture for the purpose of exploitation (as is the case in Libya), or through arrest and forced return to the country of departure), in no village would the population take the risk of investing all of its meager resources in such an adventurous, dangerous journey with such an uncertain outcome. Therefore, when it comes to illegal immigration, there would only be family mobilizations or individual projects (Ngom 2017).

Indeed, illegal migration is often perceived as an individual adventure (Fontanari 2019). However, my empirical research, carried out through long-term observations and narrative interviews, tends to refute this 'individualistic' vision. On the contrary, they show how illegal migration is most often based on a family project that has been carefully thought out by family groups of up to fifty people and pursued over several years.

The Political, Economic, and Social Context of Casamance

Casamance is the region located in the south of Senegal. It is composed of three sub-regions: the Atlantic coast, where its capital Ziguinchor is located; and two regions located inland, including the one—the furthest from the coast—where the Diamanka family lives. Separated for the most part from the rest of Senegal by the Gambia enclave (see Table 1), Casamance saw the birth and development of a separatist movement, the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC), forty years ago. The origins of the conflict go back to December 1982: a peaceful march was organized by the MFDC towards the government of Ziguinchor. However, this march was bloodily repressed by the Senegalese authorities,

who also made numerous arrests, including that of the movement's leader, Abbé Augustin Diamacoune Senghor. The movement's supporters fled and found refuge in the forest of this region, where they set up a rebellion movement aiming at the independence of Casamance, thus plunging the region into a situation of "neither war nor peace" instability (Marut 2010).

In addition to this situation of political instability, the economic and social context in Casamance is not the best because of the prevailing poverty that primarily hits rural families. This is evidenced by the incidence of poverty in the three regions that make up Casamance: it remains higher than the national average (46%). In 2011, the incidence of poverty in the Ziguinchor region was estimated at 66%, 76% in the Kolda region (where the Diamanka family lives) and 68% in the Sédhiou region (ANSD 2013). The poverty line is higher there than in any other region of Senegal, and a family there lives on an average of €3 or €4 per day, or about €100 per month. While this figure alone does not consider self-consumption, which is obviously very important in traditional peasantry not only in Senegal but throughout the world, €3 or €4 per day compared with what a young person established in Europe could send per month (tens or even hundreds of euros) gives an idea of the importance of "remittances" (the money that one of the sons or daughters who emigrated to Europe periodically sends to their family). It is therefore easy to understand why some parents mobilize a sizable part of their resources to finance the migration project of one of their children, despite the considerable dangers that the journey presents.

Because of the extremely precarious economic and social situation, especially for the young people of this region, and the situation of political instability, emigration is the most credible alternative for success, despite the risks involved. Many migrants will try to go by sea in a fully loaded pirogue[4] to try to reach the European coast. They usually do so from the island of Djogué or the island of Carabane, which are fishing villages located in Casamance, where they crowd into dugout canoes and travel under very risky conditions, driven, however, by a mad desire to reach the European continent. The journey by coastal navigation will take, if all goes well, almost two weeks. Others will attempt to travel overland across the Sahara Desert: from Casamance they travel to Mali, then on to Burkina Faso, then to Niger, and then up north across the Sahara to Algeria, from where they hope to reach Europe, in particular Spain (or its African enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla).

Introducing the Diamanka Family

The Diamanka family lives in Saré Bidji, in the region of Kolda, in Upper Casamance. Its 42 members live in a large house composed of several huts. It is not a "nuclear" family, but an extended family of three generations,

characteristic of the traditional family in Senegal. The Diamanka family consists of the grandfather, here (re) named Al Hassane; his ten living children and their spouses, and their 21 children; a total of 18 men and 24 women. The main economic activities of the family are agriculture and livestock. The family has a herd of 18 dairy cows, 13 sheep, and 11 goats.

This family has always been able to ensure its survival thanks to its agricultural activities, some of which it sells to meet non-food needs. Most of what the members of this extended family produce and consume is therefore a closed circuit: they consume what they have produced. However, they also sometimes must make important purchases from outside. These are mainly based on the organization of a particular type of tontine that we will call a "private tontine". The (universal) principle of tontine is that well known individuals bound together by a moral contract undertake to pay a certain sum at regular intervals, the total of which (called a levy) will be given to each participant in turn; this will enable him or her to make an expenditure (preferably an investment, or certain types of consumption) whose means he or she would never have the possibility to save. Thus, the objective of a tontine is the collection of sufficient resources to allow the realization of an individual project: each in turn, of course. The money from tontines is also used to prepare ceremonies such as marriages, or to finance all or part of a participant's trip.

Illegal migration represents a high and risky investment, be it individual or family, and there is a case for tontine. However, this will not be a classic tontine; rather, we will call it a "private tontine". By this term we mean all the contributions that are made on a recurring basis according to a certain regularity within the family sphere. Unlike traditional tontines, here the contribution is perceived as a symbolic contribution by each family member, according to his or her resources, for (as an example) the realization of a temporary emigration project seen as a family investment.

Emigration to Europe as a family investment

We have seen that in Senegal, a family of small farmers lives essentially on self-consumption, spending an average of only €2 to €4 per day on purchases (about €100 per month). This gives an idea of the importance, for these poor rural families, of the remittances that young immigrants in Europe periodically send to their families. A recent IOM report (2018) shows that the amounts of remittances sent by the Senegalese diaspora have grown considerably in recent years. Their volume has increased from $233 million in 2000 to $925 million in 2006, then to $1.6 billion in 2013, to reach $2.2 billion in 2021, for a total of 930 billion FCFA per year over the last ten years (2008–2017). The share of these transfers in Senegal's GDP rose from 6% in 2001 to 8.6% in 2007 and 13% in 2017. The countries of origin of remittances are numerous; but the top contributors are France ($647 million in 2017) and Italy ($425 million), followed by Spain ($302 million) (IOM 2018).

These figures make it possible to understand why, despite the considerable dangers of the journey, some families mobilize a large part of their resources to finance the migration project of one of their children (only one, because often only one child per family migrates). The Diamanka family spends only 2,500FCFA (€4) per day on the markets, or 75,000FCFA (€120) per month. However, they have a herd of animals, and can therefore sell one of these animals if necessary (although they are part of their productive capital). A dairy cow can be sold on local markets for sums ranging from 250,000FCFA (€380) to 800,000FCFA (€1220).

Emigration Options

Legal emigration (by air) from Senegal to Western Europe

In Casamance, as in other regions of Senegal, legal emigration to a Western European country by air is only possible if the migrant (or his or her family) has a certain amount of money, not only to pay for the ticket,[5] but above all to meet the entry conditions required by European countries. If not, air passage is impossible and one must turn to the land or sea route, both of which are dangerous and uncertain.

Emigration by air implies the strict control of administrative documents. Obtaining an immigration visa is a complex matter, and the procedures to be followed are far from being within the reach of all migrants. To begin with, the applicant must provide proof of accommodation in the country of destination: a rental agreement or proof of accommodation with a relative or friend. He or she must also pay the consular fee, which will not be refunded if the visa application is rejected. This tax is not a negligible amount: for a French visa application from Senegal, for example, the consular tax is between €50 and €99 depending on the applicant's profile (student, "ordinary applicant"), the expected duration of his or her stay (short or long stay) and the reason for the trip (studies, tourism, health, etc.). It is not so much the application fee that is an obstacle for applicants, but mainly the fact that they must certify that they have the resources in advance to cover their expenses during their stay (Ngom 2017). For members of wealthy families, justifying these resources is easy; but for everyone else, it is a highly significant obstacle.

Another strategy, when you belong to a rich family, is to buy a visa from a network that will take care of making and providing all the supporting documents. The price is high: it ranges from one to three million CFA francs (about €1,500 to €4,500), or even more. Either way, you

must pay a lot of money to get a visa. For members of wealthy families, this can be done without much difficulty but for all others, the bar is set too high.

Illegal Emigration from Senegal to Western Europe

As the crow flies—as they say so well—the distance between Dakar and Barcelona is 3,500 kilometers; it is 4,500 kilometers between Dakar and Paris. However, these figures have little meaning for the migrants. Those who cannot fly have to travel for weeks on dangerous roads and find ways to cross several African countries before facing the final and most difficult test: crossing a border into Europe. For most migrants to Europe (those who have no rich family to help them), their options are either this land route or the sea route where they would travel in overcrowded makeshift dugout canoes sailing day and night along the African coast for over a week.

Some Senegalese migrants will prefer the land route by passing through Niger, then Morocco or Algeria, or Tunisia or they will try to follow the long Mediterranean coastline, crossing Turkey and entering Europe via Greece. In any case, they will have to avoid Libya, now a stateless country having given over to the powers of armed gangs that capture migrants and reduce them to slavery. Other Senegalese migrants opt for passage by sea: either via the high seas to the coast of the Canary Islands (which are Spanish); or along the African coast to Ceuta and Melilla, Spanish enclaves within Morocco; or even to Lampedusa, the Italian island closest to the North African coast.

Such is the range of choices today; but this was already the case some twenty years ago when Oumar set out on his first journey to Europe.

Oumar's reasons for migrating

Poverty and the lack of prospects for improving the family situation were the structural causes of Oumar's emigration project. However, the main reason that triggered his migration was the words of his older brother Youssouf to their grandfather and head of the family, Al Hassane. Indeed, another family living in Saré Bidji had one of its members living in Europe, more precisely in Brescia, Italy. This emigrant sent his family 200,000FCFA (€305) every month. By comparison, the Diamanka family lived mainly on self-consumption and could only gather a few euros per day, about €120 per month, for their external purchases. Under these conditions, the idea of sending one of their own to Europe appeared highly beneficial, of course on condition that he would succeed.

The migration project: object of family discussion and debate

In the case of Oumar, the migration project and its financing were imagined, discussed, and specified over two years within the Diamanka family. During this long period, the project was constantly thought out, reflected upon, and debated within the family under the leadership of the head of the family, Grandfather Al Hassane. Considerable effort was invested in the agricultural fields to ensure high yields and abundant harvests. This preparation enabled the family to be self-sufficient in food, and thus to sell the surplus produced to accumulate funds for the trip to Europe. The efforts made by all members of the extended family were not without ulterior motives: the underlying idea, shared by all, was that once his trip was successful, Oumar could improve the family's living conditions by sending money every month. As D. Gueye writes, "In this specific register of family mobilization, it has the appearance of a form of economic investment, especially since any departure within the family responds above all to an economic strategy whose expected result would be to see the immigrant for whom one has mobilized actively invest in return in the realization of certain needs of the family production unit" (Gueye 2007, 15).

The Choice of the Migrant in the Diamanka Family

In the case of the Diamanka family, it was the head of the family, Al Hassane, who chose the migrant. Al Hassane chose Saliou, the eldest of the Diamanka family. However, after talking to a returning migrant and realizing the dangers of the journey, especially by sea, Saliou abandoned the plan to leave for Europe. Oumar, his younger brother, then offered to make the journey for him, and was strongly supported by Al Hassane. Here is how he describes this decisive moment:

> (It was) my older brother who was supposed to go. But he refused to go (...). When the whole family got together, my grandfather designated me to go abroad and work to help the family. My family knew that if I could make the trip, I could help them. In fact, my older brother had gone to see an immigrant who had come on vacation (from Europe) to talk to him. He saw how the guy came back. Then my older brother came home to talk to my grandfather about it, to explain the story of this successful immigrant who was making a good living in Spain. He wanted to go there, so my grandfather told him to go and ask the immigrant how the trip was. And when the immigrant explained it to him, he came back to my grandfather to tell him that he was giving up, because he had seen the way the immigrant had explained the journey to him: the journey seemed very difficult. From that point on, since my older brother did not want to go, my grandfather designated me to go. (Interview conducted in Saré Bidji on July 18, 2014)

In fact, in this family, if the choice of the migrant was made by the head of the family Al Hassane, it was done at the cost of many heated discussions and disagreements between him and one of Oumar's aunts, Aby. Aby was vehemently opposed to the trip and stood up to the other family members and to the grandfather and head

of the Al Hassane family. In the local culture, decisions are normally made only after a consensus has been reached. As Aby did not agree, there was no consensus. Of course, she was a woman; and according to tradition, in some villages at least, a man's words and arguments have more value and weight than a woman's when it comes to making certain decisions. Aby was allowed to speak, and she was able to present her point of view; but only because she was of an advanced age. If she had been younger, she would not have had a say in a decision made by the main authority, here embodied by the men of the family but especially by the grandfather. Even though she had a say, the last word went to the head of the family, Al Hassane.

Oumar's grandfather was able to convince Oumar's aunt not only of the need to send a young family member, but also that it was Oumar. Families usually decide to send one of their younger adults, as they believe that this will allow him to work for a longer period in the host country, and thus send money for a longer period. In this region, it is customary for most decisions concerning the entire family to be discussed collectively first, even, and especially if there are differences of opinion and disagreement among its members (Ngom 2019). The grandfather eventually succeeded in persuading Oumar's aunt—and other initially unconvinced family members—to nominate Oumar and mobilize the resources necessary for his trip. Later, he also managed to convince the rest of the extended family of the need to use the money received from selling the harvest to continue financing Oumar's overland journey.

Oumar's Two Attempts to Reach Europe

Overland

Any illegal migration trip requires a certain amount of money beforehand. My detailed study of thirty cases identified two main types of financing: either by family mobilization, as in the case of Oumar, or by individual mobilization. This implies an in-depth analysis of the different actions undertaken both by a family or family network and by a migrant themselves.

In September 2000, a first harvest sale allowed the Diamanka family to raise the sum of 50,000FCFA (€76) to allow Oumar to make the trip from Saré Bidji to Dakar, from where he would continue his journey. Oumar left for Dakar on 6 September 2000; and once he arrived, he had to wait for the peanut harvest to be sold before he could continue his journey. He stayed in Dakar for six months (from September 2000 to February 2001). There, he lived in the Grand Yoff neighborhood with one of his uncles. In February 2001, after the sale of the peanut crop, the family sent him an additional 350,000FCFA (€534). At this point, the two sums of money he had received totaled (76+534=) €610. This was the tentative budget for his trip, but it had already taken seven months to earn and save it.

One of the Diamanka family's strategies was to send money to Oumar little by little, so that he could continue his journey step by step. This is not the case for the urban families I interviewed for my project: in their case, the amount of money needed for the trip is mobilized in one go and given to their migrant.

But it is not only this strategy that is interesting in the Diamanka case; it is also that the realization of the project of emigration to Europe mobilized the lively energies of all the members of this poor rural family. In the vocabulary proposed by Catherine Delcroix (2013), it is not only its objective resources (its savings) that the family mobilized to invest them in the migration travel, but also the *subjective resources*[6] of each of her members, who had to redouble their energies in working harder in the fields to achieve a harvest surplus that would provide additional income.

Oumar left Dakar with 400,000FCFA (€610) in his pocket. After the sale of the crops, he received a third payment of 200,000FCFA (€305), then a fourth payment of 320,000FCFA (€488) from the sale of the crops. Since his older brother Youssouf had also sent him 150,000FCFA (€229), his trip was finally financed with a total 1,070,000FCFA (€1,633). Looking at the amounts received by Oumar during his trip, we can see that as he progressed, the amounts sent by his family became more and more important.

Table 1: Financing of Oumar's First Attempt. Source: Field survey, Ngom 2014

Source of funding	Amounts	Dates
First tranche from the sale of crops	50,000FCFA (€76)	Sept. 2000
Second tranche from the sale of crops	350,000FCFA (€534)	Feb. 2001
Money sent by Youssouf	150,000FCFA (€229)	Feb. 2001
Third tranche from the sale of crops	200,000FCFA (€305)	Feb. 2001
Fourth tranche from the sale of crops	320,000FCFA (€488)	Sept. 2001
Total	**1,070,000FCFA (€1,633)**	

What was Oumar's journey? In September 2000, he took a car at the Kolda bus station to go to Dakar. He paid 12,000FCFA (€18) for the Kolda-Dakar trip. Once in Dakar, he stayed there for six months, as mentioned above, while his family sent him the 350,000FCFA (€534) from the sale of the crops. After receiving the money, Oumar continues his journey: he returned eastward to the region of Tambacounda. From this border region between Senegal and Mali, he continued due east to Bamako—the capital of Mali—where he spent three weeks in transit, before continuing his journey to Burkina Faso, then Niger, and finally Algeria, where he arrived in November 2001. It is in this country that he was intercepted at the border and repatriated to Senegal.

If one reconstructs Oumar's journey with the help of a map, it becomes clear that he did not follow the most direct route. To get to Tangier by land from Dakar, for example, one would have to go directly north, cross Mauritania and then the former Western Sahara—a very dangerous region—enter Morocco, and then go up again to, say, Tangier. The distance from Dakar to Tangier by road is more than 3,300 kilometer. But Oumar took a different route. From his village, once he received a first sum of money (50,000FCFA, that is €76) he left his village to Kolda, and from Kolda to Dakar, where he stayed for six months waiting to receive money to continue his journey. When he received 350,000FCFA, he set off, not towards the North, but towards the East and the interior of Africa. His first target was Bamako, the capital of Mali. Once in Bamako, he met other migrants and was told by one of the smugglers that he should try to obtain Malian papers if he wanted to continue his journey.

The smuggler gave him the phone number of another contact, telling him that he had to say he was calling on his behalf for this contact to agree to make him (false) Malian papers. Naturally, he had to pay for them, so Oumar called his family to inform them. His older brother Youssouf sent him the sum of 150,000FCFA (€229) to Bamako in the name of the whole family. After purchasing his false papers, Oumar continued his journey to the interior of Africa. Once in Niger, he headed north to try to reach Algeria. He finally reached the Algerian border in November 2001. It had been a year since he had left his village, and six months since he had been on the road.

Upon his arrival in Algeria, Oumar was intercepted by the Algerian police and immediately repatriated by plane to Senegal, more precisely to the Dakar region. He then decided to stay in Dakar while he collected money to leave. He stayed in Dakar for eight weeks, spending his nights in the train station: he did not want to live with his uncle anymore, because he did not want his uncle to be informed of his forced repatriation. In December 2001, after two weeks in Dakar and seeing no way out of his situation, he finally decided to call his grandfather to inform him that his trip had failed and to tell him about the second attempt he was planning to make, this time by sea.

By sea

After spending two and a half months in Dakar, Oumar left in December 2001. This time he decided to try to reach Europe by sea. He called Ousmane, a smuggler based in Elinkine, Casamance, whose number he had obtained through Ibrahima, one of his fellow travelers in the desert, also from the Kolda region. Elinkine is a fishing village located on the Casamance River, a little upstream from its mouth. At the time, Senegalese fishermen were beginning to realize that if you had a pirogue, there was more money to be made from people migrating to Europe than from fishing, especially since the giant factory ships that fished off the Senegalese coast (industrial fishing) were emptying the sea of its fish stocks.

To pay for the sea passage, however, Oumar had to pay in advance. After he called his family from Dakar, his brothers collected a first sum of 20,000FCFA (€30) which was sent to him in Dakar four days later. It was obtained through a private tontine that the family had organized immediately after receiving Oumar's call. It was mainly Oumar's four brothers who had mobilized to send him this sum, thanks to the savings they had made from the sale of fresh and curdled milk from their cows. Their wives gave the money from the sale of the milk back to their husbands (the brothers). Each of Oumar's ten siblings gave 2,000FCFA (€3) to the head of the family, Al Hassane, who then gave the money to Youssouf (Oumar's older brother) to send to Oumar by mail. Al Hassane added 2,000FCFA (€3) to pay for the postage. In Dakar, Oumar continued to receive money from his family to prepare for his second trip. Apparently, they were not angry with him for failing.

After receiving 20,000FCFA (€30), Oumar took a car from Dakar to Ziguinchor, the capital of Casamance and its main port on the Atlantic. Once in Ziguinchor, his family sent him a large sum of money, 394,000FCFA (€600), to pay the smuggler who organized the trip by pirogue from the island of Djogué, in Casamance. The Diamanka family had managed to raise this sum in only one month thanks to a strategy. His older brother Youssouf had managed to sell the best dairy cow the family owned for 300,000FCFA (€457).

