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Our mission is to empower undergraduate and graduate students of anthropology in Utrecht to feel that their work matters. As such, we work to create a collaborative and independent intellectual space for all students.

Our goals

We strive to *facilitate knowledge exchange* by creating an accessible space equipped for learning new insights and skills. In addition, it is our goal to *foster student engagement*. Students are part of every step of our publication process. SCAJ thus reflects the efforts of Utrecht-based anthropology students through and through.

Our values

We operate in the pursuit of *inclusivity* as a means to further develop as a platform. Utrecht-based anthropology students of all backgrounds are included in our publication process and thus all these students of anthropology may appeal to this platform. For this to be true, we value *transparency* in all of our teams, selections and processes. As such, we strive to ensure that there is no mystery as to how we operate.

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Introduction

This edition sparks a bittersweet feeling for me, as it will be the final time I address you, dear reader, in my role as Editor-in-Chief of SCAJ. I have had the pleasure of overseeing four of our publications in this function. Each of them has been unique, exciting, and challenging in its own way. I always marvel at the academic proficiency of our authors and the sheer diversity in anthropological insights that we receive in our pool of submissions for each edition. Each time, I am reminded of SCAJ's *raison d'être*, as well as not only the relevance but the importance of student voices in academic debates. As either freshly graduated anthropologists, or anthropologists-to-be, our perspectives on decades-old debates or new developments within the discipline are the driving force for the future of this field. We are beyond proud to offer these young academics a space to share those perspectives.

As per usual, many parties are to thank for their contribution to this issue. We express our gratitude to every student who submitted their assignments, for without your drive, our review process would be rather

dull. The same goes for our reviewers. Each edition proves to me and our core reviewers the formidable capabilities of anthropology students and their strong grasp on the academic field. We thank you for your sharp minds and discussions that have been instrumental in our selection process. And last but not least, I thank SCAJ's wonderful core team, without whom I would not know what to do. You (re)ignite my enthusiasm for the work we do in every meeting, with every new idea, and at every *borrel*. From the bottom of my heart: thank you.

The issue you are about to read houses eight written assignments from anthropology students at Utrecht University and University College Utrecht. These articles perfectly represent the diverse field and interests of current anthropological inquiries. Allow me to give you a quick selective preview of what is to come. For example, get acquainted with the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya and its city-like characteristics in Marianka Komornicka's "Kakuma Refugee Camp – A city without citizenship?". Examine both the antiquity and novelty of Dutch wind energy

in Lorenzo Leoni and Madeline Greenwood's "Harnessing the Wind". And observe the tension between Western and Indigenous medicine amongst the Pehuenche population in Chile in Zsófia Lehóczky's "Ontological Collision between the Two *Am-s*". All of this and more, you will find in the contents of this issue.

That's it from me. It has been an absolute pleasure to write this final introduction and I am bursting with anticipation to see what

SCAJ's pages will be filled with in the future. With that, I now leave you in the hands of our authors, as they take you through their narratives, insights, and thought processes in the wonderful works that have been selected for publication. On behalf of SCAJ's core team, one final time, I wish you happy reading.

Tamar Oderwald
Editor-in-chief

Before reading

Before you start reading the papers that have been selected for this edition of SCAJ, we feel it is important to share a few comments. First, the core team of SCAJ would like to emphasize that both the content of the papers as well as the added motivation for producing the work (as quoted beneath the author's name), are completely written by the authors. Each work was checked for possible errors regarding spelling, grammar, and referencing. Any corrections were relayed back to the respective authors, who were then given the opportunity to revise their work accordingly. SCAJ's reviewers and editorial board have thus not made any alterations to the works you are about to read.

To elaborate, the papers in this edition of SCAJ have been selected by our selection committee from a broader range of submissions. This edition's committee consisted of eight students of Cultural Anthropology from different years of study, as well as four members of our core team. During the process of selection, the committee was divided into four groups,

each led by one of our core reviewers. Each group used the same set of reading questions as a guideline for the selection process. These reading questions focused on readability, creativity, originality, and structure. However, every reviewer was given the freedom to deviate from these reading questions. We believe that the ability to discuss freely allows for dynamic analyses, providing more valuable insights than rigidly conforming to any guideline. Every group read a number of fully anonymized papers, of which they made a selection fit for publication. Afterwards, the four members of the core team discussed the results and considerations of their respective selection groups to make this final selection.

The order in which the papers are published in this journal is not based on our judgement of their respective qualities. Rather, we have tried to organize it in a way that is pleasant to read. This means we have tried to avoid placing papers with similar topics and lengths in sequence to each other. Other than that, the arrangement of papers is completely random.

Defining Kinship

A critical exploration of kinship studies

Kris Withagen

"When we were told we could submit our work to be published in SCAJ, I was thrilled. It is my dream to be a published researcher and this is a great opportunity to start that. In a couple years, hopefully, I will write for a living. I hope I will have written a (chapter in a) book, or that I've been published in scientific journals. Being published in SCAJ would mean a lot to me. I hope my paper gets published, so I can keep a conversation going. We need to be critical of the language we use in our field and acknowledge any negative effects our rhetoric can have."

Abstract

How kinship is experienced and how kinship is described are two vastly different things. In anthropology, kinship is described as "the principle intra- and intergenerational binding structure in human cultures" (Wilson 2022B, 3). For a relationship to be considered kinship it needs to conform to certain rules and expectations: having culturally shared kin terminology, shared social responsibility, and being intergenerational (Read and El Guindi 2022, 9). One example of a relation that does not conform to these rules is the *chosen family*. This system is of critical importance to LGBT+ people in shaping kinship networks (Weston 1991; Wozolek 2021), yet they do not get considered kin. Also, anthropological kinship concepts do not have meaning to the people whom they are supposed to describe (Wilson 2022B). In this paper, I analyse the value of anthropological kinship terminology in modern-day western societies. I hope to open the discussion on how we could and should define kinships in anthropology by highlighting different views from queer-, feminist- and socialist anthropology.

Key words: *chosen family, queer kinship, social relatedness, care systems, voluntary affiliation*

Introduction

In anthropology, kinship gets classified and organized using universalizing terms. These terms are generalizing and lead to normativity. To identify you need to demarcate, define an 'us' and a 'them'. This causes a dichotomy of 'right' and 'wrong', where anything outside the norm is considered incorrect or deviant (Wilson 2022A, 7). Furthermore, if a type of relationship does not fit the qualifications of kinship, it will not be seen as such, nor will it be studied (Mizelińska 2022, 15). LGBTQ+ individuals are but one of many groups who do not easily fit into the boxes we created. Take for example the *family of choice*, as Kath Weston (1991) described it. Such families, originally support networks built from friendships between gay men and lesbians, are based on mutual care and trust. They act like families, live like families, *feel* like families, yet they are not kin. This system, though not exclusive to queer individuals (Dewaele e.a. 2011, 313-314), is of critical importance to LGBT+ people in shaping kinship networks (Weston 1991; Wozolek 2021) yet does not conform to the norm.

Modern western societies and the ways people organize themselves in what they describe as families are changing as a result

of new reproductive technologies, marriage equality emancipation, the de-institutionalisation of marriage, the rise of adoption (Silver 2020) and broader socioeconomic factors such as the benefits and disadvantages of modernity and capitalism (Graham 2008). Nevertheless, the way we define what is and is not kinship in the mainstream has not changed.

In this paper, I analyse ways kinship is defined in contemporary anthropology and its implications for non-anthropologists through a queer theorist lens. I define 'queer' as "a critical perspective toward normative ... institutions made visible by LBGTQ+ family making (Smietana, Thompson, and Twine 2018, 114, in Silver 2020, 219)", meaning I look critically at the norms we create and keep up by the way we define what is and is not kinship. I do so by looking at the experiences of those who defy the norm, in this case the LGBTQ+ community. I do not wish to paint this community as a monolith, and I wish to emphasise that the two cases I study are not representative for the entire community, nor is having disruptive kinships a defining feature of being LGBTQ+.

The goal of this paper is to open a conversation on the ways we could and should define kinship in anthropology. I aim

to ponder the question: “What value does the standardly used kinship terminology hold in researching modern society?” I support the notion that our etic definitions do not naturally align to the emic experiences they describe (Schneider 1972, 51, in Wilson 2022B) and that anthropologists should instead focus on the ways people experience their kinships over how they would fit into predefined boxes, and this paper demonstrates why.

At first, I give a theoretical framework on modern kinship definitions, where I explain the contrasting theories behind progenerative kinship and constructivism. I then use two vignettes from John Borneman (1997) to exemplify how anthropological and legal definitions do not need to reflect the lived reality of people. These are but two examples of ways LGBTQ+ individuals have been living in spite of the norm. After that, I discuss other ways the universalising terminology we use hinder our further understanding of modern western societies. I conclude by highlighting other ideas as to how we could try to understand kinship, drawing from feminist, queer, and socialist anthropological literature.

What makes kin?

Kinship, one of the core interests of anthropology, has changed tremendously over the years. In its early days, kinship studies mainly focused on genealogical relatedness (Wilson 2016, 571). The field “reinforced the boundaries between the West and the rest (Carsten 2004, 15, in Wilson 2016)” but moved away from bio-essentialism and ethnocentrism in the 1970s through the rise of ‘new kinship studies’ (Wilson 2016, 571).

Nowadays, kinship is defined as a social organization structure, characterized by algebraic modelling and orderly, tightly framed terminology. As Read and El Guindi pose it: “To be considered kin, individuals corporately share the responsibility of building and the obligation of protecting a shared reputation, a shared honour, a shared estate, a shared name, throughout their lifetime and after the death of individuals” (2022, 9). It is a method of connecting people intergenerationally (Wilson 2022B, 3). Kinship is ‘mutuality of being’, in which two or more people could not exist without the other (Sahlins 2013, 2).

This progenerative stance has been contested and criticized by constructivist anthropologists such as Carsten, who argue

kinship is not given but made (2004). This mutuality of existence does not only take the form of consanguinity. Partaking in and keeping up someone else's life, after all, is not exclusive to biological relatives (Sahlins 2013, 14-15). Constructivism acknowledges genealogy as insufficient when defining kinships. A pedigree does not yet make a family, yet it stands at the centre of kinship calculations (Wilson 2022A).

The typologies used to notate genealogical kin are based on the structural distinctions made by Lewis Henry Morgan, Robert H. Lowie, Peter Kirchoff, Leslie Spier and George Peter Murdock in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Read 2013). Terms such as 'bifurcate collateral', 'ambilineal' and abbreviations like FZS or MBD are common knowledge to an anthropologist, but to the layman these sound like mumbo-jumbo. This jargon only exists in the mind of an anthropologist and does not compute to the experiences of non-anthropologists (Schneider 1972, 51, in Wilson 2022B).

Who makes kin?

In his 1997 article 'Caring and Being Cared For: Displacing Marriage, Kinship, Gender and Sexuality' anthropologist John Borneman argues anthropology should

instead focus on what he calls *voluntary affiliation*. He says kinship is symbolic rather than structural. He explains processes of care, in which people willingly take on mutual benevolent responsibilities, are of greater importance when trying to study human affiliation than the limiting conceptualizations used to define it now.

He does so by studying two cases of queer families in late twentieth-century Germany, who shaped kinship in ways that defy both legal and anthropological classifications. Notably, both cases involved adoption and/or marriage, which were executed legally. He acknowledges there is a difference between anthropological concepts and legal recognition, but he argues their influences on shaping our understanding of kinship are intertwined (574).

Case 1. Harald & Dieter

Harald, aged fifty-five, has been living with his adopted son Dieter, aged thirty-five for twelve years. Dieter's father passed away, but his mother was still alive. When Harald asked for her permission to legally adopt Dieter, he faced trouble in court. His mother claimed they were gay and living as a married couple (Borneman 1997, 574-575). Besides the homophobia of the time making this a

dangerous claim, this would have meant a father and son had a romantic and possibly sexual relationship. This caused complex lawsuits in which the meanings of descent, legal kinship, incest, parenthood, affinity, reproductive risk and consanguinity were at the centre of debate (Borneman 1997, 575-578).

Borneman writes: "Their relationship was based neither on a set of communitarian foreclosures and essential exclusions - of sex or blood - nor on filling a lack through the incorporation of gender difference into a new unity" (1997, 580). This is to say, human bonding and affiliation will grow beyond rules and expectations associated with the labels we adhere.

Case II. Bärbel, Mirka & Martin

Bärbel, aged forty-two, Mirka, aged fifty-three, and Martin, aged thirty-four live together. Mirka is Martin's mother. Bärbel and Martin are married. Martin is older than the average guy who lives with his mother, especially after marriage. Mirka is not as old as most people who would need their child's live-in care. Still, this arrangement works. Why?

Bärbel and Mirka are in a loving relationship. Mirka is the girlfriend and affinal

mother of her son's wife. Their arrangement makes no sense in anthropological or legal terminology, yet it works. Their relationships show us how the terminology used is solely symbolic and how it does not mean much to the people it describes (Borneman 1997, 580). About Bärbel and Mirka, Borneman writes: "This marriage is neither articulable nor representable in anthropological categories, yet it was *significant and above all, it was fundamentally human* [emphasis added]" (1997, 581).

These are but two examples of queer kin building. These systems of care are an integral aspect of families of choice, a term coined by Kath Weston in the 1991 book 'Families we Choose'. These networks are based on romantic and platonic love, social and economic convenience and voluntary affiliation, and will adapt or change if necessary. These families are of critical importance in shaping kinship for LGBTQ+ people (Wozolek 2021), and can be just as important, if not more so, to them than their families of orientation when it comes to mental health regarding emotional needs (Milton and Knutson 2021) and dealing with big life changes like grief (Corns 2022). It is noteworthy that families of choice do not replace families of origin, even if the family of

origin rejects their queer member for being LGBTQ+. This, however, can come from false hope or societal expectations regarding parent-child relationships, and is called compulsory kinship (Reczek and Bosley-Smith 2021; 2022).

So, what does Borneman take from these experiences? He concludes anthropological conceptualisations and definitions of affiliation and kinship have real effects in the non-anthropologist world, for these descriptions constitute what is and is not proper kinship. He says it is our moral responsibility as anthropologists to examine what is human within our framework. We should be mindful of the regulative effects of our science and our biases when shaping discourse.

Borneman proposes a more inclusive way of identifying kinships, namely through the processes of voluntary affiliation, caring and being cared for (1997). His way of identifying kinships is more inclusive to people who do not fit inside the boxes built by anthropological kinship terminology.

Shaping the box

The comparison Borneman draws between legal and anthropological recognitions of kinship is not an unusual one. While

anthropological or legal identifications may not accurately describe non-normative kinships, they do impact them (Borneman 1997). In an attempt to universally classify and define kinship anthropologists use terms that are generalizing and lead to normativity. To identify you need to demarcate, define an 'us' and a 'them'. While this is a fundamental aspect of anthropology as a science, this dichotomy can lead to hierarchy where the 'them' gets dismissed (Thelen 2015, 499).

Normativity causes a distinction between right and wrong. A norm creates a collective intention and anything which does not fit the established norm gets deemed improper or strange (Wilson 2022B, 7). Kinship, if seen as intrinsically intragenerational, naturalises heterosexuality and keeps up a cishetero norm (Campbell 2002, 643-644). Failing to meet this norm can result in social death (Butler 2000, 55, in Campbell 2002, 644). Additionally, those in family configurations other than the norm -a nuclear family in which two married cishetero parents raise children together- go underrepresented in research (Mizielińska 2022, 15).

Today, the ideal of a nuclear family is merely a contingency. Through the deinstitutionalisation of marriage, the socioeconomic changes brought on by

modern capitalism and the rise in development and use of new reproductive technologies (NRTs) in the west, ties which would traditionally be seen as kinship have become less fixed and less of a determinant (Allan 2008). Kinship language, when used by non-anthropologists, loses all exclusive value because of the suffusion of family and friends. Someone can describe a good friend as 'like a brother', and a family friend may be called an aunt (Allan 2008, 7). How families and community form is based not only in agency but is heavily impacted by greater societal influences (Allan 2008, 2). Modern technology gives people the possibility of creating complex and dynamic webs, broader and more diverse than ever before (Allan 2008, 6).

Now marriage, affiliation and reproduction for necessity are less common, love steps into the picture. Love has not always been a part of kinship studies (Mody 2022, 273) but is growing increasingly important in the forming of kinship. Love is notoriously difficult to study, for it is an incredibly personal and intimate feeling which is hard to explain or describe (Mody 2022, 274-275).

This is not to say anthropology should reject the study of kinship as a whole. The

current systems are incredibly useful for cross-cultural comparison. Nevertheless, they do not accurately describe kinships in western modernity.

Rethinking kinship

So, then in which ways could anthropologists identify kinship? One idea is to focus more on a deeper understanding of individual cases rather than adjusting the typologies in use today (Kronenfeld 2012, 679). Some anthropologists, however, think of more drastic changes.

Perhaps the most radical of all was David M. Schneider, who in 1968 rejected the biological approach in kinship studies and proposed kinship is symbolical rather than structural (Leaf 2022, 57). In 1972, he called kinship a non-subject which only exists in anthropological dogma (Wilson 2022B), and in 1984 he renounced kinship altogether. In his opinion, it was not objective, it was not anything (Leaf 2022, 57). While kinship is most definitely not *nothing*, I do agree with some of Schneider's ideas. I am not alone in this.

As mentioned before, John Borneman too proposed kinship is symbolic rather than structural (1997). Kirsten Campbell, professor of feminist, psychoanalytic and socio-legal

theory, agrees. She writes, in a review of Judith Butler's 'Antigone's Claim', how modern kinship ties have changed, and how kinship structures should too (2002, 645). Campbell cites Butler: "radical alterations in kinship demand a rearticulation of the structuralist presuppositions of psychoanalysis and hence, of contemporary gender and sexual theory (2000, 19)". They see kinship as a symbolic set of cultural rules which in turn form social norms. The irony here, lies in how the symbols naturally organise themselves (Campbell 2002, 647). Campbell and Butler use kinship as a descriptive term, one signifying interpersonal relationships of care which are "shared, stable and collective arrangements (2002, 646)". They suggest a reshaping of who we count as kin, including consanguine parents, life partners and friends. To them, kinship is a relationship of responsibility (2002, 647).

