SUOMEN ANTROPOLOGI: JOURNAL OF THE FINNISH ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Volume 47, Issue 1, 2023

Editors' note

Articles

Research reports

Essays

Book reviews

EDITORS' NOTE: ON RENT EXTRACTION IN ACADEMIC PUBLISHING AND ITS ALTERNATIVES

Once again we are delighted to publish a new issue of *Suomen antropologi: The Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society*, our third issue as editors-in-chief. We have now reached the halfway point of our term as caretakers of the journal (see Tammisto and Wilenius 2022), since a single editor-in-chief term is two years (or six issues). This is also the first issue published online both as a PDF for the full issue and as individual PDF files for each individual article.

Since our last issue, our editorial team has expanded. Vanessa Fuller (University of Helsinki) began working as the journal's language editor in November 2022, and this is the first issue she has worked on. Fuller is a professional English-language editor *and* a medical anthropologist by training. As an English-language journal edited by non-native English speakers, we are extremely happy she joined our team. In addition, Tiina Järvi (Tampere University) joined the team as an editor. Järvi defended her PhD at Tampere University in 2021 (see Järvi 2021). Needless to say, we are equally happy that Järvi has decided to volunteer for the journal.

Along these lines, we want to reiterate that our editors—Matti Eräsaari, Laura Huttunen, Tiina Järvi, Anna-Riikka Kauppinen, Patricia Scalco and Pekka Tuominen—all work on a voluntary basis. While the journal can pay a modest fee to Vanessa Fuller and the editorial secretaries, Anna Pivovarova and Saara Toukolehto, the value of their labour greatly exceeds the fees we can pay them for their efforts. So, we are using this space to thank our editorial team.

Finally, the publication of scientific articles relies on external expert reviewers, all of whom agree to carefully read and assess manuscripts, a time-consuming effort which is particularly hidden since it is completed anonymously and on a voluntary basis. Our reviewers work based on the notion of generalised reciprocity and with a great deal of trust that, just as they devote their time to improving the manuscripts of others, someone else for another journal at another time will do the same for them.

OPEN ACCESS DEVELOPMENTS

Last year, we were approached by representatives of Jisc, a UK agency focused on digital, data and technology use in education and research,

regarding research funded by UK Research and Innovation (UKRI). Through Jisc, we learned that UKRI-funded research should be published open access without embargo and with a CC BY 4.0 license. The CC BY is the least restrictive Creative Commons license, which allows for free-of-charge sharing and adaptation of the work so long as the source is credited and the license and possible changes are indicated. We subsequently learned that most if not all major European funders, such as the Academy of Finland and other signatories to the Plan S initiative demanding open access publishing, also require the use of the CC BY 4.0 license. Since moving to a fully open access format in 2016, with no embargoes, restrictions or article processing charges (APCes), our journal has used the CC BY NC 4.0 license, which prohibits commercial use, but does not otherwise restrict sharing or adaptation of materials if properly credited. To our surprise, we learned that *Suomen antropologi* was, despite being fully open access and having no fees or embargoes, 'not compliant' with the open access policies of Plan S signatories.

Thus, after pondering the request from Jisc, we decided the easiest and best solution was to allow authors to choose under which Creative Commons license they wish to publish their work. In this way, authors can comply with their funders' requirements or set the terms themselves regarding the use and sharing of their published works. That said, we will continue to use the CC BY NC 4.0 license as the default, which allows us to remain 'compliant' with Plan S requirements. Here, we extend our thanks to Jyrki Hakapää in particular from the Academy of Finland, who took the time to explain the license and Plan S policies to us.

To our minds, we think that Plan S, which seeks to push scholarly publishing towards open access, is a worthy programme and ambition. However, it is primarily designed (and limited) to push large commercial publishers towards making publicly funded research available free-of-charge. Plan S has indeed made a larger volume of publications available to the public, which is great. But, large commercial publishers continue charging authors exorbitant APCes for open access publications. These charges can be prohibitively expensive for independent scholars or for institutions with limited funds available to them. Given that many of the journals owned by large publishers are voluntarily run by academics, depend upon the free labour of reviewers and publicly funded research to fill their pages, APCes often serve as rent, which publishing companies extract for publicly funded research. We hope that in future initiatives such as Plan S will seek to direct open access publishing towards nonprofit

publishing models, found amongst institutional open access publishers and community-owned nonprofit open access journals.

Our journal is funded by the membership fees paid to the Finnish Anthropological Association and through a small public publishing grant administered by the Finnish Federation of Learned Societies. This grant is about €5000 per year, or roughly equivalent to the APCes for three articles published in commercially owned journals. In addition to this, the federation hosts the Open Journal System publishing platform via which our journal is published. This rather complicated history and description serves to demonstrate that even a small amount of public support for nonprofit publishing goes a very long way.

OPEN-SOURCE TOOLS AND ACADEMIC PUBLISHING

Continuing on along a related theme, changing the citation and reference style of a manuscript to meet the requirements of a specific journal is a relatively tedious task for our authors. This is especially laborious for our editorial secretaries, who copyedit all our texts. One of our authors, Klāvs Sedlenieks (Riga Stradiņš University), wrote a CSL style sheet, which he then used with a reference management program to automatically apply our journal's citation style, and which he graciously shared with us. Inspired by his work, we wrote an expanded version of Sedlenieks' style sheet and submitted it to the Zotero citation style repository, where the code was peer-reviewed and tested on GitHub; following a final fine-tuning, the style sheet and code was added to the official repository (Suomen antropologi 2022). Now, authors who use a reference management software such as Zotero can download our style sheet file and automatically change the style of citations and references to meet our requirements. As journal editors and long-time users of Zotero in our research and writing, we wholeheartedly recommend the use of reference management software, not just to automate bibliography creation, but also as a memory aide in note-taking and searching through one's notes and references.

As representatives of an academic publication, we strongly recommend openly accessible and, especially, open source software, such as Zotero. Zotero is managed by a nonprofit organisation and was developed communally, is free to use and, most importantly, the source code is openly available. Thus, no single entity can take over the software. For example, should Zotero be sold to a for-profit company, the openness of the code ensures that the potential new owners cannot lock users out of

their data. This is unfortunately a real concern, given that another, rather popular reference management software, Mendeley, is owned by Elsevier, whose business model is based on rent-extraction from publicly funded research and the free labour of scholars, who not only write the manuscripts submitted, but also review and edit their journals. Given that Elsevier owns databases such as Scopus and the research profile software Pure (used by a vast number of institutions, ours included), Elsevier gathers detailed data on what users read and write while also charging those same users at various steps in academic publication process.

If a few for-profit companies own the journals we publish in, the tools we use to take notes and link citations as well as the databases that track the works we cite, the entire academic enterprise will be at their mercy. More so, they appropriate publicly funded research and the unpaid work of academics, and then charge the public to access research which that same public funded in the first place. It is, in short, rent extraction, producing precious little added value. Thus, we encourage our readers to relinquish the 'Master's Tools' and, instead, use community-driven means of production whenever and wherever possible.

THIS ISSUE

While this is not a special issue, through serendipity, all of the articles, research reports and essays in this issue discuss state policies, political-economic changes and various forms of local political participation in Europe and the US. The issue is comprised of three timely research articles revolving around the politics of mobility, contemporary capitalism, infrastructures and state policies. Ann Kingsolver (University of Kentucky) examines racialised capitalism, bordering and free trade zones (FTZs) in the UK and US; Ieva Puzo (Rīga Stradiņš University) examines the different kinds of actual work of individuals needed to make policy happen in the Latvian academy; and Elizabeth Wollin (Södertörn University) discusses how the official Swedish sustainability policy on transportation is based on urban norms without recognising the lived socio-geographic realities of the rural north. The discussion of politics continues in the three *lectio præcursoria*: Elina Niinivaara (Tampere University) examines political participation of young refugee men in Finland, Saila Saaristo (University Institute of Lisbon) discusses housing activism in Lisbon and Sonja Trifuljesko (University of Helsinki) examines the institutional reform of the University of Helsinki. Lastly, Albion Butters (University of

Turku) discusses the articulations around pro- and anti-gun activism at the University of Texas, Austin in the US.

In her very timely article, 'Sleights of hand: Bordering, free ports and the racial capitalist roots of economic nationalist strategies in the US and the UK', Ann Kingsolver examines the contradictory character of economic nationalist projects in the US under former President Donald Trump and in the UK under former Prime Minister Boris Johnson. Kingsolver notes that the economic nationalist projects conducted under the slogans of 'Make America Great Again' and 'Take back control' are not exactly the same, although they share similarities. Both were, and are, based on the strict bordering practices and the notion of 'hard borders'. As Kingsolver shows, the strict and militarised bordering practices were not restricted to physical borders, but diffused from the actual borders to selective policing within the countries, as was the case with the paramilitary Bortac forces whose 'operation zone' extended to a 100-mile (160.93 km) distance from the border. More so, these 'hard border' policies are based on more or less explicit racist notions which undermine the full 'cultural, market and/or national citizenship' belonging of racialised people. At the same time, these economic nationalist projects depend upon global circuits of capital and the work of immigrants or citizens whose full citizenship is questioned. The contradiction within these projects is materialised in the spatialised forms of 'free ports' and 'foreign (or free) trade zones' (FTZs), which are based on increased control and the hyperexploitation of workers on the one hand and increased mobility of capital on the other. Kingsolver notes that 'free' ports have always been linked to this contradiction within racialised capitalism, as Great Britain established free ports in part to secure the trade of enslaved people. However, as Kingsolver points out in the beginning of her article, such 'sleights of hand' do not always work, whereby dispossessed people are aware of them and make them visible.

Next, Ieva Puzo examines questions of neoliberalism, state policy and labour, but in the context of academic work in contemporary Latvia. In her article, 'Living and working research policies: The case of international scholars in Latvia', she examines the desire of Latvian officials to internationalise research. 'International', 'internationalisation' and 'international cooperation' have become catch-phrases in official policy related to academia in Latvia, what Puzo refers to as a non-hegemonic academic periphery. Having conducted 'patchwork' ethnographic fieldwork in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic in Latvia, Puzo investigates what kinds of work make the dreams of policy become a reality, or whose work makes internationalisation happen. Based on in-person and remote

ethnographic fieldwork, Puzo shows that internationalisation, that is, the work of international researchers in Latvia, hinges upon the unseen work completed by individual international researchers who navigate the bureaucratic practices of immigration and funding, while their Latvian colleagues and university assistants and administrators all perform interpretive and infrastructural labour, which often also remains unseen. For example, local researchers help translate documents and funding applications from Latvian to English, and provide international scholars instruction on what policy lingo is needed. In addition to this, there is the often demanding and fully informal care work that is needed to maintain communities. As Puzo shows, this informal labour is also often recognised by officials—as individuals—but remains invisible structurally. Internationalisation literally hinges on this work: the work of international scholars in Latvia is based on these networks of interpretive, infrastructural and care work. And, conversely, it often fails, meaning that there are few international scholars in Latvia because the effort to internationalise the Latvian academy is simply too great.

In her article 'Rural mobilities, urban norms', Elizabeth Wollin examines the politics of sustainability in Sweden by focusing on transportation and mobility in rural areas. Based on research in rural Sweden, and especially in the northern rural parts of the country, Wollin shows how dominant discourses of 'sustainability' do not adequately capture the realities of life in sparsely populated rural areas. Well-meaning conceptions of 'environmental sustainability' in traffic and transportation, which promote public transport via trains and buses, ignore what Wollin terms 'social sustainability' and the long history of differentiation between rural and urban Sweden, uneven development and structural changes in Swedish society—intersected by questions of class. Wollin shows how public transportation such as buses represents important modes of transportation in the rural north. But, due to long distances and their infrequency, they cannot cater to all of the needs of the rural population. More so in rural areas, people need not only to transport their own bodies, but often bulky cargo or their animal companions. Dominant discourses of environmental sustainability focus on modes of transportation, but not societal expectations regarding the speed of movement, which largely rely on urban norms. Bus connections to rural villages not only serve as modes or transport for rural people, but also provide evidence of the state's and society's recognition of the existence of rural places and people. Conversely, increasing central coastal train connections at the cost of rural bus connections, as one example, not only means reducing rural transportation

infrastructure, but indexes the wider politics of uneven development. Wollin quite convincingly shows that 'sustainability' discourses must incorporate notions of 'social sustainability' and take into account the varied contextual political and geographic realities.

In addition to the three research articles, this issue consists of three research reports in the form of *lectio præcursoria*, the short lecture given by doctoral candidates at their public defence of their thesis. *Suomen antropologi* publishes these public lectures from the fields of anthropology and related disciplines, often by candidates trained in anthropology, to showcase the state-of-the-art research conducted in the discipline in Finland. The PhD theses introduced in this issue also examine the intersection of political agency, state structures and participation in various settings—complementing the discussion of the research articles.

In her lectio and thesis, Elina Niinivaara examines social and political participation of young men with refugee backgrounds in Finland. The general assumption in Finnish society is that youth and young men, especially those labelled as immigrants, do not actively participate in the political sphere. Based on careful long-term ethnographic research, Niinivaara counters this assumption and shows that the young men, who come from a wide range of backgrounds, are acutely aware of how Finnish society seeks to position them. More so, through their everyday acts as well as long-term projects, these men seek to affect the othering they encounter and stubbornly pursue roles and positions not readily assigned to them, such as higher education. More so, through their mundane or everyday political participation, these men seek to cultivate solidarity and a form of respective coexistence. Unfortunately, the young men often face societal obstacles, frustrating their efforts and losing their potential. In her important concluding remark, Niinivaara notes that Finnish society would do well to participate in the project of respectful coexistence these men began.

Saila Saaristo, like others in this issue, analyses neoliberal state policies and various forms of politics in her lectio on housing and housing activism in Lisbon, Portugal. In her activist ethnography, Saaristo examines, on the one hand, the global trend of the commodification of housing and the neoliberalisation of housing policy in Lisbon. On the other hand, Saaristo examines various forms of housing activism against homelessness produced by the commodification of housing, the global inability of states to secure housing and the neoliberalisation of social housing in Lisbon. One form of activism Saaristo examines is house occupation, which is an 'everyday practice' used to resist homelessness. What Saaristo notes is that it is also a

heavily gendered form of activism given that the majority of occupiers are women and often mothers, making house occupation a markedly 'feminised tactic'. Among mothers threatened with homelessness, it is a way to avoid living on the street and risking the loss of caring for their children to social services. In her thesis, Saaristo also shows how these various tactics, informal networks of care and mundane politics are made visible to officials and state actors through more formal social movements centred on housing activism.

In her thesis and lectio, Sonja Trifuljesko tackles the intersection of state politics, institutional reorganisation and local political action in Finland. Trifuljesko examines how changes in the global economy of knowledge production affected the University of Helsinki. In the mid-2010s the University of Helsinki was radically restructured following a managerial logic of doing away with local administration and centralising administrative services, merging old departments and disciplines into new entities and even terminating professorships. The reform coincided with massive cuts to education made by the then right-wing government coalition composed of the Centre party, the right-wing National Gathering party and the far-right Finns party. This reform also resulted in massive lay-offs of both teaching and administrative staff. Trifuljesko's thesis is an ethnography of an institution undergoing changes that sought to maximise the exploitation of knowledge work and make the university into a 'world class' institution by restructuring and doing away with existing social relations at the institution through reorganisation and lay-offs. As Trifuljesko shows, these attempts were only partially successful and the 'weeds' of autonomous sociality began to emerge from the ruins of the restructured institution. More so, Trifuljesko's thesis shows that the unintended and often adverse effects of the reform were the result of the reformer's failure to understand that the institution is based on existing social relations and silent knowledge, and not merely on formal administrative structures.

As in Puzo's article and Trifuljesko's lectio, education, institutions, state policies and the struggles over them are the focus of Albion Butters' timely essay. Butters examines the effects of the 2016 Campus Carry law, which allowed for the concealed carry of firearms at the University of Texas (UT) at Austin in the US. Based on ethnographic research at UT Austin, Butters examines how gun-control activism, uniting both staff and students, articulated with pro-carry activism. More so, Butters employs and develops the concept of 'articulation' to make sense of the communication between the three parties: gun-control activists on campus, pro-campus carry activism and the university as an institution. Butters notes that initially

those supporting the carrying of firearms on campus were less willing to express their stance publicly or to the researchers—partly because the law allows concealed carry, whereas the open carrying of firearms or making its presence openly known is illegal. Gun-control activists were more vocal. They also used humorous stunts, such as distributing dildos, which are classified as 'offensive' materials making their 'open carry' illegal, to highlight the hypocrisy in policies which allow individuals to carry deadly weapons. This stunt provoked responses and even threats to gun-control activists voiced mainly online by pro-carry people, eventually entering into on-campus debates. Butters shows how the stances articulated with each other resulting in different kinds of communicative actions, such as carrying firearms, displaying them, seeking to reframe the discussion as one over education and so forth.

Finally, our issue is completed by two book reviews: Áron Bakos reviews Rosa Hartmut's book, *The Uncontrollability of the World* and Aila Mustamo reviews the volume *Dwelling in Political Landscapes,* edited by Anu Lounela, Eeva Berglund and Timo Kallinen.

TUOMAS TAMMISTO AND HEIKKI WILENIUS
Editors-in-chief

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Ann Kingsolver

SLEIGHTS OF HAND: BORDERING, FREE PORTS, AND THE RACIAL CAPITALIST ROOTS OF ECONOMIC NATIONALIST STRATEGIES IN THE US AND THE UK

ABSTRACT

Sleight-of-hand economic nationalist strategies by recent administrations of the US and UK emphasize the 'freedom' of those selectively imagined as belonging to the nation while quietly but pivotally discouraging human mobility and encouraging elite capital mobility. The US and UK's distinct but connected recent policies—Donald Trump's 'Make America Great Again' (MAGA) and Boris Johnson's Brexit strategies—are not exceptional or unique to those specific administrations of each country, but are embedded within long-term, interconnected transnational racial capitalist projects. The sleights of hand promoting selective national publics' freedom are not only hypocritical but complex to see, especially with White-impaired lenses. This article examines two interrelated technologies of power on which these economic nationalist strategies have relied, bordering and free zones, contributing to research on the complex, varied, and experience-inflected responses US and UK residents have to these policies.

Keywords: economic nationalism; racial capitalism; United States; United Kingdom; free ports and trade zones; bordering strategies; labour

This article focuses on the economic nationalist stances of the recent administrations of the United States (hereafter, US) and the United Kingdom (UK), and the particular, silencing inversions of 'freedom' upon which their rhetoric relies: Freedom and well-being for whom? Who constitutes the economic nation to be revived? These seeming totalities always exclude, and are always haunted by exclusions. 'Get Brexit Done' and 'Take Back Control', slogans associated with the close vote in a 2016 referendum for the UK to leave the European Union and with Boris Johnson's becoming the UK's Prime Minister in 2019 to see Brexit through, and 'Make America Great Again', Donald Trump's ongoing campaign slogan for the US Presidency 2016 through 2020, were both assertions with nostalgic inventions and erasures that have been engaged in complex ways, for diverse reasons, by supporters. But, the economic nationalist strategies of the administrations in the US and the UK, like all capitalist strategies, have involved sleights of hand drawing public attention to the promise of market citizenship

while drawing attention away from the violent inequities, structural racism, and forced immobilities upon which that 'free' market in a 'free' nation relies.[1] To follow these sleights of hand political strategies and their different iterations in the US and the UK, this article draws on racial capitalist (Robinson 2000) theorisation and archival and ethnographic documentation to discuss spectral borders and unfree zones in the White-centric economic nationalisms promoted in both nations.[2]

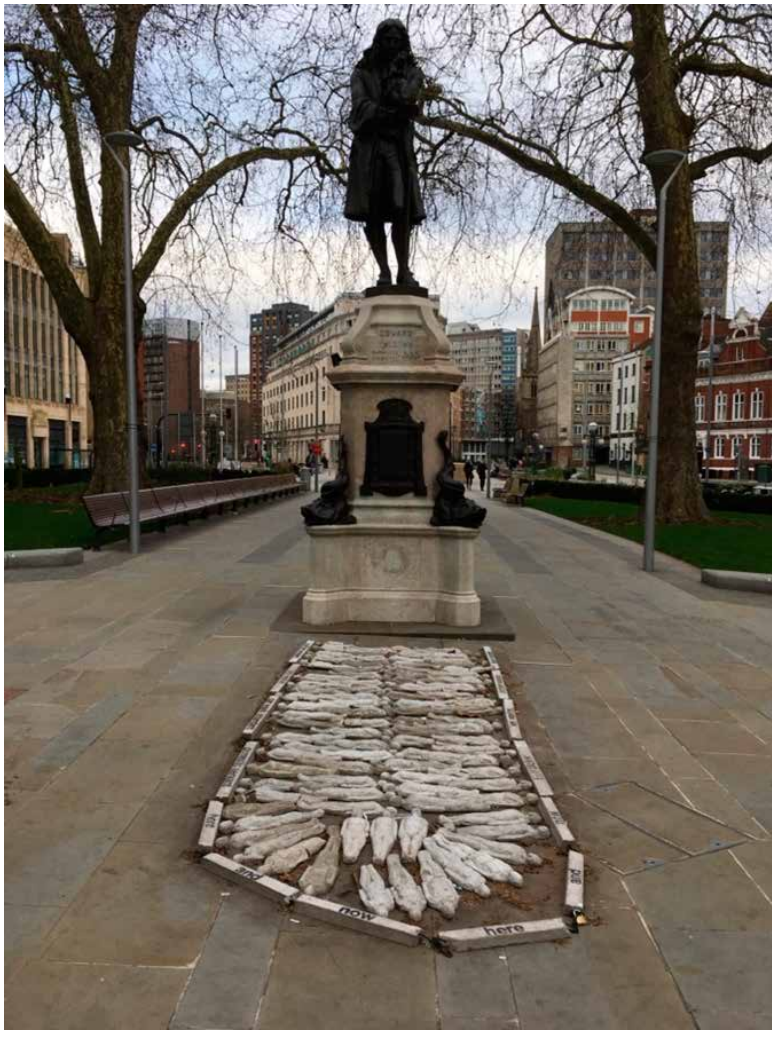
My argument here is that the apparent ruptures of Trump's emphatic attention to building a short section of a very high wall between the US and Mexico and Johnson's ebullient insistence on the UK's withdrawal from the European Union were neither exceptional nor new strategies. Economic nationalist rhetoric has often been used as a parallel or indirect vocabulary in which to make promises to protect the livelihoods of a public insinuated as White and deserving from selectively marked immigrant and minoritised workers. This is coupled with exaggerated practices of bordering. One of those bordering technologies is the everyday parsing and policing of belonging in the imagined, deserving economic nation, which can be decoupled both from actual national citizenship and from the border, understood as the physical boundary between nations. Another of those bordering practices is the designation of spaces inside national boundaries as extraterritorial or outside the nation for customs purposes. These are the free ports (in the UK) and the Foreign-Trade Zones (in the US) that represent the hyperglobal mobility necessary for capitalist elites to continue to increase profits but undermine the ostensible fortification of an economic nation. Thus, the reliance on sleight-of-hand strategies by these economic nationalist administrations shifts attention from the persistent structural racism –responsible for 'forced exclusion and stigmatised labour' (Harrison 1995: 48)— upon which capitalism relies. The archival and ethnographic evidence provided for this argument may appear seemingly unrelated—ranging from racial capitalism rendered visible around the base of a statue to interviewees' alarm over the downplaying of the Irish border issue by Brexiteers—but the purpose here is to follow the traces of redirection, or sleight-of-hand strategies, backwards to the intended policy goals which selectively reduce freedom and equity in the name of freedom and equity.

By sleight of hand, throughout, I refer to hegemonic choices in political rhetorical work intended to draw public attention to one strategy, which invites strong media attention and discussion, while distracting from the much more silent project that is the main goal.[3] I do not mean that those most harmed by these projects lack political interpretations or agency (Han 2018; Clarke and Newman 2019: 74), but that there is definitely intentional obfuscation of their core aims and projects by capitalist elites.[4] This analysis assumes there are many intersecting and sometimes contradictory simultaneous political discourses and projects which mostly rub along together in the convenient fog of 'strategic ambiguity' (Heller 1988). There are political moments, though, in which sleight-of-hand strategies do not work. Anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies commonly invoked to 'protect' the economic wellbeing of the imagined [White] nation (Kingsolver 2001), for example, were challenged when essential workers marginalised through racialisation and precarious immigration status momentarily became both visible and vital during the COVID-19 pandemic (see Sanò 2022). And the powerful, ongoing efforts to doubt or render invisible the *foundational* reliance of capitalism on racism and on the transatlantic

trade in enslaved Africans discussed by Cedric Robinson (2000: 112) in his explanation of racial capitalism were exposed even to White-privileged publics with the 2020 racial reckonings in the US and the UK. The attempt to close those curtains again in a White-centric legislative backlash was orchestrated through a wave of 'anti-Critical Race Theory' legislation in the US in 2022.

Of course, those who are dispossessed, dislocated, disenfranchised, disregarded, and experience the active extraction of labour, voices, and ideas, see and live the embodied, institutional, and everyday violence of sleight-of-hand strategies like the Brexiteers' ostensible focus on the public's wellbeing. As Antoinette Burton (2021: 2) argues, 'the presumptive Whiteness of "Deep England"' surfacing in Brexit discussions comes as no rupture or surprise to those who have long seen it celebrated in White-dominated popular culture—Brexit is just a vehicle for its momentary broader legibility. Temporally, there are both these moments of hypervisibility (like overt White supremacist actions on 6 January 2021 in the US to try to maintain Trump's agenda to 'Make America Great Again') and ongoing efforts—by artivists (activist artists), for example—to render more widely apprehensible the structural racism *always* there, shoring up capitalist logic and practice whatever political party is in power.