However, this large sum was not enough to cover the costs of Oumar's new trip, as his grandfather Al Hassane explained to me during an interview.

> I asked Youssouf to take the biggest dairy cow and sell it at the louma market. I told him that he could sell the cow at a reasonable price and that he should not sell it for cheap, even if we needed money urgently. I knew he would sell it at a good price: he is a good breeder, and he knows the value of a cow. But even if Youssouf was able to sell the cow for 300,000FCFA (€457), there was a shortfall of 94,000FCFA (€143) that I completed myself so that we could have the 394,000FCFA (€600). (Interview conducted in Saré Bidji on July 19, 2014)

Like the first time, it was Youssouf who sent him the 394,000FCFA (€600). After withdrawing the money, Oumar went to Elinkine to meet the smuggler, who discreetly took him to a house where other migrants were waiting patiently.

For his second attempt, Oumar was introduced to a network of smugglers who meticulously organized departures by pirogue from Casamance to the north of Morocco (or to the Canary Islands), and who had relays in each locality along the route: Djogué islands, Carabane island, Mbour, Saint-Louis, and Dakar (Ngom 2020). Oumar was welcomed by a ferryman at the Elinkine bus station; he gave him the full price of his trip in advance. He stayed in Elinkine for two days with the other migrants before boarding with them on the third day at around 4:00 a.m. He and the others boarded a small pirogue that would take them to the island of Djogué, where the large pirogue was already prepared and stocked with diesel and food. Oumar embarked with 88 other migrants to reach Europe by coastal navigation.

For Oumar's second emigration attempt, the money for the trip was not mobilized by the family step by step, unlike the first resources mobilization by the family. Also note that the money mobilized for Oumar's first attempt (by land) was much larger (1,074,000FCFA) than for the second attempt (414,000FCFA), which was made by sea. For sea travel, the money is mobilized in one go. The comparison of the forms of resource mobilization thus highlights a considerable difference between the budgets invested in land and sea trips. This difference may be explained by the fact that in land journeys, the money is invested by the family as the migrant progresses, whereas in sea journeys, the entire cost of the journey must be paid before embarking.

Oumar's pirogue journey lasted eleven days and nights. During the day the captain took advantage of the visibility to go as fast as possible. At night he continued to move forward, but more slowly. At the end of the eleventh night, after passing safely off Tangier, he entered the Strait of Gibraltar; and by dawn, Ceuta—the cape that faces the Bay of Gibraltar—was in sight. Oumar, like the other 88 passengers, thought for a while that he had finally reached the Promised Land. But the pirogue had been spotted by the coast guard. The coast guard approached the boat to help it land, before the Red Cross took over and gave the migrants medicine and food. Then the migrants were taken to camps. Oumar stayed there for two weeks and then was repatriated back to Dakar. This was in January 2002.

Returning to one's village, neighborhood, or even country after emigration failure can often be a painful experience for the migrant. However, their return will not be perceived in the same way if their attempt was financed by their family or if they financed it themself. If the migrant self-financed their journey and has not been able to succeed in their migration project, the return is less painful because it was their money that they spent in vain to finance a journey that they knew in advance had little chance of succeeding. In this case, they have no explanation to give to anyone, since, in addition to having taken enormous risks in trying to emigrate by sea or land, it was their own money that they have lost.

It is not the same thing if the whole family believed in him and supported his emigration project. Most migrants whose attempts were supported by their family but who have been repatriated to their country of origin (thus having failed) can only experience shame, especially since the hopes of a whole family were resting on their success. The migrant must find plausible explanations for his or her failure and try to share them with parents and relatives who have no concrete experience of the journey and all its obstacles, risks, dangers, suffering, and difficulties. This was the case for Oumar. He returned to his family with his head down but was very pleasantly surprised by the warm welcome he received on his return. Everyone wanted to comfort him and show their joy at finding him safe and sound. The warmest were his mother, his aunt Aby, and his grandfather. No one mentioned the large sums of money invested in his two attempts to emigrate. His failure did not seem to have damaged his relationship to his family. After a few weeks of rest, Oumar resumed his agricultural and livestock activities along with his other brothers who remained in the village. He married two years later and now has three children. However, in my last interviews with Oumar in February 2021, I found that he still expresses the desire and the need to migrate again to meet the needs of his family.

Table 2: Financing of Oumar's Second Attempt. Source: Field survey, Ngom 2014

Source of funding	Amounts	Dates
Private tontine of Oumar's brothers	20,000FCFA (€30)	Dec. 2001
Sale of a dairy cow by the family	300,000FCFA (€457)	Dec. 2001
Savings of the head of the family Al Hassane	94,000FCFA (€143)	Dec. 2001
Total	**414,000FCFA (€631)**	

Conclusion

What does an in-depth study of the case of Oumar tell us? This young Senegalese, a member of a large family of peasant-breeders from Casamance living mostly from the products of its farm, volunteered to try to reach Europe. The hope was that if he succeeded, he could—with hard work—earn enough to send his family a real windfall of several hundred euros each month. Then his family would finally be able to get out of their precarious condition; like that other family in the same village whose son was already working in Italy.

Oumar's case is not an exception. Given the considerable gap in salaries between Europe and sub-Saharan Africa, there are undoubtedly millions of young Africans who dream of going to work in Europe, and tens of thousands who attempt to make the crossing. Without a visa, of course, because Europe has become a fortress whose borders have become almost impossible to cross legally (Pian 2016). As for Oumar, supported by his entire family who redoubled their efforts in the fields and sold their best dairy cow to finance his attempts, he tried twice to reach Europe's borders. First by land, crossing several borders (Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Algeria...) and then a second time by sea. Two attempts: two failures.

There are, at least to my knowledge, no precise statistics on the annual number of young Sub-Saharan Africans who attempt to reach Europe, and on the percentage of those who succeed (see, however: De Haas 2007; Beauchemin & Lessault 2009). This is hardly surprising, given that such migration is, as they say, "illegal". Migrants have excellent reasons for seeking to go unnoticed, whether by the European authorities themselves or by those of the countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean that collaborate with them. Of the 30 cases of attempted emigration to Europe that I studied, seven were successful, a percentage of about 25%: three failures for one success (Ngom 2019; Ngom 2020; Ngom 2021). One of the cases ended tragically with the death of the migrant. Again, this is only Senegal, which is only one of many countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

The interest of case studies lies elsewhere: in the access they give to the way things happened concretely in each case. They show the local contexts, the structural situations of the actors involved, their projects, the strategies, the courses of action that they implement to try to achieve them, the resources mobilized, the obstacles encountered, and the interactions with other actors (Delcroix & Bertaux 2000). Each case is an intimate mixture of particular (or even singular, that is unique) elements and general elements, which are almost impossible to distinguish from one another if we remain with a single case. If we multiply the case studies, we will gradually see elements emerge whose recurrence from one case to another indicates the character generally (Bertaux 2016).

The in-depth study of Oumar's two attempts provides information on several aspects of the general flows of attempted emigration by young Africans to Europe. I would like to end this article by focusing on one of these aspects: the moral economy of the phenomenon (Thompson 1963). In other words, let us focus on the "economy" of the representations, convictions (or "values"), and feelings that underlie the actions undertaken; and first of all, their meaning for the actors involved, for there is no action that is not underpinned by a subjective meaning for the author of the action. If we place this reminder of Max Weber (1991 [1922]) in the temporal dimension, it appears that any attempt to emigrate to Europe, a typical example of a course of action inscribed in the long term, can only be supported by a project firmly anchored in the actor's subjectivity, however illusory it may be. So, what does the study of Oumar's case tell us about the moral economy of attempts to emigrate to an imagined Eldorado?

When Oumar embarks on the dangerous adventure, he carried the hopes of the whole family group. His older brother, after being informed of the dangers that awaited him, preferred to give up. His aunt Aby thinks that the risk is too great: the one who will leave could well lose his life, then so much the worse for the money: the top priority is life! But the pressure of the others is so strong that in the end, she can only give in. The family group therefore finances Oumar's trip: from the point of view of the economy of moral feelings of the Diamanka family, this means respect for his courage and confidence in his abilities. The group has invested in him, financially, but also morally: it has invested him with a great responsibility.

Oumar is aware of all this. Having left with no experience, he does everything he can. But the crossing of the Algerian border went badly, as it did with the other migrants with whom he traveled. Arrest. Forced repatriation to Dakar. One can imagine what he felt at that moment: a feeling of failure, but above all the shame of having failed, as if he had betrayed the trust of his family. He hid for more than a week, sleeping at the station like a homeless person.

Eventually however, he finds the strength to contact his family by phone. He admits having spent all their money in vain. However, if they are willing to finance him again, he is ready to try again—this time by sea. He cannot swim, does not have a life jacket. It is his life that would be at stake. Especially since the pirogues are cobbled together boats, unsuitable for navigation on the high seas (Ngom 2017). The smugglers load them to the brim with the passengers bailing frantically night and day (Ngom 2021). Finally, after eleven days of anguish, the pirogue docks in Morocco. Nobody has died on the way but the trip was for nothing: exhausted, the 88 passengers are given water, food, and medical care by an NGO. Then they are forcibly repatriated.

So, Oumar returns home with his head down. He expects the worst. He will certainly, he thinks, be the laughing stock of his brothers and sisters; maybe not of his parents, but of his uncles and aunts; and of Grandfather Al Hassane. How to survive this? Then, by some miracle, instead of scorn, he is welcomed by warm applause and tight hugs! He expected to be received like a *loser*; on the contrary, the whole family welcomes him as their hero! This is perhaps the most counterintuitive finding in this case study. It therefore deserves attention and an attempt at explanation.

The family group had invested a lot of hope (and effort) in the travels of one of their own to Europe but each member of the group also knew—if not consciously, at least subconsciously—that what Oumar was putting on the line to help his family was his own life. If he had drowned, for example, everyone would have borne some responsibility and guilt. Hence this mixture of moral feelings: the disappointment on learning of his first and second failures; but the joy, the unspeakable joy of finding him alive again, he whom we had thought lost more than once.

Is there not finally something of the Odyssey in what Oumar has done? As a poet born five hundred years ago said:

> Happy who like Ulysses has made a beautiful journey
> Or like the one who conquered the fleece
> And then returned, full of use and reason,
> To live between his parents the rest of his age.
> (du Bellay, 1558)

Eventually, Oumar was able to benefit from funding to develop his activity and stay in Senegel, within a framework of policies designed to prevent people from leaving Casamance (Ngom 2020). This funding, obtained through the Endogenous Alternatives against Illegal Migration (ALEMI) project, allowed him to develop market gardening activities in his village (Saré Bidji) and to earn some money by selling his crop yields in the city (Kolda). Twenty years later, Oumar still regrets having failed in his two attempts to reach the European continent and expresses the ardent desire to make his dream come true again, or should I say the migratory dream of a whole family.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1   This article is based on the results of a doctoral research on family and individual mobilizations for the realization of emigration projects from Casamance to Europe. This work combines different data collection techniques of a mainly qualitative nature: life stories, cross life stories, semi-structured interviews, and direct observation. I am a young Senegalese researcher who did a large part of my higher education in Senegal, particularly at the Assane University in Ziguinchor. Being originally from Senegal, I was thus able to establish a relationship of trust with my respondents. This relationship of trust enabled me to adopt a long-term approach to the follow-up of Oumar and his family to better understand the source of the money needed to carry out Oumar's two attempts to emigrate.

My surveys were conducted between 2013 and 2017 in Casamance, the large southern region of Senegal, with thirty migrants and their families, as well as with various actors of emigration: captains of "pirogues", fishermen, intermediary travel promoters, and marabouts). Among these thirty families, one member attempted to travel to Europe, but only seven were successful, an average of one in four attempts. This article presents an in-depth case study of the Diamanka family, which financed both attempts by one of its members, young Oumar. This family consists of Grandfather Al Hassane, his ten children and their spouses, and the 21 children of these ten couples, including Oumar.

I re-established contact with my respondents through the address book that I had already worked with during the preparation of my master's thesis. I thus reconnected with my surveys to gain access to families living in the Ziguinchor region. Other resource persons were located through my network of personal contacts. The strategy for approaching the contacts was a snow-ball effect. From the outset of my research, an approach based essentially on discourse and the dense description (Geertz 1998) of practices seemed more appropriate for my object of study. My approach focuses more on biographical data collection to reconstruct family histories (Delcroix & Bertaux 2000). Since I were based in France, more specifically in Strasbourg, I planned my fieldwork in Senegal, more specifically in Casamance, by making a trip each year of about two months to conduct my interviews and field observations. I also conducted interviews via Skype with some family members in the presence of my thesis director from Strasbourg. So, to speak, I continued to conduct interviews with this family and the others once I returned to Strasbourg. This shows that I kept in touch and continued to follow up with the family once I returned to Strasbourg. The Diamanka family, whose case study I present, was followed up with over time through repeated interviews with family members distributed as follows: I first interviewed Oumar, the migrant, then the paternal grandfather, the father, the mother, the paternal aunt, two paternal un-cles, three sisters, and eight brothers. To avoid bias, the interviews were most often conducted in Fulani or Wolof and then translated into French (Ngom 2018).

2   Saré Bidji is a rural community in the region of Kolda, in the upper Casamance in southern Senegal. It covers an area of 325 kilometers squared and its population was estimated, in 2013, at 16,753 in habitants. The rural community of Saré Bidji is bordered to the west by the rural community of Diana Bah (Sédhiou region), to the east by the rural communities of Bignarabé and Ndorna, to the north by the rural community of Thiéty and to the south by the rural communities of Tankanto Escale and Dioulacolon. Most of the families living there manage to survive through agriculture and livestock.

3 To respect the anonymity of respondents, all the names and surnames cited in this article are first names and aliases.

4 The pirogues are boats carved with an axe in the trunk of a gigantic baobab tree, caïcédrat or cheese trees. They are, more precisely, makeshift boats made of motorboats that are normally used for coastal fishing and are often in poor condition. These pirogues are a kind of boat without a keel, not very stable, suitable to sail on a lake or a river with a peaceful course, but not to face the sea, its swell, even less its breakers, when it is overloaded. It is on this type of boat that the passages to Europe by sea are attempted.

5 The price of a plane ticket to Europe varies depending on the destination city. For example, a Dakar–Paris plane ticket (one way) costs about 200,000FCFA (€304); for a Dakar–Barcelona, it is about 180,000FCFA (€274); and for a Dakar–Milan, about 190,000FCFA (€290).

6 Subjective resources are "the physical, mental and moral energies that an individual develops at a given time in his or her life, as well as his or her knowledge and know-how that enable him or her to mobilize his or her energies, and even those of those close to him or her, wisely to meet his or her needs and carry out his or her projects" (Delcroix 2013).

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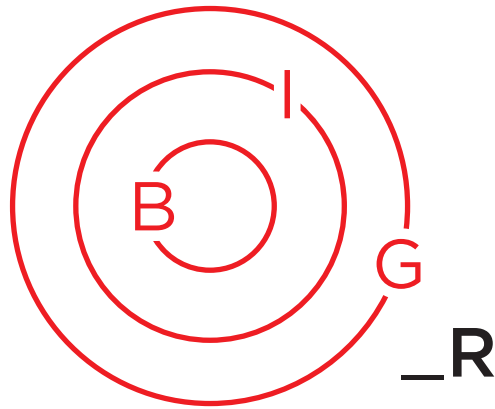
POLICY

BIG_Review showcases policy briefs and reports with a particular emphasis on the translation of academic research into plain-language policy suggestions designed for diverse audiences. Each issue will feature research focused on borders and border policy, but re-imagined for non-academic stakeholders in government and the private sector. The policy section is edited by Alan Bersin, Ben Rohrbaugh, and Edwin Hodge, and is open to researchers and policymakers of all backgrounds.
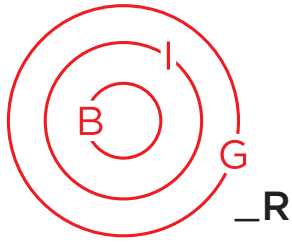
POLICY BRIEF

Online Networks of Hate: Cultural Borders in Aterritorial Spaces

Edwin Hodge *

IN BRIEF

- Online communities escape territorial boundaries yet build virtual borders of their own

- Extremist cultures can thrive in online spaces, evading national legal jurisdictions yet simultaneously operating locally and globally

- Public policy requires focused multilateral and multilevel cross-border governance coordination in law enforcement in conjunction with robust transparency and accountability mechanisms

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Executive Summary

If borders were a vegetable, they might be an onion. Bordering processes layer upon one another, but unlike an onion whose layers are discrete, border layers inform one another, compete with one another, and even contradict one another.

A peculiarity of borders in the 21st Century is that they do not map easily on to the jurisdictional limits of a state. Of course, a state is bounded by a geopolitical border where checkpoints and clearance areas are arranged, but a state's borders are much more. There are linguistic borders, such as those found in the Canadian province of Quebec; there are Indigenous cultural borders that extend across North America in defiance of settler-colonial borders. There are other cultural borders, like those found along the edges of the Cascadia bio-cultural region in the Pacific Northwest, and there are, increasingly,

discursive borders marking the edges of distinct cultural spaces online. This last species of border is perhaps the least understood, which is unfortunate, given that it is rapidly becoming one of the most important.

Research conducted through the Borders in Globalization program has examined the ways that online communities form "culturescapes" to mark where their communities are strongest. This research shows that digital communities, such as those associated with radicalized and extremist movements or organizations, draw participants from around the world and create "spaces without place" in digital networks.

Far from being a purely academic discussion, research into these transboundary or "aterritorial" communities has produced two key findings

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1. Online communities are genuinely transboundary. They can ignore national borders and generate new spaces to share information, build community and identity, and organize activism—both online and offline.

2. These transboundary digital cultures are highly effective production sites for extremist ideologies, and important spaces in which to plan activism—or criminal and violent activities. Their fluid, aterritorial nature makes them hard to surveil and even harder to police or disrupt.

Taken together, these findings point to a critical need for intergovernmental cooperation and policy harmonization to effectively counter the growth and spread of aterritorial extremist networks. Without such cooperation, national surveillance and enforcement policies can only be reactionary.

Introduction

> You know those Proud Boys videos we all love to see where they just march down antifa and start cracking them? Don't you want to be one of those guys? It's your chance. If you can go, go. It's a prime propaganda opportunity for us. (Alex Viriend, Diagolon member)

Imagine a country that stretches from Alaska in the Northwest to Florida in the Southeast, carving a rough diagonal across North America. This is Diagolon, a fictional nation at the heart of the "meme-but-also-we're-serious" Diagolon movement. If you have never heard of them before, it is unsurprising; until early 2022 they existed as an almost-exclusively online group dedicated to sharing far-right, anti-Semitic, and anti-government memes in fringe forums and social media channels. That changed in February 2022, when eleven individuals associated with the movement were arrested at the Coutts, Alberta, border blockade. They were carrying weapons and body armour, as well as ammunition and high-capacity magazines.

Extremist social movements that blur the line between online and offline activism are hardly unique; most contemporary social movements do the same thing. From environmental and animal rights activism to civil rights and religious activism, online spaces have proven to be powerful sites of growth and community building. Yet these spaces are rarely talked about in the context of borders.

Research produced by the Borders in Globalization program has shown that online spaces do more than serve as recruitment and organizational hubs for activism: they are spaces where cultures emerge and develop. Unlike the traditionally understood notion of culture as a group of people who share common beliefs, practices, and history within a geographic space, online cultures readily exist in a condition of aterritoriality; they operate with irreverence to national borders, not only uncontained by lines on a map but unbound from territory itself.

