

1) Introduction

September 7, 2016

What is a Contested Place?

- Contention: strife, dispute, rivalry
- Place: can be defined as a *context* or *setting*, an *outcome* or ***product of processes***
 - It is dynamic, and it implicates ideas of 'territory', borders and the processes that create them (i.e. political, social)

Place and Power

- Corporations, such as Google Maps, are not only telling you about a location, but shaping that location
- Political struggles that focus on real, and not just virtual, places tend to forever alter the way we conceive those places

2) Defining Place

September 12, 2016

The Many Ways We Talk About Place

- a. **As a cultural or social location** - identities-in-place
 - Often treats place as a metaphor
 - Concerned with social locations of people and social groups
 - Eg. Individuals or groups *placed* in webs of social, economic, cultural or political relations, such as the way women in the 19th century were *placed* in the domestic sphere, and venturing out of it was considered "out of place"
- b. **As context** - identities-of-place
 - Emphasis on the areal unit itself rather than the people whose social, cultural and political relations occur in a place
 - Eg. "Neighbourhood" Effects - degree to which an area is dominated by families vs. celibates, homes vs. apartment buildings
 - The way in which compositional characteristics create an identity of a place, but the identity that individuals might have *in* that place may not reflect the perceived identity *of* the place
- c. **Socially constructed through time**
 - How economic, social, political relations, rather than sole geographical location, build the characteristics of a place through time, and how these categories interact eg. Halifax is known for its port, but also the human factor of being the largest city in the Maritimes
 - Social is emphasized, as is the notion of a construction (something that is dynamic)
 - Individuals positioned with respect to social relations that occur in and through a particular place
 - Meaning does not have to be valid or true or just because place is ubiquitous; it is a result of layering activities that human beings constantly *make and remake*
 - The way a place is constructed socially and politically usually benefits at least one social group over another
 - Eg. Office buildings are meant to benefit businesses, but localized homelessness unintentionally benefits by using the building as shelter to sleep

Thinking About Place as a Social Process

- John Agnew: place is a mixture of 'objective' and 'subjective'
- Agnew's definition of Place: "Place refers to discrete if '**elastic**' areas in which settings for the **constitution of social relations** are located and with which **people can identify**"
- Understand the relations between physical settings and social relations
- Place as:
 - **Location** - at its most rudimentary, a spot in the universe; identified in terms of latitude and longitude, 'here' and not 'there'
 - Places are located, but not randomly eg. Ottawa was established where it was due to the premium accessibility of three different rivers coming together
 - **Locale** - the actual **material settings** in which social relations are constituted (Anthony Giddens) and how human action transforms space into place with regards to production, gender, racism, etc.
 - Eg. SCRO02 is a great architectural layout for lectures, but not for intimate discussion
 - Eg. Separate drinking fountains for blacks and whites --> racism reflected in material
 - **Sense of place** - local "**structure of feeling**"; the most subjective and personal due to emotional attachments/meanings that are linked to identity, whether positive or negative
 - In spite of place having a materiality, the meaning or value of that place is subjective because it can be flexibly interpreted by different people; malleable; inevitably *contested*
- Key point: the activities of people and institutions over the course of everyday life bring these 3 different aspects together - they provide the connection or "glue"
- It is important to remember that place is a product of processes operating at different **spatial scales**, from macro-economic/political to individual

Other Concepts That are Like Place

- **Place vs. Space**
 - Space is a more abstract concept, eg. geographic areas or an empty room or space of economic flows
 - Spaces have area and volume
 - When humans invest *meaning* in a portion of space, then they begin to transform space into place
- **Place vs. Landscape**
 - Landscape: portion of earth's surface that can be viewed from one particular location
 - Brings together the materiality of land *and* the notion of vision (how it is seen from an external perspective, with what intent)
- **Place vs. Community**
 - Community traditionally considered to be a *physical setting* in which social relations occur
 - But it is obvious today that many communities are not spatially-bound or simply localized; it is the ease of access that is the necessary condition eg. Having a community of friends who live all over the world

Place as a Way of Understanding

- Cresswell argues vigorously for thinking of place as not just a *thing*, but as a way of understanding the world; free us from thinking of it as facts and figures, but a **complex interplay of people and the environment**

Place, Politics and Conflict

- Conflict occurs *in* place, but many conflicts are about the *control of* place or what *should be* in place - "moral landscapes"
- Politics about Place:
 - Control over place results in nationalist struggles for resources
 - Localized "turf conflicts" can be more progressive, such as adopting a NIMBY attitude for environmental justice movements
- Politics in Place:
 - Politics in relation to everyday life --> information networks subconsciously being created
 - How the people that you know influence your political behaviours eg. Urban places voted primarily Liberal whereas rural places voted Conservative
- Politics as the Construction of Place
 - Whose ideas will become material and achieve meaning
 - Ethnic and racial politics eg. Kurds all straddling different borders, desire for a homeland
- Politics deploying Place
 - Conscious and deliberate effort to disrupt existing symbolic or moral landscapes
 - Uses place to disrupt or challenge social or cultural meaning/regulations eg. queer kiss chosen to be displayed in front Nigerian embassy, not a gay bar

3) New Orleans: Making of a Crisis

September 14, 2016

Setting in the Context

- Hurricane Katrina very visibly demonstrates how people are placed in economic and social webs
- **Structural racism:** it is not simply an outcome of individual actions or the actions of institutions operating independently; people are placed in power relationships and inequality results as a consequence of racism
- The response to the disaster fundamentally influenced many different social relations, most notably racism and poverty
 - Contributes to creation of great suffering at a time of crisis
 - Also creates opportunities that benefit real estate development
 - Place has been *deliberately used* to create racial inequality, as white neighbourhoods received more aid than predominately black ones
- **Index of dissimilarity** examines degree to which two populations share space in a city
 - Closer to 0 = integration
 - Closer to 100 = segregation
 - Dissimilarity index between black and white households: 67.7
 - IMPORTANT: not a one-to-one relationship between class & race
- Crisis grew worse after hurricane had passed due to failure of levee system intended to protect city from hurricanes and black populations were least likely to be assisted in rebuilding efforts
- FEMA was going through the process of being dismantled at the time of the crisis because the Bush administration believed that what FEMA did could better be done by the private sector
- Insurance companies decided not to cover water damage

Key terms:

- Wards = municipal (electoral) districts
- Parishes = counties
- FEMA - Federal Emergency Management Agency

4) New Orleans: Redevelopment Challenges

September 19, 2016

Production of Risk and Vulnerability

- The future of New Orleans is an open question to this day
- Immediate problems seen as resolvable with technological fixes
 - Rebuild and make stronger flood protection infrastructure (eg. Levees, pumping stations)
- Some research points to the disaster not as an act of nature but as an act of the society itself
- How are social forces that produce systemic risk and vulnerability embedded in histories of urbanization in a capitalist economy?
- Distinction between *disaster* and *crisis*
 - Disaster is a hurricane, terrorist attack, etc. - they are contained and are not the necessarily the direct cause of a crisis
 - Crisis develops later, it is a **large scale break down of a society and social relationships**, the potential for a crisis exists in pre-existing social, economic and political conditions that were there long before the disaster occurred

Crises and Radical Ruptures

- Crises create profound breaks in "business as usual" daily life
- May be regarded as a **radical rupture** --> a historic opportunity for new forms of economic and political intervention
 - Moments of radical rupture can lead to creation of new places
 - But also rely on how the disaster and subsequent crisis are "framed" by powerful interests (eg. politicians, the media)
- See different social groups and actors either try to legitimate or contest meaning and interpretations of crisis conditions
 - Has significant impact on nature of responses
- The destruction of New Orleans opens up possibilities for re-imagining the city and for creating a different kind of *place*

Crisis-Driven Urbanization

- **Spatial politics** process of redevelopment
 - 1> Debate over the crisis and how to respond to the crisis in the short and long term
 - 2> Engages an array of power brokers, residents, professionals and social movements
 - 3> Impacts on subsequent disasters and crises

Neoliberal Urbanism

- Belief that open, competitive and unregulated markets, without state interference or actions of social groups, represent optimal form of socio-economic development
 - The private, not public, market achieves the most efficient solutions
 - State begins to drastically reduce their regulation of economic activities, including social equity, environmental issues, which are considered non-capital/non-productive returns
 - *Intensification of competition between places*
- Cities have become strategically important sites for the neoliberal project; they are laboratories for policy experiments
 - Place-marketing
 - Enterprise zones
 - Local tax abatement strategies
 - Public-private partnerships
 - Property development
- Goal of policy experiments: **mobilize** city space for market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices *and* at the same time **secure order** and control amongst marginalized populations

- However, this argument ignores the fact that we are *social* beings, not *economic* beings
- Public-private partnerships

Differences Make a Difference

- African-Americans much more likely to be forced to flee and have problems returning, due to distance, cost, insurance and inability to establish clear title to land
- White residents who were displaced generally stayed in and around the city and were on hand to deal with: building permits, insurance agents, contractors
- Public investments are not distributed homogeneously across a city

5) Globalization & Place

September 21, 2016

Place as a Global Product

- Place and mobility:
 - In traditional approaches, place appears to be related to stability and permanence; globalization is the opposite of that, it is about mobility
 - **Mobility**, on the other hand, seems to necessitate constant change and process; interpreted as a threat to place
- What happens to place in an era of globalization?
 - While ease of investing money or searching out low-cost labour has never been easier, essentially making all locations possible sites have also seen emergence of newfound interest in places as:
 - Global commodities
 - As reactionary sites that people “retreat to” in face of globalization
 - As locations where mobility, migration & diversity come together to create places characterized by fluidity & difference
- Place Making and Marketing
 - Non-place/placelessness/pseudo-places argument: information technology and forces of economic globalization are creating places in which the social relations that make places 'unique' are being trumped by geographical homogenization (**standardization of place**)
 - a. Economic efficiencies in 'producing' places as products
 - b. Intent to encourage consumption in spaces of familiarity and security