Conclusion

There is value in how we interpret the world around us, and there is power in the words we use to describe these experiences. Anthropological kinship studies are fundamental to the science for sociality and family are innately human, yet the

conceptualisations used in these studies are structured and normative.

In mainstream western kinship studies, there are mixed opinions on how to define kinship. Most conflicts surround the question of whether reproduction and genealogy are base characteristics of kinship. Progenerativism says it is, it is what divides kin from other social relations. It is mutuality of being, the organizing structure binding people in and between generations (Wilson 2022B, 3). Constructivism, contrastingly, tells us kin is made, not given. They refuse consanguinity as the sole connective factor between kin (Carsten 2004; Wilson 2022A).

The way anthropologists categorize who is or isn't kin and what those relationships mean needs distinct demarcation. Anthropologists created structures to identify and define kin, but these lead to (hetero)normativity (Butler 2000, 55, in Campbell 2002, 644). This has a real social impact. What doesn't fit the norm gets deemed incorrect and therefore wrong (Wilson 2022A, 7). If something doesn't get considered a kinship by anthropologists, it will not get studied (Mizielińska 2022, 15).

This matters because in today's society there are many ways people defy the norm, taking on new familial structures and

redefining kinship precisely because of these norms (Silver 2020; Weston 1991). The reproductive expectation for kin instills a heterosexual norm. LGBTQ+ people, amongst other groups, have reshaped our understanding of kinship and they will continue to do so.

Furthermore, as an effect of sociocultural and -economic change due to capitalism, the deinstitutionalization of marriage and the rise of NRTs, lines between family and friends have blurred. We are less dependent on our families of origin, and it has never been easier to make connections with other people through the internet (Allan 2008). Does anyone adhere to the norm?

The way we as anthropologists define kinship now impacts the way humans define

theirs. While there have been critiques of the structured organization, by Schneider, Borneman, Butler and others, the field of anthropology seems not to be ready to let go of its dogma. They propose kin is symbolic and should be defined by the people, not by science (Borneman 1997; Campbell 2002).

As a first-year undergraduate student of cultural anthropology, I am not trying to start a semantic revolution in one of the fundamental aspects of the science. What I do hope to do, is examine the systems we have in use, how they are used and how they impact others. I hope to continue the conversation on how we define others, for the way they define themselves will keep changing. I hope we can keep up.

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Kakuma Refugee Camp – A city without citizenship?

The analysis of strategies to overcome the dependence and (pseudo)temporality on the example of the informal economic practices in the camp

Marianna Komornicka

"As university students, we all know assignments requiring long papers and extensive research. Their main purpose is naturally gaining knowledge about a particular topic and getting the academic skills for the future. However, what often becomes forgotten in the process, is the pure interest and many a time passion on the side of a student. The opportunity to design our own research questions provokes genuine curiosity and motivation to put effort into our writing. As a consequence, many papers become much more than obligatory assignments and should no longer be read as such. The required change of perspective is not easy, both for the students and the teachers. However, what is sometimes not conceivable within an university setting of classrooms, deadlines and grades may become possible as the text goes beyond it."

Abstract

The paper explores the notions of a city and citizenship in relation to the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya. Kakuma has operated since the 1980s and inhabits close to 200 000 refugees of 19 different African nationalities. Meant as a temporary settlement, it has already borne witness to many people being born, finishing their education, finding jobs, setting up families and passing away. Longevity of the camp, its city-like characteristics and coping strategies of the refugees clash with the constant waitness, illusion of temporality, hope for resettlement and imposed, as well as internalised identity of a refugee. On the example of informal economic practices as one of the most important coping strategies, the paper examines whether a feeling of citizenship can be developed in this context. It is found that even though Kakuma refugee camp resembles a city to a great extent, the (pseudo)temporality and dependency which characterise the daily life of refugees still hamper the development of the feeling of citizenship among its inhabitants making it a city without citizenship.

Kakuma refugee camp, persistently described as a temporary settlement by the refugees, humanitarian organizations and Kenyan authorities, last year marked its 30th anniversary. The camp led by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) lies in the semi-dry area of north-eastern Kenya and inhabits close to 200 000 refugees of 19 different African nationalities and even more ethnic groups and clans. People from Somalia, Ethiopia, South Sudan and many other places have been fleeing military conflicts since the 1980s and the camp constantly welcomes newcomers. As more and more people are born there, finish their education, find jobs, set up families and pass away, the poignant gulf between peoples' hopes for starting a new life outside of the camp and the reality grows bigger. As shown by the World Bank Report (2019), only around 1% of the camp inhabitants got resettled or repatriated. However, the constant waithood, illusion of temporality and hope for resettlement constitute the life of all refugees. The contradiction between contesting the permanent character of the camp on the one hand, and adapting to it on another results in a fragile city-like construction sustained mostly by humanitarian aid. Are the urban

characteristics of the camp enough to call it a city? And more importantly, can it create the feeling of citizenship for its inhabitants?

According to Bartolomei (2003), citizenship means "full membership in a community, which encompasses civil, political and social rights and responsibilities" (p. 91). It involves stability, normalcy, protection, a set of predictable rules and a certain place for an individual in the society - characteristics, which contradict the narrative of a refugee camp as a temporary place of transition. Citizenship requires the members to actively shape their community by exercising their rights and responsibilities. It emphasizes the agency of the refugees as opposed to helplessness and dependence on humanitarian aid. But is it possible for the Kakuma refugees to overcome the (pseudo)temporality and dependence and substitute the identity of a refugee with that of a citizen? The essay will answer this question by using the example of the informal economic practices within the camp. Based on six anthropological peer reviewed articles which rely on fieldwork and interviews conducted between 1998 and 2021 in the Kakuma camp, I would like to examine the meaning and constraints of the refugees' coping strategies and relate them to the

notion of citizenship. The first part of the paper will focus on describing the urban characteristics of the camp and discussing the temporality embedded in the city-like infrastructure, practices and institutions. Building on that, I will describe how temporality and dependence shape the identity of a refugee, which remains in conflict with the feeling of citizenship. Finally, I will examine the informal economy of the camp as an example of a coping strategy and determine whether the life in Kakuma can be described with the notions of “city” and “citizenship”.

Already the first glimpse of the camp on the satellite images shows the striking resemblance to an urban settlement – roads, schools, high density housing neatly spread around the area, occasionally churches, shops, cafes, even cinemas. A few places marked “food distribution point” blend into the mosaic of other institutions and facilities and can easily escape one’s notice. The urban characteristics of Kakuma were described by many researchers (Teferra, 2022; Omata, 2021; Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000) and comparisons to an urban slum can be found (Teferra, 2022). However, most of them go beyond the visual resemblance and name other city-like qualities of the camp.

What makes a city a city? Montclos and Kagwanja argue that Kakuma shouldn’t be compared with other cities in general, but other African or Kenyan cities. They mention 6 measures by which an urban character of a place can be decided, namely size, population, density, infrastructure, trade and occupations and already in 2000, when the camp was much smaller and less developed, prove that Kakuma meets all of the criteria (2000). The size, population and density undoubtedly outdo many of the Kenyan cities and are enough to call it an urban area. Ironically enough, if Kakuma was to be called a city, it would also be the most cosmopolitan city in Kenya (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000). With its mix of nationalities, cultures, values, more fluid statuses and gender norms, in some perverse sense it matches the notion of a vibrant “modern” city. However, the infrastructure, trade and occupations seem more disputable. There are indeed many institutions, such as schools, restaurants, hospitals, roads etc. but some of the researchers prove that the infrastructure works poorly and does not meet the needs of the inhabitants (Teferra, 2022; Omata, 2021; Gladden, 2020). Teferra (2022) gives an example of primary schools in which the ratio of pupils per teacher is 156 and an average

grade on the final exams D-. On the other hand, Montclos & Kagwanja (2000) write that the inhabitants of the camp have in general much higher chances of being hospitalized when they needed it than the majority of the rural population of Kenya, including the pastoralists – Turkana who live in the area surrounding the camp.

Relations with Turkana fit well into the traditional distinction between an urban and rural settlement. Kakuma refugees are nutritionally dependent on Turkana in fulfilling their needs exceeding the relief packages distributed by the UNHCR (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000). The dependency gets artificially amplified by the fact that they are not allowed to rear cattle, grow anything within the camp or trim trees for firewood (Omata, 2021). On the other hand, members of the Turkana community sometimes find employment in Kakuma (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000) or benefit from goods and services in the camp, such as banking or internet access (Oka, 2014). This shows the importance and a high degree of employment in the service sector, characteristic for cities. What raises doubts about building on the distinction between urban and rural areas, is the fact that the whole region is very dry and hard to cultivate.

In fact, that was one of the reasons for choosing that location for the camp (Bartolomei et al., 2003; Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000). Kenyan authorities wanted to ensure the temporality of the place by making it impossible for the refugees to get attached to the land (Teferra, 2022) and further discouraging them by extremely harsh weather conditions (heat waves, dust storms, floods etc.). Although the attempt proved to be insufficient, the lack of agrarian possibilities and difficult conditions might have influenced the “urban” development of the camp and made the cooperation (both among the refugees and with the Turkana community) even more necessary. According to Omata (2021), fostering the cooperation and mutual relationships, especially between the refugees and the host community has a crucial role in ensuring the stability and longevity of a camp.

The aim of fostering temporality which motivated the actions of the government from the very beginning is also visible in many other policies and practices within the camp. It is embedded in the status of a refugee and the idea of a refugee camp itself. As Teferra puts it, it is “administered, funded and conceptualized as a temporary project” (2022, p. 5). It is visible in the example of

governance. The four zones of the camp are supposed to be represented by voluntary zone leaders, however, the system proves very insufficient (Teferra, 2022). Neither UNHCR nor the refugees themselves view the role as something stable and responsible. The leaders are not empowered, they change constantly and instead of devoting themselves to their duties, treat it as an opportunity to increase their chances of resettlement. A similar pattern can be observed in regard to the allocation of funds. The principle of the UNHCR and other organizations operating in the camp is sufficing essential needs of the refugees. Long term investments (even if they could prove more viable in the long run) are never prioritized due to the unreliable budget operating on a daily basis (Oka, 2014), irregular donations (Omata, 2021), and most importantly, the illusion of temporality. Upholding it seems to be in a way crucial for the functioning of the camp. Humanitarian aid has temporality in its definition. It is legitimate (and readily founded) only as long as its recipients have no other way of surviving. That is how the identity of refugees as helpless, vulnerable and unable to exercise their agency gets shaped. The paradox emerges when the narrative lasts for years

and gets internalized by the refugees themselves. Sustained by the constant hope of resettlement, they not only don't feel at home in the camp, but also don't want to feel at home, since it would require admitting the permanence of their predicament. As a result they live in a very temporary mode of existence, refraining from long term planning, investments, or decisions (Teferra, 2022). Transience makes them less likely to find fulfilment in any sort of everyday activities (Oka, 2014) and traps them in a very dangerous state of waitness and growing apathy.

On the contrary, the need to cope with the state and introduce some normalcy and dignity to their lives, even if it does not mean dropping the hope of resettlement, pushes the refugees to exercise their agency in various ways. They engage in volunteering or incentive jobs for the NGOs operating in the camp, establish religious groups and other institutions (South Sudanese community was even reported to have its own court and jail), arrange their houses, create opportunities for meeting others, feast together, celebrate important occasions, organize protests, work illegally in the Kakuma town next to the camp or split the families in order for some of the members to seek a (illegal) job further from

the camp (Teferra, 2022; Oka, 2014; Omata, 2021). The most extreme example is seeking a better life in Europe and embarking on a risky and very difficult journey. Refugees call it “resettling themselves” (Teferra, 2022, p. 18), which shows a striking contrast with the desired resettlement which they have never lived to see.

The informal economic practices of the camp and above all the commerce are among the most prominent coping strategies of the Kakuma refugees. They occur in a grey zone between the UNHCR regulations (and sometimes also the Kenyan law) and their actual enforcement. They involve exchange, trade, transactions on the black market, setting up retail stores, small businesses and services such as restaurants, cafes or motorbike taxis (Oka, 2014; Omata, 2021). According to Oka (2014), there are three main sources of goods and cash for the refugees. The first one are remittances from the family or community members working all over the world and sending them cash through banking or mobile currency transfers. Secondly, they receive salaries from employment in various NGOs (as well as the small loans or grants) or the commercial sector. And lastly, selling the relief packages (consisting predominantly of food)

distributed regularly by the relief agencies to all the refugees in the camp. Different sources of income often reflect the stratification among the camp inhabitants (Omata, 2021). People receiving additional remittances from their acquaintances or working in more profitable jobs (usually that means illegal or certain commercial occupations) have a favorable position on the camp market, are very little dependent on humanitarian aid and have more choice in their consumer patterns. On the contrary, people with no other income besides the relief packages making up around 20% of the camp population are restricted in their possibilities (Oka, 2014). They undergo periods of malnutrition, often fall in debts and need extreme cautiousness in planning their monthly expenses. However, as shown by Oka (2014) all groups are equally likely to sell at least some portion of their food rations on the black market and engage in commerce.

According to Teferra (2022), it is the exchanging of food from the relief packages which marked the beginning of commerce and small businesses in Kakuma. At first, items from identical rations were exchanged according to the different preferences without the involvement of money. Gradually

other types of food started entering the informal market through unstructured transactions with the Turkana and imports from various Kenyan cities. The increasing variety of food and eventually also other goods on the market raised the need for turning into currency – a process very similar to that accompanying the historical emergence of the first cities. There are various reasons for the appearance of exchange and the importance of food as an exchange item. Among the most important Oka (2014) names different preferences, cultural meaning of food, and social aspects and dignity connected with sharing with others. Coming from different countries and places, the inhabitants of the camp are used to different diets and have different associations with certain foods and dishes. Oka (2014) gives an example of Somalians coming from urban areas. As a former Italian colony, Somalia incorporated some of the typically Italian foods, such as pasta into their cuisine, which made it quite unique compared to neighboring regions. On the other hand, the typically eastern African cuisine such as maize or sorghum, was associated with lower status and rural areas. As a result, selling sorghum which makes up most of the relief packages in order to buy

more expensive pasta gave them the feeling of normalcy and dignity worth paying for. Food from other sources than the rations has a surplus for being in line with the cultural and “class” preferences but also possesses an additional social value. The acts of exchanging and buying, as well as feasting and celebrating together foster social relations. They create networks, prevent violence (Oka, 2014) and build social capital, which in many of the places of origin of the refugees was already tightly connected with food and the act of sharing.

Current economic relations in the camp are more complicated and revolve also around other goods and services, however, their meaning remains similar. The first rows of houses near the main roads in the camp are always reserved for shops and services (Teferra, 2022). There is a constant flow of cash and goods from the refugee market in the Kakuma town (1km away from the camp) and Nairobi (Omata, 2021). Some services, for example flouring sorghum, can only be bought in cash but the mechanism of exercising one’s agency through an active participation in the market remains the same. The act of buying, choosing, bringing home something unusual and having variety in one’s diet creates the feeling of normalcy and

independence. It is also especially rewarding for those who were the breadwinners of their families and helps them reconcile with the situation of a refugee (Gladden, 2020). According to Oka (2014), goods from the market are always perceived as comforting and luxurious, even if they were to be exactly the same products as those received in relief packages. That is why people en masse decide to sell their rations and buy products on the market even when it means becoming indebted or having less basic goods in general. This mechanism creates a difficult situation for the relief organizations. By exercising their agency, refugees refute the images of helplessness, dependency and temporality. At the same time, humanitarian workers recognize that the refugees (some more and some less) are still in need of external help. In most cases, the refugees themselves also don't perceive their economic activity as something permanent or even their own businesses as their "true" occupations (Bartolomei et al., 2003). That is how the illusion of temporality gets upheld and reinforced over and over again.

In conclusion, Kakuma refugee camp resembles a city to a great extent, however, the (pseudo)temporality and dependency which characterize the daily life of refugees

still hamper the development of the feeling of citizenship among its inhabitants. With its overall appearance, population and size, the camp doubtlessly exhibits urban characteristics and is likely to show even more similarities in the future. Although the institutions and occupational structure of Kakuma seem to be more provisional and affected by the overall narrative of temporality, they still mirror the urban pattern of employment in the service sector and stand out from the surrounding rural areas and pastoralist life of Turkana. However, as shown by anthropological research, the urban character of the camp does not entail the feeling of citizenship among its inhabitants, creating a contradiction difficult to resolve. As visible on the example of the informal economic practices in the camp, exercising their agency helps the Kakuma refugees regain normalcy and dignity. Yet, commerce and other strategies potentially capable of creating the feeling of citizenship are also hindered by the (pseudo)temporality and the prevailing identity of a refugee. The constant hope for resettlement and at least partial dependency on the relief agencies does not allow the refugees to establish their urban practices as

permanent and the identity of citizens of the Kakuma city as predominant.

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Banning Settler Myths

An examination of the harmful effects of Trump's travel ban and settler fictions on Immigrant and Indigenous lives

Bente Edinga

"The course I wrote this paper for, Postcolonial Theory, has really turned my worldview upside down and affected me a lot. It opened my eyes to and made me care about the insane injustice and harm we as 'white Europeans' have done (and still do) to a lot of other human beings with our colonial and postcolonial practices and discourses. With this paper I want to spread more awareness of this fact, and take a step in the right direction."

Abstract

This paper takes the travel ban/'Muslim ban' that Trump, as president of the United States, proclaimed in 2017 as its starting point to criticise broader harmful realities, for in this case Muslim and Indigenous lives. This ban is an example and corollary of myths devised by colonial settlers in the US, that undermine the dignity, humanity and existence of Muslim migrants and Indigenous people. With targeting Muslims, the US government confirms/reproduces the myth of Muslims as inherently different from and a threat to the 'good and western' United States, which dehumanizes them and undermines their dignity as fellow humans. From an Indigenous perspective, a travel ban is another colonializing move, a confirmation of settler supremacy on Indigenous lands. A superiority upheld by settler myths (the nation-state authority over land and constructed borders and political and legal systems), which have done much damage by eradicating and undermining Indigenous lives, ways of living, identities, and worldviews. The paper ends with the hopeful message to defy settler myths, to pave the way for other, more just, futures.