A recent example of work to render racial capitalism visible by artivists surrounded the statue of Edward Colston, which has stood in the centre of Bristol, UK, since 1895. Colston built a fortune from his investment in the trade in captive Africans in the seventeenth century through the Royal Africa Company. For at least the past twenty years, there were calls to remove the statue of Colston, which honoured his donations to the city, because of the violent source of that capital. In October 2018, artivists created an installation at the base of Colston's statue (see Fig. 1) that rendered visible the haunting of the memorial by all those exploited in the past and present through racial capitalism. The anonymous artwork was installed on Anti-Slavery Day, as part of a campaign against human trafficking. Marking only one day of the year, of course, as Anti-Slavery Day, is a temporal sleight of hand, one of many acts of empowered marking and unmarking through White supremacy, which is why organisations like Unseen work on challenging invisibility year-round.



Amplifying visibility of the legacy of racial capitalism associated with Edward Colston in Bristol, UK. Photo: Ann Kingsolver, 1 January, 2019.

Passersby glancing at the artivists' installation could see the outlined layout of captive Africans in the suffocating belowdecks of the kind of ship in which Colston had invested. A closer look revealed the bordering words 'here and now', and labelled the prone bodies as sex workers, fruit pickers, kitchen workers, nail bar workers, domestic workers, and others upon whose labour the current UK economy relies: workers whose full cultural, market, and/or national citizenship is simultaneously actively rejected by many of those with whom they are in daily contact in intimate ways. This materialisation of the always-there was soon swept away, and in June 2020 (as part of protests around the world in solidarity with Black Lives Matter activists in the US after George Floyd was killed by Minneapolis police officers), protestors physically pulled Colston's bronze statue down from its plinth and rolled it into the harbour. It was replaced by a series of sculptures unauthorised by the Bristol city council, including a statue by Marc Quinn of Black Lives Matter protestor Jen Reid. But, it is not easy to dispense with, or sustain the broad visibility of, the everywhereness and currency of racial capitalism and its many violences.

Racial capitalism (Robinson 2000) has always involved the work of erasure and the redirection of the public gaze from the racial contract through which political legitimacy is established on the 'privileging of those individuals designated as white/persons and the exploitation of those individuals designated as non-white/subpersons' (Mills 1997: 32–33), or the dispossessed and unfree (Calvão 2016). Such sleight of hand is at work in the erasure of the unfree in the very inscription of 'freedom' in the founding documents of the US as a nation, distancing itself from its colonisers while silencing its negation of the political legitimacy of indigenous, enslaved, unpropertied, and gendered-as-female residents. A similar negation of subjugation appears in the strategic reimplementation of 'free' ports and zones in recent economic nationalist narratives that assert freedom, while haunted by the unfree.

Anthropologists have long been analysing nationalisms and their haunting[5] by strategic inclusions and exclusions, advocating for close ethnographic and historical attention (B. Williams 1990: 114; see also Trouillot 1995). Advocating the ongoing work of tracing those specific stories of power, Eric Williams (1964 [1944]) cautioned readers—in 1944, at the very end of *Capitalism and Slavery*—that if we 'do not learn something from history, [our] activities would then be cultural decoration, or a pleasant pastime, equally useless in these troubled times'. Whether for the Frankfurt School in the 1930s or in recent years, trying to sort out the geographical and historical distinctions of nationalisms and populisms and their chimaeric projections as they mushroom is challenging. And while economic nationalist rhetoric can sound similar, the associated policies can differ quite a bit (see Kingsolver et al. 2022). Economic nationalism is not a stable concept or set of policies, but a political discourse that might best be understood as 'the nationalism–economy nexus' (Berger and Fetzer 2019: 2) or as 'a complex set of relationships between nation and economy' (Pickel 2005: 13) in order to encompass the many forms and contexts of economic nationalisms. The economic nationalist concerns of the 2020 Trump and Johnson administrations were both focused on enabling the mobility of capital while immobilising labour, for example, but took different approaches to transnational trade. Trump's policies sounded more isolationist, but his 'Buy American' approach actually relied heavily (and silently) on extremely global production strategies.

Ethnographers have looked beyond simple binary or exceptionalist understandings[6] of the votes for Trump's Make America Great Again agenda and for Brexit, noting the heterogeneity of their often-essentialised supporters (Balthazar 2017; Mathur 2020; Rapport 2020), the conjuncture of multiple political strategies (Clarke 2019; Evans 2017), and the political work (Maskovsky 2019) done by seeming to amplify White working-class grievances and racist versus progressive divisions, thereby disguising the overall racial capitalist White benefit from that trope (Ilc 2017; Walley 2017)[7] and the very quiet, very powerful projects of a small capitalist (and fracturing) elite (Gusterson 2017: 210). In the UK case, Hickman and Ryan (2020) call that elite group the 'chumocracy', schooled together and later scuffling over which tack to take (Shore in Green et al. 2016: 490 to maximise and securitise their capital. Those cracks among conservatives (Mulvey and Davidson 2019) could be seen in 2020 as fellow Conservatives and past Prime Ministers made public statements of dismay with Prime Minister Johnson's proposal of a UK law illegal under international law, in a move similar to Trump's assertions of sovereignty from the global (Mayes and Ross 2020). Even Brexit itself has been a distraction, as Hozić and True (2017: 276) argue, 'taking oxygen from public conversations about structural problems… and ensuring that discussions about issues that matter to all… remain in the hands of their technocratic elites'.

As Cris Shore (2021: 17) observed in his discussion of the complexities of understanding the Brexit decision, 'anthropologists and other analysts will need to look more closely at the imaginaries that were attached to votes and how these are grounded in specific life experiences(...)'. This is what I have long tried to do. For the past 35 years, I have been listening as an ethnographer (drawing on political economic and interpretive theoretical perspectives) to how people make sense of and contest capitalist logic, practices, and policies and the strategic alterities inscribed, embodied, and justified through them. Ethnographically and archivally, the examples I include in this article are from two interwoven projects that stemmed from earlier work on different and specifically positioned transnational imaginings of the agency, and effects on identities and livelihoods, of the North American Free Trade Agreement (Kingsolver 2001). One project has been focused on the tensions and ambiguities between understanding rural US Foreign-Trade Zones (FTZs) as workspaces inside or outside the US and the labour injustices resulting from the potential exploitation of jurisdictional ambiguity (Kingsolver 2021) in these extraterritorial zones.[8] Ironically, Trump's economic nationalist rhetoric of 'American jobs for American workers' depended on a profoundly globalised landscape of production on US territory, raising the question of what an 'American job' might be, along with who he meant to include in that phrase as 'American'. Racial capitalist framing of 'American' workers has underlain multiple national administrations of both major political parties in the US, aided by the complex policy terrain of local, state, and national government appeals to what have been discussed as 'working-class voters', but often signalled as a White working class, especially in regions with failing and waning major industries.

In a one-year, comparative ethnographic project in 2019[9], I did semi-structured interviews with people variously situated within the UK, by region—Northern Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and England—and by other ways of self-identifying (e.g., age, gender, racialisation, national identity, and occupation), and additional interviews in

the Republic of Ireland and in Italy, about what those interviewed might tell a future generation the Brexit debate was really all about. Through both projects, especially in terms of anti-immigrant rhetoric and a renewed promotion of free ports (a central but quiet plank in the Brexit platform), those who agreed to be interviewed illustrated the ways in which US and UK sleight-of-hand economic nationalist policies continue to be shaped by racial capitalism. In order to support the argument made here that sleight-of-hand economic nationalist strategies in the US and the UK have emphasized the freedom and wellbeing of the represented publics while downplaying the racial capitalist inequities upon which those policies rely, in the next sections, I discuss the way bordering is deployed as an essential trope defining the 'economic nation' in both the US and the UK, the long racial capitalist roots of the economic nationalism articulated in Brexit, and, finally, how free ports in the UK and Foreign Trade Zones in the US embody the ultimate sleight of hand: obscure spaces within national borders that simultaneously defy and are seen to resuscitate the 'national economy'.

BORDERING AS A TECHNOLOGY OF POWER NECESSARY TO ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

In 2020, in the US and the UK, the logic of economic nationalism stood defiantly on its own eroding cliff. Economic nationalists called for withdrawals from transnational circulations and drew attention to 'hard borders' through either investing in the construction of an actual wall between the US and Mexico or emphasizing the seas dividing the UK from the European Union (EU) in the case of all but Northern Ireland. That border (and the 'backstop' of not creating a physically enforced international border zone between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, upon which the Brexit negotiations hinged) seemed to be an afterthought by the UK government charged with implementing the 2016 narrow vote for the UK to withdraw from the European Union it had joined—as the European Economic Community—in 1973. While the majority-conservative UK government (led in turn by Prime Ministers Theresa May and Boris Johnson) was in protracted negotiations of a withdrawal agreement for the UK from the EU, immediate arrangements were made by UK leaders for capital to move freely, even as they argued that people—at least those targeted in xenophobic and White-centric rhetoric—would not. London was very quietly declared a financial 'free port' in an agreement with the European Security and Markets Authority to buffer British banks from the insecure and possibly ruinous conditions that could come with Brexit (Jenkins 2019). I will return to this key sleight of hand.

Across the Atlantic, Trump asked US citizens to 'buy American' while his own businesses imported products from many countries (Gabbatt 2017). This hypocritical sleight of hand was not new, but as old as the nation itself. The leaders of the American Revolution wore homespun suits in public in protest of British imports and taxation, but the homespun linen suits they wore were mostly woven by their enslaved African workers, and they secretly went around the boycott and imported European goods for their own households (Frank 1999: 11–18).[10] Arshad Imtiaz Ali (2017: 386) cautioned against seeing Trump's economic nationalist

policies as exceptional, arguing that 'the animus toward non-white bodies was not a rupture in American political and social life but rather the continuation of a society that has not addressed its material gains from genocide, chattel slavery, colonial, and imperial projects, as well as from its racism, discrimination, and violence'. The US administration's bordering tactics of separating children from parents, deporting citizens, and inciting vigilante violence[11] undergird the racial capitalist economic nation. Again, it becomes important to ask, *whose* nation, and how is that further definition of those whose livelihoods and lives merit 'protection' enacted in daily life?

The exaggerated materiality of Trump's construction of a section of wall between the US and Mexico was a sleight of hand drawing attention from the ongoing selective visibility and permeability, and everywhereness, of that wall that racialises national and cultural citizenship in everyday life and regulates the im/mobility invoked in economic nationalist rhetoric. As Robert Chang (1997: 246) wrote, after watching a White person enter the US with a form of credential he was then told was not allowed when he presented his own to the border patrol: 'Although the border is everywhere, your perspective may render it invisible. It is through this invisibility that the border gains much of its power…the properties of the border change depending on who is trying to get in or out'. In everyday ways, as Sarah Green (2019: 10) points out, people are navigating 'different and overlapping border regimes' that are selectively, relationally, and incompletely asserted as traces of historical and nationalist projects. Border 'protection' in the US, as Castañeda (2019) and others have documented, is far less about the enforcement of the physical international border than it is about the racial capitalist assertion of belonging to the US de facto [White] public (Kingsolver 2001). In 2020, for example, during Black Lives Matter demonstrations in Portland, Oregon, the Trump administration dispatched the US Customs and Border Patrol quasi-military tactical unit known as Bortac (Pilkington 2020)—likened to the Navy Seals and sometimes deployed outside the US for anti-smuggling raids—to Portland, bringing the spectre of state power and selective border enforcement into the space of the protests. The wall has feet and is armed. Bortac, as Pilkington (2020) notes, can operate *anywhere* within 100 miles of the US border, a zone which includes the majority of the US population.

The US border, then, is selectively permeable (Fernández-Kelly and Massey 2007) and can move over people and re-inscribe identities through a racial capitalist lens (Molina 2014). Bordering has become an increasingly popular xenophobic technology since the fall of the Berlin Wall, paradoxically, in many countries (Myambo and Frassinelli 2019). One of the sleights of hand here is the loud anti-immigrant rhetoric distracting from the real crisis, bordering itself (Gahman and Hjalmarson 2019: 108). In the context of Brexit, many have reminded those who associate integration of the UK into the EU with 'free movement' that the European Union has increasingly walled itself off from immigration in selectively xenophobic and racial capitalist ways, representing no cosmopolitan panacea (Mulvey and Davidson 2019: 286; Sierp 2020). But, bordering technologies have everything to do with economic nationalist strategies. As Orenstein (2018: 650) has documented, the 'plurality of bordering practices' used by states are always in the service of capital, and are implemented through the everyday logistics of warehousing and FTZs.

THE LONG RACIAL CAPITALIST ROOTS OF BREXIT AND 'FREE' PORTS

As Donald Trump and Boris Johnson were busy securitising their selectively imagined national publics in 2020, Paul Gilroy could be seen to have eerily and perhaps wearily predicted many of their statements and actions over 30 years ago when he wrote about the UK: 'The politics of 'race' in this country is fired by conceptions of national belonging and homogeneity which not only blur the distinction between 'race' and nation, but rely on that very ambiguity for their effect' (Gilroy 2002 [1987]: 44). He further argued that the practice of Black exclusion and expulsion associated with the new form of racism 'assists in the process of making Britain great again and restores an ethnic symmetry to a world distorted by imperial adventure and migration' (Gilroy 2002 [1987]: 46).[12] These observations by Gilroy were echoed clearly in Trump's 'MAGA' call to Make America Great Again, with its nostalgia for a Whiteness that never was; in his suggestion that US citizens serving in the House of Representatives 'go back' to their 'broken and crime-infested' countries; in Theresa May's efforts to make the UK a hostile climate for immigrants from Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and other Caribbean and Commonwealth nations, deporting UK citizens and then saying on Windrush Day[13] in 2019 that the UK would 'always be their home'; in Boris Johnson's willingness to jettison Northern Ireland for a Brexit focused on what he apparently saw as the rightful Britain, England; and in the Biden administration's selective deportation of Haitian immigrants in 2021. Administrations in both the US and the UK have used sleight-of-hand rhetoric to selectively promote isolationism for the many[14] while quietly ensuring global ties for the racial capitalist elite. Free ports have long figured as a mechanism for that sleight of hand.

The new free port in London and the network of ten new free ports across the UK (especially in deindustrialised areas in the north) figured as key elements in the post-Brexit economic development strategy. As Jack Newman (2021: 319) argues, free ports were promised as part of the Johnson government's post-Brexit 'levelling up' policy to address regional inequalities across the UK, but the tensions hiding behind the rhetoric of 'levelling up' will be revealed when increased economic productivity in free ports placed in marginalised regions do not actually lead to more economic equity within regions.[15] The tensions in imagining full inclusion in the UK's post-Brexit national economic community have centuries of history behind them, ranging from the anti-Irish discrimination voiced by the British administrator Charles Trevelyan's (1846) statement that the 'moral evil of the selfish, perverse, and turbulent character of the people' was worse than the famine they were experiencing to the Brexiteers' unsurprising quite common use of 'England' instead of all the nations of the United Kingdom in speeches about Brexit's advantages and implementation. As Brackette Williams (1989: 422) wrote, 'The process by which Anglo-Saxon came to stand for Englishness, and Englishness to stand for quintessential Britishness has provided fertile ground for a resurgence of subordinated ethnic groups in the United Kingdom', and that has very much applied to Brexit. There is a long history, then, to the astonishing ability of today's Brexiteers to ignore the effects of Brexit along the Irish border, since the economic nation is—in Brexiteers' sleight-of-hand rhetoric—viewed as England anyway, something Scotland has long called the Brexiteers on.[16]

Many I interviewed in 2019 about Brexit brought up anti-immigrant sentiment within the UK and fear about the uncertain status for those living transnationally (either in the UK with citizenship in other nations or with UK citizenship living elsewhere in the EU), but also tensions between the countries constituting the United Kingdom. I did not ask people how they voted, but sometimes people volunteered that information. A retired person from Northern Ireland told me that he voted for Brexit. What interested me was *why*. It was sovereignty-related. He remembered the British army marching into Northern Ireland in 1969, and he feared the possibility of the European Union similarly raising an army to send into the UK. I have heard other supporters of Brexit talk about a fear of the 'United States of Europe' becoming too powerful in governance and employing force against the populations of member nations. Shore and Black (1994) foresaw this possibility over 25 years ago, given some of the ambiguities that were not quite worked out in the European Union's establishment. They argued that conferring EU citizenship to those already citizens of member nations both set the stage for anti-immigrant policies against the newly arrived or those with unresolved national status and for tension between the possible calls in the future for loyalty to Europe as citizens, with accompanying responsibilities, and the existing national citizenship with well-established nationalist narratives. In 2022, this tension could be seen in the varied national responses within the EU to providing material support to Ukraine during Russian challenges to its borders and affinities. It was precisely this issue of military mobilisation that came up in relation to Irish bordering in discussions I had about Brexit in the UK.

For example, a person from Northern Ireland asked, in a 2019 interview:

> If there was going to be a hard border in Ireland, who would enforce it? The Irish Army is not big enough, and they couldn't afford it. The British don't want to do it. And the British Army's not big enough either. The British Army's really small. So nobody could really enforce it. It's impossible.

And a businessperson from the Republic of Ireland said:

> The backstop was basically that there would never be a deal done without the Irish being consulted and without this border issue being solved first. But you know at the end of the day, Ireland is a member-state [of the EU], but a very small member-state in comparison with the other twenty-five member-states. So I think that, if really, when it comes down to it, I think a lot of people in Europe would say look it, it's an Irish problem and let it be their problem, because we don't have that much clout in Europe anyway, and I think that's the way it will probably fall.

With this uncertainty, several people from both sides of the Irish border told me that they were worried about a return of violence, and that the Brexit discussions were bringing up conversations they had never had with younger generations about the troubles because they had thought they had put that behind them. One person said, 'I would hope that common sense would prevail with all people. Even if the hard border comes back, that peace would prevail. Because that's just the ultimate'.

In the interviews I did with variously situated speakers about Brexit, the fault lines within the UK and histories of scalar discrimination were prominent, as exemplified

by the strong possibility of another Scottish referendum on independence from the UK and the 2020 vote by the Shetland Islands Council to consider independence from Scotland. The same retired person from Northern Ireland who feared repression by a European Union army paralleling his experience of British military occupation talked about the discrimination he encountered when moving from Belfast to London. He and a friend had dragged their suitcases (before wheels, he pointed out) a long way from the bus stop to the house where someone had agreed to rent them a flat.

> But when we turned up on the doorstep, she said, 'You're Irish, aren't you?' And we said, 'yes'. And she pointed to a sign on her door: no Irish, no coloured. She said, 'The flat's gone'. And she pointed to the sign. Which meant, you're not coming in here (…) If we'd been Scottish or Welsh we wouldn't have had the same problem.

Of course, it would not have mattered where in the United Kingdom he was from if he had not identified as White. But his views of English colonialism within the UK remained strong seventy years later, even as he supported Brexit because of his fear that the European Union would treat the UK as England had treated Northern Ireland.

A worker from Wales living in another part of the UK asked her mother when she went home to a former coal-mining valley why she thought the vote in the 2016 referendum went for Brexit in Wales, when it would mean the loss of EU support for so many cultural and economic programmes that local residents participated in. Her mother told her:

> I don't know, I didn't vote. I didn't go, because I'm bored with this bloody stuff. It's just a pain in the backside. But have you seen the number of UKIP [United Kingdom Independence Party] people down here? I've never met a UKIP person before. Twice I've been stopped.

On the morning the result of the Brexit referendum was announced in 2016, one interviewee recalled in 2019, a taxi driver told her that earlier in his shift he had heard the news of how the vote went from a client who got in his cab and said, 'Ha ha, you're going to have to leave now'. The driver had been born and lived his whole life in England. Citizenship is impossible to read on bodies, but the language of racism was more overt and empowered after the Brexit vote in a range of violent ways.

A young woman whose parents had both immigrated to the United Kingdom said:

> Brexit's vote has led me to believe that I no longer belong here and that my family no longer belong here because, you know, they weren't born here. This idea of belonging is something that I've never particularly considered from a geographical perspective before, and so hearing it from people that I'm allegedly like part of that society almost is very, very weird…

While first- and second-generation immigrants' sense of belonging being questioned or not in the UK may already have been modulated through lenses of class, racialisation, gender, desirability, and 'deportability' (Radziwinowiczówna and Galasińska 2021), Sotkasiira and Gawlewicz (2021) found in a post-Brexit interview study that the 'politics of embedding', or a sense of belonging and the rights immigrants felt in the UK, always complex and fluctuating, were suddenly made more fragile by Brexit-related immigration policies.[17] As I also learned in

my interviews, if a person were in the process of divorcing or losing a job, for example, at the particular moment in which Brexit was going into effect and the EU reciprocal Schengen visa policies no longer applied, their assumptions and evidence of belonging in the UK might feel insecure for the first time if they (not having national citizenship) had not already been denied cultural citizenship (Ong 1996) related to other aspects of their identities.

Uncertainty about the future was something that young people told me in 2019 was shaping many of their life decisions in the shadow of Brexit (uncertainty only unimaginably amplified during the COVID-19 crisis). One member of a young couple interviewed said, 'people are postponing decisions about moving to the next stage of your life…. We don't know how the cards are going to fall. So, there's uncertainty for the future, which in turn definitely affects the action that you take in the present'.

One young interviewee, who—like many in the UK—was facing more overt racism than ever before in 2019, said that the Brexit debate made her realise that there had been people who had felt uncomfortable going into the EU years before. She had had no idea that there had been such tension about that at the time:

> People who didn't feel too comfortable with it were not given the space to say I'm not all right with this without being vilified. So, putting a lid on a situation for so long eventually without a pressure point, no way of it coming up, I feel like Brexit has allowed for that to come out, but I thought we lived in a system whereby you could express your viewpoints, so it was a smack in the face. It was like this idealised version of this liberal progressive government. Well, that didn't really exist, did it, because these people were left out of the debate for so long.

The Brexit vote was haunted by the decision to go into the EU, and many overlapping and sometimes contradictory experiences of bordering and marginalisation,[18] even as the racial capitalist project ploughed on.

FREE PORTS AND FOREIGN-TRADE ZONES IN THE UK AND US: SLEIGHT-OF-HAND ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

So, why the resurrection of the free port strategy by Brexiteers? I argue that, while throwing attention elsewhere, free ports are central to their vision of limiting the flow of people (racialising 'belonging' and amplifying bordering technologies) while 'freeing' the movement of elite capital and reducing expectations of its contributions to 'the welfare state'. While free ports moved as a strategy from Europe to the US, historically, the Johnson government looked to the US' FTZs as a model for re-implementing free ports as the UK was exiting the EU. Free ports represent an excellent way to argue that one is 'bringing home' jobs, appealing to the imagined White working-class industrial nostalgia that did not actually characterise what came to be represented as electoral mandates for Trump's MAGA vision and for Brexit.[19] Simultaneously, and more discretely, free ports allow for the creation of extraterritorial spaces within the nation that free corporations operating within them from accountability to localities, increase totalising control (suppressing labour organisation and protections) of the workforce, and facilitate connections to global trade and low-wage labour without having to pay as many tariffs to the state. This reduces investments in state support (like the NHS) for workers for whom jobs are being 'brought home' or 'protected'. Thus, not only those xenophobically marked in Brexit rhetoric as not belonging to the nation

lose out, but also 'those who count as citizens' (Sheppard 2020) for Brexiteers. The freedom in 'free ports' using selective, racial capitalist bordering technologies, as I see their strategy, is the freedom to exploit through labour-value chains (Seigel 2018: 24), drawing attention—through a sleight of hand—from the entailed unfree (Calvão 2016).

Just as with racial capitalism, I think it is the disciplining of workers (through disorientation in space and from customary protections, and through hierarchies of surveillance) that is of interest to Johnson's Brexiteers about the free ports. Aihwa Ong (1991: 285) described the new techniques of power available to corporations in FTZs (capitalising on low-cost, low-tax industrial property with reduced-tariff special spatial status), as operating 'through controlling a series of spaces—the body, the shop floor, the state, and the public sphere'. I have seen all of these in practice in rural FTZs in the southeastern US, which serve as models for the free ports proposed for the post-Brexit UK. In South Carolina, for example, a labour organiser described the fear that had prevented workers from speaking up when a fellow worker in the zone was killed on the job, and, in 2019, a worker in an automobile manufacturing company told me, 'you're entering a different country without a passport'. It is made clear to workers that they are in a zone controlled by US Customs and Border Protection (there's that rolling wall far from the border again), with 10 years in prison or a US$250,000 fine looming over them if they were to walk from the FTZ section of the plant to another part with an inventoried bolt in their pocket. The signage conveying those threats is prominent in most FTZs, but jurisdictional ambiguity is exploited by corporations operating in the zone. I have interviewed local officials and workers alike who had been told by zone operators that local, state, and federal laws (especially about labour protections) did not apply within the zones, although the legal framework governing the zones only applies to the commodities moving through them—for customs purposes—and does not negate the rights of the people moving through the zones, as long as they keep all the parts within the razor-wire fencing or taped-off section of floor marking the FTZ space (Kingsolver 2021).

As Neveling (2017: 187, 2020a: 228) has argued, FTZs are not exceptional but are integral to national strategies of the superexploitation of workers. They limit the rights of workers (Neveling 2018: 4)—the same workers Brexiteers claim to be improving conditions for as they promote FTZs as part of Brexit policies.[20] Ong (2006: 8) explains that strategy as creating 'latitudinal spaces' mixing 'regulatory and incarceral labor regimes that can operate with little regard for labour rights'. Ong (2006: 103) further observes that the deployment of 'zoning strategies' by sovereign states allows them to 'create or accommodate islands of distinct governing regimes within the broader landscape of normalized rule. The political outcome is an archipelago of enclaves, the sum of which is a form of variegated sovereignty'.