> The nation-state is not a closed container for political and social activism. Communication technologies have eroded the significance of borders as containers or cultural barriers. However, this does not mean that transnational or cross-border activism is either stateless or placeless. Rather [...] on-line activities of alt-right activists' function in part as bordering processes that create new virtual geographies, which transform how a nation is conceptualized and creates a new imagined community that spans borders. (Hodge & Hallgrimsdottir, 2019, 572)

This research has some challenging implications. Policymakers focused on identifying and prioritizing threats to national security must recognize that the traditional "domestic/international" dyad used in counterterrorism and intelligence circles is outdated. Online social movements are international, and they are domestic; they may recruit from Canada, gather on websites hosted in the Philippines, and source funding from Russia, the United States, and Estonia, all funneled through a third-party fundraising app or site like GiveSendGo or GoFundMe. The memes and other materiel produced by the movement can then be posted and shared on Canadian Facebook pages or in the comment sections of Canadian media sites.

Just as the activists themselves make use of complex, border-jumping sites and tactics, so too must security and law enforcement agencies in surveilling them. It is not enough to monitor Facebook—or to ask Facebook to voluntarily monitor itself—as a movement like Diagolon, or the Groyper Army, Atomwaffen, or a host of other extremist social movements exist in multiple online locales simultaneously. Law enforcement and intelligence services must acknowledge the aterritorial nature of the movements they seek to identify and disrupt, and they must be able to build dynamic transboundary consortiums of stakeholders from the public and private sectors to do it.

Approach and Results

Research supported by the Borders in Globalization program used an analysis of extremist websites as a way of investigating the way that culture in digital spaces transcends borders. Extremist movements are difficult to study at the best of times, and online versions more challenging still, as the fluidity of online networks makes them difficult to track. Yet their forums, blogs, and social media networks are ideologically stable, meaning that even when the anonymity of individuals prevents researchers from tracking them across movement spaces, the content of their rhetoric (particularly the

slang and idiosyncrasies of users) can be used to show how these movements cross-pollinate.

To gain a solid picture of what extremist spaces "look" like, researchers compiled lists of the major sites where affiliates of the movements gathered and examined which platforms they most frequently shared content on. Using software that identifies similarities between websites based on several factors, including which links were most frequently shared and which movement-specific terms were frequently shared, the research was able to shed light on how extremist movements grow, recruit, and spread through social media networks.

The research also found something interesting about online communities: though their membership is drawn from different nationalities and thus ignore geopolitical borders, the borders around movement spaces online are fiercely maintained. In other words, political borders in the traditional sense are irrelevant, but cultural borders matter.

> Indeed, the ability of alt-right networks to transcend geophysical and geopolitical borders illustrates the extent to which the reality of borders in the 21st Century is to some extent a performed one. Discussions of borders are of necessity discussions of territoriality (Brambilla 2015) and the management or control of space; online communities are spaces of a kind and so their virtual territoriality must be maintained as well. (Hodge & Hallgrimsdottir 2019, 572)

These findings align with earlier research on cultural borders that cross national boundaries. In Canada and the United States, an example of such a space can be found in Cascadia, a distinct bio-cultural region that runs from Alaska, through British Columbia and into Washington, Oregon, and Idaho states. The unique histories of the region set it apart from others in North America, and while Cascadia has no distinct geo-political boundaries of its own, it does have imposing physical barriers (rugged mountains and coastlines, for example), and a cultural orientation that differs from other parts of the continent. In both the case of Cascadia and the online cultures of extremist social movements, research shows that national and cultural borders do not always overlap. In some cases, national boundaries matter much less than cultural.

Conclusion

When visualized, North America is a space overflowing with thickly layered borders and bordering processes. Some, like Indigenous boundaries, stretch back centuries and more, while others—though recent—span the borders between nations and produce distinct identities that see national boundaries as just one more element in the complexity of cultural terrain. The research shows that whether discussing biocultural spaces like Cascadia,

or digital spaces like 4chan, 8kun, or reddit, cultural boundaries often remain crucial to understanding the motivations and identities of the people affiliated with them.

In the absence of an easily recognized, geopolitically contiguous cultural identity, alt-right activists seek to create a new cultural border that rejects globalization and integration, multiculturalism, and the blurring distinctions between social categories in race, gender, sexuality and class... Ultimately, it is a manifestation of the extremist nationalism that sits at the core of many of its affiliated groups' identities; it is an attempt to construct new borders in a world where traditional borders seem to be less relevant, only for the alt-right, it is cultural borders that matter. (Hodge & Hallgrimsdottir 2019, 575)

Implications and Recommendations

As our world becomes more digital and as the lines between online and offline continue to dissolve, the cultural geographies of online spaces will become too important to neglect. Social media networks bypass geopolitical borders, and for people who have grown up in these digital spaces, they can often hold greater significance than place-based identities. Policymakers can no more ignore emerging cultural spaces online than they can ignore transboundary water or environmental issues.

The research shows that these aterritorial spaces have become ideal sites for recruitment into radicalized and extremist movements. More than that, these spaces are now crucial to the planning and execution of offline activities, from rallies or marches to insurrections, as the events of January 6th, 2020, in Washington, DC illustrate. Those who engaged in violent and illegal actions at the Capitol did not organize in clandestine groups in the backs of pubs or movement safehouses, as they may have in the past. Groups today meet in restricted channels and forums while riding the bus to school or work, while sitting alone at home, or while spending time with their families and friends. There is no easy way to identify and surveil them, and no foolproof way of tracking them down. Thanks to social media and digital technologies, radicalized and extremist activists can meet, network, and organize actions without ever having to meet in person and, should their online spaces be discovered and shut down, they can readily move to a new one, taking their online culture with them.

Policymakers must adapt to this new reality by rethinking the ways that they rely on territoriality in their work. Too often, when discussing surveillance or law-enforcement strategies, policy ends at the border. Even if an extremist has no previous criminal record, and no record of associating with gangs or extremist movements in offline spaces, they might very well have extensive connections online. While not suggesting the formation

of a transboundary "world police", policymakers ought to more seriously consider the role that international partnerships, data-sharing, and collaboration with non-state actors play in their strategies for countering extremism online. That means identifying existing collaborative frameworks to refine and creating new ones where needs emerge. Investment in cutting-edge technical expertise, coupled with ethical oversight and mechanisms for transparency, will be required for governments to meet these challenges while maintaining the trust of the public.

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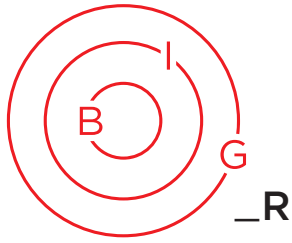
POLICY BRIEF

Borders and Sustainability in the Anthropocene

Edwin Hodge *

IN BRIEF

- Climate change is a global issue that requires global cooperation.

- Despite this, contemporary international approaches to the climate crisis do the reverse by attempting to carve solutions into projects undertaken by nations within territorial boundaries.

- Public policy needs to work through existing international bodies and empower them to address the global crisis

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Executive Summary

Climate change and environmental degradation have reshaped world politics in recent years, yet despite this, outdated approaches to international crises persist. There is no serious challenge to the global scientific consensus on climate change, and while some states may continue to act as if it were otherwise, the environment will increasingly shape state policy in the coming decades. As the climate crisis grows, policymakers are often trapped in a paradigm that has governed international relations for the past century: international agreements are dictated by national interests above all others. While this may make sense in a narrow view of national sovereignty in international affairs, it is counterproductive in the wider lens of global challenges.

Research produced by the Borders in Globalization program over the past several years has pointed to the contradiction sitting at the heart of many international climate change and sustainability agreements: that frameworks designed to address global challenges must subordinate transnational collaboration to the sovereign interests of the state. The result is that even the most progressive climate change agreements fail to adequately provide the sorts of international governance that is needed to meet the challenges of the 21st Century.

New research indicates that policymakers must work together through global governance structures, including state and non-state organizations and institutions, to address these issues of sustainability. Rather than carve up responsibility for addressing climate change and sustainability into discrete packages mapped on to national territories, state actors must be bold and develop trans- and international structures that work to harmonize national strategies with global initiatives.

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Introduction

The industrial age marked the end of one geologic period and the beginning of a new one. We now live in the Anthropocene, an era named less for the presence of humans, and more for the impact of our presence on the environment. Unlike in eras past, human activity has reshaped the environment on a global scale and, as a result, has created a climate crisis that is also global. There are many drivers of this new paradigm, but one of the most significant has been the tendency of states to put short and medium-term interests, mostly economic, ahead of long-term interests, both environmental and economic. Instead of planning economic growth that considers the environmental impacts of development, states seek to develop as quickly as possible, or take as many resources from the earth as they can to propel economic growth. It is an example of robbing the future to pay for the present.

The results of this myopia are plain to see; heat domes, polar vortices, extreme typhoons, droughts, floods, forest fires, and hurricanes—and more of them in a season than ever before. These phenomena are part of the natural cycles of growth, destruction, and renewal that dominate life on earth, but human involvement has made each of them more frequent, longer lasting, and more destructive than at any other point in recorded history.

Researchers with the Borders in Globalization program sought to understand how states attempted to manage these different crises and found that while climate change demands a 'deterritorialization' of state and interstate strategies, most governance arrangements today do the opposite. Instead of treating climate crises as an issue that ignores and supersedes borders, most governments approach it as a problem that can be compartmentalized and dealt with piecemeal. Such an approach seems certain fail.

Approach and Results

Research into this challenge tried to illuminate the ways that national preoccupations with maintaining borders as zones of exclusion around a state had the effect of limiting any one nation's ability to address climate change in a meaningful way. A comprehensive examination of international sustainability regimes and trade agreements found that even when agreements were reached that directly claimed to address climate change (such as the use of forests and silviculture as 'carbon offsets' for polluters in the Global North), the reality appears more performative than substantive. Paying a Southern state to plant forests to offset carbon output in the North sounds reasonable, for example, but if the forests planted are routinely harvested for timber or palm oil before they are fully established, then their utility as carbon capture sites is minor at best.

At least part of the problem is that most state policies designed to address climate change rely on neoliberal logics; the state exists to grow and protect the economy and must therefore subordinate other interests to economic growth. Further, research illustrates that even when issues related to climate change are acknowledged, state actors often sidestep formulating solutions by asserting that technological innovation and improved production systems will be sufficient to mitigate them.

The issue, according to research published in 2020, is that while international memoranda of understanding (MOIs) regarding sustainability have provided common language and goals, there has been little in the way of harmonization among states in terms of policy. As the research states,

> despite the rhetorical umbrella provided by sustainability, and the numerous aspirational targets in the 2015 SDGs [Sustainable Development Goals], the various international legal arrangements still lack overall coordination or any clear understanding of how they might all fit together in a larger framework dedicated to maintaining a functional biosphere in the face of a rapidly expanding technosphere (Dalby 2020, 147)

In practice, international agreements regarding climate change and sustainable development contain contradictions that seriously weaken their utility. In the case of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, signatories recognized the global and urgent need to address climate change, while at the same time reasserting national sovereignty through the implementation of nation-specific targets. In other words, states recognized in climate change a crisis that ignores national boundaries but committed to only working within their own territories to address it. The result will be much the same as responding to the flooding of an entire neighbourhood by only sandbagging one's own driveway.

The research shows that one of the key hurdles to effective international sustainability strategies is the "fortress model" of environmental management, which often results in limited gains in one area, and potential losses in another.

> Replacing the traditional modes of livelihood by paid employment for locals as tour guides, guards against poachers, and employees in the facilities that accommodate and entertain ecotourists who fly across the world to see wildlife in a supposedly natural state might be understood as development in strictly economic terms, but given the huge amounts of jet fuel involved in this international tourism strategy, its far less clear what exactly is being sustained in these circumstances. (Dalby 2020 149).

In plain terms, by engaging with issues of sustainability and climate change mitigation through the lens of national interest, rather than from a position of global

interest, state actors limit their options and weaken their potential impacts.

Conclusion

The findings of this research point inescapably to an unpopular truth in policy circles: sustainability goals that attempt to recognize global challenges but commit only to addressing national concerns are doomed to failure. The realities of the Anthropocene include the reality that global crises cannot be effectively managed or mitigated through reliance on traditional national boundaries.

> Traditional notions of environmental protection in stable local natural contexts now have to give way to policy measures that focus on what is being produced in the global economy, and in the process, which landscapes are being re-bordered to make what kind of future global environment (Dalby 2020, 156)

The central challenges of the Anthropocene cannot be met using the methods of the past (which are, not incidentally, at least partially responsible for these challenges in the first place). Instead, the research produced by the Borders in Globalization program indicate that governance and regulatory strategies need to adapt, and quickly.

Implications and Recommendations

Any effort to meaningfully implement sustainability agreements will require significant—even radical—solutions. Consider the nature of global supply chains: what would be the impact on pollution and carbon outputs if consumers were asked to be content with eating food that is both in-season and available in their regions, instead of relying on international shipping to obtain the food they desire? What might this do for food security (and food sovereignty), and how would states address that?

At the level of policy, the research has some implications. The first is that policymakers focusing on international sustainability need to recognize the so-called "fortress mentality" that too often results in states limiting their efforts to national priorities. Instead, there must be a renewed focus on developing "grand strategies" for

global governance (at least insofar as climate change and sustainability policies are concerned). Transboundary agreements that infringe on national sovereignty to various extents already exist to help manage everything from water rights and access to power; states must extend the same level of urgency to their international sustainability strategies.

Policymakers must also take a hard look at the ways that domestic economic concerns have traditionally superseded international agreements, even in cases where the agreements are designed to address environmental crises. Neoliberal logics privilege economic-based solutions that focus on the short-term goals of the state, but environmental and sustainability frameworks must look longer term. Further, solutions rooted in neoliberal paradigms tend to see technological innovation as the solution to potential future problems, even if such innovations do not currently exist. Instead of sacrificing economic growth to address issues of sustainability or environmental protection, many states instead attempt to turn environmental issues into economic ones.

> Critics have become increasingly forceful in their challenges to the framing of development in terms of conventional economic thinking. They argue that the implicit assumptions of economics, with its premises of consumers and markets as all that matters, are inappropriate given that they ignore the essential biospheric conditions that are key to considerations of sustainability (Dalby 2020, 147)

Certainly, the implications here are radical. States must begin to subordinate elements of domestic economic growth and prioritize international interests when doing so is required to address critical environmental challenges. Such dramatic shifts are beyond the remit of any one policy team, but ought to be part of strategic planning when preparing to address international crises. Economic development is crucial for long-term prosperity, but so is a sustainable biosphere.

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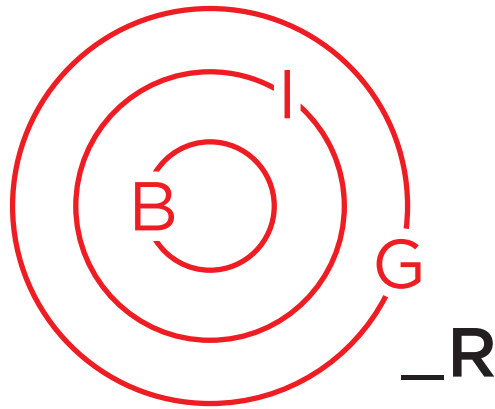
PORTFOLIO

BIG_Review publishes portfolios of artist collections related to the world of borders—whether political, material, cultural, or conceptual borders. Portfolios are chosen by the Chief Editor and featured on the cover of each issue, and, like all *BIG_Review* publications, available for free in open-access Creative Commons licensing, unless otherwise specified.

PORTFOLIO

Chief Editor's Choice

SITUATIONAL REALISM

Ian Howard

IAN HOWARD IS AN ARTIST AND EMERITUS PROFESSOR AT UNSW SYDNEY, FACULTY OF ARTS, DESIGN AND ARCHITECTURE. PREVIOUSLY HE WAS DEAN OF THE COLLEGE OF FINE ARTS (COFA) UNSW, AND PROVOST AND DIRECTOR OF THE QUEENSLAND COLLEGE OF ART, GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY. HE TRAINED IN SYDNEY, LONDON, AND MONTREAL. HIS ARTWORK PROGRESSES A CULTURAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CIVILIANS AND MILITARY INSTITUTIONS, CONCENTRATING ON TERRITORY AND BORDER ISSUES—WALLS, BARRIERS, AND CONTAINMENT, INCLUDING ENFORCING VEHICLES—AIRCRAFT, TANKS AND SHIPS. HE WORKS AND EXHIBITS INTERNATIONALLY. **REALISM** IN THE CLASSICAL SENSE ENCOMPASSES A PRACTICAL UNDERSTANDING OF LIFE, ACCURACY OF SIMULATION, AND THEORIES THAT THINGS EXIST OBJECTIVELY, AND THAT STATEMENTS HAVE TRUTH VALUES. HOWARD'S ARTWORK HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS EXPERIMENTAL REALISM USING A DIRECT-MEDIA TECHNIQUE. HE ARGUES THAT THE INTERDEPENDENT RELATIONSHIP THE SUBJECT HAS WITH THE ARTWORK IMAGE MEANS EACH WORK CONTAINS AN INTEGRITY OF REALISM. THIS ONE-TO-ONE RELATIONSHIP INCLUDES REPRESENTATION AT SIZE/SCALE, UNDERTAKEN ON LOCATION, AND WITHIN THE ACTUAL TIME AND OPERATIONAL PERFORMANCE OF THAT SUBJECT MATTER. EXHIBITED IN PUBLIC SETTINGS, THIS REALISM IS ARGUABLY SELF-COMMUNICATING AND INHERENTLY, OR AT LEAST LATENTLY, EXPRESSIVE. IT THEREFORE PROVIDES FOR THE VIEWER OF THE WORKS A PATHWAY OF IMAGE AND CONTEXT FROM WHICH TO ASSEMBLE AN INFORMED MORALITY BASED RESPONSE.
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A BORDER THROUGH TIME—THE GREAT WALL(S) OF CHINA, FROM THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.E. WERE BUILT TO SEPARATE WARRING STATES, TO CONSOLIDATE DYNASTIES, AND FOR DEFENCE AGAINST NOMADIC GROUPS OF THE MONGOLIAN AND EURASIAN STEPPES. AS WELL, THEY FACILITATED EXPANSIONARY THRUSTS, WITH FORTS, ANNEXING AMBIGUOUS TERRITORIES AND SOLIDIFYING TERRITORIAL GAINS. THE WALLS PROVIDED TRANSPORTATION CORRIDORS FOR GOODS AND MIGRATION BORDER CONTROLS ALONG WHAT BECAME KNOWN AS THE SILK ROAD. HOWEVER, BUILT BY MILLIONS, OFTEN IN FORCED LABOUR, THE RENOWNED WRITER LU XUN (1881–1936) NOTED, "MIGHTY AND ACCURSED GREAT WALL, IN REALITY, IT HAS NEVER SERVED ANY PURPOSE THAN TO MAKE COUNTLESS WORKERS LABOUR TO DEATH IN VAIN". SUN YAT-SEN AND THE EARLY REPUBLIC EMBRACED THE WALL AS A NATIONAL SYMBOL BECAUSE IT CONTAINED AND PRESERVED THE CHINESE RACE AS WELL AS SYMBOLISED A COLLECTIVE RESOLVE. MAO AND THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC AMPLIFIED THE POSITIVE SYMBOLISM OF THE WALL, UNDERTAKING REPAIRS TO THE BADALING SECTION IN 1952. LATER, CULTURAL REVOLUTIONARIES DESTROYED MANY OTHER PARTS WITH DYNAMITE AND EXCAVATORS. LOCALS OVER THE CENTURIES PLUNDERED THE WALLS FOR BUILDING MATERIALS. IN 1980 DENG XIAOPING SAID, "LOVE OUR CHINA AND RESTORE OUR GREAT WALL". DECLARED A UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE SITE IN 1987, IT IS NOW A FOREMOST NATIONAL SYMBOL, THE MOST POPULAR TOURIST DESTINATION AND AN OCCASIONAL CATWALK FOR HIGH FASHION MODELS. HTTPS://VIMEO.COM/USER80342967/GREATWALLOFCHINA