'... the world was born yearning to be a home for everyone' - *Eduardo Galeano (2009)*

January 2017, Donald Trump had just been elected President of The United States of America when he proclaimed a 'travel ban' which prohibited nationals of seven countries to enter the US for at least 90 days, and refugees for four months. The countries targeted by the ban were Iraq, Syria, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen, all countries that were marked as 'countries of concern' for terrorism by the Obama administration (Criss, 2017). This ban was motivated and legitimized by a protection narrative. Trump states in the full text of the order that he was implementing it to 'protect the American people from terrorist attacks by foreign nationals admitted to the United States.' (Zabriskie, 2017). He declares that the visa-issuance process is crucial in this and should be strict, to prevent entrance into the US of those who bear hostile attitudes toward the US constitution and its citizens and 'infiltration by foreign terrorists or criminals.' He states that it has gone wrong in the past, taking the 9/11 attacks as example of an instance where foreign nationals were issued a visa through a refugee program and

subsequently attacked the US. His travel ban includes the 'suspension of issuance of Visas and other immigration benefits to nationals of countries of particular concern'. (Zabriskie, 2017). The effects of the ban were felt immediately, strict controls were carried out at airports and borders and migrants and refugees that were on their way to the US at the moment that Trump signed the declaration, were detained or send back. Because in all the seven targeted countries Islam is the predominant religion and the strict controls were mostly forced on presumed Muslims (indicated by their name or physical appearance), the ban was seen as a *de facto* 'Muslim Ban' (Yalamarty, 2020).

The Ban received quite some backlash, from foreign leaders but also from within the US. Protests against the Ban arose all across the US, at airports and before the White House. A part of the protesters standing in solidarity with the Muslim refugees and migrants were Indigenous people, bringing slogans like 'No Ban On Stolen Land' into the public conversation. Indigenous scholar Nick Estes (From the Lower Brulé Indian Reservation) and Melanie Yazzie (Navajo) protested at Los Angeles Airport, stating they were partly

there to educate the public on the colonial settler history of the United States. Estes (Monkman, 2017) stated: ‘... the United States, as a settler nation, does not have the final say on who or what comes into the country because it's not theirs to own.’

Here we come at the starting point of this essay. Taking an example from the protesters, I will criticise Trump’s “travel ban”, from the intersection of two different theoretical narratives.

My main argument is that Trump’s travel ban is an example of a myth of colonial settlers in the US that undermines the dignity, humanity and existence of Muslim migrants and Indigenous people. With myth I mean a fiction, social construct, discourse, made up story about our social and political reality in which a lot of people believe and that therefore have very real consequences on human bodies.

Firstly, I will focus on the fact that the ban is targeting Muslims. I will position my argumentation of this part in the theoretical framework of Said’s Orientalism, an eminent text and theory within and outside the realm of Postcolonial Studies. With using this theory, I outline how the US government paints an image, or myth, of Muslims as

enemies of the United States, which dehumanizes them and undermines their dignity as fellow humans. The second part of this paper will emphasize the settler colonial history of the US, questioning the legitimacy of a US declaration deciding who can be on the land, as it is Indigenous land in the first place. The US has created fictions - the nation-state, borders, legal systems – with which they legitimize their actions, and at the same time undermine the existence and dignity of Indigenous people and their sovereignty on those lands. I will be ending with a more often disseminated message: defy settler myths to pave the way for other, more just, futures.

This critical analysis of the travel ban is relevant because of the urgency of justice for Muslim immigrants and the decolonization of the settler colony that the US is; orientalist/discriminatory and colonialist practices are still very much happening in the US. Especially looking at the fact that there is a fair chance of Trump again leading the United States in two years, more attention to dissenting voices is needed.

Before I start, I would like to pay attention to the fact that although I did

extensive research, the scope of this paper is too limited, and so was my time, to honour the innumerable (Indigenous) theories, texts and scholars who have written on these subjects. Also, these subjects, for example the concepts of Indigenous sovereignty and futurity, are immense and books could be (and are) written about them. Therefore, my analysis is inherently limited.

I have tried to predominantly use Indigenous scholars as sources. I am noting this not to give myself a pat on the back and make a move to innocence (Tuck & Yang, 2012), but to highlight the importance I ascribe to valuing Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies in the academic world. However, the ideas presented in this paper are influenced by my positionality as white, 'western' female living in a colonizers state (making me implicated in colonialism). I have blind spots and could probably never fully capture and present Indigenous perspectives.

Although Trump sent out a declaration that his travel ban was not specifically targeting Muslims after it had received a huge amount of backlash and criticism, it

was too much of a coincidence that it only blocked people from seven Islamic countries, not to be aimed at Muslims. However, this Muslim aversion did not come out of thin air, it is rooted in a long tradition of Western Orientalism and the US 'War On Terror'.

Orientalism is a concept brought to life by Palestinian-American scholar Edward Said. He poses it to be many different, interdependent things, but most importantly it is a 'style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and "the Occident"' (Said, 1978, p. 10). However, this Western style of thought is not only a binary division, it is also a hierarchal structuring, where the Orient – read: people living in Asia or the Middle East – is degenerate, primitive, inferior and a living example of violence, laziness and untrustworthiness, whereas the Occident is morally and culturally above the Orient (McLeod, 2000). According to Said this myth or fantasy has been presented as hard fact and has been on the base of many theories and practices with material consequences for people portrayed as "the Orient". It has legitimated Western political domination and colonial rule of Eastern lands. Said authored

another book, 'Covering Islam' (1981) in which he elaborates on the western/American portrayal of the Islam, which can very well be seen as a corollary of Orientalism. The US representation of the Islam has been far from objective or truthful and has been soaked in 'unrestrained ethnocentrism, cultural and even racial hatred, deep yet paradoxically free-floating hostility' (Said, 1981, p. xi). According to him there is a clear Islamophobia in the West and particularly in the US. Islamic societies are seen as 'in need of modernization', a threat to Western civilization and challenge to Christianity (Said, 1981, p. xii). Muslims are portrayed as terrorists or mere oil suppliers (Said, 1981). He authored this book in 1981, but since 9/11, this view has become even more predominant. Since that day the US is waging a 'War On Terror', of which Muslims and Islamic refugees are the victims. Muslims and the Islam are portrayed as inherently different from and incompatible with the western culture, and a threat to the 'universally and naturally right and good' Western Christian values (Nayak, 2006). In the battle against terrorism, the Islam and Muslims are the enemy that must be fought by the brave and enlightened West/US.

Trump's rhetoric in his travel ban order makes the US Orientalist line of thought, the cultural binary division and the inferior position of the Orient, very clear. He highlights that 'numerous foreign-born individuals have been convicted or implicated in terrorism-related crimes since September 11, 2001 ...' (Zabriskie, 2017). But because he focusses his ban on seven Muslim countries, he implies that every migrant from these seven specific Islamic countries has 'malevolent purposes' and intend to commit terrorist attacks or 'places violent ideologies' – read: Islamic ideologies? – 'over the American law' (Zabriskie, 2017). At the same time, he presents the US as the saviour of its citizens and an innocent party. He goes on to saying: 'Deteriorating conditions in certain countries due to war, strife, disaster, and civil unrest increase the likelihood that terrorists will use any means possible to enter the United States' (Zabriskie, 2017), Trump paints an image of the US immigration laws and its borders, its welfare and security being under siege or attack by (Muslim) immigrants. Immigrants that come from countries consumed with war and disasters and filled with terrorists. These narratives criminalize

refugees and migrants and dehumanize them, together with the material consequences they have: a travel ban restricting Muslims' freedom of movement, strict controls on airports and increased police questionings of perceived Muslims (Said, 2002). The myths that Muslims and refugees from Islamic countries are a threat and enemy does not do justice to them as fellow human beings and undermine their dignity.

Another criticism of Trump's travel ban is articulated by Indigenous activists and summarized in the slogan 'No Ban On Stolen Land' (Monkman, 2017). In discussing fair immigrant rights and justice for Muslims, it is important not to forget the implication of Indigenous lives in this matter. The US is a settler colony; a nation-state built on stolen land, claiming authority over deciding who can enter these lands and who cannot. This is legitimized with and based on settler myths and social constructs such as borders, the nation-state itself and a legal system and undermine the sovereignty, existence, and dignity of Indigenous people on whose land the colony has settled.

Tuck & Yang (2012, p. 5) describe settler colonialism with the following words: '... settlers come with the intention of making a new home on the land, a homemaking that insists on settler sovereignty over all things in their new domain'. They write how land (a collective name for land/water/air/subterranean earth) is the most important matter in settler colonialism, both for Indigenous people and the settlers. Settlers created the myth that the lands they built the US on were *Terra Nullius* when they arrived; empty lands which could be claimed, because they were not individually owned, developed and used for economically profitable causes (Thunder, 2019; Walia, 2014). Land became private property, a commodity for the settlers (Tuck & Yang, 2012). On this land settlers have constructed legal myths, federal legal and political systems and laws that justified and legitimized the dominance of settlers over the native population, the authority to decide who gets to be on the land and who is excluded, and the continued eradication of Indigenous identities, their dispossession of land and destruction of their communities and life-worlds (Ellis, n.d.; Estes, 2019; Tuck & Yang, 2012). They also imposed borders on these lands, socially constructed lines on the

ground demarcating the territory of their nation-state (Walia, 2014). Those borders became myths with very real consequences. They are policed and make 'travel bans' possible, constraining the freedom of movement for some people/groups.

Indigenous people were and are 'othered' by settlers and their relationships with the land, which are profound and on the base of their existence, were and are seen as unimportant, erasable, and destructible (Walia, 2014). Indigenous communities also have vastly different outlooks on land, borders, and human relationships than the settlers¹. They attest agency to all entities in their environment, human and non-human (Todd, 2015). Besides that, their view on the world is highly relational, which is articulated by Dwayne Donald in the concepts of 'ethical relationality' and 'ecological imagination'. These entail narratives of acknowledging the webs of life you are enmeshed in, with all entities and nations around you, that you depend on and that give you life, both human and non-human. The concepts also highlight the importance of acting with reference and respect to those relationships (Todd, 2015). Another important aspect of Indigenous views is the spirit of freedom

and the holistic view on the earth, everything is one, a full circle, so national borders do not exist in Indigenous eyes (Walia, 2014). Seeing other entities as relatives, as being alive and free, generates deep respect for them, resulting in taking good care of each other and the land on which one lives. This is a stark contrast with the capitalistic, commodifying view on land and life that the US settlers brought with them, which focusses on the profitable side of land and the extraction of resources from it (Estes & Dhillon, 2019).

Scholar and activist Nick Estes articulated the Indigenous standpoint on Trump's travel ban at the LA Airport protest as being the following (Monkman, 2017): 'It's not that we have to say we're pro-immigration for people to come and steal our lands. It means that if people are gonna come here and coexist peacefully, it has to be on the terms of the people whose land it is to begin with'. He also highlighted how a by Natives organised welcoming ceremony for arriving Muslim refugees (denied access by the US government), was a way of reclaiming Indigenous sovereignty and assertion of jurisdiction over the/their land, but as I say,

also of showing respect for other human beings.

Indigenous ideas on (reclaiming) their sovereignty are different from settler perspectives on this and predominantly rely on the defiance of settler myths. Nick Estes and Jaskiran Dhillon (2019) capture this Indigenous futurity in the beautiful sentence: 'it's the old world that came before, an Indigenous world that never went away, that inhabits the imprisoning shell of the new world, waiting to break free.' Indigenous leader Michael Johnson stated that inherent sovereignty is the most important and defined this as 'a tribes right to govern itself relating to people, land and relationships that predates the United States' (Bioneers, 2019). With this the settler myths are defied, because Indigenous communities do not look outside to validate who they are as nations but keep their self-determination. Native scholar Taiaiake Alfred (2005, p. 46) also writes on this subject and reflects on the dominant Western perception of sovereignty and states which according to him is 'still rooted in a classical notion of sovereignty that mandates a distributive rearrangement but with a basic maintenance of the superior posture of the state.' For him the way to an Indigenous future and Native sovereignty

would rather be 'undermining the myth of the State sovereignty than [...] carving out a small and dependent space for Indigenous peoples within it' (1999, p. 58). Tuck & Yang (2012) follow this line of thought. They look at an Indigenous futurity based on the Indigenous meaning of decolonization, which entails nothing other than the repatriation of dispossessed land. According to them social justice & human rights movements do not suffice in giving back Indigenous sovereignty, because they operate within the future and system (read: myths) of the settler.

Concluding, from an Indigenous perspective, a Muslim travel ban is another colonializing move, a confirmation of settler supremacy on Indigenous lands. A superiority upheld by settler myths, which have done much damage by eradicating and undermining Indigenous lives, ways of living, identities, and worldviews.

To summarize, Trump's travel ban was an example of a settler myth undermining the dignity, existence, and humanity of Muslim migrants because for this ban, they were portrayed as 'the Orient', terrorist and enemies of the "naturally good" United States and their freedom of movement was restrained. Indigenous

dignity, existence and humanity was undermined because of the settler myths (being the nation-state sovereignty and authority over land, imposed borders and constructed political and legal systems) that did not recognize them as fellow human beings living on the land and diminished their profound relationships with the land.

However, these myths are “only” a social construct, man-made, fictional. Those fighting for justice and freedom, for immigrant and Indigenous lives, should unite in their struggle (‘while still being attentive of the specificities of the distinctive struggles’ (Estes & Dhillon, 2019)) to break the hegemonic position of the State mythologies, refuse settler colonial logics, defy its authority and with that undermine its system and ideology. Indigenous scholars already have been actively advocating for this, but as Andrea Smith states in the foreword of Harsha Walia’s ‘Undoing Border Imperialism’ (2014, p. xii), this could also be a pathway for justice for Muslim migrants: ‘The liberatory vision for immigrant rights is one that is based less on pathways to citizenship in a settler state, than on questioning the

logics of the settler state itself.’. This will pave the ways for other futures.

All of this might sound simple, but it is harder to actually make a change in real policies. It is also quite “easy” for me to write all of this down, which could be even marked as a move to innocence by me, a white person living in a colonizers state, in the sense that just learning/writing about it is not really a move towards actual decolonization (Tuck & Yang, 2012), or in this case towards actual change. However, it can be seen as naïve, but learning about and recognizing the problem, especially for an epistemological issue as this, does strike me as the important first step towards a more just future. In the case of this subject, viewing the travel ban with a critical eye and recognizing the fictional characteristics of it, might spark more awareness and resistance against unjust policies. Besides this, my paper will hopefully bring more attention to (in my eyes honourable) Indigenous worldviews that encompass respect for all entities, human and non-human, and the perspective that everything and everyone stands in relation with each other in webs of life. Because what gives the United States the moral higher ground, the right,

the exclusive ownership of deciding who deserves to be a dignified and respected human and who does not? After all, the world was born yearning to be a home for everyone, a place in which every human,

and non-human, could live with dignity and respect.

Endnotes

1. Of course, there are many different Indigenous communities with all their own authentic and distinctive outlook on the world. However, in this paper I tried to describe some commonalities between those, characteristics of a general Indigenous perspective that are especially a great contrast with colonial and capitalist narratives.

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Feminist Takes on Reggaeton

A literature review of feminist lenses, perspectives, critiques and narratives of Reggaeton as a musical genre

Sara Barberà Romero

"We are exposed to and constantly consume cultural products that are ingrained in a complex capitalistic, colonial and patriarchal system. In these circumstances, I find that it is difficult to maintain our personal and political values. Thus, I believe that sharing thoughts about the latter is essential in order to navigate our current world and hope that this essay provides some of the necessary nuance to approach these topics."

Abstract

As Reggaeton music enters the mainstream many criticisms have arisen regarding its apparent sexist nature. However, academia sheds light on different approaches that we can take when analyzing this musical genre. From Butler's ideas on subjectification to the rupture of hegemonic masculinity, Rosalin Gill's post-feminist sensibility and intersectional criticisms, the latter serve to nuance our evaluations. This essay connects these ideas and also questions why they come to be. We conclude that, even within academia, useful perspectives are left out. We suggest the use of decolonial feminism for further research, as it is very fitting with the knowledge and cultural baggage that reggaeton carries.

Introduction

Reggaeton was born as a musical genre in the 1990s, between Panama and Puerto Rico. Evolving from so-called *musica negra* (black music) to being officially named *reggaeton Latino*, today it has become one of the most consumed musical genres in the world (Radano et al., 2009). Benito Antonio Martínez Ocasio, an artist known as *Bad Bunny*, is the biggest, most popular reggaeton singer of our current time. He has been the number one artist worldwide three years in a row (as categorized by platforms like *Spotify*) and has also made history by winning, for the first time, *the Best album of the year* Grammy as a Latin American artist (Paúl, 2022). The latter reflects the rise of this genre, something that can be considered controversial given that it has been often described and perceived by academia and popular culture as a sexist musical style (Araüna et. al., 2020). Reggaeton lyrics often contain verbal violence against women, make explicit their sexual objectification, and portray them as complicit to violent sexual acts. It has even been stated that these lyrics promote rape culture, male domination and contribute to dehumanising women (Araüna et. al., 2020).

However and contrastingly, some consider reggaeton to be feminist. Due to the incorporation of women into the genre and feminist ideas infiltrating songs and videos, the new phase of reggaeton is said to be marked by feminism (Díaz Fernández, 2021). In this review essay, we will explore what takes feminist academia has on reggaeton. We will look into what scholars in this field have to say about the above-mentioned contradictions and qualities that define this complex repertory of music. This emerging body of literature is small. Yet, it seems to be growing exponentially, with most articles being from this year or the 2020s. This trend might be aligned with the popularization of the musical genre that it studies and, arguably, its feminist turn.