FTZs in the US can be 'hidden in plain view', as Orenstein (2011: 38) says. Hundreds of them have been authorised by the US Congress across the country (at ports of entry or, now, in subzones within 90 driving minutes of those sea or airports—often in very rural areas) since the Foreign-Trade Zones Act of 1934 was passed. I see this hidden archipelago of FTZs across the rural US as a related strategy to what Story (2019: 167) describes as the use of prisons by the US as 'spaces of disappearance', disappearing both 'the people inside them' and disappearing into the often-rural landscape,

'commonly mistaken for warehouses or logistics compounds'. FTZs also appear in the middle of fields as huge warehouse complexes, surrounded by barbed wire, like the US Customs and Border Protection detention facilities with which they have sometimes been twinned (Kingsolver 2016).

The use of free ports and FTZs is an archipelago strategy of *racial* capitalism, not simply capitalism or the strategy of economic nationalists hiding engagement with global capitalism embedded throughout the landscape in spectral zones. An excellent example of FTZs as techniques of racial capitalism is given by Alves and Ravindran (2020: 193) in their description of the FTZ in Buenaventura, Colombia (central to the Pacific Alliance trading bloc) as 'producing social death' for the port city's Black residents while 'extracting value from its population and territory'. They explain that Buenaventura has been a free port since 1827—an extraterritorial status which allowed the trade in captive Africans to continue beyond its being outlawed in Colombia—and that that accumulation by Black dispossession continues in the FTZ, as new hotels and roads built to connect White FTZ users with the port literally cross over dispossessed Black Buenaventurans.

Boris Johnson's Brexiteer administration was ready to remove state protections for workers from *inside* the UK who it claimed to protect from workers from *outside* the UK with the free port strategy that had made its racial capitalist roundtrip from British colonial ports to the Americas and now back to the UK. In the fall of 2019, Liz Truss, the UK's Trade Secretary (who then became Prime Minister briefly in 2022), proposed ten new free ports, saying 'Freedoms transformed London's Docklands in the 1980s, and free ports will do the same for towns and cities across the UK. They will onshore enterprise and manufacturing as the gateway to our future prosperity, creating thousands of jobs' (Mason 2019). In plans, they were even called 'supercharged free ports', promising up to 150 000 new jobs in northern England and Scotland, based on projections from the US's experience with them (Smith, 2018). Free ports and their promises have appeared on and disappeared from the UK landscape. Most recently eliminated in 2012 and now proposed again, they have a very long history in England (Lavissière and Rodrigue 2017).[21]

'Free' ports were established in the Caribbean between 1675 and 1766 in British, Danish, Dutch, and French colonies. As Hunt (2013: 8) explains, 'the growing movement within the Caribbean colonies to introduce free ports is an indicator of liberal and free trade policies introduced to allow for merchants to trade beyond colonial boundaries'. At times, more of that cargo through the colonial free ports was enslaved people than the products of their labour (Orenstein 2019: 110). The 'free' in free ports was always haunted by the unfree, then, even with the sleight-of-hand strategy of 'cleaning' capital and making the financial centre of London appear morally removed from the trade in captive Africans (Kish and Leroy 2015). The UK's free port strategy (embodied in its Free Port Act) was historically more about politics—extending protection for the Empire and the slave trade—than economics (Kleiser 2021). The Brexiteers' quiet re-invocation of free ports may very well have aligned with other facets of imperial nostalgia for a 'Great' Britain.

Sleight-of-hand strategies of control invoking freedom, like Colston's monument to his benificence, are cacaphonously polyvocal. There is not a united hegemonic racial capitalist elite at the helm of the economic nationalist ghost ships of either the UK or the US, but 'flex nets' (Wedel 2011). Dent (2020) reports that a majority of business owners in the UK

have not favoured Brexit (and the tremendous restructuring of the supply chain it requires, including the free ports), and, as mentioned, there are notorious rifts among Conservatives about Brexit. Similarly, there are rifts among the capitalist elite in the US over trade policies and whether 'making America great again' really does need to involve quite so many walls and withdrawals from transnational entities. An economic development recruiter for FTZs in South Carolina, for example, who told me he had voted for Trump, also told me that he wrote to President Trump to ask him to rethink his tariff policies, and testified before Congress to say a trade war with China would be a bad idea based on his experience with (what I would call) the oligarchic textile mill model. He went on to read to me from the letter he had written to Trump, saying 'We've lived the other life for, you know, a hundred years—from 1880 to 1985. We've learned how *not* to do it. For a hundred years, we lived the—it's not a dream, it's a nightmare. Of keeping people out that don't look like us, don't talk like us. You know, you can't draw or build a wall around the United States just like we did in South Carolina'.

That direct appeal to Trump reflected the majority reliance of capitalist elites—including Trump's own businesses—on transnational circulations. But, the isolationist economic nationalist rhetoric had little to do with economic practices and everything to do with a White supremacist political project of consolidating a 'deserving' nation within a nation. Returning to Liz Truss' statement about free ports as onshoring enterprise as a gateway to prosperity, she neglected to mention for whom. The principal sleight of hand is that while Brexiteers—similarly to Trump—promised the protection of citizens of the economic nation from strategically othered outsiders, they were very busy bringing home the offshored working conditions and labour arrangements that would undermine that ostensible economic security for the selfsame select public.

In conclusion, I argue that recent economic nationalist projects in the US and the UK, while not identical or homogeneous, rely on multiple sleight-of-hand strategies. One is to claim that the national public (read through a racial capitalist lens as narrower, and Whiter, than national citizenship) will benefit from 'harder' borders, protecting jobs, while at the same time using bordering technologies ranging far from national boundaries to selectively police belonging in that national public and national economy. Those bordering technologies may be used by economic nationalism's proponents to advantage capital mobility and quietly create 'free' ports and trade zones that can limit secure employment, public revenues, and transparent labour rights for residents working in them. Workers in free zones are often hired with temporary contracts through staffing agencies, for example, and are thereby more easily controlled and silenced. Free ports have long been a racial capitalist strategy to increase freedom for capital and reduce freedom for workers, amplifying the social and economic precarity[22] supposedly addressed by economic nationalism. What I have tried to draw attention to here is the reliance on an inherently global, border-suspending financial and spatial strategy of free ports or FTZs by economic nationalists vigorously and ironically indicating walls and gangplanks need to be raised to protect the nation: for example, the London free port created quietly to buffer Brexiteers' own capital from the uncertainties of Brexit. I have attempted to demonstrate that, when an administration is promoting one policy to benefit the presumed national public, with the amplification social media affords, it is possible to explore ethnographically the simultaneous

and possibly central policy from which all the touting is intended to distract.[23]

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Brackette F. Williams for inviting me to present the original version of this manuscript during the session 'Discordant Solidarities: Exorcising and Channelling Ghosts of Hegemonic Dominance' at the 2019 inter-congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Poznán, Poland, and for her inspiration, always. I would like to thank all those who agreed to be interviewed, the anonymous reviewers for their comments and time, Tuomas Tammisto for thoughtful editorial guidance, and *Suomen antropologi's* whole publishing team. And, I appreciate deeply the insights and encouragement from Takami Delisle, Mauri Systo, and David and Mark Whitaker on this manuscript's long journey.

ENDNOTES

1 Such discursive sleight of hand in economic policy has been noted by others. See Isobel Frye's (2007) discussion of the 'two economies' rhetoric of the South African government as a sleight of hand distracting from ongoing racialised economic marginalisation practices.

2 This journal uses APA style, capitalizing White along with Black (already capitalized throughout). I have decided to follow the guidance of the National Association of Black Journalists (US) and capitalize both.

3 Political messaging in the 2016 US presidential election and UK's Brexit vote was considerably amplified and polarised by social media use and the role of bots (Gorodnichenko, Pham, and Talavera 2021) and was 'reshaped around issues largely unthreatening to the interests of economic and political elites' (Milstein 2021).

4 The term 'flex nets' (Wedel 2011) is useful in conceptualising, more than just 'capitalist elites', small groups of powerful actors who rotate between state and non-state roles to promote ideological and financial projects, simultaneously using governmentality and reducing its accountability. Feldmann and Morgan (2021) have documented the increasing fragmentation of 'the business elite', so that, in these 'quiet politics' of influence, there is not a unified voice.

5 I draw here on Gordon's (2008: 200) definition of haunting as 'the tangled exchange of noisy silences and seething absences'.

6 Cris Shore (2021: 3) cautions against single explanations 'that try to explain Brexit as a result of anti-European xenophobia, English exceptionalism, a fixation with borders, the triumph of fake news or demagogic populist nationalism, or imperial nostalgia'. But, it is also vital to acknowledge the connection between such policies and ongoing colonial and racist histories and White amnesia (Ali 2017: 386; Harrison 2018a: 553; Rosa and Bonilla 2017).

7 Definitions and applications of the term racism may vary widely and have different specific histories and valences (Mintchev 2021), but Abranches, Theuerkauf, Scott, and White (2021) document xenophobic physical violence as racist in association with the Brexit referendum, and there was also a spike in religious hate crimes (Devine 2021). Pickup et al. (2021) suggest that there may be another spike of anti-immigrant hate crimes in the UK associated with the COVID-19 pandemic.

8 2019 interviews are used here from that longer project.

9 This was made possible by living for a year in the UK as a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the University of Bristol in 2018/2019, and through a sabbatical grant from the University of Kentucky's College of Arts and Sciences. In both of the ethnographic projects drawn on in this article, interviews were done with anthropological ethics review and approval in each nation, and critical discourse analysis was used with interview, archival, and media sources.

10 Ilc (2017) describes the contradictory epistemological frameworks mixed by the founding fathers, and Walker (2002) discusses the Black intellectuals who spoke out countering their hypocrisies.

As Pem Buck (2019: 234) put it, for those authors of the US Constitution, 'Freedom meant the right to dispossess'.

11 Such vigilante violence was most visibly encouraged by Trump on 6 January 2021, but strong records of deportation have been associated with the Obama and Biden administrations of the US as well as the Trump administration.

12 I appreciate a reviewer's pointing out that Gilroy (2002), in a new introduction written for the Routledge Classics Edition of the book, cautioned against a simplistic or continuous reading of racialised politics in the UK, as recent immigrants, global social movements, and forms of racist exclusions have formed new constellations of relationships between racism and nationalism.

13 Windrush Day, instituted in 2018, marks the docking of the ship the Empire Windrush in 1948, filled with Caribbean immigrants recruited to the UK as workers to fill much-needed positions after World War II. Called the 'Windrush generation', they assumed that their (colonised) British Commonwealth status and their having been invited legalised their and their descendants' immigration. But, many were threatened with deportation in 2018 in an official display of xenophobia, which led to protests and eventually a government apology.

14 Trump's economic nationalism (though not that of most of his capitalist elite allies) was rhetorically isolationist while Johnson's was not (McCorriston and Sheldon 2020).

15 Philip McCann and Raquel Ortega-Argilés (2021) also argue that the 'politics of discontent' propelling the Brexit vote based on regional inequities—documented as well by Osuna, Kiefel, and Katsouyanni (2021)—will be exacerbated rather than allayed by the UK's withdrawal from the EU and implementation of post-Brexit 'Levelling Up' policies, although Neal et al. (2021) remind readers to recognise in discussions of Brexit's regional divides the economic and social diversity within the rural UK that makes neither views of Brexit nor its effects uniform in marginalised zones.

16 As Hickman and Ryan (2020: 96) described the power relations between them, 'Ireland is invisible to England in a way Britain/England can never be invisible to Ireland'.

17 Compounding the uncertainties immigrants to the EU might suddenly feel related to family, employment, and belonging were the sudden ambiguities about relevant jurisdictional venues precipitated by the UK's leaving the EU (Merrett 2021).

18 Sredanovic and Della Puppa (2021) point out that rights accessed through EU 'citizenship' differ greatly for variously positioned immigrants due to other processes of minoritisation.

19 See Clarke and Newman (2019), Evans (2017), Ilc (2017), Maskovsky (2019), and Rapport (2020). Dawson and Goodwin-Hawkins (2020) argue that Brexiteers appealed to those living in the absence of former single-industry employers, which shaped social as well as economic life for those 'left behind' (Isakjee and Lorne 2020).

20 Neveling, who has written extensively about the global history of special economic zones, notes that the zones are often touted as 'engines of growth' by neoliberal regimes, disregarding 'the short-lived nature of SEZ booms and the damaging effects of deinustrialisation at the end of such booms' (2020b: 191). Neveling (2021) agrees with those of us using racial capitalism as a lens for analysing FTZs that it can provide a useful perspective.

21 This history has been neither seamless nor advocated by just one political pole, as Wetherell (2016) illustrates. The Enterprise Zones of Thatcher's neoliberal government, different from the free ports being reintroduced now in their void, sprang from the Non-Plan movement to free localities from government regulation. But, 'while the Non-Plan zone was tailored to optimize individual and personal freedom of expression, the enterprise zone was designed to encourage the freedom and growth of the market' (Wetherell 2016: 276). Brexiteers' free ports pick up on that latter aim, and the flex net's enrichment, and reduce local governance even further.

22 Harrison (2018b) encourages 'intersectional understanding of racializing processes' as anthropologists construct critical global analyses of multiple alterities. There are shifting ways in which constellations of power work; the racial capitalist context of economic nationalism is a complex set of projects and logics.

23 In the case of Brexit, Shore (in Green et al. 2016: 490) referred to this as the 'dog-whistle politics of fear' and what lies beyond them.

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Ieva Puzo

LIVING AND WORKING RESEARCH POLICIES: THE CASE OF INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARS IN LATVIA

ABSTRACT

The article examines the incorporation of international scholars into the Latvian higher education and research system from the perspective of labour. Whilst recent research policies in the country are aimed at increasing international cooperation to situate Latvia within the global regimes of knowledge production, the number of international researchers in Latvia remains low. Based on ethnographic research, I suggest that this is at least partially because of the largely invisible work that both international researchers in the country and their local counterparts have to perform to bridge the gap between policy dreams and structural realities. In conversation with scholarship on academic precarity and through the lens of interpretive and infrastructural labour, this article shows how the task of 'internationalising' knowledge production in Latvia is entrusted to individual local researchers, whilst international scholars face a multitude of uncertainties regarding their work lives and their presence in the country in general.

INTRODUCTION

As the social distancing rules imposed by the Latvian government in response to the COVID-19 pandemic were starting to somewhat ease in Latvia in the late spring of 2020, I was excited and ready to embark on in-person meetings and interviews for my postdoctoral research project on the experiences of international scholars in Latvia. I had arranged to meet a researcher who, I gathered, had not been in the country long, but was quite excited to meet for a conversation. When we met at a coffee shop terrace on a sunny May day, I quickly realised that one of the reasons he had decided to talk to me was the fact that he had looked me up online and realised that I may know something about the Latvian government-managed funding scheme through which his research project was funded. That is, he saw meeting me as an opportunity to find out details about his funding, the bureaucratic expectations of it, his status at the institution where he was employed, the tax system in Latvia, and, among many other questions and much to my surprise, his salary. He was not sure what his salary would be, he confessed, because the agency website had listed one number, but his contract specified a lower one, and he had no idea what he might expect in his bank account after his first month at work. I was caught off guard. At the time, I could not explain the discrepancy and encouraged

him to talk to the higher-ups at his institution. As baffled as I was, I wrote off this part of our conversation as resulting from the strict social distancing rules that had been in place in Latvia. After all, I thought, this researcher probably had not had the opportunity to talk to the leading researcher with whom he was set to work or the administrative staff at his new institution in detail.

In late spring 2021, however, I had an almost *deja vu*–like conversation with a different researcher. She had arrived in Latvia on a contract similar to that of my first interlocutor. Like him, she was unsure as to what constituted her salary, how the taxes would be paid and how much, and, as she put it, what the research system in Latvia was in general. What were her options in Latvia after her current research project period was over? What did the academic career ladder look like in the country, and would she be in a position to climb it? Unlike the year before, I was better equipped to answer some of her more general questions, but, again, urged her to talk to her supervisor and the other involved parties at her institution.

While the year before I may have chalked up the uncertainties my interlocutor expressed to his individual situation, exacerbated by interrupted communication flows due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this time around I knew that the confusion these international researchers in Latvia faced was systemic rather than the result of individual circumstances. That is, I had realised that the uncertainty permeating the narratives of the two scholars in my short vignette was built into Latvian research infrastructures—or, put differently, shed light on the gaps within them. What I aim to show in this article is that international researchers working in Latvian higher education and research institutions, and, importantly, their local counterparts invest labour into bridging these gaps. Interestingly, the invisibility of this labour contributes directly to a growing policy concern in Latvia: the lack of research workers in the country.

With this article, I join the conversation on the various faces and facets of contemporary academic precarity. Anthropologists and other social scientists have increasingly highlighted and investigated the structural and systemic ways that contemporary academic knowledge production systems around the world—conceived and enacted as state-endorsed neoliberal projects—contribute to the precarisation of increasing numbers of research workers. As the distribution of research funding becomes more and more project-based, with, on the one hand, short-term positions turning into an unavoidable reality for most research workers in various national contexts, and, on the other hand, research assessment taking increasingly quantifiable, fast-paced, and competitive forms, social scientists have turned to the examination of the effects these systemic processes have on the lives of research employees, as well as their experience of the uncertainties and inequalities built into the current knowledge production regimes.

Scholars have investigated how anxiety and uncertainty are now an unwritten part of the knowledge production process and one's employment conditions in the neoliberal academy (Berg et al. 2016; Gill 2009; Ivancheva 2015; Lucas 2017), exacerbated by the 'audit cultures' within and outside research and higher education institutions (Nash 2018; Shore 2008; Shore and Wright 2017; Strathern 2000). They have described how factors such as the gender, class, and ethnicity of research workers shape the (un)ease and extent to which they can navigate existing academic structures (Bataille et al. 2017; Bourabain 2020; Pereira 2017; Murgia and Poggio 2018; Nikunen and Lempiäinen 2020;

Taylore and Lahad 2018), leading to the erasure of care (Lynch 2010) and the invisibility of caring responsibilities in the neoliberal academy (Hughes 2021; Ivancheva et al. 2019). Social scientific research has also made it clear that early career researchers occupy a particularly precarious position within contemporary regimes of knowledge production (Herschberg et al. 2018a), even though the specific forms this precarity takes and the ways in which it is understood by research workers themselves depend upon national and institutional contexts (Fochler et al. 2016; Gallas 2018; Hawkins et al. 2014; Ivancheva and O'Flynn 2016; Lempiäinen 2015; Lorenz-Meyer 2018; Müller 2014; Peacock 2016; Puzo 2016).

Transnational movements of research workers constitute another dimension of the systemic uncertainties faced by early career scholars. Due to the precarisation of the academic labour market (Ivancheva 2015) and the increasing structural incorporation of cross-border mobility in national and regional research policies (Fahey and Kenway 2010; Kim 2009, 2010), mobility across borders has become envisioned as a value by policy- and other decision-makers (Herschberg et al. 2018b). At the same time, it is often experienced as an uncertainty-inducing necessity rather than an opportunity by transnationally mobile researchers themselves (Carrozza and Minucci 2014; Carrozza et al. 2017; Manzi et al. 2019; Pustelnikovaite 2020; Vatansever 2018).

In this article, I illustrate the composite and compounded forms the anxiety already embedded in the contemporary academic labour regimes in general and cross-border movements in particular take in such 'peripheral' or non-hegemonic (Marginson and Xu 2021) contexts of knowledge production such as that in Latvia—both among international scholars in the country and their local counterparts. Whilst I elaborate on the specific peripheral positionality of Latvia in a later section of the article, it is first important to acknowledge that asymmetries of knowledge production do indeed exist, with various contradictions built into working from and within the periphery (Martinez 2019). At the same time, residing in the periphery of knowledge production, along with quite material realities, also implies 'a symbolic or performative position vis-à-vis global policy or core locations that become invoked to justify agendas to implement specific policy reforms' (Ivancheva and Syndicus 2019: 2; see also Trifuljesko 2019). It is in this intersection—between the material and symbolic peripheral positionality of the Latvian knowledge production system—that I situate my intervention and examine the lived realities of research policies from the perspective of labour. In particular, I rely on the notions of infrastructural labour, or background work (Star and Strauss 1999), and interpretive labour (Graeber 2012) to examine the seemingly mundane forms of work that international scholars in the country as well as their local counterparts perform, highlighting the ways this labour intersects and colludes with policy visions.

The article has the following structure: in the next section of the text, I explain my methodological approach; then, I offer a brief overview and analysis of some of the policies that shape the Latvian research system, focusing on the 'internationalisation' narrative and the paradoxes built into it. This is followed by a discussion of the chosen theoretical approach and the main ethnographic sections where, through the lens of the interpretive and infrastructural labour concepts and the voices of my research participants, I examine the individual efforts aimed at filling the gaps in the Latvian research system.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The beginning of the data collection for this article coincided with the first COVID-19 pandemic scares, lockdowns, and social distancing regulations in Latvia in the spring of 2020. As a result, the ethnographic and interview data presented here were obtained through the methodological approach Günel et al. (2020) labelled 'patchwork ethnography': an approach to data collection and analysis that maintains 'the long-term commitments, language proficiency, contextual knowledge, and slow thinking that characterises so-called traditional fieldwork', while acknowledging and taking into account the larger context surrounding knowledge production, as well as the researcher's personal circumstances against this background. Even though the notion of patchwork ethnography does not necessarily equal 'pandemic ethnography', it is a particularly useful conceptual approach in pandemic circumstances when the embeddedness of knowledge creation in the researcher's life and work commitments has become more visible.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with international scholars in Latvia as well as their local counterparts, government officials, and university administrators. These conversations took place in English and Latvian. Due to the restrictions imposed during various stages of the pandemic, as well as health concerns both of my own and among my interlocutors, most of the interviews took place online via Zoom. At the same time, this approach, through snowball sampling, opened a path to interviews with scholars who were no longer—temporarily or permanently—in Latvia, adding yet another layer of perspectives to the collected data.

Similarly, many of the events that I had intended to attend for observation or participant observation were cancelled, and the locations where I had envisioned spending time were closed or had restricted access. Concurrently, there was a boom in online events and meetings pertaining to Latvia's research infrastructure, science policies and funding, and visions for the future—events that would have been closed to me in other circumstances, but which I was suddenly able to join due to their format. As a result, I was able to supplement my data with contextual insights from these discussions, conversations, and presentations. In addition, my positionality both as an early career researcher myself who was at times in the position of being tasked with and committed to making things smoother for international colleagues at my institution provided me with first-hand experience of the 'documentary nexus' (Brenneis 2006: 42) that my interlocutors described in their stories. Having filled out the same forms and despaired over similar issues allowed me to bring to the fore the seemingly boring, yet at times suffocating, details of the knowledge production process that often remain hidden.

My international interlocutors hail from places close to and far from Latvia, and they represent various disciplines, age groups, institutions, work histories, employment contract types, personal ties, and time spent in Latvia. What unites them is the fact that they are—or were in the past—employed by a higher education or research institution in Latvia. In order to protect the anonymity of my research participants, I remain vague on the personal stories and life trajectories of the people whose voices I highlight in this article. For this reason, at times I also use 'they' as a generic third-person singular pronoun. In a similar vein, I do not name specific research and higher education institutions, agencies, or grant programmes, as

I do not want to suggest that they—or individual actors within them—are the source of the gaps that I discuss. Rather, I aim to highlight the wider challenges faced by international scholars in Latvia and their local counterparts, positing that the specific instances that I examine are merely indicative of larger issues rather than the root of them.

My initial starting point was scholars who are now most often referred to as early career researchers, as it is this group that, on the whole, suffers most from precarious and exploitative work conditions (Herschberg 2018a). However, with baseline salaries being comparatively low and project-based funding becoming increasingly prevalent and normalised, uncertainty may plague scholars at every career stage in Latvia. There is no tenure system in place at Latvian higher education and research institutions, and, as the system is quite fragmented and funding unpredictable, it is difficult to plan one's academic career path.[1] Whilst local academics, as one of my interlocutors put it, may be used to the ambiguities built into the current model and institutional interpretations of it, people entering the system anew find it particularly difficult to navigate. For some, it takes years to figure out the details pertaining to their terms of employment, which may also change over time along with funding sources or a lack thereof. As the ethnographic vignette in the beginning of the article highlighted, international scholars in Latvia experience a multitude of country-specific unknowns on top of the uncertainties built into contemporary academic life in general. For this reason, scholars in various age groups and at career stages were invited to become my research participants.

SITUATING INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARS WITHIN LATVIA'S RESEARCH POLICIES

Latvia, a country in the European East with a population of approximately 1.9 million people, regained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. In the sphere of scientific production, this meant that the country 'ceased to be part of a "science centre" (the Soviet Union)' and took on a more peripheral role, looking for 'a new centre as a source of models of research policy and governance' (Ozoliņa forthcoming). Ozoliņa (forthcoming) outlines how, in this historical context, the dominant narratives regarding the future of the Latvian research system and the reforms inspired by these discourses have undergone certain shifts over time: from a focus on democratisation and Westernisation in the 1990s, to neoliberal discourses of the knowledge economy in the early 2000s, followed by aiming to increase the global competitiveness of Latvian academic and research institutions. At the policy level, Latvia desires to be part of the higher education and research enterprise on a global scale, with various policy changes in recent years reflecting this direction.