BORDERS FOR COLONIZATION—A.D. 122, EMPEROR HADRIAN BUILT A WALL ACROSS THE IMPERIAL PROVINCE OF BRITANNIA AS 'BARBARIANS', CALEDONIANS, AND REBELLIOUS CELTIC TRIBES OF THE NORTH THREATENED CONTROL FROM ROME. THE 118 KM WALL, LOCATED BETWEEN WALLSEND IN THE EAST AND BOWNESS IN THE WEST, WAS HIGHLY EFFECTIVE FOR NEARLY 300 YEARS, DEMONSTRATING THE ADMINISTRATIVE, SOCIAL AND MATERIAL RESOURCEFULNESS OF THE COLONISING EMPIRE. TAKING JUST SIX YEARS TO BUILD BY LEGIONS OF ROMAN INFANTRY, THE WALL, UP TO 4.6 METRES HIGH AND 3 METRES WIDE, PROVIDED PROTECTION FROM ATTACK AND FACILITATED SWIFT TROOP MOVEMENTS. GATES, GUARD POSTS AND INTERVENING OBSERVATION TOWERS WERE CONTROLLED BY SEVERAL FORTS. GATE APERTURES, VARIOUSLY WIDENED AND NARROWED OVER TIME DEPENDING ON THE HOSTILITY OF THE ERA, INDICATED THE NEED FOR CROSS-BORDER MOBILITY FOR LOCAL AND MILITARY PURPOSES. NECESSARY TRADE AND PEOPLE MOVEMENT WAS THEREBY CONTROLLED. KEEPING COLONISED BRITONS WITHIN THE EMPIRE WAS AS IMPORTANT AS KEEPING THE RESISTANT 'BARBARIANS' OUT. SETTLEMENTS GREW AROUND THE FORTS RESULTING IN AN EARLY FORM OF URBAN SPRAWL. WITH THE ABANDONMENT OF ROMAN BRITAIN IN 410, THE WALL BECAME A QUARRY OF STONE FOR FARMHOUSES, CHURCHES, AND CASTLES. THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT OF THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES, LED BY JOHN CLAYTON, ARRESTED, EVEN REVERSED, THIS DESTRUCTION. HADRIAN'S WALL WAS NAMED A WORLD HERITAGE SITE IN 1987.
HTTPS://VIMEO.COM/USER80342967/HADRIANSWALL

BORDERS, RIGHTS AND RELIGIONS—THE CITY WALLS OF DERRY WERE CONSTRUCTED 1613–1618 BY THE IRISH SOCIETY, A GROUP OF TRADES ORGANISATIONS WITHIN THE CITY OF LONDON THAT SUPPORTED THE PLANTATION IN IRELAND. THE PLANTATION WAS THE COLONISATION OF ULSTER BY PROTESTANT BRITISH FAMILIES AT THE END OF THE FAILED IRISH NINE YEARS WAR AGAINST ENGLISH RULE FOLLOWING THE TUDOR CONQUESTS OF THE 16TH CENTURY. UP TO 8MS HIGH AND 10MS WIDE, THE ENCIRCLING WALLS WERE 1.5KM LONG. BUILT TO PROTECT THE NEWLY ARRIVED SETTLERS, SUCH INTENT WAS REINFORCED BY RE-NAMING THE TOWN LONDONDERRY. THE WALLS WERE EFFECTIVE DURING THE UNSUCCESSFUL SIEGE OF DERRY BY THE JACOBITES AND THE FRENCH IN 1689. PRIOR TO THE SIEGE, AN UNPOPULAR CHANGE OF GARRISON FROM PREDOMINANTLY PROTESTANT TO CATHOLIC SOLDIERS WAS THWARTED BY THIRTEEN APPRENTICES WHO QUICKLY LOCKED THE CITY GATES PREVENTING THE IRISH COMMANDER'S REGIMENT FROM ENTERING. THIS ACTION AND THE RESUPPLY OF THE TOWN BY ENGLISH SHIPS ON THE RIVER FOYLE DURING THE 105 DAY SIEGE ARE STILL COMMEMORATED ANNUALLY BY PROTESTANT MARCHES. HISTORIC AND 20TH CENTURY GRIEVANCES FELT BY THE CATHOLIC POPULATION BOILED OVER IN 1969 LEADING TO THE BATTLE OF THE BOGSIDE WHICH IGNITED THE THIRTY-YEAR CIVIL CONFLICT KNOWN AS THE TROUBLES. DURING THIS PERIOD THE BRITISH ARMY HAD A STRONG PRESENCE IN LONDONDERRY INCLUDING OBSERVATION POSTS OVERLOOKING THE CATHOLIC BOGSIDE FROM ON TOP OF THE CITY WALLS. HTTPS://VIMEO.COM/USER80342967/CITYWALLSOFDERRY

AT THE BORDER OF EMPIRES—AT THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT DIVIDED GERMANY INTO FOUR OCCUPATION ZONES: US, UK, FRENCH AND RUSSIAN. BERLIN WAS SIMILARLY DIVIDED EVEN THOUGH IT LAY WHOLLY INSIDE THE RUSSIAN ZONE. IN 1948, BRITAIN, FRANCE AND THE US UNIFIED THEIR SECTIONS INTO A SYMBOLICALLY FREE AND ECONOMICALLY POWERFUL WEST BERLIN RESULTING IN THE UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT BY THE RUSSIANS TO FORCE THEM OUT VIA THE BERLIN BLOCKADE. THE SOVIETS ESTABLISHED THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC IN 1949 TO COUNTER WESTERN INFLUENCE AND SUPPRESS EAST GERMAN DISSENT. CONSEQUENTLY, WEST BERLIN BECAME A MAGNET FOR THOSE WANTING TO ESCAPE. DURING THE 1950S 3.5 MILLION EAST GERMANS BI-PASSED EMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS AND DEFECTED TO WEST BERLIN AND BEYOND. AN IRON CURTAIN, THE SOVIETS ARGUED, WAS NECESSARY TO PROTECT ITS CITIZENS FROM WESTERN CAPITALISM. USING THIS ARGUMENT BUT ANTICIPATING ECONOMIC COLLAPSE DUE TO A BRAIN DRAIN AND WORKER EXODUS, THE GDR IN 1961 ERECTED A 156KM CONCRETE WALL AND METAL BARRIER, AROUND AND EXCISING WEST BERLIN. THE BARRIER WAS BUILT JUST INSIDE EAST GERMAN TERRITORY. BETWEEN 1961 AND THE FALL OF THE WALL IN 1989, 100,000 PEOPLE TRIED TO CROSS WITH MORE THAN 5000 BEING SUCCESSFUL. UP TO 200 PEOPLE WERE KILLED DURING THEIR ATTEMPT. FOR 28 YEARS THE BERLIN WALL WAS THE FLASHPOINT BETWEEN THE GREATER GEOPOLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL EMPIRES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE SOVIET UNION. HTTPS://VIMEO.COM/USER80342967/BERLINWALL

BORDERS, SECURITY AND PROPERTY—THE ISRAELI WEST BANK WALL AND WEST BANK FENCE ARE PART OF THE OVERALL WEST BANK BARRIER INITIATED BY ISRAEL IN THE EARLY 2000S TO PREVENT PALESTINIAN MILITANTS FROM ENTERING ISRAEL FOLLOWING AN UPSURGE IN VIOLENCE DURING THE SECOND INTIFADA. THE BARRIER HAS A PLANNED LENGTH OF 708KM RUNNING FROM THE DEAD SEA IN THE SOUTH TO THE JORDAN RIVER IN THE NORTHEAST. ALTHOUGH GENERALLY FOLLOWING THE GREEN LINE, BEING THE 1949 ARMISTICE LINES DRAWN UP TO SEPARATE ISRAEL FROM JORDAN, EGYPT, SYRIA AND LEBANON, IT MAKES MANY INCURSIONS INCLUDING ANNEXING EAST JERUSALEM AND RUNNING UP TO 20KM INSIDE THE WEST BANK. THESE DEVIATIONS ENCIRCLE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS FOR SECURITY AND CUT OFF PALESTINIAN VILLAGES FROM THEIR LIVELIHOODS. THE BARRIER HAS BEEN CHALLENGED IN ISRAEL, AT THE UNITED NATIONS AND BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE. CURRENTLY, IT IS PROPOSED THAT 77,000HA OF THE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES BE CLAIMED WITHIN THE EXPANSIONARY BARRIER. INITIALLY CONSIDERED A TEMPORARY SECURITY MEASURE THE BARRIER IS NOW SEEN AS A POTENTIAL BORDER BETWEEN ISRAELI AND ANY FUTURE PALESTINIAN STATE. THE CONCRETE SECTIONS RUNNING THROUGH MORE DENSELY POPULATED AREAS ARE 9M HIGH AND ARE PUNCTUATED BY OBSERVATION TOWERS. THE BARRIER RESTRICTS PALESTINIANS' FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, THEIR ACCESS TO FARMING LANDS, RESOURCES, EMPLOYMENT, RELIGIOUS SITES, EDUCATION AND HEALTH SERVICES. HTTPS://VIMEO.COM/USER80342967/ISRAELIBARRIER
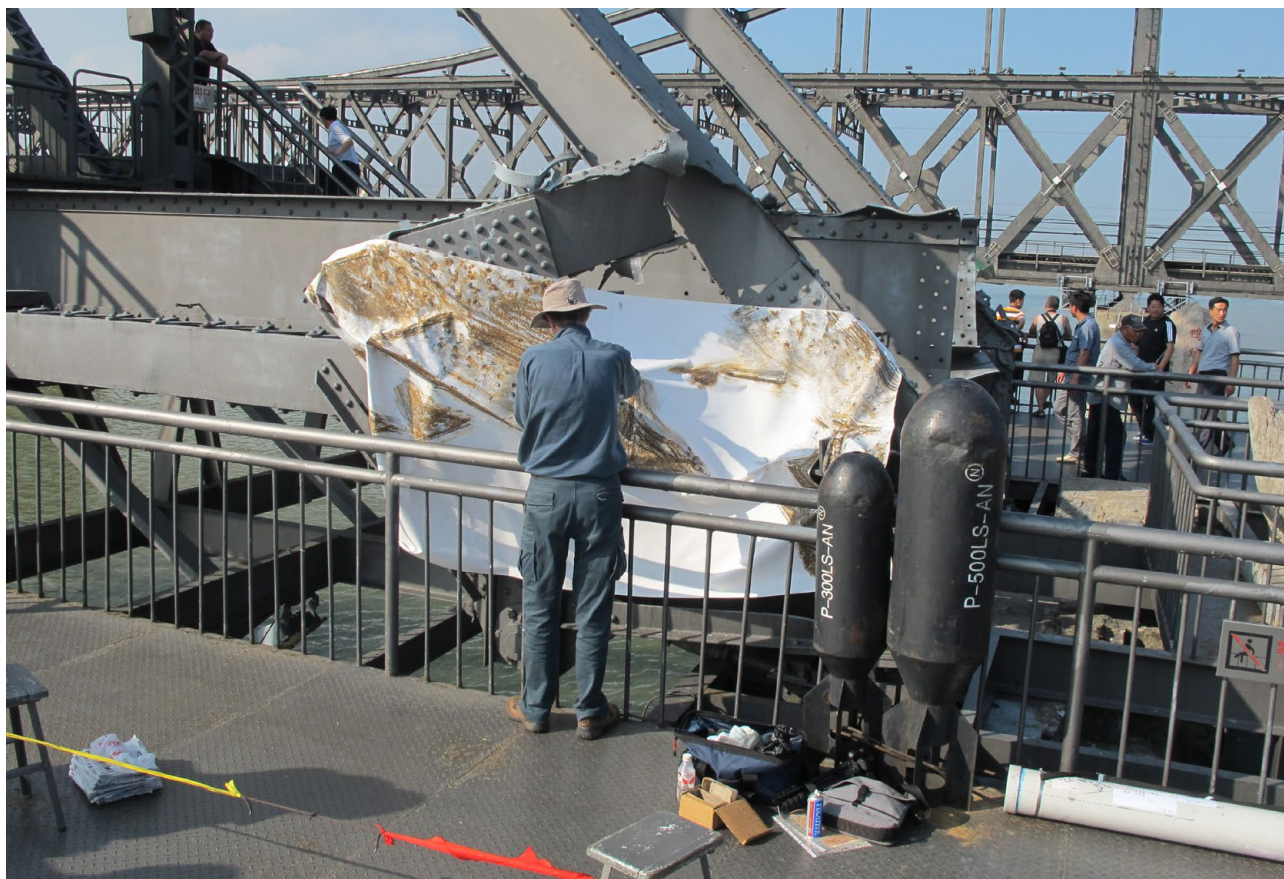
BORDERS BY GEOGRAPHY AND EXPEDIENCY—THE YALU AND TUMEN RIVER BORDERS BETWEEN CHINA AND NORTH KOREA HAVE SEPARATED STATES OF NE ASIA SINCE THE 15TH CENTURY. THE SOURCE OF EACH RIVER IS PAEKTU MOUNTAIN'S HEAVENLY LAKE. THE YALU FLOWS SW FOR 800 KM TO THE YELLOW SEA AND THE TUMEN RUNS NE FOR OVER 500 KM TO THE NORTH KOREA–RUSSIA–CHINA TRIPOINT AT THE SEA OF JAPAN. THE RIVER BORDERS PROVIDE NORTH KOREA'S ACCESS TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD. MOST OFFICIAL TRADE PASSES ACROSS THE SINO–KOREAN FRIENDSHIP BRIDGE AT DANDONG, CHINA–SINUIJU, NORTH KOREA. THE AMERICAN AIR FORCE BOMBED THE EARLIER BRIDGE DURING THE KOREAN WAR. THESE WATERY BORDERS ARE POROUS. THE YALU CONTAINS 205 ISLANDS, EITHER CHINESE OR NORTH KOREAN AND UNLIKE MOST RIVERINE BORDERS, THERE IS NO DECLARED THREAD OF THE CHANNEL. BOATS, AND EVEN SWIMMERS, CAN VENTURE UP TRIBUTARIES AND APPROACH THE BANKS OF THE ADJOINING COUNTRY. IN WINTER, SECTIONS OF THE RIVERS FREEZE OVER AND CAN BE WALKED ACROSS. THE MOTIVATIONS FOR NORTH KOREANS TO CROSS ARE NUMEROUS, FROM ACCESSING FOOD AND GOODS TO AS MANY AS 50,000 'OFFICIALLY' WORKING ON FARMS AND IN FACTORIES, TO ASYLUM SEEKERS WHOSE CLAIMS ARE TYPICALLY REJECTED BY CHINA. IN 2003 THE FIRST SHORT DISTANCES OF WIRE FENCING WERE ERECTED BY THE CHINESE PLA. IN 2007 NORTH KOREA BEGAN ERECTING ITS OWN FENCES; HOWEVER, THESE COLLECTIVE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN SPORADIC CONSIDERING THE LONG DISTANCES AND VARIED TERRAIN ENCOUNTERED. HTTPS://VIMEO.COM/USER80342967/CHINANORTHKOREA

BORDERS BETWEEN NEIGHBOURS—THE LINE FROM ROBERT FROST'S POEM "MENDING WALL", "GOOD FENCES MAKE GOOD NEIGHBOURS" CONTINUES TO CHALLENGE. HIS SHORT LINES SIT IN STARKEST CONTRAST TO THE GARGANTUAN SCALE OF THE US–MEXICO BORDER STRETCHING MORE THAN 3000KM FROM THE PACIFIC COAST TO THE GULF OF MEXICO. THE NUMBER OF LEGAL AND ILLEGAL DAILY CROSSINGS OF PEOPLE AND GOODS MAKES THIS LIKELY THE BUSIEST CONTESTED BORDER IN THE WORLD. TRAVERSING CITIES, DESERTS, MOUNTAINOUS REGIONS AND FOR HALF ITS LENGTH, FOLLOWING THE RIO GRANDE RIVER, THE BORDER RESULTS FROM THE MEXICAN–AMERICAN WAR OF 1846–1848 WITH FINAL ADJUSTMENTS MADE AS RECENTLY AS 1970. AND THE CLOSENESS OF PEOPLE, AS NEIGHBOURS, ON EACH SIDE IS BOTH HISTORIC AND CONTINUING. ACCORDINGLY, ATTEMPTS TO FENCE THE BORDER ONLY STARTED IN THE 20TH CENTURY AND HAVE BEEN ERRATIC. EACH COUNTRY, A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC WITH ITS OWN DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS, PRIORITIES, POLICIES AND LEGAL CHALLENGES, HAS MEANT THAT COMPLEX BORDER ISSUES ARE DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE, INCLUDING THE COST EFFECTIVENESS OF A PHYSICAL BARRIER. CONSEQUENTLY, THERE HAS BEEN A GROWTH IN POLICING THE BORDER WITH EXTRA PERSONNEL, SURVEILLANCE, AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGIES. REGARDLESS, DEATHS BY ATTEMPTED CROSSING HAVE INCREASED SHARPLY, AS HAS THE NUMBER OF MIGRANTS BEING DETAINED AT THE BORDER. ROBERT FROST'S INSIGHTS ARE KEEN. A 'GOOD FENCE' IS ONE THAT ADVANTAGES EACH SIDE'S PROSPERITY AND SECURITY. HTTPS://VIMEO.COM/USER80342967/USMEXICOBORDER

BORDERS OF TERRITORIAL CLAIM—FIVE SMALL ISLANDS AND THREE ROCKY OUTCROPS, TOTALLING 7SQ KM OF UNINHABITED LAND IN THE EAST CHINA SEA, NE OF TAIWAN AND SW OF OKINAWA, ARE CLAIMED BY CHINA, TAIWAN AND JAPAN, NAMED RESPECTIVELY THE DIAOYU, TIAOYUTAI AND SENKAKU ISLANDS. CHINA'S CLAIM TO TERRITORIAL RIGHTS DATES BACK TO 1534 AND IS LINKED TO A SIMILAR ARGUMENT FOR TAIWAN. ALTHOUGH AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II JAPAN WAS FORCED TO ABANDON MANY OF ITS VARIOUS TERRITORIES INCLUDING TAIWAN, THE 1951 TREATY OF SAN FRANCISCO ASSIGNED THE SENKAKU ISLANDS TO THE US WHICH RETURNED THEM TO JAPAN IN 1971. DURING THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY, THERE WAS A JAPANESE FISHERIES FACTORY ON ONE OF THE ISLANDS AND OTHERS PASSED INTO PRIVATE OWNERSHIP. THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT MOVED TO BUY THEM BACK IN 2012. THIS, ALONG WITH THE ISLAND'S EXTENSIVE FISHING AND POTENTIAL UNDERWATER OIL AND GAS RESERVES MEANT POLITICAL CLAIMS AND COUNTER CLAIMS ESCALATED. CHINESE, TAIWANESE, AND JAPANESE ACTIVISTS HAVE TRIED TO REACH THE ISLANDS WITH EACH BEING INTERCEPTED BY THE JAPANESE COAST GUARD. HOSTILE AND DEADLY ACTIONS HAVE ENSUED. IN ALL THREE COUNTRIES DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED IN SUPPORT OF CLAIMS AND PROTESTING COUNTER CLAIMS. GEOPOLITICALLY, THE ISLANDS ARE CLOSE TO STRATEGIC SHIPPING LANES AND IN 2013 WERE ENCOMPASSED WITHIN CHINA'S NEW AIR DEFENCE IDENTIFICATION ZONE. THE EXPANDED ZONE IS NOT RECOGNISED BY THE US AND MANY REGIONAL NATIONS. HTTPS://VIMEO.COM/USER80342967/DIAOYUSENKAKUISLANDS