Re-signifying reggaeton through *perreo*

There seems to be a general agreement in the literature regarding the large amount of misogynist content that is present in much of the reggaeton musical genre. This covers the ways in which it is produced, such as the explicit and implicit messages in lyrics, the means through which it is distributed, like the imaging in music videos, and the forms in which it is consumed, for instance how it is danced in clubs. However, even if reggaeton

might be stated from a patriarchal structure and discourse, subjectivities that do not follow these norms emerge (Uribe-Molina, 2022). An instance of this is when feminist subjects consume this music, re-reading and re-signifying the hegemonic discourse (Uribe-Molina, 2022). As an effect, the common question, *can feminist subjects consume reggaeton?*, changes to *what happens when feminist subjects consume reggaeton?*

In this consumption, there is an emphasis on the dancing that is characteristic of this genre: *perreo*. A dancing style that emerges from African tradition and its diaspora, it literally means “doggying” and it emulates the heterosexual sexual act. *Perreo* is traditionally meant for the pleasure and enjoyment of the heterosexual man (Uribe-Molina, 2022), which is not to say that in practice other subjects can not enjoy it. Yet, now this practice becomes an act where the woman takes control of these movements for her own pleasure, configuring a new reading of this performative act (Uribe-Molina, 2022). This is described by some feminists as a way of penetrating and appropriating –in their words, “hacking”– spaces of pleasure that have been traditionally dominated by (sexist) men (Uribe-Molina, 2022). In this way, the

female body becomes central to this issue. As other areas of literature explore how regulating women’s bodies is a powerful oppressive tool, feminist takes on reggaeton see how *perreo* is a way of liberating the body. It can be a place where the woman finds empowerment, through autonomous decision-making (Uribe-Molina, 2022). Thus, this exercise of autonomy becomes an ontological condition and a revolutionary act that is an active re-appropriation of a sexist space (Uribe-Molina, 2022). Still, this is complex and often not intuitive. The latter feminist claim proposes that enjoying sexist lyrics and participating in patriarchal structures (from the feminist subjectivity) is what is precisely disruptive. We must remember, then, that the central feminist argument is not that *perrear* is a part of women’s sexual reivindicacion, but rather that the resignifying that feminism does is what allows for empowerment (Uribe-Molina, 2022). In other words, feminist claims are not inherent to this genre.

Generating feminist discourses

The above mentioned statement is in accordance with Judith Butler’s ideas when it comes to agency and feminism, in the sense that the field of feminism can not operate

outside of power structures and must consequently work through them (Uribe-Molina, 2022). Through this perspective, these new interpretations of reggaeton and *perreo* are essential and transformative, with much more productive outcomes than getting rid of reggaeton because it can be oppressive and part of a patriarchal system. What is not? Yet, a significant body of literature focuses not only on how the genre is being re-interpreted through feminist subjectivities but also on how it is becoming feminist in the way it is produced. This claim, which is much more controversial, investigates how new generations of reggaeton singers are creating lyrics and imagery that is feminist in of itself (Mosqueda Ramírez, 2021). It touches upon the larger debate of if reggaeton can be, or in fact is, feminist.

Several articles put at the forefront of this change one specific musician, *Bad Bunny*. He seems to be a reference from which many authors draw in order to analyze the feminist turn of reggaeton. Further, many studies also focus on the song *Yo perreo sola* (*I perreo alone*), which is often framed as a feminist anthem in the Latinx community (Mosqueda Ramírez, 2021). Drawing on this particular song, we can see how it is not only the

narrative content which makes it feminist, but also the visual and enacted behaviors and messages that are displayed. Several scenes make explicit and represent how women are able to practice *perreo* alone, meaning that they are independent and do not need men for their own sexual satisfaction (Mosqueda Ramírez, 2021). This seems to align –as shown previously in this essay–, with popular interpretations of what *perreo* can be, showing its alignment with the masses. On another note, the video also touches on notions of consent by explicitly showing how women reject both men and their behaviors and also have the power to stop men from abusing them (Mosqueda Ramírez, 2021). Abusive behaviors are also condemned in the lyrics, contributing to the allyship that this song represents. Several images display messages such as *Ni una menos*, a Latinx feminist movement advocating for the end of femicides (Mosqueda Ramírez, 2021). In this way, it becomes a platform where existing feminist claims, ideas and movements can be further amplified.

Bad Bunny generates a strong stance by becoming a man that supports the feminist cause within the genre and thus sets a precedent for other male artists (Mosqueda Ramírez, 2021). It also acts as a reminder of

how platforms such as the ones that popular reggaeton singers can provide can help women tackle the oppression and injustice that they face (Mosqueda Ramírez, 2021). A reggaeton song can help denounce sexist behaviors that occur within this same genre. Then, this platform is a powerful tool for raising awareness about the struggles that women go through and add on to larger social movements (Mosqueda Ramírez, 2021). However, the latter argument is not clear and also not widely supported in the literature. Several scholars, using Rosalind Gill's concept of postfeminist sensibility, see how mainstream discourses and narratives, such as the ones of *Bad Bunny*, fail to address important issues and continue to promote patriarchal values (Días Fernández, 2021). In this case, these widespread messages might not be contributing but rather working against feminist causes.

In the article *Subversión, postfeminismo y masculinidad en la música de Bad Bunny* (2021), Días Fernández talks about the feminist turn in reggaeton as not a real change but instead a rebranding. A misogynistic tone and sexist elements are still prevailing even when content is framed as feminist (Días Fernández, 2021). This fits within the complex postfeminist frame,

formed by a multiplicity of interrelated topics. The notion of femininity was redefined as a corporal property, a change in the meanings of sexualisation from reifying to subjectifying, an emphasis on self-vigilance and discipline, empowerment and individuality and the naturalization of the binary sex division (Días Fernández, 2021). As a result, women are placed inside of a neoliberal paradigm in which liberty, autonomy and hedonism are consumed goods. This comes in mixed with other sexist ideas that are also ready to be absorbed. It is precisely in the coexistence of these contradicting values that postfeminist sensibility emerges and manifests itself (Días Fernández, 2021). The latter is reflected in *Bad Bunny's* music, where women are constructed as assertive subjects that are in control of their (sexual) life and their sexuality. In this way, they are presented as agents under the impression that they are able to rely on themselves for security and freedom. This can be classified as a Foucauldian technology of the self, in the sense of the impression that the subject has of its own construction (Días Fernández, 2021). Thus, the ultimate postfeminist idea is explicit when through her own agency and in full control, the woman decides to be dominated by the man (Días Fernández, 2021).

Still, even within these postfeminist discourses, we can find some subversive elements such as the disruption of hegemonic masculinity. The latter, as coined by Connell (1995) is characterized by its superiority in relation to femininity and extended as contradicting to homosexuality, which is seen as closed to feminine subjectivities (Díaz Fernández, 2021). Through the disruption of gender norms (in for instance fashion and aesthetic choices) and heterosexuality (by kissing or practicing *perreo* with himself) in the imagery of his videos, *Bad Bunny* does achieve to crack the hegemonic masculinity archetype, redefining himself as conscious of his fragility and with a potential harassment due to the position he occupies (Díaz Fernández, 2021). So, even if his reggaeton might not be considered feminist by several scholars, progressive elements can be found, meaning a possibility of change and transformation in the genre.

Yet, another perspective in the literature evidences how it is possible, within reggaeton, to generate feminist discourses that go beyond notions of masculinity and that also do not fall into postfeminist ideology and narrative. There are several recorded musical projects that self-identify or are classified as feminist and that are critical

of sexist structures, behaviors, norms etc. that appear in broader society. This is relevant and distinctive, as the above-mentioned literature focused on music that placed feminist/postfeminist criticisms of the sexism that occurs within the broad context of the reggaeton musical scene –and not outside of it. When having a feminist stance and perspective on everything they dislike about society as a whole, some reggaeton becomes much more political and openly feminist (Araüna et. al., 2020). The artists themselves consider their music a vessel for awareness and a feminist tool that works to change oppressive belief systems that influence the collective experiences of young women who consume their music (Araüna et. al., 2020). They also talk about them appropriating the reggaeton genre, like the women portrayed before in Uribe-Molina (2022). However this time it occurs not in its consumption but in its production.

This is done by, first, a stance against normative masculinity. In line with the discourse of many other songs, the artist *Brisa Fenoy* sings about rejecting men when dancing and about asserting her own autonomy. Yet, these claims are not depoliticized, thus becoming empty and postfeminist, but they have rather been

incorporated into the larger feminist movement. Lyrics such as “the night is ours” have been further appropriated in the eighth of March feminist marches in Spain, showing the political transcendence of this music (Araüna et. al., 2020). Other singers, like *Ms Nina*, defy binarism and the constraints of heteronormativity. Her *choni* (in Spanish, a pejorative term directed to working class and often Latin American women) aesthetic presents a “femininity that transgresses the canon” (Araüna et. al., 2020, p.40). Furthermore, she often collaborates with genderfluid artist *King Jedet*, both in her music and in her videos. This creates a shift from a male gaze to a queer gaze (Araüna et. al., 2020). She is, thus, denaturalising the normative concepts of gender at the same time that she speaks about sex (in her lyrics), thus also redefining the latter. Finally, other artists like *Tremenda Jauria*, identify their reggaeton as feminist and anti-capitalist. It promotes the empowerment of women, yet not through violence or sexualisation and tries to break with victim-executioner binarism. Through these criticisms, it also moves away from postfeminism and its liberal nature (Araüna et. al., 2020). As a result of these young female feminist voices within the genre, the latter is transformed

and can, indeed, become feminist. The fact that this exists inside a musical genre that is typically considered contrary to feminism, makes these voices even more revolutionary (Araüna et. al., 2020).

Criticisms and intersectionality

Other feminist perspectives of reggaeton move away from evaluating if it can be feminist and instead criticize why, in the first place, it is being scrutinized or portrayed as a particularly sexist genre. There is a general sentiment among scholars that reggaeton seems to be seen as exceptionally oppressive, while other genres that are now also mainstream, like for instance pop, seem to be exempt from criticism. Reggaeton has often been labeled as sexist due to its underclass status (Araüna et. al., 2020). However, some scholars argue that precisely because of its origin, the musical genre of reggaeton is a political, social and cultural movement by itself (Nales, 2021). As something that started in the margins and that was both produced and consumed by the working class, it represents an alternative to mainstream culture. The culture of reggaeton thus draws its base from the experiences, pleasures, memory and traditions of the secular, ordinary, vulgar and

black peoples (Nales, 2021). Needless to say, this includes women. Thus, they are responsible for the current success of the genre in which they continue to have a space. Consequently, every time that reggaeton is feminist, it does so from the marginality, not only liberating “women” as a category for a specific collective but instead all gendered, racialised and systematically oppressed bodies by colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy (Nales, 2021). In other words, even if the totality of reggaeton is not considered feminist, when it is, this feminism carries class-conscious, anti-racist and counterhegemonic decolonial values. This is inevitable, given where it comes from.

It does not only represent the above-mentioned peoples, but gives them a voice. For those who create it, icons such as *Ivy Queen*, and the knowledge they transmit come from the streets (Nales, 2021). They are lived experiences that are often otherwise silenced. It has generated terms, like for instance *kuir* (a Latinx re-appropriation of queer), that give name to these excluded identities (Nales, 2021). In a way, by existing and persisting, it does a feminist labor. Even now, massive commercial hits like *Bad Bunny's* reach a multitude of feminist peoples and at the same time a mainstream public.

This means that a peripheric feminism, whichever it is, transcends strong gendered, class and gender barriers (Nales, 2021).

Conclusions

We can identify three main arguments that feminist literature generates in relation to reggaeton as a musical genre. First, that its consumption can be feminist through the re-reading of its lyrics and through the bodily practice of *perreo*. Secondly, that the genre itself can be feminist, that it is possible to create feminist reggaeton, and the latter already exists. However, this point seems to be the most debated, with some scholars arguing that this feminist turn might actually fit better into postfeminism and others giving clear examples of how this does not have to be the case. It seems as if both kinds of discourse might fit within new productions of the genre. Finally, another piece of literature points out the diasporic origins of reggaeton, making it a revolutionary genre and thus carrying marginalized voices, and thus almost implicitly and intrinsically collaborating with the feminist cause.

Even though this last perspective uses an intersectional lens as a tool for analysis, it is much less present in other criticisms. Yet, given the emphasis that the genre puts on its

Hispanity, further, in its Latinx perspective, taking intersectionality into account becomes very relevant. Feminism can also be subjected to prejudice and the image of what or who a feminist is, or of what feminism means, can become monolithic. It is important to be aware of the colonial and racist notions that often taint how we see subaltern and black forms of sexuality and dance. We must be careful not to ask, *what are respectable ways of singing, dancing and enacting sex?* behind our feminist scrutiny. Respectable, in this case, often means Western. This question is especially important, as it concerns the legitimacy of the whole musical genre, the latter mainly showing Latinx perspectives on love and sex.

Within the literature, the over-representation of the singer *Bad Bunny*, seems to represent that the mainstream is given more attention. This precisely showcases how, even within academia, the vast majority of marginal voices that shape and configure reggaeton are being ignored. In the instances when least popular artists are analyzed, further, female and queer artists are studied, the literature becomes richer and the points raised much more interesting. As a final note, I believe that decolonial feminist perspectives could add much to the current body of literature. The investigation of how race and coloniality intersect with feminism within Reggaeton is a topic yet to be explored.

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Harnessing the Wind

Affective perceptions of old and new wind energy infrastructure in the Netherlands

Madeline Greenwood & Lorenzo Leoni

"The lines of sustainability are increasingly blurred as the world moves toward "green" energy systems. In the Netherlands, the wind is a constant force, and yet its contemporary implications for electrifying the country remain understudied. With this in mind, we believe that submitting to SCAJ can bring to light the changing cultural meaning that harnessing wind energy holds, inviting further study to a topic that could inspire and contribute to a new research line in the field the anthropology of energy."

Abstract

Harnessing the power of the wind is a matter of both tradition and modernity in the Netherlands. However, the technologies, infrastructures and narratives that accompany heritage windmills and new wind turbines hold oppositional space within Dutch culture. As heritage wind production continues to be abstracted from its contemporary counterparts, wind turbines, we identify patterns in the way that information is used by both governments and corporations to construct, or deconstruct identities related to wind energy. Through the lenses provided by Boyer's (2014) conceptualization of "energopower", this research shows how powering the socioeconomic fabric is deeply connected with the management of life. In order to understand these cultural contexts of heritage and new wind turbines, we conducted participant observation and interviews in Zaanse Schans, a town with a large tourist area focussed on the preservation of windmill heritage. We also conducted online community research within Facebook groups, *Urk Briest* and *IJsselmeer Windmolenvrij* (red: IJsselmeer Wind turbine-free), representing contestation against wind farm projects in the region of IJsselmeer. These data were paired with a close reading, and rhetorical analysis of both the Noordoostpolder Windfarm website as well as the Windmolen Museum at Zaanse Schans.

Introduction

Harnessing the power of the wind is a matter of both tradition and modernity in the Netherlands. However, the technologies, infrastructures and narratives that accompany heritage windmills and new wind turbines hold oppositional space within Dutch culture. In this way, the role of heritage-making in shaping narratives about windmills can be positioned comparatively to the techniques of governance that hinder the democratization of new wind energy projects. With 'energopower' as the lens through which to view the disconnections between harnessing wind then, and now, our research proposes to shed light on the ways that the energopower of wind can be enacted in different ways by companies, governments and communities, to support different forms of agency, and different goals.

The proposed research aimed to understand how people living with, as well as organizations promoting, wind energy infrastructures construct cultural identity in relation to both heritage and contemporary windpower.

By visiting Zaanse Schans to speak with volunteers in the windmill museum, and functional heritage mills, as well as other Dutch visitors, we sought to understand better how heritage windmills occupy Dutch identity and culture, and how this is different from new wind energy projects. We participated and observed as tourists there, to absorb the museum rhetoric, and then followed this through with a close reading of museum literature. To further explore how new wind turbines are understood, we conducted online community research within Facebook groups, *Urk Briest* and *IJsselmeer Windmolenvrij*, representing contestation against wind farm projects in the region of IJsselmeer. In a close reading, the rhetoric provided by the wind farm website was then also incorporated.

In using visual methodologies, especially audiovisual, we were able to capture some of the disconnections between heritage-making techniques, and the wider context of the old windmills' industrial processes. This methodology also allowed the research to capture some of the sensory experiences of old windmills, which is an important claim for interlocutors against the new ones. This would have been complemented with

audiovisual and sensory data collected in the region of IJsselmeer, and we invite further research in this regard.

As non-Dutch researchers, we recognized that our positionality as foreigners, as well as the short amount of time spent with each of these communities, likely inhibited us from gathering a full immersion into what it is like to live *with* wind power as a part of personal and collective histories and futures. With this in mind, we also feel the importance of gaining deeper insight into the cultural constructions of the country within which we have both chosen to live. In this way, we explore a topic that is at once polarizing and normative, with compassion and openness. In order to protect all participants' identities, we have left out individual names. We have opted to include the names of organizations, political groups, companies and Facebook communities, as they are each regarded as public information.

Theoretical framework

According to Winther and Wilhite (2015, 574), energy concerns and characterized perceptions of it are easier to encounter in energy-producing countries rather than in energy-importing ones. Through this lens,

the Netherlands, Urk in particular, provides a perfect example of a country in which concerns over energy sources have significantly shaped citizenship. Before 2016, 95% of Dutch energy consumption came from fossil fuels, much of which was extracted on Dutch territory, and offshore natural gas drilling (Ministry of Economic Affairs of the Netherlands 2016, 6). However, representing one of the major sources of Dutch fossil fuels, the Groningen oilfields are already near depletion and are only expected to last another eighteen years, according to the country's current energy consumption (Worldometer 2015). The Groningen oilfield crisis, along with the rise in European and world climate accords that call for "zero carbon" energy production, has led the Netherlands to search for other, renewable, natural resources to harness (Ministry of Economic Affairs of the Netherlands 2016). As the wind is abundant, wind turbines are slowly but consistently replacing fossil fuel energy production. This effective transition, easily agreeing with Rasch and Kohne (2017, 608), is arguably perceived in popular discourses to be the harmless replacement for fossil fuel. However, this oversimplification does little to account for the consumption trend made possible by oil, which we expect

and require new energy sources to fulfill (Mitchell, 2009). As a former *Shell* researcher told us in Zaanse Schans with a certain contempt, renewable energies are too unreliable and inefficient to sustain the world's consumption and growth without oil. Aside from being contested by energy experts fearful of deleterious changes in the oil lifestyle (Nader 2010, 241), wind energy polarizes the communities it directly affects with its visible presence. In Urk, residents engaged in a years-long contestation against the state, corporations, and investors. Mostly, they lamented bearing the costs of the project, through sensory 'pollution,' decreased property values, and other environmental risks, while gaining none of the economical benefits of the projects (Rasch and Kohne 2017, 612).