Yet, as Chankseliani et al. succinctly put it in their discussion of the academic publishing successes of post-Soviet countries, 'the investments in R[esearch] and D[evelopment] are not aligned with the aspirations' (2021: 8703). In 2020, only 0.7% of gross domestic product (GDP) went towards research and development, with the expectation that the share would increase to 1.5% by 2027 (Ministry of Education and Science 2020c: 12). To make up for the lack of public funding, the implementation of Latvian research programmes greatly relies on European Structural Funds (Ozoliņa forthcoming), which

means that there are no predictable—in the long term—funding schemes in place. Since 2014, the so-called 'smart specialisation strategy' has been employed as the guiding light in allocating scarce resources. According to this strategy, the national research and innovation priorities are focused on 'economic transformation towards higher added value and [the] more efficient use of resources' (Ministry of Education and Science 2020b), with specific 'knowledge specialisation areas' as the focus of public research and development spending.

I set these insights into Latvia's higher education and research sector as the background for a paradox that I aim to untangle in this paper. One side of this paradox is the fact that 'internationally' oriented research excellence and 'international cooperation' are on the lips of every research policymaker. There is a desire to be part of the global regimes of knowledge production, and enhancing 'international' ties is seen as one form of attaining that goal. The National Development Plan 2021–2027 (Cross-Sectoral Coordination Centre 2020) states that, for instance, 'international cooperation and engagement in European science networks is a prerequisite for future growth' (2020: 8) and that '[i]nternational cooperation and participation in global science and innovation processes is a precondition for Latvian scientific excellence' (2020: 28). The plan also suggests that the 'academic environment' in Latvia should attract 'foreign academic personnel and students' (2020: 8). Another relevant document, the Basic Principles of Science, Technology Development, and Innovation 2021–2027, espouses the same stance. International this-or-that is mentioned 68 times in that 35-page document. For instance, the document states that '[i]t is crucial to promote the creation of ever more purposeful and permanent international collaborations, by getting involved in various research networks, research projects and (…) mobility activities, as well as to attract outstanding academic and research personnel from other countries (…)' (Ministry of Education and Science 2020c: 16; see Ozoliņa forthcoming for a discussion on the 'internationalisation' language in other Latvian policy documents). Efforts to 'internationalise' the academic environment in Latvia are visible in the current Law on Higher Education Institutions as well: one of its articles states that at least five percent of academic staff at higher education institutions should be visiting instructors from the European Union (EU) or Organisation for Economic and Cooperation Development (OECD) countries.

The other side of the same paradox lies in the fact that, at the policy level—and in popular discourses amongst researchers themselves—there is significant concern about the dwindling number of scientists, that is, doctoral degree holders working in academia, in Latvia. First, there are worries—again, both at the policy level and amongst more established scholars—about young people leaving the country to pursue research careers abroad. Several of my interlocutors, especially those occupying administrative positions, lamented this fact as well. For this reason, the 'internationalisation' narratives of Latvian policymakers tend to hold out hope for (re)establishing ties with Latvian academics[2] abroad—more so than inviting researchers from other countries. Second, the Ministry of Education and Science is concerned about large numbers of doctoral students quitting their programmes without obtaining doctoral degrees and about Latvia having the lowest number of new doctoral degree holders per capita in the EU (Ministry of Education and Science 2020a). That is, according to Latvian policymakers and higher-ups at academic and research institutions, there is a lack of people who might participate in academic knowledge

production. Whilst there are policy initiatives aimed at changing the tide of this process, for instance, by partially updating the way doctoral studies are financed, deliberating on the introduction of a new academic career model, and gradually increasing public funding for research, this process is slow to implement.

The crux of the paradox that I have highlighted here lies in the fact that, despite, on the one hand, concerns about the impending lack of research workers and, on the other hand, an increasing focus on international cooperation, there are few international scholars working in Latvian research institutions. In 2020, only 3.2% of the research personnel in elected positions were citizens of countries other than Latvia.[3] Due to the ambiguities built into the way this percentage is calculated, it is difficult to say how many of these scholars hold full-time research positions and how many also have teaching obligations or other jobs.[4] When it comes to attempts to 'internationalise' the academic environment in Latvia, more attention—and with some success—has undoubtedly been paid to attracting international students, since these efforts are 'stimulated by the demographic calculus and driven by the economic rationale' (Chankseliani and Wells 2019: 639).

Considering the complexities of attracting international scholars to Latvia, in this article, I explore the lived reality of this paradox. Shore and Wright (2011: 8) have persuasively argued that the anthropological approach is crucial to investigating 'the messiness and complexity of policy processes,' as well as 'the ambiguous and often contested manner in which policies are simultaneously enacted by different people in diverse situations'. In line with this approach, I ask: Who does what kind of work to make international cooperation happen and incorporate international scholars in the national and institutional research systems in Latvia? And, how does this process take place in their day to day lives, tasks, and interactions? The answer to these questions—and the paradox outlined above—is twofold: due to gaps in the structural and systemic mechanisms aimed at incorporating international scholars into Latvian research structures and infrastructures, the task of 'internationalising' knowledge production in the country is placed on the shoulders of individual local researchers, whilst international scholars face a multitude of uncertainties regarding their work lives and presence in the country in general.

Before I turn to the exploration of these questions through the voices of my interlocutors, several additional policy-related factors need to be mentioned. Research policymaking and nation-building are intertwined in Latvia (Ozoliņa forthcoming), and, at times, nation-building takes precedence in quite mundane ways that have unintended consequences in the implementation of research policies. To begin with, in Latvia, most research work takes place in public academic and research institutions—mainly universities and research institutes affiliated with universities. According to the Official Language Law, the document flow and official correspondence in and between public institutions must take place in Latvian as the official language. In addition, there is a government regulation stipulating that academic staff—from the level of assistant to professor—at higher education institutions need to have C2, that is, the highest level proficiency, in the Latvian language, unless the study programme where they teach is implemented in English. Whilst the Latvian language proficiency rule does not apply to visiting instructors, 'elected' faculty in English-language programmes, or scholars in full-time research positions, both institutions and individual scholars perceive the weight of these regulations as heavy. For

instance, when applying for a position or a government-managed research grant, a scholar may be asked to provide a Latvian translation of their education credentials and other supplementary documents. The other side of the same coin means that employment contracts must be in the Latvian language. One of my interlocutors had not even seen the English translation of their contract and said that they were not sure what the exact terms of their employment were.

The other major factor is Latvia's immigration policies, which are particularly restrictive to people from states outside the EU and other associated countries. Acquiring a visa to enter the country, gaining the 'right to employment,' and securing a residence permit are no easy tasks for so-called 'third-country nationals', including academic workers. One early career scholar, recounting their experience with a Latvian consulate, bitterly told me that they would not have even tried to come to Latvia had they known the bureaucratic toll it would take for them to even enter the country. Another laughed, having received an appointment reminder from the Latvian Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs in Latvian language only—and later getting confusing directions as to how to pay a processing fee. Residence permits must be renewed annually, and a Latvian interlocutor described waiting anxiously to hear back from the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs, hoping that the documents prepared by their workplace for international colleagues would prove sufficient, and the scholars would not get their permits revoked and deported.

Of course, this does not mean that everyone is in the position of vulnerability and uncertainty, and I interviewed several international scholars who were well-informed about their employment status and knowledgeable about, for instance, their rights as employees and taxpayers in Latvia. However, what I aim to bring to the fore in the next section of this article is the question of how these various regulations play out in the lives of my research participants, the labour it takes to figure out and manage them, and the implications for the paradox highlighted in this section.

THE INTERPRETIVE AND INFRASTRUCTURAL LABOUR OF RESEARCHERS

Based on my ethnographic research, I suggest that international scholars engage in various forms of interpretive labour in order to navigate meagre structural support systems, whilst their local counterparts do infrastructural labour to fill the gaps in these systems. Here, I use David Graeber's (2012: 105) notion of interpretive labour as the 'imaginative identification' done by the powerless to 'allow the powerful to operate oblivious to much of what is going on around them'. Describing imaginative identification as a 'form of knowledge', Graeber (2012: 118) centres the fact that 'it is generally the subordinates who are effectively relegated the work of understanding how the social relations in question really work'. His discussion highlights how interpretive labour functions in the context of structural inequality or structural violence (2012: 119), often enacted through such bureaucratic forms of power as, for instance, paperwork.

In turn, by infrastructural labour I mean what Star and Strauss (1999: 15) in their discussion on the relationship between visible and invisible work referred to as background work: 'where the workers themselves are quite visible, yet the work they perform is invisible

or relegated to a background of expectation'. Following Poster et al. (2016), I focus on the invisibility of work that occurs in the context of paid employment and is expected by the employer, yet simultaneously remains devalued. When discussing the infrastructural labour performed by researchers, I aim to show that the acknowledgment—for instance, by policymakers—of this work does not mean that it is valued in any sense that would be meaningful to the researchers themselves. Poster at al. (2016: 11) refer to this kind of acknowledgment as 'semivisibility' or 'invisibility within visibility'. That is, whilst the work may be remarked upon, it does not gain formal visibility in the shape of updated employment contracts or policy changes that would benefit the worker.

To borrow Joan Fujimura's (1987: 258) terms, scientific research requires both 'production work' and the seemingly mundane 'articulation work', which consists of 'pulling together everything that is needed to carry out production tasks'. The second kind of work is often overlooked, especially in the current regimes of knowledge production, which focus on evaluating a researcher's worth through specific and highly individualised metrics. What also tends to be dismissed is the importance of this kind of work in creating and maintaining academic communities through practices and networks of care. Feminist scholarship that centres the difficulty of maintaining a caring, engaged, and connected community in neoliberal academia movingly reveals the extent and importance of this labour—and the exhaustion of those performing it (Lynch 2010; Mountz et al. 2015; Pereira 2019). Whilst feminist perspectives are not the focus of this article, they have informed and shaped my approach.

I use the concepts of interpretive and infrastructural labour as lenses through which to illustrate the lived realities of research policies. In doing so, I show how seemingly mundane processes and bureaucratic details as well as, importantly, particular understandings of them shape knowledge production and, in the case of Latvia, affect the country's aspirations to align itself with the perceived science core. Crucially, I want to suggest that the labour both international researchers as well as their local counterparts invest in making internationally oriented research competitiveness happen retains an invisibility within its visibility (Poster et al. 2016: 11). As such, it remains undervalued when it comes to the contemporary criteria used to evaluate research excellence and the accomplishments of individual researchers. Taking a step further, I suggest that this is one of the reasons why the number of international scholars in Latvia remains low: it simply does not pay off to invest labour in making policy dreams happen.

LABOURING THROUGH POLICIES: INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARS' PERSPECTIVES

I take the engagement with a particular technology as an entry point into a discussion about the forms of labour performed within the larger research system in Latvia. The technology in question is a grant application and management system employed by Latvian state agencies that distribute research funding under the umbrella of the Ministry of Education and Science and other line ministries. The system operates mainly in Latvian. In addition, the funding schemes organised by line ministries and their agencies require several sets of documentation: some information is to be submitted only in English, other documents are to be submitted in English and Latvian, and some more paperwork is to

be submitted only in Latvian, in compliance with the Official Language Law. That is, some parts of the application—those considered most important by the researchers themselves—are to be read by international reviewers and should, therefore, be prepared in English, whilst others are reviewed by local bureaucrats. What this set-up consequently means is that proficiency in the Latvian language is required to operate the grant submission system and, in the case of a successful grant application, to submit various reports, file reimbursement claims, and solve any issues that may come up during the funded project. When an international scholar applies for a grant managed through this system, someone from the Latvian institution where the researcher aims to work needs to translate parts of their application into Latvian, add other required details, and make sure that supplementary documents have Latvian translations. What do these requirements and engagement with the particular technology look like in practice, and what are the broader implications of these encounters? Whilst I take the ubiquity of the Official Language Law as a starting point for this discussion, I aim to show how the emphasis on Latvian language use is tied to other forms of systemic ambiguities built into academic knowledge production in Latvia. I focus on two perspectives: those of international scholars and their local counterparts. I complement these perspectives with views from Latvian government officials, pointing out the ways in which some of the work that researchers perform remains invisible despite the visibility of the workers themselves.

To highlight the first perspective—that of international scholars—I share the story of Annette, a researcher who has been living and working in Latvia for several years. She has remained affiliated with the same institution and research group, but in different capacities over time. Her current project is managed through the grant management system briefly described in the previous paragraph. Whilst not a focus of this article, as a citizen of a country outside the EU, Annette has had her fair share of engagements with 'migration control technologies and infrastructures' (Amelung et al. 2020: 8). As she laughingly put it, the last time she had been at the local Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs to reapply for her residence permit, her file had been span-thick; most of it, she reasoned but was not quite sure, must have been her project descriptions, articles, and other research-related documents prepared by her institution and submitted to the office. When I asked Annette what her main challenges at her institution were, she immediately responded with 'bureaucracy and language'. She wanted to learn Latvian, she said, mainly for her work. Annette explained that she had needed Latvian language skills to apply for her current project and, at the time of application, she had 'asked for official translations' of the necessary documents. But, Annette continued, now she needed Latvian 'for doing all these reports and everything', and it was 'always trouble' because she had to ask someone for help. When I asked her who helped her with these issues, Annette responded:

> Sometimes I ask my colleagues. Yes, they also have the same project, so they are also doing these reports, so they know what to do. And, I also get help from the [institution's] secretaries, they help me. The person who is responsible for this project at the [institution]. They are submitting all these reports, so they help me fill all of this, all the forms and everything. And, also, Google Translate helps.

She continued:

> Also, okay, I ask [an acquaintance] who is a part-time translator, so I ask her for some help (…) and also I need to ask my colleagues for help, because there are terms, scientific terms, which, uh.. for a normal person who doesn't work in the field, they don't know which is the correct term in Latvian. So I need to ask my colleagues, and, (laughter) yeah, they help me with that.

What emerges in Annette's response is the multitude of professional and personal resources upon which she must rely to enter the necessary information into the grant management system: her colleagues, administrative staff at her institution, acquaintances, professional translators, and even technological solutions such as Google Translate. As Annette's narrative also shows, there tend to be project managers or administrators at higher education and research institutions whose job it is to assist scholars with the required paperwork, and the work they do should by no means be underestimated. At the same time, their support falls short many times, simply because of the intricacies of specific research projects and disciplines and the difficulty in translating and explaining these particulars into Latvian—this is where the support and assistance of one's colleagues becomes crucial.

Katrina's narrative complements this view. Katrina has also been living in Latvia for several years. Like many other scholars in Latvian higher education and research institutions, she is on the look-out for grant opportunities to supplement her baseline salary. She has been applying for grants funded and managed by Latvian government institutions as well. Like most international researchers in the country, Katrina speaks several languages, including some Latvian; but, her Latvian language skills are no match for the grant application system. When discussing this topic, Katrina told me:

> You have to fill in some forms online in Latvian. But, again, I get a lot of help from my colleagues in my group. I'm sending to them things in English, and they translate them into Latvian, or I'm trying to translate into Latvian and then they correct my mistakes, so, yeah. (…) The forms are in English, but the online form, there is something in Latvian, like, an abstract, or, like, how this project is going to affect Latvia, why it is good for the country. All this stuff is in Latvian. And the form itself is in Latvian. So, for example, the financial part, you have to know where to put what, and also I'm getting a lot of help from my colleagues, because, again, I have no clue. .. I know that the evaluators are foreigners, so obviously they need everything in English, but why we need this part in Latvian, I don't know. I mean, as long as I have somebody to help me, then it's okay.

Katrina's snippet illustrates that the labour required goes beyond linguistic translation work. The Latvian part of the project application is a specific rendering of the English document—it needs to be couched in terms that address not only the scientific merits of the proposed research, but also the ways in which the project would meet the national research and innovation priorities. Specific wording needs to be employed, references to policy goals made, particular institutional knowledge imparted, and calculations done in a particular way in this part of the application document—nuances that need to be learned and employed strategically and which go beyond the Latvian language requirement.

In his discussion of interpretive labour, highlighting the structural violence of bureaucratic processes, Graeber (2012: 118) writes that '[i]t's those who do not have the power to hire and fire who are left with the work of figuring out what actually did go wrong so as to make sure it doesn't happen again'. We see this work in Annette's and Katrina's narratives, in their investments in finding resources to fill out documentation correctly, to match their interpretations with the requirements built into the grant management system. And, undeniably, this labour needs to be situated both within the Latvia-specific systemic ambiguities, as well as the uncertainties built into the current grant-cycle modes of academic knowledge production in general: after all, one's livelihood may be at stake if the rules and requirements are interpreted incorrectly.

We also see this labour, as well as the anxiety produced along the way (Berg et al. 2016; see also Gill 2009; Lucas 2017) in Peter's story. Peter had arrived in Latvia on a fixed-term contract. Having previously been employed at various research institutions across Europe, at the time of applying for a grant and position in Latvia, Peter was also hoping to get a more permanent position at a university elsewhere. For this reason, during the application period, Peter had prepared the project proposal in English, submitted other required documents and did not know much about the other parts of the project application—those were completed by his future colleagues and the institution's project management department. Whilst his bid for a permanent position was unsuccessful, his Latvian grant application succeeded. Peter arrived in Latvia, and, like the interlocutors whose stories I mention in the beginning of this article, he found his salary to be lower than imagined, whilst the administrative expectations much higher than at any of his former workplaces. Peter realised that, for every work-related step he wanted to take, he needed to submit form upon form, explanation upon explanation; he needed to learn to navigate a new institution, a new set of rules and systems governing the research process, and, above all, adjust to new life circumstances. Peter found out that certain research steps, taken for granted in his discipline in other institutional contexts familiar to him, were difficult to carry out within the bureaucratic framework of his Latvian institution. He was frustrated and unsure as to where the crux of his difficulties lay—that is, which precise institution was responsible for making the rules governing his work. Peter gradually learned to navigate the system, or, as he put it, 'started thinking like a bureaucrat'; but, this process involved interpretive labour at every step. Importantly, it also led to the loss of a sense of happiness he had had whilst working at the previous institution. After all, returning to Graeber, it was always the international scholars who needed to learn to interpret the new, unfamiliar rules, the source of which they often could not locate and that, at times, seemed illogical or unreasonable; it was never the people making the systems and enacting the regulations that had such an anxiety-producing power.

THE (INVISIBLE) HELPING HAND: LOCAL SCHOLARS' PERSPECTIVES

I now turn to the other side of this interpretive labour coin: the infrastructural labour carried out by local scholars to assist their international colleagues. When we met for our conversation, Andrejs, principal investigator of his own research group at a large institution, was in the midst of helping prepare early career research grant applications that would later be submitted through the Latvian grant management

system. If the applications were successful, the early career scholars would become part of his research group. Andrejs was simultaneously tired and incensed, since he had been both reviewing the research content of each application and managing the preparation of supplementary documents. He outlined: 'I went through the structure of the English version [of the grant proposal], edited, worked on it, fine-tuned it for months. Later, my colleague joined in (…) and translated the documents. It's an immense amount of work.' Andrejs was excited about the prospect of working with the scholars who had decided to apply for the grant; but, as he put it, 'it has been nerve-wrecking'. He continued:

> I have applicants every year, but I think that, overall, the attitude towards them is very hypocritical. Although we are told that we need international [early career researchers], in reality, they simply become a hassle for the receiving institution. I don't know a single colleague who has had an easy, successful experience attracting international [early career researchers]. (…) If I remember correctly, three out of ten documents can be in English, the rest is in Latvian, but keep in mind that there is also parallel, university-level documentation that is in Latvian only. Basically, it means that we need human resources for translating, handling all of this. Naturally, this work is not compensated.

Andrejs was thankful for the project management department at his institution, which offered assistance in preparing applications. He also deeply appreciated the support of his own department. For instance, the department had, without any questions, covered the state fee for the official recognition of the international applicants' PhD diplomas—also required as part of the application process. At the same time, Andrejs was acutely aware of the infrastructural labour demanded from him and other colleagues. As he put it, 'So, we need citable articles. How can I write citable articles when I'm translating [other researchers'] documents?' The infrastructural labour, including translation work, that researchers perform, is not recognised within the quantification-oriented research performance evaluation structure in Latvia, which tends to focus on increasing the number of peer-reviewed articles listed in specific databases.

Daina, a director of a research unit, was deeply invested in employing international scholars at her institution. Energetic and enthusiastic, she was rooting for every employee under her wing. Importantly, Daina actively worked towards fostering a work environment where international scholars felt welcome and included. For instance, she organised weekly group coffee breaks, as well as small parties around national holidays. Given that Daina experienced the lack of research workers at her institution, she had made a conscious decision to look beyond Latvia's borders for potential employees. She had soon realised that her organisation was 'not interesting to the "old" Europe at all'. As Daina put it, '[n]o matter how competitive we are, no matter that we clearly have the premises, the environment, the science, our remuneration is not competitive enough for them to be able to replace their environment for ours'. Instead, Daina said, her institute had been successful at attracting researchers from countries 'on a similar level as Latvia'. But, she continued,

> We have also realised that the Latvian funds, Latvian projects, are not easily accessible to foreigners. It is what it is. .. The entire administrative part is in Latvian.

> We fought very hard to show that that part is completely irrelevant. (…) Someone has to work with them [the international scholars], check what they have entered into the [grant management] portal. It's complete nonsense, because they use Google Translate. They do what they can. It means that additional effort and resources are required of me if I want to uphold high standards and prove that we can do it together.

Like Andrejs, Daina was highly aware of the labour that needed to be invested in preparing project information for the grant management system. She also understood that Google Translate did not cut it; as much as international scholars rely on it (as my interlocutors also stressed), somebody still has to check the translations and make the texts legible for the bureaucratic gaze reviewing them. Daina also acknowledged the toll that the Latvian language documentation may take on international scholars and the anxiety it may cause:

> [On top of the Latvian grants], all of the [institution's] internal regulations are in Latvian. Forms for applying for business trips or vacations are in Latvian. No other format is accepted. We must acknowledge that more resources should be allocated. (…) Foreigners simply cannot do it because of the language barrier. They are confused, afraid.

As Daina's statement suggests, the challenges faced by international scholars go beyond the grant management system—they permeate every aspect of their work lives. Daina had partially solved the issue by hiring a part-time employee to assist international researchers. Importantly, the assistance this person provides goes beyond dealing with the grant management system. Apparently, she accompanies international colleagues to various departments at their research institution and various government offices, she helps them find a primary care doctor, and she helps them understand their social benefits. After all, as Daina put it, there is only so much you can find online; one wants to 'talk to a human about their social options, taxes, exemptions'. Daina's narrative reveals the nitty-gritty details of the 'socio-political production of legal legibility' (Reeves 2019: 25) that is required to incorporate international scholars in the existing research structures and infrastructures—realities that tend to be glossed over in national-level research policy as well as institutional strategy documents.

Importantly, by hiring an employee to specifically assist international colleagues, Daina has made the infrastructural labour more visible. She also acknowledged the anxiety-inducing potential that the current research infrastructures, highlighted by but not limited to the grant management system, may have on international scholars. However, her position was rare, and often the interpretive labour performed by international scholars goes largely unremarked upon and the infrastructural labour done by local scholars is camouflaged in the language of 'help'. As a staff member of a major institution told me in passing when I inquired about the institution's procedures for employing international scholars, 'there needs to be somebody who cares' and 'no process description can replace the human factor'.

Whilst infrastructural work is often rendered invisible (Star and Strauss 1999), we must ask: What prevents people from truly seeing and recognising the work that is being done (Poster et al. 2016: 3)? The perspective of Latvian government officials on the grant management system and the larger research

infrastructure in which it is embedded may offer additional answers. In the fall of 2020, I attended a Zoom presentation of the draft version of a new research policy document. During the meeting, the presenter—a Latvian government official—outlined the goals of the new document, noting the room for improvement in the current research and development system in the country. Having highlighted the importance of international cooperation, they moved on to the topics of 'human capital' and the need to increase public investment in research. In the midst of this narrative, the presenter briefly mentioned that there was a 'dose of unpaid enthusiasm' in Latvian science—and moved on to the next slide in the presentation.

A recognition of this 'dose of unpaid enthusiasm' is also present in policymakers' views on the interpretive labour of international scholars and the infrastructural labour of their local counterparts. Baiba, one of the officials I interviewed, was quick to state in the beginning of our conversation that 'international cooperation is not for its own sake, but to achieve excellence', thereby echoing the dominant policy narratives. She is keenly aware of the necessity to improve the country's research infrastructure, with international cooperation as 'an integral part' of it, or, as she put it, 'a matter of hygiene'. At the same time, as Baiba envisioned it, international scholars themselves are the responsibility of individual institutions. Her position may be summed up in the following quote: 'Of course, the system is not particularly friendly towards foreign scientists. Well, they can apply. There are no restrictions here.' Whilst the 'unfriendliness' built into the system is acknowledged in this remark, the absence of explicit restrictions implies openness. Thus, the task of ensuring 'friendliness' is delegated to individual institutions, which, in turn, rely on the infrastructural labour of individual scholars. In a very direct sense, policymakers see the labour that involved scholars invest. It was Baiba herself who said:

> [T]here are also numerous administrative issues at play to ensure that they [international researchers] can conduct their research undisturbed. Practical issues, I mean. These are valid concerns. We cannot ignore them. It takes people's time. As far as we know, as soon as academic staff arrive here, they have to go to the State Revenue Service and take care of everything. And they need explanations as to when and where to go, and how to get there. We know that our local academic personnel are wandering university corridors trying to figure out which document goes where. As soon as all the management matters are in order, we see that the international colleagues find it much more pleasant and easier being here. They can focus and dedicate time to their research.

A similar perspective was offered by Guna, an employee of a state agency overseeing the disbursement of one of the Latvian government grants. Commenting on the fact that the institution accepting an international researcher would indeed be responsible for translating and preparing the respective scholar's documentation in Latvian, she said:

> It means that there has to be staff or an assistant at the institution to help the researcher integrate. This may also lead to additional costs. .. If it is an English speaker, they need much greater administrative support both when submitting the application and when administrating it and preparing reports. (…) It is up to the institution to evaluate whether they have

> the necessary resources, whether attracting international scholars is a priority. In this programme, it can be a problem if the researcher does not have a close connection to the particular institution or if the institution is not highly committed to this researcher and thus willing to spend time and resources preparing and later also monitoring the application.