Theme Parking & Place

- Contemporary urbanism of pseudo-places or places of consumption characterized by:
 - 1> Relationship between local space and the culture(s) represented become weaker, the "local" becomes too expensive
 - 2> Simulations - place as **simulacrum**: a representation or vague resemblance to something else
 - Design emphasis on reproduction and replications, a re-valorization of the past, but reinvented to incorporate contemporary technologies
 - Design oblivious to real traditions of people who occupied spaces
 - Ex: West Edmonton mall has Europa Street, Pirate Ship, Beach to make you think you are somewhere else other than the mall and forget the fact that you are there to consume, but it also not any different than any other mall you've been to
- An approach to urban development that use design to sell an experience and, ultimately, products
- Criticism: People have little authentic attachment to these places
- Authentic Sense of Place & Politics
 - David Harvey: **Militant Particularism**
 - Use the particularity of place as a form of resistance to global capitalism and for purposes *other than* profit maximization, filled with utopian thoughts
 - Ex: organic farms, religious enclaves, hippie communes or "intentional living" situations such as seniors living together to support one another as they age as opposed to retirement homes
- A Loss of Place
 - The kinds of institutions that construct locale increasingly stretch well beyond the border of the particular place (eg. A city or neighbourhood) --> relations less and less contained within the place itself
 - Corporate operators use branding/theming and market segmentation to make place and in turn all urban spaces (at least nationally, if not internationally) look and feel the same
- Development of urban spaces led by global corporations which produce 'place' as a global product
 - Argument is NOT that all places are the same, but have series of target market --> place making/marketing to serve niches

Globalization: What's New

- More and more economies are operating as a **single international system**
- Flowing in this market are commodities, investment capital, speculative capital, and people - movement of these elements at an extraordinary *pace*

- Much of this is made possible by inexpensive oil

The Borders of Globalization

- Complex flows of people --> living in an **age of migration**, especially transnational migration
- But also live in a world of increasingly elaborate procedures to maintain borders *against* flows of people (eg. U.S.-Mexico relations, want Mexico's goods, but not the Mexicans)

Time-Space Compression

- As space appears to shrink to the global villages of telecommunications and extreme economic and ecological interdependencies
 - Ex. Skyping grandparents in other country, free and quick access
- International connections are not new, but the *intensity* of those **interconnections** is

Two Interpretations (*could be on exam, compare and contrast impacts of globalization on place as determined by H & M)

- Harvey:
 - One response to placelessness and lack of fixity is the '**gated community**'
 - Ex: Guilford neighbourhood in Baltimore created a conditional form of 'permanence' that somehow withstands flows of money, people and time, attempts to 'fix' place and make it stationary
 - Mobility of capital is always in tension with permanence of places
 - Ex: building infrastructure is an *investment in fixity*
 - As capital becomes more mobile and communication technology ever faster (and cheaper), places become less important
 - But Harvey argues that with reconfiguration of space and time see new emphasis on places especially in terms of security --> Makes people and groups more aware of what they value about the places where they live and work
- **Doreen Massey**
 - Massey argues that there is strong evidence for a kind of reactionary sense of place (e.g. Harvey interprets people's "attachments" to place, desire for 'rootedness', nationalist movements etc.) marked by:
 - Connection between place & singular form of identity (usually based on ideas of race)
 - A desire to show how place is 'authentically' rooted in history
 - Establish clear boundaries for place to separate it from outside world, but this only contributes to reactionary politics
 - BUT Massey also argues that some places are the exact opposite of this kind of reactionary position, and are a celebration of globalization in terms of diversity & hybridity
 - Massey on Kilburn shopping centre:
 - Place as a site of multiple identities and histories
 - A place that is unique because of its interactions
 - Place that is defined by the outside
 - By focusing on mobility & examining the effects of mobility in a location like Kilburn, Massey argues for an **extroverted and progressive** versions of place marked by:
 - Place as process
 - Place as defined from the outside (not long-established community)
 - Place as site of multiple identities & histories
 - A uniqueness of place defined by its interactions
- Two processes operating at global scale:
 - Repetition of global capitalism & sites of consumption on a global scale (a homogenization of space)
 - Unprecedented availability & diversity of international products everywhere
 - Both of these processes appear to threaten uniqueness of places

6) Ideology & Place

September 28, 2016

Defining Ideology

- Cresswell: Ideologies define: (*)
 - i. **"What exists and what does not exist;**
 - i. Eg. Class and equality don't exist in Canada
 - ii. **What is good, just and appropriate, and what is not;**
 - i. Exists, but there are benefits or it is just for some reason
 - iii. **What is possible and impossible"**
 - i. It is bad, and unjust, but nothing can be done
- People in places are constantly active in its formation and in order to change something, we must first acknowledge that it exists, recognize that it is bad, and conclude that there is hope in making changes
- Dominant interpretation of place: how majority of local society interprets the place
 - Subordinate: how outsiders read a place
- Ideology not to be confused with a belief system, has the power to actually enforce beliefs, ideology is **meaning in the service of power**
- Promotes certain meanings in preference to others promoting interest of particular social group usually the dominant one
- They serve to legitimate particular kinds of behaviours and status positions
- Many aspects of human condition related to power relations, not just social class i.e. race religion gendered ethnicity sexuality age
- But *dominant* and *dominated* are not mutually exclusive groups --> domination occurs in *context*
 - Eg. Graffiti artists in NY have laws against their activity, they are dominated by the dominate, but at the same time within the graffiti artist culture women are often excluded, therefore at the same time they are dominating a gender relation

Ideology and Place

- **Positional ideology:** people are subject to and/or qualified for particular positions in a society
- Positional ideology translates into geography and often rests on geography --> being "in place" often structure by qualities of knowing what it is to be "out of place" -- aware of own position and also aware of the positions held by other people e.g. Sexism, being aware of maleness means also being aware of femaleness
 - Place is one of the easiest ways of being "included" and recognising "other" positions
- Place is produced by practice (Actions) that relies on ideological beliefs of what is the appropriate thing to do --> giving actions meaning, giving places meanings (often multiple) eg. Lecturing in SCR no longer just a church now giving it a new meaning
 - The "place of an act" (or where an act occurs) is crucial to our understanding of what is "Good, just and appropriate"
- Making links between place and ideology
 - Ideologies are ideas that influence and guide actions
 - Actions = "Practice"
 - The geographical environment forces people to relate beliefs to actions
 - People read places by acting in them
 - Place "produced" by practice that aligns with (ideological) beliefs
 - But place reproduces beliefs that produce it in a way that makes the beliefs appear natural, self-evident, common sense
 - **Places are active forces in the reproduction of norms**
- Emphasis is on a reciprocal relationship between place and ideology
 - Place does not simply "reflect" ideology
 - Not just an expression of values
 - Place is something *produced* by AND *producing* ideology
- Meaning of place produced through practice
 - Actors consume place BUT
 - Actors also produce place (acting according to assumed norms --> continuation of accepted, "common sense" place meanings)

How Ideology Works

a. Ideology imposed from above

- Small powerful groups of people impose it by creating stories that reflect their beliefs, usually by force imposed on society "dominant ideology thesis", ability to convince people that the ideas of a dominant group are reasonable and will benefit them

b. Everyday or common-sense ideology

- i. Ideology most powerful when has a taken-for-granted quality -"common sense"
- ii. A naturalization of decisions, beliefs, and actions that constitute an ideological position
- iii. Pierre Bourdieu - **common sense** as a mechanism of domination
 - **Doxa** – when there is a close fit between an objective position (e.g. male or office worker) and subjective beliefs (preferred or unselfconscious mode of acting) -- permanent dispositions
 - Established order, if successful, must make its world seem to be the "natural" world or the "natural" order of things
 - Doxa achieved = there is no conflict
 - In contrast, when subjective beliefs do not correspond to objective position leads to questioning of legitimacy of the objective limits = Doxa evaporates
 - Place can often be a critical element in questioning doxa
 - Social struggle: claim to legitimacy from opposing (different) forms of common-sense classification

Defining Transgression

- Distinction between 'normal' and 'abnormal'
 - Margins allow understanding of the centre, understand the taken-for-grantedness of ideology
- Transgression of boundaries can provide insights into ways places affect behaviour and ideology
- Transgression usually implies an *unintended* crossing of boundaries,
 - No ideology is ever complete, is often open to being challenged, one of the easiest way to challenge is through transgression
- It is usually a tactic that reveals the normative qualities of places and behaviours
 - Transgression implies crossing the rules of hierarchy and order in one domain
- Implies being "out of place"
 - Crossing the boundaries of social respectability often involves incursions into public space
 - Eg. Gender transgressions, such as men taking care of children
- Transgression and the reaction to it underlie values considered to be correct and appropriate

Resistance and Transgression

- Resistance, on the other hand, implies *intentionality*
- Sometimes it can be violent, but more often it is subtle and symbolic, using culture and space/place to contest normative ideologies or power dynamics
- Transgression and resistance are interrelated
- Transgression judged by those who react to it; resistance rests on the intentions of the actors
 - Eg. Deliberate resistance by African Americans to Jim Crow rules
- **Deviance**: definition of deviance is constructed by powerful social groups as a reaction to a person or group's actions
 - Place always plays a role in creation of behaviour norms and therefore very important in creation of deviance
 - Eg. Unregulated and regulated gypsy traveller sites in Britain

To retain:

- How we make sense of the world is influenced by many factors that we take for granted
- We tend to only think about boundaries/norms when they are crossed
- The 'way things are' aren't always the way things ought to be
- Space can be used to illustrate how ideology is constructed and challenged, either through transgression or resistance

7) Public Space as a Contested Place

October 3, 2016

Meaning of **Public Space**

- All area that are open and accessible to all members of the public in a society, in principle though *not necessarily in practice* (due to ideological factors, making it contentious and problematic)
- Some places that appear quite 'public' in terms of their material look, are not so public in reality, eg. gated communities, shopping malls
- The public, both as a space *and* as a manifestation of collective beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviour, **is never static**
- Public space takes on importance when, as a consequence of social relations and communications that take place here, inhabitants come to regard it as a place where their collective rights to performance and speech are *entrenched* (e.g. chanting on Bank St. after Panda Game)
- Need to distinguish between the principles of the characteristics and meaning of public space versus its use in practice
 - Some place technically open, but in reality are restricted in use
- Three levels of public space (as determined by U.S. Supreme Court in 1983 case of Perry Education)
 - 1> **Quintessential public forum**: the "ideal", few limits on expression -- eg. streets, parks
 - 2> **Non-public forum**: public property which by tradition or intent is not regarded as a being a place for public communication; who uses space, when and for what purpose is restricted -- eg. post offices, jails
 - 3> **Limited public forum**: this is a mid-way definition between the first two extreme; public property that is not traditionally open but which the State has open for use of public expression; extremely limited -- eg. school opens gymnasium for one religious group, but conflict arises when it is seen as unfair to all other religious groups

