

ISA Research Committee 05

Racism, Nationalism and Ethnic Relations

Newsletter October 2016

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1) President's Report

Vienna

Firstly, I would like to thank all those who convened panels, gave papers and attended our very successful programme in Vienna. The issues we deal with are increasingly important and this was reflected in the quality of the sessions and the vibrancy of discussion.

A Business Meeting was held, the minutes of which are provided below. I would like to draw attention to two matters as follows;

- 1) The decision to recommend a name change for our Research Committee. Professor Maggie Walter, a member of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Studies contacted the Board to request addressing the Business Meeting. She relayed that members of both these groups felt unwelcome within ISA because the organisation offered no direct mention of indigenous issues. She requested that we include 'indigenous' in our name as a way of welcoming participation from members of related organisations. There was considerable debate and the motion was carried overwhelmingly. More information on this will be provided in due course once matters of process are clarified further.
- 2) The confirmation of the importance of a public and political sociology. Members of the Board drafted a statement about the escalation of far right movement, which was discussed at an informal Board meeting and then confirmed at the Business Meeting. This was forwarded to the Human Rights Committee of the ISA, where it failed to get support for further action. We would like to invite our membership to

discuss how we can engage with such forms of sociology and welcome comment through the list, future newsletters and our facebook site as appropriate.

Toronto

The dates have been set for the Toronto Congress in 2018, which will be held on **July 15 – 21**. The call for sessions will be **February 2 – 15 March 2017**. For further information please go to <http://www.isa-sociology.org/en/conferences/world-congress/toronto-2018/>

The length of the Toronto Congress reflects the need to provide maximum opportunities to the ever-increasing number of participants. Please remember to meet the deadlines provided as these are inflexible and each time, there are individuals who are disappointed when they miss the opportunity to provide a session or paper. This process is governed by the conference organizers (Confex) and is not open to persuasion, including from the ISA and the RCs.

We look forward to your on-going interest in the RC05 and your active participation in our programme in Toronto.

Grievance Committee

The ISA has reiterated its aim of providing a decentralised model of governance that encourages RCs in their own decision-making. However, it has established a Grievance Committee to facilitate dispute resolution if required.

Membership

Below is a detailed report from our Membership Secretary Professor Scott Poynting. While we remain one of the larger RCs our membership has declined. I would urge you to recommend RC05 to your colleagues so that we continue to have a significant presence within ISA. Membership numbers determine a range of matters including the number of sessions allocated, grants and support for scholars to attend conferences etc. I would also urge everyone to pay their RC05 membership dues. These are not included in your ISA membership.

Dues: US\$40 (US\$ 20 discount) for a 4-year period.

ISA membership registration form is available on <https://isa.enoah.com/Sign-In>.

Communication

RC05 members can communicate with each other through;

1. The list (rc05@lists.uibk.ac.at <rc05@lists.uibk.ac.at>)
2. The newsletter (umut.erel@open.ac.uk)
3. Facebook (karim.murji@open.ac.uk)

We encourage you to make contact with the Board and the wider membership.

Lastly I would like to thank the Board and my fellow office bearers for their on-going support and hard work. This ensures that RC05 remains an enriching community dealing with the significant issues of Racism, Nationalism and Ethnic Relations.

Georgina Tsolidis

2) Membership Report

By Scott Poynting

As at the beginning of July 2016, there were 172 RC05 'active' members.
Some 81% were of A category countries;
14% of B category countries;
and 5% of C category countries.

A breakdown of these by country and category for 2014 and July 2016 is on the table attached. (For the eagle-eyed and arithmetically inclined, I know that there are 3 missing for 2016, and I'm afraid I can't find them by eyeballing, but the breakdown will give you a close idea of the spread.)

Between the RC05 business meeting at the 2014 World Congress in Yokohama and that at the World Forum in 2016 in Vienna, there was a drop of 13 members, or 7% of membership (assuming that the ISA's new category of 'active' members means the same as 'in good standing' did in its records for 2014).

As mentioned above, we now have three more members since July, so we are down ten members on July 2014. Experience tells us that many join and re-join in the run-up to a world congress, and we can expect this to take place as we approach the 2018 congress in Toronto. We also know that many of the new and returning members will inevitably come from the country of the congress; Canada is already one of our largest countries of membership. The challenge is to attract more members from category B and especially C countries, and more younger and early career members to offset the natural attrition.

Country (address of member)	No. of members 2014	No. of members 2016	Economic category
Argentina	2	0	A
Australia	17	16	A
Austria	0	2	A
Bangladesh	0	1	C
Belarus	0	1	B
Belgium	0	1	A
Bosnia & Herzegovina	0	1	B
Brazil	2	3	B
Bulgaria	0	1	B
Canada	15	14	A
Colombia	2	1	B
Cyprus	1	0	A
Czech Republic	3	1	A
Ecuador	1	0	B

Egypt	1	1	C
Finland	3	3	A
Germany	8	8	A
Greece	1	1	A
Hong Kong	0	1	A
India	4	4	C
Indonesia	1	1	C
Israel	1	1	A
Italy	2	4	A
Japan	16	15	A
South Korea	1	1	A
Lebanon	1	0	B
Malaysia	3	4	B
Mexico	6	3	B
Netherlands	2	1	A
New Zealand	2	2	A
Nigeria	0	1	C
Norway	1	0	A
Pakistan	1	1	C
Poland	2	1	A
Romania	1	2	B
Russia	3	1	A
Singapore	2	2	A
South Africa	6	5	B
Spain	2	2	A
Sweden	6	5	A
Taiwan	2	1	A
Trinidad & Tobago	1	1	A
Turkey	4	2	B
Ukraine	1	0	C
UK	10	15	A

USA	37	38	A
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3) RC05 on Facebook By Karim Murji

RC05 is one of several ISA RCs to be found on Facebook. Our page is open to everyone, including people not members of RC05 or ISA. Please encourage your friends to 'like' the page.