Both Baiba and Guna recognise the interpretive labour of international scholars and the infrastructural labour of local researchers. Baiba acknowledges that the 'practical issues' do indeed take a toll on everyone involved in solving them. Guna notes that institutions have to make the decision to invest time and effort into incorporating international scholars, and she recognises the work it takes to do so. As individuals, they see the labour done and are sympathetic to it. Structurally, however, the work remains invisible in any sense that would benefit the researchers performing it. This work, whilst crucial, does not appear in policy considerations, anyone's employment contract, or when it comes to work evaluation. As this labour is rendered unvalued, it becomes a source of contention

Andrejs, the researcher whose voice I highlighted earlier, referred to the policymakers' stance as hypocrisy; at the same time, he also found it difficult to pinpoint the root of the challenges that he and his colleagues encounter when trying to include international colleagues in their groups. International scholars, plagued by various uncertainties—including uncertainties about their careers and their future in a highly competitive and precarious global labour market—also do not find it easy to locate the source of their everyday bureaucratic conundrums. After all, they have to invest time and effort just to understand what kind of research system and infrastructure they have entered—and, more recently, they have had to do so in circumstances surrounding the pandemic as well. What everyone involved is left with is anxiety produced along the translated documents and filled out forms, on top of the uncertainties built into contemporary knowledge production regimes globally.

CONCLUSIONS

In many a policy discussion, I often noticed a similar sentiment repeated: if only research was better funded, there would be more international scholars in Latvia. In more informal settings, this view was complemented by the perspective that the 'closed circles' of Latvian higher education and research institutions were at fault. By no means am I denying the necessity of adequate financing for academic endeavours or the importance of doing scholarship in connected ways beyond national borders. During my research, I also encountered stories of great financial vulnerability and tales of hurtful exclusion. The focus of this article, however, has been on a much less discussed aspect of the Latvian context—that of the labour of research workers. I have shown how, despite the desire of policymakers to 'internationalise' Latvian science and become more competitive in the global arena through this process, the research systems in place rely on the labour of individual researchers to make this dream happen. To sum it up, it takes interpretive labour on behalf of international researchers in the country as well as the infrastructural labour of their local counterparts to navigate the systems that are available and fill the gaps within them. At the same time, this labour is rendered invisible in any formal sense, since it takes away from the

metric-oriented quantifiable work that is being valued by the same institutions that promote international cooperation.

I have attempted here to draw attention to the issue of what constitutes the work of a researcher in contemporary systems of knowledge production, zooming in on the forms this labour takes in national contexts that tend to be considered peripheral or non-hegemonic—and are experienced as such by those working within them. Whilst research workers tend to gravitate towards the often Euro-American centres of scientific production, research policies and forms of research management move in the opposite direction. Policies that seem to be working (at the managerial level, it is important to add) in hegemonic settings are emulated in peripheral contexts. What the focus on labour reveals, however, is that the borrowing of research policies may also leave various gaps open. Support infrastructures may be lacking, whilst career paths remain unpredictable and reliance upon grant funding—also uncertain—becomes increasingly normalised. The social science literature, some of which I highlighted in the introduction to this article, shows that uncertainty is part of the lives of increasingly large numbers of research workers around the world and is experienced in a variety of ways. In this article, I have shown how this insecurity may be compounded in peripheral contexts. Whilst researchers in Latvia do not experience infrastructural failures physically on their bodies, like, for instance, Ugandan scholars in Calkins' study (2021), they nevertheless carry the burden of infrastructural and systemic gaps, and they experience great anxiety in doing so.

This anxiety represents the less visible side of research policies and the managerial politics of their implementation. It is experienced at the individual level and, as Pereira (2019) shows in the Portuguese context, as collective exhaustion as well. Graeber (2012) has argued that bureaucratic procedures constitute a form of structural violence and that the powerless invest labour in trying to understand the power. The source of it, however, as the stories of my interlocutors show, whilst happiness-reducing and anxiety-inducing, may be quite elusive. Structural violence may be distributed amongst supranational and national institutions, global discourses and their local variants, conflicting policies and offices enforcing them, and the language of care. The moment one tries to pinpoint the source of their difficulties—for instance, in a particular law or technology—new layers, fragments, and ambiguities are revealed. There are no simple answers or solutions. What we can do, however, is to keep making the structural violence visible, along with the labour invested in understanding it. We can keep showing the lived realities of research policies and management, highlighting the ironies and paradoxes that are often embedded within them. We can keep asking questions about the conditions under which ideals such as, for instance, innovation, excellence, and global competitiveness are supposed to come alive.

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FUNDING

This research was funded by the European Regional Development Fund (EDRF) Post-doctoral Research Support Programme No. 1.1.1.2/16/I/001 Research application project 'Mobilizing Science: Transnationally Mobile Researchers in Comparative Perspective', No. 1.1.1.2/VIAA/2/18/275.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Karīna Vasiļevska-Dāsa, Hallie Wells, Anna Žabicka, André Thiemann, and Laura Bužinska for their generous and thoughtful reading of draft versions of this paper. My gratitude also goes to the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and pointed suggestions for improving the article.

NOTES

1 At the time of writing this article, policymakers and other stakeholders are discussing the introduction of a new academic career model in Latvia.
2 In Latvia, 63% of the population are ethnic Latvians and 24% are Russians, with other ethnic groups (such as Belarusians, Ukrainians, etc.) making up the rest of the population (Central Statistical Bureau 2021). Amongst those holding doctoral degrees in Latvia in 2017, 71.3% were ethnic Latvians and 20.7% were ethnic Russians (Central Statistical Bureau 2018: 9).
3 Information from the Latvian National Scientific Activity Information System (NZDIS), relayed by the Ministry of Education and Science in an email exchange.
4 In 2018, only 25% of all the people in research positions in Latvia were employed as full-time researchers—most are employed part-time (Ministry of Education and Science 2020c: 13).

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Elisabeth Wollin

RURAL MOBILITIES AND URBAN NORMS

ABSTRACT

This article deals with everyday life in sparsely populated parts of northern Sweden. It investigates the relationship between local practice and political discourses. The discussion is based on fieldwork carried out in two northern municipalities. Empirical themes include everyday life mobilities and means of transport. The theoretical concepts of everyday life, community, place, and policy shape the analysis of processes pertaining to space and movement. In particular, the article discusses sustainable development as policy and argues for alternative understandings of social sustainability in relation to rural settings.

Keywords: everyday life mobilities, means of transport, sparsely populated parts of northern Sweden, place, policy, sustainable development, social sustainability

INTRODUCTION

> Our assessment is that there is an untapped potential for Sweden to accelerate responsible climate innovation with the help of [artificial intelligence], and that such an investment could give Sweden the lead internationally. (Galaz et al. 2021: 5.)

The above quotation points to a typical phenomenon when it comes to sustainability issues: high-tech and engineering solutions as the answer to a sustainable future. It is also in line with conventional theory on regional development. The task of designing a new type of society, such as one without cars or with electric cars only, is evidently alluring to the engineering community as well as to many regional planners. The underlying idea is a new kind of social and sustainable lifestyle, and a good society, created by specialised technocrats. However, this article presents another way of understanding social sustainability,[1] which points to the discursive level and the everyday local level. The rhetoric of sustainability often portrays the rural as unsustainable due to unemployment levels and population decline. But, when social sustainability is examined at a concrete level, as a lived reality, it can be understood as living and surviving in the specific local setting. As ecological perspectives seldom fail to include these kinds of perceptions of people, it is important to ask questions about how social sustainability is created and experienced at the local level (Wollin Elhouar 2014: 24).

From a place-based perspective (Casey 1996, 2009 [1993]), this study focuses on how everyday mobilities can be understood in terms of social sustainability from a rural point of view. Place, as both experience and a space for action, adds a specific local understanding as a complement to structural explanations (Mathiesen Hjemdahl 2002: 72; Wollin Elhouar

2014: 26). The social dimension of sustainability is often discussed in terms of social conditions linked to concepts like trust, security, and belonging. Here, the aim is to tie social sustainability to 'place' and, thereby, highlight the more concrete aspects of social sustainability and how they vary in different places. In other words, place matters when discussing rural living conditions.

In terms of the everyday, the following concept in relation to a geopolitical discourse is inspirational (Jansen 2009: 824): where the everyday is seen as a 'mode of representation of one's collective place in the world' and such places are 'ordered in a spatiotemporal hierarchy' (Jansen 2009: 824). It also reveals the importance of alternative understandings of social sustainability and possibilities other than the usual urban interpretations of sustainable ways of living. This article investigates technologies of transport and their roles in a sustainable future. In this context, Virilio's concept of dromology serves as inspiration, which can be translated as the logic of speed, which, according to Virilio, is a key factor in the Western and technocratic society. One fundamental factor here is the revolution of transport that 'will coincide with a characteristic change of arrival, with the progressive negation of the time interval, the accelerated retention of the time of passage that separates arrival and departure' (Virilio 1986 [1977]: 133). Virilio describes the means of transport as different 'vectors', speed carriers, or speed machines. As they are embedded in the speed norms, they are understood in a hierarchical way, with the aeroplane on top due to its speed. In this context, the following questions are pertinent: How can the means of transport manage to tie people together or keep them apart? When, how, and for whom do the different means of transport become useful and meaningful? How do these practices collide with discourses on sustainability?[2]

The empirical data used in this article come from a sponsored Vinnova (Swedish Research and Development Agency) research project with a focus on Sweden's innovation capacity for sustainable growth, called *Travelling in rural areas. Life circumstances for women and men.* I initially participated in the project by interviewing people and conducting observations in four Swedish municipalities (two in the north of Sweden, and two in the south). These observations were the starting points for the project. The data used in my dissertation were collected in two of these municipalities. The main data consisted of thirteen transcribed semi-structured interviews with people living in or close to sparsely populated areas in these two municipalities. In addition, the dissertation was based on field notes from the observations. The dissertation occasionally refers to secondary data from a third municipality in the southern part of Sweden and from an Australian municipality, located in what is known as the Australian outback. As for discourses on sustainable development, written sources were referred to, such as newspaper articles, research papers, and political documents. The data were interpreted with methodological inspiration from hermeneutics and phenomenology. The interview questions were clustered around certain themes of travelling, everyday life experiences, and environmental issues. The interpretation of the material was completed through several different steps, levels, and perspectives, where theory and method are in part interlinked and where the aim is to capture the whole as something more than the sum of its parts (Giorgi 2009; Jackson 2012).

THE URBAN-RURAL DIVIDE

During fieldwork in the municipalities, I was often met by surprise that I had made the effort to visit people and their rural places in the north. Apart from representing the university as a staff member, I also represented Stockholm, the Swedish capital, and, as such, not only looked at the divide between town and country, but also the divide between the mega-urban capital and other parts of the country (Cloke and Little 1997; Shields 1992). There are tensions here in terms of self-identity, class, place, and power asymmetries (Cramer 2016), which can be traced back in history to the major industrial and structural changes in rural Sweden in the mid-nineteenth century (Hansen 1998; Hellspong and Löfgren 1994). For example, during my first visit to one of the municipalities, an employee said enquiringly, 'So, there are people who actually care about the sparsely populated areas?' A fellow employee explained, 'You know, the attitude we get up here, from the state and the politicians, is like, suit yourself!'

Comments like the above illustrate that place and belonging to a place are important parts of people's perceptions of and encounters with others. It also points to the fact that rural scepticism towards the state and its politics has a historical basis with a connection to today's rhetoric of sustainability, where an urban perspective dominates (Wollin Elhouar 2014). The kind of marginalised expression illustrated in the above quote is common for people living in the northern inland areas of Sweden. Many share the feeling of being nationally excluded, as the state power counteracts the northern inland areas. These experiences tie in to the national political climate in the nineteenth century. During this period, a speedy process of modernisation was initiated in terms of industrialisation, and changed settlement patterns. A consequence of these changes was relocation from the northern inland areas to towns and urban areas. The rapid industrialisation process initially benefitted the northern inland area, in that, due to the area's natural resources, small working communities of hydroelectric power and forestry industry workers were created. However, later on, and especially during the boom that occurred after World War II, development stopped in the region and, instead, manifested in the larger towns and urban areas. People then decided to relocate from the inland areas to the industrial towns on the northern coast and to the southern parts of the country (Wollin Elhouar 2014: 13; Hansen 1998). This historical context is important when interpreting the rural understanding of urban power.

The urban-rural divide can be interpreted from many different perspectives, both implicitly and explicitly. Existing stereotypes of the rural are often linked with words like idyll, harmonious, and contemplative, although they can also be connected with problems, lacking resources, and poverty (Shields 1992; Cloke and Little 1997). Even though the static dichotomy between 'the rural' versus 'the urban' tends to be challenged and critically discussed both inside and outside academia, for instance, in accordance with the concept of 'the urban norm' (see Sjöstedt Landén 2021; Lundgren 2020)—it is very much alive and kicking at individual and structural levels. When the rural is discussed, it is often contrasted to the urban. In that way, the urban is present when the rural is under debate, even if it is not specifically mentioned.

In a similar way, the concept of the rural is closely linked to the politics of infrastructure. In this article, the rural is defined from a broad cultural analytical perspective, and is closely linked to concepts of modernity, national identity, and meaning. Rural life is framed

by national political decisions as well as the process of globalisation and its effect at the local. The force of global neoliberalism and national political policy has led to structural transformations that sharpen the conditions for the inland areas in terms of local income and job opportunities (see Cramer 2016; Lundgren 2020). When the global logic is growth, it becomes logical from a political perspective to neglect the inland areas. In the following empirical examples from a few specific inland places in northern Sweden, it will become clear that infrastructure projects and infrastructure cutbacks are part of this logic. Thus, growth and infrastructure go hand in hand. When people move away from the inland areas to the growing coastal towns, national politicians decide to invest in train communications. In doing so, savings are made on bus communications in the inland areas. One effect of this is that sustainable politics favours urban lifestyles and movements. How, then, can we grasp this from a socially sustainable point of view? In the following section, this is illustrated by empirical examples of different means of transport.

THE SUSTAINABLE BUS

'Every penny taken from road infrastructure to public transport and railway investments strengthens a sustainable infrastructure.'[3] This kind of not-so-nuanced rhetoric represents one of the dominating political discourses on sustainable development. The quote is also a significant example of the kind of rhetoric that interviewees opposed.

In a sense, this quote is conventional and in line with global research and standpoints relating to global sustainability. In other words, this is the dominant understanding when discussed at discursive levels. Nobody can have missed that public transport has represented the good and that cars have represented the bad in this context.[4] So, what is the problem here? To answer that question, let us see how some of the interviewees in the rural settings reasoned about public transport and sustainability.

> The bus comes at 5.30 am, except for Fridays. So, you can take the bus down to the town, the central area. … This is where the hospital is situated, and the dental service, for example. So, you set off at 5.30 am and arrive at 10 am. Then, you have three hours to do your errands. Preferably, you'll want to get something to eat as well. Then, you'll have to go back, at around 1 pm. … It really sucks. (*middle-aged woman*)

The woman referred to in the quotation above lived in a fairly remote village. She cycled to work in the village, which meant that she did not need to travel by bus on a daily basis. However, when she did need the bus service, which we can assume was on a fairly regular basis, it was obviously not the most flexible or suitable alternative.

Attitudes towards commuting by bus differed due to where in the municipality the interviewees lived and worked. Some of the interviewees were able to commute on a daily basis, whilst others explained that the bus was not a viable option at all. To use or not use the bus in the everyday was also situation-based. Public transport—buses in this particular everyday context—worked fairly well in travel between villages that were connected to the main road and were not too far from the central village or the largest town. But, even if that facilitated commuting in a certain sense between home and work, taking the bus to town for shopping and dining was not particularly tempting nor if interviewees travelled around the area a lot. One obvious reason for this was the distance. An

man in his seventies I interviewed, who lived close to the main route, explained:

> My everyday life consists of meetings almost every day so I travel all over, to different places. ... The car is of course crucial. It is not possible, in a modern society, in this modern society and in this hamlet, to not have a car. I mean, for me it would be impossible to adjust to taking the bus to meetings and all. Completely impossible. Completely hopeless. There are no buses to these places.

This comment and others like it point to a central point in the discussion about 'sustainable development'. On the one hand, it highlights the political discursive claim that the car is the most important reason for unsustainable carbon emissions; yet, on the other hand, it shows rural people's efforts to have an everyday life that functioned.

When people planned their everyday mobility, they did so with a focus on flexibility and speed, because that was what society demanded. In some rural settings, this automatically meant that the car was the only viable means of travel. The bus was simply not capable of making many rural lives socially sustainable. In spite of the democratic, collective, and environmentally friendly dimensions of the bus, it was not the first choice for many rural inhabitants. As Virilio (1986 [1977]) claimed, it was sometimes more accurate to understand the historical development of the Western world in terms of a dromocratic revolution than a democratic one (see also James 2007: 29). With this statement, Virilio meant that dromology in a sense was a more important factor than democracy in terms of analysing development and its influence in Western societies.

Speed has always been a driving force in the modern Western world. As travelling long distances takes up a fair amount of time, society is intensively focused on mobility (Augé 2009). Speed, this relationship between time and space, plays here a decisive role (Virilio 1986 [1977], 1989, 2000; James 2007). Following this time-pressing logic, the bus as public transport appears restrictive and is, therefore, a rather unsustainable means of transport. The interviewees found the bus inflexible due to few departures and long routes. Compared to the car, thus, for them, the bus was not a viable alternative.

Another important dimension of rural residents dismissing the bus was related to the local context and its way of transporting more than just bodies. In this context, it was not a paradigm of speed that governed, but something that was intertwined with specific rural modes of the everyday and its connection to things (Stewart 1996). As one 50-year-old female wild-life entrepreneur explained:

> We wouldn't make it without the car, the trailer, or the animal transport. We need to take the animals to the vet on a regular basis. We have to buy animal feed for six horses, three dogs, and one cow on a regular basis. And it's a long way. To transport all of this takes time, it needs space and it is heavy. … We also have to pick up visitors and guests, and then drop them off.

The local inhabitants' need to transport more than their own bodies—like waste, timber, and animal feed—was difficult on a bus. According to the travellers, a bus transported people collectively, and only functioned as long as it offered sufficient routes between relevant places. In this context, the bus could also be seen as a maker of social sustainability or a constructor of friction. The data show this in relation to gender

dimensions. I interviewed some of the women who used the bus, because they lived and worked close to the bus route. They expressed mainly positive attitudes towards bus journeys shared with others, since travelling together created social meaningfulness and a sense of community. They said that these regular get-togethers on the bus allowed for chats and discussions, or simply a sense of belonging. However, the interviewees also expressed negative attitudes towards long standstills and disturbing others. Significant in the data were complaints about the bus, mainly voiced by peripheral inhabitants. There was, thus, a difference between being a central rural dweller and a remote dweller in the municipality.

The bus can also be understood as symbolic, in the sense that it acknowledges the existence of the village. It is important to bear this in mind when interpreting feelings of discontent when the bus service is reduced or abandons a particular village. How, then, can the bus be understood? Why is it that people see the bus as important even when almost nobody uses it? In this context, it does not matter if a person never uses the bus on an everyday basis and will consequently not miss the bus on a personal level. Rather, the feelings tie in to feelings of abandonment at an existential level, because if the bus disappears it symbolises that the village will also disappear. If the bus route remains intact, it adds recognition to the specific village. If the bus exists, it means that the village exists, and, if the village exists, it means that people live there. Thus, it signals that there is political concern for the few people who live there and that they are not forgotten from the national perspective. Rational growth arguments for abandoning the bus are difficult for villagers to understand, because these arguments do not take individuals or places into consideration. They are rather equated with the abandonment of the village and can also be interpreted as broken trust or a broken contract between the citizen and the state. Research has shown that, in general, citizens in Sweden experience a higher level of social trust in the state than people in other countries (Rothstein 2000). However, in the northern inland areas, the social capital in terms of trust and belonging is directed instead towards the local community, and trust in the nation among northern inland inhabitants has a history of being rather low compared with that among people living in the southern parts of the country (Hansen and Goine 2006).[5]

THE TRAIN AS THE ENVIRONMENTAL HERO

> The rail traffic up here is just for tourists who can take this Bush line, you know. There is no passenger transportation, we can't even go to the town. … There used to be a major railway junction here once. Now, the inland railway is just for goods traffic, it carries timber and that's it. (*60-year-old man*)

Historically, trains and railway investments have represented concepts like 'modernity', 'future', and 'hope', and still impact the rhetoric of sustainable development. On 30 August 2011, one of Sweden's major newspapers wrote: 'The government invests five billion on infrastructure. … 3.6 billion will cover the railway and 1.4 billion will cover roads.' The optimistic hope for the future in railway investments was also reflected in interviews with most of the municipality's employees. At the time of my visits, a major railway line was partly constructed. This huge investment was clearly surrounded by a strong modernity and speed discourse that pointed towards how much time travellers would gain by using the train instead of the bus. The line officially opened in 2010,

and is a high-speed railway line on the northeast coast.

This new high-speed line has many infrastructural advantages for the northern areas that are in line with the dromology of speed marking our (post-) modern society globally (Virilio 1986 [1977]). However, from an inlander's everyday travelling perspective, the advantages did not seem all that clear. Several of the interviewees thought that the train investment in the north was good, although many also said that they personally would not be able to commute by train because the line was situated along the coast and they lived and worked in the inland area. Thus, while the line seemed more or less irrelevant for them, they were not against it because it appeared to be a good thing for others (see also Bylin et al. 2011). The interviews, therefore, revealed a pattern of positive attitudes towards the train and the railway in general, yet more ambivalence with regards to personal travel.

The complexity that appears in the narratives about the train illustrates a process of negotiation between policies as carriers of power (Shore and Wright 1997) and alternative individual experiences and opinions. The immediate understanding of the train as a positive phenomenon can be read in relation to sustainability discourses, where the train is seen as the solution to the problem due to qualities like speed, accessibility, and environmentally friendly associations. This picture is, thus, nuanced from a place-based perspective. The train does not exist as an alternative for the interviewed inlanders, a fact that in itself illustrates the discrepancies between discourse and lived experiences.

Another consequence of sustainability politics is the geographical unfairness for people living in Sweden's sparsely populated inland areas. Infrastructure investments on direct coastal lines can also be seen as an example of a process that complicates the mobility patterns in the inland areas. While there are obvious advantages with these investments in terms of accessibility in the north, they can also be interpreted as the creation of periphery, or peripherification, where prioritising direct rail lines on the coast or bus routes along the main road means other priorities are neglected. In short, investing in a railway is possible due to cut backs on bus routes in the inland areas (Eriksson 2010) and neglect of the inland line that is only used for timber and tourism. In other words, taking the train is a possibility for people living near the coast and railway stations, whereas among those with little access to a rail or bus route neither form of travel is beneficial. This policy clearly illustrates a political priority on central spaces and mobilities. Consequently, neither the train nor the bus is capable of creating social sustainability when viewed from the peripheral perspective.

THE CAR AS THE EVIL POLLUTER

> P-Å: People need the car…because it is a certain way of living up here… they need to be able to go places and do the things they are supposed to do. … This is a rural place, the roads are not properly ploughed during the winter season, and that means two decimetres of snow and then people are not able to go places, to their jobs. They live in a small village a couple of miles from work. They, therefore, need a car that can get them there. Additionally, people heat their houses with firewood here and because of that they need to transport the firewood by trailer or scooter. I mean… not having a trailer up here… is like…
> E: Not existing?

> P-Å: Basically no. Everyone has a trailer in order to haul… they need the trailer for everything they do. They have to drive four miles to the refuse station. … It is not like in the city, where someone comes for the rubbish. Here, we have to go and get rid of it all ourselves. So, you have to have a big car. Just in case anything happens, you wouldn't want to get squeezed at once.

In many of the interviews, the car was talked about as being interlinked with life itself. For most people, everyday life in a northern village was simply not possible without a car. From this perspective, the car was obviously the most prominent maker of sustainability for the locals. Specific place-based conditions like geography and climate were also relevant factors. Here, a car was synonymous with safety and the ability to avoid accidents due to snow, slippery roads, long distances, and poor visibility. Thanks to the car, everyday mobilities were made possible and flexible. The importance of a large car was stressed by more or less all of the interviewees.

The story of the roomy and safe car—like the story of the nonfunctioning bus—is associated with the local place. Things, place, and action interact in this sense (Casey 1996, 2009; Stewart 1996). It is also an obvious expression of poor infrastructure. The comparison with the city 'where someone comes and picks up the rubbish' and where everything you need is in close reach creates a perception of the a lack of infrastructure as unfair (Fainstein 2010). Given that the car can be understood as part of the everyday mobilities and as something that people have a close relationship with, it is fuelled with agency on its own terms. The car, thus, becomes synonymous with movement, and even becomes movement. This machine and its imminent capacity for flexibility in turn create opinions of sustainability, in that, thanks to the car, it is possible to move. It becomes possible to conquer time-space with a minimum of restriction. Our everyday life is always situated in place. When we sense our place-based everyday life as possible and functioning, instead of restricted and impossible, we also have a sense of trust for the social community and a sense of social sustainability.