What Defines Public Space

- Ownership - spaces outside of private sphere, but are owned by the public
 - Contentious because of how members of public might be defined both in law and cultural practices
- Accessibility - an assumed right of access without liability or discrimination
- Wide variety of activities and purposes - access to private property, services, ceremonies
- The on-going effort to assure accessibility and generality of use, people played key role in processes of '*invention*' or cultural production of meaning attached to public spheres
- It is shared space - takes on attributes of those who use it, can come to symbolize the community as a whole and to reflect values, both consensual and contested, of the society
 - Meaning of this shared space is developed over time, after years of mediating and adjudicating many competing claims to use the space

Politics and Public Space

- Critical distinction between public as being synonymous with the state and the public sphere
 - **Public Sphere**: is a *discursive* space, where political talk or discourse is allowed to happen
 - Private people come together to claim public, which is largely regulated from above, against public authorities themselves
- **Democratic site**:
 - Collective behaviour in public unique - not like business people or individuals
 - Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an *unrestricted* manner about *matters of general interest*, served by emergent institutions, such as the press
 - Public sphere also must be recognized as a setting of ideological and cultural contest, conflict and negotiation among a *variety of publics*

Social Conception of Public Space

- a. Facilitator of **civil order**

- Interactions have with others in public space at core of social networks and give sense of belonging and security
- Opportunities to interact with strangers that may help you understand your own position in the social world
- b. Site for **power and resistance**
 - Marshall Berman: streets are essentially political domain, the site of struggle between those who claim space for their use and those excluded
 - Can be sites where the politically powerful attempt to exert control over the remainder of the population
- c. Stage for **performance**, theatre
 - Stage for identity expression (self or group), to be seen

Types of Public Spaces

- a. **The Agora of Athens**
 - Spatial focal point of public life in ancient Greece
 - Definition of public very narrow, essentially male citizens
 - But legal, educational and commercial activities mad Agora the place to interact with other citizens
- b. **The Commons (Medieval)**
 - Related to struggle for survival
 - Land owned privately (by king), but open for everyone to use for particular purposes: agriculture, fishing, etc.
 - Openness of the commons allowed the pursuit of common good
 - Some commons have been converted into parks today
- c. **The Plaza (Renaissance)**
 - Large, open, paved space; fountain or monument at centre
 - Places of public gathering, ceremonies
 - Sometimes the sites of protest
 - Also made architectural statement about power and authority of state
- d. **Coffeehouses (Enlightenment)**
 - Long history in Middle East and Ottomans in Europe
 - Different from pubs because allowed for private conversation, became sites of political activism especially by middle-class men
 - Also places to assert class identity
 - In 1960s, NYC coffeehouses became centre of folk music revival
- e. **Streets (19th century)**
 - Efficient connections between neighbourhoods
 - New kinds of social activity: Flanerie
 - **Flâneur**: observer & interpreter of social life
- f. **Public Accommodations (20th Century)**
 - Schools, libraries, playgrounds, recreation centres, public toilets
 - Results of massive investments in: public education and infrastructure

Importance of Streets

- More than just thoroughfares - binding agents of social life in cities
- Social meaning in terms of:
 - Who controls them (gender conflicts)
 - For affirming and/or challenging institutionalized social relations
 - Places of religious and secular rituals
 - Ex: Princess Diana's funeral procession
 - Places where marginalized can articulate demands and attain at least a temporary visibility

Jubilee Riots of 1875

- Roman Catholics in Toronto used streets for symbolic pilgrimages (parades from one parish to another),

although the city was largely Protestant (anti-Catholic)

- Protestants viewed it as an attempt by the Catholic community to challenge or oppose the doxa/ideology in Toronto
- Mayor couldn't legally do anything because streets are collectively owned
- Resulted in one of the worst riots in Toronto's history as Catholic 'pilgrims' were attacked by crowds on 20,000, during which the Mayor had chosen not to provide public security
- Significance: event demonstrated that social attitudes and political power, not policing, governed what occurred on streets -- illustration of the **negotiation** (albeit unequal and inequitable) to public space

End note: Contrasting Perspectives on Streets

- Streets as places where democratic ideals and political action are articulated VERSUS;
- Privatization and commodification of public space, and much greater emphasis on security
 - The more we privatize public space, the more we take away the possibility of a popular democracy

8) Gender Performance, Place & Power

October 5, 2016

Gender and Making Place: Androcentric Design

- Places where we live are very obviously **man-made**
 - Shaped by male planners and architects
 - Masculine elements in architectural form, e.g. phallic towers, breast-like domes
- Traditional approach to cities emphasizes their organization in terms of class or economic systems, but gender also structures spaces, both macro and micro

Key Concepts

- **Gender vs. Sex**
 - Gender is socially constructed, multiple and **fluid** ways of expressing gender identity, not fixed
 - Gender and gender differences are always in the process of 'becoming', **context-dependent**
 - Move beyond binaries; multiple masculinities/femininities can exist within a set of norms, but being masculine/feminine is something that has to be *learned*
- **Patriarchy**
 - Systemic subordination of women by exercise of male power legitimized by custom, tradition, norms and myths about women's innate biological capabilities
 - Ensures that material benefits are disproportionately allocated to men
- **Separate Spheres**
 - Taken-for-granted assumptions about *naturalness* of gender division reflected in and reinforced by gendered divisions of space
 - Places of work = "public" sphere (landscape of production; seen as places of higher status since people are being paid i.e. male space)
 - Places of residence = "private" sphere (social reproduction i.e. women's space)
- **Social Reproduction**
 - Labour performed each day in efforts to reproduce the material and emotional sustenance of people in paid labour force -- unpaid and undervalued, creates **landscapes of power**

How Does Gender Make Place?

- Doreen Massey: **feminist geography** has primarily focused on experiences and perceptions of women, but it should also be as much about men, in order to make visible the invisibility of women's work
- Men *do* gender too, not just women!

Gender, Geography & Fear

- Women are extremely disproportionately likely to experience sexual violence
- Distinction between victimization and fear of crime is a strongly gendered response
 - Men are more likely to be actual *victims* of crime
- Women are more likely to adopt strategies that manage perceptions of safety
 - Women's geography of fear often centres on anxiety about male behaviour in public spaces
 - Women's activities are more likely to be performed in places that are considered 'safe', such as shopping malls, rather than bars, strip clubs, but this is also reproducing male domination...
- Main point: **gendered fear related to (social) power**
 - Ways spaces are produced by different groups at different times

Producing Masculinities

- **Hegemonic masculinity**: a version of masculinity that is *dominant* in a social context, that is in control and normative i.e. straight, affluent, educated
- Ex: Hindley Street, Adelaide
 - Place of nighttime entertainment, only really active on Fri. and Sat.

- Brings together gendered power, geographical location and local performances
- The street/district is a *stage* where a version of masculinity is acted, a "badass" or "hyper-masculinized" masculinity, usually to an audience of other men; here they are "doing" gender
- Suburbs of the city are considered uniform and boring
- The 'fear' associated with Hindley St. in part a function of how 'exotic' the place is imagined to be in relation to the relative mundane qualities of central Adelaide during daytime -- will dictate the way women act *in* the place

9) Gender and Conflict in Afghanistan

October 12, 2016

Gender, Public Space, Politics & Policy

- In response to Taliban rule in the 1990s, the status of women became invoked as a humanitarian crisis
 - Women's marginalization, especially in public space, becomes an influential rhetorical device for framing the crisis in Afghanistan
 - The framing of women's issues done by the West is in efforts to mark/justify a whole series of actions (war) that they have/are participating in
- **Reversing abuses became an explicit justification for invasion**

Kandiyoti

- Afghanistan is an enormously important example of the way in which gender relations organized in and around public and private space influence opportunities and exercise of fundamental human rights
- Highlights the **complex forms of patriarchy** that shape the daily lives of women and men in Afghanistan
 - Significant differences between rural and urban areas, social classes, religious and ethnic groups, because Afghanistan is such a diverse state
- But Kandiyoti also draws attentions to international context and Afghanistan's role in geopolitical struggles for over a century
 - Her paper pivots very subtly between local and international contexts, because one can't simply focus on the local in order to understand the crisis
 - Trying to convince us of the way in which international processes intersect with the local to create and construct the experiences of women and men in Afghanistan

Two Different Feminist Interpretations of Gender Rights in Afghanistan

1> **Cultural Relativism**

- Western feminists in the 90s were not very prescriptive of what should be done; believed it was not appropriate for them to take a strong stand against the human rights abuses because they argued that women in Afghanistan are bound up in cultural traditions, which they can't possibly understand
- Afghanistan has always been caught up in a **geopolitical power game** as it was a buffer region in the 'Great Game' between British India and imperial Russia, so Western feminists believed that the last thing Afghanistan needed was more imperialistic meddling

2> **Patriarchal Excess**

- How can you *not* take a strong position against the obvious abuses as a consequence of Taliban rule?

Kandiyoti's Argument

- Objectives of her research:
 - Examine gender politics in context of global and local factors that are shaping policy agendas in post-Taliban Afghanistan
 - Politics of gender: contestation around socially sanctioned gender relations
- Argument constructed in 3 phases
 - 1> Problems of state-society relations in Afghanistan
 - Arguing that Afghanistan is a place with a **very weak central state**
 - 2> Transformations brought about by years of conflict
 - 3> Promotion of gender equality as an objective of the int'l community
 - Problem with int'l community is that it brings into conflict their need to achieve something, and competing objectives of social groups in the country that are often quite conservative

Afghanistan as an Example of a Weak State

- There have been two significant attempts at radical reform
 - a. 1924-1928: King Ammanuallah tries to introduce reforms that will give women more rights

- Actually left women illiterate, immobile, dependent, secluded
- b. Mid-70s: Leftist group People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan tries to introduce reforms to improve accessibility to education and work for women
 - Very strong effort to change the context of what was a very patriarchal society, especially outside of the main cities - traditionalists, such as many fathers, opposed the education of women because they feared they would lose control of their daughters
- Both attempts lead to violent uprising and targeting of women, especially in regards to what they wore, their mobility and their public presence

Reasons for State's Weakness - History

- Was not in state's interest to invest in its society and economy
- Rely on "locational rents" to finance expansion of state
 - Great Game: the country's geopolitical position provides an ideal opportunity to negotiate: the country essentially accepts any foreign investment that either India or Russia is willing to make and, in turn, they side with that power
- Not really necessary then to invest in economy as long as foreign investment is supporting, used as a "crutch"
 - Kandiyoti argues that it is precisely this kind of dependency that is reducing the incentive to try to increase productivity, improve human capital, and therefore achieve economic/social development

Struggle for Power between 3 Groups:

- a. **Centralizing elites** in major cities, especially Kabul
 - b. **Islamic *ulama*** (clerics, people who possess religious knowledge) who are motivated to resist the state's intervention into their domain
 - c. **Traditionalists** - male leaders in **rural and tribal periphery** intent on maintaining social/economic autonomy, which is not hard to do when the state ignores the economy
- In all three groups, there are strong dimensions of rural-urban split in society, more human investments in cities, but more focus on controlling women's behaviour in rural areas, exactly where the Taliban is still strong, because sanctions against it are so limited there

Background to Conflict

- PDPA came to power in 1978 after a military coup
 - Strong intent to modernize
 - Efforts to educate women
 - Promote women's participation in politics and economy
 - But PDPA was tarnished by links to Soviets, Western powers rejected them because they saw them as an expansion of the Soviet Union
 - Basically invite the Taliban into the country in 1989
- The reforms that PDPA tried to introduce failed greatly because they were seen in the minds of Afghans as a **foreign occupying force**, and also seen as being dominated by elites and intellectuals from Kabul, which doesn't really represent Afghan society as a whole

Taliban and Authoritarian Ideology

- Governed Afghanistan from 1996-2001
- Involved in fighting the proxy war against the Soviet Union, and is one of the Mujahedeen factions
- When attained power, policies regarding social/religious activities enforced through Ministry for the Enforcement of Islamic Virtue
 - Imposed curfew on women, mandatory covering i.e. burka, no teaching, banned from leaving homes without male accompaniment, could not be treated by male doctors, etc.
 - Subject to punishment if disobeyed, most punitive in large, most modern urban areas
 - Their ideology was developed in the refugee camps of northern Pakistan
 - Overall effort to render them **invisible**, and strong desire to remove them from public space, e.g. had to cover windows in home in order to avoid being seen
- By the time the Taliban fell from power, images and discourse about the plight of Afghan women were widely

known around the world

- Becomes one of the humanitarian justification for military intervention

Why is Access to Public Space Important?

- In classical patriarchy: public rights of men always formulated relative to the **disempowerment of women** and women's relegation to the private sphere
- An individual's sense of self evolves through associations with place, memories of familiar and comfortable spaces, where men and women feel that they properly belong and are comfortable
- Male-female distinction are put to a test in public spaces
 - **Spontaneity, diversity and volatility** of street life in cities cannot be neatly organized into simplistic and rigid classifications of male and female and the roles that go along with them
 - This only reinforces the notion of women as "property"

In short:

- State policies or legal systems rarely touch the lives of women, whose lives are organized and lived at a very local scale
- Kandiyoti: Need for research about effect of war and displacement on gender relations and hierarchical relationship within households and communities
 - Understanding of women's roles too often static, but they ARE dynamic!
- K: Taliban = major break in 'traditional' forms of social control in various ethnic communities
 - The Taliban is a tremendous example of breaking "doxa" condition and implementing an "**orthodox**" form of ideology that demanded enforcement and violence to maintain
 - Created a discrepancy between normative assumptions and material realities:
 - Blanket terms such as 'patriarchy' are too ambiguous to distinguish the degree of gender violence; can be privatized, systemic or staged publicity
 - Misinterpreting reactive behaviours (eg. child marriage) as cultural hides the damaging effects of Taliban patriarchy and the fear associated with it
 - Taliban is taking away decision-making power from local scales and undermining tribal elders
 - Orthodox approach reduces the autonomy of local men and social factors
 - The rule of the Taliban, albeit short, excellent example of how local and international come together

10) Contested Places and Spaces of Sexuality

October 31, 2016

Starting to move away from life in cities, and look at a more international context...

Links between Sexuality, Space & Urbanization

- Sexuality is a set of social constructions, and how these are understood are amenable to challenge & change
 - **"Heteronormativity"** – normalization of heterosexuality
- Space **shapes sexual life** of citizens • Mitchell: "like any social relationship, sexuality is inherently spatial – it depends on particular spaces for its construction & in turn produces & reproduces the spaces in which sexuality can be ... forged."

Linking City & Sexuality

- Early research often depicts cities as less cohesive than rural communities
- Impact on understanding sex life in modern cities is significant
 - New forms of urban life (**anonymity & freedom**) -- facilitate unorthodox sexual practices & development of new **subcultures**
 - Urban dwellers could explore new sexual avenues & negotiate new sexual identities

Research Avenues

- **Sexual deviance** focus on urban sociology & ethnography throughout the 20th century
- In 1980s other issues of sexuality begin to become prominent in urban studies
 - Emergence of lesbian & gay neighborhoods
 - Ethnographies of sexual meeting grounds
 - Sexual freedom linked to emancipatory politics of the city
 - Studies also examine limits placed on freedom & curtailment of particular sexual pleasures & practices

Urbanization, Sexuality & Anxiety

- Urbanization, modernization, & secularization linked to create urban places where individuals seem able to pursue diverse sexual pleasures - "inappropriate sexual mixing"
- Has been suggested that "sexuality" as a specific, erotic aspect of human life is linked to cities as modern ideas emerge about relationships between sex & pleasure

Sexuality, Space & Marginalization

- Spatial perspective essential because of strategies of urban ordering that **normalize** some sexualities and **marginalize** others

Genesis of a Research Question

- Manuel Castells – City and the Grassroots
 - Becomes interested in gay community in San Francisco because identity and social action tied to local neighbourhood spaces and identity *and* political action constructed around sexuality rather than class

Montréal Research Context

- Contacts in **social networks** spread across cities, but neighbourhoods remain important social locales
 - Diverse social groups interact, come to know each other, construct understandings of difference, as well as violations of exclusion
- Research project examined social, cultural and political meanings of neighbourhood
 - Ways in which geographies of inclusion, as well as exclusion, created in neighbourhood space
- Looked specifically at low-income neighbourhoods experiencing a range of social and economic problems, eg.

Centre Sud, otherwise known as *Le Village Gai*

What does the Village indicate about 'Placemaking'?

- Economic change, poverty and sexuality provide a basic structure for understanding the sense of place in Centre Sud, but the neighbourhood really challenges any one dimensional description and explanation
- Representations
 - Well-known working class neighbourhood
 - Described in media as the "Gay Village"
 - In new narratives about Centre Sud, heterosexuals and low-income families, by far the majority of the population, are ignored, as are the class and gender politics of this seemingly 'easy to read' place of gay sexuality
- Neighbourhood Qualities
 - Quintessential mid-19th century francophone, working class districts that has experienced massive deindustrialization since 1960s
- **Gay Spaces**
 - Montréal – an atypical city during 1950s/60s because gay businesses and the utilization of public space by gays was well known
 - Displacement in two phases: **Before Expo 1967** and **Before Olympics 1976**
- **Gay Village**
 - Grew in significance in 1980s through early 2000s
 - Top tourist destination: discos, male strip clubs, saunas/sex clubs, array of parties

Commercial Spaces

- Bars, clubs, saunas, restaurants, array of retail services, some institutional services, and rainbow flags speak to material production of space as gay
 - An unambiguous challenge to hegemony of heterosexual culture
- Strong commercial orientation to gay men – lesbians a secondary clientele

A Neighbourhood of Many Meanings

- Poverty
- Sexual exploration
- Gender discrimination

Village as a Sexual Space

- Bars and clubs places where seldom encounter poor & elderly residents, or enforced norms of heterosexuality
- Many men emphasize importance of the space in terms of a) **safety** and b) **exploration of identity**

Men, Sexual Identity and Place

- Men emphasize importance of Village a place to explore sexual identity - a place to 'come out'
- Can behave in ways outside of standard norms of heterosexuality and feminism

Gender & the Village

- Women: emphasize ways in which masculinity used to push them to the physical, social and political **margins of a landscape** that is widely depicted in non-gay media as "theirs" and as "representing lesbians"

Interpretation of the Village as a Place

- Expression of gender identity - masculinity, the male body and privilege
 - A necessary place in Montréal's post-industrial economy
 - A place of **hyper-masculinity** and non-local wealth juxtaposed with poverty
 - Perhaps one of the last places in the city where "boys are encouraged to be boys"

Citizenship, Rights & Scale

- Article by Phil Hubbard “Kissing is not a universal right ...” examines scalar geographies that influence the exercise of rights
 - Focus is on an interplay between national-level equalities legislation & “municipal law”
 - Argues there is a conflict over rights & responsibilities of individuals versus use of land and property
- Background: national scale
 - Hubbard notes that regulation of intimate conduct in public space has received little socio-legal attention (in Britain)
- Background: “**The Kiss**”
 - Same sex kiss often seen as “out of place”
 - Makes the kiss a potential **weapon in demand for rights** -- highlights the normalization of heterosexuality in space
 - The event at heart of the paper is two men who engaged in a kiss at the John Snow pub in the Soho district of London in 2011

Rights & Municipal Law

- Objectives of municipal law:
 - Land use > individual conduct
 - Gives considerable power to impose a moral geography that is not easily challenged by making reference to national equality laws
- Contradictions in law emerge - discrimination on grounds of sexuality is illegal
 - But Licensing Act (2003) gives landlords of bars considerable latitude to maintain what they deem to be orderliness

Municipal Scale is Powerful in Geographies of Morality

- At municipal level, everyday use & occupation always privileged over more abstract claims to human rights
- Majority morality and aesthetics can come to dominate local level

Scalar Tension between National & Local

- Municipal level - homophobia transmitted through ways in which private individuals understand order
- “**New landscapes of equality**” are contingent and contested
 - **Contingent** because “state” not a coherent or solitary actor - is an array of different actors with different objectives
- Key point of the paper: **geographies of sexual citizenship are determined through jurisdictional scale**

11) Borders, Bordering & Immigration Politics

November 2, 2016

Building Border Walls

- In 2016, Bulgaria, Hungary and Austria began expanding their border-building
- Trump promises to build a "beautiful wall" on remaining 1,300 miles of US-Mexico border that have not yet been walled
- Construction of physical barriers is relatively **new phenomenon**
 - At the end of WWII, there were fewer than 5 border walls in the world...
 - By the time the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, there were 15;
 - Today, there are nearly 70! Made easier with improved technology, funding and willingness to guard them

Why Walls?

- Not useful for marking territory
- Growth in population and inequality
- Growth in migration for opportunity
- Growth in number of asylum seekers and people internally displaced due to war
 - Governments desire to keep out extra people due to concerns about population and resources, safety...
- Fear of terrorism
 - Enhanced security measures, eg. phone and internet surveillance -- expanding national borders

Are Border Walls Effective?