However, harnessing the wind in the Netherlands has a long history that dates back to the early fourteenth century (Hoeksema 2007, 116). At its apex in the seventeenth century, the Zaanse area, once far from being the peaceful and pretty place it is now, hosted more than 1.300 noisy windmills (Wries and Woude 2011, 301). Considering Timothy's Mitchell (2009) claim that gas enabled the creation of the twenty-

first-century capitalo-democracies, this research historically applies his analysis to wind energy, arguing that this technology enabled the Netherlands to become one of the first modern economies in the sixteenth century, and sustained the countries colonial expansion (Wries and Woude 2011). Indeed, initially, windmills proved essential to pump water out of the lowlands so that they could be farmed (Hoeksema 2007, 116). In this sense, wind energy redefined Dutch geography and enhanced its economy. With the invention of the sawmill, wind energy was then co-opted to sustain the Dutch seventeenth-century wood-voracious economy (Wries and Woude 2011, 301). Mill-sawed wood planks supplied the important industry of shipbuilding (*Ibidem*), in so doing contributing to the colonization machinery and fueling the Dutch economy.

Nowadays, however, little or nothing of the heritage windmills' original industrial significance is exhibited, as the few windmills left to admire in the Netherlands represent more the satisfaction of an aesthetical expectation rather than their embodied history. In Zaanse Schans, windmills' history has not only been obscured but also replaced to some extent. There, the first

museum a visitor encounters is the Albert Heijn first shop replica, conventionally reconstructed in the place that is supposed to embody Dutch heritage the most. As Plets and Kuijt (2022, 72) argue, cultural places are perceived to carry objectivity and uninterested messaging. For this reason, corporations are eager to invest in cultural places such as museums and cultural heritage sites to subtly promote their message (Ibidem). Old windmills, despite their scarcity, are very much representative of Dutch culture. Windmills are often depicted in Dutch school books and are arguably the primary landmark associated with the Netherlands in the public imaginary. In this light, Albert Heijn's museum could be interpreted as an attempt to combine the brand with the Dutch identity itself. Considering also that most windmills are replicas of the originals, Zaanse Schans can be addressed as a full-fledged "heritage-making" (Ivi. 52) site. This dimension of heritage-making is central to interpreting the findings that this study offers. Moreover, it reveals how human emotions can be created to serve systemic social purposes, establishing them as the basis on which individuals and their sociopolitical context connect and communicate (Potter 1988, 181).

The dehistoricization process to which old windmills are subjected outshines how these beautiful landmarks were originally designed to be exploitation factories. Windmills, similarly to steam power and oil later, scaled up exponentially the exploitation process both locally, by increasingly exploiting natural resources and labor, and globally, by enabling the construction of a primary infrastructure of the colonization machinery. Moreover, it is peculiar to see how old windmills were a source of dispute as modern ones could be. In Amsterdam, for example, the hand sawyer guild fiercely opposed saw windmills construction for a long time before they were finally introduced (Wries and Woude 2011, 302). By historicizing mills and placing them in their original socio-economical context, we wish to highlight how energy has always been connected to matters of governance and biopower. In this way, harnessing wind has never been a democratic process.

Central to this study is Dominic Boyer's (2014) formulation of "energopower". Energopower, as Boyer (2014, 325) explains, is a genealogy of modern power that intertwines political power with electricity and fuel. Then, energopower is an analytical and

conceptual method to comprehend how governance and biopower are shaped concerning energy. The scope of this research is to expand on Boyer's (ibidem) formulation of energopower by applying this tool to the rhetoric of the museums and literature regarding wind power. If museums and educational materials are tools through which governments shape narratives of history and identity (Plets and Kuijt, 2022), we can also identify the absence of information within these spaces as data as well. By obscuring information about the role of windmills within colonial expansion and industrialization, the governments, organizations and companies involved in spinning these narratives shape a connection to old windmills based on an idealized history and aesthetic value, rather than their economic and geopolitical influence.

In Urk, the recently constructed Noordostpoolder wind farm is a source of dispute. Even if renewable energy is generally seen as just (Rasch and Kohne 2017, 608) and aimed at the common good, it is more probable that the only good it aims for is one of the stakeholders involved in its implementation. In connection with the concept of "energopower" (Boyer 2014), wind

turbines in Urk have been strongly wanted by the government but less appreciated by the residents. In a similar way to the one Andrea Brock (2020) describes for fracking in England, the wind park in Urk has been heavily promoted as a "nationally significant infrastructure" (Ivi, 7-8). In so doing, the opposition has easily been labeled as an insurgency, like traitors of the homeland. As mentioned above, similar contestations also took place in the seventeenth century as the implementation of sawmills supplanted the craft of hand sawyers. Zaanse Schans and Urk's cases show the importance of detaching from the idea that energy transition is driven by the pursuit of an abstract common good and, instead, embracing the idea that it has more to do with the management of life and population, or "energopower" (Boyer 2014). As Luke Smith (2011) argues, the concept of sustainable development that most often justifies energy transition, "fail to primarily serve the interests of target communities, and instead conform largely to the desires and expectations of the involved external stakeholders, such as foreign donors, non-governmental organizations, and the state" (78). In so doing, the mainstream idea of sustainability embodies a 'socially thin'

approach to the energy transition, centering profits, rather than embedding itself within the social fabric of the impacted communities (Schwartz, 2020).

The analytical framework in which this research will be conducted, as seen, revolves around Boyer's (2014) conceptualization of "energopower". By interpreting our findings through the lenses furnished by this analytical tool, we aim to frame how narratives surrounding wind energy designates the management of life and population. These simultaneous processes of heritage-making and de-democratization each use narrative to control the construction of cultural identity, and the ways in which individuals or communities interact with wind power, but to different ends. Heritage making as well as the lack of democracy within the energy transition are thus both seen as forces of energopower, enacted in different ways to the benefit of similar actors. The interpretation of our finding points out how the historically obscured affective construction of old windmills relates to the apparent contradictory perception and discontent toward the new ones. In its brevity, this research suggests that energopower is a useful lens through which

to draw a line between the harnessing of wind energy in the past and present, to understand its contestation today within the context of politics, economics, and power.

Findings and analysis

1. Historicizing mills: "The wind is free, and so is your visit"

The windmills at Zaanse Schans stand as relics of a past Netherlands. Though the town itself is like most any Dutch town, the windmills here permeate the landscape, as a reminder of the industrious regional history. Most of the visitors are foreign, with signs written in English, Spanish and leaflets in any number of other languages. Swaths of tourists cross the bridge from the town, to the museum quarter, taking photo ops that conveniently leave out the smokestacks in the distance. As separated as these landmarks might be from the industries they facilitated throughout the 17th century, they are still tied to both industrial and tourist economies in many ways.

Both as a reminder of Dutch industriousness, and as a tourist operation, the old windmills are a source of pride for the volunteers who run the Zaanse Schans museums and mills. One museum volunteer and windmill

educator told us about how proud she was to share her country's history and culture with tourists. For her, growing up in the region, windmills had been "nice to see, but just normal," until her retirement, when she found a passion for educating both tourists and children about this Dutch cultural landmark. A volunteer who ran the Jonge Schaap sawmill, told us with reverence about how this invention changed the world. Represented here was not only a national pride, but also one that was deeply connected to his own town, and his family's lumber business that had operated sawmills for over 200 years.

In this way, the "heritage-making" at Zaanse Schans, and arguably in the Netherlands as a whole is both deeply personal, like the volunteers' examples, and also taught. One interlocutor, a mother and school teacher, was visiting Zaanse Schans as "a tourist in her own country." She told us that as a Dutch person, "we grow up feeling them as part of the culture and landscape even though there aren't many," largely attributing this to the way that windmills are represented in primary school curriculum, children's story books and art. A taste of this representation can be seen within the rhetoric of the museums and mills.

"The wind is free, and so is your visit," states a sign inside the flour mill, in a plea for donations. Zaanse Schans is run by *Vereniging De Zaanse Molen*, a group of volunteers dedicated to the preservation of windmill heritage in the region of Zaans -- which at one point was home to more mills than the entire country has today. De Zaanse Molen website states that, "many noteworthy companies have emerged from the more than 1,100 windmills that once stood in the Zaan region, which are still a prominent part of the Dutch economy today" (Vereniging De Zaanse Molen, n.d). However, within the museums, the role of mills is historicized through exhibition rhetoric, and commodified through the gift shops.

The interlocutor at the Molen Museum excitedly led us around the exhibit, describing to us the rise of windmills, their prevalence, the technology that drives them, the conditions of the workers, and finally the transition to steam. We were invited to revel in the technological feat of windmilling, and its uses for flour, wood, and other commodities. However, we were also cautioned not to romanticize this form of production. "The workers were very poor",

she told us. The windmills had been owned by private entities, and ran whenever the wind blew, making work relentless, but also unstable, while the wealth produced was unequally distributed. This, another volunteer claims “is why we switched,” from wind, to fossil fuel production. This sentiment is echoed, and perhaps a precursor to the narrative posed by Dutch oil and gas museums which position “fossil fuels and gas more specifically... as an inevitable socioeconomic reality” (Plets and Kuijt 2022, 60).

2. Wind turbines: sense and solidarity

Despite the ubiquity of wind energy within Dutch history and heritage-making, the new era of wind power has not been ushered in with the same exultation as its historical counterpart. Each interlocutor at Zaanse Schans supported a general consensus that while electricity production is necessary, they would not want wind turbines in their own municipalities, neighbourhoods, or backyards. Even the interlocutor who was more partial to renewable energy implied that she might also be moved to contest wind turbine construction if it were proposed near her home. Unlike historical windmills, these new technologies were not embraced as a

part of the landscape, even though, or perhaps because, they are more prevalent. One interlocutor, a former Shell employee, felt that wind was simply insufficient. However, the turbines were more commonly described by interlocutors as unsightly, loud, and offensive to the senses. These sentiments reflect the argumentation of contesting groups like *Urk Briest* and *IJsselmeer Windmolenvrij*, whose online presence was evaluated for this research. Like our interlocutors, the posts and comments within these groups mention disruptions that appeal both to the aesthetic and sensory experiences of living with wind turbines, including ambient noise, wind turbine size and placement, and the shadows produced as the blades turn. However, these groups, representative of people in the IJsselmeer region of the Netherlands who live with wind turbines or the threat of wind turbines, take their argumentation beyond the aesthetic to invoke questions of economy, sustainability and importantly, democracy.

“Money and power are much more important than democracy,” stated *Urk Briest* in a post describing their lost battle against Noordoostpolder Windpark. Statements like this, expressing a lack of agency within a

democratic system are echoed in the *IJsselmeer Windmolenvrij* group, which contests a more recent wind project in the region. Commenters along with group authors cite a “mistrust between citizen and government and how the windmills thoroughly mess up the relationships in village communities.” The salient congruency here is that the opposition to wind energy projects in this region feel as though the state, under influence of energy companies, are obscuring truths about how much benefit (and detriment) these infrastructures will create, and for whom.

Noordoostpolder Windpark cites the firm hand of the government as a reason for which the park was created at all: “With the words, ‘It is not a question of whether the wind farm will be built, but how’, [Minister of Economic Affairs, Maria van der Hoevens] played an important role in the development of the wind farm.” While Mitchell (2009) shows the ways in which fossil fuel extraction and distribution have been linked to democratic movements, such as labour unions, he also presents this historical analysis as a lens through which to see transitions away from fossil infrastructure. He maintains that the ability for renewable

energies, such as wind power to give way to “more democratic futures... depends on the political tools with which we address the passing of the era of fossil fuel.” (423) The lack of agency expressed by communities, as well as the rhetoric found on the website of Noordoostpolder suggests that the political tool of the energy transition in IJsselmeer is to push projects through, regardless of community contestation. In this way, wind energy is being produced here, “at the expense of local environmental, social, and economic aspirations” (Schwarz 2020, 118).

3. Disconnected narratives: the energopower of wind

The wind, it seems, is not free like the sign in Zaanse Schans states. The capture of this force of nature is a means to produce both commodity and identity in the context of the Netherlands. This can be observed in both new and old wind energy production. However, the narratives that accompany them, along with the materiality of technologies, infrastructures, and end products keep them disparate in the mind of the Dutch people we spoke with.

For heritage windmills, the historical implication of this invention is obscured by

gift shops filled with chocolate bars and Albert Heijn coffee. However, this is not representative of the truth of how these mills shaped the Netherlands, and the modern world. The industrial nature of these landmarks is absent from museum rhetoric, disconnecting the windmills from their context. They are neither placed in relation to current industrial practices nor to the colonial project that emerged from the sawmill and increased ship-building. This disconnect was mirrored by interlocutors, supporting contemporary scholars' claims that "heritage-making" through museums and education "constitutes national identities and governing populations" (Plets and Kuijt 2022, 52). In this way, we argue that the heritage windmills are an enactment of energopower, as much as their contemporary counterparts.

In the contested setting of windpark construction, we glimpse one way in which the energy transition creates an energopolitical crisis (Boyer 2014, 327), wherein citizens, political groups, and companies fight for control over the ways in which energy is produced, where, and by whom. This is accompanied by its biopolitical effects as projects are pushed through without community consent, devaluing their

worries about their health, economic prosperity, and environment. The activist groups that were a part of this study, often promoted certain political groups, which further shows how this biopolitical force can serve to further the energopolitical crisis at hand, through the mistrust sewn between governments and their citizens.

As heritage wind production continues to be abstracted from its contemporary counterparts, wind turbines, we identify patterns in the way that information is used by both governments and corporations to construct, or deconstruct identities related to wind energy. This is deserving of further investigation, through the useful lens of energopower to disentangle the political, economic, and energetic forces at play.

Conclusion

Through the interpretation of our findings, this research shows how powering the socioeconomic fabric is deeply connected with the management of life. Through the lenses provided by Boyer's (2014) conceptualization of "energopower", we traced the line through which windmills historically shaped governance and enhanced particular stakeholders' interests.

Moreover, this paper shows how, even if not used to produce power anymore, old windmills still shape identity narrations through a constructed revisitation of history. A revisitation, as seen, driven by the preservation of the mills' aesthetical value rather than by transmitting their former sociopolitical importance. Then, this study displays how the "heritage-making" dimension of Zaanse Schans constitutes Dutch national identity, in so doing engaging in processes of governance and governmentality. Hence, we related the sensorial perception of new windmills to the old ones to reveal how the aesthetical factor is a leading reason for the residents' discontent. Thus, we examined how this discontent strictly relates to the lack of democracy in the implementation of "nationally significant infrastructures" (Brock 2020, 7). Finally, we highlighted how energy transition in Urk created an energopolitical (Boyer 2014, 327) crisis in which different stakeholders fought to pursue their interests, in turn invoking biopower. In this way, we relate heritage and contemporary wind infrastructures to each other through the enactment of energopower, toward different ends.

The results of this research are limited by a lack of funding, time, and space that we have been allowed to devote to it. However, we believe that further research on the topic will prove useful to better address social contestation around wind turbines and re-historicize old windmills. We would recommend further open interviews and participant observation within the Noordoostpolder windpark, and other wind farms in the IJsselmeer region in order to better grasp how volunteers and employees there relate to old and new wind power, and the rhetoric they use to tell the story. This would be complementary to the volunteers and rhetoric evaluated at Zaanse Schans. Moreover, in addressing contestation surrounding wind power, we believe further research should be conducted to apply and expand upon Boyer's (2014) formulation of energopower within the historical context of wind power. In so doing, researchers could create a genealogy of power in the epoch of seventeenth-century windmills to see how wind energy production enabled the Netherlands' prosperity and global expansion, and its relation to democracy, or lack thereof. Further research centering energopower of the wind could be useful in relating the contemporary contestations of

wind, with the historical implications of how this force of nature has been put to work, forming a more complete picture of the ways

in which the past and present are intertwined through power structures.

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Border Interactions

Seeing through the erasure of marginalised voices

Manon Dilling

"Border interactions are spaces of intense injustices that tie into questions of identity and belonging. My personal experiences as a French citizen are shaped by so much more than a legal status, but instead should be viewed through the intersections of race, religion, gender. The ongoing Ukraine/ Russia war has sparked conversation about borders; who has the right to cross them and who decides. I believe this is a pressing issue that needs more acknowledgement and will hopefully bring a welcomed change."

Abstract

Migrants, refugees, displacement are all terms that have a thundering importance in contemporary discourse. What are borders, who is allowed to cross them, who decides? This paper aims to dive into the French debate on borders, bringing in questions of identity and citizenship using the French/UK border of Calais. The UK authorities have the right to intercept migrants in France and deny them the right to asylum, and there are several outsourced surveillance techniques as far as Libya set as obstacles before migrants have even reached Calais. This brings in questions of racialisation, colonial undertones, and deeply internalised prejudice. The border is analysed through a Foucauldian lens, using notions of governmentality and surveillance practices to help unpack how power functions in these border interactions. Ultimately, there is a calling to expose the erasure of neglected voices, and to highlight the constant injustices at every border.