Narratives about the car also illustrate tensions. The car is contested in national policies and is often seen as an environmental villain. This ties in to the national community's experiences of exclusion. During a visit to a municipality office, the employees talked about a tax reduction on petrol that they regarded as a disadvantage for rural inhabitants who must travel long distances. One employee said:

> We got a tax reduction on petrol that was meant for driving on duty. But, that doesn't really help, since 50% of driving is outside duty times, such as going shopping or taking the children to their afterschool activities. So, for us up here, this reduction doesn't actually make any sense. The big winners are the city folks, because they don't need to take the car in the first place. They can choose not to and can instead take the train or the bus.

This comment shows how rural inhabitants claim that rural ways of living are particular yet also neglected by urban-placed politicians. Comments like these were interlinked with a sense of inequality. When cars and driving practices were discussed in the interviews, it was clear that the subject was sensitive. The answers were interwoven with tensions that had to do with the climate rhetoric in terms of driving. The interviewees were perfectly aware that, at a discursive level, driving and car ownership were seen as environmentally unfriendly and out

of date. But, the tensions and comments such as the one above also point to a gap between climate policies and the reality of rural life. To some degree, climate policies include ideals of a carless future, which in principle can be claimed as positive and responsible sustainability politics with regard to serious climate research. However, as the ethnography shows, these types of centrally governed decisions made in accordance with climate visions can create tensions in rural areas, where dependence on the car is high, as well as make people feel guilty for not living in urban areas. In other words, urban norms in politics that work perfectly well for urbanites may at the same time create obstacles and have unfair effects on rural dwellers in terms of movement capacity and choices of action. These narratives can be linked to experiences of exclusion from the national community. As the political rhetoric on infrastructure and environmental issues are generally experienced as relating to urban ways of living, people in more rural areas tend to feel that the national interest does not concern them or that they do not belong to the national community. In the long run, these experiences lead to mistrust in society and the common good (Rothstein 2000; Putnam 1992, 2000), which may in turn fuel several parallel societies instead of a democratic and inclusive society with trusting citizens.

RURAL MOBILITIES AND URBAN NORMS

In this context, it is clear that sparsely populated places are not central in the dominant political discourses on sustainability. Sustainability issues are mainly concentrated on urban lifestyles, while questions about how to work for more sustainable life forms in rural areas are to a large extent ignored. This can also be linked to the classic Brundtland definition, which points to the importance of today's practices for coming generations. It, therefore, follows that much of what is happening in contemporary rural areas will determine the possibilities of future generations to take responsibility for their own lives and actions. The sustainability perspective, thus, brings a time dimension to such analyses in terms of the effects of today's decisions.

What are the effects of the infrastructural changes in the northern parts of Sweden? When it comes to national understanding, historically Sweden has a self-image of being a leading modern nation. It also stands out internationally when it comes to sustainability and technology (Galaz et al. 2021: 25). The image of being a leading sustainability nation is a prestigious one and it is in this context that the importance of infrastructure and modernity should be understood. This discourse dominates people's minds and self-narratives. In addition, concepts like the environment and nature have a high value for national Swedish self-understanding in general (Warde et al. 2018) and perhaps more so for northern Swedes (Sörlin 1989).

When analysing the effects of infrastructure changes in the north of Sweden, it is clear that the different types of transport are related to one another. When politicians decide to invest taxpayers' money in train communications, savings must be made on bus communications. In terms of the expanded train line, the process seems to be one of peripherification, whereby only people who live close to the coast and railway stations can be classified as central rural dwellers. Meanwhile, others who live further away are constructed as even more remote and peripheral inland dwellers. Not only do these people become distanced from the train, they also have little access to buses. In practice, as the car is the only viable means of transport in these areas, it is, therefore, socially sustainable. People often have no other option than the car

for commuting or activities in their spare time. Therefore, some sustainability policies, such as tax increases on petrol, are unfair in specific time-spaces, such as rural areas, where there are no alternatives. This is linked to a discussion about modernity, where the claim that the car is a necessity can be interpreted as classic modernity linked to technology. However, much of the debate about sustainability has been linked to the ideal of a carless future in rural areas and can thus be classified as Modernity 2.0. Lately, the debate has turned towards electric cars, which in a way can be understood as the upgraded version of modernity, Modernity 3.0. These discourses rely on high-tech and engineering solutions for a sustainable future.

In order to highlight complications like those between the centre and the periphery, between policies and lived experiences, I have stressed the importance of the social dimension of sustainability. In this context, social sustainability is partly interpreted as people's possibilities to live in the places they want to live in. It is important, however, to nuance the concept of social sustainability, because it is somewhat ambiguous, for example, in terms of collisions with other dimensions of sustainability. As we know, socially good lifestyles have a tendency to collide with the ecological definitions of sustainability. Thus, emphasis is placed on social dimensions in order to draw attention to the unfair effects from a time-space perspective and to point to the problem of urban norms in sustainability policies.

In this article, the intention has also been to stress the importance of contextualising the concept of social sustainability. Without a contextual understanding of sustainability, the concept is difficult to grasp and use in an academic way. Social sustainability is rather hollow and insignificant when defined in its own abstract way, and tends to remain at the rhetorical and political level. In order to go beyond this abstract level, the ambition has been to empirically show the importance of place-specific understandings of social sustainability. This approach has shown what the requirements for social sustainability look like in rural Swedish contexts and how it differs from urban understandings.

Social sustainability is about people's lifestyles and their possibilities to choose them in accordance with other aspects of sustainability. Social sustainability is also closely linked to political discourse, in that sustainability issues mainly follow the logic of urban lifestyles. While there have been some medial and political improvements in rural conditions in recent years, discussions about how to improve sustainable life forms in rural areas still lags behind. When improving social sustainability in an urban setting, efforts are often focused on how to improve security, community, safety, and trust. Such improvements in urban areas might include things like more street lighting. In rural areas, by contrast, the issues are on a more basic and existential level, focusing on questions like the following: How can people live in the places where they want to live? How can everyday life work in terms of having access to workplaces, schools, shops, hospitals, and other necessary infrastructures?

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NOTES

1 Social sustainability as a concept has evoked increased interest and in recent years has been developed in different ways. Some perspectives focus on aspects like individual sustainability, the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), leadership and workplace issues, and animals and nature (Osika 2018: 124).

2 This article is based on my dissertation, entitled 'Do we belong to the future of Sweden? An ethnological study of everyday life and sustainability in the northern sparsely populated area' (2014). The purpose of the dissertation was to investigate how social sustainability is constructed, experienced, practised, and performed in a field of tension between local everyday life and political discourses. Everyday actions were studied in relation to the life experiences and the rhetoric on sustainable development. Empirical themes included mobilities and means of transport, work and leisure time practices, and experiences of time and tempo.

3 This statement was made by a spokesperson for the Green Party in a local Swedish newspaper, *Trelleborgs Allehanda*, published on 7 November 2013.

4 This discursive opinion of the 'evil car' has been challenged by the electric car as a 'hopeful saver'.

5 As people tend to identify with several positions, it can be assumed that social trust in the nation, the state, and politicians tends to be rather floating and moveable.

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Elina Niinivaara

LECTIO PRÆCURSORIA

Carving out Possibilities: Refugee Background Young Men and Mundane Political Agency

18 March 2022, Tampere University

ABSTRACT

A lectio præcursoria is a short presentation read out loud by a doctoral candidate at the start of a public thesis examination in Finland. It introduces the key points or central argument of the thesis in a way that should make the ensuing discussion between the examinee and the examiner apprehensible to the audience, many of whom may be unfamiliar with the candidate's research or even anthropological research in general.

Honoured Custos, honoured Opponent,
esteemed audience members,

At quite an early stage of the fieldwork period for my PhD research, I was visiting a multicultural youth space in order to present my research to young people. I tried to tell them that I am interested in issues that they find important, and that I would like to research such issues together. But it seems I failed. This was indicated by a comment from one young man in the audience, who suggested that I study how they—namely, young men called immigrants—deviate from the Finnish majority population [*valtaväestö*].[1]

I was struck dumb by that situation. I did not know how to answer, as, on the one hand, I did not want to embarrass the young man by saying 'well, certainly not'; but, on the other hand, I did not know how to formulate my research topic so as to give a better definition of my study. I went home from this event feeling tormented: Do I actually research the way young immigrant men deviate from the majority population? I did not think so. But, why, then, was this group the target of my study? As it is, the concept of 'immigrant' is obscure, as Mona Eid (2021) brilliantly expresses: superficially neutral, but often racialising and implying strong assumptions about a person's background.

Now, I could give a better answer to this young man—who, though, has already come of age: Is the topic of my research the way young immigrant-background men deviate from the Finnish majority population? The answer is 'no'. Instead, I research the underlying process arising from the understanding of them as a deviating group, the consequences this understanding has, and, first and foremost, the ways in which youth (re)act to it. In other words: What kinds of everyday practices of social interaction constitute different categories of immigrants and position refugee-background young men in them? How do the young men themselves react to this categorisation and the way it affects their possibilities for agency and

how they are seen and heard? My research is about how they try to affect their lives and possibilities in Finland; about the small and big deeds they do in order to carve out space for themselves and their objectives. This is what I conceptualise as *mundane political agency*. The credit for developing this concept does not belong to me, though, but to Jouni Häkli and Kirsi Pauliina Kallio (2014, 2018), who have researched political agency and subjectivities on a long-term basis.

Young people might not themselves call the acts they carry out in their everyday surroundings political. As it is, they have been told many times that they participate worryingly little in society, especially in the realm that is considered political. They vote relatively rarely, and this causes recurring worry—for instance, most recently, this was captured in a media discussion around the small voter turnout among people with an immigrant background, especially young men, right after the municipal elections held last summer. Such youth are even less involved in party politics nor do civic organisations attract them much. Following the media discourse, it often feels like they are portrayed as far too often present on the streets or other public spaces, usually causing different kinds of disturbances, such as ganging up, organising mass brawls or committing robberies. Especially during last autumn and winter, there had been recurrent news coverage on whether there are street gangs formed by immigrant-background youth in the Finnish capital region or not, and is Finland in this respect already on the 'Swedish path'.

But, is it truly so that immigrant-background young men are either not active enough societally or are active but in a wrong and excessive way? The impetus of my PhD research was frustration at the contradiction between this image, drawn in the public discourse, regarding immigrant-background youth and my own understanding formed when working in the field of special youth work, which was much more mundane, but also multifarious. My rule-of-thumb estimate was that the youth do try to affect their lives in many ways, but are left quite alone in their struggles with structures and practices that restrict their possibilities. Also, in the field of the social sciences, the efforts and modes of the youth agency are insufficiently understood, and their agency is often scrutinised from the outside—that is, from the perspective of Finnish society—which produces blind spots. In my PhD research, I wanted to turn this set-up around and research the position and agency of the youth from their everyday life perspective. This is why I told the audience in the youth space I mentioned at the beginning that I am interested in the issues young people find important and would like to research these issues with them together.

Even though my fieldwork did not, perhaps, start out perfectly, I did get to work together with a couple of young men. They were all about 20 years old when we started cooperating, and they all had a refugee background. Specifically, they had come to Finland either as quota refugees with some of their family members, alone as so-called unaccompanied minor asylum seekers, or they had first fled their home country and then arrived in Finland via a family reunification process. Therefore, and because of the obscurity of the concept of 'immigrant', in my research I solely use the concept of 'refugee background'. In addition to having a refugee background, what was common to the young men who participated in my research was that they had come to Finland as teenagers, and religion had a considerable role in all of their lives—although some of them were Christian and some Muslims. In addition to these few unifying factors, the backgrounds of the youth

were diverse. For one young man, his family had been quite well-off before coming to Finland and he had attended a school of good quality. Another had started working at the age of 5 and the family had never been able to afford schooling. One had almost his whole family in Finland and strong support from home, while another was completely alone and did not know anything about the situation of his family members, not even whether they were alive or not. One had not even been born in the country he called his homeland, as his parents had fled before his birth and the family lived as refugees elsewhere before he set out for Finland. Some had gone through very traumatic experiences, while others' lives had been relatively safe—at least the part of their lives that they could remember themselves. Originally, they came from different parts of the Middle East and Africa.

Some of these young men I met regularly during a period of a couple of months, but I worked with three of them over a period of one to two years, one of whom I worked with even longer than that. I conducted ethnographic fieldwork using two methods. First, I accompanied the youth in their everyday life surroundings, such as in school, to their workplace or during hobbies. And, second, I spent a lot of time with them in private, having thorough discussions on a multitude of subjects. Working together intensively on a long-term basis was important, not only in the sense of gathering nuanced data, but also because it enabled the forming of a close relationship between us: friendship and a rather equal cooperation. We have together gone through the data I gathered, read analytical texts I have written, and had profound discussions on them. Yet, emphasis is placed on the word *rather* equal cooperation: the participation of these youth in the analysis and the comments they have given on my texts has had a significant effect on the final shape of the monograph, but the power—and responsibility—to make the final resolutions has, ultimately, been in my hands. Our long-term cooperation has been extremely important so that I—a white woman, a Finn by nationality and ethnicity, who acts in the academic world and has reached middle-age—could achieve an in-depth understanding of the life situations of refugee-background young men in Finland. It has sensitised me to the different subject positions that we are offered in Finnish society.

When analysing the data yielded by the fieldwork, I concentrated on encounters, as I was interested, on the one hand, in the way other Finnish residents—both state officials and co-dwellers—are disposed towards refugee-background young men and what kinds of subject positions are available to them in these mundane encounters, and, on the other hand, on how these youth react to these positionings and, perhaps, try to change them. On the basis of my analysis, I claim, firstly, that in their everyday encounters young refugee-background men are positioned as different—as others—in recurrent and various ways. This has often, although not always, to do with racialising practices. The subject positions offered to these youth are quite often categorising—as, for example, the category of the 'immigrant who deviates from the majority population', referenced by the young man I met in the youth space. One of the youth who participated in my research said that his classmates, who consider him an immigrant, do not see *him*: they do not see his personality, his abilities and his individuality. Such categories also restrict, for example, by categorising refugee-background youth as vulnerable. As well meaning as this might be, it led in the case of another research participant to equating him with youth with mental

disabilities in a special youth work project. As for the third young person, he got a job—but not despite his correspondence with the obscure, racialising understanding of immigrants, but exactly because of that understanding, as some sort of embodiment of immigrant-ness as a representative of this group understood as difficult to reach.

These youth did not, however, settle in the subject positions offered to them without friction. On the basis of my analysis, I claim, secondly, that if the agency of refugee-background young men is studied from their vantage point, they turn out to be highly active. They are constantly alert in their encounters with Finnish society and its other members, and they struggle to affect othering and its implications. The youth wage this struggle on two levels: in everyday life situations on the level of embodied, immediate strategies (a concept coined by Samu Pehkonen, see Väyrynen et al. 2017, 91), and on the level of future-oriented long-term projects understood in light of Sherry Ortner's (2006, 139–147) concept of the 'agency of projects'.

By immediate strategies, I refer to different strategies that these youth use on-the-spot in order to stretch, transform or reject the subject position available to them. These youth can, for example, transform awkward situations into jokes in a way that displays to others that they are perfectly aware of the situation and both so self-confident and socially skilled that they can change its dynamics. Or these youth might simply refuse to act the way they are supposed to, and instead act in a different way. For example, instead of accommodating the subject position of a vulnerable refugee youth in the special youth work project I mentioned earlier, that specific young man carved out a completely different role—that of an active, skilled and courageous professional of arts and assistant leader. The third strategy that I identified in my analysis could be named after Sara Ahmed's (2017) concept of 'smiling work': a young person used smiling, eye contact and other methods of creating rapport in order to pass into a white institution, to become accepted as a professional among others—and not only as a representative of the category of immigrant.

In addition to this daily struggle, these youth pursued their own long-term projects with perseverance. None of my most central research participants was satisfied with the subject position that was most easily available to them in Finnish society—for example, working as a practical nurse or making music within the framework of immigrant rap. Instead of these easiest, yet not-easy alternatives, these youth put tremendous effort into stubbornly pursuing higher education, or persistently building an original musical career, or a long-term search—at times, arduous—for one's self and values.

Thus, these youth deployed a wide spectrum of different strategies and pursued various long-term projects. My dissertation brings out several unique examples of such efforts. Here, I would like to draw attention to one especially unifying character that comes up in my data: all of the three young men with whom I worked long-term fostered through their agency—in one way or another—respectful coexistence and transversal solidarity. The agency of one of them took forms that could be called everyday antiracism: he tirelessly weaved social networks and thus built safe spaces for himself and his friends, and also tried to foster a caring and friendly atmosphere in his everyday surroundings, such as in his class or at his summer job. Another wanted to encounter all the people he met as 'whole persons', as he himself put it, and was ready to challenge his own fundamental views in order to be openly disposed towards all people. The third challenged himself by participating in projects in which he got to know and worked together

with very different kinds of people, trying to take forward a message about the irrelevance of differences and the importance of mutual respect.

It was impressive to perceive that youth, who in their everyday lives continuously need to struggle for the space to exist as themselves, were not only able but also willing to cultivate respectful communality. Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies Tarja Väyrynen (2019), under whose research project my dissertation falls, calls this kind of agency 'mundane micropractices of peace'. What is at stake is, thus, building peace through small acts in the encounters of everyday life. This is not, perhaps, the right kind of political agency or societal participation from the parliamentary point of view. But, to be honest, in my view, it is more fundamental, effective and significant than voting in elections—and this does not mean that I belittle the importance of the right to vote.

It would be nice to end here and leave you, esteemed audience, with a feeling of the strength, stamina and courage of these youth. Certainly, this is a central result of my research. However, there is another result that is equally important. This other result calls for a change in those structures of Finnish society that repeatedly make these young people feel that their efforts are in vain and that they tilt at windmills in their attempts to further their dreams—such as those related to higher education. Although the three young men with whom I most intensively worked were all in some ways well resourced, they all found themselves at dead-ends time and time again. On some occasions, they all seemed quite resilient, as refugee youth are often described in the research literature these days: persistent, flexible and oriented towards the future. But with each I also encountered periods when, as one of them described, they were on the brink of giving up [*haluan heittää hanskat tiskiin*]. In order to show that this was about something other than the ordinary emotional turbulence of young people, I quote one of my research participants here:

> Before I had this feeling that I am young, I want to live, that there are many things for me to see and experience, and that I have some kind of chance in life. I felt like I don't want to die, I am young, I have a lot to live for. Now I feel that everything is boring, everything is always the same. I have to work and try so hard, but every time there is some obstacle in the way. Language skills or if it is not that, then it is something else. Always some obstacle comes up. And there is always something that I need to try to take care of, to organise, to sort out. It is never-ending, and it is always the same. Maybe I am weak, but nowadays I feel that if I was to die now, there would be no reason for me to resist. I might just as well die.

After I submitted my dissertation for pre-examination, two of the refugee-background young men I know had given up. Neither of them was involved in this research, but they very well might have been: these young men were in the same way relatively well resourced as my three most central research participants. One of them had a good education and strong support from his family, a steady job and clear plans for his future, while the other had a difficult past with a lot of losses, but good support networks in Finland and a promising start to his career. But, they, too, time and again bumped into obstacles, and in the end they lost heart—or decided to use other kinds of methods when the ones offered by the official society did not take them anywhere. I cannot share here the details of their solutions and the circumstances

they have ended up in. What I can say is that both have, in their own ways, disappeared—or perhaps 'been lost' would be a more accurate expression.

In order to avoid such dead-ends, Finnish society should see and hear the message the agency of these young men carries. Instead of fretting about refugee-background young men's scant participation in society, Finnish society should itself participate in a project such youth have already started: a project of cultivating respectful communality. The majority population that the young man referred to at the beginning of my lectio should step aside, make space for minorities and ask from their representatives how we could build our society into one in which everybody has space to be themselves and further their dreams. How could our society be truly common, a caring society that treats its different members with respect?

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NOTES

1 The term the young man used has no self-evident translation; it implies a power relation [*valta*] between the minority and the majority.

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Saila-Maria Saaristo

LECTIO PRÆCURSORIA

Transgressive Participation: Housing Struggles, Occupations and Evictions in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

10 May 2022, University of Helsinki

ABSTRACT

A lectio præcursoria is a short presentation read out loud by a doctoral candidate at the start of a public thesis examination in Finland. It introduces the key points or central argument of the thesis in a way that should make the ensuing discussion between the examinee and the examiner apprehensible to the audience, many of whom may be unfamiliar with the candidate's research or even anthropological research in general.

Honoured Custos, honoured Opponent,
members of the audience,

One day in 2018, I was in one of the council housing estates in Lisbon, together with activists from the Habita and Stop Despejos collectives, demanding that the eviction of Tita and her children should be stopped. Three months earlier, Tita had decided to occupy an apartment that she had identified as vacant in one of the social housing blocks. Since 2017, I had participated in the actions of a social movement organisation, Habita, which fights for the right to housing in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. At Habita's open-door sessions, I had met many families like Tita's, who had reached the conclusion that their only viable housing alternative was to occupy one of the abandoned apartments in the social housing estates. I was personally struck by the high number of occupations, and by the fact that single mothers constituted a clear majority of these occupiers.

These constatations led to a process of one-and-a-half years of field work, with the primary objective of trying to understand the reasons for and consequences of occupations, analysing them as an experience pertaining to the everyday sphere of housing exclusions. The common thread that runs through the whole thesis is the exploration of diverse kinds of actions that seek to promote social change and transformation in terms of challenging and reducing inequalities, dispossessions, and social exclusion. I sought to understand why so many women were occupying and why they could not access housing through other means. I also studied the management of council housing estates, the practices of occupiers—meaning, how do they proceed when they wish to occupy a house—as well as the role of social movement activists in defending the occupiers' right to housing.

The data analysed in my dissertation (Saaristo 2022) were collected from December 2017 to April 2019 through a process of multi-sited and activist ethnographic fieldwork. I call

the process multi-sited because, in contrast to a traditional ethnographic case study that focuses on one selected geographical area, I followed people, connections, associations, and relationships across space, across the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. On the other hand, I consider the study 'activist' because the whole research process was aligned with Habita's struggle: it was decisive in defining the main focus of the research; it was through Habita that I first established contacts with occupiers; and, throughout the research process, I participated in Habita's actions as one of its members, debating with the other members both the theoretical and practical questions related to the struggle for the right to housing in Lisbon. In addition to fieldwork notes, the core of my data consists of life history interviews conducted with occupiers; interviews with local politicians and municipal employees responsible for social housing policies or for managing social housing; and interviews with activists and nongovernmental organisation (NGO) workers engaged with housing questions.

Before moving on to discuss the results of my study, I contextualise the research for those not familiar with the Portuguese housing situation. Examining housing exclusions and their contestations gains relevance in the current global context, in which homelessness is growing and evictions are increasing in number. Housing exclusions are quickly becoming an important factor causing poverty. The housing struggles in Portugal, as in so many other cities, are inseparable from the increasing financialisation of the Portuguese economy and the Portuguese housing sector. In this respect, Portugal has been in line with the global tendencies of recent years, with housing policies currently based on the creation of stronger and more comprehensive market-based housing finance models, and on the commodification of housing, including the use of housing as an investment asset within a globalised financial market (Rolnik 2013; 2019). This has resulted in rising rental and real-estate prices and the constant increase in the expenditure of Portuguese families on housing since 1980s. Considering the inability of states to provide or guarantee adequate housing for all, the various improvised tactics through which the urban poor and the 'urban majority' (Simone 2013; 2018) seek to secure some form of housing for themselves become increasingly important.

The results of my study were fourfold. Previous analyses of urban neoliberal governance and the production of space have pinpointed how neoliberal housing policies have shifted resources away social housing production and inclusive urban development policies. In this context, as well as in wider capitalist processes, poor women workers have often been the major scapegoats. Interviews with occupiers, especially with single mothers, quickly showed me that the main reason for occupation was the lack of other housing alternatives. Single mothers who received a minimum salary of €600 per month found paying €400 or €500 for rent completely unfeasible. They also had little chance of accessing council housing, in which priority is given to the unemployed or to people with disabilities. These women told me how, for years, they had been moving from one house to another, always being forced to leave because of unaffordability, the inadequacy, or the insecurity of the housing situation. For many of them, occupation was the last available alternative: if evicted, they and their children had nowhere to go.

The analysis also revealed the gendered nature of occupations that can be partly considered a 'feminised' strategy of resistance to homelessness (Motta and Seppälä 2016). While lone, homeless men might choose sleeping rough or occupying public spaces, homeless

women tend to avoid this solution, since they are even more prone to violence and abuse on the streets than men. In particular, mothers with children avoid the street for fear of their children being taken away from them. They, thus, prefer relying on informal support, looking for other solutions, or depending on their friends and acquaintances to keep them accommodated. Yet, the outcome of this is that they are not recognised as homeless in policy responses, and can, thus, not access state or municipal support directed to the homeless. In my dissertation, I analyse these constraints and restrictions as forms of subalternisation, a dynamic process through which a 'contract' (Das 1989) is established between the subalternised and the wider society.

Another angle to housing struggles explored in this thesis was the analysis of the practices of social housing managers in Lisbon and Loures, and their interaction with homeless council residents. In this study, I focus on the interface of two distinct conceptualisations of neoliberalism. On one hand, neoliberalism can be seen as an elite project that promotes market-based regulatory responses and commodification to expand capitalist profit-making (Harvey 2005; Brenner et al. 2010). On the other hand, it can be seen as a mode of government, a form of governmentality (Foucault 2007), which promotes political subjects that conceive themselves as responsible for their own wellbeing, functioning through the logic of competition. I show how, in the narratives of the council housing managers, the idea that housing is something that people need to compete for becomes naturalised, justified by the notion of scarce resources. In this study, I argue that much more could be done in terms of securing an efficient use of existing council housing resources, instead of presenting the shortcomings in the management of council estates as arising from the wrongdoings of the council housing residents. Council housing managers also tend to focus on the perceived 'illegality' of occupations, ignoring that, when they themselves evict occupying residents without providing housing alternatives, they are themselves directly producing homelessness.