- Walls can be effective in **stopping flows of people at particular locations**
 - Eg. Hungarian border along southern border with Serbia
- Except, the fence ends! And it has gaps and holes in it...only effective where it is, not where it isn't
 - Migrants are forced to choose more difficult and dangerous locations to cross = more **border deaths**
 - The EU has seen almost doubling of deaths between 2015/16 due to closing of land routes through Balkans
- Consequence of border walls: really effective at killing people!

Why Border Walls are Not Effective

- Problem of **building** and **maintaining** fence along entire length of a border and **guarding** it
 - Expensive in land, building, roads, manpower
 - US-Mexico border has wall over only 1/3 of its 1,969 mile length
- Walls not effective in stopping terrorists and smugglers
 - Terrorists often enter legally
 - Smugglers use ports of entry or tunnels built under walls
- Illegal immigrants most often enter with a valid visa and then simply overstay
 - However, they are integral to the labour force...
 - Strong increase in unauthorized migration in 1990s

So Why So Much Concern About the Border?

- Is at the level of narrative or anecdote that borders come to life - **border narratives** reflect diverse experiences and meanings that borders have for individuals
- Emphasis is that making the border, and giving it meaning, is a *process*
 - Narratives around nationalism and national identity
 - National socialization (schools, media)
 - Security

- Images of threats
- Environment
- All used to create boundary-producing practices

Borders & Spatial Socialization

- Need to understand why people invest themselves in living borders meaning *even* when do not live anywhere near border points
- **Spatial socialization** (Paasi): "process through which individual actors & collectives are **socialized as members of specific territorially bounded spatial entities**, participate in their reproduction & learn collective territorial identities ... and inherent spatial images (e.g., visions regarding boundaries, regional divisions ...)" (p. 226)
 - Eg. School curricula in geography, national history

US-Mexico Border

- Over 10,000 guards patrolling only a small portion of the border
- Holes constantly being cut in fence, must be repaired daily
- Mexicans required to obtain SSN, but employers are not required to verify it
- Meanings:
 - Social: The border region represents a space of opportunity for migrants
 - For Americans, it is associated with insecurity and potential terrorist threats
 - Threat to American sense of identity -- an identity which is tied to religion, ignorance and discrimination
 - Politically: it is symbolic of the culture wars between democrats and republicans
 - Economically: it signifies a benefit to employers because hiring undocumented labourers justifies paying them lower wages
- Is it meaningful/possible to secure the border?
 - 2000 miles of border... would be enormously expensive and requires superior technology
 - Issue of border violating property rights
- Environmental concerns: trash created and left by migrants, construction of wall damaging ecosystems -- Mexican hypocrisy

Borders are Everywhere

- They are part of **societal discourse**, seen in national discourse
 - Eg. National ceremonies (Canada Day), military ceremonies (Remembrance Day)
 - Borders an implicit part of nation-building process
- **Stretching** of borders
 - Eg. Borders in airports, mobile border check points away from actual border
- Borders as **discursive devices**
 - In nationalist contexts, borders are woven into social control
 - We understand borders because we are taught over and over again that borders make 'us' or 'who we are' historically

Borders and Socio-Spatial Consciousness

- **Socio-spatial consciousness**: how we create social demarcations in making borders
 - Brings together **human action** and **social structures** to understand how to produce collective meanings associated with borders -- extends across generations
 - Involves institutional, legal, political & administrative practices BUT ALSO
 - Textbooks, novels, atlases, newspapers --> these **legitimate domination of space** and reproduce socio-spatial consciousness in everyday life

Generalizing Border Meanings

- Borders are always important to people who have to cross them on a regular basis
- BUT due to spatial socialization & creation of socio-spatial consciousness, borders become important

for citizens in a general sense

Borders as a Process & Narrative

- Borders are much more than just lines across space
 - Borders **created by and are implicated in processes**
 - Institutions that are managed and perpetuated --> not static locational outcomes of political and/or social processes
 - Borders given meaning in everyday practices & discourse
- Traditionally, most borders **constitute barriers**
 - As such, other side becomes partially invisible and unknown
 - When societies, states or religious orders wish to perpetuate difference, the ability to **create sense of threat** through the construction & perpetuation of a sealed border is a powerful tool

Demarcation

- The process through which borders are constructed and the **categories of differences** or separation are created
 - Institutions enable legitimation, signification & domination --> system of order through which control can be exercised
 - Management procedures central to process
 - **Normalization** of borders in everyday life & practices
- Demarcation of borders not simply about drawing a line on a map or building a fence on the landscape

Borders and Scale

- Boundaries exist in different spatial contexts
 - Eg. Boundary disputes in where to draw the boundary in the new city of Ottawa

Borderlands

- Michael Dear: borderlands between US-Mexico known as "**Third Nation**"
 - Community carved out of territories between two existing nation-states
 - Notions of a people, identity, territory and practice
 - Is an **in-between space**, transcending the geopolitical boundary that divides the constitutive nation-states and creates from them a **new identity distinct from the nationalisms of the host countries**
- Argues that US-Mexico borderlands among most **misunderstood** places on earth, especially because it is so far away from political power and geographically remote
- Region has very **limited ability of self-determination**
 - Place of enormous tensions associated with undocumented immigration and drug wars
- Fencing is unprecedented
- New interest in surveillance of the border has had a huge impact on the lives of people living in the area on both the American and the Mexican side

How to Measure Binational Integration

- The border is place defined by movement
 - Very specific sections in the border in which there is more movement and transition
- Also a place of significant revenue (by collecting duties)
- Significant place of tourism, crossing the place simply for pleasure
- Space of undocumented immigration -- politically contested
- A lot of change over time
 - Illegal immigration has significantly decreased
- Economy defines this place through international agreements
 - Impact of NAFTA, eg. Mexico took over from Japan as California's largest trading partner
 - Impact of remittances

- Environment:
 - Policies affecting the management of water resources
- Culture and language
 - A growing number of Latinos in the US has led to a **hybridization** of personal lives eg. "Spanglish"
 - Fluidity of religion in the border region
- Identity
 - Latinos being born in this region of the US -- changing demography
 - Becoming an area where the changing composition of the population is not going unchallenged, eg. anti-immigration groups

Effects of Wall Building on Borderlands

- **Land ownership issues**
 - Tensions over siting of fence
- **Humanitarian issues**
 - Limit impact of groups through legal prosecution
- Economy & crossings
 - **Crossings fail**; legal crossing by permanent residents rise
 - Declining rates of fertility in Mexico; smaller family size = less need to cross the border
- Initiatives for **local law enforcement** of immigration laws

Borders in a post-9/11 World

- 9/11 ushers in new paradigm
 - Refocus attention on processes through which borders can be **rigidly controlled**; closing rather than opening
- Options for dealing with border problems
 - Law-and-order measures
 - Recognize immigration systems by binding sending, receiving and transit countries together -- **self-feeding dynamics**
 - All transactional contacts have some migration consequences
 - Significant differences in suffering and economic conditions build processes that encourage illegal migration

12) Ethnicity & Spatial Conflicts

November 9, 2016

ON EXAM

Essay: macro-scale factors and how they influence or limit the expression of ethnicity by minorities

Define: primordial vs. instrumental vs. construction

Essay: the ways in which ethnicity is invented, must relate to structural conditions that allow the expression of a particular form of identity, not enough to say it's primordial/instrumental, talk about how it is an invention

Continuing Salience of Ethnicity

- End of Cold War: an apparent re-awakening of "ethnic consciousness"
- Ethnicity in context of urban spatial/social fragmentation
 - Ethnic conflicts, eg. Balkan wars, Kurds, etc.
- Expectation of diminishing salience ethnicity
 - With the rise of **liberal pluralism**, the expectation was that ethnic identity would give way to universalism and rationality, but that's not what happened...
- Instead have "a **sociological paradox**"
 - Universal values are being discussed, but at the same time, ethnicity continues to grow in significance

Defining Ethnicity

- Often implies common **ancestry** and **shared cultures**
 - Sometimes emphasis placed on general physical appearances
- Max Weber: ethnicity revolves around a **subjective belief** in common descent due to similarities in physical appearance, or customs, or both; or because of memories of colonization and migration
 - Difference between ethnic **group** vs. ethnic **category**
 - Groups are defined by the people themselves; categories are *imposed* on them by others
- Ethnicity vs. **Race**: conceptual distinctions
 - Race is something that people are born with, rather than something that is *achieved*; revolves around the idea of inferiority/superiority

Primordial Definitions

- Notion that, even in a modern, highly industrialized society based on universal values and utilitarian interests, people are still **bound together by a common affinity**, personal attachments, etc.
- There is a continuing importance of **kinship, family, blood ties** upon which ethnic identity is based
 - This idea is used to explain the continuing salience of ethnicity in a highly modern world
- Harold Isaacs: ethnicity consists of the **ready-made set of endowments** and identifications that every individual shares with others from the moment of *birth* by the *chance* of the family they are born into, the given time & place

Instrumental Definitions

- Interpretation of ethnicity as something that is **utilitarian** and a **constructed** social category that **serves particular interests**
 - Interpret ethnicity as a constructed dimension of group identity that can be **manipulated by self-serving political and economic elites** to achieve particular sets of objectives
 - Eg. Researchers who are trying to explain why labour markets are divided by two particular groups
 - A powerful form of **social categorization**
 - Eg. Belgian colonialists divided the population of Rwanda into Tutsi, Hutu and Twa primarily by adopting what they considered to be scientific standards (based on height, size of noses, etc.)