There has been a surge in discussions surrounding the role of borders around the world, especially following the recent war in Ukraine. Beginning at the end of February 2022, the Russia-Ukraine war left millions of people displaced and seeking refuge somewhere safe, similarly to how the war in Syria has resulted in refugees since 2011 (Rankin, 2022). The response to these conflicts however, could not have been more different. The European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen, stated that “Europe stands by those in need of protection.” during a speech in March 2022 (Rankin, 2022). Ukrainian citizens already had a 90-day free access visa throughout the European Union (EU), but the EU’s temporary protective directive was additionally deployed for the first time since its establishment in 2001. Taking France as an example, more than 5,000 Ukrainian refugees arrived within a week of the war, and over 120,000 since then (Ataman & Knight, 2022; UNHCR, 2022). This is a significant amount considering the 4,500 Syrians who received refugee status from France between 2011 and 2015 (Elzas, 2015). Not to mention how difficult it was to find statistics on Syrian refugees compared to the endless statistics on those coming from

Ukraine. When asked why Syrian refugees could not benefit from the temporary protective directive, it was said that the ‘situations were very different’ and ‘the protection law wouldn’t have solved the issues being faced at the time’ (Rankin, 2022). Taking this as an introductory example, a lot can be unpacked vis a vis border laws, who has the right to cross them and who decides.

As globalisation facilitated the flow of goods across the globe, it seemed to have a very different effect on the mobility of people themselves. Whilst theoretically industrialisation and improvements in transportation systems could make movement much easier for people, a series of constraints made this very restricted for the majority of the global population (Fassin, 2011). The ‘gated community’ of the West brought repressive immigration policies that effectively produced ‘illegal aliens’ throughout Europe and North America (Fassin, 2011.). Although the primary purpose of immigration was seen through an economic lens, it brought social obligations of assimilation within the destination countries, which led to religious and ethnic divides that are still present today, and a huge racialization against ‘minority’ immigrants. It seems evident, taking the

example of Ukraine as one of many, that there is a double standard of Western countries towards border policies. Within the EU, there is a growing internal liberalisation of cross-border mobility, which is paired with an intense tightening of policing and securitisation of external borders (Houtum & Pijpers, 2007). Additionally, there are strategic selections at external borders regarding which 'type' of immigrant is welcome to the EU, often becoming a racialized process (Houtum & Pijpers, 2007). Unfortunately, because Europe has established and maintained its own superiority as 'universal', its decisions about borders reflect this hegemonic narrative (Slimia et al., 2022). The desire of so many to enter the gated community is deeply entangled in networks of racialized and colonial power relations that continue to perpetuate the dominant structures. This idea of a gated community is also used to reflect Europe's intentional blindness towards the outside as an attempt to protect the comfort of its self-determined identity (Houtum & Pijpers, 2007). By excluding and effectively 'othering' those who do not fit within this image, the result is simply sustaining and reproducing the global injustices that occur today.

France is a country which has faced heavy debate over questions of identity and how this is affected by immigration (Danaj et al., 2018). Since recent large influxes of migrants, the far-right party 'Front National' has been gaining traction, which is largely driven by an anti-immigration rhetoric (Danaj et al., 2018.). Fassin (2011), puts forward an important distinction between borders and boundaries in which borders constitute territorial limits of states and subjects, whereas boundaries are the social constructs that produce identities and establish symbolic difference. This becomes important when populations are monitored, which is further analysed by Michel Foucault. Within the French context, the diffusion of power throughout border interactions can be analysed through this Foucauldian lens to provide insights into how the concept of governmentality underpins the invisible control of populations. Therefore, two central aims inform this paper. The first involves diving into the French debate on borders, linking this to the notion of identity and citizenship by offering a case study of the French/UK border Calais. The second ties this case to Foucault's governmentality and surveillance practices in an attempt to highlight how power functions within these border interactions. I also want

to address the fact that I am a white, French woman and recognize my own biases and preconceptions tethered to this discussion. From my position, it is not my aim to speak on behalf of others, but I want to use my voice in solidarity with those suffering from border policies.

Discourse and governmentality: creating disciplined subjects

Foucault delves into the notion of discourse, a central concept that underpins his work, in that it produces 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Adams, 2017). Therefore, discourse is a way in which knowledge is organised that structures and maintains social relation, through the collective acceptance of discourse as objective truth (Adams, 2017). The ideas shared through discourse reflect the time in which it arises, and therefore the power relations within society that ascribe certain social 'rules' and 'norms' to a population. Not all discourse becomes dominant, but through continuous reiteration it begins to fix certain narratives to align with the political philosophy that informs its production (Adams, 2017). Whilst simultaneously creating this epistemic reality, discourse also hides its political intentions

and ability to perpetuate it, through forms of invisible power; giving it the capacity to become universal, objective and supposedly a-political (Lawlor & Nale, 2014). These discourses become homogenised and internalised within the bodies it dominates, and those which do not correspond to this 'truth' are effectively othered.

Through discourse, populations are governed. Government, according to Foucault, is an activity that places individuals under the guidance of authority that would take responsibility for what they should do and what will happen to them (Rose et al., 2006). This is where Foucault introduces the concept of governmentality, which acts as a form of large-scale disciplinary power through which human behaviour can be directed (Rose et al., 2006). He argued that a certain 'mentality' had become the base for 'modern' political thought and action; notably neoliberalization in which entrepreneurial and individual ideals were spread, which shifted the responsibility of 'governing the soul' away from the state (Rose et al., 2006). Biopower, which falls under the umbrella of governmentality, examines this more specific concept of 'government of life'. Here, biopower and the 'government of life' determines who can be

part of our territorial space, and who is excluded from it. Biopower is defined as a 'power that endeavours to administer, optimise, and multiply life, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations.' (Adams, 2017). In current capitalism, biopower allows for the production of docile bodies for capitalist labour through a commodification process.

Through his analogy of the panopticon: a prison designed to allow all prisoners to be observed by a single guard, but never knowing when they are being watched, Foucault discusses the mechanisms in place to examine populations. During this period of capitalism and neoliberalization, technologies are developed to create the threat of permanent visibility in which we open ourselves up to these disciplinary mechanisms (Rose et al., 2006). Due to the possibility of constant surveillance and the normalisation of judgement through discourse, we begin to self-examine as if we are being watched, which assures the functioning of power without a singular point of authority (Rose et al., 2006). Here Foucault illustrates the technologies of self in which the actual exercise of power becomes unnecessary because you apply the disciplinary mechanism to yourself.

Therefore, it can be stated that power is relational and productive, as it acts to reproduce social order and instils in us certain ways of being. Power is also diffused throughout society, it is intentional and nonsubjective since it does not stem from a single authority (Lawlor & Nale, 2014).

The impermeable border in Calais: a case study

"Reconcile humanitarian aid to refugees with refusal of clandestine immigration", was a 1999 headline to a local newspaper in Northern France (Fassin, 2005). It was referring to the issue confronting French authorities at the time; a huge influx of immigrants notably from Kosovo, Kurdistan, and Afghanistan who were attempting to cross over and seek asylum in the UK (Fassin, 2005). It is no secret that immigration has been a key aspect in the French political sphere, with some taking a humanitarian perspective of helping those in need as others adopt a more economic stance. Through processes of industrialisation and development of machinery to replace human labour, the demand for unskilled workers dropped. When this was paired with the economic recession in 2008, unemployment rates rose fast, leaving 3.3 million people in

France without a job in 2014 (Danaj et al., 2018). This majorly drove competition between native French workers and the incoming immigrant workers. It must be mentioned that this narrative has been used time and time again by far-right parties in France as a justification for increased securitization of borders and anti-immigration policies.

Calais, a town located on the Northern French coast, is a major crossing point between the UK and Europe, and an interesting case study to dive into European borders and immigration policies. For some background context, as part of the 1993 Sangatte Protocol, the UK operates border controls in Calais, allowing British authorities to intercept migrants in France and deny them the right to seek asylum in the UK (Tyerman, 2021). Calais is also an external border of the European Schengen zone of free movement, and the UK participates in the Dublin arrangements, which require asylum seekers to be processed in the first 'safe' EU country they enter (Tyerman, 2021). In addition, there are data systems to share biometric information on non-European migrants and impose strict visa restrictions for citizens of countries that 'produce refugees'. These measures make it difficult

not only for 'regular' migration, but for asylum seekers the border becomes nearly impermeable (Fassin, 2005). Further, with the externalisation of EU borders, internal border security mechanisms, and outsourcing across countries such as Libya to intercept and detain migrants on Europe's behalf, migrants must navigate multiple obstacles before they can even reach Calais (Tyerman, 2021). Calais also exists within a wider European fortress or 'gated community', using discriminatory visa regulations, militarised controls, and internal policing to divide the globe into a hierarchy of national citizenship and restrict freedom of movement (Houtum & Pijpers, 2007). These borders contribute to a racialized postcolonial society marked by fractures between the Global North and South. They work to illegalize mobility for people trying to overcome these structural violences by forcing them to use irregular means of migration and then criminalising them for it (Tyerman, 2021). The Calais border serves to reproduce the racialized global geopolitics that it enacts through segregation.

It's a costly endeavour to cross the border, with smugglers asking between €500-1000, and safety is never guaranteed (Fassin, 2005). Waiting to cross, immigrants camped in Calais, which led to a shift from a

governmentally 'humanitarian approach' to one of security. The police continuously arrested and expelled undocumented immigrants with force, but soon a calling for a more ethical approach gained traction and a refuge was opened under the name of the Red Cross (Fassin, 2005). So, the Sangatte Center was opened just outside Calais in August of 1999, which materialised as a 25,000 square metre unused warehouse (Fassin, 2005). Its main purpose was as a transit area before migrants continued to the UK, and within the first three years of its existence it took up to 50,000 people of which only 350 were seeking asylum in France (Fassin, 2005). In this sense, it made it easier for the French government to appear humanitarian, without accepting these 'clandestine immigrants'. However, these circumstances changed when the British government decided to restrain access to the centre and block illegal entrance, as they faced a lot of public pressure. Jack Straw, the Minister of Home Affairs was under public scrutiny for his supposedly 'soft' and even 'weak' policy, which led to a shift towards stricter border control and increased cooperation with the French authorities to enforce it (Van Isaker, 2018).

Following this change, getting out of the Sangatte asylum became tricky, meaning that people became confined; the warehouse was originally meant for around 300 people, and often saw over 1,500 at a time (Fassin, 2005). Naturally, as the journey became increasingly dangerous, smuggling businesses saw an opportunity which unfortunately brought new tensions, especially between the Kurds and Afghans who both wanted control of this organisation (Fassin, 2005). As violence began to spread, the Sangatte was forced to accept the permanent policing that was sanctioned for security reasons. This portrait of armed military men exerting control over refugees was one all too familiar for many, and the asylum became even more distressing (Van Isaker, 2018). Sangatte soon became a place of human rights violations, and the Red Cross had to find a way to deal with the ever-increasing repressive policies. 2002 brought a new right-wing government to office, in which the campaign was focussed on public security border control. Sarkozy's first act as Minister of the Interior was to visit Sangatte to then declare that he would close it down by the end of the year, arguing that the place attracted illegal immigration and that it was a humiliation to the name of modern

democracy that should be halted as soon as possible (Fassin, 2005). The fear of attracting immigrants was so strong in justifying the right-wing cause, and by the end of 2002 the registration of new admissions for Sangatte was closed (Van Isaker, 2018).

This once again brought asylum seekers to the streets of Calais in which temporary squats and shelters existed, although the police was frequently accused of lighting these on fire (Van Isaker, 2018). Sangatte was officially closed a year later, and the immigrants were left waiting for an opportunity to cross the border as they endured the harsh conditions. In 2015, the Jules Ferry refugee camp was opened on the outskirts of Calais (Isakjee et al., 2020). To provide context, Jules Ferry was a French Prime Minister in the 1880's and an outspoken white supremacist who proudly said the following; "We must say openly that indeed the higher races have a right over the lower races. I repeat that superior races have a right, because they have a duty. They have the duty to civilise inferior races." (Isakjee et al., 2020). This camp was quickly named the Calais 'jungle', which is a signal towards global racialised inequalities that were becoming visible within the European fortress. The camp smelled of burning trash

as there was no waste collection, the residents were deliberately fed one meal a day which led to disease, and there were traces of chemicals in the air from the neighbouring industrial park (Isakjee et al., 2020). Unsurprisingly, the French government did not publicly link these violences to racial motives, especially as the majority of residents were from former European colonies. The 'jungle' has since been demolished, and refugees continue to camp around Calais facing ever-violent actions from French authorities. The camp has become a distinct symbol of the apartheid faced by immigrants from the Global South.

Discussion & analysis

Calais is just one of many examples of borders that operate to reflect the hegemonic discourses of the time. The harsh conditions faced by migrants only begin at the border, and the real challenges arrive once they are treated as less than and continuously othered (Fassin, 2011). In this sense, even once a border is crossed, the socially constructed boundaries still need to be faced (Fassin, 2011) In the rare Western media that covers violence, notably that of the state, towards refugees it is often boiled

down to a lack of appropriate materials or resources to host the large influx of people (Zena, 2019). However, what this fails to acknowledge is how much earlier these violences begin. As the state utilises biopower to protect, monitor, and manage the lives of the 'legitimate' population, those not recognized or seen as Other do not fall under this protection, which is how violence is launched (Zena, 2019)

Refugees, as mentioned during the case study, are 'strongly encouraged' or coerced into being registered, photographed, and fingerprinted by border authorities, which constitutes a clear act of surveillance. In this way, through a Foucauldian lens, bodies are subjugated and populations controlled through the biometric techniques. Visibility is a crucial aspect in migration, as it is not simply a tool for enforcing border control, but it contributes to the production of a governmentality in which migrants are controlled and labelled as Other, which starts to become internalised (Tazzioli & Walters, 2016). Detecting what France categorises as 'clandestine' immigrants is a way to govern migration and perpetuate an image of what a 'bad' immigrant looks like (Tazzioli & Walters, 2016). So, the governmentality of migration does not only include surveillance

and control of populations, but works to produce knowledge and impose it on the migrants themselves. Refugees are judged based on their claims and can be refused entry, placing authority on the West and normalising this judgement. This is not to mention that when they become documented refugees, it results in the exclusion from the precise resources and political rights that would grant refugees a healthy life within France or the EU more generally (Zena, 2019). It is evident that France and other European nation states have the adequate resources to sustain a fully functioning welfare system within their borders without having camps that provide inhumane treatment and safety (Zena, 2019). Therefore, just as power can be activated through states to provide for people, it can also be exerted by its withdrawal and exclusionary force. In this way, France has regulated its welfare systems to exclude certain demographics such as refugees, who are then faced with brutal contexts that could otherwise have been avoided (Zena, 2019)

The terrible conditions in which refugees are subjected to in the camps can be seen in the example of the Calais 'jungle', which lacked so many basic needs such as sufficient sanitary access to toilets. In 2015, there was

one toilet between around 70 people, although the The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) clearly states that there should be a maximum of 20 people for one toilet (Zena, 2019). This shows a clear sign of social injustice, deliberate carelessness, as well as negligence from the state, illustrating an example of structural violence due to the lack of health care regulations to ensure safe living conditions. The camp itself also emerges as a form of exclusion, or an 'exceptional space', because geographically it is located in the city periphery, which aims to keep refugees outside the city and render them invisible (Zena, 2019). Unfortunately, it does not seem surprising that the camp set up by French authorities is set up next to a chemical factory. Confining asylum seekers to the margins also acts to stop integration and restrict contact with the residents of Calais, even after they have acquired legal refugee status (Zena, 2019). For Foucault, space is key to the exercise of power, and the structures that are involved in the diffusion of power are themselves also produced in certain localities and spaces (Zena, 2019). Migrants are not only placed in the segregated camp, but constantly moved around as one camp closes and another opens, or they are denied

entry and made to build their own shelters that become victims of police destruction. In Calais, migrants are being spatially disciplined through constant displacement so that they do not belong to a space (Aradau & Tazzioli, 2020). Space is therefore not apolitical, and is socially constructed to perpetuate certain narratives about specific populations.

The Calais jungle becomes a so-called 'technology of power', in which they are constantly being judged, surveilled, and controlled through the biopower of the French and British states. The governments, aided by the media, manage to depict refugees as less than human which acts as an important distinction to legitimate citizens of the host country. Each new refugee arrival must face judgement and be labelled as either friend or enemy, which will determine whether they are granted admission and legal status in France (Salter, 2008). The state then still has the right to change their judgement and revisit the previous categorisation, meaning they decide who belongs and who does not; an act deeply embedded within hegemonic and racialised Western discourses. Group identities are maintained and reproduced through these boundaries faced by migrants, as they are

constantly reminded of their differences to French citizens through internal social categorization that becomes an othering process (Fassin, 2011). The asylum seekers become disposable bodies through the marginalisation and structural violence they face (Zena, 2019.)

Conclusion

Overall, it is clear that narratives of immigration and border interactions are profoundly rooted in Western hegemonic discourse, which calls for a shift towards more inclusive knowledge as well as a decoloniality of media and education. Immigrants have been systematically othered and deeply racialised to sustain Europe's need for comfort within their white superiority and sense of identity. This is done not only with the implementation of material borders to keep the Other out, but also within all the boundaries that must be faced once this border is crossed. Constant structural reminders that they are not accepted as citizens of the host country are apparent around every corner, every policy, bringing questions of why the state does not intervene and chooses one demographic for protection and another to neglect and erase. Violence is found in both the state actions of

inclusion and in state inaction and its many forms of exclusion vis a vis border interactions. This unity between the visible and invisible emerges as a fundamental aspect of EU border narratives, in which refugees are at the same time visible for exploitation in terms of labour capital and through biometric surveillance, and invisible due to the frequent denial they face in terms of welfare accesses, supportive state presence, and political voices.

The Calais border practises segregation which violently reflects the racialised injustices of identity, wealth and power, which should also be confronting for Western voices, me included, in terms of our complicity in how discourse is embodied. Although these social inequalities are overpowering, political resistance from marginalised groups should not be ignored, as well as the everyday ways in which people can fight against oppression. Therefore, there is a calling to be more attentive to how the state erases neglected voices, which can provide crucial insight into oppression and structural violence. The invisibilized are evidently hard to see, yet their voices should be heard and are central to tackling the current harmful hegemony.