I then shift my focus into the specific practices of occupiers, examining their actions from a perspective that highlights the limits of their possibilities to participate in urban policymaking. To examine the practices of occupiers, I apply the concepts of quiet encroachment (Bayat 2013) and 'improvised lives' (Simone 2019) because they highlight some of the key characteristics of the process of occupation that emerge, namely, improvisation, networking, adaptation, and negotiation. To effectively realise an occupation and defend it, many small steps are required that allow for the characterisation of this process as quiet encroachment.

However, in the literature, the notions of quiet encroachment and improvised lives are considered an 'everyday' practice, not a direct form of resistance. Occupations, too, are not necessarily forms of direct resistance, but rather practices through which the subalternised urban dwellers seek to secure their housing needs—even if temporarily—which is fundamental to enable the organisation of other spheres of life, such as work and children's schooling.

Yet, the classification of occupations as an 'everyday' practice hides the conscious decision to occupy, which has usually been preceded by a careful analysis of existing options available. In this thesis, I argue that all occupations do involve a seed of resistance since they constitute an effort to try to counter the state of homelessness and to question their subalternisation. Occupations do not, thus, emerge as a mundane activity, but rather as a conscious, transgressive act. As a result, I suggest that 'needs-based' occupations—contrasted with

collective occupations that are explicitly pursued using the language of politics—are more aptly conceptualised as a transgressive, invented form of participation.

The final empirical chapter of the thesis focuses on social movement actors. While not only analysing collective action, this thesis considers this form of action as a particularly prominent practice to force state agents to recognise diverse housing problematics. I explore the role of Habita as an example of an educational site of resistance (Caciagli 2019), providing examples regarding how Habita's activities have the potential to break the notion of housing problems as being the responsibility of homeless persons. In Habita's counselling sessions and family assemblies, the guilt families tend to feel for their homelessness is challenged. Therefore, social movement engagement promotes alternative forms of political subjectivities that emphasise the wider causes of housing exclusions and frames housing as a human right. This helps to promote the socialisation of housing activism, triggering participation in collective action.

And, now, Professor Martinez, I respectfully ask you, as the Opponent appointed by the Faculty of Social Sciences, to present your comments on my dissertation.

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Sonja Trifuljesko

LECTIO PRÆCURSORIA

Weeds of Sociality: Reforms and Dynamics of Social Relations at the University of Helsinki

9 November 2021, University of Helsinki

ABSTRACT

A lectio præcursoria is a short presentation read out loud by a doctoral candidate at the start of a public thesis examination in Finland. It introduces the key points or central argument of the thesis in a way that should make the ensuing discussion between the examinee and the examiner apprehensible to the audience, many of whom may be unfamiliar with the candidate's research or even anthropological research in general.

Honoured Custos, honoured Opponent,
members of the audience,

Let me start this lecture by drawing your attention to the building in which I stand before you today. This was the first building of the University of Helsinki to be erected after the Second World War. Its construction began in 1950 and it was finished in 1957. As such, the building is a statement of the industrial boom that Finnish society experienced in the post-war years. The markings of it could be, for instance, observed from the material used in the construction. This was the first larger building in Finland that was built out of factory-made elements. Similarly, plastic, which was a new material at the time, was also employed here (Knapas 1989).

Despite the building's conspicuous industrial references, its exterior, featuring a yellowish ceramic covering, also shows respect to the already existing material markings in the landscape. By this, I refer above all to the adjacent quarters, which started rising from the 1830s, following the university's transfer from Turku to Helsinki. The connections to the past are, however, clearest in the building's name. This one refers to Henrik Gabriel Porthan, who was an eighteenth century professor and rector of the Royal Academy of Turku, which is how the University of Helsinki was known at the time. Porthan's accounts of Finnish history are considered extremely important for generating a sense of Finnishness, which would solidify a century later. Carrying his name, the building of Porthania was thus intended as an homage to a period in which the university played a particularly important role in national history (Klinge 2010).

Rising several floors above the ground, Porthania was also meant to confirm the leading status that the University of Helsinki continued to enjoy, despite the arrival of other higher education institutions in Finland. Its modernist

architecture was also to speak of a progressive university. And its numerous facilities, which, besides big and small auditoriums as well as rooms and offices, included a student dining hall, a faculty cafeteria, a gymnasium, healthcare facilities, and underground book repositories, were all designed for the influx of students that was already envisioned during the early years of Finland's independence. It is actually to this period that the initial plans for Porthania date back (Knapas 1989).

As someone who got her first university degree in art history, I could speak about this building until the end of my introductory lecture. But, as an anthropologist, I feel I have already said quite enough to claim that the building of Porthania is imbued with social relations. This is hardly surprising. A number of anthropologists before me have already argued that landscapes are constituted by and constitutive of sociality (cf. Berglund, Lounela and Kallinen 2019).

At the same time, Porthania is a good place to start observing the recent reconfigurations of the landscape. This building is, for instance, situated just next to the entrance to the metro station, which, during the course of my fieldwork, changed its name to reflect the university. Above the station in question, and directly connected to Porthania through a set of internal passageways, is the university's main library, which opened its doors a few years prior to the metro stop renaming. Finally, in 2017, a new kind of university space called Think Corner, which at one point even resided in Porthania, found its final destination across from this building, in an edifice that had prior to the start of a thorough reconstruction process served as home to the university's central administration.

These and other new markings in the university landscape, I have argued, are manifestations of an aspiration to a world-class status (Trifuljesko 2019). Through it, those running the University of Helsinki have been trying to reclaim the hegemonic position of their institution in Finnish society, which the latter gradually lost over past decades. The world-class status of Helsinki was to be attempted through a comprehensive landscape reconfiguration, which, besides material extravagance, entailed major tampering with social structures. Following the global knowledge economy policy framework, the university's landscape was to be cleared from previously existing relationships and reconstituted as such to maximise the exploitation and expropriation of all university entities, whether human or otherwise (cf. Tsing 2012). During the course of my fieldwork, I was able to follow this process through the rise of new research institutes, new degree programmes, and the brand new centralised administration, formed in the aftermath of significant staff reductions. The question that begged for an anthropological enquiry was how all these reconfigurations affected the dynamics of social relations in everyday university life.

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To explain to you how I went about answering this question, let us return to Porthania once again. Four years ago, I sat in the auditorium next door and observed an information session dedicated to the external review process of the changes the university went through between 2015 and 2017 (Scott 2017). This review process was, in fact, launched through an initiative from my very own custos and supervisor, who both as a university professor and an anthropologist felt there was a need for a forum that would, among other things, enable university staff members to process the traumatic developments they had collectively experienced. The general feelings, as I indicate at the beginning of my thesis, were those of distress. Even within the

banal framework of classificatory fellowship, the university as a community seemed to have been broken.

Yet, while all this social destruction was happening, I could also observe new forms of sociality being born out of the landscape's ruins. Following anthropologist Anna Tsing (2005; 2015; 2017), I have designated these as weeds. On a freezing March morning in 2015, a group of people, protesting the promotional spectacle that spearheaded the celebration of the university's 375th anniversary, gathered in the small square in front of the Porthania building to deliver their own homage to the old institution through a set of lectures displaying erudition. From that very same square, some two months later, I departed, marching with another protest group, this time to oppose the introduction of tuition fees to international students. Finally, four months later, members belonging to these as well as some other groups marched back into the Porthania building, which, on that occasion, ended up being historically occupied for eight full days.

All of this has only confirmed my conclusions about the effects of the contemporary reforms on university sociality, which started to emerge from my ethnographic fieldwork conducted among doctoral candidates. It was their social life that I set out to study in the first place. This was because, at the beginning of my research endeavour, I could not even imagine the dramatic developments that later ensued, but also because the transformation of doctoral education, being central to the global knowledge economy policies, preceded all of the other mentioned reforms at the University of Helsinki. As such, it was a good entry point for an ethnographic investigation, since the beginning of my fieldwork coincided with the launch of the new doctoral programmes and schools. In addition, the position of doctoral candidates presented itself as particularly conducive to my study. Being both students and researchers, occasionally even teachers, doctoral candidates provide a vantage point from which to study university sociality as a whole.

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Six years ago, I sat in this very same lecture hall from which I am speaking to you today. On that particular occasion, I observed a panel session held for doctoral candidates in the humanities and social sciences and their supervisors. The topic at hand was finishing PhD studies within four years. Crucial to this, as I was able to conclude upon reflection, was a reconceptualisation of the PhD studies from a relational and transformative process into a segregated and standardised project, ready for enhancement. In particular, the temporality inherent in the project design, I would come to realise, helps accomplish the university managers' aim of turning doctorates into enhanceable collections of knowledge resources. Alongside the products of their work, prospective PhD holders were also to perceive themselves in this way, as I could deduce by observing numerous sessions arranged for doctoral candidates across the University of Helsinki. At the heart of the doctoral education reform, therefore, lies the common managerial preoccupation with the expansion of knowledge assets (cf. Gershon 2011).

Just as in the broader university landscape, the attempt to cancel pre-existing social relationships during the process of the doctoral education reconfiguration also created a commotion among university communities. Old forms of sociality among doctoral candidates, particularly those based on disciplines, have clearly been institutionally weakened. However, they have not been completely eradicated. Moreover, in certain places, I could even observe

their strengthening, which was a result of survival endeavours triggered by the disturbance. At the same time, novel social formations amongst doctoral candidates started to emerge out of the ruins created by the doctoral education reform. In the thesis, I follow these through mobilising efforts around the rising PhD Student Association, collectives of grant holders, and an organisation of international students at the University of Helsinki.

To make sense of these novel social formations, I primarily drew on reconceptualisations of sociality carried out by Vered Amit (2002a; 2002b; 2012). Unlike many other anthropologists in the past several decades, who primarily focused on the work of imagination in the process of community construction, Amit has also stressed the importance of practical efforts to mobilise social relations. That this entails engaging with joint commitments, a sense of belonging to a collectivity and a specific associational form is confirmed by my account of the PhD Student Association at the University of Helsinki.

Moreover, not all categorical identities result in communities, and many will, at best, amount to personal social networks within the new university landscape, as it turned out to be the case with the grant holders' collectives I was able to observe during the course of my fieldwork. This is because they tend to lack either communal or institutional ground to support their mobilisation. Rather, they are ego-based. As such, grant holders' collectives both within and outside the University of Helsinki are highly sensitive to changes in circumstances, and are very likely to collapse once those who set these collectives up withdraw from them, for one reason or the other.

Nonetheless, even established social groups are vulnerable within the new university landscape, as I have shown in the example of the organisation of international students. This is another repercussion of dismissing sociality. Failing to provide steady institutional support for maintaining groups that are characterised by a transitory nature and categorical heterogeneity, as is the case with international students, makes their long-term survival highly improbable. This is because they simply cannot rely on a strong communal basis, unlike more enduring and homogeneous social entities.

The experiences of international staff and students in Finland, which I present through the voices of foreign doctoral candidates at the University of Helsinki, also affirm that the impulses towards collectivity lie both within exceptional and mundane discontinuities (cf. Amit 2015). Their everyday lives present one of the most powerful criticisms of the conceptualisation of people as mere economic agents, which lies at the heart of the global knowledge economy policy framework. Nonetheless, such experiences usually play a marginal role in the debates about contemporary university reform. It is high time, I argue, to change that.

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My research on contemporary university reform might seem unusual to some anthropologists, since it does not revolve around the lives of one particular group of people, but rather that of an institution. I have, however, conducted it in a highly typical ethnographic manner—that is, by following actual social relations. My thesis, in a way, goes through my PhD process in reverse. I began from discontinuities in the everyday lives of international doctoral candidates at the University of Helsinki. These triggered an instantiation of sociality with which I started engaging. That soon led me to expand my research focus on doctoral candidate mobilisation, which ended up being yet another

product of relational reconfiguration—that is, the establishment of new doctoral schools and programmes. Soon, I began observing similar dynamics, albeit in different forms, almost everywhere. The dramatic events that unexpectedly started unfolding before my eyes were not in this respect any different. It was this conclusion that also helped me realise that there was a crucial aspect of the contemporary university reforms that was mostly overlooked by other research, which was looking at the economic, political, or organisational sides of these changes: specifically that encompassed how it affected the sociality.

For an anthropologist and ethnographer, social relations are an obvious thing to study. Yet, the reforms that were being made did not appear to consider that sociality is pertinent to university life; quite the opposite as I have already argued. Likewise, the previous research provided only limited insights into the dynamics of social relations. A comprehensive understanding was only possible by carrying out extensive ethnographic research and seeing how multiple reforms at the University of Helsinki were playing out on the ground.

This thesis has provided a detailed ethnographic account of how university reforms that were designed with certain kinds of ideological, economic, and political visions in mind created enormous problems because of their blatant denial of sociality. What my thesis shows—because I took an ethnographic approach towards this study—is that the reforms ended up having such a disastrous effect precisely because they failed to recognise the importance of social relations in sustaining university life. This is a message I hope that at least the designers of future reforms will take from my work.

I also have a specific message to all those concerned with contemporary university developments. If anything, my thesis is a testament to the abundance of non-market social relations. This is the reason why we still have such a thing as a university. It is, of course, quite tempting to turn into a pessimist and see everywhere only a catastrophe. But, that would be wrong, in my opinion, for at least three reasons. First, we would fail to notice the continuous process of translations and conversions of non-market social relations into market transactions. Second, we would unfairly discard all of the remarkable instantiations of social mobilisation that make the 'global knowledge economy' ruins liveable. Finally, we would close down space for political mobilisation, because—to have any politics that can make a difference—university trajectories need to stay open (cf. Massey 2005).

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Albion M. Butters

ARTICULATIONS OF POWER: GUNS ON CAMPUS AND THE PROTESTS AGAINST THEM

ABSTRACT

When carrying concealed handguns on campus was legalised at The University of Texas (UT) at Austin in 2015, students and faculty positioned themselves in relation to the new law in very different ways, ranging from large demonstrations and the use of various types of rhetoric to non-vocal representations and deliberate silence. This essay examines an important transitional moment in the educational environment by focusing on the respective relationships and modes of expression—or articulations—of the affected parties regarding the issue of firearms on university premises, as these reflected opposing camps within the academic community. Drawing on interviews and quantitative research, and proposing a novel theoretical frame to understand the complex subject of guns, this essay examines the polemics, polarisation, and power dynamics around Campus Carry at UT Austin.

INTRODUCTION

Daily life at The University of Texas (UT) at Austin today resembles that of most other public university campuses around the United States, with students hurrying between classes, canvassing at tables on the Mall for their favourite causes, or hanging out and chatting at cafes and the main student centre. It is unlikely that one would spot the casual passerby with a concealed pistol tightly holstered inside their waistband, nor might one guess the degree of resistance among the academic community to Campus Carry law (Senate Bill 11), which since 1 August 2016 has legally allowed firearms on most of the university premises (Somers and Phelps 2018).[1] A few faded signs continue to promote a 'Gun-Free UT', but the rest have been taken down (Isenberg and O'Hanlon 2018), and the media spotlight that once shone on the anti-gun protests has since moved on.[2] Those visible disruptions to campus life are in the past, yet in the post-implementation phase of Campus Carry, articulations of power remain.

When initially beginning fieldwork at UT Austin on the subject of Campus Carry in 2018, as part of an Academy of Finland mixed-methods research project conducted by the John Morton Center (University of Turku),[3] I was struck by the different manners in which those on the two sides—namely, the proponents and opponents of the law—expressed themselves, or not. Despite the large student body (51,832 in Fall 2018) spread across a sprawling campus of forty acres, and the general perception of Texas as strongly pro-gun, those with a license-to-carry (LTC) were not easy to find; they were not visible,[4] nor were they generally

interested in talking about their position. On the other hand, those who opposed Campus Carry were quite willing to share their opinions, concerns, experiences, and fears; faculty and student antigun activists who had galvanised a movement and garnered global attention had everything to gain by speaking out. In addition to these camps, the research project was also interested in examining the part played by the university itself, which as a key institutional player was in a tricky position, obliged by the state to support the law but also quite aware of public sentiment against it. Thus, interviews with administrators often walked a fine line of what could be said and what could not.

In practice, while these varying types of communication made the research tricky, if also somewhat uneven, they did not make it invalid. On the contrary, the dynamic itself appeared worthy of investigation and analysis. In order to parse the spoken and unspoken, or the ways in which the various actors expressed themselves, I decided to explore the idea of there being different 'articulations'. Over time, as my work in the field progressed, my use of the concept deepened as well, evolving from a simple but multivalent word into an analytical frame for comprehending the complex dynamics surrounding firearms at UT Austin, particularly aspects of power and rhetoric expressed through institutional forces, gun owners, and protesters against the law. In this essay, therefore, I present the concept of 'articulations' as a novel means of understanding the various ways in which the different actors engaged with guns and their competing positions were expressed, and I operationalise the concept in specific aspects of the research. Indeed, it was through these aspects that different 'articulations' came into focus, opening new avenues for conceptualising the ideological and political topography of the university space and, accordingly, the potential impact of Campus Carry law there.

DEFINING ARTICULATIONS

To outline my conceptualisation of 'articulations', I will begin with an exegetical review of the word itself and then provide specific examples of how its various definitions can be applied to Campus Carry in the context of UT Austin. In brief, the Oxford English Dictionary (2008) defines the verb 'to articulate' as follows:

1. to set out in articles: to formulate in an article or article; to particularise, specify; to bring (a charge) against; to come to terms of agreement; to arrange by certain conditions;
2. to express distinctly: to pronounce distinctly; to express in words, esp. clearly and fluently, to express or convey, esp. through non-verbal means; to speak distinctly; to make visually distinct; or
3. to join or unite: to attach or unite (esp. a bone) by a joint; to be united by a joint.

Taken simply, these three meanings suggest different modes of communication or action, ranging from the legal to the physical. As a theoretical frame, however, they can also delineate types of engagement employed by the various actors in the process of guns being allowed on campus. Comprehending the definitions in terms of institutional, social, and personal levels (cf. Social-Ecological Model; CDC 2020), one finds differing modes of communication intertwined with the power dynamics surrounding Campus Carry.

For example, the first definition, 1) 'to set out in articles', speaks to the specific legislative act to legalise guns on campus. This type of articulation was done in a straightforward manner by the Texas legislature in the form of Senate Bill (SB) 11, which public universities in the state were then obliged to obey. In the case of UT Austin, the administration determined and implemented their own policy after a two-step review process, determining

which areas would be off-limits to guns, if depositories would be made available for the storage of firearms, and any other number of specific practicalities. In other words, the state articulated the general principles of the law and the university subsequently arrived at a workable plan that articulated how Campus Carry would specifically work (Ruoppila 2021).

Another form of this level of articulation occurred as the supporters and opponents of Campus Carry presented their arguments for or against SB 11, defining and establishing their respective positions in the public forum of the university community and, more broadly, the media. The charges that they levelled against each other played out on the local stage, but were also often informed by ideological legacies surrounding the US gun debate at the national level. For instance, even as UT Austin supporters of the law allied themselves with and were supported by Students for Campus Carry, an organisation mobilised nationwide, it in turn leaned heavily on talking points from the National Rifle Association (NRA), including its strong rhetoric against gun control advocates. In contrast, even as opponents of the policy mobilised *ad hoc* responses to the situation, they formed alliances with other grassroots gun control organisations in the United States (e.g. the Million Mom March, Moms Demand Action, Everytown for Gun Safety), which included bringing charges against the structures that ratified and would implement the law. From my point of view, such institutional articulation provided a wealth of important information on Campus Carry, but in a reified way that for the most part only spoke to established positionalities. In practice, this was seen in interviews with administrators—or in interviews with students that never took place, as potential participants instead directed our team to a website or other resources—thereby significantly limiting possibilities for ethnological engagement.

As fieldwork continued, it was much more rewarding to consider the Campus Carry issue in relation to the second definition of articulation, that is, 2) *how* the parties 'express distinctly' their respective stances. Approaching the subject through this lens revealed major differences. The proponents of Campus Carry typically relied on legalistic discourse (e.g. the constitutional right to bear arms) or the dogma of larger organisations, if not outright silence. When our research team[5] asked the local representative of Students for Concealed Carry for an interview, the request was politely declined and we were instead referred to an archive of common arguments hosted on the organisation's website. Only after extensive efforts did our research team find some LTC holders who were willing to be interviewed. Attending a debate on the Second Amendment revealed a cadre of students who were passionate about guns, yet only one undergraduate accepted our invitation to a focus group.

In contrast, those opposed to firearms on campus were more than happy to talk. Sharing very personal experiences or offering helpful context on the passing of the law and its implementation, they explicated their position in depth. Students, faculty, and staff outlined the level of polarisation on campus, often quite emotionally, and they employed various rhetorical strategies to communicate their concerns (Butters 2021a), including irony, reversals, and humour. The banners of the activists frequently played with words, for instance, proclaiming that they were 'Armed with Reason', while the name of the 'Gun-Free UT' group (primarily made up of faculty and graduate students across a range of disciplines) inverted the more common Second Amendment trope of US citizens being 'free' to have guns.

Members of the undergraduate-led 'Cocks Not Glocks' group drew explicit connections between guns and sex, highlighting what they perceived to be an ethical double standard: according to Texas law, firearms which could be used to kill someone could now be carried around campus, even though openly doing the same with a dildo—classified as an 'obscene device'—constituted a crime.[6] By distributing as many as 5000 dildos to students as part of their protest against Campus Carry, Cocks Not Glocks used visual displays and articulated their position in the comedic tradition of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, drawing attention to intertwinings of sex and politics while at the same time employing Bakhtin's 'carnivalesque' and humour 'to challenge privileged positions and reframe public and political discourse' (Graefer 2019: 4; Bakhtin 1984). As Majken **Sorensen** notes, 'humor's power is its ability to turn things upside down and present them in a new frame' (Sorenson 2008: 185), in order to simultaneously create a culture of resistance and create further visibility. Bolstered by photos of dildo-waving students, this articulation strategy worked well for Cocks Not Glocks, gaining the group and the Campus Carry debate international media attention (in fact, it was those very headlines that sparked interest at the John Morton Center and led to our research project). The amplification of Campus Carry into a *cause célèbre*, contextualised in the national debate on guns, even led to the activists being invited to the White House by then-President Barack Obama.

The presence of guns at the university created oppositional activist solidarity within the student body and with faculty and staff, as Campus Carry became an intersectional point around which different groups could unify and rally. Instead of adhering to an established party line, the articulations of this new community could be raw and emotional. By no means were they only based on humour; they also built upon shared feelings of intense fear and vulnerability (Butters 2021b), as well as past histories of violent trauma. As an affective communicative milieu, these different dynamics played together to help individuals realise that they were not alone, and the discovery of their collective voice and courage to speak up acted as a positive feedback loop, building a broader movement and even greater engagement. Again, the use of non-verbal representations and visually powerful images—such as the juxtaposition of guns and dildos—communicated on a different level, which were easy for social media users to share.

The third definition of articulations, 3) 'to unite', comprises the manner in which Campus Carry represents various linkages, be they physical or mental, possessed by those with a licence to carry. If in military terminology an 'articulated weapon' is attached to something, like a machine gun mounted on an armoured vehicle, the same concept can be figuratively extended to the LTC holder as well, for whom the gun is a sort of appendage (cf. the expression 'side-arm'; L. *arma*, cf. PIE root *ar- 'to fit together' (Online Etymological Dictionary)). Here, there is literally an embodied aspect to the gun. The sense of connection with a gun can also be psychological; one may feel 'naked' without it. This very sentiment was expressed during a focus group with students supporting Campus Carry, in this case by a participant who arrived fifteen minutes late and apologised by explaining that he had forgotten his pistol at home and needed to go back and get it (Pro-Campus Carry focus group, 19 April 2018). Psychologically being 'connected' to the gun also extends to behaviour and ritual. For example, carrying demands a heightened sense of awareness, not only of the gun itself (for the

sake of safety), but of one's surroundings as well. For example, an interviewee explained that he planned his day around whether he would be carrying or not; if he intended to go to the gym, where it was impossible to properly store his firearm, he would leave it behind (Interview, faculty member, 17 April 2018). Understanding such linkages was critical when speaking to LTC holders about how they viewed shared space, and theoretically conceptualising them as a form of articulation helped me establish the research frame. Specifically, I found that the idea of a 'shared joint' (found in the third definition of articulation) underlined the ontological significance of the gun and its very different implications for the various parties. For the LTC holder, the presence of the gun as conjoined actant (Latour 1999) provided a sense of security, while for opponents of the law it was a source of fear (Butters 2021b: 53). On a physical level, this type of articulation—the fact that any research participant might actually be carrying—was also a reality that the research team had to keep in mind at all times.

ADVANCING ARTICULATIONS AS A THEORETICAL CONCEPT

In regard to firearms on campus, the various articulations described above not only involved communication but expressions of power on institutional, social, and personal levels; they offered varying degrees of accessibility for me as a researcher, from legalistic language and abstract data to shared lived experiences to direct engagement with people. As such, they can be understood in terms of Foucault's idea of the *dispositif*, 'a certain physical, non-discursive or intellectual, discursive way of ordering, having ordered things in a certain domain, which makes a certain action/understanding in that domain possible' (Callewaert 2017: 30; Foucault 1979). Through such ordering, the strategic orientation of the *dispositif* is committed to 'maintaining the *articulation* of forces and knowledge' (Callewaert 2017: 44, italics added). However, Campus Carry at UT Austin involved not one articulation or ordering, but many. The reality in the field presented an evolving complex of heterogeneous and oppositional intents, with the different sides alternatively seeking to preserve the existing order and power structures (e.g. the university defining what behaviours to allow), disrupt them (e.g. activists protesting against the law and suing the university), or walk various types of middle lines. These afforded access to knowledge in a variety of ways—or not. With multiple *dispositifs* in play, my work thus required an understanding of *how* they were differentiated and expressed, and a better tool to analyse the various levels on which their forces were exerted. Thus, my conceptualisation of articulation in terms of definitions was driven by an actual research need.