BORDERS AGAINST DISORDER AND FEAR—THE 2013 AUSTRALIAN ELECTION FEATURED A "STOP THE BOATS" CAMPAIGN BY THE CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION WHICH ARGUABLY SWEPT THEM INTO POWER. THE NEW GOVERNMENT INSTIGATED OPERATION SOVEREIGN BORDERS LED BY THE DEFENCE FORCE. AIRFORCE, NAVY, AND ARMY WERE INVOLVED IN SURVEILLANCE, INTERDICTION AND TURN-BACKS OF ASYLUM SEEKER BOATS. LITTLE INFORMATION WAS AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC AS IT WAS ARGUED REVEALING "ON WATER MATTERS" WOULD ASSIST PEOPLE SMUGGLERS. CONCURRENTLY, A REGIONAL DETERRENCE FRAMEWORK INCLUDED AN UNSUCCESSFUL SCHEME TO BUY ASYLUM SEEKER BOATS PRIOR TO EMBARKATION. A 90% REDUCTION IN ASYLUM SEEKER ARRIVALS WAS CLAIMED WITHIN OSB'S FIRST YEAR. TURN-BACKS OCCURRED INCLUDING SOME WHERE AN UNSEAWORTHY BOAT WAS REPLACED BY A NAVY DELIVERED ORANGE SEA SURVIVAL CAPSULE. DURING 2014 LEGAL CHALLENGES WERE BROUGHT AGAINST REFOULEMENT. SUBSEQUENTLY, LEGISLATION WAS ENACTED PRIORITISING BORDER POLICY ABOVE U.N. CONVENTION RIGHTS OF REFUGEES. ASYLUM SEEKERS FROM VESSELS THAT WERE NOT TURNED BACK WERE TAKEN TO NAURU AND MANUS ISLAND OFFSHORE REGIONAL PROCESSING CENTRES. MANY DIVERSE REFUGEE SUPORTING GROUPS AND COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS, LEGAL EXPERTS AND CONCERNED CITIZENS PROTESTED THE POLITICISATION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS ARRIVING BY BOAT AS A GROUP TO BE FEARED, THAT AT BEST WERE ECONOMIC MIGRANTS AND AT WORST, WOULD-BE TERRORISTS. HTTPS://VIMEO.COM/USER80342967/AUSTRALIASBORDER
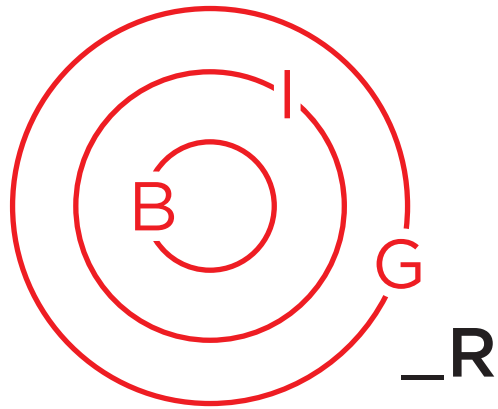
POETRY

POETRY

Rescue Mission: Poems from *Mute Map for the Drowned*

Arian Leka

Photo credit: Roland Tasho

Mute Map for the Drowned
(Botimet Poetika 2019)

Arian Leka was born in the port city of Durrës, 1966. He belongs to a group of authors who appeared as literary avant-garde following the opening of the borders of Albania after the fall of communism. He works as a researcher at the Academy of Albanology Studies (National Institute of Albanian Linguistic and Literary Research) and as a professor at the University of Fine Arts of Tirana and holds a Ph.D. in Literary Sciences. He is the author of 19 literary publications in poetry, short stories, novels, literary essays, and book retellings of ancient Mediterranean mythology as well as of numerous scientific articles and essays on lore and culture. A well-known book is the monograph *Socialist Realism in Albania* (Albanian Academy of Sciences, Tirana 2020) devoted to Albanian literature of the "golden ages" 1930–1944 to the communist period and the soft-modern trends in this literature. Another of his research books is *Consensus and Polemics: On MYTHS and NAMES of Albanian Literature* (Academy of Albanology Studies, Tirana 2022).

Arian Leka's poetry has received several national and international awards. He is editor of the poetry magazine *Poeteka*. His texts can be found translated in many anthologies and magazines worldwide. In 2020 his fact-fiction poetry book *Mute Map for the Drowned* (Poeteka Publications) was translated into several European languages. It is dedicated to the never-ending theme of emigration and human trafficking. Among many similar statements in his work that revolve around Albanian history since the fall of the Berlin Wall, in addition to the inexhaustible European subject of the Balkans, Arian Leka writes:

> The end of my youth coincided with the collapse of the Hoxha regime, but I lived in a matriarchal family system, as my father was a sailor and rarely came home. In the year I was born (1966), the ancient amphitheater of Durrës was discovered, after having slept 1500 years under the soil. A year later (1967), the cultural-atheist revolution began, which closed religious institutions and sent the clergy to work in factories and farms. I don't know if the writings of a man who lived only one year by the grace of God be trusted, as I do not know whether the words of a man who learned to walk in the same year as swimming and who, in the first grade of primary school, began to learn simultaneously the letters, numbers and musical notes? Maybe that was too much for one child. That's why I like to use docu-fiction techniques and the fictionalization of autobiography.

— from television news
March, 1998:

... I heard a voice that spoke to me. "Go upstairs," he told me, "because I'm not feeling well."
That's all I can remember.

— from the memories of a survivor

Rescue Mission

The animals arrived ashore, not us.

A crocodile. A puma. A rhinoceros. A shark. A horse.

An elephant.

Even a long dog,

Which did not reach yet the age of death.

They sailed on our clothes.

Animals, embroidered on branded t-shirts,

Bought in third hand clothing stores, held tightly,

With hoofs and nails against the wet cotton, produced in poor countries,

Such as our homeland, where people drowning in sweat, like us,

Sew their eyelids with a thread.

We saw them breaking the waves.

They abandoned their t-shirts, as the sailors do with ships once they reach the shore,

To bring to people the news that the sea had given us a new nationality,

That our bodies would not appear on the sand, that collared doves could tie a twilight

On their neck, as they sit on the ships' chimneys,

Lined up to be transformed into scrap and rust, out of which,

Once melted, heavy ships are built again for emigrants and

Emigrants' sons, who will wander in this sea late at night,

Trod by our feet and deeply plowed by our legs.

without a date:

... Then I found myself into the sea, I returned to the water surface back within the boat, I got out of
water holding my breath. The boat took me down while entering the sea water.

— from the memories of a survivor

March 26, 1997: three days before the Otranto tragedy:

*If Italy fails to stop the emigration of Albanians towards its shores and land,
then it is better to throw them back into the sea, declares the Italian MP Irene Pivetti*

— from the press and televisions

Children of the Southern Coast of Albania

In August, in the night of the falling stars
Children do not throw flowers into the sea.

We beguiled the little ones offering them plastic stars
We whispered: the drowned are planted as seeds in the soil
They jingle like Pinocchio's golden coins on the earth.

Pennies were the drowned into the sea
At the bottom of the marine mercy's savings box.

The drowned enter the airplane quietly
Dressed in black bags
Similar to HUGO BOSS sheaths
Protecting suits from ultraviolet rays and dust

In the aircraft coffin fridges drip on gifts
Put into wheeled suitcases. Parents queue at the airport. I look forward to the end of the
passport control:

A European. An Albanian. A drowned.

<< EU PASSPORTS—LEFT • RIGHT—ALL OTHER PASSPORTS >>

September 5, 2011:

Irene Pivetti attended the reception for the Italian record holder Massimo Voltolina who swam symbolically across the Adriatic. Her presence in Vlora was not seen well by the representatives of the association of the victims of Otranto family members. "Your presence here has poisoned the Albanian land and our hearts!", she was told in Vlora. At the end of August, Pivetti had a meeting with Jozefina Topalli, Speaker of the Albanian Parliament.

— from the press and television chronicles

February 3, 2016:

According to data from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), 60 of the 272 migrants who drowned in January 2016 in the waters of the Aegean Sea between Turkey and Greece were children.

— from the black chronicle

Heavy Objects

At that time, when according to my dad
I was old enough to have a watch on my bangle
He gave me one: a Zeppelin.

He didn't buy it, but removed it from his wrist
— Move on, fly if you like, but do it quietly, without noise
— Like a Zeppelin?:
      a) — time shuttle —
      b) — a pocket watch with shackles —

A history floats in silence
When children transform the hands of the father's watch
Into navigation shovels
When someone on the shore carves boats
On the bark of trees
A child draws the sea in his notebook
And, watching the news on TV-screen
He tries to respond towards alternatives of what
An immigrant at sea might be
      a) — a floating cloud —
      b) — a boat shovel —
      c) — a broken propeller of Zeppelin —

Mare Nostrum. Mare Mortuum.
Blue grave, separated by liquid — barbed — wire — waves:
      a) — a sea barrack —
      b) — a concentration camp —

August 6, 2015:

Less expectations of finding survivors in the latest maritime tragedy in the Mediterranean

— from the tv news
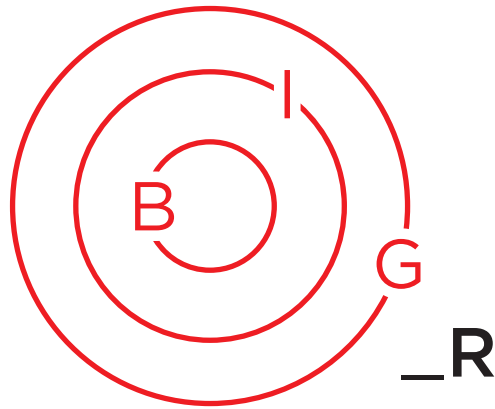
ART & BORDERS
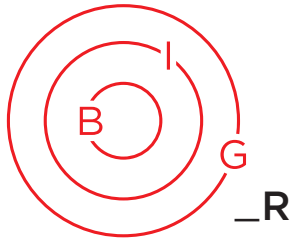
Continuity and Disruption of Borders (a Complete Art Performance)

Paulo Nazareth

Photo credit Paulo Nazareth

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Editor's Introduction

An artist who has explored in depth the physicality of borders, approaching them with a myriad of reflections which rebel or succumb, is an essential artist for *BIG_Review*. Thus, the three-part collection that you will discover here depicts borders as conceived by Paulo Nazareth (born Brazil, 1977). This artist and performer had initially from 2006 designed a series of pamphlets, easy to print and distribute, questioning his own identity and apparent ambivalences. The pamphlets also depict methods for radical migration that may not be realistic or factually realizable, but the point is the intention, the reflection that is engaged, that is transmitted in each manifesto. You will be able to read each pamphlet in different languages, mainly Portuguese, Spanish, and English, as they are mixed to constitute distinct wholes. Heidegger states that we inhabit our language. People who are mixed with several cultures know how intensely the juggling of thoughts spontaneously develops in the mind. This is a condition that cannot be remedied for border crossers who inadvertently mix multiple languages together without realizing it (e.g. Spanglish).

Separately, or as a second step, you will read images from the "Noticias de América" series.[1] It is appropriate to "read" these images, because beyond their composition that encourages the eye to understand, you will see signs held by the artist himself. What is the series about? The project initiated in 2011 by the artist, whose premises were already elaborated in the pamphlets, is a masterful performance and life experience. Paulo Nazareth embarked on the road of the Americas, traveling through 15 countries on foot and by bus from his native Brazil to the United States. If the path is already the journey itself, we have here the exemplary proof that defies latent questions about to the border. Is it a simple device? What do we do with cultures cut by a military and geopolitical line? How does history intrude into every being? What is the proper and …

… collective perception of an identity? Is it given or acquired, how to appropriate it? How to play with a body with mixed race features and disturb stereotypes? What is the meaning of miscegenation and the prejudices that come with it? And why not just play with stereotypes to counteract all prejudice. This is also the path of Paulo Nazareth, for example when he points out the absurdity of entitling a selection of people to legally cross and of the mode of crossing (big liner versus pateras). On the type of locomotion, let us specify two elements here. Paulo Nazareth experienced the buses that brought illegal immigrants to the north of America. The vehicles suggest a whole parallel economy that is now well known. The more official one is transcribed by the wearing of havainas, the typical Brazilian sandals worn throughout his crossing, despite the hostile environments that followed. The artist had described their modest origin in one of the pamphlets you can read here. He concretizes by the thousands of kilometers made on foot; the immense speculation of this object dedicated to the international export. At the end of the journey, we see his cracked feet, reality of a physiological humility, as much as strength of a symbolic accomplishment. Her feet flatten a flag of the United States. The sandals were not originally intended for colossal mileage. Is Nazareth the product of an exported identity? Regrouping the Americas, how the manufacture of history prevents those who were initially legitimate to live on such territory (Treaty of Guadalupe, 1848). The artist's posture (we see it systematically) is like a reportage in situations intrinsically linked to the border.

Finally, years later in 2022, with the artist now internationally recognized in the art world, an event once again connects him to his initial thoughts. He who had never given up on them, finds himself in front of the poignant testimony of a cleaning lady working for his gallerist Mendes Wood DM. It is indeed Paulo Nazareth's wish to transmit here this text "Delante del arte, delante de mí" written by Florencia Cruz Ramos.[2] The original Spanish text is presented here, true to source and standing on its own, for our Spanish readers. This person of Mexican origin recounts her journey as an immigrant, how she managed to find stability despite all the physical, ecosystemic and structural obstacles. She describes her reaction to Paulo's work. Despite integration into the American way of life, there is still an immediate recognition of values and experiences intrinsic to their primary identity. An object was the trigger. A priori insignificant, the worn havainas sandals, photographed and then framed in a completely different context, a gallery, give rise to shared melancholy and memories linked to a Common.

— *Elisa Ganivet, Art & Borders Section Editor*

1   Photo credits: the artist and Mendes Wood Gallery, São Paulo

2   Text transcribed by Luciana de Oliveira [professor at the Department of Social Communication (DCS), School of Philosophy and Humanities (FAFICH), Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG).

1. Itinerant Pamphlet Series

? मेरा भाई कौन है ? WHO IS MY BROTHER ? मेरा भाई कौन है ? WHO IS MY BROTHER ?

Brazilian man Trecheiro (stretch hiker) In Goias / Brazil sec.XXI.by Option.

Afro-krenak de'scendant, Brazilian Artist Paulo Sergio da Silva(Nazareth)Governador Valadares, may 26,1977. In New Delhi / India sec.XXI.Invited.

(Aimorě [Botocudo]) Brazilian man Indian in Paris / France sec. XIX. Hijacked.

IMPORTANT PUBLIC NOTICE

When Cristobal Colon, Spanish navigator, reached the Americas he thought that this country was India, because of that he called it "Las Indias" (the Indias). According to the anthropologists, the American Native population are direct descendents of the Asiatic population. The "AIMORES" of which the "KRENAKS" form a part, were a population that resisted the foreign invasion, were considered the enemy number one of the State and because of that they needed to be destroyed. My grandmother (my mum's mum) Nazareth Cassiano de Jesus, a native Krenak was considered crazy because of her behaviour in society, and like lots of women with the same origin, was committed to a mental hospital. Since then there has been no news of her. My mother still cries. The black population from the Americas don't know exactly which part of Africa they come from. My parents forgot who the completely black man of the family was. When I was in South Africa a black man called me " brother". But my skin is not as black as his. After the abolition of slavery in 1888, the Brazilian country received a big quantity of Italian and other European immigrants. So it may be that my great grandmother (of my dad's side) came to Brazil from Italy… my parents remember this. There are Indians who are as black as the Africans. Governador Valadares, my town of origin in Krenak Antique Land, sent many clandestine immigrants to the United States of America. The first time I left of Brazil was to stay in India. The train of the Vale do Rio Doce Company transports iron ore to diverse part of the world through the Krenaks Town but don't pay toll. I believe that something made with ore of this land is in India. When I walk through Delhi streets no one calls me Indian (indigen). How India will continue being India if I'm not gonna be what I am ?

Quando Cristovão Colombo, Navegador Espanhol, chegou as Américas , pensou que se tratava das Índias, Por isso chamou o povo nativo de Índios. Segundo a Antropologia , os povos indigenas das Américas são descendentes diretos dos povos Asiaticos . Os "AIMORES", povo do qual os "KRENAKS" são uma parte, foram um dos povos que mais resistiu à invasão extrangeira. Por isso considerados inimigos número um do Estado, deveriam ser dezimados. Nazareth Cassiano de Jesus,Índia krenak, mãe de minha mãe, foi considerada louca por não ter um comportamento apropriado à sociedade. Como muitas outras mulheres de semelhante origem, foi internada em um Maniconio, desde então, dela não se tem notícia. Minha mãe ainda chora. O povo Negro das Américas não sabe exatamente de que parte da África vieram.Meus parentes esqueceram quem foi o homem completamente Negro da famila.Quando estive na África do Sul um Negro me chamou de "irmão", mas minha pele não é tão negra quanto a dele. Após a Abolição da Escravidão em 1888, o Brasil recebeu uma grande quantidade de italianos e de outros imigrantes europeus. Foi assim que a mãe da mãe de meu pai chegou ao Brasil,vindo da Italia.Disto meus parentes se lembram. Existem Indianos tão negros quanto os Africanos.Governador Valadares, minha cidade de origem, localizada onde antes pertencera a terras Krenaks, envia muitos imigrantes clandestinos para os Estados Unidos da América.A primeira vez que sai do Brasil foi para estar na India. O trem ,da Companhia Vale Rio Doce, que transporta minério de ferro para diversas partes do Mundo passa por terras Krenaks, mas a CVRD não paga pedágio. Acredito que na India hajá algo feito com minério destas terras . Quando ando pelas ruas de Delhi niguém mim chama de Índio. Como a Índia continuará sendo Índia se eu não estiver Índio sendo o que sou ?

जब कीस्टोबल कोलोन, स्पैन का समुद्री मुसाफिर,अमेरीका पहुँचा, तो उसने सोचा कि वह इन्डिया मे पहुँच गया । 'आईमोरेस' (दक्षिणी अमेरीका के प्राचीन जनजाति) जिनमे से 'केनाक' सभ्यता निकली, उन्होंने विदेशी शासन का विरोध सबसे बड़कर किया था, वे विदेशी शासको के सबसे बड़े दुश्मन थे । मेरी नानी 'नाज़ारेन कासिआनो डे जीसुस' केनाक सभ्यता से थी और उनके चरित्र कि वजह से विदेशीयों ने उनको मानसिक रोगियों के अस्पताल में दाखिल करा दिया था । अन्य कैनाकि महिलाओं को भी इसी दुर्दशा से गुज़रना पड़ा था, और तब से उनकी हमको कोई ख़बर नही है । मेरी माँ अब भी रोती हैं । अमेरीका के कई काले व्यक्तियों को अब भी कोई अदाजा नही हैं कि वह अफ्रिका के किस हिस्से से आयें हैं । मेरे माँ बाप यह भी भूल गये कि हमारे कौन से पुर्वज अफ्रिका से आये थे, जब में साउथ अफ्रिका में था तो एक उधर के आदमी ने मुझ को 'भाई' बुलाया, जब कि मेरा रंग उसके जितन काला नही था । 1888 मे जब हम ब्राजिली विदेशीयों के शासन से मुक्त हुए, ब्राजिल मे बहुत से लोग इटली और अन्य यूरोपियन देशों से लोग रहने के लिए आये थे । मेरे परदादा भी इसी दौरान ब्राजिल पहुँचे थे । मेरा गाँव 'गोवरनर वालादारेस' केनाक सभ्यता का एक हिस्सा हैं , यहाँ से भी अमेरीका ने बहुत से लोगो को दास बनाया था । मैं पहली बार ब्राजिल से बाहर, भारत मे काम करने के लिए आया हूँ । 'वाले डो रियो डोस कम्पनी' जो केनाक इलाकों के लोहे के खानो से लोहा निकालता है, वह केनाक के लोगों को कुछ टैक्स नही देता है । शायद भारत में भी इसी खान से कुछ लोहा आता होगा । जब में दिल्ली की सड़को से चलता हूँ, तो कोई भी मुझको भाई कहकर नही बुलाता हैं । मेरे को बाहर का समझते हैं । भारत कैसे भारत रहेगा अगर में ही में नही रहूँगा ?