- Colonial power justified by giving **legislative significance**

Ethnicity as a Construction or Invention

- An in-between version of the first two
 - A.K.A "constructed primordial ethnicity" or "emergent ethnicity"
- Sees ethnicity as rooted in kinship and family (*primordial affinities*), but *expression* of this identity (its forms, power and significance) are **rooted in structures and opportunities** made available to other groups
- Is a perspective that is tremendously interested in **specific contexts** - economic, political, social, or structural - and how these influence the expression of identity
 - Eg. Structural conditions include occupation, institutional affiliations i.e. churches, unions, where people live and who their neighbours are
 - Eg. Type of housing, social relationships between neighbours in public space, forms of formal and informal communication influence emergence, development and persistence of ethnic communities, and development of ethnic identity within context of more socially and numerically dominant culture
- **Kathleen Conzen**: how identity changed for groups at particular social and economic moments in history
- Simply because ethnicity is invented **does not mean that it lacks emotional meaning** or is necessarily superficial
 - Eg. Rwanda -- invention of Hutu and Tutsi identities and the ways in which these identities become imbued with tremendous social power over time
 - Elements of both primordial and instrumental definition of ethnicity is evident in **Rwandan genocide**:
 - Primordial: tribal affinities and kinship origins
 - Instrumental: ethnicity employed strategically by colonial elites because categorizing people is completely subjective and *invented*, eg. two women could look like twins but one be considered Hutu and the other Tutsi

Macro Conditions & Constructed Ethnicity

- 1> **Migration**: living in a time of tremendous international migration in terms of volume and frequency, which influences the degree to which people stay in contact with a homeland
 - **Transnationalism**: "multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states"
 - Ethnicity is continually getting **re-enforced** by the fact that people move so easily between origin and destination, **reciprocal bond**
- 2> **Economic Restructuring**: the impact of a neo-liberal ideology that emphasizes the benefits of economic privatization and free-market trade on people in the developing world
 - This has influenced the articulation of ethnic identity in the developing world, eg. NAFTA allows for unrestricted movement of people on the continent
 - However, this depends on the creation of a "**rainbow underclass**" - a group of people who are working some of the worst jobs in society - employment being a structural condition - that ends up, due to the nature of networks and interactions, changing or influencing the ways in which ethnicity is expressed
- 3> **Political Integration & Reconfiguration**: the way in which major **international organizations** are influencing the ways in which particular groups can live their lives, eg. WTO, UN, EU, NAFTA
 - As well as very large-scale NGOs
 - Eg. Aboriginal agreements protect indigenous people's right to remain *distinct*
 - Eg. Spain and Catalonia
 - After dictator Franco's death, who had banned speaking of Catalanian, EU began to provide money to Catalonia for the maintenance of culture and the teaching of language = more autonomy
- 4> **Technological Innovations**: the ways in which communications technologies enable the persistence and, in some cases, the **re-articulation of identity** among groups and individuals scattered across the globe
 - Allows migrants to stay in touch with their homelands

Meanings of Ethnicity in Canada

- Historically interested in **ancestry**, although approach as often been narrow and rigid
 - An exercise in cataloguing people
- Ancestry does not necessarily align with how someone perceives their own ethnic identity
 - Also problematic because it only allows people to choose *one* identity

To take away:

- **Ethnicity is *never* self-evident**, what it is and what it means, how it's articulated is also never self-evident
 - Always subject to social conditions and especially to politics

13) Ethnicity, Ethnoscapes and Conflict in Afghanistan

November 14, 2016

In this lecture: ethnicity as a **persuasive force**, one that is **modified** in order to continually be re-invented

Conflict, Fragmentation & Ethnicity

- Possible points of fragmentation/conflict: sectarian, linguistic, religious, urban/rural, etc.

Why Examine Ethnicity

- Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic state
- Kareem Kamel: ethnicity as a **symbolic** force in structuring political struggle and conflict in Afghanistan
 - Emphasis on its invented qualities --> a mix of pre-existing values and traditions with the current socio-political norms
 - Ethnicity explains resurgence of TALIBAN after 9/11
 - Weakness of arguments suggesting:
 - a. Economic motivation --> mercenaries (concerned with making money at the expense of ethics)
 - b. Taliban as an instrument financed by Pakistan to enhance its territorial ambitions
 - *Instead*, Kamel emphasized the ethno-nationalist and ethno-religious foundations of Taliban motivations in Afghanistan

Context to Pashtun Power in Afghanistan

- Although ethnic, linguistic and religious pluralism is a characteristic of the country, **Pashtun majority** has tended to have the greatest political power
 - Pashtun king led country to independence in 1747
 - Until 19th century, most of the population lived in small communities and strong sense of statelessness
 - Fragmentation, **decentralization** whereas other empires, i.e. Russia, were centralized
 - Little centralization of state administrative powers
 - Country was being ruled indirectly
- Country's present borders set artificially at end of the 19th century as a **buffer** between British India and Russian empires -- *Great Game*

Recent History

- 1980s: huge **refugee crisis**
 - Consequences:
 - Origin of the Taliban can be traced to the refugee movements
 - Migrants lose their identity of being associated with a particular ethnic group or region in Afghanistan and become simply a generalized "Afghan"

Problematic Ethnic Definitions

- British colonial power never discussed 'ethnic' groups, but instead described Afghanistan in terms of cultural/racial groups or nations
- Not until mid-20th century that foreign academics and governments start to systemically divide population into ethnic groups
 - 4 groups account for bulk of population: Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks
- Since Pashtuns have traditionally held power, their traditions and cultural are the ones often equated with the identity of "Afghan people"
- Ethnicity is also **spatialized** because these groups are associated with specific regions
- Problematic "**Pashtun**" label
 - Divided in tribes, but share some common elements of identity, mainly that they are *Sunni Muslims*
- **Tajik** ethnic group
 - Primarily live in Kabul, important part of population in most urban centres
- **Hazara** ethnic group
 - *Shia Muslims*
 - Located in central highlands (most geographically unstable areas of the country)

- Most politically and economically disadvantaged group
- Strong ties with Iran, especially after Soviet invasion
- **Uzbek** ethnic group
 - Turkic language group
 - Have developed links with Uzbekistan and Tajikistan

Instrumentalization of Ethnicity

- When Afghan state was founded, British colonial power put ruling family of Pashtuns in power
 - Consequently, Pashtun elements of culture and politics were favoured in creation of nation-state
 - Pashtuns privileged in all areas & dominated the military
- Tajiks dominated economic activities, educational institutions
- Hazaras are generally marginalized, few opportunities for social mobility
- *But* in general, ethnic groups for many were blurred concepts, and not respected as frameworks for collective action

Change in Dynamics

- After the war in 1979, we begin to see change in meaning and significance of space in relation to political power
- Representations:
 - **Geopolitical**: communist vs. liberal democratic
 - **Essentialist**: an ethnic conflict; ethnic antagonisms or hierarchy among principal ethnic groups underpins the conflict
 - **Post-Soviet**: after Soviet withdrawal, Afghan crisis becomes more regional and new representations focus on finding 'real' nature of crisis
 - Spatial component of ethnicity takes on new importance

Ethnoscaping

- A territorialisation of ethnic belief or a **belief shared by ethnic groups in a common spatial frame of origin**
 - Not necessary for members of ethnic group to dominate their ethnoscape
 - Ethnic groups produce space to **legitimize their existence** in space and time
- Until 70s, "ethnicity" had limited status
 - Since 90s, seen ethnicity grow as element of conflict --> used in warfare and as **political rhetoric**
- The Pashtun ethnoscape allows them to campaign both ethnically and politically to make their identity the dominant Afghan identity
 - Claimed areas where they don't even have a big population base by arguing that they were driven out of their original areas by other ethnicities, but, since they were there first, they think they have a own it all
- Tajik ethnoscape
 - Very situationally dependent
 - Tajik identity in competition with other forms of identity, such as people identifying with *places*, i.e. Kabul, which are more important than Tajik identity in terms of influencing politics

Ethnoscaping and Conflict

- Conflict becomes more serious after 1992 when ethnic perceptions of space become more important in structuring conflict
- Rise of the Taliban: early 90s
 - Focused on border of Afghan state
 - Not just a claim to power, but a **claim to territory** - relies very strongly on ethno-symbolism

Ethno-symbolism and Taliban Resurgence

- Kamel argues that ethno-symbolism is very important to understanding the role of ethnicity in Afghanistan
- Definition of ethnicity used to emphasize the qualities of *invention*, and ethnic community interpreted as a "named human community with myths of common ancestry, historical memories, and one or more elements of a shared culture"
 - Taliban drew on Pashtun ethnic identity and **modeled themselves around it** in order to achieve a set of political goals

Taliban used ethno-symbolism to instill:

- **National pride**
 - Disseminated through popular culture
- Mobilization of collective **memories of victimization**
 - Unending continuum of historical transgressions
- A world view shaped by "**village identity**"
 - Identification of purist culture and tradition with Islam of the village
 - Kabul stories of promiscuity, sexual abuse, unbridled alcoholism, etc.

(Pashtun) Ethno-symbolism and Islam in Afghanistan

- One of the central aspects of Pashtun identity involves descent from same putative ancestor
 - i.e. Pashtuns acts as **missionaries** of Islam, so Taliban can easily motivate them with this
- Pashtun and Islamic virtues also merge concerns dealing with refugees or those who seek asylum
 - Reason Taliban sheltered Bin Laden for so long, due to honour of aiding others

War & Ethnic Groups

- Non-Pashtun minorities are more powerful today than before war because
 - 1> **Soviets divide and rule policy**
 - Favoured other groups, most resistance from Pashtun areas
 - Undertook **development projects** and kept aid going to reward co-operation of Uzbeks and Tajiks
 - Trained people to fight against Mujahedeen (largely Pashtun opposition)
 - 2> **Administrative and political autonomy**
 - Tajik leader liberated parts of their territory
 - Since Hazaras did not attack Kabul-Soviet forces, Iran struck deal with Soviets to leave Hazaras alone -- with Iranian advice, Hazaras built their own local political institutions
 - 3> **Raised separate militias**
 - Individual groups used militias to keep territory free from other ethnic groups (**ethnic cleansing**)

Options

- **Ethno-federalism:** weigh the possibilities and limitations, divide the country using a map of ethnoscaples
 - Problem: many ethnic groups are not concentrated in only one area
 - Some groups claim to have more territory than they currently occupy
- **Decentralized state:** based on provincial administrative units
 - Advantage: recognized political divisions that are not linked *entirely* to ethnicity eg. Switzerland neutrality

TO RETAIN

- Understand what an ethnoscape is
- Apply primordial, instrumental and construction definitions to Afghanistan
- How has ethnicity influenced the dynamics of conflict in a place like Afghanistan?
- Kamel argument between ethno-symbolism and Taliban -- not saying that Taliban are Pashtun, but are very *strategic* in picking up elements of ethnic culture and incorporating them into their ideology and in turn receiving support from large segments of the Afghan population to advance their political claim to power

14) Divisions in Urban America: 'Race' & Segregation

November 16, 2016

Defining 'Race'

- Usually based on **biological distinctions** or physical criteria such as skin colour, hair texture
- Concept of race reflects tenuous belief that racial categories have some **self-evident** meaning, that all people can be simply and easily slotted into one race or another and this belies the fact that race is **social construction**, not a biological fact
- Mitchell: that argument makes no sense because there are more genetic variations *within* a group than *between* populations