The page acts as a kind of noticeboard on which anyone can post items of interest. Everything on the page, including comments, is visible to anyone.

There are regular updates, usually every week. Some recent posts include:

Short videos made by students at the University of Auckland, for example this one:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hh9l-eE3KLM> Anti-racism without race in Italy:
<http://africasacountry.com/2016/09/anti-racism-without-race-in-italy/>

The essential cowardice of Donald Trump:
http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/09/the-cowardice-of-donald-trump/498704/?utm_source=feed Xenophobia: Europe's death knell:
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/les-back-alex-rhys-taylor/xenophobia-europe%E2%80%99s-death-knell>

If you are not on Facebook or don't wish to join it, you can read what's posted on the page by using this weblink: www.facebook.com/ISArc05

4) Public Sociology – Rise of Far Right

RC05 statement on the global rise of racisms and far right populisms

The '**Research Committee on Racism, Nationalism and Ethnic Relations**' (RC05) of the International Sociology Association (ISA), would like to express its deep concern to growing expressions and influence of xenophobia, racism and extreme right wing nationalisms and populisms which are spreading all over the globe.

These far right extremisms and populisms focus on to a great extent on migrants and asylum seekers. These issues are linked to a growing inequality and neo-liberalism as well as austerity measures which are imposed by governments and supra and transnational organisations.

Academics, especially social scientists, have recently been attacked by members of far right organisations in many countries. We send our solidarity and support to all of them and endorse all the petitions of protest that emanated as a result of these events.

RC05 members regularly investigate and analyse these issues in a variety of professional and academic fora, but as public sociologists who are focusing on these issues it shall become a general priority of ISA and its members to be pursued on various public, media and everyday life activities.

Background information to the statement:

The pending election of a new Austrian president, and very tight win of the independent candidate (ex-Green party) against the far right candidate raised my anti-fascist alarm bells back in June. Ahead of the ISA Forum in Vienna this year I decided to put forward a short statement to the Board of the RC05 and intended to pinpoint the creeping normalization of far right populism, e.g. to highlight the case of Austria (pre-Brexit).

As the ISA/ RC05 was gathering in *Austria*, somehow, I took for granted that the local-national context (e.g. the prospect of a far right party leader as president and the political implications this **will** have) might be relevant to a wider discussion how **we** as critical sociologists engage with public sociology, and contemporary institutional forms of extremism and racisms. I learned that it might be more adequate to have a generic statement, and accepted that the initial statement was too narrowly focused on the Austrian context (e.g. the post-Brexit rise of xeno- and anti-EUphobia in Britain only confirms the importance of looking more closely at specific emanations of far right populisms in different countries).

Nira and I met to formulate a generic version of my initial statement, and the generic statement was agreed at the RC05 business meeting in Vienna. Then the statement was passed on by Nira to the Human Rights' Committee of the ISA. It was not adopted though.

I would like to see a discussion among RC05 members on this, and particularly engage with those who did not have a chance to attend the Vienna Forum.

In my view critical racism scholars should not turn away from a public (visible) interaction with contemporary political developments. The rise of far right populisms across the globe seems to be an ideological tide of the current political moment. It is urgent to face up to it, and think and act in ways that help to resist the normalization, institutionalising and mainstreaming of xenophobic populisms and racisms.

(Ulrike M Vieten; Belfast, 12/10/2016)

5) Current Research Projects by RC05 Members

Borders, Intersectionality and the Everyday: Project findings

Below are the key findings of the research carried out by the CMRB team (Nira Yuval-Davis, Georgie Wemyss and Kathryn Cassidy) as part of the EUBorderscapes project (led by Prof. James Scott from Johensuu University in Finland) <http://www.euborderscapes.eu/>

The research was carried out at the Schengen border located at Calais/Dover and in London where the team researched everyday state borderings.

KEY FINDINGS

The reconfiguration of post-borderlands: Dover is an example of 'post-borderland', in which old territorial borders are stripped of their traditional 'border-industry' roles, with some of their functions being de- and re-territorialized elsewhere, making local communities feel vulnerable to change. Complex de-bordering processes include the decline in ferry traffic due to the Channel Tunnel, the juxtaposed immigration and customs controls and everyday bordering legislation;

- The decline of the border as an industry has had a disproportionate impact on lower income families due to the decline in local employment and the ability of those with higher incomes to travel.
- New discourses of everyday bordering emerged, which discriminate against EU labour migrants from marginalised groups, in this case Roma, settled in the borderlands and lacking the social and economic capital to move elsewhere.

- The 'work ethic' of EU labour migrants becomes the focus of exclusionary discourses in which those amongst the local population unable to find employment are blamed by those in more privileged socio-economic positions.