In the process of exploring the term 'articulation' and how it might be applied in a novel manner (as outlined above) to shed light on the Campus Carry situation, I was surprised to also learn of a fourth definition already in use in the field of rhetoric as a theoretical concept applied to the national gun debate. In this context, it comprises 4) 'the way in which discourse is used to make connections, establish associations, or build links between different things—different events, different social movements, different ideas, different people, and so on' (Jasinski 2001: 65), but then signifies the construction of relationships across categories, such as applying aspects of a successful argument in one context to a completely different one. In gun studies, such an articulation is found in the work of Ruth Rosen (1993), who sought to connect gun control to a health problem, situating it as a 'cure' for a societal ill, in order

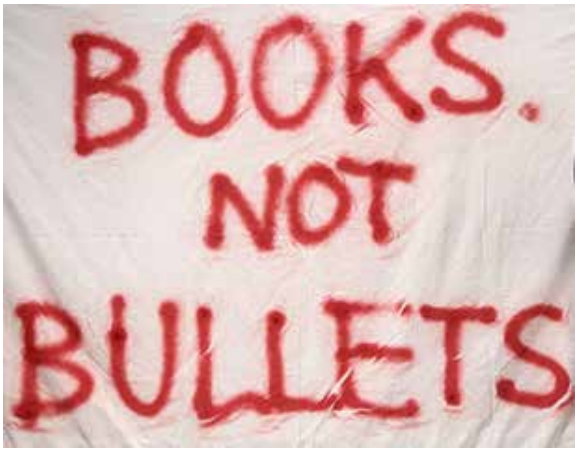

Image 1. Banner in a classroom during a Gun-Free UT workshop on the first day of Campus Carry implementation. Photo by Tamir Kalifa, *The Texas Tribune* (Walters 2016).

to shift the debate out of the arena of public policy; both socially and politically, she argued, the ramifications of moving the discourse can be seen as quite significant.

As soon as I added this interpretation of articulation to my model, I realised that a comparable type of rhetorical shift had also taken place at UT Austin, when the activist group 'Gun-Free UT' pivoted from policy in their discussion of Campus Carry to instead identify guns in the classroom as an education problem (see Image 1).

In this case, the articulation had two aspects. On one hand, students were claiming that fear of guns in the classroom made it hard for them to focus on their studies; on the other, instructors cited infringement of their First Amendment rights—namely, freedom of speech—because of needing to change the content of their lectures, particularly when teaching on provocative subjects, lest they become the target of an armed student (in interviews, they shared experiences of violent reactions and outbursts in the class before the law went into effect). Three professors therefore filed a lawsuit against the university's gun policy, arguing that it had a 'chilling effect' on their ability to teach (Watkins 2016).

There was no arguing that opponents of Campus Carry were profoundly impacted by the law on a personal level. This was clear in interviews that became quite emotional. As an integral part of their experiences, affect comprised an important component of their argumentation (Butters 2021b). Yet, without delegitimising the feelings of the students and instructors, it can be argued that the use of the term 'chilling effect' also reflected a conscious rhetorical strategy on their part. In interviews, certain tropes came up again and again, almost like talking points that had proven successful (being picked up by the media, for instance) were now being repeated for similar effect. On the legal level, however, the strategy to shift the predominant criterion from policy to education did not result in the law being changed. The Texas district court and then the US Court of Appeals dismissed the professors' lawsuit, finding their argument of fear to be too subjective (Roll 2017; U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit 2018).

Nor did Gun-Free UT's critique of the university administration for prioritising political and budgetary exigencies over its primary mandate (namely, education) succeed in wresting control of the conceptual narrative around Campus Carry. Ultimately, the legal and legislative frames—reflecting the first type of articulation in the definitional model of 'setting articles in place'—proved resistant to the rhetorical forms of articulation that sought to move the locus of discourse. In fact, UT Austin did not have much choice in the matter. As a public institution receiving funding from the state, it was obliged to follow the new law, with potential financial and more severe repercussions if it did not. The author of the

Campus Carry bill, State Senator Brian Birdwell (R-Granbury), left no room for doubt on this point: 'The Legislature will very appropriately be watching to make sure that our legislative intent is properly followed. And if not, I assume there will be consequences associated with that' (Houston Chronicle 2015). In one interview, a professor explained this threat in terms of GOP legislators being able to use UT Austin's refusal to impose Campus Carry in order to gain greater control of the institution, a liberal flagship in the public university system of Texas, and recast it more in the mould of right-leaning Texas A&M University (Interview, faculty member, 24 April 2018; see also *The Texas Tribune* video interview with Lt. Governor Dan Patrick in Smith 2015). In this sense of articulation as a form of institutional power, Campus Carry reflects a desire for spatial and ideological conquest of the academy, a legal storming of the ivory tower, by conservative forces in the state.

AMPLIFIED AND SILENT ARTICULATIONS

Examining the debate at Campus Carry in terms of articulations also revealed paradoxes in how the opposing sides expressed themselves. These were manifest in amplification and silence, respectively, that fell under the second part of my definitional model: 'to pronounce distinctly; to express in words, esp. clearly and fluently, to express or convey, esp. through non-verbal means; to speak distinctly; to make visually distinct'.

The paradox of amplification emerged from precisely the group that claimed a chilling effect, which limited their ability to communicate; ironically, it was that fear of guns that led them to speak out. They did this in a way that was clear, distinct, and powerful. Amplification was very important for the opponents of Campus Carry at UT Austin to get their message out as far and wide as possible. In practice, the articulations of the Cocks Not Glocks activists quite literally involved volume. As one student proudly boasted, 'We wanted attention. I can get us attention. So yeah, I stood up there for twelve hours and yelled' (Interview, undergraduate student, 4 April 2018). This same attitude was reflected on social media and in the activists' participation in various documentaries on the movement (Raval and Spiro 2018; Webbe 2020). Even if the activists tended to teach in the humanities, and were most often women, their movement caught on among other demographic segments and grew even stronger, being amplified far beyond campus, both online (through memes and videos, for example) and in demonstrations with other organisations (e.g. March for Our Lives).

In contrast, supporters of Campus Carry and members of Students for Concealed Carry tended to be the opposite of vocal. Their articulation was even opaque. This is evident in an anecdote shared by a graduate student participant who attended a Gun-Free UT rally: 'There was one guy and we didn't talk to him. We didn't totally understand who he was or what they were doing, because there wasn't enough of them to explain what they were. I think only after the fact, when *The Daily Texan* interviewed him, did we realize that that was the pro-gun group' (Interview, graduate student, 24 April 2018). A website and an infrequently updated Facebook page controlled what Students for Concealed Carry sought to disseminate. They may have had a core community and various activities which were not publicly advertised, but the fact that our research team was unable to interview any representatives of the group meant that it was impossible to know. The resulting lacuna in our research, therefore, was directly due to a practised *modus operandi* of silence.

There are different possible explanations

for the public silence of Campus Carry supporters. Even though Texas has a strong gun culture, it is not as pronounced in the State Capitol area, and even less so at UT Austin. Knowing that they are in the minority, those who support the law tend not to advertise their stance. For example, in a representative survey of UT Austin undergraduates conducted by our research team, only 8% of supporters of Campus Carry said that they talked about it with any level of frequency. In addition, roughly one-third felt that they could not openly share their opinions on the issue (36%) or that they needed to justify their position (33%). This sentiment was surely pronounced during the period of intense activism and media coverage. According to one instructor who himself carried, 'Not everyone who has opinions is comfortable expressing them on a social media page, so we might not be getting an accurate reflection of the full range of attitudes. But the same could be said of a physical meeting. Some people may not speak up' (Interview, faculty member, 23 April 2018). The reticence to explicitly position oneself may also be tied to social desirability bias and sensitivities around being identified as a gun owner. The so-called 'reporting gap' of individuals not admitting to gun ownership has been seen, for example, in previous quantitative research and statistics gathering on the subject (Kleck 1997; Wertz et al. 2018). Such a culture of privacy may be tied to fears of theft or the state coming to take one's guns away, but it also reflects a lack of any need to discuss gun ownership. Simply put, those who do not want to talk about their position do not have to. With the law on their side, supporters of Campus Carry need not engage in debate at all; indeed, from their point of view, there is little to be gained from doing so. Finally, the silent ('non-verbal') form of articulation reflects the legalities and practice of concealment itself. The weapon cannot be visible or its presence openly known, for that would break the law.

There were exceptions to the pattern of amplification and silence by the two sides, however. In some cases, it was the supporters who were outspoken and the opponents who were muted. For instance, as the Cocks Not Glocks protests gained more and more attention, large numbers of gun rights proponents rallied against them in online posts. The initial article written by *Breitbart News* on the dildo rally attracted more than 1300 comments (Price 2016), many of which consisted of attacks against the activists—including *ad hominem* insults based on race, gender, sexual orientation, and religious identity—with some physical threats even. Yet, being largely anonymous, this mode of communication was not physically manifest on campus. As an undergraduate activist in the Cocks Not Glocks group recalled, 'Everyone is too cowardly to actually come up to us. They all hide behind their computers. The more direct attacks were pretty dark' (Interview, undergraduate student, 27 March 2018). Comments involving threats of violence and rape did have a strong impact on some of the activists, who dropped out of the movement or became less vocal about the issue. At the same time, a chilling effect was noticeable in the classroom. In these ways, the amplification of the debate in the public space resulted in some individuals being more silent.

Staff members also perceived an implicit imposition of silence by the university itself. For instance, one employee curtly noted that her position was quite precarious compared with tenured faculty, 'You can do so little as far as vocalising dissent' (Interview, staff member, 16 April 2018). Articulations by this particular segment of the community were not welcome, as they went against the administration's preferred muting of the Campus Carry issue

(or non-issue, from its perspective; on this, see Ruoppila and Butters 2020). There are examples of the university's strategy for maintaining a low profile on the presence of guns, such as incoming students not being briefed on concealed carry policy during orientation. LTC holders are simply expected to know what protocols to follow on the basis of their training, even when official signs (intentionally lacking any visual depictions of guns) may be less than clear. In response to public objections that LTC holders' knowledge and training might be inadequate, a university administrator admitted, 'We kind of backed out of that and said "That's not our problem. If you feel the training is insufficient, you need to talk to your state representatives and get them to change the law"' (Interview, university administrator, 26 April 2018).

At the same time, during the period of implementation, Texas politicians who support gun rights tended to be very vocal regarding their position. They had to be explicit to play effectively to their conservative base, of course, but there was another reason as well: the Political Victory Fund of the National Rifle Association (NRA-PVF) would translate their campaign platforms and voting record in office into 'scorecards' that would then be distributed to their constituents. For this reason, politicians in Texas had—and still have—a vested interest in presenting Campus Carry as a success, not something needing reform. One year after implementation of the law, for example, the Governor of Texas Greg Abbott posted on Twitter that it had not had any negative impact: 'Concealed carry poses no danger on Texas college campuses. The dire consequences never happened. @NRA #guns #txlege' (@GregAbbott_TX 2017). It could also be added that Abbott's post was a retweet of a *Fox News* (2016) article, with a photo of a sidearm being publicly displayed—despite that being in clear disregard of the legal stipulations against showing a concealed weapon. Indeed, the most extreme form of articulation by gun supporters involves their deliberate choice to make guns visible ('expressing through non-verbal means'), even when to do so would be against the law. When a master's student posed for a photo during an interview with *The New York Times*, lifting his shirt to reveal a .45 tucked in his trousers (Philipps 2016), he was contacted by the Dean of Students and faced possible disciplinary action; according to Texas concealed carry statutes, he should have also lost his licence-to-carry. Other examples of the brazen attitude of gun owners can be found in their attendance at demonstrations with assault rifles and carbines (which are legal to openly carry without a licence), which have sometimes crossed campus lines and ventured into illegality (Image 2).

Image 2. Open Carry supporter with a pistol-caliber carbine. San Antonio Garage, UT Austin. Photograph: Matt Valentine (2015).

While such incidents are the rare exceptions and LTC holders at UT Austin navigate day-to-day campus life in a silent and completely inconspicuous manner, almost entirely adhering to the letter of the law (in our survey of undergraduates, only two admitted that they 'stretch the rules and take it [their concealed handgun] where it is not allowed'), it should again be stressed that the gun itself is a type of articulation; per the third definition, it is a physical extension of the holder. Whether one likes guns on campuses or not, their presence forces a type of situational awareness, a reality experienced directly by our research team. Even though none of us ever witnessed anyone visibly carrying on university premises when in the field, we never lost sight of the fact that some around us were.

CONCLUSIONS

To understand the complexity of Campus Carry at UT Austin, both before and after its implementation, it is necessary not only to identify the various positionalities in relation to the issue but also to parse the ways in which they may be expressed. This essay has attempted to do that by using the concept of articulation as an interpretive and theoretical lens to reveal intersecting networks of power and agendas—represented by the state of Texas, the university, activists, and LTC holders, in particular—during a historic moment in which guns entered the campus space. These play out on various levels, as reiterated below:

Type of articulation	**Sphere of articulation**	**Examples**
'to set out in articles'	institutional: government, legal system, university	Campus Carry law, university policy, lawsuit
'to express distinctly'	social: activism, educational context (in the classroom), media (mass media, social media)	humour, amplification (vocal), silence (non-vocal)
'to join or unite'	physical and psychological: conjoined actant, personal identity	the act of carrying, gun as expression of power (whether seen or unseen)
'to make connections, establish associations, or build links between different things' (i.e. to shift discourse)	rhetoric: activism, education, political discourse, media	attempts to move discourse from policy to health or education

The various definitions and uses of the word, from legislatively setting forth to making one's position known and signalling linkages (physical, psychological, behavioural, and so forth), also reflected the various types of data our team collected, from official documents to

interviews using rhetoric and affect as strategies to oppose the new law. In some instances, these articulations were formal; in others, they emerged organically during fieldwork, being revealed as multiple and often diametrically opposed aspects (e.g. the vocal or silent nature of the supporters and opponents, depending on their respective needs; explicit rules and implicit assumptions; and the seen and the unseen).

In conclusion, the broad range of power dynamics and modes of expression encountered when researching the complex subject of guns demanded the type of analytical tool that the concept of articulations provides. I have sought to illustrate how it can be operationalised by applying it to examples that arose in the field, but I believe the model could be extended beyond Campus Carry to the national debate on firearms in the United States or even more broadly to other areas of research.

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NOTES

1 Passed on 1 August 2015, Senate Bill 11 represented a success for GOP legislators in Texas, who had tried passing a similar law multiple times before. https://capitol.texas.gov/BillLookup/History.aspx?LegSess=86R&Bill=SB11.
2 In fall 2018, The University of Texas at Austin began enforcing its policy against signs in windows facing externally onto campus.
3 The fieldwork at UT Austin conducted in the spring semesters of 2018 and 2019 included more than two dozen interviews with faculty, students, and staff, two focus groups with students, and a representative survey of UT Austin undergraduates (n = 1204). Thanks are due to the Department of American Studies at UT Austin for hosting the research project, and to the Academy of Finland (grant 310568) for its support.
4 Since 1995, residents of Texas who are 21 years old (or 20, if in the military) and complete the required training can obtain a licence to carry a registered firearm concealed on their person in most public areas.
5 The Campus Carry research team, based at the John Morton Center for North American Studies (JMC) at the University of Turku, was led by Prof. Benita Heiskanen.
6 In 1973, the Texas legislature passed Section 43.21 of the Penal Code 9 (1973).

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BOOK REVIEWS

Rosa, Hartmut. *The Uncontrollability of the World*. Cambridge, Medford: Polity Press. 2020. 140 p. ISBN: 9781509543151 (hardcover); 9781509543168 (softcover)

Hartmut Rosa's study ambitiously proposes to explain the comprehensive experience of living our contemporary modern reality. His argument unravels through the lens of two major concepts. Leading the reader along a clear line of thought, applying the concept of uncontrollability (*Unverfügbarkeit*) and resonance to the different aspects of social life, and exemplifying the general claim with common everyday experiences and vivid metaphors, he uncovers a grand narrative on modernity in a relatively small book.

Rosa understands modernity as a social and cultural system which is only stabilised dynamically. This is a system which turns the entirety of the world into an object of aggression characterised by a longing to expand our share of the world by means of control. The book is primarily built on the paradox of the following stance: while we wish to convert things into controllable objects—that is, to turn them (1) visible and observable, (2) reachable and accessible, (3) manageable and (4) useable—the very thing that we brought under our control loses its resonant capabilities, that is, those aspects that are meaningful in terms of human existence. With objectification, commodification and the aforementioned steps of control, things are no longer able to touch, call, or change the very subject that controls them, as one is only able to create meaningful, resonant relationships with semi-controllable things. The author demonstrates this with many examples. One such example concerns musical pieces: on the one hand we are unable to resonate with them, unless we gain the necessary skills to play an instrument, but on the other hand, they lose their resonant qualities once we completely master them. It is only semi-controllable things that have their own voice, that are capable of calling to us. Once controlled, the contemporary world falls mute, Rosa concludes, and, therefore, the different cultural phenomena (analysed in the book) are symptomatic of this general stance.

The nine chapters of the monograph are structured in a straightforward, logical manner. The first chapter presents a diminutive introduction into Hartmut Rosa's phenomenologically influenced sociology, which understands social life as an interplay of structural and cultural forces, that is, an interplay of empirically researchable institutions and hermeneutically understandable cultural drives. Rosa interprets dynamic stabilisation as the structural principle, and the need for expanding one's control as the cultural one. The second chapter offers a more nuanced understanding of what the different dimensions of controllability are (visibility, reachability, manageability and usefulness). This is followed by a more theoretically oriented section in which the author rereads the very classics of sociology (Marx, Weber, and Durkheim) and reinterprets some of their well-known concepts (alienation, disenchantment, and anomie) and integrates them into his narrative on modernity. Similar to the second, in the fourth chapter, we read a more nuanced description of a key term (elaborated

on in a previous volume, c.f. Rosa 2019), the one of resonance—that is, the mode of connecting to, responding to things—as opposed to acts of rule, aggression and control. Chapter five connects these two key terms of controllability and resonance and further analyses their relation, whereas the next two chapters apply these insights to understand certain aspects of the individual life stages (cultural forces) and to describe some of the sociostructural characteristics of certain institutions (structural forces). The last two chapters, followed by an ending of short concluding remarks, are more speculative and each one points out a paradox. In an anthropological-psychological fashion, chapter eight analyses the conflicting relation between our libido and the uncontrollable, while chapter nine prognostically delineates how the immense control of things reintroduces the uncontrollable to our world.

The author's understanding of people's place in modernity is applicable to various phenomena. In my reading, the more empirically oriented chapters five and six form the backbone of the book, recounting not necessarily detailed, but thought-provoking examples, that clearly demonstrate the wide-reaching analytical potential of his theory. This is also provable through a short list of the diverse topics these parts touch upon: from gene manipulation, childcare, education, career planning, marriage, travelling, medication, euthanasia and last wills to bureaucratisation, measurability, commodification, identification, and so on. Hartmut Rosa convincingly explains how these various aspects of life are defined by controllability, and how the different operations of the various social institutions serve the same aim. While these thoughts may potentially ignite self-reflection for individuals, they can also be further elaborated in scholarly endeavours. For instance, measurability, quantification, the role of numbers in our present social reality—examples that Rosa ponders—are omnipresent in our societies (education, work, sports, gamification, etc.) and could, therefore, be further investigated through the theoretical repertoire of many different disciplines.

Despite its merits, what Hartmut Rosa' theory lacks is diversity. Take, for example, a similarly grandiose narrative on modernity also centred around a few concepts, those reflected in Zygmund Bauman's writings on liquid modernity. Analysing how the role of space changes in liquid modernity, Bauman writes not only about the metaphoric figure of the tourist, but also that of the vagabond, that is, the privileged and the deprived groups of our times (Bauman 2000). Also, when he adopts the concept of Fortress Europe, he does not only write about those inside, but also about the groups stuck outside the exclusive political-economic structure (Bauman 2007). One could find many such examples in Bauman's work, but even this vague parallel might be able to point out what is missing from Harmut Rosa's concept: the hermeneutically discovered culture is a vertically and horizontally undifferentiated one. To put it simply, in the 'we' perspective, from which the author offers most of his analysis, 'they' are not visible; the author does not depict society as a stratified system, or culture as a plural, diverse entity.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, Rosa's monograph is a fascinating read and an ambitious attempt to describe contemporary Western culture and thematise its problems. People of different academic backgrounds might be able to resonate with the book and integrate its insights into their fields of study.

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Lounela, Anu, Berglund, Eeva and Kallinen Timo (eds) (2019) *Dwelling in Political Landscapes. Contemporary Anthropological Perspectives.* Helsinki: SKS. Studia Fennica Anthropologica 4. 293 p. ISBN 978-951-858-087-7 (Print), ISBN 978-951-858-114-0 (PDF) ISBN 978-951-858-113-3 (EPUB)

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, landscape is 'a portion of territory that can be viewed at one time from one place' (Merriam-Webster n.d.). However, defining a landscape as a visible part of a scenery does not capture the experience of living in a landscape nor its social and political aspects. In *Dwelling in Political Landscapes*, based on Tim Ingold's ideas, dwelling is defined as a process where humans and nonhumans are entangled in their daily surroundings. Humans live in landscapes, but landscapes are also produced by them, as stated by the editors Eeva Berglund, Anu Lounela and Timo Kallinen in the preface to the book. Non-visible elements, such as spirits and ancestors, identities, cultural practices and power relations, participate in dwelling in landscapes.

Dwelling in Political Landscapes is based on a presentation from the Biennial Conference of the Finnish Anthropological Society "Landscapes, Sociality and Materiality", held in Helsinki in 2015. The book consists of 13 articles which deal with different aspects of the politics of landscapes, and includes the Edward Westermarck Memorial Lecture by Philippe Descola. The topics of the articles vary from artificial landscapes created in the name of environmental protection to conflicts regarding land use, all based on ethnographic fieldwork in various places around the world.

Even though landscapes can be considered as sceneries seen from one place, they are affected by distant processes, such as global capitalism and climate change. Global processes can also take the form of environmentalism and green energy projects, which change local landscapes and power relations. This is highly topical. In order to solve global challenges, the local consequences of global changes and their complexities must be understood at all levels of decision-making. I cannot avoid thinking about the ecology and politics of southern Indian coffee plantations, which are human-made, but ecologically rich environments affected by global and local economies (Robbins et al. 2021).

In *Dwelling in Political Landscapes,* the article by Anna Tsing combines various levels of the past and the present. Tsing describes a rewilding project, where deer populated an abandoned mine. The article is a wonderful piece of ethnographic writing. It brings together the long history of distant consequences of global and local processes, such as changing agricultural practices, the development of the clothing industry and brown coal mining, from the prehistoric era to the present day. The deer's paradise described is a new and somehow artificial environment, which invites the reader to contemplate the actual meaning of nature.

Ideologies and worldviews are a part of the process, whereby landscapes are given their meaning. Worldviews often conflict. Relationships with nature are complex even inside communities. Remote places are sources of energy, both fossil fuels (as in Morgan Moffitt's article about the circumpolar communities) and green electricity (as in Francesco Zanotelli and Christiano Talle's article about wind power

struggles along the coastline of Mexico), but at the same time they are the homelands of locals. On the other hand, the views of the local people living in environmentally rich circumstances often differ from the environmentalist's point of view. For instance, in Joonas Plaan's article, the fishermen along the coastline of Kihnu, Estonia, try to cope with the regulation of natural resources such as fish. Jenni Mölkänen describes in her article a situation where the local people in Madagascar start to consider whether they have truly known their traditional living environment when ecotourists come with their own ideas and preferences.

Social structures such as nation-states are also constructed by means of landscapes created or reappraised for that purpose. For instance, Tiina Järvi's article in this book describes the erasing of Palestinian dwellings in order to construct a national Israeli landscape. Otherwise, there is very little discussion about the meaning of landscapes in the context of nationalism, even though Nationalist and National Romantic ideas of nature and landscape have played an essential role in nationalist ideologies, especially in northern Europe (e.g. Lekan 2004). I understand that the articles in *Dwelling in Political Landscapes* mainly consider the landscapes from a local/indigenous point of view. However, Nationalist and National Romantic ideas of landscape never ceased to exist, and are certainly included in the global ideological systems which also form the politics of landscapes at the local level. The theoretical standpoints referenced in *Dwelling in Political Landscapes* are mostly from the Anglophone world, which might explain the lack of interest in the role of National Romanticism in the construction of national landscapes. However, some references to, for instance, German or Nordic studies would not have weakened the book. (My personal favourite is *Det norske landskapet* [*The Norwegian Landscape*], by ethologist Arne Lien Christensen (2002). Of course, it is accessible only to those with skills in Scandinavian languages.)

I would also like to comment on the definition of modernity in the book. According to several articles, landscape used to be something, and, then, came modernity with its challenges, and everything changed. But what is modernity? Obviously, the authors link it to the rise of global capitalism and environmental crises, but there could be other explanations, too. For instance, the Romantic ideology permanently changed the way we conceptualise the landscape (e.g. Christiansen 2002). Some kind of premodern thinking about nature still exists, for example, in the rural areas, even though they are heavily influenced by capitalist structures.

Despite several complaints, *Dwelling in the Political Landscapes* is definitely one of the most important books I have recently read. It is a thought-provoking, multidimensional and insightful collection of perspectives on lived environments. It is a book I recommend to anthropologists and also to environmentalists and politicians involved in land-use struggles.

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