? मेरा भाई कौन है ? WHO IS MY BROTHER ? मेरा भाई कौन है ? WHO IS MY BROTHER ?

P.Nazareth Edições – New Delhi / India , march 2006

2 imprec. 2013

PÉ RACHADO [CRACKED FOOT]

Pés de artista [Paulo Nazareth] rachados (desidratados) durante andança com chinelo de dedo entre Belo Horizonte e Basília, entre Nova Délhi e pequenos vilarejos no Himalaia e Mumbai (Bombaim). __[(Paulo Nazareth)Artist's cracked (dehydrated) feet during wanderings with flip-flops between Belo Horizonte and Basilia/ BR, and between New Delhi and small villages in the Himalayas and Mumbai (Bombay) / India....]

Criado em 1962 com borracha brasileira, o chinelo havaiana, um produto 100 % tropical, durante mais de 30 anos o chinelo de dedo foi uma mercadoria destinada aos pobres. Vendido em botecos e outros pequenos comércios localizados em bairros financeiramente desfavorecidos de qualquer cidade do Brasil, se tornou bastante conhecido na América Latina. Exportado para a Europa é sucesso na França. Hoje uma das poucas grifes brasileiras presentes no "velho continente", é utilizado por diversas classes sociais. Os Estados Unidos é o país que mais compra o chinelo de dedos brasileiro, possivelmente os primeiros pares lá chegaram nos pés de imigrantes clandestinos saídos de Governador Valadares / Minas Gerais. atualmente para atender aos caprichos dos mais abastados, alguns chinelos são bordados com missangas de ouro, diamantes e outras pedras preciozas. São confortáveis, mas deixam os pés expostos a poeira possibilitando a rachadura da pele.

[Created in 1962 with Brazilian rubber, havaiana slipper a 100% tropical product for more than 30 years the flip-flops was a commodity for the poor. Sold in pubs and other small shops located in financially disadvantaged areas of any city in Brazil, became well known in Latin America. Exported to Europe's success in France. Today one of the few Brazilian brands present in the "old continent", is used by various social classes. The United States is the country that buys more scuff Brazilian fingers, possibly the first couple arrived there at the feet of illegal immigrants emerging from Governador Valadares / Minas Gerais. currently to meet the whims of the wealthy, some slippers are embroidered with gold beads, diamonds and other stones preciozas. They are comfortable, but leave the feet exposed to dust allowing the crack skin.]

P.NAZARETH EDIÇÕES / LTDA Belo Horizonte / BRASIL jun 2008 _2th edition/printed in USA/2015

escuche en Brasil, antes de salir de casa :"el brasilero es un pueblo que se adapta facilmente a cualquier hambiente en el mundo" ... Charles Darvins , en su teoria de la evolucion dice que hay que se adaptar para sobrevivir...hay dias que me siento un camaleon .... hay dias que soy indio en argentina , paquistan entre peru y colombia , marroquin en colombia y centro america , hindu y a veces garifuna en guatemala, si no fuera por mi pelo podria ser ladino, un monton de cosas en mexico , mulatito en cuba , litle black, litle brown , neger para algunos negros en miami .... antes de ayer un viejo negro me llamo rasta man , con mi pelo sin dreads .... ayer un judio joven en las calles de aqui me pregunto " r you from Israel?" mi cara sigue siendo la misma cara de siempre , quiza un poco mas vieja , quiza con mas marcas que ayer ... pero muchos tienen sus propias ventanas, cada uno con su historia y mirada sobre mi .... hay dias que soy un hombre callejero , hay dias que soy un hombre ecentrico ... hay dias que me miran como ladron, hay dias que me miran como hombre deshonesto, hay dias que me miran como hombre sin etca, hay dias que me miran como hombre exotico, hay dias que me miran como el otro, pero hay dias que soy parte de ellos .... la fotografa de un periodico importante de Estados Unidos de America me dice que soy un privilejiado por tener una cara que se adapta que se adapta al mundo .... pero tambien me dice que tengo que seguir el protocolo, lo que todavia no conozco y eso asusta mucha gente incluso los latino americanos que ya se estabeleceron en este lado de America .... sobre mi deseo de caminar por Africa antes de llegar a Europa , un judio ortodoxo brasilero, amigo de un musulmano de Tunizia, me dice: " cuidado con Africa, usted no es negro , tampoco es blanco ... le puenden matar por su cara" ...


Paulo Da Silva [NAZARETH] encontra Chocolate , amigos hace como 30 anos, que migro' al norte hace como que 10 anos , viajo manejando un viejo carro por 2000 millas desde conecth / north USA hasta florida/ south USA para escuchar las memorias . Tiene un hijo negro nacido en United Stated of America, entre los blacks es un *neger* , pero los padres no son asi llamados. Escuche' de su boca : " conozco cualqier raza , solamente mirando la cara , son muchos anos viviendo aca' "

P.NAZARETH EDIC./ LTDA __ Miami, FL / USA dec. 2011

```
pedir a maN'e que proximo aos seus  80 anos retorne ao territorrio borum
no Vale  do Rio Doce para ver os parentes antigos ----
pedir a maN'e que proximo aos seus  80 anos retorne ao territorrio borum
no Vale do Rio Doce para saber dos parentes antigos ----
pedir a maN'e que proximo aos seus  80 anos retorne ao territorrio borum
no Vale do Rio Doce para saber dos ancestros ----
pedir a maN'e que proximo aos seus  80 anos retorne ao territorrio borum
no Vale do Rio Doce para buscar as marcas que lhe aproximam dos antigos ----------
pedir a maN'e que proximo aos seus  80 anos retorne ao territorrio borum
no Vale do Rio Doce para conversar com os espiritos dos antigos ----
pedir a maN'e que proximo aos seus  80 anos retorne ao territorrio borum
no Vale    do Rio Doce para conversar com os espiritos dos ancestrais ------------
pedir a maN'e que proximo aos seus  80 anos retorne ao territorrio borum
no Vale   do Rio Doce para conversar com os espiritos dos ancestrais ------------
pedir a maN'e que proximo aos seus  80 anos retorne ao territorrio borum
no Vale    do Rio Doce para conversar com outros velhos y velhas ----
_____
ask my mother to return to the borum territory in the Vale do Rio Doce
when she is close to 80 years old to see her old relatives ----
ask my mother to return to the borum territory in the Vale do Rio Doce
when she is close to 80 years old to know her old relatives ----
ask my mother to return to the borum territory in the Vale do Rio Doce
when she is close to 80 years old to know about her ancestors ----
ask my mother to return to the borum territory in the Vale do Rio Doce
when she is close to 80 years old to look for the marks that bring her closer to
the old ones ----
ask my mother to return to the borum territory in the Vale do Rio Doce
when she is close to 80 years old to talk with the spirits of the ancients -------
ask my mother to return to the borum territory in the Vale do Rio Doce
when she is close to 80 years old to talk with the spirits of the ancestors ------
ask my mother to return to the borum territory in the Vale do Rio Doce
when she is close to 80 years old to talk with the old men and old women ---------
```
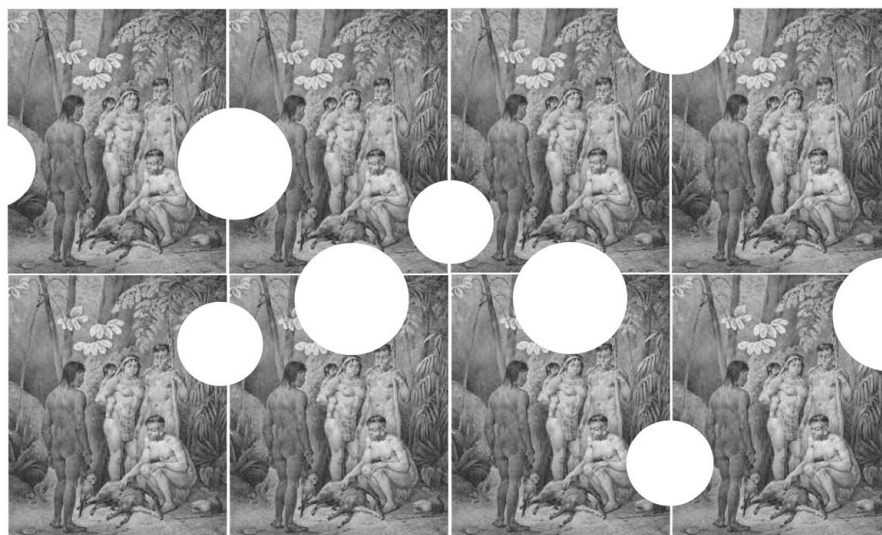

rugendas illustration about the life of bouns «indigenous» familie in southest brazil -- 18th century
ilustrazsaN'o de rugendas sobre a vida familiar de «indigenas» boruns no sudeste do brasil - sec. XVIII

aa mama / to mama - P.NAZARETH EDIÇÕES LTDA - palmital A - st7 - Santa Luzia - MG _BR / germantown / NY _ USA- set - 2022

R$ 1,00

PROJECTO: COLEÇÃO DE ÔNIBUS CLANDESTINOS QUE SEGUEM PARA O . NORTE.
_ seguir viagem em diferentes ônibus clandestinos a partir do Brasil até chegar aos Estados Unidos da America
_ atravessar toda a América em ônibus clandestino
_ atravessar as fronteiras caminhando ou em coletivos interurbanos
_ registrar o percurso de viagem
_fotografar, desenhar, registrar os ônibus clandestinos que seguem para o norte ....
_ tomar todos os ônibus clandestinos que seguem para o norte

PROJECT: COLLECTION BUS OF CLANDESTINE THAT HEADS NORTH

_ Then travel on different buses Illegals from Brazil to reach the United States of America
_ Travel across America on buses illegal
_ Cross borders on foot or in collective intercity
_ Record the route of travel
_ Photograph, draw, record the illegal buses that go north
....
_ Take every bus clandestines that go north

P. NAZARETH EDIÇÕES / LTDA Nova Lima / MG _ BRASIL nov. 2010
projeto & realizaveis [project & realyzables]
_2th edition/printed in USA/2015

R$ 1,00

PROJECTO: COLEÇÃO FRAGMENTOS DE MUROS QUE SEPARAM
POVOS [éticos / sociais]
_arrancar, coletar , arquivar fragmentos [tijolos,pedras, ferragens, projetos de
construção, plantas, desenhos] de cada muro , muralha e cerca existente no
mundo; erguido para separar povos de etnias e classes sociais distintas. [
muros construídos na antiguidade e nos tempos contemporâneos]
_arrancar, coletar, arquivar fragmentos de muros que separam pessoas por :
gênero , "raça", crença, classe social
....

PROJECT: COLLECTION OF FRAGMENTS WALLS THAT SEPARATE
PEOPLE [ethical / social]
_ Start, collect, archive fragments [bricks, stones, hardware, construction
projects, plans, drawings] of every fence, wall and fence in the world, built to
separate people of different ethnicities and social classes. [Walls built in
antiquity and in contemporary times]
_ Start, collect, archive, fragments of walls that separate people by gender,
race, creed, social class

imigrante clandestino depois de ser deportado dos eua [ilegal imigrat after deport from USA
] -- GETTY

<u>P.NAZARETH EDICOES / LTDA</u> Nova Lima - MG / BRASIL nov. 2010
PROJETOS & REALIZAVEIS [PROJECTS & REALIZABLES}

R$ 1,00

PROJECTO:
_ respira profundamente
  alongar toda a coluna
- relaxar todo o corpo

_deixar que o corpo caminhe sem presa
_ escolher/eleger um ponto qualquer do globo. país,região, cidade com   . grande contingente de migrantes   .
_eleger outro ponto de grande exodo   [migrantes / emigrantes]
_ caminhar em direção ao ponto de e migração
_ caminhar em sentido contraria ao fluxo migratorio ---

PROJECT:

_ breathes deepl.
_lengthen the entire spine.
_ relax the whole body

_ let the body walk without prey
_ choose / elect any point on the globe. country, region, city. large numbers of migrants. _ elect another point of great exodus [migrants / immigrants] _ walk toward the point of . migration and
_ move in a direction contrary to the migratory flow

Imigrantes poloneses no Brasil { polonian imihrate in Brazil]   Sec. Cent XX

P. NAZARETH EDIÇÕES / LTDA Nova Lima / MG _ BRASIL nov. 2010
projecto & realizaveis [project & realyzables]   _2th edition/printed in USA/2015

```
A MENOR DISTANCIA ENTRE DOIS PONTOS:_____

colocar corda em linha reta entre havana/cuba y Key West/USA
---
170.9 km de corda vermelha + 341 boias de navegazsaN'o com
parte superior conífera verde.
---------------------------------------------------------

THE SHORTEST DISTANCE BETWEEN TWO POINTS:_____

put straight rope between havana/cuba and key west/USA
---
170.9 km of red rope + 341 navigation buoys with a green
conifer top.
```

R$ 1,00

PROJECTO:
_ seguir para paises ditos desenvolvidos (1o mundo) ....
_ entrar em paises ditos desenvolvidos (1o mundo) sem bagagem alguma , apenas com a roupa do corpo ....

PROJECT:
 _moving towards developed countries (first world)
 _get in the developed countries (first world) without any luggage, only with . the clothes

Passeata de imigrantes nos Estados Unidos da America, primeiro de maio de 2010
[Immigrant march in the United States of America, May 1, 2010]

P. NAZARETH EDIÇÕES / LTDA Nova Lima / MG _ BRASIL nov. 2010
projecto & realizaveis   [project & realyzables]
_2th edition/printed in USA/2015

2. Noticias de América

Havaianas—Produtos de genocidio, undated
chinelo
flip flops
30 x 19 x 2 cm

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series,* 2013
photo printing on cotton paper
45 x 60 cm

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series,* 2012

Busco Barco Para Cuba, from *Noticias de America series,* 2012

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series,* 2012

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series,* 2012

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series*, 2011

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series*, 2012

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series,* 2012

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series,* 2012

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series,* 2011

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series,* 2012

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series,* 2012

Untitled, from *Noticias de America series,* 2012

✳ Photo credits: the artist and Mendes Wood Gallery, São Paulo

3. Delante del arte, delante de mí.

Soy Florencia Cruz Ramos. Soy mexicana. Vengo del Estado de Guerrero, de un pueblito pequeño que se llama Tlaquiltepec. Estoy casada con Jesús Acevedo Rescalvo, mi gran compañero de vida. Tenemos dos hijas, Fernanda Acevedo Cruz y Natalia Acevedo Cruz. Vivo en Estados Unidos hace 27 años. Acá nacieron mis hijas, a quienes me dediqué a cuidar hasta que pudieron ingresar a la universidad. Siempre me preocupé mucho por la educación de mis niñas para que pudieran crecer con amor y sabiduría. Por ello luché mucho, para que las escuelas por las que pasaron pudieran ofrecerles la mejor enseñanza y que no les negaran nada por el hecho de ser hijas de inmigrantes. El sistema trata diferentemente a los blancos que a nosotros, los latinos y latinas. ¡Hay que luchar mucho!

En nuestro hogar mantuvimos tanto la relación con nuestra lengua, con nuestros parientes, con nuestros ancestros, con nuestras festividades, con nuestra fé y con nuestra manera de vivir. Pero igual intentamos aprovechar las oportunidades que hay en este país para abrir espacios a nuevas pasiones como la música, el ballet, el tenis y todas las actividades culturales y artísticas a las que pudiéramos acceder. Cuando mis hijas eran pequeñas, íbamos al programa llamado Head Start y ahí íbamos todas las mamás o los papás. Nosotros podíamos estar con ellas y nos enseñaban programas. Eso se llevaba a cabo en un salón de clases y me parece que eran dos horas solamente. Ahí también hicieron un libro y en una página había una foto de mis hijas con otra niña riendo a carcajadas.

Florencia Cruz Ramos personal document
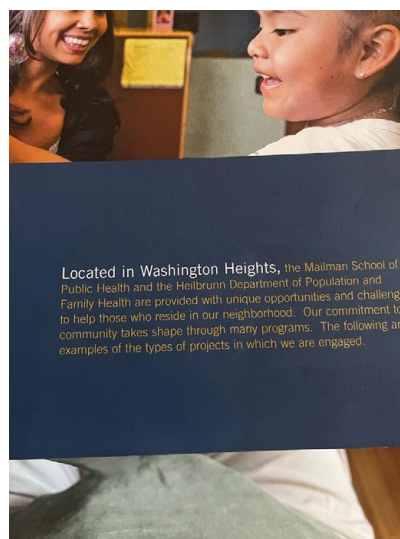
Después de dedicarme exclusivamente a cuidar a mis hijas, busqué trabajos de limpieza. Llevo muchos años trabajando como vendedora autónoma de productos de belleza. En estas tierras entrego mi fuerza de trabajo, tanto para construir este país como para buscar tener una vida digna. Les digo que llegar acá no fue fácil. Pero en esa trayectoria de trabajo, he conocido a mucha gente porque cuando vivimos en un país extranjero las amistades son también nuestros parientes. Fué por medio de esos trabajos de limpieza que llegué a Mendes Wood Dmab en la Ciudad de Nueva York, donde soy limpiadora. De mi amiga Marlene conocí al Sr. Richard Brown y de él conocí a Nancy Brown. Ella me invitó a trabajar en la Galería. Ahí he visto muchas imágenes que me impresionaron y conocí a personas amables a quiénes quiero mucho.

Escribo este texto porque hice ese camino. Un camino de México hacia acá. Sin caminar por ello, usted que me lee, no me leería. No es fácil tener una voz, contar la historia de uno. El Sr. Paulo sabe de ello porqué igual ha trabajado en la limpieza. El Sr. Paulo sabe valorar a cada persona con su arte. Por ello estoy acá, para escribir estas líneas y darle voz a mis sentimientos delante de su arte, cuando hago mi camino.

Recuerdo el primer día que llegué con Matthew Wood (Mateo), en su departamento, y vi esas chanclitas. Yo les digo chanclitas. Las vi y me quedé frente a ellas un rato largo. Y dije: ¡GUAU! Esas chanclas: ¡Me recuerdan tanto! Así quedaban las mías. Así quedaban las mías de tanto usarlas cuando éramos niñas. Y a mí me encantaban esas chanclas. Yo no quería otro tipo de zapatos o sandalias para ir a la escuela o para ir a todos lados porque en nuestro país hace mucho calor. Y siempre, siempre. Y me recordé cuando las vi así tan acabadas y dije: "iguau me recuerdan a mis chanclas! Las chanclas de mi infancia y de mi adolescencia". Porque cómo adolescentes igual íbamos así en chanclas. Y yo recuerdo entonces que me quedé ahí un tiempo pensando en ellas y muchas preguntas se me ocurrían. ¿De quién serán? ¿De Mateo? No creo ¿Serán de su abuelito, de su abuelita, o de alguién de su familia? Pero luego vi una foto a su lado, de un hombre que llevaba una camisa verde, con un fondo color naranja, y que traía una hoja y una quijada en la cabeza, clavada en el pelo, como si fuera un sombrero para taparse del sol. Y me quedé pensando: ¿Serán de él?

Después de eso, conocí a Paulo Nazareth personalmente. También fue en la casa de Mateo. Yo estaba arriba de la escalera acomodando las sábanas, cuando llegó Paulo y me saludó. Luego descubrí que las chanclitas eran las mismas de él y le

digo: "¡Oh que me recuerdan mi infancia y adolescencia!" Y yo no sé bien qué le haya impresionado de que yo haya dicho esas palabras.

Luego yo pude asociarlo también a otra imagen que había en ese mismo departamento y estaba pegada en el refri. En ella estaba Paulo con un cartel colgado del cuello y una camioneta verde llena de bananas muy amarillas.