Everyday bordering legislation: The changes in law via the 2014 and 2016 Immigration Acts further de-territorialized the border through **extending the legal requirements for residents to carry out bordering duties as part of their everyday lives**;

- Every UK resident is encouraged to carry out border-guarding roles (e.g. by reporting 'immigration abuse') and all adults are made subjects of everyday bordering (e.g. in applying for accommodation), but the ways that these are experienced vary so that some experience bordering through 360 degrees of their private and public lives whilst others experience it less frequently and less directly.
- As border controls are outsourced from professional border guards, a harsher regime of penalties is experienced differentially by diverse employers, landlords and service providers, when carrying out state bordering roles.
- State bordering has brought citizenship and migration status into the heart of British social and economic relations and has inserted senses of distrust and precarity into everyday encounters.

Inbetweenness: 'Inbetweenness' characterizes everyday bordering for migrants in Calais and for 'irregular migrants' once they arrive in the UK as they are **permanently stuck in the in-between world of migration, along both territorial and de-territorialized borders**.

- In Calais their stay in the camp and squats is temporary, but can be years; They are 'undocumented' but most have some kind of papers; Their camp exists because of funding and control by French and British government agencies and NGOs. Migrants are not meant to be economically active but a parallel economy of shops and smuggling is entangled with the local Calais economy.
- Once in the UK asylum seekers are stuck for years in a situation in which they are not allowed to work and have little legal resources to live on; they can be arrested and/or deported and cannot plan a future, or have any sense of entitlement for citizenship rights.
- The growing existential fear we found among the local people in Calais and the growth of the extreme Right are some situated echoes of the inbetweenness of the migrants on the local population. The growing securitisation of policing, fences and physical separateness has exacerbated fear amongst the population.

Major Publications, Dissemination and Impact:

Monograph (forthcoming): *Bordering*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Journal Special Issues (forthcoming): 1. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*; 2. *Political Geography*.

International Conference: *EUBORDERSCAPES Policy and Impact*, UEL, November 2015.

Online media: 'Want to know how to kill a multicultural Society?' *The Independent*. 15/12/15; 'Changing the racialized 'common sense' of everyday bordering' *Open Democracy*. February 2016.

National Tour (2015-6) (with a consortium of migrants' organizations) of the *Everyday Borders* film produced by the team: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=myoXPB9naAU>

6) New Publications from RC 05 Members

Tazreiter, Claudia, Weber, Leanne, Pickering, Sharon, Segrave, Marie, McKernan, Helen, (2016) Fluid Security in the Asia Pacific. Mobility, National Security and Human Rights, Palgrave MacMillan, UK.

This book explores the experiences of temporary migrants in the Asia-Pacific region. It develops the original concept of 'fluid security' to analyse the way in which persons carry a set of tools, strategies and attitudes across spatial, temporal and imagined borders. This concept applies a mobilities lens to human security in order to take into account the aspirations and needs of mobile populations appropriate for a globalising world. The book brings to light the diverse experiences of mobility and the multiple vulnerabilities experienced by individuals that intersect with, and sometimes challenge, national security domains. The authors analyse mobility patterns that are diversifying at a rate far outstripping the capacity of governments to adapt to the human security needs of mobile populations. While the idea of global citizenship may be held up as an ideal through which access to rights is not an arbitrary lottery, it remains far from a reality for the majority of migrants. They are excluded from the migratory flows global elites engage in almost at will. This important book advances the idea that mobile individuals can generate their own security when they have agency and the ability to plan; that experiences of security are not necessarily tied to permanence; that mobile populations benefit from policies that support transnational life; and that fluid security is enhanced when individuals are able to carry a bundle of rights with them.

Tazreiter, Claudia (2015) 'Stop the boats!' Externalising the borders of Australia and imaginary pathologies of contagion', special issue of *Journal of Immigration, Nationality and Asylum Law* 29(2), 141-157.

Tazreiter, C. (2015) 'Lifeboat politics in the Pacific: Affect and the ripples and shimmers of a migrant saturated future', special issue of *Emotion, Space and Society* 16, 99-107, edited by Loretta Baldassar and Paolo Boccagni.

Erel, Umut; Murji, Karim; Nabahoo, Zaki 2016 'Understanding the contemporary race-migration nexus: Reflections on the UK in European context', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39 (8), pp. 1339-1360 open access at:
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01419870.2016.1161808>

Ilenia Camozzi: 'Young People on the Move. Cosmopolitan Strategies in the Transition to Adulthood' in Feixa, C., Leccardi, C., Nilan, P. (Eds.). **Youth, Spaces and Times. Agoras and Chronotopes in the Global City**. Leiden & Boston, Brill, pp 44-64 (2016). It is about cosmopolitan strategies of young migrants in facing the transition to adulthood.

Julie Ham, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong
Sex Work, Immigration and Social Difference

Series: Routledge Studies in Criminal Justice, Borders and Citizenship

Public discourses around migrant sex workers are often more confident about what migrant sex workers signify morally but are less clear about who the 'migrant' is. Based on interviews with immigrant, migrant and racialized sex workers in Vancouver, Canada and Melbourne, Australia, *Sex Work, Immigration and Social*

Difference challenges the 'migrant sex worker' category by investigating the experiences of women who are often assumed to be 'migrant sex workers' in Australia and Canada.

Many 'migrant sex workers' in Melbourne and Vancouver are in fact, naturalized citizens or permanent residents, whose involvement in the sex industry intersects with diverse ideas and experiences of citizenship in Australia and Canada. This book examines how immigrant, migrant and racialized sex workers in Vancouver and Melbourne wield or negotiate ideas of illegality and legality to obtain desired outcomes in their day-to-day work.

Sex work continues to be the subject of fierce debate in the public sphere, at the policy level, and within research discourses. This study interrogates these perceptions of the 'migrant sex worker' by presenting the lived realities of women who embody or experience dimensions of this category. This book is interdisciplinary and will appeal to those engaged in criminology, sociology, law, and women's studies.