'Race' and Power

- Important: racial definitions are almost always defined and imposed by a powerful group on other groups - power not necessarily numerical, but in terms of control of economic, political and social institutions
 - As such, 'race' is an **ideological construction**
- Note: race is deeply embedded in **Western consciousness** due to:
 - Economics and labour demand = slavery justifications
 - Imperialism and exploitation -- used to justify domination of groups that were encountered
 - Claim that differences in biology are responsible for differences in social and intellectual capabilities as well

Racism as Ideology

- Racism as an ideology is basically attributing social, economic and behavioural characteristics of individuals to a **racial classification system**
- Practices of ascribing these attributes to particular groups that are erroneously believed to be biologically distinct
 - Social, psychological and sometimes physical attributes are causally correlated to physiological markers

Institutional Racism

- Societal versus individual frame of reference
 - Refers to laws and relationships which systemically reflect and produce differential treatment of various segments of society
- Society creates institutions and institutional relationships that **maintain pre-existing differential treatments toward specific groups**
 - No longer rests on just individuals espousing virtues of racism

Racism and Culture

- 'Race' is a **situationally specific** concept
- Race relies on ideas, attitudes and dispositions, norms and rules, etc. as well as the practices of institutions and individuals
 - Eg. Jim Crow - imposed representations onto society by performing black culture in grotesque ways to white audiences
 - African Americans represented as black crows, ways in which pop culture is used to magnify or enforce ideas of race
 - Notion of "separate but equal" - black people needed to be separated from white people so that they "wouldn't feel bad about themselves"
 - Architectural segregation
- Using culture to contest racism
 - i.e. theatre, music, movies, paintings that appropriate the symbols of racism

Why Study Spatial Segregation

- Space used strategically to '**naturalize**' racist ideological positions
- Segregation is not a neutral fact; it means more than just numbers because it influences economic, social and material well-being
 - It's not just that people live in different places; it's about the conditions they live in and the meaning they attach to segregation themselves
- Segregation **systematically undermines social and economic well-being** and opportunities for African Americans
- Segregation concentrates on poverty and factors that encourage decline
 - Supports racially discriminatory practices

What is a Ghetto?

- Gans: defined as **involuntary segregation** of racial, ethnic or other minorities
- Other popular definitions:
 - Race/class nexus
 - Ironic or critical references to *voluntary* self-segregation
 - i.e. "intellectual ghetto" or "guild ghetto" in which very rich people have segregated themselves
- But in a critical sense, the ghetto is a representation of an *involuntary* process
 - An *enclave*, on the other hand, is about voluntary segregation; many religious or ethnic groups could say they are living in ethnic enclaves
- Ghettos are a product of involuntary segregation and requires analysis of societal othering process
 - The selection of minorities who are stigmatized, discriminated against, racialized and ghettoised

Measuring Spatial Concentration

- **Index of dissimilarity:**
 - 0 = complete integration
 - 100 = complete segregation
 - Eg. If a group is 10% of the city's population, then an even distribution would ideally see that group constituting 10% of each neighbourhood population
 - The degree to which that distribution differs, on average, from that ideal constitutes a way of measuring 'concentration' or 'segregation'

Creating the Ghetto, 1900-1940

- Integrated neighbourhoods come to an end because of:
 - Industrialization and labour demand
 - Economy waxes and wanes
 - Tensions between immigrants and African Americans
- **Rural-to-urban/South-to-North migration**
 - Shift in crop production from cotton to other crops and livestock = less labour required
 - Attracted by industrial jobs, and encourages to leave the rural south due to poverty
 - Were often forced to live in pre-existing black neighbourhoods due to limited rental housing choice and discrimination
- Race riots, violence and fear

Creating the Ghetto: Violence

- Ex: Tulsa Riot of 1921
 - African Americans prohibited from owning land and businesses and expected to be off the streets of white neighbourhoods of Tulsa by sundown
 - **Greenwood** neighbourhood - 15,000 residents, 191 businesses
 - Known as the "**Negro Wall Street**", where many black entrepreneurs could be successful
- Tulsa is one of a number of riots that happened in 'teens and 20s in American cities'
 - Often sparked by rumours that a black man had assaulted a white woman: "**rape hysteria**"; rape used as justification for **lynching**

- Overwhelming White culpability, yet the story disappeared and was never talked about despite mass murders of blacks by white mobs

Differences Between Ethnic Ghettos & Enclaves

- Immigrant enclaves never homogenous, ethnically diverse
- Most European newcomers did not live in an immigrant ghetto per se
- But Black ghettos have remained a **permanent and enduring feature** of the American city

How Ghettos Differ from Other Neighbourhoods

- 1> Demographically more **homogenous in terms of race**, but more **heterogenous in terms of socio-economic status**
- 2> More **diverse in land use** primarily because a range of businesses are required to serve a very concentrated population
- 3> **Qualitatively inferior** in almost all aspects primarily because segregation creates a captive audience
 - Blacks became victims of exploitation i.e. paying more for rent and other goods/services primarily because there is no competition
 - Also more crowded and more likely to contain land uses that other parts of the city do not want i.e. bus depots, waste centers
- 4> Reflects forms of **marginalization, injustice, stigma**
 - Eg. more street crime, higher drug and alcohol addiction, etc.

Cementing the Ghetto: Post-1940

- There has been ever greater rates of black - white segregation in American cities after WWII
 - Isolation index measures probability of blacks and whites living together
- Massive **suburbanization** of white Americans
 - 1940s-70s: widespread support among whites for racial discrimination in housing and systematic exclusion of Blacks from white neighbourhoods
 - **Homeowners Loan Corporation** (1930s) encourages white families to move to suburbs
 - Guarantees banks that they will not lose money if people choose to take a mortgage
 - Categorizes every block of a city based on the racial composition of streets and deems certain areas ineligible for loans or eligible with a much higher rate of interest (**redlining**)
 - **Urban renewal**
 - White municipalities could refuse federal government's urban renewal money
 - Racial segregation in cities is created through **public policy**

Washington Riots of 1968

- Attributed to the assassination of MLK
- Most intensely felt in Columbia Heights, one of the most important shopping districts and historically black
- Period of disinvestment in the city that lasted for 30 years afterwards
- Aftermath:
 - White population and middle-class specifically abandon the city for suburbs because banks guarantee better deal for *new* homes in suburbs, whereas older homes in city become more expensive
 - Urban decline becomes equated with groups whose presence is geographically and morally threatening
 - Race becomes associated with decay
 - Discourse on decline dominated by possibility that city had to be abandoned to African Americans and Puerto Ricans

Kerner Commission

- The emergence of two societies in one - separate and *unequal*
- Lays blame on white society

Why so Few Riots after 1970?

- Katz: **Ecology of Power** = less competition for space due to white flight
 - Black poverty levels decline overall, *but* is an intensification and concentration of poverty among Blacks living in cities
- **Management of marginalization**
 - 1> **Selective incorporation**
 - Social structure in Black communities now resembles the hierarchical structure of white communities (i.e. creation of black middle-class; moving into professions in social work, but still not so much doctors or lawyers, etc.)
 - Women have had much greater success in the labour market than African American men
 - 2> **Mimetic reform**
 - Empty promises from the government deflates the immediate pressure of civil unrest
 - 3> **Indirect rule**
 - As white populations flees, more Blacks are elected into office and administrative positions
 - However, whites still influence who gets elected because a white majority at the state level controls the financing of municipalities
 - 4> **Incorporation of African Americans into consumer culture**
 - The promise of mass consumption is more attractive than the ideas of freedom and democracy
 - 5> **Repression and surveillance**
 - Exact opposite approach of what the Kerner commission was advocating
 - Congress passes a bill that ensures more money is spent on hardware for putting down unrest (vehicles, helicopters, anti-riot tools)
- However, these 5 dimensions do nothing to address the social inequity at the heart of the problem
 - Problems of racism haven't disappeared, it's just that society has become more skilled at managing it

*Prof. Rat loves to ask questions about this lecture on final exam**

Why has there become less prevalent since the 60s?

How has racism achieved a social expression?

What are the consequences of that segregation?

Why is segregation not a neutral fact?

It can be measure with numbers, but there is so much more behind them. They are a consequence of public policy and racial discrimination policies in the South (i.e. Jim crow) and absolutely the outcome of violence, so space is used very strategically in this regard.

15) Territory and Territoriality: Israel-Palestine Conflict

November 28, 2016

Reading by Delaney will be featured on final exam

The Separation Barrier

- Barrier wall separating Israel and Palestine
- Biggest infrastructure project ever undertaken by Israel
- Encompasses three quarters of Jewish settlements in West Bank

History of Territorial Struggle

- There's always been a 'Palestine' and an 'Israel', at least on a symbolic level
- 19th century - area between southeast corner of Mediterranean and Jordan River
 - **Agrarian** economy with villages and small towns
 - **Ottoman Land Code** in 1858 - attempt to rationalize land tenure and ownership and to exert a form of territoriality; partially effective but has long-term influence
- Early attempts to create a homeland for the Jewish people set against:
 - Waning influence of Ottoman Empire
 - Britain's desire to extend and enhance its political influence in the Middle East through **colonialism**
 - Colonialism becomes linked to Jewish immigration and settlement
- Late-19th century - **European Zionist movement**
 - Stem from the social and economic persecution of Jews and from anti-Semitic violence in Eastern Europe
 - Zionism is a geographical strategy focused on the occupation of land and on the idea of an **internal Jewish homeland**, although it was wishful thinking at best
 - Beyond Jerusalem, the exact contours of the homeland are very contentious and unclear: "*a land without a people for a people without a land*"
- The collapse of the Ottoman Empire created new opportunities for British imperialism
- Palestine planning their independence post-WWI is only aspirational because they were still under Ottoman influence

British Mandate

- British are deeply suspicious of Arabs as potential allies in the region and they see it much more possible to create an **allied relationship with European Jews** because their "euro-ness" made them more trustworthy to the British empire
- 1920s - in order to cement control in the area, the British encouraged/**facilitated Jewish settlement** in the area
 - More and more Palestinians began to feel **unfair dis-possession** of land, especially farmers
- **Divided regions** along Jordan River into two administrative regions: east of the River "Transjordan" and west of the River "Palestine"
- Considerable conflict during time of British administration
 - "Great Uprising" or "**Great Arab Revolt**" (1936-1939); consequences:
 - British come to interpret that **reconciliation of populations not possible**; Jews and Arabs must be separate and territory is the way to do it (Partition of British Mandate Lands 1947)
 - UN resolution 181: attempt to solve conflict through partition into two states
 - **Restricted Jewish immigration** to region in order to quell unrest, precisely at same time that so many Jews are trying to flee Nazi control, and they can only flee to Palestine but British are no longer facilitating this