Y del palito. ¡Ay me da mucha risa! Es que a veces muchas personas lo toman a mal, ¿verdad? Pero hubo un día que me encontré con Paulo y yo le digo que estoy viejita. Él estaba caminando apoyándose en un palito y él me dijo que, la verdad, él ya estaba viejito, porque usaba un palito. Y yo le contesté que no, que el palito no era porque él ya esté grande, el palito era porque es parte de su arte.

Photo hanging on the fridge

En Mercer, un gran estudio donde viven artistas de la galería, he convivido con Paulo y su familia. Ahí hemos cocinado y platicado. En ese espacio vi a dos pinturas que me trajeron recuerdos de mi caminar. Me hicieron recordar aquellos días tan difíciles de trasbordar. De dejar México y entrar a los Estados Unidos. Para mí fue muy muy difícil cruzar la frontera. Salí un día 26 de febrero y sólo llegué un 3 de mayo.
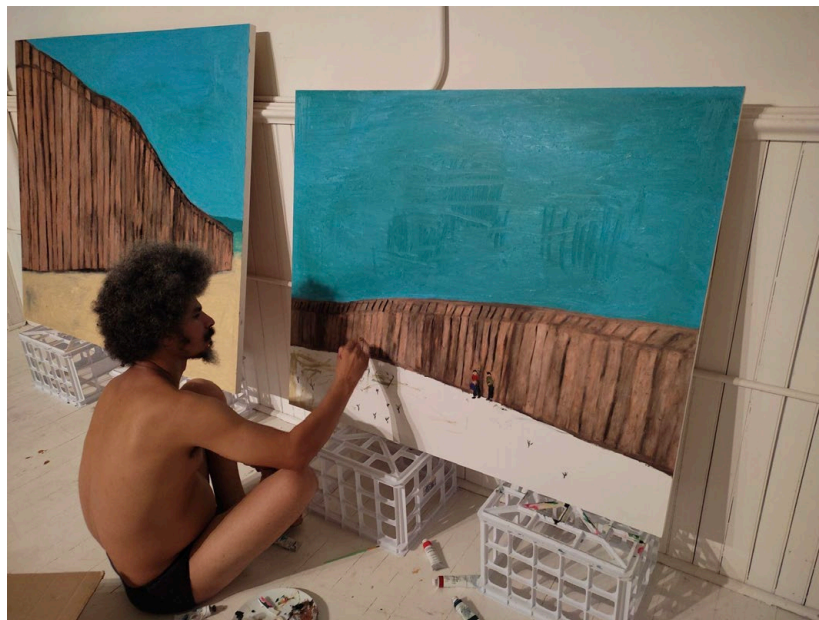
Paulo Nazareth working

Yo no pude saltar el gran muro que ví en esas pinturas. Ni con la ayuda de alguien y tuvieron que excavar debajo del muro para mi y otras personas. Las zanjas donde rascaron para que pudiéramos cruzar arrastrados sobre la tierra fue un invento de los guías que nos traían. Lo hicieron a la noche y en otro rato nos llamaron y cruzamos. Ellos se dieron cuenta que habían inventado otra manera de cruzar que iba a servir a muchas personas que no podían saltar y a otras que se lastimaban los piés al saltar. Pero igual era difícil porque no nos hacían a medidas y yo misma me quedé atorada ahí en los alambres. Cruzábamos por montañas, cruzábamos por alambres. Una vez yo ya había pagado a unos guías y entonces ya estábamos por la altura de Denver y nos dijeron que nos había parado migración y éramos muchos los que veníamos en el carro—veníamos atravesados, unos a piés, otros del otro lado, de pies a cabeza, veníamos como 35 personas. El chofer se pasó un

semáforo y la policía nos agarró y nos llevó con migración. Ya habíamos pagado y ya teníamos un día entero y una noche entera de viaje en el carro. Cuando nos agarraron fueron 20 días apresados ahí y después nos llevaron de vuelta a la frontera de México. Y volví a cruzar, y volví a cruzar. ¡Es difícil recordar!

Por ello cuando llegué aquí hasta las sirenas de los carros de policía me asustaban mucho y yo quería esconderme. Y me decía mi cuñada: "¡No hagas eso! Eso no es migración. Acá no te van a hacer nada". Pero ya había mucho tiempo que estaba por acá y me daban pesadillas de cuando crucé la frontera. Y cuando llegué me dije a mí misma que jamás iba a regresar a mi país para no tener que cruzar la frontera de nuevo. ¡Y acá estoy!

Por ende, les cuento de la exhibición de arte y les dejo un mensaje de esperanza. De ahí me recuerdo el vídeo donde Nazareth está en la playa sentado arriba de un poste de palo y dándoles de comer a las palomas. Cuando yo lo ví y ví su mirada, pensé conmigo: ¿Qué pensará, qué pensará Paulo? ¿Pensará en su niñez o pensará en su mamá y en su papá? Cuando voy a la Montaña del Oso - me gusta a las 6 de la tarde ir a sentarme ahí porque veo el sol meterse - a mi se me vienen a mi imaginación mis padres, mi niñez y mi adolescencia. Eso me emociona y me hace llorar que no puedo hablar de ello y no llorar. Así pués cuando miré ese video e imaginé los pensamientos de Paulo, fue como verme a mi misma en un espejo. Le pido a Dios que me dé hasta los 75 años de vida. Hasta los 70 quiero trabajar. Después quiero aprender inglés y portugués. Con el inglés voy a poder leer libros de algunos amigos y de algunas amigas que hice a lo largo de mi vida acá en Estados Unidos. Con el portugués voy a poder leer todos los libros de Paulo Nazareth, con sus historias que, a la vez, me impresionan y me emocionan mucho.

— Florencia Cruz Ramos
Otoño de 2022

∗ Florencia Cruz Ramos es mexicana imigrante en Estados Unidos trabaja como limpiadora en muchos lugares de NYC y fue limpiando las casas de los patrones que conoció en el trabajo de Paulo.

∗ Text transcribed by Luciana de Oliveira [professor at the Department of Social Communication (DCS), School of Philosophy and Humanities (FAFICH), Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG)
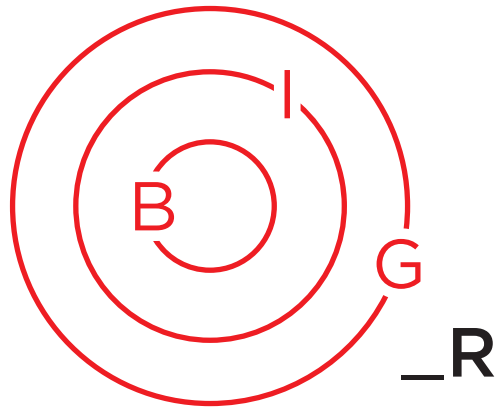
BOOK & FILM REVIEWS

In addition to book reviews of scholarly works in border studies, *BIG_Review* also publishes fiction reviews of both novels and films related to the world of borders—whether political, material, cultural, or conceptual borders. The Book & Film Reviews Section is edited by the Chief Editor Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly (book reviews) and Hakan Ünay (film reviews). Like all content we publish, the reviews are available for free in open-access Creative Commons licensing.
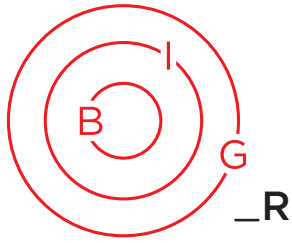
FILM REVIEW

Daha: "Chasing More Hope, Questing More Humanity"

M. Derya Canpolat *

Daha

2017

Directed by Onur Saylak

Written by Onur Saylak, Doğu Yaşar Akal, and Hakan Günday

Run time: 1 hour, 55 minutes

Original language: Turkish

More information at https://www.imdb.com/title/tt5927420/

The 2017 Turkish film *Daha* (*More*), inspired by Hakan Günday's novel and directed by Onur Saylak, deals with the precarity of migrants in smuggling networks through a troubled father-and-son relationship. It is the second film directed by Saylak, who is also one of Turkey's best-known actors. Saylak explains that he directed this film with the motivation that cinema should educate audiences and encourage them to confront challenging topics. *Daha* takes place in Kandalı, a fictional town on the Aegean coast of Turkey where migrant smuggling is rampant. The film focuses on a smuggling network and the different actors involved: a migrant smuggler, a leader of the safe house, and boat owners. Ahad, the migrant smuggler, and his 14-year-old son Gaza, the leader of the safe house, are the anti-hero protagonists of the film. The plot is presented from Gaza's perspective, with his narration, and it follows his bleak character arc. At the beginning of the film, the text "*the first tool used by a human is another person*" appears on the screen to draw attention to the theme of exploitation.
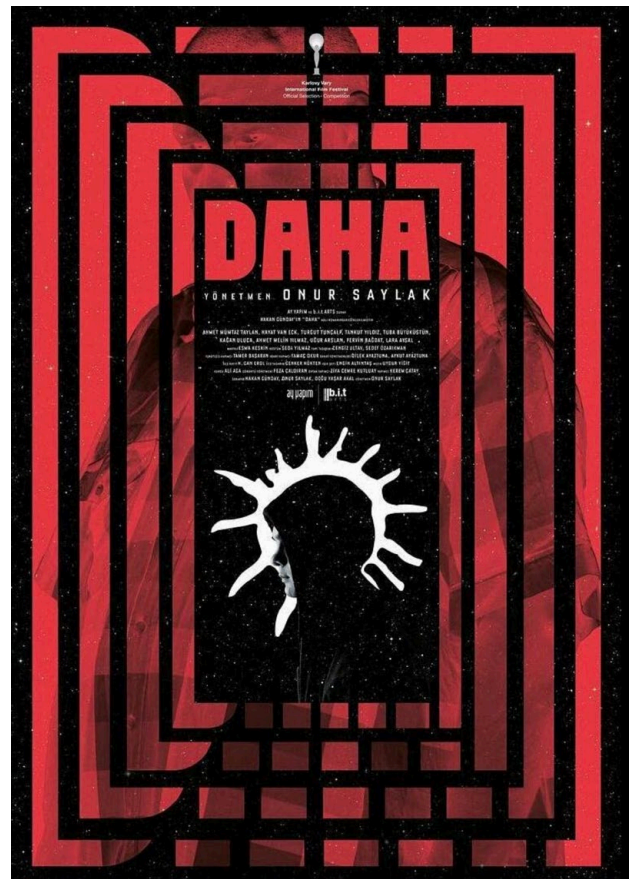
In the film, the father Ahad picks up migrants including men, women, and children crossing the Turkish borders, loads them in his truck, and brings them to a warehouse—the "safe house". He keeps them in this place for a period of time. When the boats are ready

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to embark on a sea voyage, he delivers the migrants to the boat owners so that they can cross the sea by boats. With a domineering personality, he approaches migrants not as human beings but as commodities. He is abusive and disregards their humanity. Gaza, unlike his father, is initially presented as kind and thoughtful. He tries at first to empathize with migrants, while keeping them under surveillance in the dark, overcrowded, unhygienic warehouse. His father wants Gaza to join the migrant smuggling network and work for him. So he manipulates Gaza, trying to make him more ruthless. For example, the father says, "*Do you see the state of the man who left his home and ran away? Empty dream, always empty dream. These are just empty dreams. Do you know what empty dreams do to the people, Gaza? It turns you into an insect. You go into a hole, and you eat each other*". Ahad's words shed a cynical light on the desperation of migrants and the callous treatment they endure for the sake of their hope. In the film, the boat owners are appreciably more humane than Ahad. For example, they warn him to reduce the number of migrants per boat, pointing out that overcrowding increases the risk of boats sinking. These exchanges are ominous since thousands of migrants lose their lives every year in the Aegean Sea. Even for those who arrive at their destination, there is no guarantee of hope, as Gaza's voice dramatically emphasizes: "*What would happen if you could go there? No one would look at you, and no one would hear you. No one would even ask your name. People would hate you so much that real estate prices would drop wherever you settled*".

The film documents Gaza's disheartening transformation. This change begins with his father's insistence that the migrants are drifting towards uncertainty. It continues when Gaza's effort to attend high school is hindered by his father. Consequently, Gaza becomes increasingly apathetic and insensitive. Although he initially resisted his role in the smuggling networks, he finally accepts it. He says, "*Actually, that warehouse was a sewer. A sewer through which people flow. I was trying not to get stuck. And since I was in charge of a sewer, I said I would be the god of that sewer*". After first resisting his father's path, Gaza embraces it, and his treatment of migrants becomes cruel.

In sum, on the one hand, the film draws attention to migrants who are compelled to leave their countries in pursuit of safety and better lives. On the other hand, it highlights the migrant smuggling networks whose actors are indifferent to migrants and approach them only as goods that bring profit. In doing so, the film reveals the relationship between migrants and the smuggling networks that exploit and cause harm, sexual violence, and death. The film conveys that while trying to break through the prison walls that his father built for him, Gaza turns into the guard of the prison and continues his father's inhuman treatment of migrants.

Such themes related to migrant smuggling networks and related challenges of border governance are broadly treated in academic studies (Başlar 2018; İçduygu 2021; Arslan et al. 2021; Yıldız 2021). These themes have also started to be the subject of films, and *Daha* is one unforgettable example.

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FILM REVIEW

Ballon: Fly to Freedom

M. Mustafa Iyi *

Ballon

2018

Directed by Michael Herbig

Written by Kit Hopkins, Thilo Röscheisen, Michael Herbig

Run Time: 2 hours, 5 minutes

Original Language: German

More Information: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt7125774/

"Freedom! Freedom! Freedom!" In response to the cries, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany at the time, answers, "Those who wait will finally be able to get to the Federal Germany by train!" The Minister tells the news to the people who are waiting to cross the wall and move to the West, that is, to freedom. The 2018 German film *Ballon* (*Balloon*) comes to an end with exactly this moment. The plot of the film is based on the true story of a group of people desperate to escape from East Germany, or the German Democratic Republic (GDR). It is the story of two families fleeing from the GDR state of Thuringia in 1979. The two families plan to escape with a hot air balloon.

The film is directed, written, and produced by Michael "Bully" Herbig, a German comedian, actor, entrepreneur, screenwriter, director, voice actor, and producer. The award-winning Herbig became known for, among other things, the television show "Bullyparade" and the films *Der Schuh des Manitou (The Shoe of Manitou)* and *(T)Raumschiff Surprise—Periode 1 (Spaceship Surprise—Period 1)*, which are among the most-watched

German productions of all time. *Ballon* is Herbig's first non-comedy directorial work; it belongs to the thriller genre.

The film begins with the depiction of a person trying to cross the border in East Germany and being shot and stopped by soldiers. This scene is accompanied by a song performed by the youth choir:

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Our homeland is not only towns and villages,
our homeland is also the trees in the woods.
Our homeland is the grass on the meadow, the corn
  on the field
and the birds in the air and the animals on earth.
And the fish in the river are the homeland.
We love our beautiful homeland
and we protect it because it belongs to the people,
because it belongs to our people.

The film is set in Pößneck, Thuringia, in the summer of 1979. The Strelzyk and Wetzel families develop a daring plan to flee the GDR to West Germany in a home-made hot air balloon. About to attempt an escape in perfect wind conditions, Günter Wetzel decides it is too dangerous. He thinks the balloon is too small for eight people, and his wife Petra is afraid for their two children. Therefore, they stop trying to escape for a short time. However, Doris and Peter Strelzyk want to escape alone with their two sons. One of the son's named Frank has fallen in love with Klara Baumann, the daughter of his neighbor Erik, who works for the Stasi.

The Strelzyk family fails in their first attempt to escape, for reasons they could not foresee, and they fall to the ground very close to the border. Unfortunately, the Stasi soon finds the fallen balloon and starts to discover the attempted escape under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Seidel. So a large investigation begins. The investigators narrow down the radius in which the balloon could have originated. For the next few weeks, both families live in constant fear that the Stasi might link them to the attempted escape. However, Peter wants to try again. Before that, the Strelzyk family travel to East Berlin, where they hope to be able to get out of with the help of the East Berlin US Embassy, but this attempt also fails.

After a while, Peter convinces Günter to make another balloon to escape. Meanwhile, the Stasi publishes photos in the press of the items that the Strelzyks had to leave behind at the landing site of their first attempt. After Günter finishes the second balloon to escape, the Stasi work out the identities of the Strelzyk and Wetzel families and break into their house, but the families are already on their way. This time, the start is not as auspicious as on their first attempt, and when the gas runs out, they have to land in a forest after half an hour's flight. At first, they did not know whether they had successfully crossed the border. Peter and Günter then meet a police patrol car. When the police tell them that they are in Upper Franconia, that is, West Germany, the families rejoice. At this point, the policeman's question, "How many more people will come?" is like an expression of the desire of the people to escape from East Germany to the West.

The main theme of the film is escape. The idea of escaping from East Germany is dominant in most scenes of the film. More widely, the theme is common in almost all films that deal with the border between West and East Germany. In this sense, it may have been more realistic to add scenes about the "new life" beyond the border, in terms of understanding the sociological effect of the border. Another point of the movie is that authoritarian states turn to the Foucauldian panopticon to control their society. Today, for example, China's surveillance of social activity by equipping cities with cameras is an important indicator of borders built without great walls. On the other hand, as conveyed in the movie, the Berlin Wall was built to prevent people from crossing inside to outside. While today's walls physically resemble the Berlin Wall, their purpose is to prevent the passage of people from outside to inside. This situation makes the Berlin Wall an outlier for border studies, and also shows the importance of exploring the wall in film.

There is a word in German to describe the longing for home: "*heimweh*". Early in the film, one of the characters trying to escape to the West uses the term to express that she will miss her home. Though the entire film is based on escaping to the West, the sadness of "*heimweh*" is often expressed throughout the film. Therefore, even if the reward for crossing the border is freedom, leaving home has always been a painful process.

As a final word, *Ballon* makes us realize that although it narrates the events of 40 years ago, what is happening today in many parts of the world is not very different. The walls, which were overcome with hot air balloons at that time are overcome today with ladders, tunnels, and dangerous circuitous routes. The lesson then as now appears to be that walls don't work.

BOOK REVIEW

Comparing Russia and China through their Borderlands: A Review of _On the Edge_, by F. Billé and C. Humphrey

Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly *

On the Edge: Life along the Russia–China Border
by Franck Billé and Caroline Humphrey
2021
Harvard University Press
376 pages.
https://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674979482

On the Edge presents some of the major findings from Where Rising Powers Meet, a research program held at the University of Cambridge. Frank Billé and Caroline Humphrey take the view that life in borderlands has much to teach us; their book details the enriching views of 'borderlanders.' They discuss what we learn about China's and Russia's centres when we look at them from those borderlands. Indeed, both countries work fundamentally differently. China is swift in its actions and builds equipment. It is keen to learn from local populations. Whereas Russia on its side of the border does not seem able to deliver equipment, and/or enlists volunteers (to prevent local self-organising groups) to manage policy consultations.