Amin, Sara N., Ganepola, Varuni, and Dissanayake, L. (Eds) (2016). Changing Nature of Forced Migration: Vulnerabilities and Responsibilities in South and Southeast Asia. Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 450 pp, 31.00 USD

Changing Nature of Forced Migration: Vulnerabilities and Responsibilities in South and South-East Asia

Protracted conflicts, unequal burden sharing, climate change, globalization, and shifting policies regarding immigration, asylum, work and development are changing the nature of forced displacements and blurring the line between forced migration and economic migration. This book looks at migration dynamics of South and Southeast Asia examining these shifts to contribute to a more interdisciplinary and comprehensive picture of migration for both research and policy-making. We highlight research about migration patterns of groups that are often invisible in the study of migration—women, IDPs, environmental refugees and migrants, South-South migrants, and those that stay behind. Questions addressed in this book include:

- How do the causes and consequences of the vulnerabilities of refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), trafficked peoples and migrant workers intersect and diverge?
- How do these groups respond to and manage the challenges that their vulnerabilities pose?
- What do the commonalities and specificities imply for how responsibilities should be distributed among nation-states, the international community, and regional and local actors?
- How are these processes mediated by gender and other identity dimensions implicated in movement of peoples?

<http://www.uplbooks.com/book/changing-nature-forced-migration-vulnerabilities-and-responsibilities-south-and-south-east-asia>

Stoetzler, Marcel. 2016. 'My 350 on BREXIT: Liberal nationalism gives advance notice of its fascist form', openDemocracy July 3, 2016 [<https://www.opendemocracy.net/marcel-stoetzler/my-350-on-brexit-liberal-nationalism-gives-advance-notice-of-its-fascist-form>]

Stoetzler, Marcel. 2016. 'From interacting systems to a system of divisions: The concept of society and the "mutual constitution" of intersecting social divisions', *European Journal of Social Theory*, online first

Stoetzler, Marcel. 2016. 'Intersectional individuality: Georg Simmel's concept of "the intersection of social circles" and the emancipation of women', *Sociological Inquiry* 86:2, pp. 216–240

Stoetzler, Marcel. 2016. 'Reflection: antisemitism, anti-imperialism and liberal communitarianism', *openDemocracy* (26.5.2016) [<https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/marcel-stoetzler/reflections-antisemitism-anti-imperialism-and-liberal-communitar>]

Stoetzler, Marcel. 2016. 'Antisemitism and the British Labour Party', Opinion Article in *History & Policy* (18. 5. 2016) [<http://www.historyandpolicy.org/opinion-articles/articles/antisemitism-and-the-british-labour-party?platform=hootsuite>]

Stoetzler, Marcel. 2016. 'Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Imperialism', in *Palgrave Encyclopaedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism volume 1*, edited by Immanuel Ness, Zac Cope and Saër Maty Bâ, pages 167-174

Cassilde Stéphanie (2016), "Nommer la couleur/race d'un enfant", *SEACHANGE Arts | Communication | Technologies*: 62-76, online, ISSN 1923-3582
http://www.seachangejournal.ca/PDF/2015_Naming/Cassilde_Nommer_la_couleur_race_d_un_enfant.pdf

Shirley Sun, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore Socio-economics of Personalized Medicine in Asia

Series: Routledge Studies in the Sociology of Health and Illness

Synopsis

This book contributes to a growing body of literature on the molecularization of identities by tracing and analyzing "personalized medicine" as it unfolds in Asia. It shows that there are inextricable transnational linkages between developing and developed countries, and examines the various social forces shaping the "co-production" of genomic science, medicine and social order in transnational settings. Theoretically guided and empirically grounded, the book provides important insights into the formation and usage of racial and ethnic human taxonomies in population-based genomic science and medicine.

For more information visit:

www.routledge.com/9781138933835

Reviews

"This is a major contribution to the ongoing debate about the relationship between "personalized medicine" and "racialized medicine". Dr. Sun documents how in practice, the two are far more integrated than previous analysts have recognized or acknowledged. Using an international platform, Sun demonstrates how Asian geneticists (Japanese, Chinese, Singaporean, Korean, et al), in a pushback against

US-European domination of human molecular genetics, are often inadvertently re-inscribing ethnic and racial categories generated in the West."

— Troy Duster, author of *Backdoor to Eugenics*, Chancellor's Professor, University of California, Berkeley

"A highly timely counter-weight to the dominance of works on this topic from North America and Europe, Shirley Sun's brilliant and sobering analysis of 'probability medicine' in Singapore will make even the most reflective reader think about the global implications of genomic medicine differently."

— Barbara Prainsack, Professor at Social Science, Health and Medicine of King's College London, U.K.

Patricia Hill Collins & Sirma Bilge 2016 Intersectionality

University of Maryland; Université de Montréal

Polity Press

The concept of intersectionality has become a hot topic in academic and activist circles alike. But what exactly does it mean, and why has it emerged as such a vital lens through which to explore how social inequalities of race, class, gender, sexuality, age, ability and ethnicity shape one another?

In this new book Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge provide a much-needed, introduction to the field of intersectional knowledge and praxis. They analyze the emergence, growth and contours of the concept and show how intersectional frameworks speak to topics as diverse as human rights, neoliberalism, identity politics, immigration, hip hop, global social protest, diversity, digital media, Black feminism in Brazil, violence and World Cup soccer. Accessibly written and drawing on a plethora of lively examples to illustrate its arguments, the book highlights intersectionality's potential for understanding inequality and bringing about social justice oriented change.