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Ontological Collision between the Two *Am-s*

The conflict of benzodiazepines and Pehuenche traditional healing

Zsófia Lehóczky

"My motivation for choosing the case of the Pehuenche stems from my deep interest in medicine and its diverse manifestations. The encounter explored in the case study I mainly based my paper on, between Pehuenche's beliefs and Western medicine, teaches a lesson on the consequences of underestimating and neglecting the importance of different realities. When treating a patient, one has to look further than the biological dimension; one must strive to understand the reality of the individual. My purpose was to get closer to a solution that shows possible ways to sync the world's diverse knowledge networks in similar situations."

Abstract

Among the Pehuenche, bodily presence is a dynamic and relational personal singularity, which is a fundamentally broader appreciation of the human reality than within the definitions and practices of Western medicine. This present paper will assess this difference, by exploring the layers of the Pehuenche's complex relational network between the physical body and the invisible double spirit and contrasting it with the unitary body concept of the Western healthcare. The analysis is based on Cristóbal Bonelli's ethnography, which presents the situation where the diagnosis and treatment that the healthcare workers in Southern Chile assign to their Pehuenche patients induces the ontological disorder that surrounds sleep disruptions. As Bonelli argues, ontological disorders result from the failure to recognize and respect the different ontologies and ways of understanding the world held by different groups. In this case, both interlocutors use sleep as a homonym but are unaware of this, leading to an imbalanced equivocation that creates misunderstandings and controversies. By analyzing this situation the paper attempts to offer an understanding and an approach to ontological and equivocal conflicts within healthcare.

Introduction

The ethnography by Cristóbal Bonelli (2012, 2013, 2015) explores the relationship between state healthcare workers and the Pehuenche population in southern Chile, particularly the differences in understanding the body, personhood, sleeping, and dreaming. The Pehuenche traditional territory is in the Andes mountains in southern Chile and western Argentina. The Chilean Pehuenche territory is primarily in the Bío Bío and Malleco regions, out of which the present ethnography explores the Alto Bío Bío region (Bonelli, 2013). They preserved their cultural heritage and way of thinking throughout history, regardless they had been colonized by the Spanish, and the consequent immigration of the Mapuche (another indigenous community) led to the assimilation of the two cultures.

In the Bío Bío region, healthcare workers daily diagnose their Pehuenche patients with *sleep disorders* and prescribe them sleep-inducing psychotropic drugs, benzodiazepines (e.g. Diazepam, Alprazolam). However, some Pehuenche people fear that the drugs will prevent them from waking up and escaping attacks by evil spirits, leading to a controversy-inducing *ontological disorder* based on *uncontrolled*

equivocation. Bonelli (2012) defines ontological disorders as situations in which interlocutors are not speaking about the same thing –using the homonym of *sleep* in this case– but are unaware of this, leading to an uncontrolled equivocation that creates misunderstandings and controversies. Healthcare workers neglect the possibility that their actions, prescribing benzodiazepines to treat sleep disorders, can oppose indigenous healing practices and beliefs, which are *seeing, mutual vision* and the undisturbed composition of the *dynamic personal singularity*. As Bonelli (2012) argues, these ontological disorders result from the failure to recognize and respect the different ontologies and ways of understanding the world held by different groups.

As the framework by Barnes and Dove (2015) highlights holism, history, and ethnography in the analysis of climate change, so will this paper unpack the conflict between state health care and Pehuenche traditional healing. The Pehuenche community will be positioned in the dimension of time and space, defined as an entity in the continuity of history and by working with extensive ethnographic data the conflict will be assessed through several actors.

The difference between the Pehuenche and the biomedical healing is constituted in the Chilean healthcare policies, which initially take the patient through the medical protocol and only after each step fails, they route the patient to a traditional healer, a shaman, or a herbalist. The ethnography shows how the Spanish state healthcare dominates the medical protocols and how they enact their discourse, in an environment where 80% of the population is indigenous, without any agency given to the Pehuenche people (Bonelli, 2012). This tendency may be a consequence of the predominating beliefs about health, which due to its global and fierce presence often receives blind acceptance among citizens and leaders (Leach and Mearns, 1994). This divergence of local and global truth is envisaged in the mirrored development of the ontological turn in anthropology and Science and Technology Studies (STS), which opposition is essential to the analysis of this paper. This case is an example when faced with identical or analogous issues, different actors find diverse ways to reinforce their own definitions of society (Latour 2005).

The ethnographic data

Bonelli (2012, 2015) reports two instances from the Pehuenche community. One is the case of Pilar and Pedro, who suffer from sleep disorders and report being visited by evil spirits during the night, according to Pilar, in nocturnal experiences appearing *as if they were nightmares*. Pilar attends a meeting of the Ralko Family Health Centre's mental health program, where she is given sleeping pills to help with her sleep disorder. However, she eventually decides to stop taking the pills because she believes they make it difficult for her to wake up when the evil spirits visit her. Pedro also has trouble sleeping and develops the habit of sleeping with a torch and a knife at his side to protect himself from the evil spirits that visit him. Both Pilar and Pedro describe their experiences with the evil spirits in detail and express their belief that these visits are a significant source of their sleep problems. In addition, they describe their efforts to protect themselves from these visits.

The other instance is of Giorgina, who developed a skin problem while working as a maid in Santiago. Her boss was concerned about her condition, so took her to the most prestigious doctor. She, after the treatment from the biomedical professional for acne,

was unable to find relief and ultimately turned to a Pehuenche healer for treatment. The Pehuenche healer was able to effectively treat her illness, which Giorgina attributed to the healer's ability to "see" the root cause of her problem, while biomedical professionals were unable to do so. This trend is also reflected in the comments of other Pehuenche people, who speak of their frustration with the inability of biomedical professionals to understand and treat their spiritual illnesses.

The author also describes a meeting with twenty-five Pehuenche women with diverse psychiatric diagnoses at the Ralko Family Health Center, a mental health center, where state healthcare workers treat and provide supplementary treatment for Pehuenche patients. The psychologist gave a presentation –in Spanish not in Chedungun– on relaxation techniques and the importance of taking prescribed medication, mostly sleeping pills, to a group of indigenous Pehuenche women who suffer from sleeping disorders. This little detail strongly indicates the hegemonic ethical ideology of the western discourse that is advocated by the state healthcare workers in Chile, consequently dominating the state-indigenous relations.

Comparing the incomparable: the Pehuenche and the biomedical ontology

In Pilar's instance, we see how she adapts a position, which Bonelli (2012) named *onto-ethical position*, through which she enacts her (the Pehuenche) reality in a liminal ontological dimension. She described the phenomena she experiences in her sleep *as if they were nightmares*, indicating the narrative gap between Spanish (translated to English) and Chedungun. As Pehuenche's spoken word is an essential point in this analysis, it is important to discuss their uniquely structured native language, Chedungun (Bonelli, 2012). However, before everything else, here a remark is due: since the Pehuenche cosmological system emerged from inherently different grounds and uses fundamentally different words and phrases, the followings may be reductionist and written from the stance point of a modern world language speaker whose concepts are limited in this regard. However, the explanations attempt to be unbiased and as truthful to reality as English lets.

Chedungun defines the individuum in unapproachable depths, and creates a communication within multiplicity, treating the human and non-human presence as a dialogical composition of the physical body

and the virtual dimension. Its nature, structural and semantic regards are incommensurable to the reality of modern world languages.

In Pehuenche reality, a person is more complex than their bodily presence, as Bonelli calls it, corporal support. For them, a person emerges as a "point of convergence for the alterities suspended in the virtual" (2012, p. 415). To unpack this concept, a description of the person's building elements and their network is essential.

These following concepts are all actors in the interaction between a visible physical body and an invisible double spirit, which positions the personal composition in a broader relational scheme involving other entities. The phrase *am* addresses a concept closest to the material reality of a person. This is the element which sleeps, eats and feels biological needs. *Ina mongen* is the name given to the "invisible other", the virtual dimension of the personal composition, which can be detached from the corporal support and travel through the person's life while sleeping. *Ngen* is usually translated as "owner" or "master" and refers to the capacity of certain beings to understand themselves as human. The *ngens* are often described as having anthropomorphic

features and possess an intentionality analogous to humans, which makes this element the counterpart of *am* in the virtual dimension. *Püllü* is the protective "power of the earth" that originates from outside the person and supports the *am* (Bonelli, 2013).

As Pehuenche understand human and non-human presence, *mutual vision* is necessary for a personal composition to emerge as a real person. They see vision as a foundation in the domain of healing and personhood, which are closely linked. Being seen by a real person protects the human relational field (defined mainly by *am*, *ina mongen*, *ngen* and *püllü*), and in case an obstruction happens, thus the construction process of similarity gets altered, and the person falls ill (Bonelli, 2012, 2013). This is due to the blocked ability of the personal composition to react (e.g. recompose in case a visit from an evil spirit happens).

Another emphasized concept within Pehuenche healing is the inevitable capacity of *seeing* or the *gift of vision*. Numerous spiritual illnesses are viewed as a reminiscence of witchcraft, for instance, due to a reoccurring visit of an evil spirit, which healers in the community can only treat if they reveal the subject of the visitor. This can only happen if the healer possesses the gift

of vision, so is able to see the source of the illness. Thus, the biomedical type of pragmatic and univocal seeing and the lack of mutual vision leads to long-term, untreatable spiritual illnesses, which is the case in several instances when state healthcare workers diagnose and treat Pehuenche patients.

Here the motive of multicultural technologies (i.e. sleeping pills) emerges in the fundamental premise of Western healthcare that “bodies do the same things independently of their location” (Bonelli, 2012, p. 412), assuming the existence of a *unitary body*.

The explained framework interprets a person as a composition of different capacities and elements in contrast to the biomedical approach where with sleeping pills, they, unaware, attempt to act within the sole biological interior, which in the Pehuenche ontology is merely partial to the person (Bonelli, 2013). The biomedical action is an indirect attempt to transform different worlds into abstract events, voicing the reductionist conceptualization of realities as cultural beliefs based on the multicultural premise that there is only one reality and there are only dissimilar perceptions of it. The use of sleeping pills assumes that nightmares

are a product of cultural reality and that they can be treated with medication that alters chemical processes in the natural, universal body.

In the case of sleeping disorders, the key point where the biomedical and the Pehuenche thinking diverges is the concept of *sleeping*. According to the Pehuenche ontology during sleep the *ina* (behind) *mongen* (one's life) detaches during sleep and wanders around in the person's life and in case of need it reattaches itself. In case an evil spirit visits, the abrupt recomposition of singularity is necessary to defend the individuum from the visitor's attack. However, in the biomedical understanding, the human nature sleeps (the body) and the culture (the mind) dreams. Consequently, interpreting sleeping disorders as malfunctions of the body (seen as a biological, alterable bundle of tissues) and treating them with chemical mediums.

However, due to the uncontrolled equivocation, when sleeping pills are in use, the Pehuenche healing is suppressed and obstructed. The alteration of the *psyche* (psychotropic: *psyche* (mind), *tropein* (to change)) leads to diminished mutual vision and thus the dynamic personal singularity is disturbed, subjecting the *am* to the predation

of the visitor. Benzodiazepines, the most widely prescribed sedative psychotropics, turned out to be multicultural uni-natural drugs.

The ontological turn

As Escobar moved along the range between multiculturalism and multinaturalism, so should the alternate vision of 'Western' actors expand in this gradient. Escobar (1998) viewed cultures as separate interpretations of one superior reality, just as the Chilean state health workers relate to Pehuenche spiritual illnesses, as a cultural belief. However, when the ontological approach emerged and discourses became the unit of analysis, Escobar (2017) assessed cultures as derivatives of different, equally valid realities, coining multinaturalism, which appears to be the approach of the Pehuenche (*nguken, winka*).

The "ontological turn" in anthropology and STS refers to the shift in focus towards the study of ontology (Bonelli, 2012). The ontological turn in anthropology often focused on studying how different cultures and societies understand and experience the world and how these differences shape social and cultural practices. Also, it has often been associated with the concept of "ontological pluralism," which holds that multiple

ontologies can coexist and interact within a single society or culture. This resembles the Pehuenche approach, where the biomedical ontology is noticed from an onto-ethical solid stance and the behaviour is changed accordingly within the boundaries of truthfulness to one's reality (e.g. the conceptualization of an experience through the shared medium). In contrast, STS has tended to focus on the ways in which different technical systems and practices shape and are shaped by cultural and social contexts, leaving out the analysis of the coexistence of ontologies and their interactions. (Bonelli, 2015).

Previously an uncontrolled equivocation was defined between the biomedical and the Pehuenche ontologies. However, the uncontrolled nature in the case of the Pehuenche seems to be not that concrete. The phrase how Pilar evaluates her experiences with the evil spirit "*as if there were nightmares*" signifies that she is adjusting her communication to Spanish, the state language (Bonelli, 2012, p. 409), since regardless the phenomena is comparable it does not render the experience translatable. Also, the Pehuenche have two different words to name their spiritual illnesses and the sicknesses stemming from mostly biological

disturbances of the body. They use *nguken* to refer to their „nocturnal experiences during which sleeping people are the target of unknown visitors’ predation” (Bonelli, 2013, p. 83), and they refer to non-Pehuenche illnesses as *winka*. De Castro’s (2004) theory is perfectly applicable here, stating that controlled equivocation is a way for indigenous cultures to express and maintain the complexity and inherent multiplicity of reality, and use this as a means of resistance against colonialism and the homogenizing tendencies of Western culture. De Castro (2004) also argued that ambiguous or intentionally ambiguous language is a way of resistance against the reductionist and homogenizing tendencies of colonialism and a mode to challenge Western notions of singular, objective truth. This aspect reveals fundamental differences between the biomedical and the Pehuenche *seeing*.

Conclusions

This present paper unpacked the concept of ontological disorders in the context of Pehuenche Chilean state healthcare relations. They appear to be the result of an unbalanced equivocation ratio, having an *uncontrolled* one on the side of healthcare and a *controlled* one on the side of the

Pehuenche. The former assumed to be a consequence of a blindly unquestioned received wisdom about health, essentially that bodies function the same irrespective of their location. This results in practices which indirectly neglect the Pehuenche traditional practices and realities. The Pehuenche ambiguity is *controlled* due to the intention to preserve the inherent multiplicity of the culture and to resist the dominantly reductionist Western culture. This enables the dynamic reflection and reaction, giving rise to Pilar’s onto-ethical stance to exit the ineffective treatment of a *winka* sleeping disorder, which obstacles the healing of her spiritual illness.

These differences are traceable within the dissimilarities of the ontological turn between anthropology and STS. Essentially, the main variance is within the focus: anthropology’s focus was on *alterity*, welcoming multiple realities into coexistence, while STS emphasised *enaction*, prioritizing the detailed exploration and recreation of system-ontology relations.

The fundamentally different interpretation of the human and non-human presence in the Pehuenche (*am, ina mongen, ngen* and *püllü*) and the highly western influenced state healthcare (body is a bundle of tissues and

the brain's function is the same for everyone) led to the incompatible realities. As *mutual vision* and the right way of *seeing* is essential among the Pehuenche for healthy function and defence, the lack of ability from the state health workers to integrate these approaches creates a pseudo-network which is unable to provide helpful connections for Pehuenche people. Chilean biomedical professionals tend to view spiritual illnesses as non-Pehuenche (*winka*, since they disregard the "cultural beliefs"), and indeed prove to be

unable to treat them effectively. In the case of Pilar, Pedro and Giorgina and many other Pehuenche people the discrepancy of health and bodily function resulted in ineffective recoveries and personal struggles. By promoting more inclusive and respectful medical approaches in healthcare systems, such ironic opposition as the two *am's* (the common ending for benzodiazepines and the close-to-the-material dimension of the Pehuenche personal composition) would be avoidable in the future.

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Indigeneity and Resistance

The case of Indigenous Kayapó communities fighting for their rights and the environment

Fernanda da Cunha Carvalho

"I felt motivated to submit this paper because it is about a topic which I am very interested in and I find it very important and urgent, since the violation of indigenous (and human) rights in Brazil has been getting progressively worse and it seems as if not many people know about it. Therefore, with this, I hope to spread some awareness and information regarding this important issue."

Abstract

Environmental protection has (theoretically) been at the top of the agenda of most countries in the last decades due to the emergency of the climate crisis. The South American country of Brazil has been recognized as one of the most important nations in this issue due to the nation's wide variation of biomes and biodiversity. When this issue is examined it is often put on the hands of governmental institutions or international organizations, but we often forget about the struggle from the side of those who suffer the most from nature's degradation, that is, the numerous indigenous communities found in the country. These populations have been forced to fight for their environment as well as for their human rights since the beginning of colonization. The forms in which they have proceeded with such a struggle differs significantly according to each region, however, in this paper it is possible to observe some key aspects of their struggle for recognition and protection of the environment. This essay therefore analyzes some of the most pressing issues found in such movements and demonstrates how the fight for environmental protection cannot be separated from the recognition of indigenous rights and culture.

Issues surrounding environmental deterioration and human rights are now widely recognized as one of the most pressing issues on the agenda of both public and private institutions. It is known that the activities taken in the past few centuries throughout the ascending of capitalism have caused extensive damage to our planet. The consequences of such actions have been recognized as highly detrimental, to the extent that not only our ecosystem will be destroyed but also that one day our planet will no longer be a liveable place for humans. Still, because of our current capitalist system, which values profit above everything else, there has not been enough collective actions from governments and private companies to stop this detrimental process. Fortunately, a wide range of resistance movements has been developed throughout the years, seeking to convince governmental institutions to take both the environment and the people who live in it, into consideration in their decision making policies. Whenever political discussions concern environmental issues, the focus is often on large-scale international organizations, who are seen as the main actors in this resistance. However, indigenous peoples who have been fighting

western systems of power for centuries are frequently excluded from these conversations, when they are the ones most affected by such policies. Clearly, some countries have more recognition for indigenous groups than others, but it is undeniable that marginalization of native peoples is a global phenomenon.