Although in parts controversial, the determination of China's borders is well documented in western literature; according to Howland (1996), Harrell (1995) Endymion (2000) these are imperial borderlands overwriting
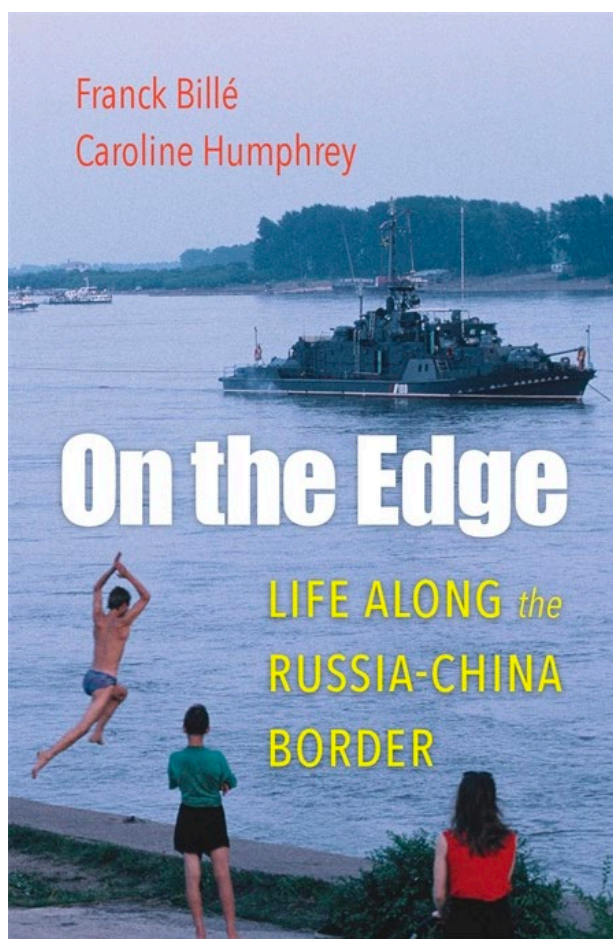
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the human geography of at least 55 minorities. During the early Qin and Han eras (Tang, Song, Ming and Qing dynasties) these remained both borderlands and frontiers. Diana Lary (2007) in *The Chinese State at the Border* interrogates the stability of China's border since the third century and documents how fluid those regions remain until the 18th century, when progressive imperial overreach started to transform those regions. The early Soviet and Communist era was a period of unique friendship, which lasted between about 1949 and 1953 when Khrushchev engaged in reforms. Tensions between China and Russia then were revived. A dispute regarding the position of the boundary line across the Heilongjiang or Amur river, whose thalweg seem irrelevant in winter months because once iced-over it turns out to be a highway for trade flows, also justified multiple conflicts. The peaceful resolution of those took nearly 20 years and was only ratified in April and May 2005, and in 2008 for the eastern part of the boundary line. Respected Japanese scholar Iwashita's own discussion of *A 4000 Kilometer Journey along the Sino–Russian Border* also documents intense activities on the Chinese side of the Heilongjiang River but illustrates China's new posture vis-à-vis its borders with Russia (and also with Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, and the China Seas). However, Iwashita, for instance, notes that border disputes become boundary line demarcation disputes, and ultimately are resolved. Indeed, the relationship between both countries in our early part of the 21 century is stable. Our understanding of the relationship, however, remains informed by state-centric and geopolitical views; this is not a view from the ground, or the perspective of the people that live along the shared boundary line.

This is where Billé and Humphrey innovate brilliantly with *On the Edge*, a book that discusses and contextualises our current knowledge of Russia and China focusing on the borderlands alongside the Shilka, Argun, Amur, and Ussuri Rivers; they write "we describe what is actually happening, record real-life events, and explain the experiences of citizens of Russia and China as they deal with both the policy injunction from above and their encounters with one another" (2). Their book is divided into seven chapters, an introduction, and a Coda. Notably, the book has 58 pages of notes, 22 pages of references, and an 18-pages index.

In the Introduction and Chapter 1, "Border Spaces", Billé and Humphrey set the stage of Russia's "administrative-territorial monster" (37), its anisotropic strength expanding across its eastern expanses in a linear, colonial manner, whereby margins are sparsely populated, and, of China's circular and wave-like swelling and expansion across waters and lands from a Manchu center, and today's resulting densely populated and entrepreneurial borderlands. In the middle, the Shilka, Argun, Amur, and Ussuri Rivers have lost their status as transportation corridors: these are rivers with no bridges. There is a rail connection at the land border of Zabaikal/Manzhouli; a known customs bottleneck where train cars linger to

adapt from a larger to a narrower rail system (Russian/Chinese). In Chapter 2, "Standoff in the Border River", the authors detail the actions of each center into their peripheries: China's may be evolving into a more centralised system, but its borderlands are also managed by innumerable organisations that participate in making the border region. This is in great contrast with the sparce organisation on the Russian side, highly dependent on the views and resulting political patronage of the center.

Chapter 3, "Making a Living in the Cross-Border Economy" is a review of how there are many more Russians on the ground in China, than the reverse. That despite Russian media portraits, Chinese in Russia work contracts and do not settle. Suggesting that for China, cooperation in the region is functional and inclusive (as illustrated by the controversial Road and Belt initiative launched by Xi Jinping in 2013), whereas for Russia it is territorial and historical, i.e. serving the maintenance of a post-Soviet geopolitical order. Chapter 4, "Indigenous Peoples of the Borderlands", one of the four most outstanding chapters of this book (Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7) Caroline Humphrey, thanks to detailed interviews, describes and analyses the lives of Indigenous communities in those borderlands. As policies succeed in further differentiating them across the borders, in the face of growing poverty and uncertain futures for their youths, Indigenous communities in Russia are seeking more independence from the federation. In China, communities are trading their-identities-and-lands into tourism ventures. However, thanks to religious activities and rituals those communities also reinvent their cross-border relationships. China in particular does not like it, but electronic networks interfere and enhance communal relationships. In "Friends, Foes, and Kin across the Border" (Chapter 5) Francois Billé explores and questions young Chinese and Russian people to assess how genuine the relationship is: he argues that it is shallow. The Russian side's primary goal is borderland delineation and separation, whereas, on the Chinese side, economic and touristic reasons drive a lot of business arrangements. In parts both central governments, thanks to transfers of populations into the borderlands have succeeded in maintaining a social and cultural distance across the border. In Chapter 6, "Resources and Environment", Billé explores through more interviews the role of poaching and conservation in the borderlands. The chapter is counterintuitive: poaching is active but conservation as well thanks to a convergence of both academic cooperation and national image-building exercises serving both Putin and Xi, resulting in the preservation of the Amur Leopard, the Siberian Tiger, and concurrently the formation of a nature reserve larger than the United States' Yellow Stone National Park. Chapter 7, "Bright Lights across the Amur" comes back to fundamental disparities in population (i.e. millions pressed against the border on the Chinese side while on the Russian side, a land mass nearly one third of the whole country, is inhabited by only six million people. This sets the stage for a comparison of the development of two cross-border cities: Blagoveshchensk (Russia)

and Heihe (China), and to conclude that after years of "hermetic closure of the international border", the two cities are becoming similar through "borrowing, inspiration and mimesis" (267). In the Coda, "Bridging the Gap" the discussion comes back to fundamental lessons: the absence of working bridges, and concurrent planned but non-existent thriving economic exchanges. But also, China's long hand inclusive developments contrasts deeply with Russia's vertiginous top-down approach to controlling territory.

All in all, this is a rare and outstanding book; China and Russia specialists and graduate students will learn a great deal from reading this beautifully crafted exploration of the Chinese–Russian borderlands.

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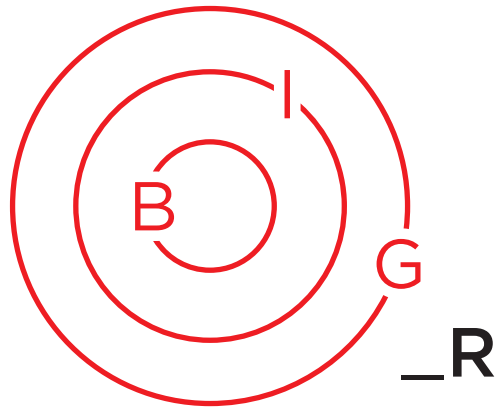
EDITORIAL MATTER

About the Journal and *For Contributors*

About the Journal

Focus and Scope

Borders in Globalization Review (*BIG_Review*) provides a forum for academic and creative explorations of borders in the 21st century. Our interest is advancing high-quality and original works in policy, social sciences, the humanities, and fine arts that explore various aspects of borders in an increasingly globalized world. *BIG_Review* publishes scholarship (academic articles, essays, research notes, book reviews, and film reviews) as well as artwork (photography, painting, poetry, short stories, and more). The journal is committed to peer review, public access, policy relevance, and cultural significance.

Our starting point is that borders offer metaphoric-conceptual tools for the study of differentiation and integration. This perspective mandates a wide range of artistic, theoretical, and empirical explorations of borders. The journal is especially interested in advancing the study of the borders of globalization. New research is documenting a shift in the logic of borders from spatial and territorial to functional and aterritorial. This means that borders are increasingly detached from territory, operating as mobile and relational nodes in increasingly complex regulatory frameworks. For example, border screening often happens far from the border, and goods and people are increasingly bordered 'on the go' with microtechnology and biometrics. Simultaneously, global processes challenge the territorial foundations of borders, including subnational and transnational pressures, the virtual flows of global finance and big data, the spread of infectious disease, and the effects of climate change. These developments impact culture and politics, including understandings and contestations of identity, citizenship, law, nationalism, gender, and Indigeneity.

The borders of globalization are being established in a variety of spaces—not just in borderlands. Like a shifting puzzle, their infrastructures and institutions interlock in kaleidoscopic geographies and modalities across world, though not always visibly. *BIG_Review* offers a platform to visibalize, problematize, and discuss how these borders are changing and how they affect all other borders, physically, of the mind, of social groups, and across cyberspace.

The journal also advances original artwork related to borders. Borders capture the popular imagination and inspire creative works. Artwork reflects and influences the cultures that shape borders. Sometimes artwork is subversive of borders. *BIG_Review* connects artists to audiences around the world through wide distribution networks and open-access electronic editions. Our art pages showcase individual works as well as portfolios, including photos, paintings, poems, short stories, fiction reviews, and more. All art is published at no cost to the artists.

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Each academic article and essay considered for publication in *BIG_Review* undergoes at least two double-blind peer reviews from our international Editorial Board (board members are listed at the front of this issue and on our journal home page). In the event of a split recommendation, a third (and sometimes a fourth) review may be obtained. Publication decisions are based on these reviews.

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History

In 2018, Borders in Globalization, a Research Lab of the University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, established *Borders in Globalization Review* (*BIGR/ BIG_Review*) and the Borders in Globalization Book Series (BIGB/BIG_Books). Both publish online, open access, double-blind peer-reviewed manuscripts about the borders of globalization.

Funding and Support

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In order to continue publishing high-quality and open-access work in the absence of secure, long-term funding, *BIG_Review* aims to become self-sustainable through publication fees for academic submissions and advertising revenue.

The Centre for Global Studies at the University of Victoria provides office space and support. The journal is hosted online by University of Victoria Libraries.

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Ad proposals should be submitted as PDFs directly to our Chief Editor. All inquiries welcome. *BIG_Review* reserves the right to reject ad proposals on any grounds.

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BIG_Review is published twice annually: In spring/summer and fall/winter.

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Editorial Notes and Corrections

BIG_Review is produced on Adobe InDesign. Frontcover template designed by Karen Yen. Journal template and content design by Michael J. Carpenter.

The map series for Issue 2(1) were designed using National Geographic Mapmaker Interactive, Google Maps, Abobe Photoshop and InDesign.

The original publication of DOI 10.18357/bigr11201919259 from *BIG_Review* 1(1) was subsequently modified: an improperly reproduced map was replaced.

For Contributors

Submission Guidelines

_BIG_Review_ publishes **scholarship** (academic articles, essays, research notes, book reviews, and film reviews), **policy work** (briefs and reports), and **artwork** (photography, painting, poetry, short stories, and more).

Scholarly submissions should present original research relevent to borders in the 21st century. Submissions should engage with the interdisciplinary research literature on borders, including, for example, borderlands, borderscapes, and bordering processes. We are especially interested in studies that go beyond the 'land image' by exploring borders as non-contiguous, aterritorial, globalized, mobile, electronic, biometric, functional, etc. We are equally interested in border studies from Indigenous perspectives, along with questions of sustainability, climate change, global health, colonialism, and subnational and transnational identities. Research questions might include: What are contemporary challenges to borders, internally and externally? How are borders adapting? What challenges do borders pose for communities and for people in transit or seeking asylum? How are cultures shaped by borders, and vice-versa? How are technologies shaping borders? We encourage innovative theoretical work and explorations of borders widely construed, as well as empirical and quantitative research. We welcome scholarly submissions from all disciplines and backgrounds.

_BIG_Review_ also promotes **artistic submissions** pertaining to borders (borders understood broadly: political, social, cultural, metaphoric, personal). Borders capture the popular imagination and inspire creative works. Artwork can reflect and influence the cultures that shape borders. We promote small portfolios and individual works, including original poems, photos, paintings, short stories, creative essays, film and literature reviews, artistic commentaries, and other forms of art. Artists retain copyright of their work and benefit from increased exposure at no cost to them.

_BIG_Review_'s **policy section** dedicates space to the translation of academic research and scholarship into focused, plain-language reports available to everyone. Writing policy briefings and essays is a special skillset that requires researchers to step outside of their academic training and to imagine what their work might look like to someone without their background. Researchers need to present their work in ways that inspire and enable non-experts to incorporate the findings into their policy frameworks. This means submissions should use clear and relatable language, catchy titles and headings, appeal to current events and issues, avoid jargon and theory, cite relatively few sources, and avoid footnotes. Policy suggestions should flow naturally from the research's key findings.

For technical submission requirements, see below.

Peer Review Process

Each academic manuscript considered for publication in _BIG_Review_ is submitted to at least two members of the Editorial Board (or other qualified scholars) for double blind review. In the event of a "split" recommendation, a third (and sometimes a fourth) review may be obtained. Publication decisions are based on these reviews.

The editors notify authors as early as possible as to whether their paper has been accepted for publication. Selected manuscripts are assigned a member of the editorial team, who will work with the author to address any outstanding issues concerning style or substantive content prior to publication. Papers that do not abide by the publication's style guide may not be accepted. Once revisions have been completed, copyediting and production are provided by _BIG_Review_.

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Academic Submission Requirements

Articles are long-form papers (7,000 to 11,000 words) that advance public knowledge about borders in the 21st century, presenting original research, data, analysis, or theory, and engaging with contemporary scholarly literature on borders. Authors should have a background in social sciences, humanities, law, or policy.

Essays are shorter-form papers (1,000 to 4,000 words) that advance public knowledge about borders in the 21st century, including literature reviews, persuasive writing, and opinion pieces, as well as short research papers.

Research notes engage concisely (750 to 1,200 words) with single concepts, terms, or debates pertaining to border studies.

Book reviews (between 800 and 1,100 words) summarize and analyse books (academic and fiction) relevent to contemporary border studies.

Film reviews (between 800 and 1,100 words) summarize and analyse film and television relevent to contemporary border studies.

Submissions must be written in English, though we also consider French and Spanish submissions.

All academic articles and essays must include an **abstract** (60 to 180 words) that summarizes the paper, including the main argument or findings, the disciplinary background or approach, and any research literatures or theories utilized. *BIG_Review* **citation style** is very similar to Chicago "author-date" manual of style. This means all citations are contained inside parentheses within the text, listing author(s) last name, and the year of publication (and pagination when appropriate, especially following quotations). Complete bibliographic details of all references are contained in Works Cited at the end of the manuscript, listed alphabetically by author last name, with year of publication preceding work title. All references to academic journal articles must include DOI weblinks or other stable URLs at the end of the entry. This increases the exposure of your work.

Quotations should not end with a period or a comma inside the quotation marks, unless the punctuation is original to source; otherwise, periods and commas come after and outside the quotation marks. In the case of article titles in the Works Cited, these should be in quotation marks and follwed by no punctuation marks, neither commas nor periods, as in the following examples.

Examples of *BIG_Review* citation and reference style (*notice the placement of all punctuation*):

> According to some scholars, borders raise normative imperatives as well as territorial considerations: "what borders do", for example, "should always be related to the overriding ethical concern that they serve and not undermine human dignity" (Agnew 2008, 176).

Works Cited

Agnew, John. 2008. "Borders on the Mind: Re-framing Border Thinking" *Ethics & Global Politics* 1(4): 175-191. https://doi.org/10.3402/egp.v1i4.1892

Andreas, Peter, and Thomas J. Biersteker (eds.). 2003. *The Reordering of North America: Integration and Exclusion in a New Security Context*. London and New York: Routledge.

Jones, Reece. 2012. *Border Walls: Security and the War on Terror in the United States, India, and Israel*. New York and London: Zed Books.

O'Lear, Shannon. 2016. "Geopolitics and Climate Change: The Case of the Missing Embodied Carbon" in Shannon O'Lear and Simon Dalby (eds.) *Reframing Climate Change: Constructing Ecological Geopolitics*. London: Routledge. 100-115.

Shear, Michael, and Maggie Haberman. 2019. "Mexico Agreed to Take Border Actions Months Before Trump Announced Tariff Deal" *New York Times* (June 8). https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/08/us/politics/trump-mexico-deal-tariffs.html

Endnotes may be used for substantive observations but not for the purpose of citing sources (though endnotes may include citations). Endnotes must appear separately at the end of the body of the manuscript. We do not publish footnotes. Manuscripts with too many notes may be rejected or asked to revise.

All **figures** and tables are placed within the text at the appropriate points, rather than at the end (or markers are used within the text to indicate placement).

Academic submission files must be **Microsoft Word** (.doc or .docx), and include two documents: a) an anonymized version (for prospective reviewers); and b) a separate copy of the title page alone with the submission title and author information, including highest degree obtained, job title, department, institution, and contact options (i.e., email and social media).

The submission has not been previously published, nor is it under consideration by another publisher (or an explanation has been provided to the editor). Submissions are not guaranteed approval. *BIG_Review* reserves the right to reject submissions on any ground. Make a submission: submit page.

Artistic Submission Requirements

Our electronic platform permits a wide range of media, from print to visual, video, animation, and interactive.

Prose (short stories, creative essays, film and literature reviews, artistic/critical commentaries) should be double-spaced and use a 12-point font. Length may vary. Accompanying photos and artwork are welcome.

Visual art (photography, painting, etc.) and other visual art must be high-resolution, BMP, JPEG, or PNG, including separate captions.

Poetry formats may vary (length, layout, font, font size, etc). Accompanying photos and artwork are welcome.

All submissions must be previously unpublished and not simultaneously before other publishers for consideration, unless other arrangements are made with our editors. Submissions are not guaranteed approval. *BIG_Review* reserves the right to reject submissions on any ground. To make a submission, follow the steps at Submit page.

Policy Submission Requirements

Policy submissions may take two forms: policy reports or policy briefs. **Policy reports** should be 4,000 words in length, include a short summary (three bullet points), executive summary, findings, and conclusion with implications and recommendations. **Policy briefs** should be 2,000 words, include a short summary (three bullet points), and must conform to the following template (reports may adopt this format as well):

Title [A policy briefing title should capture the reader's attention and clearly state the brief's purpose]

Author [full name, highest degree, position, institution, city, country, and contact info (email and/or website and/or social media account if applicable)]

Executive Summary [An executive summary details the central themes and purpose of the report and will also contain one or two explicitly stated policy suggestions in the conclusion. An executive summary fills a similar role as a research paper abstract, though it is longer, less technical, and written in plain language that is accessible to non-experts. Whenever possible, avoid the use to jargon or theory. Your sentences and overall approach should strive for brevity and clarity. You should write the executive summary last.]

Introduction [A good introduction will provide the reader with an outline of the problem or question being tackled by the research and will justify why the research is of interest/importance to the audience you are trying to reach. It will also provide a brief overview of the research and its findings and will encourage the reader to continue reading.]

Approach and Results [Here, you will lay out a summary of the research's findings, and a short description of the project's methods and analysis (who conducted it, how was it conducted, what research methods were employed). The findings should start by painting a general picture, before providing specific detail. This section should not be too technical, as it will be read by a non-specialized audience. If applicable, this section should also highlight potential opportunities that emerge from the research.]

Conclusion [Interpret your findings for your audience. Make sure your conclusions flow from your findings and are supported by them. Be as definite as you can be. Aim for clear assertions rather than equivocations.]

Implications and recommendations [Implications are what could happen, based on the research; recommendations are what should happen. Both need to flow from the conclusions and be supported by the evidence. Implications tell the reader "If 'X', then..." Even if specific advice hasn't been requested, implications—when phrased correctly—can imply a course of action regardless. Recommendations ought to state clearly what should happen next. They should be related in a step-by-step fashion, and they must be relevant, credible, and feasible.]

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