Intersectionality will be an invaluable resource for anyone grappling with the main ideas, debates and new directions in this field.

From the Reviews

"Comprehensive and highly accessible, *Intersectionality* is set to become the go-to book for students, activists, policy makers, and teachers looking for an analytical tool to help identify and challenge social inequalities and achieve social justice."

Nancy Naples, University of Connecticut

"Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge shed new light on intersectionality by showing how people across the globe use it as an analytical and organizing tool for protesting against social injustices and solving social problems. Their clear explanations and real-world examples covering a wide range of issues make intersectionality highly accessible and practicable to scholars, students, and activists

alike. This book will be essential reading for understanding how power operates and is contested in our neoliberal age.”

Dorothy Roberts, University of Pennsylvania

Pöllmann, A. (2016) 'Habitús, Reflexividad y la Realización de Capital Intercultural: El Potencial (no Aprovechado) de la Educación Intercultural', *Cultura y Representaciones Sociales*, 11(21): 55-78.

<http://www.culturayrs.org.mx/revista/num21/3Pollmann16.pdf>

Budakowska E., Etniczność jako współwyznacznik trajektorii komunikacji interkulturowej. Przykład Republiki Zielonego Przylądka. (Ethnicity as a co-determinant of intercultural communication trajectory. Case of the Republic of Cabo Verde. In: A. Żukowski (red.). Komunikowanie w Afryce. Endo- i egzogeniczne aspekty. Etniczność - kultura – religia. Seria „Forum Politologiczne”, Volum 18, Instytut Nauk Politycznych UWM w Olsztynie. Olsztyn, pp. 111-132, ISSN 174-1698. ISBN 978-83-89559-60-9

Stephen Kalberg 2016 [The Social Thought of Max Weber \(Social Thinkers Series\)](#)
[Sage](#)

Stephen Kalberg contends in this volume that a broader reading of this major Founder of modern social science is long overdue. Max Weber's numerous conceptual contributions are all examined, as well as his "Protestant ethic thesis." However, Kalberg maintains that Weber's greatest contribution is to be found in his often-neglected investigations of entire civilizations. His big picture themes move here to the forefront: his charting of the uniqueness of China, India, and the West, his discussion of the multiple causes behind their particular trajectories, and his distinct comparative-historical approach anchored in "interpretive understanding" procedures. By reconstructing Weber's analysis of the origin and expansion of the American civic sphere, this volume also illustrates how his research strategies can be applied.

Stephen Kalberg 2014 [“Searching for the Spirit of American Democracy”](#)

Stephen Kalberg 2012 [“Max Weber’s Comparative-Historical Sociology Today” Special Offer from Ashgate Publishing Ltd.](#)

Interrogating Gender, Violence, and the State in National and Transnational Contexts, Guest Editors: Evangelia Tastsoglou and Margaret Abraham, *Current Sociology*, July 2016, 64, pp. 517-688. <http://csi.sagepub.com/content/64/4.toc>

In this monograph issue, we interrogate the complex interconnections between gender, violence, and the state, where violence refers specifically to violence against women (VAW), and, more broadly, gender based violence. We examine the role of the state in addressing sexual violence, and domestic or intimate-partner violence (IPV) in globalized neoliberal societies around the world. We consider the role of the state to be dualistic, as both an agent of justice, and as an instrument of domination and oppression, particularly in regard to the implications for policies and practices aimed at addressing the problem of violence against women. As states intervene in order to reduce, terminate or even entrench the extreme form of gender oppression that violence against women constitutes, i.e. as states try to regulate VAW, they attempt to regulate gender itself. States are often complicit in violence against women. Because of their regulatory role with respect to VAW, we consider the state as being one of the structures implicated in (re)producing violence. Moreover, state intervention intersects with other social structures and social divisions, including, but not limited to, class, race, gender, citizenship, and immigration status. Nevertheless, the relationship of the state to violence against women is complicated, historical, and context contingent, resulting in multiple implications for women's lives, including barriers to citizenship. We argue that the global problem of gender and intersectional violence takes different forms in different historical contexts, and local, national, and transnational spheres. In this issue we hope to uncover not only the limitations, but also the possibilities of the forms of state involvement used in addressing violence against women.

While our focus is on the relationship of gender, violence, and the state at the national level, in selected country-specific cases around the world, we also examine this relationship at the transnational level, both in terms of the influence of states beyond their borders, and in terms of transnational influences on state policies. For example, mobilization by women's movements, non-governmental associations, media attention, United Nations resolutions and programs, and the appointment of the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women have all increased general governmental awareness and support for policies addressing violence against women, including sexual and domestic violence against women within states and globally. In addition, at both the regional and international level, various European Union Directives, reports, campaigns, and programs, aimed at reducing gender inequality and VAW, have played a similar role in raising awareness and support. Invoking the power of the state in seeking solutions, however, has come with its own set of problems in terms of framing the issue of violence against women and developing policies and practices to address it.

The volume includes an introductory article "framing the issues" and nine other articles that explore the complex, contested, dynamic, and multi-sited relationship of gender, violence, and the state. The scope of these articles is international – though by no means exhaustive – and includes Africa, Latin America, Europe, North America, Asia, and the Maghreb. The articles, based on both qualitative and quantitative studies, engage a wide spectrum of analytical levels: local, regional, national, and transnational. Their research, across diverse contexts and levels,

reveals a dense and dynamic interplay between state policy, women's rights movements, women's experiences of violence, and feminist theorizing. This monograph issue offers broad comparisons in terms of commonalities of state policies, women's strategies, outcomes, and challenges. These nine, rich empirical studies demonstrate individually and collectively the variability in the level of state engagement.