The case of the Brazilian Amazon is capable of demonstrating the gravity of the issue. It is even argued that there is no other place in the world that undergoes so many concentrated forms of exploration, plunder, and violence as there is in the Amazon (Tosold & Gibson, 2021). Violence against indigenous populations and the environment can be traced back to the invasion of the Portuguese in the land which is now called Brazil, and unfortunately is still explicitly present in the nation. The ways in which this violence takes place are formed by a web of multiple strategies, tools, and discourses, consequently, resistance also occurs in multiple complex manners. Therefore, the goal of this paper will be to investigate the modes and processes of resistance of indigenous populations in their decolonial fight for environmental protection and

human rights. In order to do so, the case of the Kayapó communities will be used as an illustration of the phenomenon previously described. Furthermore, to have a better theoretical comprehension of the topic, the theories provided by Frantz Fanon will be utilized to frame the decoloniality factors present in these movements. Apart from this Fanonian analysis, this paper will also focus on some key processes found in this phenomenon, which concern; the role of identity in politics, the importance of indigenous rights in environmental discussions and inter-ethnic alliances.

Frantz Fanon is known for his numerous contributions concerning anti-colonial liberation struggles, having great influence on revolutions from all over the world. The French author is known for having followed the steps of scholars previous to him, most specifically, he owes much of the base for his theories to the German philosopher Karl Marx (Wright's lecture, 2022). In this way, Fanon agrees on the proposition that societal change must come from action and therefore from materiality, however, he 'expands' Marx's work by adding theories of phenomenology, existentialism, political theory, and even poetry (Wright's lecture, 2022; Drabinski, 2019). The works of Fanon

are highly diverse as he dedicated most of his life theorizing and discussing ideas on post-colonial tatecraft and imagination (Drabinski, 2019). Nonetheless, this paper shall mostly focus on the findings from his book "The wretched of the earth", primarily using the first chapter "Concerning violence" where the author discusses the forms in which decolonization takes place in a people's struggle for liberation. Fanon's theory begins, and ends, with the argument that "decolonization is always a violent phenomenon" (Fanon, 1961, pp. 35). Such a proposition is at least provocative, and it can easily be misunderstood, that is why the author uses the first chapter to explain the reasons and manners behind this hypothesis. National liberation, decolonization, restoration of nationhood, and so on, are all concepts that are often blurred into each other, whose meaning might vary across time and space. In essence, according to Fanon, decolonization is simply the replacement of one 'species' of men by another 'species' of men (Fanon, 1961). The word 'species' is put into quotes here to demonstrate the racialization process of individuals that occurs in society, and not to infer that there are multiple species within the human race.

Moreover, it is important to mention that to Fanon, the process of decolonization is only successful if a whole social structure is changed from the bottom up, and because there is such a drastic change in structure, it is developed through a program of complete disorder. Anyhow, these changes cannot arise from 'a friendly understanding' nor from a natural shock, rather they must come from a material action of disturbance from those being colonized and oppressed (Fanon, 1961, pp. 35-37). This is due to the fact that the essence of decolonization is the meeting of two forces opposed to each other, whose very first encounter was marked by violence and so is their existence together. Hence, in these circumstances, the liberation of the colonized can only be achieved through a decisive struggle in which a new existence is created, introduced by a 'new' man, with a new language and a new humanity. In other words decolonization is the practicalization of the following sentence; "The last shall be first and first shall be last" (Fanon, 1961, pp. 35-37), it is not only the replacement of one a 'species' for the other, but the replacement of an entire society, with all its values, norms, and governments. If such a change is to be achieved, then there must be the use of all

means possible, including violence (Fanon, 1961).

It is from this point of view of material change that Fanon is comparable to Marx, but Fanon's theory does not end here, since he strongly believed that psychological liberation also has a fundamental status in decolonization (Wright's lecture, 2022). As the french scholar explains, the colonial world divides the oppressor and the oppressed through ordering and geographical layout, where the frontiers are controlled by barracks and policemen. However, this separation takes a different approach in the capitalist world, in a manner that societal structures like the educational system and moral values for example, are all "aesthetic expressions of respect for the established order serve to create around the exploited person an atmosphere of submission and of inhibition which lightens the task of policing considerably." (Fanon, 1961, pp. 38). This way, oppression over the colonized takes a more abstract and ideological form of power, but it still causes great suffering to the oppressed, which is precisely why psychological liberation is as important as material. The issue here is that through the constant imposition of the colonizer's values, a process of internalization takes place, in a

manner that even the native intellectual accepts the cogency of western ideals (Fanon, 1961). It is only when the struggle for liberation begins to unfold that these artificial sentiments are no longer seen by the colonized as the desirable goal, since these values have nothing to do with the concrete conflict in which the people are engaged with (Fanon, 1961).

As it was previously mentioned, Fanon's ideas fueled revolutions and decolonization struggles across the globe, and although there are various revolutions which were not directly basing themselves fanonian theories, it is still possible to analyze their circumstances through a Fanonian perspective. In doing so, we are capable of framing experiences and hence analyzing them through a critical perspective, which could hopefully help us better understand a certain phenomenon and see how it can be expanded to other situations where decolonization is demanded. This is why this essay will display the case of indigenous people in Brazil, with a focus on the Kayapó villages, to demonstrate how decolonization is a demanding and laborious process, but it is still highly possible and effective. Thus, in order to achieve such an analysis, it is

necessary to first gain an in-depth understanding of this situation, which includes the current scenario of indigenous politics in Brazil as well as its historical background.

Native populations in Brazil have been fighting marginalization since the beginning of colonization, yet, large-scale movements and widespread recognition by non-indigenous actors is considered to be a relatively new occurrence. This has been taking place in almost all regions of the country, however, this section will solely be dedicated to the case of the Kayapó communities to exemplify a larger phenomenon. The Kayapó, also known as Mebêngôkre, is an ethnic indigenous group who belong to the Gê linguistic family which is derived from the Macro-Gê branch. They originally occupy the regions of the middle Xingu river and are extended all the way to the central Brazilian plateaus in the state of Mato Grosso. (*Mebêngôkre (Kayapó) - Indigenous Peoples in Brazil*, 2018; Turner & Fajans-Turner, 2006). Traditionally, Kayapó communities make their livelihoods by providing subsistence through the combination of horticulture, hunting, fishing, and foraging. Nevertheless, this has changed

drastically throughout time, as they have a longstanding acquaintance with non-indigenous goods and knowledge (Fisher, 1994). It is difficult to know the exact number of its population but it is estimated to be approximately 8.000 people, who occupy a territory of some 140.000 km² with 21 villages spread throughout the region. A large area of approximately nine million hectares from traditional Kayapó land has been recognized by the state as reserves under their control (Evtimov & Evtimov, 2021; *(Mebêngôkre (Kayapó) - Indigenous Peoples in Brazil*, 2018; Turner T & Fajans-Turner V, 2006). However, there is still a great amount of land which has not been demarcated as indigenous territory from other communities. Meanwhile, the past decades have shown that such a formal recognition does exempt massive intrusions of both private and governmental actors who wish to explore and "develop" the area whose projects bring devastating consequences to both the communities and the environment (Turner T & Fajans-Turner V, 2006). The Brazilian territory is known for its abundance of natural resources and high quality soil, which as a consequence results in the attraction of extractive projects. Such ambitions can be traced back to the colonial period when coffee, sugar, gold, and "pau-

brasil" were one of the highest commodities in the Portuguese market. Currently, the focus has shifted from these goods to a whole different system of products, but the ideals attached to detrimental extractive practices are still widely present in Brazilian society, in a manner that large-scale development projects are still admired by private and state institutions. This is especially found in the Amazonian forest, where sizable hydroelectric dams, logging and mining activities, agriculture, and transregional highways have been substantially increasing the region (Fisher, 1994; Turner, 1993; Turner & Fajans-Turner, 2006).

Kayapó resistance movements began to be recognized by the media in the 1970's but it was only during the late 1980's that a large scale of national and international attention started to arise. The movements led by Kayapó communities varied according to what they were fighting against, still, overall they were capable of successfully achieving many of their goals through political disruption (Fisher, 1994). Throughout the decades, they organized various different movements opposing governmental 'development' policies. The project concerning the building of a series of

hydroelectric dams along the Xingu River is often claimed to be the beginning of their outreached recognition. It all started in the year of 1988, when news regarding a plan to construct multiple hydroelectric dams throughout the Xingu River reached Kayapó communities. If the project materialized, there would be significantly detrimental consequences to both the environment and the people who are part of it. Therefore, in February of 1989 the Kayapó leader Payakã organized the First Meeting of Indigenous Peoples of the Xingú with the aim of collectively opposing these constructions (Fisher, 1994). The meeting was attended by approximately 600 indigenous people, 500 from Kayapó villages, and 100 representatives from 40 different communities. Non-indigenous individuals were also invited to the gathering, including politicians both from Brazil and abroad, members of news media, and NGO supporters.

Simultaneously to this event, more than 3000 individuals protested against the dams in the streets close to the gathering to show support to their representatives, while other thousands supported by the anti-land reform Democratic Ruralist Union railed in favor of

the dams. The meeting was located in the town of Altamira in the state of Pará, since it was the proposed site for two of the biggest hydroelectric dams. Another reason for this choice was due to the fact that Altamira was already at the time a product of recent development projects, where its population had grown from 5000 to 40000 inhabitants in less than a few years as a result of the construction of the Transamazon Highway (Fisher, 1994). Furthermore, prior to the protests in November of 1988, an international tour was organized for two Kayapó leaders, Payakã and Kube-i, by the NGOs "Friends of the Earth" and "Survival International". The indigenous representatives traveled to Italy, Holland, Germany, Belgium, the United States, and Canada to meet with government members, development and commercial banks, and tropical hardwood importing industries with the aim of convincing these actors to support their cause of indigenous and environmental rights (Fisher, 1994).

Moreover, the climate during the protests was unfavorable for those in favor of the dams, in a manner that Eletronorte, the state-owned company in charge of the constructions, was already forced to cancel

its plans for another dam called "Babaquara". Not only that but the World Bank was under great pressure to withhold a loan which would be used to finance the construction of the new hydroelectric facilities. Throughout the several days in which the meeting and protests took place, the Kayapó urged other indigenous communities to remove their western clothes and dress and decorate their bodies according to their own customs. Shortly after the gathering and protests in Altamira, the World Bank disclosed its decision to not provide the Brazilian government with the power sector loan, which together with other forms of political pressure led the state to abandon its construction plans. This case was therefore considered to profoundly change the political reality and expectations for indigenous people in Brazil and beyond (Fisher, 1994).

The events taken in Altamira are considered to be the beginning of a great movement not only among the Kayapó communities but also for other indigenous groups. There were numerous events following Altamira throughout the years that show how Kayapó resistance has evolved and expanded into more complex forms. The case of the Monte

Belo hydroelectric dam in 2006 is capable of displaying the different forms and factors involved in the Kayapó resistance in recent times. At the beginning of the 21st century, the Brazilian government announced its plans to revive a series of dams in Monte Belo along with four other facilities throughout the Xingú River (Turner & Fajans-Turner, 2006). Where all the constructions would take place either within Kayapó territory or in sites nearby, which would still cause detrimental effects on the whole region. Thus, two hundred representatives of 19 of the 21 Kayapó communities got together in the village of Piraçu between 28 of March and April 1st to discuss and organize a common front against the government's projects. Simultaneously, Kayapó leaders began to launch a campaign with approximately 25 different indigenous groups and various Brazilian organizations with the aim of creating a "united front of all peoples of the Xingú valley" (Turner & Fajans-Turner, 2006). At the time prior to the meeting, this was considered to be a highly difficult goal, since conflict and distrust between Kayapó communities was at its peak, particularly among the Upper Xinguano indigenous groups of the National Park of Xingu. This was clearly shown when three of the largest

Kayapó villages from the East had boycotted a similar meeting in 2003 due to their rivalry with the western communities under the leadership of Megaron. In this manner, it was necessary for the Kayapó communities to first resolve their own internal divisions before forming an united indigenous coalition to save the Xingu. Therefore, Megaron was in charge of doing a personal tour throughout all the Kayapó villages, including the ones who boycotted the previous meeting. Fortunately, the tour was successful, which resulted in the Piraçu in 2006, where all the Kayapó villages, including the Eastern ones, unanimously decided to begin organizing a movement of all the "peoples of the Xingú" against the dams. Meanwhile, they denounced President Lula and Eletronorte for not complying with Article 231 of the Brazilian constitution, which refers to the requirement of development projects in indigenous areas to be debated by the National Congress, along with representatives from the affected communities. Which pressured the Public Ministry to instigate federal court proceedings against the previously mentioned actors (Turner & Fajans-Turner, 2006).

The previous section allowed us to observe how resistance movements for environmental protection in Brazil cannot be separated from the fight for indigenous political and legal rights. This demonstrates the intrinsic relation between native populations and the environment, in a manner that their survival not only depends on nature in terms of subsistence production but also as an integral part of their process of social production (Turner, 1993). This is seen with the comparison of most western societies, where the interpreted division between human and nature is precisely cut, in a way that capitalist societies utilize and exploit it as if we are completely removed from it. However, indigenous communities like the Kayapó, do not interpret this relationship as mutually exclusive and externally related, nor do they possess a single, bounded, uniform concept of the environment (Turner, 1993). For indigenous groups in Brazil and elsewhere who have been in their lands for more than centuries, protecting the environment is not only a matter of safekeeping resources and protecting the planet, but is also a protection of their own lives, both in terms of physical survival but also for their cultural continuation. Hence, a threat to nature is a

threat to the continuity and meaning of their social lives. Which is why it is impossible to have discussions of sustainability and environmental protection while excluding indigenous peoples who are integral to this issue. This can be illustrated with the speech given by the Mundurucu people in an assembly that opposed the reconstruction of the Belo Monte dam in 2013, where the speaker explains that state's western ideals concerning the distinction between human and nature are not applicable to them, and therefore they will not submit to such impositions (Turner, 1993).

"The government ... is trying to divide the Mundurucu people in order to conquer and destroy the Tapajós river, but the Tapajós river cannot be divided, and the Mundurucu people cannot be divided. There is nothing the government can offer that will pay for all the wealth we have. We do not sell our river and territory, our people, our history, or the future of our children."
(Mundurucu People, 2013 in Turner, 2006)

Furthermore, the relative successfulness and effectiveness of Kayapó resistance in politics often comes as a shock to both national and

international spectators. This is due to their small number in population together with their predisposition to lack influence in larger political and economic spheres as a consequence of their history of marginalization (Fisher, 1994). Kayapó communities, together with other indigenous groups, have been capable of affecting Brazilian political reality while resisting governmental policies in an effective manner. Such a phenomenon is argued to be a result of the combination of different actions and procedures. One important element is regarding the role of social identity in politics, which in this case is of indigenous culture. This is discussed by Fisher (1994), as he displays the common argument that the power of the Kayapó derived from their ability to manipulate symbols of Indigenous people as guardians of the forests. In a manner that through the utilization and demonstration of traditional customs and attire, they represented themselves as a group of distinctive identity, stressing their capability of acting independently in defence of their cultures, lands and environment (Turner & Fajans-Turner, 2006). This is seen throughout their protests, where they display ritual-choreographies, self decorations and other forms of cultural demonstrations as a

strategy in political confrontations (Turner & Fajans-Turner, 2006).

Another important factor in the successfulness of the Kayapó resistance has been attributed to their inter-ethnic alliances with other indigenous groups in Brazil. This was previously illustrated in the events in 2005 and 2006, with the creation of the united front of all people of the Xingú Valley. Against the odds where inter-community conflict was at its highest during that period, the Kayapó was not only capable of effectively creating a united front with all groups, but also through the innovative use of ritual adaptations, they displayed a renewal of Kayapó society as a political community. In a manner that as they changed traditional rituals in order to adapt to their current resistance against the government, the Kayapó reasserted themselves as a political community at a level higher than that of individual villages (Turner & Fajans-Turner, 2006). By taking such actions the Kayapó were able to reconfigure their longstanding traditional values and inner conflicts in order to represent themselves to the world as a united community which agrees on its proposition to resist developmentalist projects. Such

actions can be argued as one of its most effective strategies, as it gives indigenous communities strength in numbers, putting aside their differences for the greater good of their society and of the environment. In doing so, they are capable of formalizing a community and therefore attributing more credibility to their projects, which will further help them in dealing with larger institutions.

As it was previously discussed, a Fanonian analysis is extensively useful in this case as it demonstrates the potential of modes of collective self-determination projects to strengthen resistance and meaningfully contribute to structural transformation in contexts ruled by structural violence (Tosold & Gibson, 2021). In this way, we have observed how indigenous existence is in itself resistance since its reality opposes the modes of hegemonic western ideals. Resonating Fanonian theories, their fight not only displaces the centrality of the colonial norm, but also denaturalize the violence that is inherent to it (Tosold & Gibson, 2021). Moreover, by examining the case of Kayapó indigenous movements in Brazil through a Fanonian lens, it allows us to see how effective these struggles can be when they recreate and reinforce their modes of

existence, with their own standards of reference, establishing other possible forms of living that vary from the hegemonic ones. Throughout the years indigenous communities have caused disturbance and successfully interrupted harmful projects of dam and highway constructions, mining activities, and other policies of the sort. In using a combination of formal political actions of larger scale, and more informal protests, such as blocking roads, holding illegal miners and researchers hostage, and other forms of violence, the Kayapó have been able to challenge the current colonial structure imposed on indigenous populations (Tosold & Gibson, 2021; Fanon, 1961).

Overall, this paper has demonstrated the forms in which environmental movements in Brazil are internally linked to social issues,

which in this case concerns the ongoing fight for indigenous human and land rights. Furthermore, as we have seen throughout this analysis, the illustration of the Kayapó resistance can be used as a practical illustration of decolonial struggles for indigenous populations in other parts of the world. It is clear how through the use of multiple distinct practices, the Kayapó were extensively effective in their political resistance against harmful developmentalist projects in their territory. They were capable of uniting various indigenous and non-indigenous coalitions, reaching a large public of international actors, combining cultural identity with economic politics and many more. In this manner, the Kayapó have been successful in causing a great impact on the wider indigenous rights movements not only in Brazil but also been extremely influential in other decolonial struggles across the world.

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