Wars and Territory

- British troops withdraw from area and **War of Independence** commences 1948-1949

- Enormous **re-territorialisation**

Territory and Territoriality

- Territory is a noun or a *thing*, but with strong relationships to a range of other social phenomena – activities, practices and processes implicated in its production and transformation
 - It is bounded by social space that inscribes meaning onto defined parts of a material world
- Territoriality is **powerful geographical strategy** used to control people and things by controlling an area,
 - How human association, cultures and institutions organize themselves in space
 - Always **humanly constructed**, does not exist unless there is some attempt by individuals or groups to dictate interactions with others
 - These practices can be very general and almost invisible, it is about **claiming differential access to space** i.e. specific office hours
 - Territoriality refers to relationship *between* territories and some other social phenomenon
 - Religions make claims to territory as well, so territoriality is basically the simple control of an area and it involves any activity that is trying to influence the behaviours of others
 - Robert Sack: **“attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area i.e. territory”**
 - Overall, it is a geographical expression of social power, relating space and society

Relationship to Place

- Territories are not just artefacts; in creating territory we are also creating a particular kind of place
 - Unlike many ordinary places, **territories require constant effort to establish and maintain**
 - E.g. drug dealer claiming a street corner, create boundaries to affect behaviours by controlling access
- Territory can be used to contain or restrain, as well as to exclude [competitors]
- Both boundaries of a territory and means by which they are communicated are **alterable/changeable**
 - Do not have to live in territory in order to exert control over it, e.g. "No Trespassing" signs
 - Can be exerted legally or through brute force
 - Displayed through cultural norms or more subtle ways, such as body posture
 - **If the nature of power is unclear then the claim to territory will also be unclear**

Qualities and Characteristics of Territoriality

- 1> Territoriality must involve a form of **classification** by area
 - Idea that *everything* within that area belongs to a particular individual or group
 - Doesn't involve enumerating or sharing
- 2> Territoriality must contain a form of **communication**
 - E.g. use of markers/signs that are meaningful and not subtle
 - Can be symbolic rather than forceful, but has to be readable and readily *understandable*
- 3> Each instance of territoriality must involve an **attempt at enforcing control over access**
 - Can be done by controlling borders, or by restraining the people/activities within them
 - Enforcing control can be symbolic, social, oppressive or coercive, but the attempt to enforce this control is ultimately an exercise of power and how it is manifested in the material world

Other characteristics:

- 4> Territoriality is important in terms of **reifying power** as territory makes power *tangible*
- 5> Territoriality can be used to **displace attention** from the relationship between the controller and the controlled
 - If territoriality is done correctly and a territory is created, it comes to take on a taken-for-granted quality; it is as if the territory itself is doing the controlling, rather than a controller

Territoriality and Everyday Life

- Delaney: **territoriality is most effective when regarded in an everyday or taken-for-granted manner**
 - E.g. Private property appears self-evident
 - Territoriality in this sense works best when people are not always questioning the power that lies behind these territories, so that's why controllers want it to be linked to beliefs, desires and cultural ways of knowing so that it becomes **a part of collective identity**
 - When people enforce territorial claims through physical violence, it really highlights the degree to which **power lies behind any territory**

*FOR EXAM: should emphasize that territoriality is contingent, socially constructed, thus ideological and **dynamic**; needs **constant reinforcement**

16) Territorialization and Re-territorialization: Palestine/Israel

November 30, 2016

Balfour Declaration

- Nov. 2, 1917: British secretary writes to Jewish community leader to express support for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine
 - **Effort to create a colonial presence in the Middle East by enforcing a claim to territory through human settlement**
 - This declaration became a public statement, not just a private letter
- Dec. 8, 1917: British capture Jerusalem from Ottoman rule
 - Followed by a period of significant re-territorialization and the beginning of Palestinian marginalization

Treaty of Sevres, 1920: mandates territories created out of partitions from defeated Ottoman Empire

- Palestine became a "mandate" of Britain i.e. a British colony
 - Balfour Declaration is incorporated into this treaty
- Significant because changed complexities of power in the region
- Colonial powers used violence, sparking counter-violence among Arabs and Jews
- See increased social and economic stratification within Arab population in region
- Treaty never mentions Arab populations, really emphasized the creation of British colony by giving Jewish a homeland = significant **re-territorialization away from Ottoman empire**
 - Created the outlines of current Middle Eastern countries and overall changed the nature of power relations in the region
- Begins to encourage globalization by linking Palestine to international markets
 - Useful to Arab entrepreneurs and business people, so people living in small towns tended to do quite well under the British because they were not as of interest to them

Zionist Movement & Identity

- Notion of Palestine as "mythic" place
- How to create unitary identity out of all the ethnic and linguistic Jewish groups migrating to the region from different parts of Europe -- solution: "colonizers of land"
- **Jewish National Fund**: instrument to try to purchase land and create common identity through the occupation of land
- Two very different interpretations of land ownership / use of territorial identity intersect
 - Palestinian: more inclusive, agrarian
 - Jewish settlers: more European, exclusionary

Arab Interpretations of Tenure and Land

- Ottomans institutionalized various forms of land ownership in order to exert control and implemented into **Ottoman Land Code**
 - Reflected remnants of a nomadic society
 - However, from a Modern perspective, the Land Code looked complicated and unfamiliar
 - Began process of **centralizing land ownership** in Palestine
- Two main forms of land tenure:
 - *Mushaa*: collective village ownership = undivided **common property**
 - *Mulk*: full ownership (rare); usually large-scale landowners and leased land to tenant farmers, but this was the **most valuable** land in terms of its productivity
- Categories of land:
 - *Miri*: ownership **held by the state**, but individual land holder had strong degree of possession and use rights
 - *Mewat*: dead land; land distant from and **unused/uncultivated** by local community; considered valuable

because it gave opportunities to villagers to make a claim to land that they might not otherwise have had the chance to

- 1921: British changed article 103 of Code that pertained to Mawat land
 - **Mawat Land Ordinance**: anyone who "revives" *Mawat* land for cultivation *without* obtaining title-deed was considered to be trespassing and would lose that land
 - British effort to modernize the land system and align it with European notions of land ownership; essentially instituting a formal registration system in order to figure out who held clear titles to land
 - Any land that did not have clear title to it was essentially land that belonged to the state and thus open for purchase

Changing Demographics and Consequences

- Holocaust drastically reduces amount of Jews who are able to migrate
- By the end of WWII, there was a very strong sentiment that Jews would not be safe anywhere except for their designated homeland
- 1947: **UN Partition Plan** intended to create two micro-states
 - At heart of plan was a re-territorialization based on places of significant Jewish settlement
- **War in 1947-48**
 - Sets in motion a **new round of re-territorializations**
 - 388 towns and villages taken over by Israel
 - More than half of Arabs of western Palestine became **refugees** or became displaced as their communities were destroyed - ended up in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon
 - The right of return for Palestinians to areas of Palestine that they left is still not respected and continues to be a major impediment to peace
 - Very strong desire among architects of Israel to change demographics of Israel itself
 - De facto border between West Bank and rest of Israel is created
 - Known as a war of independence for Palestinians, but as a catastrophe among Jews

Six-Day War (1967)

- Israel made massive **territorial gains** by the end of this war - almost doubled the land area controlled by Israel, including Gaza strip, West Bank and Suez Canal
- In control of all of the territory of Mandatory Palestine
- UN responds with **Security Council Resolution 242**
 - Calls on Israel to withdraw from territories occupied in conflict and for all states in the region to respect the sovereignty of every other state and the right to live in peace
- For Palestinians, this was a second great catastrophe
 - Created another wave of refugees
- Immediate aftermath: Israel didn't really know what to do with all this new land
 - Defence minister Moshe Dayan wanted to see more free movement of people between these areas without ever encountering Israeli officials, in order to avoid Israel becoming a state of occupation

Yom Kippur War (1973)

- Launched by Egypt and Syria
- Make quick gains into Israeli controlled territories, but by week 2, both armies are pushed back
- Incurred an imagination of what Israel could potentially do with all this land
- **Territorial control** and regulation of movement
 - Wanted to keep Palestinians out of Israel proper, but within refugee camps controlled by Israel

Jewish Settlement in West Bank

- Third wave of re-territorialization
- Newman: settlements play major role in **delimitation of boundaries** that separate Israel and Palestinian territories, regardless of legality
- Jewish fundamentalists believed that what they were doing by moving into the West Bank was making claims to ancient biblical lands

- Settlements around Jerusalem are really manifestations of **suburbanization**, not motivated by ideological beliefs

Intifada and the Wall

- **Violence** within Israel becomes more and more common as suicide bombings become a regular part of **Intifada** that begins in 2000
 - Israeli government comes under fire from its own population to guarantee **security**
 - Respond to citizen concerns by invading major cities in West Bank in efforts to put down terrorist uprisings, but also by building a physical security barrier
- Where to build the **Wall** becomes a major political, social and economic question
 - Is ideological to some degree, but is fundamentally about **land value** because of what the Israeli settlements represent
 - Citizens in the suburbs want Wall to go around that territory because they want to be inside it, not outside since the value of their property will inevitably plummet if it is east of the Wall
 - Enormous pressure on government from settlements to make sure that the Wall encompasses as many settlements as possible
- People caught in the "**Seam Area**"
 - Entry in Seam Zone prohibited to only Israelis and Jews from anywhere in the world
 - Palestinians cannot go through it and its bizarre route means that many Palestinian farmers are separated from their lands
 - Created a complicated territorial system where they need to get a special permit and cross in very particular areas simply to get into their own land

Looking Ahead: Territory and Peace

- **Very far away from possibility of peace**
- One of problems with Oslo Peace Process was the fact that negotiating a separation and two states was not just a matter of drawing a line in space
 - Implicates identities, affiliations and national identity/history
- Some very real constraints of land and geography for a two-state solution
 - Are micro-states like West Bank and Gaza possible, especially with the much more developed Israeli economy as a neighbour?
 - **Cannot compete nationally nor internationally**
 - Because of settlements, there is a diminishing possibility of using **agriculture** to boost economy
 - **Water** is a crisis in the region because much of it is located underneath the West Bank and is essentially controlled by Israel
 - Gaza has one of the best **ports** in the Mediterranean and is seen as competition to Israeli ports
- Historical and ideological narratives shape much of the conflict and these remain very deeply contested in the region