Cartographies of Differences: Interdisciplinary Perspectives (New Visions of the Cosmopolitan) 2016 by **Ulrike M. Vieten** (Editor), **Gill Valentine** (Editor) Oxford: Peter Lang

This volume investigates the process of learning how to live with individual and group differences in the twenty-first century and examines the ambivalences of contemporary cosmopolitanism. Engaging with the concept of 'critical cartography', it emphasizes the structural impact of localities on the experiences of those living with difference, while trying to develop an account of the counter-mappings that follow spatial and social transformations in today's world. The contributors focus on visual, normative and cultural embodiments of difference, examining dynamic conflicts at local sites that are connected by the processes of Europeanization and globalization. The collection explores a wide range of topics, including conflicting claims of sexual minorities and conservative Christians, the relationship between national identity and cosmopolitanism, and the ways that cross-cultural communication and bilingualism can help us to understand the complex nature of belonging. The authors come from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds and all contribute to a vernacular reading of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism, aimed at opening up new avenues of research into living with difference.

7) *Racism and Everyday Bordering* An RC05 contribution to the Common Sessions publication on 'The Futures we want' by Nira Yuval-Davis

Abstract:

In this paper, I examine some of the reasons different sections of British society have voted for Brexit and link it with recent developments with the ways people and governments are being engaged in racialized political projects of belonging. My overall argument is that Brexit should be analysed in the context of people and governments' reactions to the global and local double crisis of governability and governmentality. The rise of populist politics among British people, including some of its racialized minorities, need to be seen on the background of the British 2014 & 2016 Immigration Acts which established 'everyday bordering' as primary technology of controlling diversity and discourses on diversity, undermining convivial pluralist multi-cultural social relations.

Introduction:

The majority vote of the British people to leave the European Union in summer 2016 ('Brexit') has caught almost everyone by surprise – the stock market that bet on the UK remaining in the EU, the British government which did not even bother to prepare contingency plans in case of Brexit and even the leaders of the Brexit camp, like Nigel Farage and Boris Johnson have prepared their defeat speeches rather than that of their unforeseen success.

Analysis of Brexit – the reasons the British Prime-Minister, David Cameron, decided to go ahead with it in the first place, the ways the campaign has developed and the role the British media has played in it, as well as the effect this referendum is going to have on European and global politics, economy and society, will no doubt occupy social scientists and especially sociologists for a long time to come. However, in this paper, I am going to examine some of the reasons different sections of British society have voted for Brexit and link it with recent developments with the ways people and governments are being engaged in racialized political projects of belonging. My overall argument is that Brexit should be analysed in the context of people and governments' reactions to what I've called elsewhere (2012) 'the double crisis of governability and governmentality'. Particularly significant here are the turning of many traditional Labour voters, especially in the North of the UK, to vote UKIP (the party that called for Britain to leave the EU) and the fact that among those who voted for the UK to leave the EU have been quite a few members of racialised minorities of settled immigrants, mostly from countries that used to be part of the British Empire. These two populist responses need to be seen on the background of the British 2014 & 2016 Immigration Acts which, as my colleagues and I have argued elsewhere (2016, forthcoming), have established the technology of 'everyday bordering' as primary technology of controlling diversity and discourses on diversity, which is aimed to undermine convivial pluralist multi-cultural social relations which were the aim of previous technologies of control of British governments in previous decades.

The structure of the paper, therefore, will be the following:

Firstly, I shall explain briefly the double crisis which I see as the overall context to contemporary forms of racialisation. I shall then turn to everyday bordering as a reactive government technology of control which in its turn is contributing, as well as being affected by, autochthonic political projects of belonging which I see as the predominant form of contemporary racialisations. In the conclusion of the paper I shall draw together the issues examined in the paper and the social and political dynamics of Brexit, and link them to our understating of racism and racialisation, pointing out the crucial role of intersectional analysis in the understanding of contemporary forms of racialisation discourses.

The double crisis

Neo-liberal globalization emerged in a period of global optimism after the fall of the Soviet Union and the supposed victory ('end of history' to quote Fukuyama, 1992) of democracy, freedom and a cosmopolitan world in which social, national and state borders are on the wane.

Less than twenty years later, we find ourselves in a world in which deregulation and globalization have been used to enhance global social inequalities, within as well as between societies', and a deepening systemic signs of neoliberalism's multi-faceted systemic global political and economic crisis, a crisis that is central to relationships between states and societies and to constructions of subjectivity and thus needs to be seen as a double related crisis of both governability and governmentality (Yuval-Davis, 2012).

As the recent economic crisis has shown, the growing entanglement and dependency not only of local and global markets but also of local private and public institutions has meant that various states have been forced to bail out banks and large corporations for fear of total economic collapse - even though the capacity of state agencies to enforce regulation on that same private sector is extremely limited. As Richard Murphy (RE2011) and others have pointed out, as a result of state policies of deregulation, and the increasing privatisation of the state (including the many forms of so-called public-private partnership), in many cases it is no longer easy to draw a clear differentiation between the public and the private. Whole locations and domains which used to be part of public space - from schools to shopping areas - are no longer public, but are rather owned by, or leased for a very long period to, a private company or consortium of companies. Moreover, since the 1990s, the proportion of global assets that are in foreign ownership continue to rise. Furthermore, the sphere that is regarded as part of 'national security', and thus as off limits for foreign ownership, is also continuously shrinking. A French company now owns a British energy company, the Chinese are building its nuclear power station and British airports are owned by a Spanish company. As Will Hutton (2012) pointed out in a *Guardian* public debate, states are becoming small fry in comparison with international markets. The GDPs of all the states in the globe when added together total about 70 trillion dollars, while the total amount of money circulating in the global financial markets is between 600 and 700 trillion.

But this is not simply a quantitative question. Or, rather, this quantitative phenomenon is simply one aspect - though a very significant one - of the problems that result from the basic legal relationship that pertains between corporations and states, whereby companies have the status of fictional citizens which enables the people who run them - through their 'Ltd' affix - to escape responsibility for the results of their corporations' actions, while retaining their ability to control the funds. In this era of increasing globalisation, the ability on the part of companies - and the people who run them - to change locations, base themselves in tax

havens, and escape having to bear the social, economic, environmental and other consequences of their actions, is becoming ever clearer - in the North as well as the South; and the rhetoric of governments on budget days has very little impact on their activities. Moreover, while states have been forced to bail out banks to avoid major economic collapse (given the growing lack of differentiation between private and public financial sectors), states themselves - such as Greece, Ireland and others - have found themselves forced to cut their own budgets severely, against the interests of their citizens.

Thus, the crisis of governability is a result of the fact that in the time of neo-liberal globalisation, governments cannot anymore primarily represent the interests of their citizens. The crisis of governmentality follows this crisis of governability, because when people feel that their interests are not pursued by their governments – even the most radical ones, like in Greece – they feel disempowered and deprived. After a while they also stop buying the neo-liberal ideology which tells them that it is their responsibility if they fail to be healthy and wealthy, to provide for their families and become part of the incredibly rich and famous. Saskia Sassen (2015) has argued that, as a result of neoliberal globalisation, rather than experiencing an overall weakening the liberal state has changed internally: executive powers have strengthened at the expense of legislative branches. This is partly as a direct result of the privatisation of the state, whereby a substantial number of the regulative tasks of the legislature have been lost; and it is partly because it is the executive branch that virtually exclusively negotiates with other national and supranational governance executives (such as the EU, the UN, the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation), and with private, national and especially transnational corporations.

This is an important observation, which offers some explanation of the governmentality crisis: because of the increasing power of the executive, there is growing disenchantment and alienation from the state on the part of citizens, who accordingly begin to refrain from internalising and complying with the neoliberal state's technologies of governance. This disenchantment is particularly important in countries where voting in national elections is solely for the election of members of parliament, rather than also for the head of the executive (although, as the recent local elections in the UK and Germany have shown, it can be evident there as well). At the same time, in parliamentary democracies the right to rule the state is dependent on formal endorsement by the electorate of particular parties; this is what gives the state legitimacy. Hence the growing worry of governments at the lack of involvement of the electorate in these processes.

The growing securitisation and militarisation of the liberal state is directly related to the fear within ruling elites that arises from this crisis of governmentality. The forms of resistance to this crisis, however, vary widely - depending on people's intersected positionings, identifications and normative values: they can be more or less violent, more or less radical, more or less guided by primordial as opposed to cosmopolitan value systems.

This is the time in which it becomes very easy to shift responsibility to those who 'do not belong' – the migrants or anyone else who have different look, accent, culture and religion.

On this background, those of us who have been working on issues of racism, nationalism and ethnic relations, find ourselves with new challenges with the combined emergence of everyday bordering as a technology of control of diversity and discourses on diversity and autochthonic populist politics of belonging in a growing number of places on the globe, to produce new forms of intersectional racist practices.

Everyday bordering

Barth (1998) and others following him, have argued that it is the existence of ethnic (and racial) boundaries, rather than of any specific 'essence' around which these boundaries are constructed that are crucial in processes of ethnocisation and racialisation. Any physical or social signifier can be used to construct the boundaries which differentiate between 'us' and 'them'. State borders are but one of the technologies used to construct and maintain these boundaries. It is for this reason that contemporary border studies largely refer to 'borderings' rather than to borders, seeing them more as a dynamic, shifting and contested social and political spatial processes linked to particular political projects rather than just territorial lines (Houtum & al., 2005). However, these borders and boundaries are not just a top-down macro social and state policies but are present in everyday discourses and practices of different social agents, from state functionaries to the media to all other differentially positioned members of society (Yuval-Davis & a., forthcoming).

Everyday bordering has been developing as technology of control of diversity by governments which have been seeking to supposedly reassert control over the composition and security of the population. Instead of borders being on the point of moving from one state to another, borders have now spread to be everywhere. All citizens are required to become untrained unpaid borderguards, and more and more of us are becoming suspects as illegal, or at least illegitimate border crossers. This has been a tendency that developed for quite a few years, probably since 9/11 if not before, but the 2014 and 2016 immigration Acts have clinched this. Now, every landlord, every employer, every teacher, every doctor, is responsible to verify that her or his tenants, employees, students, patients, are legally in the country and if they fail, they are legally responsible and might even go to prison for failing to do so (unlike those who are trained and paid to do this job). Thus, from a convivial multi-cultural diverse society, this technology of control is breeding suspicion, fear and sensitisation of the boundaries between those who belong and those who do not. Brexit has only enhanced this sense of differentiation and hierarchization among people.

Autochthonic politics of belonging

Peter Geschiere (2009) defined autochthonic politics as the global return to the local. It relates to a kind of racialisation that has gained new impetus under globalization and mass immigration and can be seen as a form of temporal-territorial racialization, of exclusion and inferiorization, that are the outcome of the relative new presence of particular people and collectivities in particular places (neighbourhood, region, country). The Greek word 'autochthony' (=to be of the soil) is used in the Netherlands and in the Francophone world, where the crucial difference is between the 'autochthones' who belong and the 'allochthones' who do not.

Geschiere (ibid: 21–2) rightly claims that 'autochthony' can be seen as a new phase of ethnicity, although in some sense it even surpasses ethnicity (see also Yuval-Davis, 2011). While ethnicity is highly constructed, relationally and situationally circumscribed, there are limits to these reconstructions regarding name and history. Autochthony is a much more 'empty' and thus elastic notion. It states no more than 'I was here before you' and, as such, can be applied in any situation and can be constantly redefined and applied to different groupings in different ways. It combines elements of naturalization of belonging with vagueness as to what constitutes the essence of belonging, and thus can be pursued also by groups which would not necessarily be thought to be autochthone by others.

The notion of autochthonic politics of belonging is very important when we come to understand contemporary populist extreme right politics in Europe and elsewhere. The people who follow these politics continuously argue that they are 'not racist', although they are very much against all those who 'do not belong'. In some cases, such as in the case of the English Defence League, the organization has formally both Jewish and Gay sections, as well as Hindu, Sikh and Afro-Caribbean supporters, something unimaginable in the older kind of extreme right organizations with neo-Nazi ideologies. In France, Marine Le Pen who is the current leader of Front National, originally led by her father, goes to great lengths to deny that her party is racist, anti-Semitic or homophobic. She claims that 'the right-left divide makes no sense anymore. Now the real division is between nationalism and globalisation', Thus she warns of the 'dilution' and 'wiping out' of the French nation and civilisation, under threat from 'never-ending queues of foreigners' (2011).

Autochthonic politics of belonging can take very different forms in different countries and can be reconfigured constantly also in the same places. Nevertheless, like any other forms of racialization and other boundary constructions, their discourses always appear to express self-evident or even 'natural' emotions and desires: the protection of ancestral heritage, the fear of being contaminated by foreign influences, and so on, although they often hide very different notions of ancestry and contamination.

Racism, everyday bordering and autochthonic politics of belonging

As described above, both everyday bordering and autochthonic populist politics can be seen as forms of racialisation. The process of racialisation involves discourses and practices which construct immutable boundaries between homogenized and reified collectivities. These boundaries are used to naturalize fixed hierarchical power relations between these collectivities. Any signifier of boundaries can be used to construct these boundaries, from the colour of the skin to the shape of the elbow, to accent or mode of dress. (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; Murji & Solomos, 2005).

Racialisations have ultimately two logics – that of exclusion, the ultimate form of which is genocide, and that of exploitation, the ultimate logic of which is slavery. However, in most concrete historical situations these two logics are practiced in a complementary way. Since the 1980s there has been a lot of discussion on the rise of what Barker (1982) called 'the new racism' and Balibar (2005) 'racisme differentialiste'. Unlike the 'old' racism, the focus of these kinds of racialization discourses focused not on notions of 'races' or of other kinds of different ethnic origins, but on different cultures, religions and traditions which were seen as threatening to 'contaminate' or 'overwhelm' the cultural 'essence' of 'the nation'.

Everyday bordering links racialisation formally to citizenship status, but underlying this is a mythical nostalgic imaginary in which all citizens are members of the nation, and the boundaries of civil society overlap the boundaries of the nation as well as the state. This is the same logic as that of autochthonic populism in which only those who 'belong' should have access to state and other social, economic and political resources. In this sense they encompass the logic of 'racisme differentialiste'. However, these forms of racialisation exist in the context of neo-liberal globalisation and 'the age of migration' (2003), in which a variety of ethnic and racial communities have migrated and settled, constructing pluralist multicultural societies and citizenships. It is for this reason that many contemporary populist imaginaries, as we have seen above, have incorporated some of this social heterogeneity as long as that social heterogeneity does not threaten hegemonic political projects of belonging and thus they can claim of 'not being racist'. Indeed, David Goldberg (2015), has linked the

spread of the 'postracial society' notion as the logic and condition that enables racism to persist and proliferate.

It is for this reason that some members of racialised minorities who have settled in the UK, especially those who arrived before the 1981 Nationality Act and were, as coming from countries that used to be part of the British Empire, entitled for automatic right to settle and gain UK citizenship, have voted for Brexit, feeling that in the Brexit political project of belonging they can belong more than in the EU political project, in which they saw themselves as racialised outsiders. They could thus join the Brexit autochthonic political project of belonging.

The motivation of members of settled racialised minorities in the UK to vote for Brexit is just one particular situated motivation that brought people to vote for Brexit from different sections of British society. This is why a situated intersectional analysis (Yuval-Davis, 2015; but see also Crenshaw, 1991; Lutz & al, 2011, Hill-Collins & Bilge, 2016) is so central in examining social, political, cultural and economic relations. Homogenizations and reifications of collectivities are essential parts of racialisation processes. Any deconstruction and opposition to such racialised imaginaries need to recognize that different people belong in different ways to their collectivities, have different power positionings, different emotional attachments and different normative evaluations of them. They are even racist in different ways!

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